

AN EXPLORATION ON HOW HEGEMONY EXERCISES
THROUGH URBAN SPACE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

JULY 2021

Approval of the thesis:

**AN EXPLORATION ON HOW HEGEMONY EXERCISES
THROUGH URBAN SPACE**

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ABSTRACT

AN EXPLORATION ON HOW HEGEMONY EXERCISES THROUGH URBAN SPACE

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Doctor of Philosophy, City and Regional Planning
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July 2021, 462 pages

Hegemonic exercises are intertwined in everyday life by overt and/or latent forms. Everyday practices in capitalist urban space organizations, which are materialized by pleasure or overwhelming, inherently produce and are products of an understanding of space, power, and class relations. Along with the ambiguity and complexity of everyday life, urban inhabitants own temporally and spatially reproduced political apprehensions by which they manufacture consent or produce dissent for the dominant ruling orders in which capital interests employ. In this sense, this study questions the dynamics of hegemonic exercises (re)produced through urban space, which spans in different contexts and multi-scales, realized by variegated and articulated ways of intended and unintended means.

Grounding upon a Gramscian and Lefebvrian theoretical framework, it is focussed on how hegemony is exercised by the production of space, and it draws out a new conceptual framework based on spatial forms, processes, and relations. This work alleges two intrinsically related genres of spatial exercise of hegemony, as delineated by i) hegemony exercised through relations and processes related to space and ii) hegemony exercised through spatial forms and processes. Seeking to

display a broad range of means of the spatial exercises of hegemony in Turkey for the recent period, this study makes exploratory research by carrying out qualitative research ways via embracing an overall documentary survey and an ethnographic field work attempt held in Ankara. The objective is to enhance conceptual insights aiming to understand hegemonic exercises by major, express methodological possibilities and limitations, and put forward possible research issues.

Keywords: Spatial Exercises of Hegemony, Hegemony, Domination, and Subordination, Relations of Space and Power, Apprehension of Class Interest

ÖZ

HEGEMONYANIN KENTSEL MEKANLA NASIL İŞLEDİĞİNE İLİŞKİN BİR ARAŞTIRMA

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Temmuz 2021, 462 sayfa

Hegemonik işleyişler açık ve/veya örtülü biçimde gündelik hayat içerisinde örülmektedir. Kapitalist kentsel mekan organizasyonu içerisinde gündelik pratikler memnuniyetle ya da zorlukla gerçekleşirken özü itibariyle mekana, iktidara and sınıf ilişkilerine ilişkin bir kavrayışı üretmekte ve/ya bu kavrayışın bir ürünü olmaktadır. Gündelik hayatın müphemliği ve karmaşıklığı içerisinde, kentte yaşayanlar sermaye çıkarlarını sağlayan hâkim düzene yönelik rıza ürettikleri veya direnç gösterdikleri zamansal ve mekânsal olarak yeniden üretilen siyasi kavrayışlara sahip olurlar. Bu çalışma da kentsel mekanla (yeniden) üretilen, çeşitli, birbiriyle eklemlenen, amaçlı ve amaçsız biçimlerde, farklı bağlamlarda ve çok ölçekli olarak gerçekleşen hegemonik işleyiş dinamiklerini incelemektedir.

Gramsci ve Lefebvre'ye dayanan kuramsal bir çerçeveye, hegemonyanın mekanın üretimi ile nasıl üretildiğine odaklanılan bu çalışmada mekansal biçimler, süreçler ve ilişkiler temelinde yeni bir kavramsal çerçeve çizilmektedir. Çalışma, i) mekanla ilgili ilişkiler ve süreçlerle işleyen hegemonya ve ii) mekansal biçimler ve süreçlerle işleyen hegemonya, şeklinde birbiriyle ilişkili iki veçheli mekansal hegemonya işleyişi olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Son dönem Türkiye'deki mekansal hegemonya işleyişinin geniş kaynağını ve araçlarını göstermeyi amaçlayan bu

alıřma, niteliksel arařtırma yollarını kullanarak genel olarak belgelere dayalı alıřmalara ve Ankarada yapılan etnografik bir saha alıřması denemesinin sonularına dayanarak keřfedici bir arařtırma yapmaktadır. alıřmanın hedefi hegemonik iřleyiřleri anlamayı amalayan kavramsal anlayiřları geliřtirmek, yntemsel olasılıkları ve sınırlılıkları aıklamak ve olası arařtırma konularını ortaya koymaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mekansal Olarak Hegemonya İřleyiři, Hegemonya, Egemenlik ve Tabiiyet, Mekan ve İktidar İliřkileri, Sınıf ıkarının Kavranması

To the insurgents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my greatest gratitude to Prof. Dr. H. Çağatay Keskinok for his sincere support, guidance, sympathy, and encouragement during Ph.D. research.

I owe to the thesis examining committee, and I would like to convey my special thanks to Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül, and Prof. Dr. Osman Balaban for all critiques and contributions through the study. Furthermore, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Tayfun Çınar and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bülent Batuman for their constructive contributions.

Besides, I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Funda Başaran. Thanks to her kind motivation that continues in all circumstances.

The Ph.D. period of my case traced a tough road. It passed with fighting for the right to labor, the freedom of speech, and thought. However, this process came to an end by several means of solidarity actions. In this process, studying in METU and being organized in Eğitim-Sen are my sources of struggling motives to pursue this study. Furthermore, the writing-up process on its last legs took place in Paris with the support of the French Government's National Emergency Reception Program for Scientists in Exile (PAUSE) and Université Paris Dauphine– PSL. Hence, this study was achieved owing to all those solidarity relations.

Moreover, involvement in the UCTEA Chamber of City Planners (Branch of Ankara) has deepened my thoughts while collectively arguing on several urban issues. I owe special thanks to all my colleagues and comrades who have participated in the struggle of the CCP Branch of Ankara. I would like to thank Ayhan Erdoğan and Emre Sevim, and particularly Gencay Serter; his ever-consistent motivation is beyond words.

Specifically, I would like to thank Gül Köksal and Aslı Kayhan for their motivations and mentoring through out the research. Besides, I thank all my friends, Research Assistants Dilan Eyyüpoğlu, Ufuk Poyraz, and Mehmet Mutlu for their interest and help. Furthermore, I would like to thank Duygu Tekin, Derya Yulcu, Fulya Önay, Melda Yaman, Bahar Şimşek, Sinem Baltacıbaşı, Alkım Karaağaç, Oya Memlük, Ceyda Sungur, and Leyla Erol for their endless companionship and motives.

Foremost, I would like to thank my beloved Gürçağ for his reliance, patience, and motivation. Finally, I would like to express my greatest gratitude to my precioues, my father Ercüment, and my sister Derya. As an immediate source of enthusiasm for struggle at all costs, my father has always given me the strength to work and be an insurgent. Lastly, Derya has a significant role in accomplishing this work by her support in all terms; therefore, I deeply owe her.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

AKM [ACC]: Atatürk Kùltür Merkezi [Atatürk Cultural Center]

AKP [JDP]: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi [Justice and Development Party]

AOÇ [AFF]: Atatürk Orman Çiftliği [Atatürk Forest Farm]

CHP [RPP]: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi [Republican People's Party]

GYF [REIF]: Gayrimenkul Yatırım Fonu [Real Estate Investment Fund]

GYO [REIP]: Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı [Real Estate Investment Partnership]

MO [CA]: Mimarlar Odası [Chamber of Architects]

PMO [CLA]: Peyzaj Mimarları Odası [Chamber of Landscape Architects]

ŞPO [CCP]: Şehir Plancıları Odası [Chamber of City Planners]

ŞPO Ankara [CCP Ankara]: Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi [Chamber of City Planners Branch of Ankara]

TKGM [GDLRC]: Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü [General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre]

TMMOB [UCTEA]: Türk Mühendis Mimarlar Odaları Birliği [Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects]

TOKİ [MHA]: Toplu Konut İdaresi [Mass Housing Administration]

TUIK [TSI]: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu [Turkish Statistical Institute]

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim of the study

For urbanists, the political understanding of urban changes and how they are embraced by urban inhabitants either being pleased or overwhelmed are critical issues to be gone through. Upon the trajectory of contemporary urban changes aimed at the survival of capital accumulation and political domination, which have been experienced in everyday life, this research is dwelled on questioning the drivers of this process and how it is socially (re)produced.

Everyday life experiences in urban space go along with the continuous apprehension of class interest and power relations. The relation of classes is critical herein to understand the motives of the political relations originated by the production of space. Because the crystallization of urban inhabitants' political attitudes is manifested through the conditions of inclusion via driving consent (either will, negotiation, or enforced to practice in urban space) and/or of exclusion via driving dissent. It is believed that political support or dissent originated through urban space experience, and it is functioning ever than before. Seeing those dynamic relations, the dominant's ever-active motives to effectuate hegemony aiming to ensure sovereignty while exploiting labour, space and time; and the challenge of the working class to abolish those, the notion of hegemony is broadly used and discussed to explain those. Herein, Those discussions have been carried out in contemporary (urban) space debates in addition to political power analyses.

Shedding light on how hegemony is produced through the production of space, this study reviews the main arguments done on the relationship of hegemony and (urban) space politics both in theoretical and empirical terms. It also examines some studies assumed as relevant to the research problem to take the arguments

forward about current urban affairs. This study does not pretend to be an empirical study, but rather, it is a conceptual study that will encourage empirical studies; it forewarns methodological problems that may be encountered in any possible empirical studies.

Embracing a Gramscian and Lefebvrian theoretical approach, this study critically discusses the spatial means of hegemonic exercises. Herein, with an analytical term, the conceptually spatial exercise of hegemony is identified as articulations of relations, processes and forms of (urban) space that drive hegemony in any means (weak or/and strength aspects). Within this scope, empirically, this study traces the contemporary period of Turkey under the rule of AKP [JDP, Justice and Development Party] in three lines: i) Knowledge-based relations and processes about space as coordinating means of dominance, ii) Subjectivity based relations and processes about space, and iii) The materialities of urban space and performances. Having those explorations, it produces a conceptual framework, as aforementioned, and accordingly puts forward hypotheses. In this context, it (re)conceptualizes the two genres of spatial exercise of hegemony: i) by means of relations and processes about space ii) by means of spatial processes and spatial forms, and exposes the conceptual ideas further.

The study does not promise an empirical study. The author of this study makes an attempt as an empirical work and hence points to methodological problems that it encountered. In this scope, this study carries out a fieldwork attempt in Ankara, putting into question how hegemony is exercised through spatial forms and processes, the second genre that is defined above. The purpose is to draw a detailed framework for Ankara's current contradictory urban geography and understand how forms and processes exercise hegemony by following conflicts. Conducting qualitative research by ethnographic ways, it surveys which circumstances spatial forms and processes are apprehended within the scope of hegemony. Indeed it seeks to figure out some debates about exercises of forms and processes, and in which the tunes of them stimulate and evoke hegemony considering conjectures of

the urban experience. Notedly, this study does not put this fieldwork centrally into thesis argument; thesis benefits from it in some points.

All in all, this study aims to enhance understanding of how hegemony is constituted through the production of space concerning Turkey's current context with a holistic approach. By the conceptual argument – spatial exercise of hegemony, it aims to have a better understanding. In this scope, it aims to explore spatial relations, forms and processes, wherein there exist tensions, and possibly manufacture of consent and force actively roll out. In addition, it aspires to interpret how they are articulated in the production of space in a way. Furthermore, it seeks to find possible sources of counter-hegemony, as those three mediums – relations, processes and forms – are considered that they have potential to lead the dissent. In doing so, it aims to enhance the debates about hegemony in the field of urbanism.

Besides aspiring to unveil struggling means which are embedded in ordinariness of urban experience, this study seeks to subvert the patterns of hegemony, which are constantly and contextually reproduced, widely and deeply infused in everyday life spatial practices. Principally this study is aimed at exploring possibilities of counter-political practices. Since the survey on hegemony portrays entrapped conditions of counter-hegemonic practices, it renders the features of hegemony that are constituted through the production of space. It is believed that discrimination of hegemonic sources, exercises, or conditions incorporates the potentials and challenges of mobilizing counter-hegemony.

In this context, this introduction chapter presents the scope of the thesis, research approach, methodology, and thesis content.

1.2 Scope of the thesis

This part displays the thesis's initial statements, framework of the research and research questions.

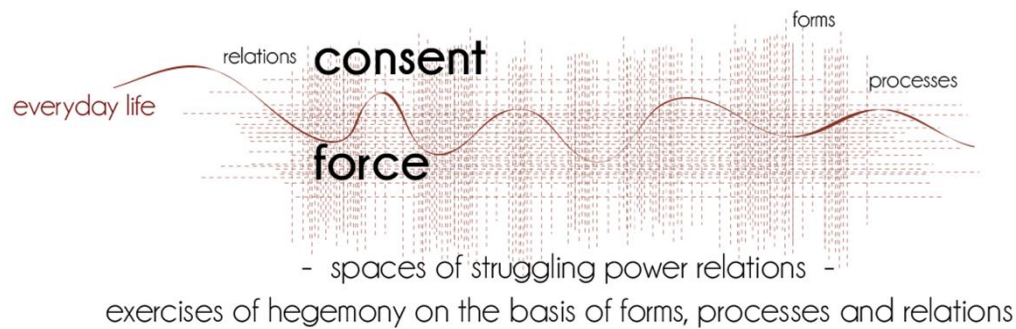


Figure 1.1. Thinking on dynamics of hegemony on the ground of spatial relations, forms and processes, as a space of struggling power relations (Author, 2018)

i) Initial statement of the thesis:

Spatial processes, relations and forms are the means of exercises of hegemony. Indeed, hegemony can not be achieved regardless of those spatial relations, processes and forms. There are multi-scalar, articulated, variegated, temporally and contextually-reproduced, conflict-ridden spatial forms, processes and relations to warrant inclusion of the working class for the exercises aimed at the survival of capital accumulation through the reproduction of urban space and for the reassertion of political power. Those are intendedly and unintendedly (re)produced through everyday life.

ii) Framework of research: Time - Space

The purpose of this part is to define the scope of the research, time and space parameters. This study explores how hegemony is exercised contemporarily in Turkey under the rule of AKP (JDP). The current conditions, elements or challenges of hegemony are put into question.

Encircling a framework of the research means outlining a conjuncture, the contextual limits of the research by space and time. The notion of “conjunctural analysis” rendered by Gramsci is common and fundamental for methodological research and conceptual understanding of construction and exercise of hegemony.

There is no granted way of hegemony, it has contradictions, and weak points and they become even more apparent when class struggles rise up. Capitalism has an extended and deepened maneuvering ground and mechanisms in the organisation of urban space. For different scales and places, it has distinctive impacts. In this sense, forms of hegemonies have continuously changed, taking divergent patterns. Because there is an essential issue to convince the masses of society to involve or engage in dominant orders. When formulated hegemony gets into trouble, loses power, or weakens, it should be renewed and reproduced by new means. However, it is not much structural as it is put forth. It is temporally and spatially reproduced. Therefore, the essence of hegemony is flux. Taking the dynamic nature of hegemony into the account, this study investigates a definite period of time, for which there is a kind of repertoire composed of forms, relations and processes. It focuses on the contemporary period of Turkey under the rule of AKP.

The reason why we examine the 2000s of Turkey, therefore the explorations of the AKP era which rule this period, can be simply drawn with that fact the relations and processes of capital accumulation regime and the resultant urban change and changing conditions of everyday experiences. Since it has become more dependent and provoking the (re)production of the built environment. What drives this process is to overcome the crises of capital accumulation, which is related and implicit in the production of space and in each crisis there occurs new and more spatial configurations. In this context, differentiated spatio-temporal configurations come to the forefront. It is evident that in the 2000s of Turkey, the capital accumulation regime is excessively dependent on the switches to the secondary circuits to overcome the crises that result in an excessive change of built environment and, respectively, change of spatial practices. Besides, the state has undergone a transformation. Hereby, all those have naturally changed the scope of hegemony. As it is all, hegemony is a temporal and spatial phenomenon and fluxing in nature within the scope of the conflicting power interests. The specificity of examining this period roots from thought exploring a differentiated moment of capital accumulation, for the Turkey case. In this line, the purpose is to inquire

about the historically hegemonic issues. Because, evidently, this period refers to a specific moment of the historical relations of capital accumulation, through which the flow of capital is excessively substantiated through the reproduction of the built environment compared to the previous era.

Notably, the AKP era can not be embraced as an isolated political period, regardless of the historical context of capitalism that led it to work. Since then the 1980s, therein the neoliberalism has blown up, which came along with the privatizations of public services, deindustrialization, liquidation of state-factories, globalization, reconfiguration of industrial production establishments causing negative environmental impacts from developed geographies to underdeveloped geographies, beginning of the increase of real estate and accordingly the construction sector's role taking actions all entail the change in the production of urban space and relations of capital accumulation. Therefore, the research period, namely defined by the AKP era, is approached with its context-making features, the changing dynamics in capital accumulations and the forms of reproduction of spaces, geographies since all those underlying issues make this period specific.

This part furtherly expresses why this study makes explorations with reference to the AKP era. The very first reason for examining the AKP era, the period which we experience currently through, as we tackle to understand deeply what is concurrent with seeking to find out possibilities of abolishing the dominance over the public interests and to struggle for emancipatory practices within which inherently positing class interests. The concern is understanding the current conjuncturality, the ruling of power relations, power conflicts and relations of dominance and subordination about the spatial organization. Indeed, the endeavour of this study is to analyze current as it has a potential of degrading the epistemological terrain upon which conceptualization is set forth. Besides, each political authority seeks to roll out several issues to settle its dominance through exercising hegemony; therefore, an examination of a definite political period is a meaningful way of drawing a framework. In this sense, the AKP era is defined as a research context. However, this study does not straightforwardly analyze the AKP era, it has not

such a contention, and it is quite a broader issue. For that, more comprehensive studies will be carried out. Nevertheless, this study only illustrates how spatial forms, relations and processes are associated through and benefits from them for its conceptual thought. The second reason for examining the period of AKP settles on an assumption, alleging that historically the formations of relations of capital have explicitly changed in this period. The AKP era has significantly differentiated from the previous periods.

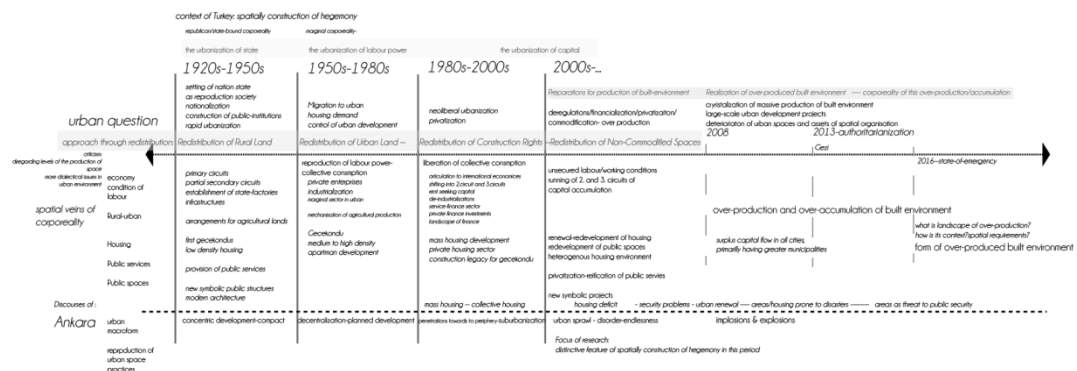


Figure 1.2. Changing forms of the main repertoire of hegemony with refer to the historical context of Turkey (Author, 2017)

Figure 1.2 is a draft diagram that delimits the study while trying to understand the historical characteristics of the exercise of hegemony in Turkey, main spatial elements, urban questions, and a historical approach for hegemony which is identified through redistribution of land (rights). Thereafter, this study questions the other articulations of the process in the history. Needless to say, there are some variances, renewals in the formation of (spatial) hegemony. Throughout this work, our objective and challenge are to identify them and temporalities. We have to remark that hegemony, pointedly spatial exercise of hegemony, is revived with significant issues. It is assumed that changes of spatial exercise of hegemony figure both in a longer periodical time and a comparatively short period. For instance, building a factory is an example of the extended period spatial element. It is an influential matter of fact from the early republican to the 1980s, but for now, it has

no similar weight, to manufacture hegemony in society. Besides, there are spatial configurations that are not studied or uncovered. This study defines its scope of exploration by the contemporary period of Turkey, the AKP era overall. Reproduction of urban space is the core of the production of power relations in order to survive capital accumulation and ensure the continuation of political power. In this sense, the reproduction of power and space is critical for each ruling political authority. According to that in order to change a life, it is required to (re)produce the space (Lefebvre, 1991), the dominants aim to control over the spatial practice by inclusive and exclusive means to settle their sovereignty. As much-more is evident today, capitalism, within the changing circumstances, only bears itself and survives via settling in space and producing space (Lefebvre, 1991). For that purpose, dominants pursue several mechanisms for which it is aimed to make working-class subordinate or involve in. With this approach, the AKP era employs variegated tools to exercise hegemony and create its own particular path. Then, herein the question is, for the AKP context, what kind of mechanisms are appealed in time by forming hegemony.

This study carries our two levels of empirical exploration. But, the major one is the empirical level (i). This study also extends its scope of exploration by having a survey in Ankara in 2019, empirical level (ii). The empirical level (i), it is re-problematizing how hegemony is exercised through the production of space, by seeing the contradictory power relations and questions complex relations of domination and subordination. Considering the changing dynamics of the production of space, this study problematizes hegemony in contemporary period of Turkey. The survey is conducted challenging overall spatial conflicts that emerged currently, in the period of that AKP, the 2000s-2020.

Majorly this study tackles the current urban problem, excessive forms and amount of reproduction of the built environment, and in this context, the changing dynamics for domination and subordination that are increasingly contradictory. It concerns that the materialities and temporalities get into more complex relations throughout this process. Herewith, it questions how class interests and dominant

interests are being apprehended within these circumstances and how we can understand those. The problem of the study, with the main contours, can be presented as follows:

i) The endless growing motive of capital accumulation, which is executed by means of (re)production of the built environment, entails constantly the reproducing spatial exercise of hegemony to succeed the survival of accumulation and dominance via i.e. spatial fixity, and to involve urban inhabitants into dominant orders. Hence it seeks to ensure the continuum the system through varied articulations in space and society. Capitalism and the ruling power have various means and scales of temporalities and materialities settled in different (urban) contexts. The focus of the research is exploring by which means of spatial relations, forms and processes hegemony exercise in Turkey.

ii) Unfolding that construction of hegemony within the escalated urban contradictions is not limited to the manifested debates which undertake hegemony with discourse-based, changing legal rules, symbolic influences of representational analysis and actor-oriented power relations. Those are issues intendedly produced and employed by the dominants, but it is somewhat more. This study also points out the impacts of unintendedly produced issues in the exercises of hegemony. It extends its scope of interests in this manner by making alliances of the two, complex, temporally, and spatially reproduced articulations of intended and unintended issues.

iii) The purpose of this research is to abolish a dichotomous separation of social and spatial issues within the context of the hegemony debate and draw out a dialectical schema for the two. The problematic is critique of the approaches which analyze hegemony regardless of space.

iv) The experience of space is alive with diverse temporal and spatial trajectories; therefore, different ranges and scales are put into question. They are analyzed to explore common hegemonic properties concerning spatial forms, relations and processes for a defined time.

v) This work remarks on the relationship between perception and the exercise of hegemony. It specifically points out the materiality politics as it is concerned that spatial forms are commonly unquestionable given or product-outcome, but the spatial forms and processes are quiet contradictory for currently. In this sense, this work concerning the crucial role of spatial forms and embracing those into its framework, has a critique for studies which underestimate these or approach something sole entity.

iii) Research questions for the two ways of surveys

Main questions are as follows: How does hegemony exercise through the (re)production of urban space? How are political alliances of social classes formed through the production of urban space, by means of which spatial forms, processes and relations? What are the main relations, processes, and forms that urge subordination of classes or masses and exercise alliances of classes upon capitalists and state interests, power bloc? Following those, it draws out those questions for empirical level (i) and (ii).

Table1.1. Summary of the exploratory research framework

Research questions:	Scope of research:	Research methodology and data productions
Empirical level 1:	AKP era in Turkey	Qualitative research
How is the spatial exercise of hegemony manifested for the AKP era for Turkey's contemporary period? By which means (of processes, relations, and forms)?		Documentary research
What is the extent and circumstance of hegemonic relations, processes and forms?		By multiple ways of critical review, discourse and

How can those spatial processes, relations and forms be understood and investigated for urban studies, and by which ways, methodological approaches?

content analysis

Empirical level 2:

How do spatial forms and processes exercise hegemony?

Ankara in 2019

Qualitative analysis

Everyday ethnography associated with political and visual ethnography

Following conflict and extended-case method

In sum, this study traces an exploratory way of research. The exploration and research framework is drawn as above; after doing two main courses of the survey, this study puts forward its theses. Besides, while doing exploration, it portrays possible research issues, hypotheses.

Exploratory research composes those as follows: making qualitative critical documentary analysis which is aimed at acquiring several means of the exercise of hegemony through urban space for the contemporary period of Turkey, the era of AKP, criticizing all research issues about the research phenomenon, doing a field survey (in Ankara, 2019) on the questions of how and which forms and processes exercise hegemony. This study awakens some new issues during exploration and examination of findings, and obtains several feedback and critiques from the examination committee. All in all, this study brings forth some worthy arguments, possible hypotheses and conceptualizations, and a research approach idea.

At the empirical level (2), this study seeks to understand the perceptual aspects of the spatial exercise of hegemony, with a survey attempt held in Ankara in 2019.

This study which focuses on spatial forms and processes has an ethnographic survey by making co-joint journeys with working class people from their workplaces to housing environments. The analysis of this survey in brief is formulated as a postscript (Appendix A). Reiterating that, this empirical (2) survey attempt is not centrally discussed in this study.

Indeed, drawing out a conceptual research approach has been originated and developed upon those theoretical and methodological debates and challenges and critical issues observed through the period of fieldwork and its analysis. By methodologically, putting forward possible hypotheses on the research problem and the research framework approach is acquired by rolling back strategy throughout exploratory research.

Forms, relations, and processes that are evidently and ordinarily apprehended through everyday life impact the origin of common thoughts about power relations, which are assumed to be related to the exercise of hegemony. This is a survey aiming to deepen an understanding of spatial exercises of hegemony. In this scope, it does exploratory research. It seeks to dispose of a conceptual framework based on relations, processes and forms, thereby having an expressive approach for the spatial exercises of hegemony. The objective is to put forward possible research topics and conceptualizations around the conceptual framework of the spatial exercise of hegemony through forms, relations, and processes.

1.3 Research approach and methodology

This part unveils the research approach of the dissertation and the methodology of the research. In this scope, it also expresses qualitative data production ways to portray how it examines empirical issues in relation to the research question.

Research Approach

Science is just a matter of complete discovery of how the law of value, the relationship among people rather than a relationship just among things, operates

(Marx, 1941; cited in Ollman, 1971). In this sense, our study investigates the relationships between people and things and processes. It examines the relationships of working-class people, dominants, changing built environment and processes of power relations concerning the current urban space and everyday life, whereby these relations hypothetically incorporate the exercise of hegemony. The study observes and explores spatial relations, forms, and processes that impact class interest apprehension. In other words, it seeks to reveal the condition of consent-dissent through spatial relations, forms, and processes. The research question dwells on discovering how the political support of urban inhabitants is traced through spatial relations, forms and processes; in fact, how the working class embraces dominant interests and involves themselves, albeit they are contrary to its own benefits.

Saying that “urbanization processes produce a wide range of socio-spatial conditions across the world that require contextually specific analysis and theorization”, Brenner and Schmid urge finding out thriving “contents, conditions of emergence or developmental pathways” (2013: 21). Capital accumulation through (re)production of the urban built environment has increased, which causes new complex relations, forms, and localities. This work intends to explore the current material veins of hegemony and to enhance urban studies in this context.

Hegemony exercised by spatial relations, forms, and processes, which incorporates spatial organizations and articulations with people, is a matter of dialectics. At first, this is because dialectic is a way of conceiving things, for Marx, as highlighted in Ollman (1971: 101). Beyond that, dialectics is a method of working on questions focusing on both relationships between different entities and relations of anything’s past, present, and future. Having this approach, hegemony is a notion involving those forms of relationships and temporalities with spatial aspects, as well.

Further, hegemony exercised by spatial forms, relations, and processes as grounded on Lefebvrian and Gramscian approach is regarded with dialectical materialism in its theoretical circumstances. Dialectical materialism reviews relationships and

implicates them in an entire process (Lefebvre, 2018 [1940, 1962]: 58). All struggles in history and concordantly acquired power take place in space. Lefebvre (1991) denotes that space is not something as a locus where all facilities are materialized; it is socially produced. Thus space can be counted as either “exploitative or utopian” (Shields, 1999:150) in two specific conditions, by social relations assembled within a “primacy of the ‘real’ over the imaginary”. What is being realized is the outcome of dialectical relations that operate in space. Dialectic has been run in time, embodying all historical contradictions of space. Lefebvre (1991) develops the dialectical materialism through the trinity of social space, within the scope of the theory of the production of space. On this base, his schema is re-spatializing the dialectic through the triads of production of space - spatial practice, representation of space and spaces of representation-, redrawing a threefold spatial dialectic. Among the three, all constituents have relationships with the others. In each place or moment, these relationships take various forms such as veiled and explicit in practice, historical, strengthening or contradicting each other (Shields, 1999:146-161). Hegemony, which is exercised by spatial forms and processes, rooted from spatial practice dimension, is dialectically interwoven with other aspects of the production of space, therein exists spatial processes and relations about space.

“A way of seeing is also a way of not seeing” (Burke, 1935, 70; cited in Walcott, 2008). Dialectical nature exists in any action of life. Further, dialectical perspective for thinking practice involves a flow of ideas and detaining ideas, says Benjamin. Additionally, his works on “dialectics of seeing” are pivotal for orienting social movements through convincing visual strategies, which we are also interested in. Benjamin notices social contradictions that have gained fixed meanings within everyday life temporality and develops his idea by elaborating found and assembled images to reveal coagulating social contradictions in this temporality. For him, dialectical images crystallize once the contradiction level reaches a peak point in daily social relations. It is a venue where the tension is at its highest point between dialectical opponents (Thompson, 2013). In everyday life, active

encountering in urban space is alive with various contradictions by processes and materialities. The major question of this work is how are those dialectical relations involved in political power relations within the circumstances of hegemony.

Dialectical image is the composition of two moments, which are different yet by the time related; one is indirect and analytical, and the other is direct and revealing (Buck-Morss, 1992). As related to our debate on twofold relations of coercion and consent, embraced in spatially construction of hegemony, Crapanzano, for dialectical relations, alleges the concept of “irreality of the imaginary”, by which he underlines the point of “dialectical tension with the “real of reality” (2004: 15; cited in Pink, 2008: 182). This way of tension wise dialectical relations is critical for assessing spatial practices to comment for exercise of hegemony. Several factors and interdependencies stimulate both materialization and socially embodiment of capital accumulation through built environment production by (in)directly in multiple levels of power relations; hegemony dwells through the dialectical (dis)articulations of those.

“It is essential, therefore, that twenty-first-century debates on urban questions reflexively embrace the need for conceptual abstractions related to the changing form and geography of urbanization processes.” (Brenner and Schmid, 2013: 19). In this manner, this research’s central motivation is to posit the hegemonic phenomenon in question and conceptually develop it.

The realization of the capitalist system is, assumed as, significantly reproduced through reproduction of space, for which masses of society are aimed to be involved in through. And for that purpose, there are several (dis)continuous differentiated efforts to make the working class to embrace dominant interests, which is the process of hegemony. This is an intended aspect of hegemony, which is defined by the term construction. Going one step further, this study offers a conceptualization of the spatial exercise of hegemony. Spatial exercise of hegemony is a new concept that is produced by (spatial) forms, relations and processes. Because hegemony is a concept formed through dialectical relations,

and it is a condensation of the intended and unintended aspect of spatial relations. The commonly used phrase construction refers to the intended aspects of relationships that are imposed or ruled by the dominant classes. However, hegemony is composed of dialectical relations. This study's purpose is to lighten the unseen aspects or relationship for this current political problem of the working class. As a result, the concept of spatial exercise of hegemony intends to draw a convenient frame to enable to express hegemonic relations for which spatial relations, forms and processes are inherent and to comprehend current urban questions.

This study has a critical perspective. It is the essence of hegemony studies. Since this is a survey on how political support is derived through spatial things, relations and processes in the built environment, critical realism, being inclusive of dialectical materialism, provides a viable perspective. Necessarily this study is critical. Indeed, it can not be argued without critical perspective while examining how relations of domination and subordination are formed up, how power relations are reproduced. Therefore, the hegemony exercised by spatial forms, processes and relations is itself a matter of critical thinking. What is promised or outcome by a built environment setting, triggered “wants, desires and needs” in the capitalist system (Harvey, 2015) or a feeling of being constrained, is not pure itself and the questions in this range embodied are matters of critical inquiry.

Research Methodology

How to observe the spatial exercise of hegemony is a troublesome issue at all. Because there are several interlinked issues produced by means of relations, forms and processes, penetrate understanding of (urban) space and power relations. At this point, the first thing to be underlined is that understanding the politics of space is merely a subjective phenomenon, grounded upon different spheres of apprehensions. For instance, “..a peasant does not see “his” landscape in the same way as a city-dweller enjoying a walk there” (Schmid, 2008: 37). Therefore it requires a qualitative way of research. Second, the exercises of hegemony

stimulated by spatial relations, forms and processes have a dynamic and temporally-changing nature. Therefore, considering these two aspects of the notion, it is almost unfeasible to measure it with some defined parameters. Nonetheless, and indeed, this part attempts to find a fundamental way of observation.

This study is a pursuit of how political support or force is traced through spatial forms, relations and processes. By qualitative research ways, this study critically overviews the relevant empirical findings that have been commonly featured for the AKP era in Turkey.

Exploratory research for spatial exercises of hegemony

This study is exploratory research rather than a testing-out or problem-solving research. Employing exploratory research, we tackle how hegemony is being exercised in/through urban space. There are empirical and contextual forces/drivers that lead us to examine this question in depth. Also, embracing a co-operated approach via Lefebvrian - Gramscian theoretical framework, it is aimed to extend the conceptual, analytical and methodological frontiers of the research issue by putting forward a possible conceptual framework for urban studies. In doing so, it is reckoned that this study will be helpful for further research on this topic.

Methodological design rolled out by two ways of research: Documentary research and Ethnographic fieldwork attempt

Practically, this study carries our two-scaled and twofold qualitative research. These are as follows: i) Documentary research with general terms and ii) Ethnographic fieldwork attempt, for Ankara, a specific focus of the survey.

This first track can be identified as a portrayal of knowledge-based issues, which will possibly impact on the exercise of hegemony. This qualitative method of documentary research takes place in the fourth chapter of the thesis. Qualitatively, documentary research is carried out to expose the -possible- associations of the studies about hegemony and space organization, to display the conflicting urban issues and arguments that are assumed to be related to the scope of the spatial

exercise of hegemony. It employs discourse analysis and context analysis. Documentary research by multiple ways of critical review discourse and content analysis depending on press statements, reports, articles, media sources, an archive of Chamber of City Planners (CCP), and vice versa.

Focussing on the contemporary period of Turkey by AKP era, the objective is to expand the conceptualizations concerning the research question, criticize the empirical issues with a diverse means, draw a comprehensive framework to approach and review urban affairs in Turkey. In this sense, documentary research enables to introduce the context of the political economy of space and how political support is driven in through them with means, and circumstances. As a result, it allows assembling theoretical arguments using those judgments and critical assessments.

The second track is an ethnographic survey. For the empirical level (ii), this study employs a phenomenological approach, embracing everyday ethnography based on a visual and political ethnographic research method. By following the urban space conflicts-contradictions, it draws a field research route to investigate individuals' perceptions of the urban environment and different aspects of meaning and reflections. Following conflicts can be a fundamental way because conflicts are the spaces where class interests are confronted. It seeks to understand how they are interlinked or commonly sensed. As a research way, everyday mobility among the workplace and housing environment is specified to settle down qualitative research as fieldwork because it is a means of everyday life rhythms for workers by which political attitudes are configured.

This survey conducts semi-restructured and multi-sited fieldwork regarding a wide range of conflicting issues about urban space perception. Consequently, it aims to find and figure out meaningful themes, which are -by some means- exposed as factors of spatial exercise of hegemony. Embracing a dialectical materialist research approach, it goes through qualitative research. Because it is definite that the investigation of hegemony is only examined by qualitative research, the

formation of political support by space experience is merely a qualitative issue. In addition to documentary research done for conflictual spatial changes in Ankara, ethnographic research is configured for everyday life, spotlighting everyday rhythm in the workplace and housing environment. On that, ethnographic research ways specified as visual and political ethnography, everyday ethnography are found out appropriate ways to observe the spatial exercise of hegemony. The fieldwork is conducted with an extended case method supposing that common properties of multiple exercises can discover hegemony without focussing a point of conflict. However, it has some critiques and limitations. Therefore it is not centrally put in this thesis. It can be described as an attempt. Methodological design is procured by evaluation of phenomenology and ethnography. The below part briefly renders why phenomenology and ethnography are applicable to develop research.

The second genre of spatial exercise of hegemony, which is defined as hegemony formed up by spatial form(s) and process(es), is a perceptual matter (which is inherently related to lived experiences and knowledge based issues). Phenomenological questioning enables understanding of how people perceive the built environment and how they challenge or get involved, embedded with the origins of power relations. These are relations, in survey specific, reproduced by materials, visuals. Seeking to apprehend relationships in between material reality and individual reality, visual ethnography is embraced since it enables us to incorporate sense-making judgments on ordinary senses caused by urban spatial formations. Furthermore, following the power conflicts of reproduction of urban space, fieldwork is carried out for multi-sites to figure out different aspects of hegemony exercised by spatial forms and processes. Doing so aims to have a coherent, comprehensive and inclusive analysis in virtue of defining patterns as if they exist.

Phenomenological approaches have great applicability for those inquiries that spring out invisible and deep issues (Lester, 1999). This potential is fundamentally critical for hegemony studies. Because the expression of what is hegemonic for

people is not merely to picture and is not always in overt forms, it is often in reverse. It needs to be inquired. Qualitative analysis of urban affairs is essential. In this regard, we find an integrated form of everyday, political and visual ethnography to produce knowledge production techniques. In doing so, it analyzes how people ascribe meanings to urban settings (materialities and temporalities) and relevantly involved in one side of power relations. Visual and political ethnography, in this sense, provides an interpretive, inductive qualitative research for discovering people's attitudes. This study surveys both the phenomena of hegemony exercised by spatial forms and processes, i.e. the sources and means of it, political attitudes or responses (either obedience, persuasion, consented or oppressed and reacted) developed towards. For that reason, as a qualitative research approach, phenomenology is used to identify people's rhetorical sensitivities and reactions to those issues about hegemony. Referring to Lefebvre, Schmid denotes that “..social space appears in the dimension of spatial practice as an interlinking chain or network of activities or interactions which on their part rest upon a determinate material basis (morphology, built environment)” (2008: 36). Perceived space is a phenomenological aspect of spatial practice. Herewith, we, more specifically, are inquiring about perceived space dealing with spatial practices in everyday life. Spatial practice, particularly embodying every daily life issue depending on materialities, provides a significant ground for us to analyze how people develop political positions (either manufacturing consent or force) in encountering moments in urban space.

This part onward comprises ethnographic research, its scope of use and utilization aspects in urban studies. By doing so, we consider it appropriate because it offers meaningful points for designing our research thus enabling us to find some basic answers to our questions.

The question is: How do we observe the factors defined above in the acclaimed trinity of hegemony exercised by spatial forms and processes, which are structures, articulations and temporalities in built environment production that have impacts on the perception of space and construction of hegemony and force? For that, it is

believed that ethnography, in particular, visual and political ethnography under everyday ethnography, is a useful course of research to get responses in the end.

Saying that “Let us go, then! Off to see open spaces, Where we may seek what is ours, distant, remote though it be!” Hölderlin (cited in Lefebvre, (2014[1991]: 1) reveals how extensive the perception of space is. There are many fragmented forms of urban space, implying hegemony with some sorts of perception. Perception is what is being seen and how it is being seen. Therefore, as an approach dealing with people's behaviour developed through perceptions, ethnography is fundamental to apply for our study aiming at understanding the perception of the built environment. “The ethnography is a way of seeing” (Walcott, 2008) and here the purpose is observation of human behaviour. Further, ethnography is applicable only if there is a human social, as well as political, behaviour. In common, ethnography aims “to describe what people in some particular place or status ordinarily do, and the meanings they ascribe to the doing under ordinary or particular circumstances”(2008: 69). In other words, ethnography makes research able to understand condensation of macro and micro levels of thought and experiences of people through everyday life. Everyday life can not be apprehended by a single and simple way of understanding; it renders broadened forms of meaning driven through “aesthetic, intellectual, physical, social, political, economic and experiential” factors (Crawford, 2008: 6). Exploring everyday life conveys several complicated or overlapping interpretations acquired through ordinary everyday experiences. Politics of space is entrenched in everyday life's ordinary practices, and having an ethnographic research method is fundamental to delve into those.

1.4 Content of the thesis

The thesis encapsulates theoretical and empirical arguments on the spatial exercise of hegemony. On that, the structure of the thesis is settled as follows.

Outlining the thesis, this first chapter, as an introductory, draws significant lines of the research problem. Furthermore, this chapter also displays the scope of research and expresses the research approach significant lines of the methodological design.

The second chapter clarifies the central motivations to why we carry out a study on the relationship between hegemony and urban space. It also briefly present Turkey's current and recent context, which leads us to think about the spatial exercise of hegemony. Besides, it expresses the methodological challenges of surveying this topic. This chapter expresses upon what kind of insufficiencies this study troubles to find a convenient way of research.

The third chapter assesses the theoretical arguments on the bases of power relations, which mainly investigate the concept of hegemony and (urban) space. It reviews main approaches about hegemony beginning from Gramsci's thought, then continues with the socio-semiotic approach of hegemony majorly probed by Gottidiener. This is followed by Neo-Gramscian approaches. It also composes debates about capital accumulation regimes through the production of (urban) space in relation to the constitution of hegemony argued by Harvey. Lastly, it scrutinizes hegemony in Lefebvrian's thought thereby we agree upon the Gramscian-Lefebvrian approach, that Kipfer brings those together and advances the relationship of space and hegemony. At all, this work goes through the spatiality of hegemony, which is the essence of the question. Upon a Gramscian – Lefebvrian theoretical approach, it is agreed that hegemony dwells through the production of space. Within the scope of the production of space triad, relations, processes and forms of (urban) space are conceptually examined and referred to with spatial exercise of hegemony. Besides, it is questioned which mechanisms people comprehend and produce political support or drive dissent in respect. Aligned with the formation of hegemony, (urban) forms and processes are specifically focussed and denoted to be analyzed in depth.

The fourth chapter traces empirical evidence and analyzes the studies carried out in Turkey on relationships of space and hegemony. Besides, it critically elaborates the

spatial issues, formations and contestations associated with the construction of hegemony in three integrated parts. The first part is founded on knowledge-based issues, discursive exercises, state-led organizations. They are as follows: legislative powers, authorizations about urban space, actor and agent-based relations, financialization of urban space and organization of credit and debt mechanisms, institutional (re)arrangements regarding space organizations, exercises of design professionals for ruling urban space, juridical conflicts about space, and media exercises about space. The second part is settled on living realities, and symbolic entities consist of relations about space which penetrates apprehending powers of space through possessed political identities, understanding of space along with the religious beliefs, senses of space through the gendered relations, conditions of working and survival by (urban) space, state of indebtedness and ownership, orders around insecurity and impacts of surveillance and comprehension of space by memorial reflections. The third group track sets up based on figures of spatial practices in everyday life goes around the forms and processes of (urban) space and explores the way how they constitute spatial hegemony through spatial forms and processes of public spaces encapsulating reproduction of public spaces, reproduction of parks and playscapes, mediascapes; spatial forms and processes of housing environment by means of new development for housing (housing complexes) via adjusting common spaces and public lands, redevelopment of housing fabric, rehabilitation and revitalization and renewal of housing environment, and annihilation of spaces of housing environment; spatial forms and processes of working places and public services through the organization of public workplaces and services via reorganizations in institutional buildings, changes in networks/organization of infrastructure.

The fifth chapter presents a conceptual research approach depending on the empirical analyses done in two scales. It first unveils the conceptual approach of this study by spatial exercise of hegemony, and it demonstrates the two genres of it. This chapter makes a conceptual and methodological overview and raises questions and possible research issues related to it.

The sixth chapter concludes the research underlying the remarks, limitations of the study, and figures some arrays for further research.

In the appendix of the dissertation, there is a postscript that presents major points of the fieldwork attempt and expresses how fieldwork is conducted. An ethnographic fieldwork is applied aspiring to deepen the properties of the second track of the analysis, aimed at understanding the spatial exercise of hegemony that is stimulated by forms and processes. More specifically, it questions which forms and processes that take place in Ankara's current urban geography under the AKP period are hegemonic in sense, and how they are observable. The fieldwork is carried out throughout having co-joint journeys with people of the worker class between their workplace and housing environment, a rhythm of the everyday practice. Along the survey, the purpose is to question which characteristics of spatial forms and processes of urban space are means of hegemony. Fieldwork attempt involves experiencing their rhythm together, discussing about the urban environment, seeking their apprehend their perceptual and sensational attitudes. On that, deducing from their approaches, imaginations and expositions, narrations we try to comprehend the means of spatial hegemony via spotlighting how their political thoughts are produced in relation to their everyday urban environment. Nevertheless, this fieldwork is left as an attempt due to its limitations; therefore, it is placed in the appendix of the dissertation. It is not centrally argued in this study; however, it has a very positive attribute to develop this work, albeit all weak aspects. Even so, in some points of the study, it is used as a source of illustrations and it enables offering possible hypotheses that are awakened through this fieldwork experience.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Why is this study dwelled on exploring the exercise of hegemony via (urban) space? This part expresses the motivation and challenges of the study in three topics as follows: The exercise of hegemony in the production of space, the contextual forces to investigate hegemony in-depth and the methodological challenge for urban studies.

2.1 The exercise of hegemony in the production of space

“What if all the matters are not hegemonic?” Lesli and Wayne ask (cited in Merrifield, 2013). They aspire to open up a debate in Marxism based on unseen perspectives for struggle, emphasizing a necessity for different imaginations towards finding a way and theorizing a ground for emancipatory practices, counter-hegemony. It is believed that identifying the rest, the problematic sphere by exploring the extent of domination, for urban studies comes first to address or figure out emancipatory practices. On that, we ask what if hegemony is exercised far more extensively beyond our knowledge, and question the possible sources that stimulate this process.

Castells (1978: 60) says that “..hegemony must necessarily depend on a transformation of mass consciousness”, and in this sense, it is admitted that construction of hegemony usually traces various new ways, managing various means of everyday life. Our study intends to identify articulations of current spatialities and temporalities stimulating subaltern to consent, inclusion to the dominant order.

Notably, it is important to notice those articulations because they also have an origin for dissent. This study roots from an endeavor to expand all too common forms of counter-hegemony and push its limits. Research challenges varied and extended forms of hegemony constituted through the production of space. This is simply because permanent involvement in insurgent practices leads the author to think about the constitution of (counter) hegemony and challenging expansive forms of hegemonic exercises.

Nonetheless, to be more precise, this research questions how spatiality and temporality of urban change are inscribed as common sense. So, configurations of urban space trigger and figure the exercise of hegemony. Hence, the thesis reclaim on the spatial exercise of hegemony dwelled upon the Lefebvrian and Gramscian approach aims to deepen understanding for hegemony. In this regard, this study is grounded upon the political economy of space, the politics of (urban) design of space, the experience of urban space, political practices of space and perception of space.

In this part, we present the main motivations to research exercises of hegemony through spatial organizations, which spotlights why this dissertation dwells on this argument. Hence it paves the way for research before examining theoretical approaches. It explores a pathway of investigation towards the conceptualization of spatial exercise of hegemony. First, we introduce the research question's roots and then identify how we try to investigate the phenomena and develop the debate.

In conceptual terms, the motivations to carry out this research come from the discussions are as follows: i) Significance of spatiality of hegemony and counter-hegemony, ii) Spatial legitimization and limitedness of the studies that are noticing materiality of hegemony, iii) Instability of hegemony: temporally-changing nature of hegemony, and iv) The contestation among hegemony and force in spatial terms.

Significance of spatiality for hegemony and counter-hegemony

Whither hegemony? Our thoughts on the spatial exercise of hegemony originate from the criticism that hegemony is considered a kind of key notion that supposedly opens all doors, likewise an interpretive keyword used in various political analyses nowadays. Giving credit to hegemony where its due scope, shows that the concept of hegemony has been commonly used for various political topics, especially for urban affairs. We argue the ways, patterns, what and how hegemony follows through in urban space, and its significance for urban studies.

In principle, to remark that there is a dialectics of spatiality of hegemony which composes hegemony constructed by using spatial forms, relations, and processes and hegemony constituted through spatial forms, relations, and processes. With the spatiality of hegemony, it is meant by the involvement of classes in dominant orders regarding spatial relations, processes and forms in broad terms, in ways of unintentionally and intentionally. For the hegemony constituted through spatial forms, it is acclaimed that there is a drive of consent by relation with the spatial forms; herein, the difference is that there is an intentional spatial intervention to drive society's political support. On that, intentionally and unintentionally, political aspects of (urban) spatial organization collide and intertwine.

It seems that “..there is nothing to be done, nothing to be thought, because everything is “blocked,” because “capitalism” rules and co-opts everything, because the “mode of production” exists as system and totality” (Lefebvre, 2014 [1991]:4). However, class struggle has the power to abolish the system. On that, counteractions make people - societies emancipatory. It is thought that taking sides by rejecting or accepting capitalist mode of production in terms of demanding “all or nothing.” (2014 [1991]:4) lays on the spheres of hegemony. To frame the issue with our field of interest, we ask, herein, how survival of capitalism operates and it is (re)produced through (space). What is the scope of the capitalist mode of production of space? It is far-extended in practices and spaces of everyday life. Then, we tackle how common sense is roll out, aiming to reproduce the capitalist

mode of production. To make this problem more interpretive, we argue spatial exercise of hegemony, aspiring to reveal the means of hegemony related to space.

To reiterate, the spatiality of hegemony always presents in different forms along with history. Hegemony implying social and class control is not dispensable with space. Domination, by spatial control, has been embedded in space and spatial relations. Thus, dominance, beyond any argument, is always a matter of power relations throughout history. Space is the fundamental vein of all sorts of power realizations (Foucault, 1984, 252). It is one of the prominent veins of political power and the reproduction of power. For example, as widely known processes of constructing massive monuments and forms of artefacts, big-scaled architectural products, processes of pulling over the settlements in warfare and settling new communities and so far are very usual. Those actions applied at any time have spatial control over society and thereby reproduce political power. However, there has not been any moment, ever exceeding its limits and diversified into many forms, associatively ensuing a great problem. Dominance or subordinate has never been the subject of urban space at this scale extensively. Over-accumulation on the ground of capital accumulation through built environment (re)production has dramatically expanded within the measure of spatial fixity; for that purpose, society is getting more imposed and transformed by this (re)production force. Reminding how everyday life practices are embodied in this spatial organization, this basic inquiry brings forth how to understand hegemonic issues.

Within the context of space politics, the spatiality of hegemony manifests with reference to (re)production of relations of sovereignty and subordination.

Moreover, by reviewing the studies that have relations with the construction of hegemony or meaningful connections without a precise conceptualization by hegemony, it is found that spatial forms, relations and processes are not detailed and argued in specific. Seemingly, hegemony is, as a rule, discussed based on some discourses of (media, education, religion, legal regulations and vice versa) and relations of political actors; these apply and are expository, yet only to a limited

sphere. In the following, the fourth chapter widely elaborates those urban studies held in Turkey. In this study, those are all accounted as spatial relations and processes constructing hegemony. What is done is dismantling and assembling the parts or aspects of hegemonic exercises to figure out the whole picture. Underlining that there is no far-reaching, interpretive and inclusive study revealing how hegemony is realized through space, and what kind of spatial or architectural artefacts, forms, relationships, and processes are involved in this phenomenon. For that reason, here we stress the spatiality of hegemony, which stands seemingly in a weak aspect of consideration, yet it is more decisive at the moment. Thus, a perspective upon hegemony highlighting spatial relations makes the study distinctive.

Putting spatial exercise of hegemony into a debate

Almost all debates on hegemony put through up to the present have overlooked and under-examined the constitution of hegemony exercised explicitly by means of forms and processes. Upon that, the spatiality of hegemony is questioned. Indeed, it explores how hegemony is spatially constituted, highlighting spatial relations, processes and forms. Under this, while reviewing current urban contradictions and dynamics of urban change, this study recognizes that spatial forms, relations and processes about the production of space have a significant role in the constitution of political thought. Over and above, dialectical relationships of spatial forms and processes with people inlining (re)production of power relations have gone through recently. Emphasizing that relationship, hegemony urged by spatial forms and processes is seemingly forefronted. Inclusion of the society in line with the dominant orders unfolds through the formation of political understanding of urban space. More specifically, this study questions how political attitudes are traced through forms and processes during everyday experience. This work which encapsulates conceptual and analytical arguments about the constitution of domination and subordination, will possibly and consequently make the arguments on hegemony in depth.

Considering the current dynamic spatial changes, this work aims to put forward the subjects of hegemony and force, precisely, to portray to what circumstances perceived spatial forms and processes impact the constitution of hegemony with which entanglements antagonism, conflictual and vice versa.

This part presents our dissertation's roots and initial inquiries towards the reclaiming a concept of spatial exercise of hegemony. As well, the assertion of this conception is a significant outcome of theoretical and empirical questioning. Research focuses on making visible related issues that are highly experienced but under-examined, not considered analytically in urban studies. As a result, we deal with it, aiming to refine relevant broad theoretical bases following the new urban (built environment) context. Such conceptual reclaim dwells upon a spatial-temporal, associational, and dialectical manner through socio-spatial affairs. We investigate this phenomenon in terms of relationships between power relations, an essential ground for hegemony, with the production of space.

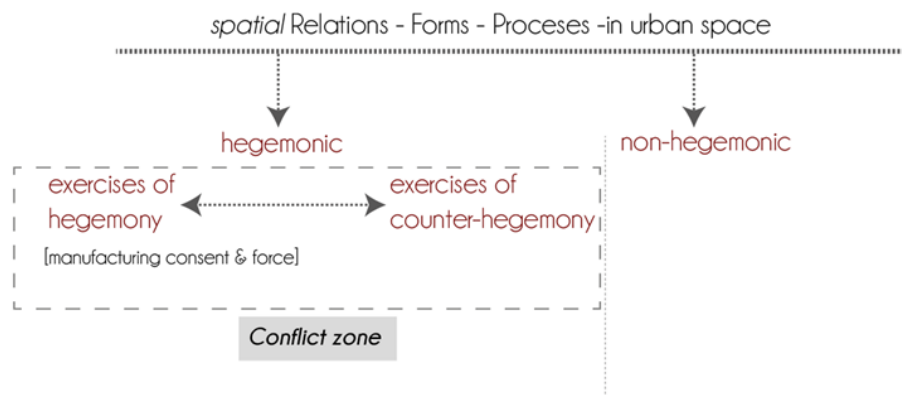


Figure 2.1.A conceptual schema to indicate a focus of research which dwells on the conflict zone among hegemony and counter-hegemony (Author, 2019)

This argument aims to resolve what circumstances hegemony exists through the production of urban space. Not all spatial forms, processes, and relations are the things and processes that lead to domination, which can be acclaimed as non-hegemonic. Assigned that, therefore, the scope of interest is defined by unveiling

hegemonic ones. Indeed, the scope of interest is the mediums of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic. Notwithstanding, this phenomenon's range is extensive so far; thus, this work attempts to understand hegemony's dynamic nature and provide a research agenda through current urban contradictions. More specifically, our study challenges the rapid and overproduction of urban built environments. Understanding how masses of society incline this, it traces the sources of consent-making or enforcement mechanisms in terms of space and time because there are variegated forms, relations, and forms that impact by/with changing degrees.

Spatial legitimization and materiality of hegemony

How is spatial legitimization produced, through which mechanisms? This study questions the relationship between spatial legitimization and the materiality of hegemony. Notably, hegemony is a political term about political power, principally forming a legitimate ground or legitimating mechanisms for various conflicts to sustain dominance (for or against). Legitimization always matters; it is a vital issue. A reasonable, legitimate ground is a prerequisite for any actions (of state and capitalists), mostly for spatial interventions. The motivation behind the hegemonic factors is evident that capital accumulation, rather more due to crisis, is dependent on continuous (re)arrangement of geographical conditions and spatiality of the accumulation. Therefore, all hegemonic operations (either in the form of a project or any simple discourse) become significant and question the current political authority and society. Hubbard (1996:1441), in this respect, underlines “new politics of place conducive to the legitimization of entrepreneurial policies” arguing meanings of urban landscape produced for interests of the dominant class. For him, the urban landscape itself makes the process appear legitimate. The (re)produced urban environment and allied processes, which are organized based on “corporatization, commodification, and privatization of hitherto public assets” (Harvey, 2007: 36). This study seeks to understand the pathways of the legitimization phenomena.

The limited sphere of an analytically meaningful framework in terms of the materiality of hegemony

Problematizing that there is no explicit framework to analyze and understand the materiality of hegemony. This study is an attempt to find a way to get close. In doing so, it seeks to soften the abstractness of the hegemony notion.

“Go and look in a field of wheat and say where nature begins and society ends. You can’t do it.” (Harvey, 1997: 26). Dialectical relations and the broad terrain of social-spatial relation enforce our approach wide with spatial emphasis; approach likewise in hegemony.

Abstractness and concreteness

For Gramsci, hegemony is a definite-abstract scientific term, enabling him to examine particular objects’ rationale (Martin, 2013[2008]: 110). From this point onward, we accept the abstractness of the concept. This is one of the challenges to carry out a survey, but it is believed that hegemony is very concrete at the same time. Seeing the two-fold characteristics of the concept, this study intends to look into detail to make a way of lineage. Therefore, in order to refine it concerning urban issues, it is assumed that there is a requirement for a kind of conceptualization by spatial exercise of hegemony to resolve particular spatial-temporal organizations and alliances because “material contradictions and tensions” are to be explored in detail (Jessop, 1997: 22).

Within the scope of the hegemony discussion, it is obvious that spatial dynamics are foremost influential, and they are pivotal in constructing hegemony. These formative effects should not be regarded as connotational. What we mean by spatial exercise of hegemony is a constant, yet so restless, domination (production of power) over society obtained by various spaces- by means of form and relations- having impacts as either consent or coercion manouvred in the reproduction of power relations. Some features are being investigated, which are being changed in time for contexts, put into action or put over one by one. This is some kind of

construction process. Consequently, it is required to conceptualize it as spatial construction or exercise of hegemony.

There comes a question of whether the spatial exercise of hegemony is an independent issue or not. Spatial exercise of hegemony, which is assumed as a feature of hegemony produced by spatial forms and processes, is not an unbounded or disassociated phenomenon for hegemony exercises; it is an integral part of hegemony; indeed, hegemony is embedded in the production of space. Therefore, in an association, a conceptualization and survey upon spatial hegemony are compelled to be detailed. Necessarily, in order to expose and analyze the relationship of hegemony with urban space in a deepened and intensified manner, a conceptualization pointing out the forms and processes, commonly and widely known but not distinctively contemplated, is required. This thesis research substantially roots this idea.

This thesis aims to bring out an antithesis towards the thesis that approaches hegemony regardless of the (urban) space, spatial forms, processes, and relations. Indeed, the ultimate issue is that subverting approaches have non-spatial frameworks. In time, the concept of spatial hegemony may be resolved when it reaches its goal, via the introduction of space as a key into the debates on hegemony, and achieves its point. As well, it may be subjected to radical criticisms and then resolved. Notwithstanding, this thesis research goes along with the concept of hegemony, providing that hegemony is produced by spatial forms, processes and relations.

Anyhow, political analyzes that center or elaborate urban issues around the hegemony figure concept are roughly-outlined and stereotyped. Thus, they are not sufficient enough to elucidate the problem in-depth. They are only reprehensible to a certain degree. Since there are numerous factors in constructing hegemony, and measuring consent and coercion is complicated. Because dominating and subordinating are often issues of incorporeality. However, within the construction processes of hegemony, material aspects explicitly manifest themselves, which also

constitutes our primary concern. So, an integrated spatial survey is required to clarify this main question and somewhat differentiate the impacts within the complexities of hegemony about urban space. Therefore, what we begin with is challenging whether every spatial setting or topic is subject of hegemony or not; how spatially hegemonic configurations, patterns, processes, discourses are able to be found out; and whether each spatial happening or setting has any role in the construction of hegemony or not. We care about the possible ways or methodologies to identify and discriminate spatial forms featured with hegemony. Mainly, what kind of spatial associations, formations are -probably- subject of hegemony and facilitate us to review the theoretical toolbox to provide an empirically identified analyzing ground.

Concerning the limitedness and abstractness of some notions, this work, by conceptualizing the spatial exercise of hegemony, aims to get a distinct point from commonly used terms. These are, for example, urban hegemony and hegemonic projects. Here, our objective is to put some key definitions and differences of those two concepts and then, make our intent for conceptualization more apparent. There are some concepts commonly elaborated as near-synonymous concepts such as urban hegemony, hegemonic projects. Nevertheless, they are distinctive in use and meaning. Describing each and their linkages makes our discussion more clear. What are the differences of spatial hegemony from “urban hegemony”, “hegemonic projects”? Urban hegemony is intrinsically defined from a culturalist approach, which comprises urban lifestyles, routine, everyday urban life, living environment, and costs, etc. It is impossible to explore and identify chaotic conditions of urban life through a very sketchy term of urban hegemony. A tool bag of some specific methods is necessary to understand and analyze the production of urban space. Furthermore, at the frontier of hegemonic projects or hegemonic processes, this study conceptualizes the spatial exercise of hegemony. About hegemonic projects, Jessop (2014) states that they “secure an adequate social basis for the exercise of state power” ensuring capital accumulation strategy, with a “national-popular” idea and they are “resolved through a respecification of goals and tactics within the

same ideological matrix.” This is explicit, but to go beyond that, by using a spatial exercise of hegemony it is aimed to reapproximate spatial relations and embodiment and/or conflicting of dominant interests.

Emphasizing instability of hegemony: Temporally-changing nature of hegemony

Hegemony moves and traverses in time and space. In this sense, investigation of a definite period of urban space within the scope of the broadened and diversified urban (re)production processes as in the case of exploration in the AKP era is believed significant. Hegemony has temporally changing characteristics, and it is essential to notice and identify its details or characteristics. By keeping insights of Lefebvre, Gramsci, and Fanon, “politics is a practice that “moves” people and the spatial dimensions of their existence at the same time as it moves the world itself ” (Kipfer and Dikeç, 2019: 40). The spontaneous interests of people in time and space that resonate with political engagements. In order to understand people’s political engagements with regards to the exercise of hegemony, spatial and temporal explorations take importance.

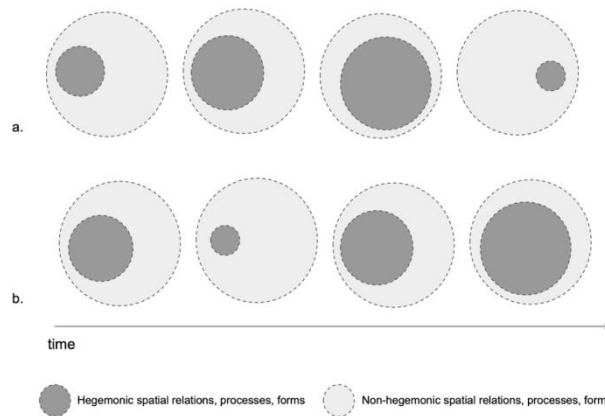


Figure 2.2. A conceptual schema to present changing hegemonic and non-hegemonic conditions of spatial relations, processes and forms (Author, 2019)

Explaining the figure above, it simply indicates that hegemonic relations, processes and forms can be extended or narrowed within the scope of changing

circumstances or conditions and/or change its focal or focusses. There is no linear temporal exercising way, the above two cases (a and b) are only illustrations to show temporally changing scopes of the employed or impact of the three, spatial forms, relation and processes. Non-hegemonic things at a time may turn into hegemonic. Likewise, hegemonic things (forms, relations, and processes) may lose weight or power, be abolished in time, and be non-hegemonic. In this concept, schematically, there are transitions into the other side, and slides (relocations) within dynamic the relations of hegemonic and non-hegemonic. The changes depend on how the social reproduction of space is manifested and how class struggles take place.

Firstly, the spatial exercise of hegemony is assumed as a temporal phenomenon concerning the conceptual debates. Whenever the contradictions of the classes resolves and wipes out, the concept of hegemony will lose its significance and become meaningless. However, until that condition of emancipation of the working class, such conceptualization is required and needs to be examined in depth so as to find a way to mobilize counter-hegemony in respect.

Secondly, the spatial exercise of hegemony is temporal within the context of the political economy of (urban) space under the “theory of geography of capital accumulation” of Marx through the key term of “fixity of space” put forth by Harvey. It aims to resolve the crisis of capital-driven through the devaluation of capital and labour and fixes capital problems. Providing and provoking geographical expansion and restructuring and spatial restructurings in urban space reconfigure capital circulations in and by space. Harvey states that “there is a strong connection between how the over accumulation of the capital is manifested and how spatial fix is pursued” (2001: 26). The idea is impelling capital circulation by means of the new (spatial) organization of capital. Capitalism perpetually employs new spatial configurations in order to fix the crisis of capitalism, albeit it causes and deepens the contradictions of capital. Nonetheless, thereby producing a common sense for the new dominant rules of capital requires renewing the means of hegemony. In this sense, the scope of hegemony essentially adjusts variegated

forms. Therefore, the spatial exercise of hegemony is a temporal issue, which is constantly embedded in reproductions.

Hegemonic impulses lay in the understanding of implosions and explosions. Moreover, spatial fixity via urban space restructuring is operated and manifested by implosions and explosions in urban space- geography. Their presence in the form of implosions and explosions is apprehended through everyday life, and this way of urban experience stimulates political attitudes about them.

Circumstances of hegemony

Force or hegemony, from which point Hausmann's interventions in Paris gained power? Moreover, nowadays, what are those socio-spatial changes meant for the public. Changing the scope of hegemony or the instability of hegemony is a characteristic issue. Amid fragmented forms of hegemony via the production of space, it is evident that there is no granted form of hegemony challenging the spatial and temporal matrices of everyday. Spotlighting a period and context in hegemony research seems fundamental. For this purpose, doing a study on hegemony for a definite period, which is in change, is essential in the light of the dynamic nature of hegemony - making such a review will enhance our understanding.

For our problematique, the temporality of hegemony produced by space is an integral part of capitalist urbanization, by witnessing and experiencing the produced urban environments, or changes of urban environment which are materially and socially catastrophes of the spatial fix of capitalism, correspondingly subject new political understandings aroused concerning them. Herein, how people inscribe them as inclusive or exclusive is the point, and it entails a change, as a challenge of construction of hegemony that is embedded temporalities.

To grant control over classes and keep dominant social order alive, there are continuously (re)produced hegemonic issues to stimulate political support throughout the spatial practices. Governing space and power, Jessop notices forms

of socialization vulnerable to the contradictions, and they have crisis-tendencies, thus in accordance, hegemony takes different forms in through active management of changing conjectures, saying that “Socialization is always partial and unstable and the balance between fixity and fluidity is complex and changing” (2003:140). Although hegemony is a spontaneously changing and divergent phenomenon, changing characteristics for urban space is necessary to be disputed. In this scope, our study seeks to investigate the possible dynamics of spatial exercise of hegemony currently being diagnosed in the urban built environment by asking what is more? “Hegemony is not an immutable thing but a contingent set of processes and strategies which are far from being purged of contradictions and have no “legitimate claim to immortality” (Kipfer, 2008: 200). For instance, while establishing a factory was a hegemonic spatial intervention in the 1930s and 50s of Turkey; nowadays, it does not make sense in the same manner. Spatial exercise of hegemony always has a dynamic pattern, but historically not more than today when the agenda solely produces a built environment. Gramsci emphasizes the dynamic aspect of hegemony. According to him, hegemony is not a static position as can be achieved for only one time; it is a pursuit seeking balance and continually (re)produced and changed, as hegemony has an incomplete figure. With this approach, we care about this increasing dynamism to understand its features within the context of urbanism in Turkey, specifically housing environments in a defined period. This study aims to display a totality of spatial exercise of hegemony for current conditions.

An argument on crisis conditions and reconstruction of hegemony

The rule for hegemony is obvious: hegemony in flux. There are transitions in forms and processes of hegemony, and by the way, keeping the ever-present forms of hegemony. The crisis periods figures for hegemony as strategically to be renewed turn outs. Herein argues this crisis-ridden system of capital accumulation concerning (re)construction of hegemony.

The contradictory essence of capitalism is that it gets it into crises whenever the contradictions condense. In the meanwhile and pursuit of a crisis of capital, capital is assumed taking new forms in accordance with breaking out contradictions of capitalism. Thus, it is not approached as a collapse. Instead, for Marx, crises are “the moments of reconstruction of capital” (Harvey, 2019) in which there are attempts to re-establish the balance of capitalism. Regarding the restructuring interventions for the crisis, concordantly hegemonic relations are reconfigured to strengthen the system, related power and relations of class interests around new means. Along with Harvey's statement above, there is another conceptual refinement, with the phrase “Hegemony in motion” put forward by Peck, Theodore and Brenner (2013). Regarding the "hegemonic process of neoliberalization", they affirm these processes are not "systemic and contextually embedded". These processes require “worldwide reorganization of regulatory arrangements; yet it can only be reproduced and advanced through historically and geographically specific politico-institutional formations, strategies and struggles.” (2013: 1091). Herewith, after the post-2008 financial crisis, neoliberal urbanism proceeds more so as to reproduce the system with certain means. Some new restructuring ways steer the course; likewise, regulatory practices and reorganizations, which reveal temporally and geographically distinctive patterns, tend to proceed with the capitalist system. Cities are the means of both absorbing, reconsolidating and reasoning the crisis. Production of the built environment is sine qua non of the crisis-ridden nature of capitalism, this is why there is a madness about production of the built environment. Accumulation is predominantly actualized by means of the (re)production of built environment through which it employs several means such as commodification of space, (re)configuration of spatial forms and processes, financialization of construction facilities and reordering property relations.

Notwithstanding, crises of capitalism were actualized through the expanded counter actions with urban uprisings, like Gezi in Turkey, in Greece, in Spain and Occupy Movements and so on. These new urban movements have recently increased worldwide as a consequence of urban problems, mostly. These are indeed

rooted “in contradictions of 'capital accumulation'” (Harvey, 2014). Besides, these reveal how much dominating interventions of through/due space are; and indicate new struggling subject matter entirely originated from the conflicts produced via urban space, rather than only factory based struggles, which are the premise struggling medium. In sense making of these movements, “post-2008 global wave of urban protests could be seen as the evidence of a deeper current of urban crises, caused by the failure of 'roll-out neoliberal containment' strategie” as stated by Bayırbağ and Penbecioğlu (2017: 2068). Emphasizing the crisis-prone character of capitalism, they approach the phenomenon from another point of view. They claim that the alienation of urban crises is treated by mental and emotional factors, and thereby is governed by hegemony. If there is a capability problem to govern, then the crisis becomes apparent to all. To make urban crises visible, it is significant to portray the pathway of hegemony constructed by means of spatial organizations. In this sense, an investigation of a definite period, like examining the AKP era in Turkey, is important to comprehend the contextual mechanism to cope with the crisis conditions with major lines, to notice which hegemonic restructuring mechanisms are introduced or figured out.

State role and reproduction of capital through space

The exercise of hegemony inherently composes state interventions. The political economy of the production of space is in nature indispensable to understand the sphere of spatial exercise of hegemony, herewith the state role is critical. Beyond (re)production of political power, capital accumulation requires specific and continuous exercises of state. Dynamic capitalist accumulation somehow is the necessity of constructing perfect landscapes and spatial practices to destroy them and reconstruct the new ones with a future-oriented perspective (Harvey, 2017: 148). State actions with financial institutions are essential and mediatory in due course of shifting capital among circuits from primary to secondary (Harvey, 1989). For reproduction of capital accumulation, mode of circulation of capital; capitalist or state interventions either be with coercion or persuasion. The state role is significant since it deals with the contradictions of capitalism in doing so

attempting to rule the relations between “exchange value and use value”, as operated by several means impacting “work and leisure, liberation and repression, need and desire, production spaces and consumption spaces, homogeneous space and fractured spaces, the center and the periphery, global spaces and fragmented spaces, and finally, that between territorialization of surplus value in fixed capital investments and its deterritorialization in global financial flows” (Brenner, 1997: 147). The state role in the reproduction of capital accumulation is explicit, it simultaneously has attempts on social space with actions of repair and destruction. By means of those interventions the system undertakes can become crisis-free enabling continuation of capital accumulation (Brenner, 1997: 147). Furthermore, regarding reproduction of space, Keskinok clarifies state activities as being direct or indirect by stating that “indirect effects of non-spatial state policies, spatial consequences of the contradictions between accumulation and legitimization functions between short-term and long-term reproductive requirements, between partial (ad hoc) strategies related to urban development and regular and institutionalized means constitute the sources of auto-mediation.”(1997: 90). These efforts are more or less related to the argument of spatial construction/exercise of hegemony. Challenging conditions of production of the built environment are solely realized by some formations of either consent or coercion.

(Re)thinking the contestations of hegemony: Relations of consent and force in terms of urban space

We claim that the reproduction of hegemony is a challenging phenomenon and has not been explored in detail. Mechanisms of reproductive actions, entities are open to dispute. So, this study aims to open up a theoretical semi-ground to understand and define new urban space dynamics (for the construction of hegemony).

There are overlooked aspects of spatial construction/exercise of hegemony. For instance, the coercion side is a seemingly overlooked part even though it is evidently in space “Coercion as an abstraction of force. Coercion is implicit in space” (Lefebvre, 1991). By which forms, relations, or processes stimulate

coercion in which circumstances. Davies (2014) also denotes the significance of coercion within the urban power relations with interest on this side. While criticizing urban studies' discount of coercion albeit its notable role in urban policies, he states that "urban studies has been remarkably reticent about coercive power". This work finds his questions fundamental, those of which is "what kinds of coercive power do cities have at their disposal? In what ways are cities terrains of coercion? Who are the agents of coercion? Who are its subjects? What are the configurations of coercive and non-coercive power in cities? When is coercion legitimate? And, what are the implications of enduring coercion for our understanding of urban change?" (2014: 590).

There are coercive practices on "resourcing, coordination, and organization" (Davies, 2014: 593) likewise in the form of ghettoizing, colonizing, restricting, excluding, and vice versa. Once the authority does not succeed in manufacturing consent, or politically not tend to drive support for certain conditions, it uses coercive forces. As apparent, questions on coercive spatial settings serve an extensive research area, and we care about them. Any endeavour about renewal is a tyrannizer for its contraries, thereby enabling it to depart from chains, says Gramsci (2012[1996]: 54). For him, powers are spreading-machine; they are, instead, precisely domineering. In this framework, coercive spatial processes and settings are open to argument. Notwithstanding in the first-hand view for hegemony, what Castells (1978) says is important: such coercion does not have a single meaning, and withal, it is not figured as rebellion. Indeed, it is much-more embedded in ordinary practices. However, force, changing with its intensity and content, has a severe impact on the exposed classes, working classes, leading a definite sense of apprehension of class interests.

".. it is as much a question of power and violence as it is happiness and enjoyment" (Lefebvre, 2014[1991]: 13). The embeddedness of force and enjoyment, the contestation of the two draws another root of the debate. In more simple terms, herein, we remark an implicit "articulation of coercion" (Jessop, 2014 [1983]: 89) into the nature of hegemony.

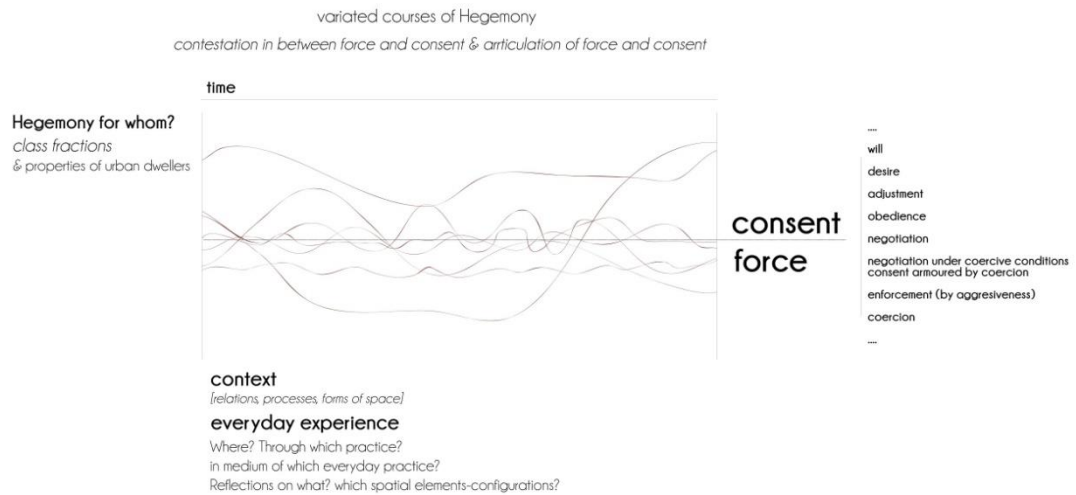


Figure 2.3. A conceptual schema, produced thinking on the relationship of consent and force

“To what extent have the will to power and political power used the proletariat to construct an apparatus of domination and spread across a given space?” (Lefebvre, 2014[1991]: 30). In relation, it is thought that the hegemonic role of space is indicated with a presumption of changing and divergent features of hegemony. By reasons of frequently rendered fluctuations produced through spatial relations, the impetus of hegemony can be illustrated with a thick or thin line. The figure given above means that consent and force have not the only contest among each other but also have (dis)articulations with each other. They are changing within the scope of those variables of time, the context of spatial relations, processes and forms wherein everyday experiences go through, and the class fractions. Those variables are decisive in the apprehension of space for individuals and relationally in forming their political attitudes by the results of (dis)articulations of consent and force.

About the contestation of consent and force, here are some questions, for instance: how consent and coercion have related with each other; how both will exercise at the same time; in what conditions consent and coercion come into existence in terms of spatial configuration; how will be the concurrence condition of two; what kind of spatial configurations enable to concretely define the dynamics of consent and coercion in the urban spatial organization; is it possible to follow the path of

consent and coercion? Emphasizing dominating features and accuracy of politics about spatial meaning in settings of dominance and subordination, our consideration, in essence, is to reveal critical structures and sites in urban geography, where hegemonic relations are being (re)emerging there.

2.2 The contextual forces to investigate hegemony in-depth

Theoretical and conceptual studies have a genuine base to identify the historical empirical conditions -by investigating the spatialities and temporalities, i.e. the moments of contradictions of the capitalist system-. Here briefly describes the contextual conditions. The very initial thoughts of this study dwell on the particular changes in the organization of (urban) space which are majorly aimed at ensuring capital accumulation. This conveys us noticing the reason why urban space comes at the forefront- more-today, and relatedly, questioning how it is traced by the circumstances of hegemony.

Before going into the contours, here portrays two major arguments related to our discussion. First and most significant, there is not such a moment in the history of capitalist urbanization, the existence of planetary urbanism. Likewise, Brenner and Schmid to discover and express the current condition, call for a new vocabulary by saying that “urbanization processes produce a wide range of socio spatial conditions across the world that require contextually specific analysis and theorization” (2013: 21). In so doing, how this system operates and generates itself is a question of interest, despite challenges and conflicts intertwined within. Hegemony can be apprehended in these changing circumstances; it is hereby flourishing as illuminating the issue in fostering the analysis. The mechanisms for consent-making have been extended and reproduced invariably. Second, another contextual condition becomes apparent in order to discuss the spatial exercise of hegemony. Difficult political conjectures, tough conditions like authoritarianism in Turkey lead us to think about hegemony, how it is exercised. Similarly, Gramsci, in his historical span held in Italy, opens up a debate about hegemony within the

context of fascism. Thus, from the periphery of urban, he tries to understand the dynamics of society, politics, and non-revolution. Also, from the core of urban, Lefebvre's thoughts were developed regarding post-war capitalism's impacts on everyday life. Notably, likewise experiencing a similar moment or period, we assume that it is time for arguing spatial aspects of hegemony and posit its dimension and variegations. Instead, distinctively spatial interventions have been increased to realize political power, aiming to strengthen - alive political power. Correlatively, authoritarian policies and implementations have recently become widespread, and they are substantially about the (re)production of space. In other words, authoritarian urban policies, discourses, and interventions through legal regulations or practical, material exercises, performative actions, symbolic facts, or else, have been mainly concentrated on spatial issues. These interventions practice with purposes of mediating, (re)orienting, renewing, reimagining, reforming social and spatial features, through which class interests are apprehended, and political sovereignty revisited. They can be figured as facts, feelings or events such that; displacement, dispossession of public spaces, being detained from use of public space, uneasily directed to privately owned public services, being run into debt for maintaining the survival of urban life, and so on. Besides, authoritarian interventions based on (re)production of space have been scaled up and diversified. Integratively, these efforts also, from another way, utilize manufacturing consent; somehow, they are shaded in coercion vice forms; in other words, it is domination through coercion. Consequently, there is a change in objective, marked as the embeddedness of hegemony in space. Therefore, the conceptualization of spatial aspects of hegemony dwells based on current empirical conditions of urban change.

This second part depicts the contour lines of the contextual conditions. It presents some points to draw context of the argument, those: i) analysis of capital accumulation regimes depending on (re)production of the built environment, over-accumulation problem that is occurred by excessive efforts and practices of reproduction of built environment, ii) increasing media exercises on urban affairs that favor construction practices, iii) implications of design and technical practices

(architecture and urban planning) that create enablement and contradictions, and monitoring and exploring of litigation processes that encapsulate conflicts about space, and iv) considering possibilities of counter-hegemony through the recent experience of anti-hegemony, Gezi uprising in 2013, which means a cracking moment of hegemony and its thenceforward regarding the exercises of hegemony.

Hegemony within the spatiality of capital accumulation

The current capital accumulation regime depends on (re)production of the built environment. On that, our question is, what kind of dynamics have evolved in the practices of hegemony for/along the capital accumulation through the reproduction of space. Within the scope of the spatiality of capital accumulation, what are the current hegemonic forms?

Everyday life is departed from its path and reorganized towards the sake of capital accumulation. Processes of social reproduction are extrinsically ordered for this purpose (Harvey, 2015:280). The major triggering issue is an intimate engagement of capital accumulation through built environment production, which constitutes the reasonable background of policies mentioned above. Capital accumulation through the production of space is one of the main mottos of hegemonic efforts. Production and consumption sides of urban space run through it. For the construction of hegemony, the production of space realizes a turn in terms of objective. Also, however, we claim that the product form of the built environment reproduces the processes of hegemony by itself. There is no one-way relationship. For instance, even realizing the built environment of all by itself (including all material, procedural aspects), creative-destructions have been manufacturing a kind of common sense in society. This work deals with this nexus which is run by multiple, variagated and homogenized means.

The context of Turkey: The critique of reproduction of built environment in the AKP era

Urbanization in Turkey and recent urban political affairs unveil the argument in practice. “Like any hegemonic project that needs to control and reproduce its space, the AKP’s political project, too, is built upon growth and the reproduction of space” (Çavuşoğlu and Strutz, 2014:141). AKP has authorized Turkey since 2002, and in this ruling period, the construction sector has grown immensely unlike the other sectors. Political power and capital accumulation have been reproduced by built environment production mostly in this period. In this process, there have been significant efforts, construction of hegemony, of which majorly subjects housing environments, reproduction projects and regulations regarding housing policies, and symbolic projects and public space interventions with a profit-oriented. Consequently, all interventions causing urban space being sprawled and reproduced have deepened the socio-spatial contradictions. By the way, it is believed that nuanced paths for manufacturing consent and coercion have been produced.

The capitalist city is regarded as the peak of which capital aims to represent itself as modern and humanity’s supreme desire (Harvey, 2015:167). In order to sustain ever-increasing capital accumulation, capital is represented in the form of physical space, urban landscape, which is dwelled via use-values. The switching of capital exercises through into new investment by space and annihilation of space. Production of built environment retains significance while in shifting capital to secondary circuits.

Considering capital accumulation and the built environment paradigm in Turkey, Balaban’s study is fundamental to understand the dynamics of capital switches in Turkey. After the 1980s flow of capital from primary to secondary circuits of accumulation has increased throughout built environment production. Capital switches through producing the built environment since it is “alternative and a profitable field of investments” (2008: 65), which is an outcome of an over-

accumulation problem. Since the 1980s, in Turkey, there has been intense interest and the shift towards the production of an urban built environment as a result of restructuring the economy. In doing this, certain efforts, namely, some institutions and the state, mediate the progress (2008: 7) for that favourably-functioning and supporting policies on enhancing the built environment and also, interventions through restrictive planning regulations to realize creative destruction ideas complete each other. Almost in every city, several mass housing projects have been implemented. However, the construction boom after 2003 is only limited to housing projects; there are also different types of constructive facilities such as; shopping malls and offices, tourism investments, big infrastructures, energy projects etc. Besides, the capital switch paradigm is not an automatic and an uninterrupted process; it varies to some extent and wherein state has a significant role “a leading role in organizing and executing the entire process of capital switching.” (Balaban, 2008: 282). Turkey’s distinct feature is the state’s involvement in the production of the built environment much more. The state has been in this process and controls urban development much more is possibly related to the issues of political power. Political power benefits from this processes of massive built environment production. The secondary circuit of capital accumulation derived from built environment production also enables political legitimacy and survival for political ruling, as is explicit in AKP era. Notedly, this process inherently involves conflicts regarding the relations of classes.

Besides, there is a problem about the over accumulation as it occurs through the relations of capital switches. There is an excessive and irrational form of capital switches in Turkey. “The problem of irrationality arises either in the form of over investment in the built environment or in the form of excessive transfer of capital and finance to the real estate sector”, which is a short term approach (Balaban, 2008: 289-290). In the long run, this condition causes public interests, benefits, lands and commons spirit away. The latest period in Turkey under the AKP rule also witnesses the enormous levels of annihilation and expropriation of commons, which triggers the switching to secondary circuits of capital accumulation. This

process is grounded on Harvey's notion of accumulation by dispossession. Rehearsing traits of "non-commodified spaces" in four modes (Çavuşoğlu, 2014:140) as appeared since the 2000s i) commodification of natural areas, i.e. building up public lands of forest lands, agricultural lands and coastal areas, etc., ii) privatization of lands via transformation, liquidation/sale, devaluation, appropriation of public lands, as occupied and possessed by public authority, iii) redistribution by means of expropriation and reorganization with some legalized instruments or terms such as urban transformation, urgent expropriation, iv) enabling urban lands as providing higher urban rents throughout privileged land development rights and financialization models, exhibits the main problematique subjects of the urban policies. Those raised political means to survive switching and producing a built environment embrace hegemony that come out by different forms, scales, and contexts. On that condition, how masses of society can be involved in this process. How does the working class apprehend their class interests in these complex relations? This debate offers further questions: How this condition is consolidated in the case of highly overproduction of built environment and urban changes by increased employment of dispossession mechanisms. In and out, what are the typical hegemonic strategies, projects or else that conveys society's involvement in this process.

There has been an accelerated switching to secondary circuits in Turkey in the AKP era. This fact is exposed briefly above. The switches into secondary circuits can be reviewed by quantitative details of the built environment's production. It is essential to analyze for urban studies depending on quantitative analysis; however, we pay attention to the qualitative aspect of this condition, asking how it is embraced by society. This study inquires about the result, and society tackles it because contradictions confine everyday practices. It challenges how those processes and outcomes of this urban change featured out in terms of temporality and materiality. It challenges how this ongoing process is embraced through changed current experiences. Considering the consequences of switches to secondary circuits of capital accumulation in Turkey, which is carried out by the

reproduction of the built environment, this study problematizes the outsourced material formations and how the working class handles and challenges it. This study questions the contradictions that become intense in this process. Hypothetically, it is believed that there are new forms of hegemonic formations regarding the new configuration of urban space in and after the accelerated switches of secondary circuits of capital accumulation.

The question of over-accumulation: Accelerated switches into secondary circuits through materiality and temporality

Overaccumulation is a consequence of capital accumulation through switches into secondary circuits. This study challenges the current condition of overaccumulation produced recently by the production of the built environment in the AKPrule and how society is involved in.

The (re)production of the built environment drives switches into secondary circuits and accelerated switches, causing over-accumulation. So as to overcome and scale down the crisis of capitalism, derived from over accumulation, there are two tracks such that, one is the construction of new places via transfer of excess in capital accumulation and the other is transformation or readjustment of the built environment, via mobilizing excess of capital towards those new organizational relations. It is a moment of concentration and acceleration in the secondary circuit. Over-accumulation is much more apparent in the perception of urban environments. Ultimately provided urban space having conflictual patterns, is much expanded and reviewable. As a result, this study asks how outcome production is represented and occurred spatially; in fact, what kind of form and processes are involved in those products that constitute problematic for debates of hegemony, and our research deals with this. Materiality and temporality as the sources of hegemony are notable but under-examined with broadened analyses. Herein, the organization of the built environment itself incorporates forms, relations, and processes that stimulate common sense or force; thus, it becomes a source of reproducing and triggering the switches examining capital accumulation.

This study, by change, aims to analyze this problem via materiality and temporality in terms of their performative power in exercise of hegemony. This approach will provide a different perspective to the over-accumulation crisis through outcome, the physical representations, rather than just analyzing this problem with quantitative data.

Is there a temporal relationship with the conceptualization of spatial exercise of hegemony and examination of the AKP era?

This part uncloses those questions: whether empirical a priori analyses concerning the political affairs held in this period lead to a new conceptualization, and whether there is an empirical confrontation to the theory of hegemony or not, upon which a conceptualization proposal is propounded out.

The AKP is the political authority ruling the last two decades in Turkey, which is defined as a historically specific period throughout the introduced politics, state organization, spatial interventions to secure the condition of capital accumulation, and labour conditions.

Nevertheless, examining hegemony, especially how it is especially exercised through the urban space, is not a question that dwells peculiarly or identically to the AKP era. For sure, every capitalist state -and the political authority as a state agent- seeks to construct its dominance through control of (urban) space and labour relations, and therein intends to involve and subordinate the worker class to its power relations. Herein embodies the exercise hegemony. In this sense, analyses of each definite political period, how hegemony is configured with which co-orchestrations are applied in their conjunctures, are necessarily undertaken in several pieces of research. Consequently, there is not an unusual condition to explore the AKP era, and it is an issue of concern for many studies. However, it is not forthrightly aimed at making a political analysis of AKP. Instead, this study disputes the urban change that happens in this period. This considers the political power, the role of the state about the analysis of spatial interventions. Withal, to underline again that exploration of this era is not rooted in the fact that this is AKP.

It is defined as a frame because it is the political authority that has accompanied the process, thus, purpose to operate and stimulate through the exercise of hegemony.

Besides, here depicts the question, whether there is an empirical confrontation for the theory of hegemony or not? The answer is no. There is no empirical confrontation to the theories of hegemony and the production of space. A conceptualization for the exercise of hegemony is offered through the insights gained through them and as well as empirical insights. This study agreed with the spatially produced hegemony, and it questions the specificity of the concept in this period for the Turkey context.

Notedly, the introduction of a conceptual framework on the basis of spatial forms, processes and relations, is not opening a new avenue based on having empirical contests. Instead of empirical confrontation, maybe it can be defined with that there is an empirical brightness regarding the urban space configurations for the moment we are experiencing and witnessing. The capital accumulation dynamic that intensively rests upon the (re)production of built environment, throughout accelerated switches of secondary circuits of capital accumulation, explicitly becomes a major keystone of politics, thus change everyday life at large. Questionless, this is not an unprecedented matter of fact; the major lines of how hegemony is exercised within the scope of capitalism and power relations have been drawn in theoretical works. However, it has brightened in the latest period of Turkey since the excessive, intensive, and oppressive forms of socio-spatial changes have manifested. This temporal and spatial circumstance happened in the AKP era; therefore, this study is framed by this political period, and explorations in the fourth chapter are done with reference to this period. After that, a conceptual framework on understanding the exercises of hegemony is portrayed, aspiring to brighten the understanding and enable to situate the facts in a relational and comprehensive manner, especially it will be more explicable for urbanists. By delineating a contextually-originated conceptual framework, this study seeks to foster approaches with relational and temporal perspectives, and theoretically based

on understanding hegemonic exercises and by offering possible research topics, questions and ways.

Why do we make explorations with reference to the AKP era?

This part simply interprets on what grounds the - illustrative- framework of the study is defined. The very first reason for examination of the AKP era, the period which we experience currently through, as we tackle to understand deeply what is concurrent with seeking to find out possibilities of abolishing the dominance over the public interests and to struggle for emancipatory practices within which positing class interests. The concern is understanding the current conjunctuality, the ruling of power relations, power conflicts and relations of dominance and subordination with reference to spatial organization. Indeed, the endeavour of this study is to analyze current as it has the potential of degrading the epistemological terrain upon which conceptualization is set forth. Besides, each political power seeks to roll out several issues to settle its dominance by exercising hegemony, therefore examining a definite political period is a meaningful way of drawing a framework. In this sense, the AKP era is defined as a research context. However, this study does not straightforwardly make an analysis of the AKP era, it has not such a contention, and it is quite a broader issue. For that, more comprehensive studies will be carried out. Nevertheless, this study only illustrates specifically how spatial forms, relations, and processes are associated through and benefits from them for the conceptual thought and seeks to unveil the articulation and temporalities of those.

The second reason for examining the period of AKP settles on an assumption, alleging that historically the formations of relations of capital has explicitly changed in this period. The AKP era has significantly differentiated from the previous periods. It is even distinctive from the 1980s while looking to the neoliberal era. The current politics is majorly rolled out to secure capital accumulation through the reproduction built environment.

Herein simply draws the major lines of the change. While picturing the change, it also lays out in which points there are similarities on the premises of the conceptualization for the framework of the spatial exercise of hegemony.

Around the framework, we suppose, the political authority rolls of some means, processes and relations about space and spatial forms to alliance classes and to make capital interests embodied. In two captions, the knowledge-based relations and processes about space which compose state-bound interventions, legislations, media discourses, expert practices, and the spatial forms and processes involving symbolic and large-scale urban spatial changes. This change can only be interpreted with documentary evidence and analyses. By taking those, the below part presents major topics of the change, and in the meantime, it unearths the distinctive contextual features.

First of all, the state agent in the 2000s of Turkey is different from the previous era of the 1980s. There has been a historically-specific transformation of state since the AKP become power in Turkey (Bedirhanoğlu, 2020), through which the relations of capital, labour and space have changed, redefined. Therefore, the settings of hegemonic exercises reconfigured. This is why we examine the AKP era with specific interests. This state transformation is also carried out by the transformation of the administrative units, state organizations in order to increase the state's managing capacities and adapting it to its round of capitalist interests. This is also substantiated by restructuring the state, which is carried out by reorganization of authorization of governmental agents, like ministries and local governments. The institutional authorizations have been reshaped and configured majorly, aiming to secure capital accumulation through the reproduction of the built environment and power-coalition. Politico-institutional and administrative configurations are one of the primary mediums of hegemonic exercises; thus, the analysis underneath can be pave the way for understanding.

For instance, the MHA (TOKİ) has been reformulated in the AKP era. Although it was founded in 1984 as a state-owned economic enterprise along the period

through which urban space has gained a key role in relations of capital accumulation. The purpose of the initiation of the MHA was enabling and operating provision of housing and marketing housing "to develop a national housing market based on large-scale production, the inclusion of commercial banks, well-defined tenure rights for home-owners and encouragement of private sector home-builders" (Doğru, 2018: 9) in doing so it was also aimed at gaining political support. This significant state intervention in housing production, housing market, was originally ruled with employing several credit systems, but it is explicitly highlighted in the AKP era. In the latest period, throughout with the defined a set of legislations, which make the MHA empowered by means of providing new capacity. It has come true with the assignment of increased stock of public lands, warrants to reproduce properties, to make plans for urban transformation projects, to organize reproduction processes of lands, to operate politically-selected government-supported companies, -selected capitalist groups- while organizing the process, to assemble alliances of capitalist groups, to employ increasing finance-led instruments, to anchor local governments in its rule by making partnerships, and to increase levels of household indebtedness through rising home-ownership. The latest notice is critical for the analysis of hegemony because "The deepening of the financial inclusion of the working classes in the housing market is, analytically and politically, a recent phenomenon in the Turkish case" (Doğru, 2018: 20). As it is connoted, especially the latest period of Turkey on the basis of indebtedness for home-ownership pictures, a distinctive means to make the working class involved to the dominant orders. Since it is obvious that the household indebtedness increased astronomically, herein the state-agency has a primary role. In the 1980s up to 2000s, MHA mobilized the housing construction industry as a basis - maybe these efforts turned naive compared to the recent period- as the scope of MHA-based spatial interventions has scaled up in the recent period.

Besides, privatizations actions have augmented in the recent period as compared to the previous era. Indeed, privatization actions are not an emerging process. For

instance, the discharges of the state enterprises have begun in the 1990s with the privatization of public services revealed in the Özal era, but it has continued with the speed in the 2000s, reached to a peak point through the privatization of protifing large-scale state enterprises (Angın and Bedirhanoglu, 2012); and increased attempts of the Privatization Administration for sales of properties, and it has -ascribed- with planning and zoning authorizations with this, it changes the building rights lands it possesses and then discharges them.

Moreover, what significantly changed in the 2000s is finance dominance on the (re)production of the built environment. The articulations of financial mechanisms lead to the construction sector's growth, an increase of indebtedness, and involvement in the dominant private interests by will or enforcements. For the contemporary period of Turkey, the intrusion of finance-led state interventions and increasing relations of credit and debt have been raised distinctively, and they deepen the intrinsic contradiction of capital accumulation. In fact, "the effects of credit system on urban spatial restructuring" (Keskinok, 1997: 124) are noticeable in the urbanization history of Turkey, for example, the financial models of state enterprise infrastructure projects. Financial means have been implemented in a way; however, the range of those have extended along "finance-dominated accumulation regime" rules the 2000s regarding the spaces, scales and places, "foregrounding that finance is a distinctive factor in urban production" (Stockhalmer, 2008; Christopher, 2012; in Halbert and Attuyer, 2016:1-15). In this context, the increasing interdependence of urban production -through the relations of commodification of urban space- with finance and thereby restructures the power relations and contradictions of the classes.

Those above processes are enabled with several means of legislative practices. Notwithstanding that, the legislative organizations per se exercise hegemonic impulses. A series of legislations for reordering the processes of reproduction spaces have been significantly enacted in the recent period under the rule of AKP. They comprise the basis of legitimization of any actions for spatial changes. However, this means of practices, making legislations, as naturally are not peculiar

to this period. The hegemonic role of juridico-political forces of state intervention is an explicit issue. Legislations are used, for instance, aiming to reorganize the relations of capital, labour and space through the rules for the courses of spatial interventions, urban planning, property relations, land acquisition, land expropriations, privatizations, rules of rent distribution (i.e. amnesty laws), financial organizations, empowerment of institutions to and vice versa. Nevertheless, in the 2000s, the changes in laws stimulated and enabled urban space transformations and led to the power of urban coalition growth (Türkün, 2011). The deregulation and liberation through the production of the built environment (Balaban, 2008).

Overviewing Turkey's history, redistribution of right has displayed different forms, such as for the period 1923–1950s through the redistribution of rural land in the order of the agricultural export-oriented accumulation; for the period of 1950s–1980s through the redistribution of urban land along the period in which urban space became the focus of capital accumulation and industrialization rised and the processes for the urbanization of labour-power were realized, for the period of 1980s–2000s through the redistribution of construction rights along the processes of internalization of capital accumulation wherein state implementations into the built environment and for the recent period, the 2000s through the redistribution of non-commodified spaces (Çavuşoğlu, 2004; Boratav, 1982, 2003; Doğru, 2018). This approach is related to the property relations. Because they give out some traces of how the public interest and private interest are conflicted or compromised together. In this recent period, through increasing or creating building rights; in other words, privileged building rights with inclusion of non-commodified spaces in the land market, principally endure the flow of capital to the secondary circuit of capital accumulation and originate a particular source and conflict for hegemony.

Regarding the legislative actions and administrative actions, juridistic conflicts also take place. This study particularly focuses on those conflicts about spatial interventions and discusses how the conditions of confrontation or non-confrontation towards them make a sense in the fluxing terrain of the exercise of

hegemony. Moreover, it takes juridistic conflicts -the spaces where litigation processes take place in Ankara as a frame of reference with the method of following conflicts- to conduct a fieldwork. Nevertheless, debates over the litigation processes about planning powers was also a topic in the mid-1980s, coalition and confrontation among the agents (Keskinok, 1997: 125, 128). Both for the 1980s and today, those arguments are all done on the basis of contradiction among private dominant interests and public interests. The quarreling, in this way, is critical to pursue those, and it is believed that they provide possibly referral points for the working class to apprehend the class interests in relation to urban spatial changes. For the latest period, this confrontation medium is whipped up. It is because of the intensification of spatial interventions that causes the expropriation of land and labour, to secure the capital interest.

Those conflicts involve majorly urban planning practices and actions/acts for spatial reorganizations planning and design-related. Through those practices which aim to reproduce the built environment, it is aimed to mobilize capital and put over the accumulation crisis of the capital. Those processes facilitate valuing, revaluing and devaluing of urban spatial settings (making prestigious areas, making decent areas to be transformed and thereby ensuring the flow of capital) and maintaining spatial fixing. Planning actions were in this sense functional in the 1980s, likewise today. For instance, in İstanbul for the Dalan period, plan amendments were applied to change building rights of the land, i.e. transforming greenery areas into commercial areas "with extremely high construction rights" and redeveloping coastal areas have natural assets thus principally building-prohibited areas-, expropriating commons. Besides, improvement plans were applied for urban renewal projects as "ad hoc solutions to crisis in the reproduction of urban space", reorganization of central areas i.e. Golden Horn project and clearance operations that lay in large-scale private real estate to settle down (Keskinok, 1997: 125-127). The functional role of plan amendments rolls out for the recent period, securing the capital accumulation processes since they enable the legitimate documents to intervene in urban space. On a similar basis, planning actions have been

implemented, yet the latest ones have multiplied, scaled up, extended, and applied deregulated. Urban renewal actions have sprung out, pointedly for the gecekondu areas and the beyond of them.

In order to legitimize the actions, spatial interventions and raise consent for the process, there are some similar pathways in which the media operates. Propounded discourses are common, clearance, ensuring security through the reproduction, stamping some areas that are potent of renewal with discourses on the themes such as crime, marginalizing, development, prestige, environmentalist discourses, creating new imaginations by saying or illustrating such as "satellite towns around the natural beauties and highways" (Keskinok, 1997: 128). Media exercises have been applied for justifying spatial interventions. The hegemonic role of media is explicitly carried out in the 2000s; nevertheless, it goes one step further through the articulations of capital relations of media since those of which engage with the construction companies respectively surpasses the expansion of the discourses for the reproduction of urban space. Besides, the recent period has also witnessed technological advances in media, multiplications of tools have changed the impact of media. Here and with, the media represents not only discourses of content or social-economic phenomena, but it also represents the forms and concepts regarding the spatial forms. The below part simply indicates which spatial forms are commonly used for hegemonic purposes.

Hegemonic exercises also carried out around and through the spatial forms and processes. The forms and processes categorically involve several elements of urban space, such as grandiose - large-scale- projects, housing environments, symbolic projects. For instance, for the first, based on infrastructure projects, transport projects. In the 1980s, debates were "-e.g. large scale state interventions such as the construction of highways, crossings over Bosphorus" (Keskinok, 1997: 128), and in the 2000s, the debates on the spatial interventions are manifested on the topics of third bridge over Bosphorus, airports, highways, railways, energy plants and vice versa. For secondly, the forms of housing have been an ever-ruling issue. While living in an apartment and living by the boulevard (i.e., Barbaros Boulevard in

Beşiktaş, İstanbul) was propounded as a prestigious issue in the 1960s, later on in the 2000s, living in the branded, gated-site housing environment has been figured out. Commonly, it is aimed to ascribe new meanings over the older forms, and thereby justify the new forms of urban change. Herewith, the transformation of gecekondu areas can be illustrated. Using the spatial processes and forms, hegemony through the transformation projects is exercised both in the late 1980s and 2000s.

Nevertheless, in the 2000s, this process has been undertaken under extended circumstances. Thirdly, political authorities usually take symbolic spatial interventions on specific places to their agenda, supposing that they will gain power from society through those. For example, building a mosque in some specific places, as a mean to inserting a symbol of Islamism, such as building a mosque, namely Kocatepe mosque with reference to Anıtkabir - a very first example of large-scale mosque project-, and building a mosque in Taksim square (Batuman, 2019). Intervention to specific public spaces was a project of the 1980s, and in the AKP era, it is also a political project. Spatial interventions using the mosque as a spatial element of Islamism have been ruling before the AKP era (Serter, 2018), yet it has leaped forward in the recent period, such as that of the everydayness of Islamism (Batuman, 2019:76; Tuğal, 2009) has been debated. One specific aspect of those attempts mentioned above is an intervention to where the socially appropriated area is. For instance, the reason why Dalan's operations were intensified to the center areas, as was related to the ideological meaning of the city center (Keskinok, 1997: 126-127). The purpose of these interventions is to mobilize political support from society.

As it is seen, central areas are specific areas wherein hegemonic-purposed actions take place. Yet through time, in and out, city center and periphery areas are temporally reproduced. The geographical notions of center and periphery - the spatial forms- are key terms in mobilization and concentration of capital accumulation, and they are spatial forms that we challenge and try to understand the dynamics. Putting aside the accumulation purpose that lay out in the central

areas, the central areas are politically significant areas for which society has experience and apprehension of space, and for that reason, political powers intend to make spatial interventions. It is evident for the periods before and after the 2000s. Nevertheless, peripheral areas are also the spatial means through which political mobilization is exercised. Considering Gramsci's political analysis of city and countryside, the relationalities and changes of the two should be analyzed. For the AKP era, it is assumed that hegemony is exercised in central and peripheral urban areas through implosion and explosions aimed at securing capital accumulation through the reproduction of the built environment.

This process is carried out employing a swinging force and consent dynamics. On the force side, notably, the state power has usually been implemented in urban space, "Menderes operations in the mid-50s and Dalan operations in the second half of the 80s" were the most known cases, and those actions are acclaimed as "abuse and arbitrariness pervade into the production of space." (Keskinok, 1997: 124), in the same line, the AKP rule also carried out forceful spatial interventions, in multi-scaled and multi-sited form. Even though they were actualized in the force aspect of hegemony, the process is temporally reproduced with its inherent force and consent dynamics, aiming to consolidate power. The scope of consent and force, in nature, have been restructured along the active dynamic of accelerated capital accumulation focussed on reproduction of the built environment, the authoritarian policies, and socialization of the dominant process, how everyday life takes place through. Although the forceful exercises can be illustrated for both periods, it is supposed that the scope of force is reordered under the overwhelming and entrapment conditions of capitalist urbanisation, of patriarchy and of authoritarianism raised in the AKP rule. Thus, the scope of hegemony is reshaped, which is rooted from the fact that hegemony is temporally and spatially reproduced. Examination of each period with its particularities of context, in terms of capital relations, relations of accumulation, labour condition and the means of production of space, is necessarily to be done in order to apprehend historical nexus of the politics, relations of domination and subordination.

This study highlights the complicated relations which exercise hegemony for the 2000s, the latest, challenging for current and assuming that only be able with more confidence to discuss for today's, the experienced, rather than the last period. We examine that the political allegations are done in both the pre-2000s and 2000s on some similar grounds- categorically such as housing, legislative actions, agent coalitions and confrontations, symbolic spatial interventions etc., which the theoretical insights have paved out. Thus, surely there is not a problem for seeing the similarity of the discussions to argue and suppose thereby the hegemony would have been exercised by means of those processes, relations and forms. What this study makes is putting those on a framework with the concepts of relations and processes about space and spatial forms and processes. In other words, its effort is to name the means of spatial exercises of hegemony by exploring the dynamics of the contemporary period.

At this point, we will address what conjecturally leads us to draw this framework. Along with these transformations as the changing characteristics of this period are revealed above in simple terms, there have been excessive and increasing amounts of reproduction of the built environment, which is performed agonistically. Then forward leads us to discuss the concept of spatial exercise of hegemony. How those processes are socially and politically reproduced, how those are challenged through everyday life, and the formation of hegemony is embedded in those actions. The purpose of this study is to uncloset all complex relations of exercises that lead to collective will or imagination of the society regarding the urban change. Currently, the fact that commodification of urban space is forefronted throughout the process of accelerated forms of capital accumulation is carried out through the reproduction of built environment. Besides, the latest period witnesses a transformation of the state, authoritarianism, and along which institutional-legal reconfigurations come out. The social reproduction of those all processes brings forth a question of new mediums, parameters, new specific scales and places to mobilize hegemony are all open to debate and analysis. Those mediums are one by one being studied such as hegemonic ownership and increasing indebtedness. Scaling up and down with

making alliances, this study attempts to portray the all -possible- interlinkages of those related to the production of space mobilizing hegemony in a way.

Furtherly, the historical picture of intensified processes of expropriating urban space indicates how deepened the contradictions are. Then, it brings out a question of how the workers embrace those and how they challenge through. Putting the analyses of dominant drivers in one side, this study aspires to understand how those are apprehended through everyday life, whether the supposedly-hegemonic issues - relations, processes and forms - are hegemonic or not, by which aspects the dominant private interests are embraced through as common.

Moreover, "The context of the crises in production of space poses differentiation in a historical process." (Keskinok, 1997: 96). In each historical period, the spatial organization differs, and likewise, it is in the 2000s. The excessive and blowing forms of increase of the production of the built environment result in reproduction of materiality in a broad-circumstance. The period, therefore, walks through the dominance of politics of materiality. The extreme increase of the built environment and change of the spatial organization refers to a contextual condition that is necessarily examined. The examinations are commonly carried out with the amount of those increases. However, it is not limited to an analysis that refers to the increased amount, and also how and why it is increased. We agree and benefit from those examinations, and further, we question how we temporally challenge these new forms. The outcome of the materiality, the changing urban space, is a new form, which incorporates different modes of forms. Indeed this form is not a simple material form. It embodies spatial praxis, which is undercover. Yet, the apprehension of how it is experienced sheds light on how conflicting class interests are consented or conflicted, thereby potent to disclose the means of the exercise of hegemony. For that reason, this study inclines to take spatial forms and processes in its framework with a specific interest.

As a result, we can make two remarks. First, there are some limitations of the effort to analyze hegemony with a historical review. We cannot know precisely whether

certain phenomena, formations, and actions are hegemonic in a time. At this point, we have an epistemological and methodological critique. Because the evaluation of a certain time interval such as between the 1980s and 2000s, what happened in that historical period, the - selected - discussions in the literature, documentaries are realized with a qualitative method, discourse analysis and interpretative techniques. These can basically provide us with some important information and perspective. It can be said that certain spatial processes, relations, and forms in certain fields, which they have set forth throughout dwelled upon the theoretical knowledge, are the means of class inclusion and power production. However, it fails to reveal that a hegemonic inclusion is a concentration of different relationships, scales, experiences, and issues. For instance, those studies are not capable of indicating how the experiences of the workers in the urban space come true, in what situations, conflicts, struggles, challenges and practices they internalize the dominant interests. There seems a lack of explanation or a weakened point to reveal the condensation of different means of spatial experiences. In this sense, whereas intended aspects of the hegemonic exercises can be illustrated by doing such analysis, unintended aspects of hegemonic exercises can not be revealed considering the essence of which is that “hegemonic mobilization reconfigures state and society through a long walk, which concentrates on repetitive conversations, oral debates, readings (of newspapers, books, pamphlets), education, rituals, and routinized everyday practices, and which only infrequently leads to explosions” (Tuğal, 2009: 430). Therefore, it is suggested that there is an insufficiency in terms of empirical terrain on the ground of perceived and lived experiences.

The second point is that a new situation has arisen in terms of the relations of the capital accumulation process. Herein simply discusses how capital relations have changed, the capital accumulation regime and the crises conditions of capital accumulation, and as it is socially reproduced, how the nature of hegemony has transformed. As compared to the 1980s Turkey, the form of relations of capital accumulation has changed. The practice of transcending the crisis of capital

accumulation through the reproduction of the built environment, that is, with the reproduction of space, has intensified and become excessive. Keskinok denotes that “..the crises in capital accumulation seem to occur in the very production of urban space. This means that crises in capital accumulation will contain more spatial components than ever before.” (1997: 96). It is evident that in the 2000s of Turkey, the capital accumulation regime is excessively dependent on the switches to the secondary circuits to overcome the crises. Thus, the more spatial components the more spatial contradictions arise for the contemporary period. Consequently, new conditions have surfaced. Unquestionably, the switches to the secondary circuits of capital accumulation and the route of the flow of capital accumulation are the same. However, it has changed the forms, and capitalist social relations change in the same manner. It has differentiation through the historical processes reproducing new relations of capital, labour, and space. In this context, the means of hegemonic exercises implicitly have reproduced. Thus, historically-specific and capital accumulation-based specific conditions lead to this discussion.

Increased mass media exercises on urban affairs

Increased mass media exercises on urban issues are motives that lead us to make inquiries on the exercise of hegemony through urban space.

This study preliminarily began with the questioning of the specific and increased attention of the media in urban issues, an evident empirical phenomenon related to exercises of hegemony. But, then it goes through with a rounded perspective. Nevertheless, this is not the only factor, this attention might have been rooted in the convergences of the fields, urban studies, and communication studies. At most, the studies of culture, communication and geography subject “urban” space from different perspectives since the 2000s.

Having alignment with Lefebvre's thoughts, “the role of media in the process of spatial production means” is questioned and said that “mediascapes continuously supplement, extend, curb or otherwise negotiate all three of Lefebvre’s spaces” (Tarantino and Toscana, 2012; 5). Examination of the role of media in three levels

of Lefebvre's space dialectics is a significant work. The above approach, albeit not paying attention to or not arguing hegemony, is useful for understanding the engagement of media practices precisely. Hereby, with three production levels, this perspective substantially has key contributions to draw and develop a theoretical and conceptual framework.

Critique of current practices of architecture and urban planning

Asking that by which purposes design expert practices are done today, this part points out the changing and critical role of those professional works because they are explicitly provided to roll out the capital accumulation and reproduction of power relations; thereby, they stage manufacture of common sense. Throughout history, space and power are governed by several design practices through architects, planners, engineers who have the technical expertise and intellectual and professional skills. In especial architecture and planning by their knowledge about space, a critical assessment of these professions has been priorly indicated by Lefebvre, within the debates for the representation of space. The condition of urban planners, in capitalist practices, is characterized with blindness. Further, Lefebvre, states that “.. what architecture allows us the choice between pleasure and unpleasure, joy and sorrow? None.”(2014[1991]: 25). This comment figures out the two-fold impacts of design expert productions that they mobilize a mean for consent by joy and force by sorrow. The role of expert knowledge, illustrating urban planning and architecture, is a field of critique. In this context, this part elaborates on professional exercises and questions currently on how they impact the formations of consent or coercion.

Design processes of architecture and (urban) planning are considered basically products enrolled in official processes, and they are visual practices for imagined spatial organization, is expressed in Gottdiener's words that “Blueprints of urban planning and architecture, functionally do not only serve public as an official work but also by design illustrates future spatial practices for imagined environment” (1995:47). About urban planning expertise, it works in the same manner by

designing space with physical, economic and social aspects with visual means. What designers produce are described as "graphic and visual, tending towards metalanguage", and beyond that, they are forming up "a social body, they attach themselves to institutions, their system tends to close itself off, impose itself and elude all criticism" (Lefebvre, 1996:152). Planning exercises which are involved in state-bound interventions, clarified by Castells such that: "Planning documents appear in fact to be the formalization of projects of urban organization, whose underlying social and political logic we have been able to establish. The logic is different for each document and relates systematically to the evolution of political hegemony at the heart of the institutional system on which each planning organism is based." (1978: 86). It is explicit that planning practices are the veins of hegemony and operational and engaged in political power relations. How to control and express power on behalf of the authority and capital is functioned by the of planning merits.

The designers, having expert knowledge, have significance in the formation of the built environment since urban landscapes, are the "locus of meanings" (Hubbard, 1996). These meanings, driven through perception, have a political impulse. Designers have been acknowledged for their form based products' plurality, which consists of form affective. What architects do is produce an interlayer via built form, on which individuals perceive and engage in consensual realities or coercive.

Changes in capitalism, as relevant, are correlated followingly with new architectural agenda and built forms as developed by production and consumption dynamics or requirements (Spencer, 2018). Contemporary modest architectural practices, according to the ordinance of neoliberalism organization, are commonly characterized with the aesthetic based upon controlled convergences and continuous mobility, the properties likewise fluidity, compatibility, circulation, dynamism, forms ensuring comfort, productive, elegancy, visually powerful, etc.; on the contrary, the forms of complexity and stimulant, increasing exacerbate figures. Typical forms, by trendy architecture or flagship projects, are some objects of spatial organization wherein "domination of the metonymic figure" causes

“hegemony of ambiance” (Gottdiener, 1995:47). Conceptually, "strategic beautification" driven by design exercises is a key concept about the materiality of urban space throughout operating power relations. Because penetrating public thoughts by the perception of beauty, despite the term itself, is a debatable issue, is related to the processes of manufacturing consent. Covering the strategic beautification, it is critical to notice aesthetics or “aestheticizing politics” (Goonewardena, 2005) to analyze the role of urban space in hegemony. One step further for strategic beautification, there is a fetishism of spatial forms/processes. Upon the critique of fetishism in Capital, Shields (1999: 150) points out how fetishism can reach a radical point. Our research criticizes the fetishized forms by expert practices and how largely they stimulate the exercises of hegemony.

To stimulate consumption via commodified places, architecture is being used "a brand in itself for the sake of overvaluing the places". Current architecture practices, thus, are criticized through serving to "image-making" objective assisting the abstract space, rather than only "design expertise" (Karakaya, 2015: 8). Besides, all singular image-making efforts of architecture in urban environments drive an outright political phenomenon in capitalist societies. Images in that sense, as the revolver of perceptions with social impact, are the resources of capital accumulation and means of everyday practices, thereby manufacturing hegemony.

Indeed, image building is an essence of design expertises - urban planning and architecture - and it is a political phenomenon, therefore, it is always on the agenda of political power. “Image-building in politics is nothing new. Spectacle, pomp and circumstance, demeanour, charisma, patronage, and rhetoric have long been part of the aura of political power. And the degree to which these could be bought, produced, or otherwise acquired has also long been important to the maintenance of that power” (Harvey, 1989: 329). Along with the increase of the (re)production of the built environment, and spatial fixing processes, those image-building practices and reordering of space fabricated by the design experts have scaled up. Beyond any ethical concern, current planning practices exactly function in this manner in the mode of flexibility, deregulation, and lack of ethics and principles. Over-

fragmentation of planning orders (Duyguluer, 2012), “deregulation and liberalization of planning regulations” (Balaban, 2008:7) are associated with each other. Those bring forth uncontrollable urban change, urban development, and increasing the production of built environment wherein state role and state spatial interventions are significant, the key to driving capital accumulation through the built environment. Irrepressible patterns of those have a crucial impact on the construction of hegemony. Non-commodified spaces thought as new sources to be appropriated for capital accumulation are an apparent subject of current planning exercises. Those planning practices oriented to market mechanisms place on the construction of hegemony, which is the criticized point of this study. They are seemingly depriving critical enforcement while easily engaging in the system operation.

An in-depth exploration of the litigation process: Juridical conflicts about space

Following the above discussion, there is a conflicted medium in the legal ground, by litigation processes for planning implementations. The fact that the researcher was involved in the exploration of litigation processes in the Chamber of City Planners (CCP), which is briefly expressed in the fourth chapter, draws out another motivation to carry out this study. It is believed that litigation processes notably held on the planning exercises and administrative acts related to change of urban space refer to a conflict zone. This is a medium of the struggle of powers. It is an attempt to drive counter-hegemony on the level of conceived space. As seen that litigation processes in this scope have scaled up in the AKP era, according to the extending urban changes, embodying spatial forms, relations, and processes. In simple terms, litigation processes mean a struggle zone, and therefore we pay attention and discuss.

Moving beyond the experience of Gezi uprising: Considering possibilities and challenges of counter-hegemony practices

Gezi, as a rebellion, has come out through the dynamism of contradictions of capitalism, which is drawn through urban space (re)production processes. It portrays a political possibility or reversal of practices, and it originated through historical dialectics through the fluxes of social relations. (Ollman 1971). In line with Marx's historical dialectics, Gramsci imparts a political possibility for a revolutionary potential "conditioned by contradictions within capitalism" (Glassman, 2013: 247). Gezi refers to a realization of such political potential, and explicitly, it is meant for a war of positions. Glassman emphasizes Gramsci's works that examine "the possibility of a rebellion in contexts of hegemony", and he moves beyond the assertion that "hegemony is a concept which shows that political manoeuvring matters and leads to historically contingent outcomes." (2013:242). Gezi is considered a long-due historical and current phenomenon, that Gezi as the practice of rebellion can still have its potential of a rejuvenating uprising. Therefore it draws our attention within the discussions of hegemony and counter-hegemony.

Due to the trajectories of capitalist urbanization, people are exposed to several contradictions and compelled to challenge them, and inhabitants drive their dissent. As those trajectories are particularly concentrated in many cities of Turkey but at most in İstanbul, the dissent of inhabitants raised up in 2013 in the Gezi movement. Reflections towards the spatial interventions to the Taksim Gezi park square has spread out across the country and scaled up with diverse means of urban questions such as urban transformations, which are rapidly increased in the recent period of Turkey, discrimination policies, urban inequalities, appropriation, and exchange of commons, commodification of public spaces, anxieties aroused through the everyday life of the capitalist urbanism and vice versa.

Gezi movement, enabling to gain the consent of the subordinate classes, refers to the counter-hegemonic bloc through a Gramscian understanding since it involves political struggles and comes out on the contrary condition of hegemony, which is supposedly related with the relations of "privatization of land, flexibilization of labour, reorganization of social policies, depoliticizing of impoverishment and neoliberal populism with its discourses, political/ideological/cultural codes and

symbols” (Turhan, 2018: 5). Even though we agree that those are significant driving forces triggering impacts for the Gezi. We assume that the scope of AKP hegemony is rather broader and should be specifically analyzed in spatial terms. Nevertheless, the Gezi movement causes a hegemonic crisis, disrupting the hegemony of AKP therefore, leads it to reconstruct and reintroduce of its politics into the rule. That is to say; after Gezi, the political ruling has turned into authoritarian. This new political framework has inherently introduced a new repertoire to drive the consent of society. Yet, this range of politics has differed and is much more shaped on the side of practices “armoured by force”. Gezi is a critical historical moment in Turkey. It is a significant breaking point of hegemonic politics and means. For that reason, our research interest comes out of this question: by which constitutions or formations of urban configurations are apprehended sources of dissent and upon this political breaking what are used and influenced to pursue hegemony (again) produced by urban space in the aftermath of the Gezi resistance.

Hegemony and counter-hegemony have a compelling struggle among each other. They are simultaneously reproduced and should be reproduced in line with the new conditions. To expand and strengthen counter-hegemony, a survey of hegemonic forces is essential. Thus, exploring a defined period is fundamental to draw characteristics of genesis of hegemony for definite spatial geography and time. By considering the changes in living conditions at present, understanding hegemony is possible via tracing the offers of the theory of the production of space. This study makes an empirical exploration in the framework and extends the scope of interests that is briefly expressed above.

2.3 The methodological challenge for urban studies

This study alleges that spatial exercise of hegemony is realized through spatial forms, processes, and relations. It pursues to express the validity of this hypothetical affirmation spotlighting the current urban context. However, there is

not a simple way of research. Indeed, this part alleges that already applied research ways seem insufficient, especially for urbanists, space researchers, and geographers, since these do not enable them to picture intricate multiple dimensions of power relations of urban space. This part will discuss some methodological challenges about the research related to hegemony and urban space and express why this study seeks to find possible ways to get to the frontiers of the commonly adopted methodologies. This study is searching for answers for how spatial exercise of hegemony can be observed, and investigated, what are methodological limitations to do so, why we need to acquire possible ways to advance our understanding, and how a fortiori fieldwork will be conducted.

Hegemony is a societal phenomenon since it is politically and socially produced, spontaneously or ontologically produced as spatially with central lines. Hegemony is realized by condensation of micro and macro levels of experiences, sensations, and knowledge. The scope of this condensation is configured by articulations of several means of corporeal and incorporeal issues, in terms of spatial relations, processes, and forms through which class interests are (re)apprehended, and political ascriptions of the facts are dwelled through. Resolving this condensed or interwoven feature of the phenomenon is not simple at all. Moreover, it is a product of aggregated relationalities and of multi-scalar temporalities and spatialities. Therefore, it does not seem easy to unearth the components, factors in a smooth manner. Maybe some tendencies, major lines of the converges of abstract and absolute spaces in the name of hegemony will be put forward.

Notably, the methodological challenges of this study are settled on two topics. The one is related to an epistemological debate. To what extent will we know that something, some spatial configuration is hegemonic or not, and how are the relations of domination and subordination internalized through which relations? Without enlarging the epistemological terrain, it does not seem possible to understand those. The studies commonly do what is commonly done by surveying dominant discourses, dominant interventions or ruling sense of agent corporations-coalitions, interpreting such as written and material forms, and theoretical insights

and point out, but perhaps this is one way of depicting and causes an epistemological question. Because they stay insufficient to clarify how it is internalized socially - especially how they are experienced by the working class, examining spatial embeddedness and entrapments of workers (Herod, 2003), and their survival motives through everyday life. If this aspect is ignored or overemphasized, then the studies will be limited. Assuredly, they have some explorations such as developmentalism through the new urban figures, the corporate relations or -expectations of- gaining rent through the land- are some relations to internalize the dominant interests and reveal. However, we require to find out more regarding the changing urban conditions and variegated formations regarding the differentiated circumstances, such as changing materialities of the built urban environment, current contradictions, and what are resolved within the new scope of circumstances. Will it be enough to state profoundly that something is hegemonic and the reason why it is hegemonic without asking or investigating the essential targeted social group? Thus, it is believed that considering the accuracy of the epistemological terrain, it is necessary to inquire how workers apprehend and challenge through. At this point, we will appoint another question mark for the studies, which rests upon historical analysis and explicating hegemonic formations for a defined period and space. These kinds of studies are carried out by just reviewing the written, and published sources will be bounded since they are not validating the empirical terrain. Nevertheless, they can be defined as the studies in a comfort zone contrary to this study which pursues to overcome those supposed insufficiencies, therefore left in an adventurous position.

Spatial dimensions of hegemonic projects are not drawn in a top-down manner. Defined circumstances concerning specific configurations of spatial division have a limited sphere because majorly projects and strategies are defined according to the political conflicts. So, those figures are interpreted over and over, embracing a discoverable character. Beyond that, local powers, allied with the power bloc, also impact these processes. Relations and structures generated in any spatial form are outcomes of the interaction of those powers (Şengül, 2009: 54). This is a macro-

level political analysis, yet it provides a well researchable terrain. To expand the understanding, micro levels of spatial configurations are taken into consideration. There is “a sense of order” (Lefebvre, 2014[1991]: 54) in/through the space. Thus, The pretense is revealing those ordering aspects and getting in through in-depth of the relations of near and far order.

This study challenges to exceed the frontiers of knowledge-based research and documentary reviews, believing that it is fundamental to analyze top-down issues and bottom-up issues and the contradictory relations of the two to abolish the obstacles to apprehend the broadened scope of relations. Methodological ways of phenomenology and ethnography will be applicable and guiding as they are means of exploring how people understand their urban environment and how they experience. Briefly to explain, phenomenology is an individual’s conceptualization for condition, object, phenomenon, and it is oriented towards any of them (Heidegger, 1985; Husserl, 1964; Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Indeed it is an understanding of “the moments of seeing-meaning or “in-seeing”” (Manen, 2007: 11). This in-being, realized as in-seeing, is a genre of knowing and practice in any moment of everyday life (Heidegger, 1985), constituting its reasonable terrain. Also, Lefebvre introduces a concept of lived spatialization along with his survey on the meaning of space and relations of meaning. In this respect, the production of space,presents a pathway that is committed to enhancing phenomenology of space with a radical manner, throughout criticizing “the denial of individual and community’s ‘rights to space’ under the abstract spatialization embodied in capitalism and technocratic knowledge structures of the state”. This approach has advanced urban studies and the political economy of urban space (Shields, 1999:146). Moreover, ethnography is the way of asking descriptive questions with a phrase of “how” to understand meanings and themes by which people’s actions are ascribed to (Walcott, 2008). In brief, ethnographic research aims to define impacts, dimensions, aspects, and related reactions of a community or individual about an issue or event, via analyzing past and present experiences. The essence of practical consciousness is a temporal issue; thus it is described as living and

interrelating a continuity in itself. Thereby, it enables understanding actual processes of power and inequality in geography and discovering power relations, and urban questions in respect. Ethnography has been widely used in urban studies. Because, urbanists are interested in how people behave in a definite urban space in order to understand problems and steer its work by obtaining “the meanings that infuse the daily lives and activities” (Emerson 2001, 13; cited in Ocejó, 2013), as well. From the other perspective, urban contexts, as holding key importance, in which people live and experience, by any means, influence the ethnographers. Herein, while examining how people experience everyday life and ascribe political meanings to do so, the means of hegemony, those methodological ways seem critical.

The second challenge intends to survey very ordinary and much-seen issues, the spatial forms and processes, embracing the spatial practices. Along with the first examination above, this study which seeks to trace the power relations held and reproduced within the ordinariness of everyday life, is something not interested in surveying. Spatial forms and the practices in those are commonly either pre-stated that they are something hegemonic with or left as under-explored, only-explored by the symbolic features. Thus, spatial forms are commonly approached as reified. However, they are significant in going through the depths of the imaginations and internalization of the dominant interests. On that thought, this study seeks to scratch interest in the everyday praxis, which can be defined as the research’s grey zones. In other words, even though it is clearly known and accepted that spatial forms and processes are significant sources of power relations, domination and subordination, they are put into an investigation to analyze comprehensively by which means they are apprehended. In essence, what is scrutinized is how class interests are apprehended within concerning the excessive reproduction of the built environment. The challenge of this study is to find underlying articulations in the ordinary everyday practices that impel the exercise of hegemony. For instance, it questions the under-estimated aspect, such as small-scaled relations of spatial experience, that makes a possible layout to raise an approval for large-scale

reproduction of urban space projects. Also, not even the high-rise buildings, gated communities or shopping malls, usually elaborated themes in urban political analyses, are common components of spatial elements that exercise hegemony; thus, we affirm that there are diversified markings of spatial forms. “The processes and strategies by which abstract space becomes hegemonic are highly differential” (Kipfer, 2008: 201). The difference is a given characteristic in which power relations activate, and onward, hegemony treats over the conflicts. Herein, this study intends to posit that taking into account ordinary seen multi-scaled relations of spatial practices and differentiated, contradictory spaces. By following those, we will be able to dig into the essential aspects of hegemonic exercises. Furthermore, what we need to discriminate is alignment or confrontations of force and consent, for which Lefebvre says that “The architecture of power doesn’t hesitate to make use of cruelty, as if power found in it a source of enjoyment” (2014[1991]: 13) and remarks that there is duality and embeddedness of force and consent while pursuing the way of hegemonic exercises. Besides, this study’s challenge is to find commonalities and common points throughout examining the diversified, stratified and differentiated spatial experiences and then asserting that these are possible indicators of exercise of hegemony. This line has insisted on conducting an extended research scope rather than focusing on a specific site, such as surveying a supposed conflict of space. It is because it will be more explicit about drawing common points within the scope of enlarged apprehending issues, which possibly indicate the common senses of the society. Nevertheless, settling such an extended way of research is complex and possibly conceives some weakening points; therefore, it needs to be conducted in detail with long-termed, in-depth, carried out with a significant number of interviews.

In sum, this chapter displayed the origin of the research problem and context of the study. It firstly presented the preliminary discussions about the exercises of hegemony. It secondly unveiled the contextual forces that convey us to do this work. Thirdly, it exposed the methodological challenges about surveying the spatial means of hegemony.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter displays the theoretical framework of the study. It examines the main theories and conceptual debates about hegemony and the production of space.

The relations of power and space are intrinsic understanding class relations, relations of dominance and subordination, thereby exercising of hegemony. Because space is produced through and product of the relations of classes and the power relations among classes. In the foreword of Lefebvre's book *Production of Space*, Remi Hess (1991) denotes that dominant classes use space as an instrument. A multi-purpose instrument: to scatter the working class, disjoint them in certain places, sustain flows by making society obey some rules, in this way, make space subordinate to political authority, control space and manage society in a technocratic manner while providing relations of capitalist production. The capitalist rationale is control over space and spatial practices, property relations, social relations, and vice versa; forthrightly impact everyday life.

“Without the concepts of space and of its production, the framework of power (whether as reality or concept) simply cannot achieve concreteness.” (Lefebvre, 1991: 281).

Space is socially reproduced, a dialectical product of locus and focus by which they are expressed such that a locus of where contingent issues take place and a focus for what (social) agents and behavioural units tend towards. Space is (re)structured by social agents and (re)produced and transformed by social activities. By doing so, objective and subjective experiences are produced and throughout its meanings are attributed to spatial forms. Those processes are reproduced within the circumstances of historical and structural relations (Keskinok, 1997).

For any moment of space and time production, it is alive with the dynamics of the social struggles that depend on the changing power relations and various social entities (Harvey, 2015:229). Thus, space is the ultimate locus and medium of struggle, and is, therefore, a crucial political issue, and “today more than ever, the class struggle is inscribed in space” (Lefebvre, 1991: 55).

There is an oeuvre on relations of power and space and politics of space spanning relations of state and space, power of (urban) design, space and relations of classes, and class struggles. This part thenceforward goes with a review of the thoughts on hegemony and space. In this scope, the production of space constitutes the keystone of a theoretical approach to resolve and apprehend sovereignty over everyday life and hegemony in urban space, evoking force or consent, employing several contexts.

3.1 Debates on the relationship of hegemony and (urban) space

Continuously, the production of urban space and the organization of everyday life in capitalist order are in reproduction. For whom interest, benefit and enjoyment and by whose sufferings is it running through? How is this process settled on or configured for the enjoyment of capitalist and dominant orders? Is it possible to keep this process, power of domination without driving subordination of masses, of working-class? To reverse the power relations, what are the possible cracking points of this process? What is the central role of (urban) space in power relations and the exercise of capitalism? Making such a stream of scrutinization intrinsically and conceptually brings forth the concept of hegemony. Herein, it is a straightforwardly expository term, and in this sense, we put a central emphasis. Theories of hegemony and debates and studies on hegemony about the urban space pave significant ways for our questionings providing several resolutions and openings. However, it is believed that the exercises of hegemony through urban space glimpse a critical research area in conjunction with urban studies. They are in the

forms of temporally-nuanced exercises, expressed in different contexts and scopes, therefore, necessarily to be surveyed.

What is hegemony? To state our approach, it is a temporal form and process of complex and intertwined power relations within the scope of which class alliances dwelled, throughout rolling out the will of society - exercising subordination and domination of the ruling orders, power bloc. Hegemony refers to the embracement of dominant classes' interests and ideas by the working class either in a consent-wise or force-wise manner. It is a concept expressing the alliance of classes for/on the dominant interests, exercised by consent or force. In the same breath, hegemony is a medium of classes with struggling and conflicting means, thus be continuously reproduced. Considering that class alliances, as well as class conflicts, are materialized through the production of space. Therefore, hegemony is a key concept in urban space processes since urban space is the medium of survival of capital accumulation wherein the processes of power relations are reproduced through. In this sense, it is assumed that spatial forms, relations, and processes exercise hegemony. (Re)setting-production of power relations is driven (in an urbanized world) through these three. In simple terms, hegemony is exercised through some aspects - forms of spatial practices and those practices. These are as follows: by conditions of i) inclusion of space by willing and desire, ii) inclusion by negotiated forms (via driving consent or enforcement/coercion), or/and iii) exclusion of space by coercive impositions or enforcements. Three moments of practice produced in urban space are inherently related to the apprehension of class interest, power relations and implicitly related to the exercises of hegemony.

For urban space, hegemony is the conditions, relations and configuration of urban space that dominant groups, capitalists and political power (state) enjoy. Spatial forms, relations and processes, are one and other in an articulated way, embedded in everyday life practices in doing so they impact society -classes- by several means of urges and lead us subordinate to the dominant orders. How do these three pillars exercise? Aiming to understand the exercises of hegemony through urban space and expose its properties (for the Turkey case) with challenges, articulations,

scales, positions and vice versa, we particularly emphasize spatial forms, processes and relations. We question how they figure out and reproduce the exercises of hegemony. Considering everyday life experiences within the context of immense corporeality and changes of urban spaces imposed to constant reproduction and rapidly increased changes of the urban built environment, the more spatial forms, processes and relations become research subjects of current politics. Concerning that, this study goes over those to have a better understanding.

Going to the depth and origins of the debates that purvey and ground our conceptual debate and research question, this part reviews the main theoretical and conceptual debates on the concept of hegemony. It exposes embraced and interlinked theoretical approaches about the research. This part examines explicitly the approaches related to urban space and the production of space. For that purpose, this part outlines as follows: hegemony for Gramsci, socio-semiotic approach for hegemony within which Gottdiener approach is primary, and it is also accounted as Gramscian and Althusserian approach, Neo-Gramscian debates on hegemony for which Joseph's and Jessop's arguments take place, debates of capital accumulation in relation with hegemony in which Harvey's and Lefebvre's thoughts are primary because they explicitly express relations of hegemony with the political economy of space to drive capital accumulation. These arguments are followed by Lefebvre's thoughts on the debates on hegemony and production of and finally Kipfer's approach, as a lexicon of two main approaches, Gramscian and Lefebvrian approach for hegemony.

3.1.1 Hegemony for Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci's thoughts are principal whenever arguing the concept of hegemony. Although not the pioneering author, remembering Lenin used the hegemony concept in his political analysis for the Soviet Union, Gramsci's hegemony approach is valid and living. This part demonstrates the political backbone and evolution of the term hegemony. Beyond Gramsci's major work,

there are certainly propelling discussions upon it. In this regard, subsequent debates related to space set the bases to dwell upon our primary considerations. To begin with, Lenin's understanding of hegemony is different from Gramsci's theory. For Lenin (1990), hegemony was a consideration of proletarian hegemony that corresponds to relations of the proletariat with oppressed groups, the workers, to succeed in revolution; in other words, alliances of the workers class with other social groups. Because, for revolution, social aggregates should be prepared for and occupied with revolutionary ideas. In that line, socialist hegemony should replace bourgeois hegemony, organized with its staff and revolutionist practices for a socialist society. Hegemony, however, is known contrary to Lenin's approach at large. Nonetheless, it is essential in order to understand social changes and revolutionary conditions. Policy, just only, aiming hegemony could be revolutionary (Savran, 1998). This is one of the motives of this study, in critical thinking conditions of capitalist urbanization and seeking possible counter practices for the current political climate.

In the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution, Gramsci developed hegemony in his famous work, *Prison Notebooks*. In his notebooks, he questions the organization of the state, movements of workers class, and power relations (conditions of domination and subordination) among them while challenging the role of education, intellectuals, practices of churches, religion, military power, jurisdiction, and media in society. In these discussions, hegemony settles at the core, and bourgeois hegemony analysis is a threshold matter. Historically, movements in Soviets propel him to compare and understand the social and political dynamics. Within this scope, he finds out that East and West social organizational patterns in civil society and political society are unlike. Hence, as a basis, hegemony in Gramsci's thought dwells upon the consent manufacturing mechanisms of bourgeoisie applied for workers.

Extending far from power relations driven by the state interventions in terms of juridico-political, Gramsci notices complex relations of institutions, organizations and affairs, which entails relations of political, intellectual and moral in between

dominant and subaltern. On that, stressing the extensive framework political sphere, it is redefined that “political sphere can be seen as the domain where attempts are made to (re-)define a 'collective will’ for an imagined political community and to (re-)articulate various mechanisms and practices of government and governance in pursuit of projects deemed to serve it” (Jessop, 1997:29). Herein, hegemony is understood as the intended phenomena of which society's will is driven and engaged in line through the objectives of power, political authority, and dominant classes.

With historical stress, the theory of hegemony originates from the political conjuncture of the passive revolution discussions, and as it is stressed, it is a matter of political requirement. Gramsci developed his idea by tracing some stages. While primarily, it was claimed that hegemony indicates the alliances between proletariat and peasantry against the capitalists' constraints. He finally made it apparent that hegemony is a practice of societal foundation of the dominant class' political power -as a device of the state - in civil society (Anderson, cited in Thomas, 2009).

Simply, hegemony refers to practices of dominance, as Gramsci defined. He claims that hegemony is a political issue, yet it is also economic and for that reason, the dominant class, as far as possible, supports what really matters for themselves by the time the dominant class has to find a way to repress and weaken any rebellion fruits. Even so, while debating historical social balance, he claims that there is a far-reaching layout of contradictions rather than just a problem caused by economic disruption or wealth, which is active within the different levels of power relations (2012[1996]: 200-260). In that sense, hegemony is came out of a requirement for a kind of balance caring for both interests and tendencies of the groups to which hegemony operates. For Gramsci, “to become the leading and dominant class” wherein hegemonic forces exercise the conditions are dependent on “its capacity to form class alliances, mobilizing, in particular, the real consent and active support of the broad” masses of society (1978; cited in Jessop, 2005: 429). Class alliances that are configured among the classes and “petty-bourgeois intellectuals” benefiting the masses' support is significant. Hence, the power bloc will gain the power to

disperse counter alliances and make them subordinate. About the term “power bloc”, Gramsci claims that particular characteristics of class struggles in capitalist form and capitalist enable the mechanism of power bloc, consisting of dominant political classes and various fractions of power. This, composed hegemonic class, has a specific role, concentrating two functions: representing common interests of the public as if embracing them all, and being in relation with dominant classes and the capitalist state. For him, the hegemonic class represents not only the economic benefits of dominant classes but also political interests (Poulantzas, 2014 [1982]: 160-219).

For Gramsci, hegemony could not be reduced to a simple dominance of power or force. However, it presents a ruling function and a historical condition constituted by dominance-subordination relations based on subaltern groups' active consent (Poulantzas, 2014 [1982]: 157). There is a continuous interplay of politics between classes, and the Gramscian approach is significant understanding the relations of domination and subordination (Sargin, 1997:29). According to Gramsci, the concept of hegemony refers to the wars of the movement and wars of positions in politics (Anderson, cited in Thomas, 2009; Kipfer, 2008). Furthermore, for the post-war period Gramsci (2012[1996]: 250-257) denotes a significant problem for political theory, which is the transition of the war of manoeuvre to the war of positions. Within the framework of positions of war among leaders/strategists and subaltern groups, there is a great concentration of hegemony and, in accordance, repressions to opponents whereby dominant classes control via political, administrative means strengthening their positions.

Furthermore, Gramsci's contribution to the theory of the state is important. It can be summarized as follows: The capitalist state is composed of ‘political society’ and ‘civil society’ (Heywood, 1994, 100-101). However, for Gramsci (2012[1996]: 201, 249-280), the discrimination of civil society and political society is methodological, and these two constitute a unity in perceptible historical life. Besides, the state is an instrument of government and a particular apparatus of hegemony or civil society. Hegemony is somehow activated through state

interventions, given that parliament, judgment, and government are three pillars of political hegemony.

With the associational state perspective, Gramsci (Thomas, 2009: 201) claims that: State does not just act to legitimize and protect the sovereignty of the dominant class, by the time it has also made practical and theoretical attempts for manufacturing consent of ruled people. According to this thought, the state is not solely a force apparatus imposing from upper to bottom. Force is associated with some consent mechanisms favorable to conditions of society (Gramsci, 1971). In an associational way, the state becomes a network of social relations aiming to integrate subordinate classes with the pioneer social group's expansionary historical development project through forming public consent. The associational form of state is not limited to governmental mechanisms and legal institutions. Instead, there is an integration of civil society and political society at stamping moments. Civil society is the arena of social classes to achieve social and political leadership or to compete constructing hegemony over the other classes. In that sense, such hegemony guarantees to use the legal power materialized in political society's institutions; by the way, it raises legitimization to legal assembly. Specification of civil society is significant. According to Gramsci, civil society's principal responsibility is to present a frequented place or semi-stage for organic transition assimilating subordinate classes to dominant classes. Civil society, the space of hegemonic relations, provides a real and actual image of independence to subordinate social groups (Thomas, 2009: 200-209). Gramsci saw civil society as the public sphere where trade unions and political parties gained concessions from the bourgeois state, and a sphere in which ideas and beliefs were shaped where "bourgeois 'hegemony' was reproduced in cultural life through the media, universities and religious institutions to 'manufacture consent' and legitimacy" (Heywood, 1994, 100-101).

In prison notebooks, Gramsci compiles four main properties of hegemony as following; i) hegemony means a strategy aiming to manufacture consent against force, ii) Hegemony is active in civil society rather than state, iii) Sphere of the

activity is more appropriate for war of positions (for west) more than war of manoeuvre (for east), iv) Hegemony is applicable to bourgeoisie and proletariat leadership strategies since it is a comprehensive and formal social-political power theory (Thomas, 2009: 228). However, there is a change for hegemony formulation figured in Gramsci's notes, which was formerly equal to consent, lately corresponded to consent and force. Similarly, while hegemony was an issue ranked with civil society limits in earlier writings, its framework expanded and elaborated with the state (Anderson, 2007:43-44).

It is all noticed that hegemony carries out different meanings within the span of Gramsci's works. At first, the concept of hegemony was used to figure the alliances among peasants and workers. Afterward, the moments of meaning have expanded from political leadership to cultural leadership via making some cultural assessments. Hegemony involves civil society's all institutions of which have relationships in fostering and spreading culture. It is used as a method of one social group applying to another group, in which consent factors matter. Besides, it is an area based upon consent; indeed, it corresponds to a power area depending on coercion and dictatorship. In order to manufacture consent, it is essential to care for the experiences and tendencies of the target social group and develop universal discourses beyond class interests. Thus, hegemony lies in a meeting in between certain objective conditions and de facto force of the dominant group.

Dialectical relationship of consent and coercion

Hegemony refers to "the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules" (Gramsci, 1971: 244). The basic principles of the operating concepts of hegemony - consent, as majorly, and coercion- are significant in order to understand the dynamic operating nature of the hegemony. Major emphasis is the dialectical relationship between these two. Gramsci reveals a perspective enabling the development of a historical-dialectical

relationship among two. He identifies a political hegemony term “common sense” as a contact point of civil society and political society with consent and coercion.

Power is activated when there are legitimized conditions for force, regarding the framework that subaltern groups have minimum consent for any fact (Poulantzas, 2014 [1982]: 119). The genuine starting point of Gramsci (Thomas, 2009: 231-237) is the dialectical integration of consent and force; and hegemony and domination, which have main differences. Gramsci precisely indicates their dialectical relationships rationally apprehended, despite the thoughts acclaiming consent and force having a controversial relationship. Consent and coercion are implicit in each other, and they are considered the common stamping ground of hegemonic projects. Moreover, consent and force comprehensively balance each other for preserving certain and unbalanced equivalents within the two terminals of hegemony. In principle, force should not be perceived as dominant over consent. Mostly in parliamentary regimes, force is an ultimate guarantee of consent; even sometimes consent legitimate a condition is portrayed as a force. Here there is a simple rule of consent that turns into a force; consent which is evolved by crystallization as a common sense of allied social groups, sometimes becomes a force, and it is applicable for the contrarian social groups (Thomas, 2009: 234-236). In this sense, hegemony is always contestable and exercised by interlinkages of “coercion and persuasion” (Glassman, 2013: 244). When Gramsci emphasizes that dialectical integrity is the backbone of the commonly accepted controversies, he asserts that dialectical inlines comprise a substantial relationship between coercion and consent. Consent and coercion are implicit in each other, and they are considered joint (Thomas, 2009: 236). The relationship between moment of coercion and moment of consent is defined with complementariness. Moreover, Poulantzas underlines the notion of 'hegemony armoured by coercion', which is similarly socially organized force i.e. police, military forces, judgement system etc., as features of power relations (2014 [1982]: 261-262).

After the arguments as basis, there follows how Gramsci’s thoughts on hegemony have spatial insights.

Gramscian thinking by space: Reviewing Gramsci's works with spatial stress

In the last decade, there have been studies dealing with Gramsci's thinking of geographically, territorially and spatially besides historically while theorizing his political statements. Many scholars have emphasized spatial aspects of Gramsci's oeuvre, indeed his political analysis, namely by Kipfer, Jessop, Morera, Said, Morton, Eker, Hart, and Loftus. Those scholars point out that the spatial nature of Gramsci's thinking has been neglected for a long time. Although in Gramsci's oeuvre, there is no specified session with "space" term at all, his elaborations are taken into account through the spatial understanding that is assumed as an important aspect of his analysis as inherently used and presented.

Whereas the spatial turn profoundly impacts social theory, Gramsci's thoughts within this span have been unconcerned (Eker and Loftus, 2013). Even though this way of approach, spatial and geographical apprehension of Gramsci's thoughts provides a broader perspective to understand and utilize his political assessments, it was omitted. Therefore those mentioned studies emphasizing Gramsci's spatial insights can be acclaimed as late works, the awakening that Gramsci's thoughts are produced spatially or geographically. Nevertheless, it is an essential contribution to politics, urban studies, and Marxist geography studies, and radical geography.

"Gramsci emerges as a spatial thinker as much as he does as a historical thinker" because Gramsci's analysis of history that embodies "spatiotemporality of all social relations", and likewise in his political analysis, spatial analysis is explicit with the exploration of strategies and aiming to develop strategies for the possibilities of revolution (Jessop, 2005: 435).

Gramsci's spatial analysis is evident in his all elaborations such "relations of production, the determined market (*mercato determinato*), the contrast between the dynamism of Americanism and Fordism and the relative stagnation of European and Soviet planned economies, the forms of class relations (economically, politically, intellectually), the territoriality of state formation and the relative strengths or weakness of specific states (considered both in terms of political and

civil society), the spatial roots of intellectuals and their different functions in economic, political and moral organization, the nature of political alliances, the appropriate forms of economic–corporate, political, and military strategy, etc.”, as Jessop exemplifies (2005:435). Moreover, Harvey claims that Gramsci presents one of the pioneering works of ‘geographical historical materialism’ since he incorporates “temporal and spatial perspectives” together. For instance, it is clear in “state” analysis, as it is approached through “complex interconnections with states and political forces on other scales” rather than a simple container of power relations on a national scale (Harvey 1982, cited in Jessop, 2005: 425).

In the same line, Ekers and Loftus (2013:16-17) state that “an engagement with Gramsci provides a rich approach to space, nature, politics, and difference through emphasizing a historicist and spatial method that is rich in possibilities for political practice”. It is said that Gramsci’s “historicism is deeply spatialized” since he makes analysis for “specific historical conjunctures” springing with spatial examinations to his writings in passive revolution, “geography for a communist movement”, revolutionary Russia, western Europe, city and country, regional questions such as southern question, east and west, comparative international relations, and vica versa (2013:17). For instance, arguing the spatiality of passive revolution, Morton (2013: 48-49) says that passive revolution is not a simple “spatial metaphor”. It is rather treated as “an emergent spatialization strategy that structured and shaped state power”, i.e., for the case of Italy. He claims that Gramsci’s approach draws out to understand power relations within the context of geographical and spatial senses. As is apparent, “Gramsci’s historicism is spatial: his geographically nuanced analysis of social relations and political projects emerged out of the same method that yielded his historically differentiated insights”(Kipfer, 2013:83).

In Gramscian analysis, politics are profoundly historical and deeply geographical practices. His thoughts are geographically inflected, it should be accounted for within the scope of social theory and geographic historical materialism (Kipfer, 2013). “Gramsci’s thought was fundamentally geographical” (Said, 2000; cited in

Ekers and Loftus, 2013: 25). Moving on, Gramsci as a “spatial theorist” because Gramsci is interested in space, “specific location in place, space and scale”, thus his perspective is spatio-temporal (Jessop, 2005: 423-424). It is explicit considering the key concepts used such as: “east/west, morphology of the state, north/south, war of position, war of manoeuvre, base and superstructure, historical bloc, hegemonic bloc, molecular transformation, passive revolution, united front, vanguard trenches, fortifications, bulwarks, outer perimeter, different positions of rural and urban, super city, super country, city and countryside” (Gramsci, 1971; Jessop, 2005). These are regarded as spatial metaphors. But, those are more than simple metaphors, Gramsci uses them “in their spatial conditioning and in the relevance of social relations and practices to spatial issues” while doing conjecture analysis for revolutionary practices (Jessop, 2005:424). Gramsci examines space in three main points: “(a) the spatial division of labour” between different scales of territorialities “(b) the territorialization of political power, processes of state formation and the dialectic of domestic and external influences on political life; and (c) different spatial and scalar imaginaries and different representations of space” (Jessop, 2005: 425). Jessop, like other scholars, clearly describes Gramsci as “relational and practical thinker” and states that “Gramsci did not believe that space exists in itself, independently of the specific social relations that construct it, reproduce it and occur within it” (2005: 425). For him, “Space comprises the socially produced grids and horizons of social life. It offers a whole series of strategically selective possibilities to develop social relations that stretch over space and time.” (Jessop, 2005: 425). Therefore, Gramsci has “historically-spatially nuanced approach with strategic thinking” (Kipfer, 2013).

As is explicit above, Gramsci does not favour spatial determinism that means “physical and/or human environment as the most important determinant of social relations and their historical development”, not a spatial fetishism, and within the scope of philosophy of praxis, Gramsci approaches space as history through relationalities (Jessop, 2005: 425). This relational approach that he pursues closes him to Lefebvre.

Gramsci's insight for hegemony is "spatio-temporal and multiscalar" (Kipfer, 2013: 87). Gramsci reckons that examination of bourgeois hegemony in terms of its "strengths, limits, and contradictions" is rolled on "confluence of multiple temporalities" through the "articulations of continuity and discontinuity in particular conjunctures" and "multiscalar and unevenly developed set of spatial relations" by geographical terms (Kipfer, 2013: 85-86).

In debates of hegemony, space is put centrally into the discussion. His approach is "unthinkable outside of the spatial relations through which leadership is constituted" (Ekers and Loftus, 2013: 26). In the notebooks, space is gone through in different contexts and contested. Above and beyond, Kipfer's studies advance arguing hegemony and space by lineaging Gramsci's views with Lefebvre's ones, as detailed in the forthcoming session of this chapter.

Conjunctural analysis

Gramsci uses the concepts related "to issues of place, space and scale as well as to issues of periodization, historical structures, specific conjunctures and social dynamics" (Jessop, 2005: 435). His conjunctural analysis has grounded on the Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire, by which he traces "dialectics of continuity and discontinuity that shape social reality" (Femia 1981: 244–247; Hall 1996: 411–415; cited in Kipfer, 2013: 86). Gramsci esteems space and temporalities of event-like interventions and long *durée* together. For him, "temporal rhythms are all spatialized". Herein, the conjecture analysis is not "a priori separation of different rhythms", instead, seeing the (dis)continuities, it is imbrication of the moments or temporalities (Osborne, 1995:24–27; cited in Kipfer, 2013:86). Gramsci examines "historical situations as a confluence of multiple, spatially mediated temporal rhythms" (Kipfer, 2013: 86-87). His approach, allied with geography and history, centers on analysis of moments aimed at alight political resolutions. For Gramsci, "spatial differentiation and temporal nuance" are pivotal in his political and historical analysis.

Gramsci's analysis of space, scale, and place is principal for his "analysis of revolutionary conjunctures" and political possibilities. This is because, Gramsci is aware that collective will of classes to drive political action is only organized/founded by "co-ordinated and simultaneous in the time and the geographical space in which the historical event takes place" (Gramsci 1971: 194; cited in Jessop, 2005). For instance, while examining Southern Question Gramsci puts "emphasis on the rootedness (or otherwise) of social classes and political and intellectual forces in specific places, spaces and scales of economic and social life" (Jessop, 2005: 424). Therein he draws out conjuncturalities and interwoven relations of spaces, scales and places.

"Gramsci's analyses of conjunctures as moments of struggle that articulate and produce a multiplicity of temporal rhythms, spaces, and scales" (Kipfer, 2013: 98). As is the essence of his thoughts, he treats conjunctural analysis with political sense; not analyze time and space relations by conjuncturalities regardless of politics. To understand and conceptualize possibilities of "communist emancipation", he examines historical phenomena with a political purpose, wherein the idea is that history is resided in or adhered to "subjective interventions" and revolutionary practices can possibly be formed up (Kipfer, 2013: 84-85). On that, Gramsci calls for apprehending and centering on the political - revolutionary practices which are spawn "by the contradictions inherent in the socio spatially uneven development of capitalism" (Glassman, 2013, cited in Ekers and Loftus, 2013: 36); this is wherein the counter-hegemony can be constituted. Drawing attention to "subnational alliances and transnational allegiances" (Kipfer, 2013: 85), Gramsci emphasizes the national strategic aspect of hegemony besides cosmopolitanism while arguing hegemony. Taking into account their contexts through historical and social properties refers to Gramsci's methodologic approach for the "conjunctural analysis". Having this approach, he makes analysis and situates politics, which implies his spatial sensitive historicism. It is apparent while approaching the relationship between city and countryside, two dynamic forms of spatiality.

Elaborations on city and countryside about hegemony

Here are some interpretations of city–countryside relations by which hegemony is discussed. Gramsci analyzes the city and countryside with consideration of “specific geographical situations and particular historical moments”, and they have “spatial character”. Likewise, his understanding of hegemony that is embraced as “both spatio-temporal and multiscalar” (Kipfer, 2013: 87).

For Gramsci, city and countryside are two distinctive spatialities. They are examined as “products of geographically uneven and historically contingent dynamics even as they mediate a variety of social and political forces.” (Ekers and Loftus, 2013: 33). Those two are spatialized through social differences that are entailed and reproduced with several power relations. Since Gramsci acclaims that urbanity and rurality concerning city and countryside are not simple terms of civilizations or local issues but instead, he treats them as “material grounds of historic blocs, products of the interaction of sociopolitical forces, and cultural-ideological parts of hegemonic claims” (Kipfer, 2013: 98) arguing with power relations, state formation and urbanization. Gramsci thinks about political interventions and possible political practices; he embraces the city and the countryside with strategic relationality of powers. Through urbanity and rurality, those two concepts are acclaimed as “elements” and/or “moments” of the struggle for hegemony”. Underneath that, Kipfer brings forth that Gramsci deals with the relationship and transformation of the city and countryside with the purpose of revolutionary practices. Therefore he undertakes them by the concepts of “wars of movement/position” to constitute “communist hegemonic projects” (2013: 83). Stating that “Gramsci’s (as well as Fanon’s and Lefebvre’s) emphasis on hegemony as a project to transform, not magnify, spatial divides (rural, urban, or otherwise) is more crucial than ever” (Kipfer, 2013: 98-99). For that reason, it is important to go over it. While doing it, surveying the contextuels, the spatial forms and social order for the urbanized world, “bourgeois voices” or dominant rulings should be taken into consideration. It is essential to analyze the contemplations of hegemony and counter-hegemony, communist hegemony (Kipfer, 2013).

In addition to Gramsci's well-rounded and initially broad work, there are further arguments regarding hegemony, which are either associated with Gramsci's thought by majorly. This part elaborates some other substantial approaches regarding political power relations and state roles, thus enabling us to dwell our main theoretical discussion.

3.1.2 Socio-semiotic approach for hegemony

Gottdiener's socio-semiotic approach, in brief, operates as an integral of the thoughts of Gramsci and Althusser. Gottdiener (1985: 165-187) enhances the socio-semiotic approach for hegemony, defending that "consciousness of itself can never be controlled", in critique to the explanations of "false consciousness" for hegemony. In closer to Gramsci's perspective, i.e. "conception of the nature of ideological control", Gottdiener exposes that "values counter to the status quo can seep in because cultural creation is a process and not a schematically controlled product.". In addition, he rejects the structurally controllability of ideology, and remarks "relative autonomy of subcultural life". The endeavour is to develop the notion of hegemony occupied in postmodernism and mass culture studies, rendering the producer/object/user relationships. It is aimed to display "processes of meaning production and transformation of connotative sign vehicles" in mass culture. His idea, departing from the common culturalist perspectives, depends "on individuals, critics, objects and events". Under the outlined three semiosis stages, Gottdiener's perspective on decomposition varies from other views developed within semiotics studies. This is a critical point of Gottdiener that explicitly presents the improvement of the socio-semiotic approach. According to him, "Socio-semiotic considers the meaning of material objects as a product of social context" (1985:178). This view postulates a terrain of "struggle over meanings for cultural objects and events that both the dominant and subordinate groups in society must face". The objective of this approach is to retrieve "the lost codes that possess deep, complex cultural intentions which are often altered ideologically in

the process of hegemonic control”(1985). For Gottdiener, the socio-semiotic approach provides to figure out some meanings produced by “subcultural and marginal groups”. In this regard, dominant groups have to renew and reproduce their actions in response so as to reconstruct hegemony. In brief, the process of hegemony in terms of semiosis has validity, obliged to legitimate “class, status and power”. In this respect, the Gottdiener view is considered as an adjustment of the hegemony concept ranked in mass culture.

3.1.3 Hegemony and relations of capital accumulation

This part elaborates hegemony within the framework of the relations of capital accumulation.

Hegemony borns in the factory and does not require much more mediators in terms of politics and ideological, as says Gramsci (2012 [1996]: 208), since he asserts that here, in a factory, the superstructure is dominant and rationalized in this form of society, whereby common conditions for production are settled and exercised via initial rationalization based on industrialization, combining consent and force together. This two-way running mechanism of hegemony settles through the production of space. Hereupon, the critique of urban space’s political economy is subjected through the approaches on capital accumulation and hegemony.

Harvey, by pursuing Marx’s historical materialism that lays on the reality of living, in order to actualize any principles of thinking, discussing, raising children, struggling, enjoying and so on., poses a question on how to sustain the requirements for those. It is denoted that basic necessities and desires have been historically and geographically ever-changing. Thus, the genuine theorization is to survey daily life, everyday life, as referred to Lefebvre’s theory (Harvey, 1989: 23).

Lefebvre says (1976:21) that “Capitalism has survived, only by occupying space, by producing space”. Without a doubt, the main motivation of capitalism is

controlling space and social relations so as to acquire the survival of its logic pursuing the power relations in any geography. According to Lefebvre's claim that space is social reproduction, Harvey states that "control over the creation of that space also confers a certain power over the processes of social reproduction" and figures his idea with, the particular efforts of capitalists, as widely observed, in managing "command over time and space as sources of social power" (1985: 25). For Harvey (1989: 91-92), whatever the issue, power relations of the urban region, state and cosmopolitan organizations, is a product of class struggle. Bourgeois always aims to keep its authority, power and functions, wherever space its hegemony succeeds in. In this manner, hoping to experience revolutionary urbanism, he assumes that capitalism survives since it dominates more powerfully. Onwards Lefebvre's major idea originated as the reason for the production of space.

In this framework, Harvey (1989:20), as majorly, pays attention that capitalism in space should definitely be considered through how space is produced and articulated with capitalist dynamics and contradictions in this process. As apparent, his studies are grounded on the material understanding of how capitalism works. While arguing the theme of spatial aspect of hegemony, it is required to consider the critique of the political economy of urban space which is conceptualized by Harvey, representing spatiality and temporality of capital accumulation. In "Limits to Capital", he (1982: 373) states that: "The historical geography of capitalism has been nothing short of remarkable. People possessed of the utmost diversity of historical experience, living in an incredible variety of physical circumstances, have been welded, sometimes greatly and cajolingly but more often through the exercise of ruthless brute force, into a complex unity under the international division of labour." Meanwhile, for him, by means of subordination of human activity to capital, the exercise of market mechanisms, and relevantly subordination of labour, conversion of it into commodity labour power via primitive accumulation, bring the "radical transformations in social relations". Changes of

the physical urban environment have accompanied this change, and by the way, fostered “uneven geographical development”.

Briefly, the Marxist approach (Harvey, 1989:93) is such that: profit is constituted by means of subordination of labour and whenever capitalists, as a class, desire to reproduce themselves, they are, on and on, required to expand the base of which profit is originated. In this way, the concept is obtained referring to a society grounded on the principle of which is defined as “accumulation for accumulation”, “production for production”. Terms of accumulation and class struggle are twin concepts in understanding urban processes within the circumstances of capitalism. Considering the contradictions of capital, the form of capitalist accumulation brings out an explicit reason for class struggle.

Investigating urbanization is a survey of processes manifested by means of production of physical and social landscapes, and genesis of different manner of thoughts and behaviours between urban and rural people; rather than an analysis of legal, political entity or material composition. This research has to be dealt with spatial organization of production, the transformation of relations assigned to time and space, movement of information, regional class alliances with capital accumulation processes, and changes in the labour force, commodity, and capital flow (Harvey, 1989:21).

Harvey (1989:28) focusses on a phenomenon of capital circulation via production and use of the built environment. Because, according to him, this constitutes a significant aspect in understanding urbanization. Urbanization, for Harvey, is always deemed to use, produce, possess and mass of economic surplus. Urbanization, in capitalism, is used employing numerous particular ways. The objective of the process has dwelled upon the surplus of labour produced, actuated and massed (expropriated capital) and surplus of labour capacity (labour force in the form of commodity) (1989: 85). This approach enables him to conceive the urban geographical landscape as a representation of capital flow, which plays an essential role in shifting routes (in terms of sectoral and geographical) and

emerging and appeasing various crises. In this framework, processes of capital accumulation and urbanization cooperate and generate hand-in-hand. Harvey, (1989: 42) briefly exposes his allegation such that while putting an order in the labour and commodity market, spatial division of production and consumption and hierarchically organized financial coordination, assessment of capital circulation within and among the different period phases demonstrates the settling of processes of capital accumulation in geography. It is because movement in space consumes time and money, competitive capitalism aims to compel spatial entanglements and “annihilation of space by time”; which is critical for profit maximization (Harvey: 1989:42). Harvey (1989:51) draws a basic problem: how an enormous surplus of capital and labour force, as less amount compared to capital surplus, would be massed throughout devaluation and tyrannization.

The basic dynamics of capitalist urbanization are formed among the capital accumulation concept and the role of the production of the built environment in this process. For the continuity of capital accumulation, defeating the inherent crises in capitalism, the built environment has key importance. Harvey analyzes this production of spaces and the relations between the capital accumulation processes. Depending on Lefebvre’s thoughts, in his conceptualization how the overaccumulation crisis resulted in the first circuit is resolved with second and third circuits. In the second circuit of capital is the investment of fixed capital comprises the production urban built environment. “By production of space is meant the process of capital accumulation as it transpires in the real estate sector or the second circuit of capital (Lefebvre, 1994; Gottdiener, 1994), a process that involves investment, circulation and profit realization through the commodification of land.” (Gottdiener, 2000: 266). The capital transformed to a second circuit allows the physical spatial base for production and consumption (i.e. factories, infrastructures, schools, hospitals, housing, commercial utilities, etc.). These components of urban space are continuously reproduced. In the third circuit, state intervention comes to the forefront. State treats directly the reproduction facilities of labour and capital. Harvey’s functionalist explanations, unfortunately, establish

the built environment's economic context; however, it should be evaluated through a broad perspective of political processes, social and political dynamics. It would be realized peculiar to each different geography and socio-spatial variables. Capitalist urbanization is implemented over differentiated political, societal and cultural factors and following them with distinct regulations and forms of socio-political relations (Gottdiener, 1994).

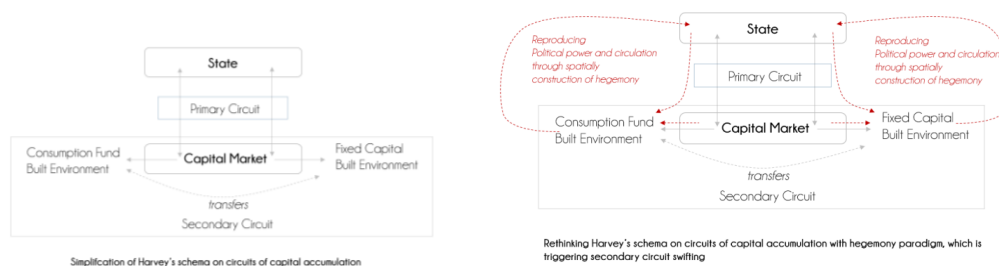


Figure 3.1. Harvey's conceptualization schema on capital accumulation and revision of Harvey's schema by engaging hegemony (Source: Harvey, 1989; Author, 2017)

An inherent problem of overaccumulation is treated by means of two tracks. First, it is able to be massed via increased production of the built environment provided as a form of fixed capital obtained via physical and social infrastructure and via the concentration of productive forces in industrial cities. Second, it is defeated by geographical expansion, suburbanization and sprawling of urban space (Harvey: 1989:51). Along with this, he draws attention to the consumption paradigm and absorption of over-accumulation throughout the flows of capital accumulation. Maintaining the continuity of the capitalist system, it is aimed to create new forms of physical and social landscapes, in which various spatial hegemonic veins are implicitly interplay in this process (see the figure above).

As Marx points in *Capital*, the fundamental law of capitalism is such accumulation for accumulation, in other words, production for production. In time, this caused an over-accumulation problem, crisis. According to Harvey, the crisis of capitalism originates from over-accumulation either by commodity or labour force. In

relation, capitalists' constant exertion for manufacturing hegemony becomes more reasonable. The rationale behind the capitalists, to override crisis, is the acceleration of capital flow to the secondary circuits of capital, which substantially recognizes urban experience in terms of urban forms and cognitive factors.

Capitalism is on the knife-edge, continuously swaying about securing its values and tradition through a transformation of itself and requiring to annihilate the urban landscape through in seeking to create new spaces for accumulation. By the notion of "creative destruction", referring to Schumpeter and Marx, Harvey explains the motivations of capital accumulation about the built environment's production. On the ground of Marxist thought, Schumpeter (2003 [1943; 1976]) develops his idea initially saying that "Can capitalism survive? No. I do not think it can." At this point, we briefly shed light on creative destruction, which is a keystone in his work by doing "analyses of capitalism's dysfunctional properties" for which Marx and Schumpeter come to similar corners. As known as, they both assert the principle of capitalism of which, whatever the form of it owns, "never can be stationary". Settled upon to dysfunctional properties of capitalism, or embodiment conflicts, crisis-ridden nature of capitalism, capitalism requires (re)produce its pathway and relations to overcome problems.

Furthermore, the order of capitalism is dependent on new investments, causing changes. There is a "fundamental impulse that sets and keeps the capitalist engine in motion comes from the new consumers' goods, the new methods of production or transportation, the new markets, the new forms of industrial organization that capitalist enterprise creates" (Schumpeter, 2003 [1943; 1976]: 82-83). In simple words, creative destruction is a process of displacement of old products or settings with the new ones. The "creative destruction" is decisive and critical for the process of the capitalist mode of production. Because it provides a sphere, in which "what capitalism consists in and what every capitalist concern has got to live in" and so, succeed, the survival of capitalism, is understood (Schumpeter, 2003 [1943; 1976]: 82-83). Capitalism has fragile and firmness patterns; it has got into trouble by any breakdown, which it portrays as fragile conditions; on the other hand,

whenever it springs over, it gets a tighter form, by introducing new means, by creative destructions. However, for Marx and Schumpeter, the very creative success that capitalism owns leads to its end, demise since it has originally “tendency toward self-destruction” and been embodied for both a process of transformation and socialization. Respectively, this characteristic of capitalism opens a way to the socialist system through class struggle.

Questioning that “how can the territorial logics of power, which tend to be awkwardly fixed in space, respond to the open spatial dynamics of endless capital accumulation? And what does endless capital accumulation imply for the territorial logic of power? Conversely, if hegemony within the world system is a property of a state or collection of states, then how can the capitalist logic be so managed as to sustain the hegemon?”, Harvey (2003: 33-34) theories spatial fix, fixity of space within the scope of critique on spatialities and temporalities of capitalism. The capital has a tendency to produce “a crisis of overaccumulation”, spatial fixity comes to the fore to overcome the crisis of capital temporally and spatially (Harvey, 2003: 87-88). In consideration of the crisis-ridden and crisis-prone nature of capital accumulation, he introduced the concept of “spatial fix” and theorized on the grounds of Marx’s theory of capital and contradictions of capital accumulation.

Basically, the process is, in brief, such as: “If capital does not or cannot move, on the other hand, then over accumulated capital stands to be devalued directly through the onset of a deflationary recession or depression. Contradictions arise, however, within the dynamics of spatio-temporal transformations. If the surpluses of capital and labour power exist within a given territory (such as a nation-state or a region) and cannot be absorbed internally (either by geographical adjustments or social expenditures), then they must be sent elsewhere to find a fresh terrain for their profitable realization if they are not to be devalued” (Harvey, 2003: 116-117). This process is called spatial fixing of capital accumulation regimes by space throughout “switching into new investments”, which means “many different forms of spatial reorganization and geographical expansion that serve to manage, at least for some time, crisis-tendencies inherent in accumulation” (Jessop, 2004: 3). By

spatial fixes, Harvey employs two different ways of this concept that are intertwined with each other such as i) by literal meaning: “fix in the sense of the durable fixation of capital in place in physical form”; and ii) by nonliteral meaning: more metaphoric way to “‘fix’ in the sense of an improvised, temporary solution, based on spatial reorganization and/or spatial strategies, to specific crisis-tendencies in capitalism” (Jessop, 2004: 4). On that, it is assumed that the processes of spatial fix embeddedly entail hegemonic processes, relations and forms. Besides, metaphorically fixing terminology about relations of capital accumulation is broadly useful for political economy studies especially which are in relation to express hegemonic extract of those processes. For instance, Ekers and Prudham (2015) pursue Harvey’s spatial fix term within the context of space and nature and argue the concept of “the socio-ecological fix”. In doing analysis of how capitalism temporally seeks to resolve its inherent crisis throughout the transformations of urban (space) and nature by expropriation means, the notion of socio-ecological fix is conceptualized. Recalibrating spatial fix on the ecological basis, they tackle the problem of exploitation of common spaces and how hegemony is exercised in those areas.

Furthermore, regarding those processes, the state’s significant role is explicit as aforementioned above part. Harvey (2017: 168) stresses the state role to understand how capitalism produced and reproduced in time and space. The state interventions have key importance in the second and third circuits of capital accumulation concerning the (re)production of the built environment. This approach embracing the state role along within the processes of capital switches into secondary circuit and repression of class struggles risen through the production of the built environment was whilom criticized owing to over-emphasis of the state role capitalist system and having no discrete analysis attained to state mechanisms used in accordance to his framework. Consequently, the state role is perceived as functionalist in this context (Harvey, 1987; Gottdiener, 1987; Şengül, 2009). However, this in-date perspective is more comprehensive, anew functionalist, yet there is more central emphasis regarding the state role.

Enriching the above critique, a relational-strategic framework is considered a better way of approach to the problem (Şengül, 2009: 45-67). It is different from Jessop's outlook that is put forward by inspired Gramsci's thoughts and articulated with processes of capital accumulation, since it comprises the formation of class struggles, state and urban processes together, and hence overriding any determinism problem; by proposing to comprehend urban processes as hegemonic processes. This basic understanding for urban processes has two significant variables at the macro level. First is capital that is allocated for urban development; in other words, capital which is generated via switching into secondary circuits of capital accumulation. Considering the origin of urban policies driven through the struggles aimed at getting a share from urban rent, the substantiality of the rent is evident for urban dynamics. Second fact is which sector the capital is transferring to. In addition to the transfer of capital to the reproduction of capital and reproduction of labour at the macro level, the state and capitalists' choices have all impact on urban social movements. Onward this urban political analysis, hegemony presents a relational process in all. That is, whatever condition is, there is not an ultimate position thereof scatter nature of its plain, considering struggles, uneasiness, oppositions. It is impossible to find an assent point or project, carrying out all values, desires, experiences, etc. (Şengül, 2009). In order to construct a successful hegemonic project, it requires collaboration on a discourse having economic and political practice around the power bloc. It is essential to display those projects serving common/ advantages to most of society, at least to its targeted communities. Herewith, it is supposed that consent and force is either together or separately active for the quietness of society. Reiterating Gramsci's ideas that hegemony by any means, is maintained through being in and around the state. For this purpose, the state is not a simple apparatus of any class; instead, it is a significant part of structuring class relations (Şengül, 2009:44-49).

3.1.4 Neo-Gramscian debates on hegemony

This part reviews Neo-Gramscian views of Joseph and Jessop as majorly on hegemony and expresses theoretical approaches considering these arguments.

In following the above argument, the two neo-Gramscian approaches admit that “state as the terrain of political struggles” (Jessop, 2003:147), which plays a crucial role in hegemonic projects ensuring the capital accumulation flow.

Going over the arguments of two, we first shed light on Joseph’s (2002) approach, which treats hegemony through structural hegemony, hegemonic projects and dialectics. For him, “hegemonic projects are consciousness and concrete practices of powerful class fractions, and they depend on the deeper hegemonic conditions” which is called structural hegemony. These projects have a detailed “set of mechanisms, properties and powers” formulated by macro, meso, and micro mechanisms. Besides, strategic hegemony is defined as a “more conscious” form with a political sense that bears on substantial hegemonic exercises—giving credit to it, since it asserts that constituting hegemony has some tools for its organization. However, Jessop (2003), who also embraces hegemonic projects, presents some critics to Joseph’s idea, by the article “Putting hegemony in its place”. Jessop criticizes because it has a totality aspect and says that there is no societal unity in forming of hegemony. For that reason, he rejects the structural perspective, through questioning the limits of functional explanation, depending on mechanisms of “state strategies, historical bloc, modes of regulation and etc.”, which are supposed to be succeeded in “relatively, precariously and temporarily within specific socially constructed spatio-temporal fixes” (2003: 138-139). For him, this structural approach is regarded as effective once settled in fundamental unity with determinant features. Carrying a functionalist view, Joseph (2003:131) states that “if hegemony holds things together it succeeds and if it fails a hegemonic crisis emerges”, then it brings new attempts to override hegemonic failures through driving new projects. Disregarding social formations figuring in different spaces and scales of experiences leads Joseph’s view weak. Unlike the structural

perspective, Jessop (2003) underlines a requirement of an effective social and political imaginary; indeed, an understanding of how socialization is produced to aspire to the vulnerabilities of capitalism's contradictions, crisis tendencies, and conflicts and the conditions of struggling. Hegemony is not a stable phenomenon. Because there is no granted form of society, counter-hegemonic impulses are living and vivid, and society should not be marked as an absolute sphere or field of action.

In deepening the argument, we trace Jessop's approach as the second approach, which adopts a strategic relational perspective allied with capital accumulation regimes. He uses "formal adequacy" and "strategic selectivity" as the key (2003:144) for developing his approach. The term "hegemonic project" rooted in Gramsci's thought, is functional for Jessop (1997; 2005) to explore the relationships between capital accumulation regimes and economic, political and ideological affairs. The hegemonic project, seeking to survive capital accumulation, is considered as an organization of both relations among dominant and subaltern classes on the basis of political, ideological leadership and relations among fractions of dominant groups. Urging upon the concepts of "accumulation strategy" and "hegemonic project", Jessop (1997) discusses associations among the two. Those projects are intrinsic practices of dominant classes, thereby ensuring the flow of capital. They are not distinctive in operating so far, yet they are not identical; and instead, they get in touch and overlap in each others' organizational pathways. For "economic hegemony", he claims that it should be backed up by economic domination, which lays out in Gramsci's thought in terms of state power such as "hegemony armoured by coercion" (Jessop, 2014 [1983]: 92). Furthermore, about hegemonic projects, Jessop also points out national-popular characteristics that they are carried out by the linkages of classes through the specific interests, i.e. economic corporate interests, that mobilize subordination. Moreover, there are two ideal forms of hegemonic projects: national and international scales, defined according to the expanding and depression period in terms of incorporating groups of capitalists and labour classes (Jessop, 1990: 208; cited in Şengül, 2009).

In pursuit of succeeding a consolidation among the class, hegemony is rolled out by the strategies posing some conditions and encouraging facilities to secure and expand capital accumulation, considering relations and balances of dominant and subordinate classes with fractions in the power bloc.

Jessop adopts his strategic-relational approach and elaborates the relation of this approach to form analysis, for an understanding of hegemony with some inspirations of Poulantzas's thoughts, which is useful in exploring "how capitalist social formations come to be reproduced" (2003:147), touching spatial and temporal issues, propelled by a critical realist approach. To expose Poulantzas's way herein makes a brief explanation. As known as, Gramsci raises an argument (2014 [1982]: 170) that a class is dominant in two ways; this class is both ruling class and dominant class; in that sense, it directs the allied class and dominant over the opposite classes. Anew Gramsci, hegemony as involving political class struggle and specifically the practices of dominant classes in capitalist formation (Poulantzas, 2014 [1982]: 156). It is concrete that Gramsci's term of "Hegemony" is relative to the capitalist state concept. It is an applicable term since hegemony carries out new ways of understanding the dialectic relation between the economic structure and the political, ideological superstructure. Raising political support, aspiring to constitute hegemony, does not pursue one straightforward, simple way to maintain a comprise; it is rather interrelated with various forms of social bases. Throughout concerning political struggles and different social realities, and considering abstract and indecipherable forms of contradictions of capitalism, hegemony is formed up relational issues. Besides, while examining Gramscian spatial and strategic thinking that he has broadened insights about spaces, places, and scales, Jessop (2005: 435) seizes upon this strategic selectives of politics regarding space, place and scale. In addition, his approach is also based on Gramsci's thoughts for hegemony that is constituted by interpenetrating forms of different temporalities, with a sense of conjectures.

3.1.5 Hegemony for Lefebvre: Hegemony and the production of space

This part spotlights Lefebvre's theory of the production of space about hegemony arguments. Further, it presents a Gramscian and Lefebvrian approach for hegemony. Doing so aims to configure the theoretical background of the study, which inquires for spatial forms, processes and relations about space that have hegemonic impacts and through which circumstances they actively roll out the relations of domination and subordination.

Lefebvre's theory of the production of space provides a path-breaking approach and a critical set of conceptual tools aiming to reveal the spatiality of politics and historical changes and hence, dislocates the social theory with space.

In the aftermath of studies that Lefebvre traces Marx and Hegel, he developed an integrated approach for material and mental relationships in line with Marx's thoughts of a materialist approach. This is a critical point for our debate, questioning how hegemony is exercised through the production of space. Because, in due course of the theoretical discussions, he discovers "a unity between fields of" physical, mental and social identifying those such as "logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena". Those involve "the products of imaginations such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias" (Lefebvre, 1991:404). Lefebvre stresses the relationships of practices and lived experiences with that "...one that must and can reveal itself at every moment in its relation to practice and to lived experience..."(2014[1991]: 4). As is advanced in his triad of production of space which is a "three-part dialect" overall, comprises of: (i) spatial practice, on the base of perceived space, embracing all "contradiction of everyday life" and common sense with a sense of engagements, wherein daily realities and urban realities under neo-capitalism incorporate together, (ii) representation of space, the conceived space, composes of the main discourses on the bases of state interventions, exercises of expert knowledge of (planners and architects), in which there are abstract orders about space via codes, theories, conceptual figures about space, and (iii) spaces of

representation, this covers the mental space, presence in the moments of lived experiences, symbolic impacts of space (Lefebvre, 1991; Shields, 1999:160-164). For Lefebvre (1991) spatiality is in dialectic. Throughout the production of space, he profoundly portrays the interwoven relationships among all, rather than examining one aspect. Indeed, it is asserted that space is socially produced, encompassing overall all social relations. This seminal work unsettles the social theory and political analysis as in the case of hegemony; thus, this theory is essential to configure our perspective. Upon that, hegemony should be comprehended within the scope of dialectical relationships of material and mental senses. For that reason, hegemony is not conceptualized as it is driven by one way of impulses from the dominant side. In a broadened scope of relations, the cyclical relationships among mental and material have an impact on the formation of public common sense, socially reproduction of dominance. So as to deepen an understanding of the exercise of hegemony, how subordination of society is realized, how social inclusion is driven by (reproduction of urban) space is a critical question. The way how society's insights are developed, challenged, urged by the production of space depicts the conflicting power relations. In simple terms, his approach reveals that hegemony is intrinsically exercised through the production of space. Rejecting the views that acclaim space as a passive locus of social relations, he draws an extended perspective for space and thereby for exercises of hegemony.

Lefebvre (1991:11) denotes that “..is it conceivable that the exercise of hegemony leaves space untouched?”. This statement of Lefebvre is fundamental for debates of hegemony and politics of space. Lefebvre's theory of the production of space is the first straightforward remark that acclaims “hegemony as a spatial project” (Kipfer and Hart, 2013: 334) since it associates theory of hegemony with the production of space. His oeuvre on the production of space and interpretations is precious for understanding hegemony through the production of (urban) space. His primary analyses of hegemony are all nested in his writings on “devastating critique of the impact post-war capitalism had on everyday life in metropolitan France” (Kipfer,

2013:126) and relations of political practices -revolutionary practices- and urban space. Then he advances his approach by urbanizing hegemony and critique of capitalism that is organized through everyday life.

According to Lefebvre (1976), capitalism is bureaucratically administered through consumption and rapid urbanization via capital centralization, aggressive state intervention, the rise of new sectors (like leisure, media, consumption-oriented activities, advertising...etc.). These have all given rise to the deepening of capitalism in everyday life. His conception of abstract space was becoming dominant in this respect. He revealed how the production of abstract space serves hegemony and how hegemony uses of it with the help of knowledge and technical expertise, such as the urban planning profession.

Spatially construction of hegemony is an indispensable aspect of hegemony because socio-spatial and power relationships are reproduced mainly through the production of space. Within the circumstances of a mode of production, Lefebvre alleges to reveal “how space serves, and how hegemony makes use of it, in the establishment, on the basis of an underlying logic and with the help of knowledge and technical expertise, of a system.” For him, “it is a framework - that of a power which makes decisions in such a way as to ensure that the interests of certain minorities, of certain classes or fractions of classes, are imposed on society - so effectively imposed, in fact, that they become indistinguishable from the general interest. Fair enough, but we must not forget that the framework in question is a spatial one” (Lefebvre, 1991: 281). Conflicting class interests are the source of struggle, which is spatially produced. As is clearly expressed that space is socially reproduced wherein socially reproduction of power and struggles are being realized, thus space is political (Lefebvre, 1991). All in all, class struggles are also embedded and produced through the spatialities, and hence these struggles are political struggles wherein domination and subordination exercise through.

As a result, hegemony is also regarded within the relations of production of space since it is as a political term in which struggles of power incorporate, a constant result of spatially produced phenomena.

Furthermore, two-folds of articulations of hegemony by force and consent are also interpreted in Lefebvre's thought while analyzing two key terms of "enjoyment and suffering, or by appropriated and dominated" (2014[1991]: 146). What happens in urban space has possibly channeled in some veins of hegemony, embodying either pain or pleasure for people. For him, there is no isolated form of force "it cannot be separated either from the accumulation of capital or from the rational and political principle of unification, which subordinates and totalies the various aspects of social practice - legislation, culture, knowledge, education - within a determinate space; namely, the space of the ruling class's hegemony over its people and over the nationhood that it has arrogated." (Lefebvre, 1991: 280). Signifying the dark side, Lefebvre affirms through the impacts of sight such that it reaches to "a degree of sophistication that it provides more uneasiness than pleasure" (2014[1991]: 41). On that, the capitalist mode of production leads to force, consent or negotiation through the everyday urban experience. The rationale of the capitalist society is control over space and spatial practices, property relations, social relations and vice versa, indeed everyday life. Sovereignty over everyday life, with an appropriate urban setting, via the production of space is the keystone of politics. Therein, hegemony facilitates through several contexts, i.e. forms and processes. Hereupon, our study questions the relations, processes and forms impact on the formation of political attitude, residing on hegemony, either by consent or force.

En masse, Lefebvre (1991) manifests that the production of space is involved wherein how bourgeois hegemony is running and how the class struggles come into existence towards it. Therefore, this study is majorly inspired by his works.

3.1.6 Gramscian-Lefebvrian approach for hegemony

To understand hegemony with the production of space, Kipfer's work is exceptional because it proposes an articulation of thoughts by Gramsci and Lefebvre. Kipfer's approach has been widely grounded in his broader works of Gramsci as well as of Lefebvre in doing critical urban research. This part displays the co-operated aspects of Gramsci's and Lefebvre's thoughts on the concept of hegemony.

Reiterating that Gramsci was denoted as a "spatial theorist" (Jessop, 2005) besides a historicist. More recently, spreading and advancing this view reviews on Gramsci's oeuvre, all his political thoughts and analysis are taken into considerations with relations of spatiality and geography. Those rereadings of Gramsci's writings with a spatial sense portrays his spatial understanding of politics and points that his historicism and political analysis are implicitly spatialized (Said, 2005; Ekers, Hart, Kipfer, Loftus, 2013). Gramsci was quite aware of the spatiality of social realities while he was in search of revolutionary political possibilities. His relational approach, which embraces space not other than politics, makes his view converge to the production of space. Thereof, the below part expresses how his thought is allied with Lefebvre's insights with reference to the concept of hegemony.

Linkages of Gramsci's and Lefebvre's thoughts that come across at hegemony

Kipfer enhances Gramsci's views with Lefebvre. By "Gramscian reading of Lefebvre", his work puts forward neo-Gramscian-Lefebvrian approach (2008: 119). According to this approach, Gramsci's and Lefebvre's approaches as complementary. Although Gramsci and Lefebvre, well-known two philosophers, allege different theories, their distinct approaches cross at the point of hegemony. Engaging their thoughts seems fundamental to understand the critique of capitalism, social reproduction of capitalism, the crucial role of everyday life, and the state theory (Kipfer, 2008: 119).

Similarities in the two theories can be observed; for example, they both consider “hegemony as the contingent process through which capitalist totality is constructed.” That they both challenge to overt the “survival of capitalism” and they aspire to make a lineage between “Marxist theory” and “proletariat practices”.

Contestation among contradictory capitalist urban processes and revolutionary possibilities

According to Gramsci, capitalist urbanization is one of the “spatial mediums of revolution” (Kipfer, 2013: 92). Spawning conditions for revolution are alive in capitalism and indeed in capitalist urban space organization. Hegemony is the critical term herein. As Gramsci has deliberations about urban space, he is interpreted that he is “unambiguous about the positive role urban transformations could play in multiscalar, spatially and temporally differentiated wars of position” and remarks communist hegemony that spawns through cosmopolitanism (cited in Kipfer, 2013: 92). Following Lefebvre’s thoughts, “The everyday is both a key domain through which practices are regulated and normalized as well as an arena for negotiation, resistance and potential for difference” (Graham and McFarlane, 2015). Everyday life is a medium of power struggles. Thinking upon making a difference, they both analyze possible moments of revolution, assuming counter-hegemony (communist hegemony) just like hegemony (Kipfer, 2008: 126-127).

While Gramsci creates an association “between popular culture and “relations of force” among socio-political forces”, Lefebvre establishes a relation “between everyday life, the state, capital and dominant knowledge” (Kipfer, 2008: 126-127), saying that: “Space’s hegemony does not operate solely on the ‘micro’ level, effecting the arrangement of surfaces in a supermarket, for instance, or in a ‘neighbourhood’ of housing-units; nor does it apply only on the ‘macro’ level, as though it were responsible merely for the ordering of ‘flows’ within nations or continents. On the contrary, its effects may be observed on all planes and in all the interconnections between them.” (Lefebvre, 1991: 412). From two perspectives, hegemony is granted a dependent interweaving relations of “macro- and micro

dimensions of reality, a condensation of base and superstructure”. Moreover, they both regard hegemony on as “cultural phenomena - common sense (Gramsci) and everyday life (Lefebvre) they are both preoccupied with contradictory lived experience”, and they mutually accept that “power as a social relationship has multiple, soft and hard, diffuse and centralized, tacit and coercive dimensions.” Gramsci and Lefebvre claim that urban hegemony associates “micro and macro-dimensions of reality” and “multiple dimensions of power”, which reproduce capitalism (Kipfer, 2008: 126-127).

They both resolve hegemony not only by manufacturing consent but also by force mechanisms, seeing the dialectics of the two.

In order to clarify the relevance of hegemony with urban space, Lefebvre provides theoretical ground for us. He conceptualizes “urban as form and mediation”. Urban, a socio-spatial form, resolves everyday life with the social order, links past, present, and future and articulates multiple scales of temporalities and spatialities (Kipfer, 2008: 138). Briefly, Gramsci and Lefebvre assert that since urban space, more precisely the production of space, is a medium and ground for the survival of capitalism, an urbanized conception of hegemony should be taken into consideration. Hegemony is an incomplete political project of multidimensional (perceived, conceived, lived) processes and strategies of producing space. Hegemonic projects of producing space are formed and implemented through the “integration of the affective, symbolic sides of everyday life (lived space) into the practical-material (perceived) and institutional-ideological (conceived) dimensions of abstract space” (Kipfer, 2008).

Gramsci’s understanding of “socially nuanced treatment of geographical differentiation” for which he asserts that Gramsci’s perspective is “spatially fine-grained treatment of social difference”, and this refers to the virtue of his theory. Because this stream enables him to understand hegemony. For hegemony, he notices requirements for alliances of “autonomous social forces”, for instance, both in urban and rural rather than treating them as divided issues. The incorporation of

social and spatial formations is critical for the exercise of hegemony. Moreover, for hegemony, it is drawn out that temporally change of meanings of “imaginaries, metaphors and ideologies” is taken into consideration. Those meanings can articulate in new contexts of struggles throughout exceeding their own contexts or conjectures (Kipfer, 2013: 95-96).

They both stress the temporality, as “Gramsci’s emphasis on political organization remains essential to condense and focus patient, ongoing efforts of engaging with the contradictory, socially differentiated, spatiotemporally uneven and multiscale terrains of everyday life” (Kipfer and Hart, 2013: 339), and as Lefebvre by stating that “Hegemony implies more than an influence, more even than the permanent use of repressive violence” (1991: 10).

Gramsci questions “how common sense, popular culture and everyday practices are shaped by life in different contexts” of spatial organizations and opens up his investigation by drawing out some spatially specific issues and conceptual scrutinization that pierce common sense in a way. These are such as: different forms of cities and countryside, “the design of locales (e.g. school architecture) or built forms (e.g., street layout and street names), “struggle for control over places (factories, public buildings, streets, neighbourhoods, etc.)”, “streets” denoted as the spaces where the proletariat can assemble by nature without a cost’, interpretations that are related with “memory, identity and temporality” and vice versa (Gramsci 1971, 1978; cited in Jessop, 2005: 424).

In due course of the arguments about fascism and fordism, Gramsci discusses hegemony in relation with the urban questions and capitalist accumulation through urbanization processes while he examines “urban planning processes” (for the case of Milan), “exaltation of the big cities,” “grandiose [urban] projects”, and superhighways, “functionalist architecture”, “city-building techniques” and therewithal “transformation of the state, the labour process, household structures, and workers’ subjectivities” (cited in Kipfer, 2013: 90).

All in all, he points out the contradictory social aspect of those processes concerning capitalism and state politics. Evidently, he draws attention to spatial processes, forms and relations, upon which this dissertation has dwelled on this theoretical understanding.

For Gramsci, urbanization as a process is a “terrain of hegemony” wherein demographic changes happen and “interpreted urban space (architecture, the layout and names of streets) as key “ideological material” for bourgeois rule” (cited in Kipfer, 2013: 90). Urban space is dynamic terrain for the exercise of hegemony, in this sense, our research question and interest take shape. In line with the quotation above, to note that the interest in names of street roots form Gramsci’s initial political investigations on language, by which he improves his political theory on the basis of competing powers and social relations and followingly he pursues the concept of hegemony. As well, he develops his scope of argument.

Associatively, Jessop’s (2005) interpretations about the Gramscian approach on scale, space and place that are important key figures of his thought (theory and practice), are essential at this point. Because his examinations precisely bear out that Gramsci’s analysis is inherently associated with everyday life. Illustrating that, “Place (or locale) refers to a more or less bounded site of face-to-face relationships and/or other direct interactions among social forces. It is generally closely tied to everyday life, has temporal depth, and is bound up with collective memory and social identity.”, as says Jessop and he proceeds his analysis such that the circumstances of place span by means of content and connection, within which there are strategically defined “social and institutional setting for direct interactions that privileges some identities and interests over others and also structure possible connections to other places and spaces on a range of scales”. He points out that place as a defined form of physical space means a form of coordination of space in which “different identities, spatio-temporal boundaries and social significance” interplay and multiplicity of relations take shape (2005: 424).

For Gramsci, “Scale is typically the product of social struggles for power and control. Gramsci was extremely sensitive to issues of scale, scalar hierarchies of economic, political, intellectual and moral power, and their territorial and non-territorial expressions.” Moreover, for Gramsci, there is not a scale that is granted, thus in order to be able to grant power and domination there should be connections or articulations of scales with different levels and forms of scales (i.e. local, regional, national, continental, transatlantic, and global) (Jessop, 2005: 426). Besides, he underlines that scales in terms of economic, political and socio-economic inherently present instability character. He remarks connections of different scales of forces in his analysis of ‘coordination and subordination’ (Gramsci 1985: 199) on the ground of an assertion that is propounded such as: “consolidation and crises of coherent historical blocs” are both exercised “through reciprocal linkages between structure and superstructure”; therefore, interlinkages of scales, scales of domination are thought principal to grant power (Jessop, 2005: 426). Herewith, Lefebvre conceptualizations by near-order and far-order, the interrelated relations of scales, transverse the above argument that both macro and micro relations and the articulations of those exercise hegemony.

Concludingly, hegemony, to a considerable extent, is realized through the production of space, its significance respectively is seemingly more forefront and active. Therefore, a critical assessment of current urban questions and social issues leads us to rethink and re-examine empirical facts with the key term “spatial exercise of hegemony”.

Space and time are twin concepts associated with each other and simultaneously produced together (Lefebvre, 1991). Since (spatial) forms as (real) space and (spatial) processes as a temporal aspect or identification of the realization of the forms, are respectively conceptualized as associated and interwoven concepts. Therefore, those two, forms and processes are defined as a research phenomenon. The contingent aspect of the concepts enables analytical investigation for them concerning their dialectical relations in the formation of political senses. As space is social and historically configured, it is inherently political. How it is

apprehended and experienced by any means leads (re)formation of political thoughts.

Following the state's significant role in the production of space and Lefebvre's triad for state power have some lines, providing a base for our thoughts rethinking it with hegemony while in setting or detailing a schema. "State plays a central role in control over the spatial practices" (Brenner, 1997: 160). Lefebvre, in the production of space, investigates the state role in a capitalist economy and claims that space is one of the ruling instruments of the state in so controlling "social relations among individuals, groups, class fractions and classes" (cited in Brenner, 1997: 146). Since "state is itself a socio-spatial configuration", Lefebvre expresses socio-spatial organization of state with a triad in this sense. Despite representing historically and contextually different properties, the triad consists of "politico-institutional and administrative configurations," (involving organizational hierarchy and legal regulations), built environments and symbolic monuments; and the mental space produced by the state" (cited in Brenner, 1997: 259-262). Referring to this triad, it is assumed that major figures in the spatial exercise of hegemony span in these three themes and articulation of them correspond to our subject matter. Elaborating current urban questions, these topics formulated as following: i) Political and institutional arrangements and changes, which involve legal regulations, institutional changes, bureaucratic organizations and authorizations- under these producing instruments for the financialization of urban space and changing planning practices-, provide the layouts and withal enable the traits required for realization of capital accumulation and relations of political power. For instance, contracts about housing renewal cases would be subject to either manufacturing consent or coercion for society as the document of procedural regulation. From another point of view, ever-increasing treatments towards the commodification of public goods, public spaces or assets seamlessly represent domination over space and society. Legislative, executive and judiciary powers of state play a significant role in reproduction of space. These knowledge-based facilities are some kind of ruling "politics of war", as Gramsci called. Discursive

relations, media exercises in which the main vocabulary of urbanism being used are also concerned in this part. ii) Mental space involves the aspects related to everyday consciousness, “through which both social consensus and political identities are established” (Brenner, 1997); and socio-spatial subjectivities regarding political views, Islamism, security and orders of surveillances in space, gender relations, memorial reflections, constitute these perceptions. iii) Built environment involves all material exercises, in which change is visible either by corporeality/materiality and temporality; production of new built environment by means of principally large scale urban projects (for example city hospitals, infrastructure and transportation projects, etc.), housing projects (new developments, renewal projects, redevelopment,...), changing use and form of public spaces, symbolic spaces/projects, destruction and limitations (in terms of natural-cultural- architectural assets, symbolic structures, loss or restriction of public spaces and services, demolishing or reconfiguration of spatial practices and etc.) and mediascapes. There are numerous attempts, as mentioned above. The reason why political power aims to control all, whole, is recognition of any piece keeping a transformative strength for a system (Lefebvre, 1991). In this respect, it penetrates and embeds in different scales of space.

“The production of space serves hegemony” (Kipfer, 2008: 200). Rather than a one-way running of a mechanism (conceptually), there is a dualistic relationship between the two as the production of space is dialectically produce. Hegemony is not other than this context. It is embedded in the production of space and reproduced through it.

3.2 Remarks

This chapter has rendered theoretical debates about hegemony and urban space. This study draws its theoretical framework by embracing a Gramscian and Lefebvrian approach. The theoretical framework of the dissertation goes around the debates of hegemony and urban space on the basis of the relations of power and

space. Hegemony, a concept of politics, is a social and spatial phenomenon wherein social classes are involved in or subordinate to the dominant order(s) of capitalism or political authority. Our inquiry on hegemony, how and with which circumstances it is (re)produced through spatial forms, processes and relations about space. It is settled on the theoretical ground of the production of space. In this context, it traces Gramsci's approaches in principle. It reviews his thoughts on hegemony with spatial stress by getting in touch with arguments. Second, it examines the socio-semiotic approach for hegemony by referring to Gottidiener's studies. Third, it simply goes over the arguments about relations of capital accumulation and urban space, referring to Lefebvre's and Harvey's studies as well as benefiting from Schumpeter's and Swyngedouw studies to express the dynamics of capital accumulation. It examines explicitly relations of exercise of hegemony and capital accumulation through the production of space in line with Harvey's and Jessop's studies. Fourth, it mentions neo-Gramscian arguments on hegemony highlighting the debate among Joseph and Jessop, which is composed of a critique of structural-perspective and significance of relational-strategic approach for hegemony. Fifth, it examines how Lefebvre approaches hegemony and composes analyses of Lefebrian thoughts. Finally, it subjects a co-operated approach of Gramscian-Lefebvrian for hegemony, enriched by Kipfer.

CHAPTER 4

ISSUES RELATED TO RESEARCH: SPOTLIGHTING THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD OF TURKEY

Spatial exercise of hegemony is a means of struggling relations of power relations. Herein everyday practices are pivotal. Because though those class interests are apprehended, which is contradictorily materialized. Relations of domination and subordination exercise through the enjoyments, pleasures, negotiations or enforcements. This study explores some traits of spatial organizations or configurations that penetrate to or occur in the exercise of hegemony about the urban spatial change committed or dedicated to capital accumulation through the reproduction of urban space and reproduction of power. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the main contours of urban questions in Turkey for the period under the AKP rule with a critical approach and expose their possible relations with the exercise of hegemony. In doing so, this chapter focuses explicitly on identifying how hegemony (force and consent) is exercised and pursued through which relations, processes, and forms.

This chapter has three major parts drawn with Lefebvre's terms. Each of those sessions delves into mediums of consent and/or force manufacturing. The outline of this chapter is as follows: i) the representation of space, the knowledge-based issues which elaborates political, legal and institutional arrangements and changes, mass-media practices in a discursive manner, that all maintains system coordinating means; ii) the representational space which covers subjectivities like symbolic, mental features and issues attained by political-ideological identities and characteristics; iii) the spatial practices which span all material configurations and processes happening in the (re)production of the urban built environment. Herewith, empirically putting forth the most common aspects of the production of

space, we can review (dis)articulation of the facts or elements which are engagedly operating in due course of spatial exercises of hegemony.

Methodologically this chapter carries out multiple ways of qualitative research. Firstly, this chapter mainly conducts a documentary analysis employing critical discourse analysis, context, and content analysis. It elaborates articles, research articles, thesis, press statements, legal documents, media practices, statistical sources, visuals materials, photographs and plan archives. In doing so, it reviews and criticizes studies that are themely related to the exercise of hegemony. Also, it brings forth studies and research issues that are assumed as exploratory for the constitution of hegemony through the production of space, albeit they are not explicitly defined and argued with the notion of hegemony. As a result, investigating various aspects of spatial exercises of hegemony for the AKP era aims to portray conceptual explanations and enhance grounding an analytical and relational perspective to understand the dynamics through which class interests are conflicted. Secondly, this chapter utilizes findings and observations acquired through the ethnographic field research done in Ankara (Appendix A), which centers upon scrutinization of how and by which means spatial forms and processes influence exercises of hegemony for working-class people in their everyday life among workplace and housing environments. It is questioning the perceptual aspect of hegemonic exercises which is not apart from subjectivities and knowledge-based issues.

While carrying out the analysis, this study refers to some press statements and reports of UCTEA and of its allied chambers in some places, as ranked through the discussions below. Assuming that UCTEA and the allied chambers, those organizations - political agents - are principally aimed at fighting for public benefit. Thereby hypothetically sitting in and stimulating the practices of counter-hegemony, their works and/or attempts in terms of discourses and the litigation processes that they pursue are put into analysis. Especially the practices of chambers, which are the organizations of UCTEA, specifically dealing with urban spaces, are examined. However, it will be questionable whether all actions of those

have counter-hegemonic attitudes or not. Even though having the power of repulsing hegemony and struggle, not using this power -capacity- will be conceptualized as a position being involved or tended upon the dominant order. In this respect, there is seemingly a point of criticism or limitedness. It is not possible to take all as solely accepting those organizations for currently as agents in the -exercising counter-hegemonic. One more remark, even though the interrogation scope is upon overall issues in Turkey, it commonly refers to the urban contradictions in Ankara. It is necessary to note that some part of the exploratory research is mostly carried through in Ankara, where the author lived in, did observations in her everyday life and respectively problematized the conflictual urban issues in depth. All in all, a broadened picture of efforts and constitutions which both intendedly and unintendedly exercise -possibly- class alliances, the inclusion of working class to the dominant orders are figured out.

“Reproduction of urban space is always a painful process”(Günay, 2009: 148). In so, the question is how they are reproduced, differentiated, and able to actively contain masses of society, in what circumstances they are influential.

This chapter spotlights the main spatial exercises of hegemony for the contemporary period of Turkey and analyzes the AKP era in three courses, as aforementioned. The AKP, which has ruled in Turkey for two decades, and it introduces several means to maintain its power and ensure capital accumulation because “The ruling class seeks to maintain its hegemony by all available means” (Lefebvre, 1991: 10). Hereby, the question is how it is exercised in this period. “Indeed each new form of state, each new form of political power, introduces its particular way of partitioning space, its particular administrative classification of discourses about space and about things and people in space” (Lefebvre, 1991: 281). Herein, the AKP era, a new and current form of state, has reorganized space, aspiring to set its power. What it introduced as a means of hegemony, have been therefore subjected to several studies. This chapter briefly demonstrates those engaging related works and affirmations, which will be valuable sources or arguments to draw a conceptual approach and answer our research questions. With

the Lefebvrian and Gramscian theoretical lenses, it elaborates them and interprets possible and divergent pathways of hegemonic exercise through the spatial forms, relations, and processes.

It is assumed that the era of AKP presents a distinctive and authoritarian governing period in line with the period's political economy developed on the base of the capital accumulation by means of production of the built environment with increasing commodification of commons and accumulation by dispossession. Thus, even though it pursues neoliberal politics that originated through the 1980s, it reveals a pathbreaking and historically-spatially specific figure about Turkey's power and space relations for the contemporary period. Therefore, this political period is the focus of our interest for surveying the spatial exercises of hegemony.

Analysis of spatial exercise of hegemony implicitly goes along with the critique of the political economy of built environment (re)production. Thus, while this chapter makes an exploration, it interprets dynamics and factors embodied in the switching secondary circuits of capital accumulation, provided for the survival of capital accumulation, but not limited to it, also marks what articulatively strength the political domination.

To extend the limits or perspectives, this exploratory research seeks to go beyond the known elements of hegemony related to urban space such as legal arrangements, amnesty plans, regulations about property relations, media discourses, most commonly known spatial configurations - architectural forms - high-rise buildings, housing projects operated by MHA -sometimes associated with local governments-, urban transformation processes, large-scale urban (re)development projects, symbolic spatial figures i.e. mosques. For exceeding one-way outlook studies of urban space related hegemony researches, it puts relevant contemporary elements all together and then opens up an argument for framework which is drawn with dialectical and intertwined relations of different spatial means.

Analyzing the contemporary period in Turkey, it empirically explores by which means of spatial relations, forms and processes exercise hegemony. Along with the

research, some issues will be cross-cutting or common points of different topics of hegemonic exercises in some traits. During the examination by one-and-other comes the sessions, their positions and interlinkage can be easily made through and at the end of this chapter, it supposedly will be understood how spatial exercise of hegemony runs as an orchestration operates by (dis)articulations -as embedded with conflicts-, by continuously renewing its pathways and instruments. In sum, it is aimed to reveal the prominent spatial features in terms of relations, processes and forms, -possibly- stimulating hegemony, mediums of consent and force. Nevertheless, notably, this exploration has several limitations at some points since it reviews some issues very overbroadly, even though they deserve extended analysis in specific. But, considering the scope of dissertation, these elaborations are approached as relations, processes and forms which should not be neglected.

As an overall outlook, this part critically reviews urban issues regarding Turkey's contemporary period in three topics. These are as follows: i) Relations and processes on the basis of state-bound interventions, discourses, expert practices which compose legislative powers related to space, actor and agent-based relations about (re)production of space, financialization of urban space and increasing credit and debt mechanisms put into practice, institutional (re)arrangements, issuing of changing planning and design practices and media exercises about space; ii) Relations and processes on the basis of sensations, experiences, political-ideological identities and characteristics, which consisting of political identities apprehending powers of space, religious impacts, sense of gendered relations of space, conditions of working conditions, state of everyday indebtedness, sense of insecurity/threat and expanding means of surveillance, apprehension of space by memory, and iii) Changing forms and processes - materialities of urban space- on the basis of things, processes and performances which include changing spatial forms and processes of public spaces, public amenities and common spaces, housing environments, workplace environments, public services and administration, and infrastructure and transportation organization.

4.1 Relations and processes based on state-bound interventions and relations, discourses, expert practices

This part explores issues around knowledge-based means which are possibly articulating. It briefly investigates relations and processes related to space, through which hegemony is constituted in a way. Indeed, these are the relations and processes elaborated within the scope of Lefebvre's concept, representation of space.

Elaborating the hegemonic aspect of conceived space, this channel is almost equivalent to the global scale of Lefebvre (1991). It composes the state bound interventions that coordinate the system by legislative actions, institutional organizations, and in addition experts' knowledge. Because, state intervenes in all possible levels to ensure the flow of capital. However, instead of assuming state's role as mediating "in an abstract manner in the investment of capital", Lefebvre (1991: 378-383) alleges that state interventions are highly prepotent in all scales of space, saying "(global)social space and political practice tend to join forces in spatial practice, so achieving a certain cohesiveness". In this sense, considering dialectically produced, interlinked framework of construction of hegemony, the scope of this scale is therefore critical so as to understand the relationships with spatial exercises of hegemony.

As mentioned, this session investigates relations and processes based on state-bound interventions, discourses, expert practices, composes legislative powers related to space, authorizations about urban space, financialization of urban space and debt mechanisms, institutional (re)arrangements, planning and design practices and media exercises about space.

In doing empirical explorations on those topics, we engage studies that are definitely associated with the term hegemony with the studies that are immediately related to hegemony exercises, albeit they are not delving into exercises of hegemony by majorly. By doing re-examinations and indwelling of those in

relation to the term hegemony, this study attempts to articulate all around the spatial relations and processes based on state-bound interventions, discourses, expert practices that roll out consent and force by any means.

4.1.1 Legislative powers related to space organization

Legislation, eternally, is an affair of power relations in society. Not only enacting something new but also declaring off is facilitated by power relations for any context. Legislation issues, about urban space, involve issues of consent making and of enforcement mechanisms. The dispute of this part is drive of power, changing relations of domination and subordination through reproduction of urban space with the legislative means. In terms of spatial construction of hegemony, it probes legislative powers, revived by means of dependence on legal rulings, authorization of urban space and financial veins of production of urban space. The argument of this part is how legal changes and interventions draw on hegemony and force.

“..In practice, what state and political action institutes, and consolidates by every available means, is a balance of power between classes and fractions of classes, as between the spaces they occupy” (Lefebvre, 1991: 281). State rules out the interventions with reference to the capital interests; however, those interventions, like in the case of legislations, are employed as if those are rational for different parts of the society in doing so it seeks to raise apprehension that for interests of all Lefebvre (1991) points out the decisive role of the state for exercises of hegemony to practice capital accumulation. Also, Gramsci points out the hegemonic role of juridico-political forces of state interventions. For him, hegemony is somehow activated through state interventions as given to parliament, judgement and government, which are denoted as the three pillars of political hegemony. By means of state interventions, class interests are being reorganized and by seeking to drive the common will of the society through embodiment of the new conditions of space. In this context, processes and relations of state-interventions on the basis of

legal rules, legislation, and power-struggle relations are put into question. To that end, this part elaborates legal-based means, interventions by implementing new rulings and changes- in relation to (re)production of urban spaces and questions power relations produced the legislative terms. In this context, those following issues are argued: i) Legislations that organize and redraw property relations; ii) The formation of legislations which rules increase of the production of built environment, reorganization of building rights and land rent and orders for impositions, iii) Coalition on/around legislations: Implications of confrontation and non-confrontation.

i) Legislations that organize and redraw property relations are means of relations and processes that exercise hegemony. Property relations are intrinsically related to the relations of class and power. Organization of property relations - rights of property - are rulings of relations and means of exploitation of space by whom and for whose interests. Therefore, they are mediums of power struggles. Organization of properties as production of space in dominant orders and subordinations to this rule by involving into is simple figure of an exercise of hegemony, drawing alliances to the dominant order on the basis of property relations.

In order to understand and review both urban space and power of production, Günay (1999) marks legislative frameworks as significant due to their traits on organizing relations of individuals and things. Property relations, and though space production, constitute the mere subjects of politics, of hegemony, manufacturing consent and force. Legitimization of any spatial configuration necessitates a legal rule, apart from valuing unauthorized spatial forms, counter spatial facts and daily practices fall on another side. Use of space, appropriation of space, possession of space and vis-a-vis apprehension of class interest by space are most defined and these are dominated by legal veins. Hereby, either limits or opportunities are detailed in the legislative framework. Assignment in making law, altering, renewing or cancelling certain legal rules provides great power for the authority. Legislative field is, by majorly, an intervention venue of the state. Mechanisms of legislation about producing space are facilitated by the state, and through this

process, it gains power defining the spatial relations, indeed the relations of land, labour, capital.

ii) The formation of legislations which rules the increase for production of the built environment, reorganization of building rights and land rent by deviating from the certain public norms and principles, and administrative orders for impositions that impact on construction of hegemony. Under this argument, those three topics will be discussed, as follows:

- Amnesty law enacted in 2018, which was publicly called as "peace for development" arose to drive the manufacture of consent by alliancing classes through reorganization of land rent.
- An argument on conceptualizations of periods for the spatial exercise of hegemony with reference to the approach on periods of urbanization and hegemony, which is dwelled on the hegemony via redistribution of right.
- Authorizations about urban space ruling or imposing forces.

Legislation analysis, involving legal changes for a definite period, renders the political perspective and, in specific, presents the order of urban policies. Legal rules mean the forms of legitimate. In this respect, legitimized facts convey consent manufacturing, yet, it also incorporates coercion for society. These two facets, in diverse forms, with refer to time, class and urban context, are influenced by legal rules. Reviewing legal changes for the recent period, it is apparent that the purpose of most legal formations is to trigger the production of built environments. Those of which are called deregulation (Balaban, 2008) and flexibilization treatments, leading further lands to be built up and increase building rights. There are various spatial legal arrangements enacted and implemented in the period of AKP. Those legal efforts are regarded as features of spatial control, comprising a broad set of vehicles. Those legislative mechanisms are embodied either by changes in existing laws or the enactment of new laws.

Laws, legislation framework because laws related to the built environment mean a decisive process and enable dominant classes to overcome the legitimation crisis,

besides grounding a legitimate framework by legislation practices (Çavuşoğlu, 2004). Indeed, the legislation process is a conflict zone for the constitution of hegemony whereby struggles take place due to the conflicting class interests rolling out. This point of view, basically, entails us to discuss legislation-making process. In doing so, as well as known, there have been numbers of law enactments about the built environment introduced since 2002. The “recent legislative actions provided the legal basis for the realization of some speculative mega-projects and implementations. Urban regeneration projects appeared to be the foremost ones”(Balaban, 2008; 289). The efforts about legal issues are mere driving forces to realize, enable the spatial interventions, speculative impacts, by the way, it “encourages and liberate market forces”. Although legal documents are literally the codes, which have been developed to arrange spatial order for public benefit, these codes have been regenerated to trigger the trend reproduction of built urban environment, and expand the typical urban pattern. Laws empower the deregulation, urban space transformation. Thus, law, the foundation of law, is one of the concerns. Laws initiate a legitimate base for any destructive spatial interventions.

The main motive sprung out in the era of AKP dwells upon the mechanism of intervening non-commodified assets for making them subjects of commodity and capitalization. Through increasing or creating building rights; in other words, adjusting or assigning privileged building rights with inclusion of non-commodified spaces in the land market, principally endure the flow of capital to the secondary circuit of capital accumulation and originate a particular source for hegemony. This source of capitalization with commodification of urban spaces acquires political significance with the involvement of local and central governmental authorities (Çavuşoğlu, 2016) due to the redistribution aspect. As a result of this intervention, allocated surplus gained in this process is distributed to co-partners or socially indigent part of the society; thus, it composes organic relations, enrolled at seeking to gain profit through urban space change. With this, it is aimed to persuade the society on code by the construction-dependent

developmentalism, thus engage to the process either mediated or unmediated ways. Overall, those attempts and relations are features of balancing means to expand the operating dominance both by increasing the power of enablement for spatial interventions and involving classes into these processes, thereby exercise hegemony in a way.

Within the scope of the legislation about urban space, there are typical administrative acts as a means of the legislative mechanisms, recently applied in Turkey. These are as following: Acts for (land) allocation, planning practices plan amendments and repeated planning cases, judgments of the council of conservation about conservation degrees/orders for sites/beings, planning aimed at conservation, the judgment of urban renewal areas, judgment of urban rehabilitation areas, decisions of privatization administration reproducing land rights and uses, the judgment of ministry of agriculture about the properties of protection zones, judgment of risky areas, judgment of risky buildings, judgment of urgent expropriation, cabinet decree for exchange or transfer, redevelopment of public housing stock or adjustment of risky areas for renewal etc. (Some of those are turned into presidential decrees after the change of regime ordered by the referendum in 2017), financial instruments like credit and debt mechanism and vice versa. These administrative acts, coordinating means, make a reasonable ground to dwell upon hegemony and, in doing so, drive the (over) production of built environment aimed at capital accumulation. In addition to administrative acts, contracts which are defined by laws are legal documents defining conditions of subordinating conjunction. The contracts which are another dimension of legal arrangements about spatial organizations, will be surveyed in specific. Nevertheless, it is important to account for contracts (done among the partners of projects) operated (all) in urban (re)development projects as legal means having impacts on consent manufacturing or force. On the one side, the involvement of contracts, regarded as a practical aspect, has a catalyst role in the execution of urban projects and thus construct hegemony in this context; on the other side, they

are formulated as imperative means dictated to dwellers to get integrated into the process (i.e. the actions applied according to the law, numbered 6306).

As is drawn above, current problematic ones aimed at increasing built environment production subject commodification of public space and public assets and eventually enable all construction facilities legal by any means. Besides, throughout the reproduction of urban space, some legal changes rule of tyrannizing particular urban space, enforcing for being indebted, and consecutively displacement. The rationale is such that legal spatial interventions have the power to persuade the public to any related spatial configurations, i.e. naturalizing, approving as if necessary, living in, desire for it, apprehending with use or exchange values, owning, possessing, investing, speculating or else. Above perspective, legal rules are actualized through manufacturing public consent.

What if the produced environment is recognized as coercion? Pivotaly, legislation power is considered on the coercive side. Putting emphasis on this claim, legislative practices, allied to the capitalist mode of production, have forceful impacts throughout inhibits, limitations, expropriations and reorderings about the right of use of space. Hence, in a simplified manner, we address legislative powers reasoning both having consent-manufacturing features and coercive impositions.

Frequent legislative changes, disregard of legal judgments (i.e. executing constructions/destructions despite lawful) and respectively becoming hardened to those anomalies raise a kind of normalization, which is grounded upon the idea of disappearance about rule of law principle, paving the way towards consent manufacturing by acknowledging the power of political authority in this sense. In other words, the political authority carries out a great effort, and so there is nothing posing obstacles for any forms of issues about the reproduction of urban space. As a result, the political authority aims to reproduce its power.

For the period between 2002-2007, in other words, for the initial session of the AKP era, Balaban (2008, 198-201) reviewed legal arrangements and made a simple categorization for those. These categories are identified regarding the themes of

“Land Policy”, “Built Environment Production”, “Amnesties for Unauthorized Developments” and “Planning and Urban Development Legislation”, thereby he portrays that these forms of legislations lead the deregulation and liberation through the production of the built environment have gone through. Under these categorizations of legislations, the first group of legislative changes subject that how land allocations reorganized in behalf of the private sector, namely how public properties, public lands, conservation zones, forest areas, national parks, coastal areas, public service areas are (re)drawn, modified and put into change and how those changes are driven overriding the conservation restrictions-rules, and besides the changes of properties, how land sales are reorganized and accelerated also composed subjects. The second group of legal arrangements are about (re) organization of housing productions, urban regeneration processes, and mega projects, by means of introduction of new promotive measures for those, extending the scope of authorities for Mass Housing Development Institute, the arrangement of financial supports, rules enabling changes for the specific zones and properties. The third group of legislative arrangements are about amnesties for unauthorized developments, and those arrangements reorganize illegally occupied lands and orders for the producers or occupiers. Further, the fourth group of categorization involves legislations about planning and urban development. These refer to changes in the scope of planning powers, planning authorities, site-specific planning orders and planning authorities, rules of planning in the line of increasing flexibility, deregulation, unlimitedness, resulting in fragmentalization of planning power. These legislations are intertwined and co-operating with each other. These efforts in setting up new legal rules trigger an increase for the production of the built environment in legitimate ways and create new forms of power coalitions and relations in the process of reproduction of urban space production. In doing so, they constitute a dimension for hegemonic order. For example, changes of legislation on forest law are driving a coalition of classes through redistribution of rights. Within the scope of land policies and built environment policies, hegemony exercises by means of expropriation of forest lands specified as 2B - a legal term, for which

legal change was enacted in 2012 in the Forest Law numbered 6841 by allocating and transferring rights of lands that are in or adjacent to the state forest areas thereby villagers or land occupiers who benefit in this process get into the coalitions since these legal rules are enabling them resettling on common lands by partially or completely, leading them enjoy the land rent.

Empirically, these legal changes assign the composition of investors, occupants, construction sector, respective public authorities, reproducing power bloc around this purpose of interest (Çavuşoğlu, 2014). In this sense, regarding the constitution of the historical power bloc, legal arrangements, which aim to commodify land - commons play a key role.

- a. Under the exercises of hegemony through “Amnesties for Unauthorized Developments”: Amnesty law enacted in 2018, which was publicly called “peace for development”, is to drive the manufacture of consent by alliancing classes through reorganization of land rent.

Within the scope of (re)construction of hegemony employing legislations, “peace for development”, a zoning amnesty practice enacted in 2018 (an additional temporary article issued in law numbered 3194), was implemented as an attempt to provide political support by means of redistributing land rights. It is aimed to guarantee and strengthen survival of political power through spatial reproduction and asymmetric rent distribution in society. The moment of putting this amnesty into practice was also worthy of attention, as it was applied just before the presidentship and general elections (CCP(1), 2018; CCP(2), 2018). Politically manufacturing consent politically is related to those any aspects of urban space, built environment production. The hegemonic coalition has occupied the peace for development. Literally, “peace for development” means precisely a political coalition that springs out through urban space. In this respect, this practice is another evidence for hegemony to be argued so far. Peace for development as a wide-range amnesty facility is a legal change disregarding all legal, technical, public concerns, rolling the alliances of classes on the dominant political-economic

interest, allied with the construction-led regime. Legally, this amnesty rules those as follows: Accrediting any buildings to function employing just a registration of the building, providing technical infrastructures such as electricity, water, gas, communication, sewage system etc. to the illegally built-up buildings, cancelling of administrative fines and demolition decrees, enabling to fulfill the property ownership (condominiums) and to change of adjusted use type of the building, assigning business licence and working licence, leading banks to do credit procedures, allowing to exchange lands of state treasury and municipalities (public lands) for the people who occupy those lands by unauthorized buildings. Furthermore, the scope of this amnesty, drawn in law which departs from all its former form of applications though history of urban legal rules, comprises buildings in agricultural lands, industrial buildings, integrated in complexes up to seven floor, high rise buildings, luxury buildings, villas, shopping malls, hospitals, energy projects and so on. Thus, the scope of intervention is obviously quite extended. Limitless of those executions under amnesty causes certain troubles for the society. Doing a simple application has enabled those issues mentioned above.

Political power, by majorly, reproduces its power and gains political rent by capitalist relations arisen through the (re)production of built environment. The purpose of this implementation on amnesty is to legitimize large scale urban reproduction projects that have been judged as illegal to build up, through paying defined some cost/price, in especial. Besides, any legal disorder of the built environment on small scales have been targeted within the amnesty for unauthorized buildings. It is denoted that, for the period in between June 2018 and July 2018 3.5 million number of applications were recorded (Ministry of Urbanism and Environment, 2018) and then, the total number of applications was reported by 7393413. It is evident how large society - households, landowners and capitalists - are involved in dominant orders with this process. A highly extensive implementation sphere specified for amnesty for unauthorized development is critical because all exercises done under this implementation are regardless of public benefit. It is difficult to mark a peaceful aspect of this exercise due to

making legalized all issues analogous to legal rules and reasoning inequality in society. In this respect, the CCP (2018) states that it causes warfare, rather than peace, for cities, urban planning, assets of culture, history, environment, nature and agriculture, labour, justice and future of society. At all, there is a legitimization problem for urban planning practice. Any spatial establishment, building practice is applicable by this legal understanding. In sum, the legislation practice of the amnesty for unauthorized buildings, which has an extensive-context applied in 2018, impacted reorganizing of political coalitions based on rent distribution, rolling out alliances of classes.

- b. An argument on conceptualizations of periods for the spatial exercise of hegemony about the approach on periods of urbanization and hegemony, which is dwelled on the hegemony via redistribution of right.

This part examines some dissertations of Çavuşoğlu (2004), drawing a periodization proposal by means of reviewing historical context of hegemony about urban space. According to that, Turkey's out-and-outer urbanization could be regarded as a hegemonic process on the basis of space politics through coercion and consent whereby reproduced relations of state and class. This study benefits from Gramsci's framework and ideology of corporatism for understanding how economic growth depending on the construction sector. Besides this outlook centrally gives credits to the redistribution or allocation aspect of the urban rent organized by governmental agencies. Çavuşoğlu and Strutz (2014) portray a periodization study and trace four hegemonic periods since the 1920s such like: "1923–1950s: Redistribution of Rural Land", "1950s–1980s: Redistribution of Urban Land", "1980s–2000s: Redistribution of Construction Rights" and "2000s: Redistribution of Non-Commodified Spaces". According to this study, urban land has been used as a means for redistribution in the history of Turkey. Within the period of AKP, it reaches to a disparate degree beyond any expression, it has been producing surplus value for the real estate market through the commodification of public spaces and assets. Hence, political authority has succeeded in reproducing political power through the construction sector, and in an association, sustain

capital accumulation by reasoning to make the gap deepen between victims and winners. This study stressing the leading economic model, that is produced by the the reproduction of urban space that raise the consent manufacturing capacity, remarks the property relations reproduced through the process. This approach is broadly depending on the adopted legal regulations and frameworks about property relations. However, it also remarks “production of space”, everyday impact whereby isolated and hierarchical order is being set off, beyond commodification of space via land-rent. Considering the period of AKP dominance, since 2003 corporatism and policies for urban space run hand in hand, thereby activating public force and consent and crystallizing out in the political blockage points throughout consolidating its political power (Çavuşoğlu, 2016:77-94). In this period, construction sector has distinctively scaled up and “the construction sector serves as a national-popular machine for consent production.” (Çavuşoğlu and Strutz, 2014:150). The active role of the construction sector and the construction-related sectors in the power bloc is apparent that they stimulate the actions to strengthen hegemony and ensure flow of capital accumulation. In sum, the pathway of constructing hegemony for AKP era lays on gaining political support by pursuing speculative urban policies that incorporate non-commodified spaces for expropriation, consequently causing inequality in society, urban and rural problems, catastrophe by the immense construction facilities.

Çavuşoğlu’s framework which is majorly based upon the legislation and features of legal reorganizations, having a coherence layout is an important contribution for our questionings. However, the scope of our perspective is rather extended and finds this work limited or finite in understanding hegemony with spatial aspects; the production of space. It is believed that this above view and its supporters disregard class struggles and the role of perceptual impacts of spatial forms and processes. Those arguments on hegemony should embody an interlinked approach and pay attention to the dialectical relations of production of space. Hegemony can be understood throughout the interlinked patterns of production of space. Having this approach, this survey is defined in three articulated channels of production of

space to express the relations of those. Furthermore, this study relies on that historical understanding of hegemony composes far-more complex, multi-scaled and multiple forms of relations. For instance we allege that there are more periods, assuming sub-periods and divergent to urban geographical context. Because there are various factors, context-dependent features in the urban environment in exercising hegemony. For instance, during-Gezi or post-Gezi will be sub-periods of hegemonic constellations. As well as, the state-of-emergency period is also another sub-period which has different contextual impacts. Those will be studied specifically asking how reproduction of hegemony is carried on, according to the changing critical social and political conjectures. However, his framework is applicable for enough for defining the major periods and changes, and we benefit from his analysis, in general. Beyond that, although there are some marks, it seems that his work lacks coercive aspects of the processes. It is marked that in order to sustain the balance of consent and force, ruling authority requires some vehicles to control counter-hegemonic constitutions, likewise foreseeing their possible grounds to expand, marginalizing them, overriding and forcing. For coercive aspects, what he expressly denotes are legislations about urban space organization enacted after 2005, destructions of neighborhoods by means of forceful orders displacements aroused by urban transformation projects. But not limited to those, force-enforcement means are rather expanded scope. As is claimed that those efforts, to manufacture consent, are linked with the discourses, displayed by mass-media, using stereotype keywords such as modernization, removal of crime and poorness, urban development, investments, etc. Nevertheless, the breakdown bounded in those lines seems straight. It is necessary to develop and broaden the scope of analysis, a concordance to the production of space, in three channelled exercises of hegemony. That contention meets a point of which, Çavuşoğlu (2014) manifests some questionable spheres of urban policies exempling large scale urban projects, driving support despite tyrannizing interventions, national popular project, symbolic projects, particular properties of construction-dependent growth, housing ownership, and likewise. There are more inherent, contextually - variable

hallmarks, dynamics evolving and contradicting in exercises of hegemony; thus, his assertion, in this sense, is not able to cover all conflicting issues as traits of hegemony.

Spatial exercises of hegemony reproduce in time throughout the relations of production of space. Defining such far-explicit major periods with referring to one-or-specific factors as in the case of the framework drawn above is not adequate to comprehend evident elements and factors of the spatial exercises of hegemony. The history of the condition of capitalism, relations of capitalism and urban space, class struggles, contexts of experiences should also be considered. There are multiple-dynamics of periodization. Furthermore, in doing a kind of periodization study, it is believed that there will be more sub-periods. For instance, the pandemic is a sub-period through which political authority introduced new mediums to alive its hegemony, by different perceptions and lived experiences of society. Because the exercises of hegemony are dependent on moment-based changes, temporal and spatial conjecturalities. Thus, there is no pure pathway of periodization for hegemony or it is a tough question. For resolving hegemony, there are more referral points in terms of space and time. Besides, changing circumstances of everyday life should be sensitively argued and analyzed to deepen the understanding of hegemonic formations.

c. Authorizations about urban space ruling/imposing forces

Along with the authoritarianism that arose in the AKP era, it is claimed that authorizations about urban space, which are defined and applied by means of different forms of legal documents via administrative acts or official decrees, are some of the means (re)producing power relations in society.



Figure 4.1. The blockage of monument, Yüksel Street, Ankara (Author, 2017)

As seen in the figure above, everything sets in via defining space (Al, 2016:585-590), drawing borders and sharing/not sharing space between the oppressor and the oppressed. Order of space, for instance designated by naming, determines the limits of practices. Because the body is the crux of power performance and defining its frontiers leads the production of power relations (Foucault, 2003). On that point, as is that space is a field of hegemony with struggles; within the circumstances of physical and social territories ruled by an authority, therein hegemony is aimed at disciplining society through enclosing, excluding, marking or penalizing in/through space. Those efforts of taming society are considered as ways of disciplining society for modern times. However, those disciplining attempts have increased, which points to a turn for authoritarianism. Authoritarianism, in principal, causes several restraints in society and space. The framework of the political condition treats the production of space by domineering and questionless, anyhow. State, outlining the rules of (new) space by legal practices, has also used its power with introducing forceful means in an authoritarian way. In fact, the scope of authoritarianism spans broadly. Yet, with a historical outlook, for the period between 2016-2018 (that still continues in de facto way), Turkey was governed under the state of emergency. It is an exception-state, and legal rules conducted under these circumstances have coercive sense. However, beyond the definite purpose of declaration for state-of-emergency, political authority carelessly but intendedly exercises forceful means. Questionless many spatial interventions aimed at oppression, discipline and expropriation are carried out by administrative acts

ruled by different levels i.e. warfare conditions in urban space through spanned police force presence, expropriation of public spaces, interventions by means of enacted decree-laws under the state-of-emergency on labour, production, administrative geographies and emancipatory social spaces. The experience of those enforcements and apprehension of power use in this manner respectively the (im)balance of hegemony, strengthening the coercion. Then the question comes how those -illicitly intruded- legal means are outsourced, thus, the below part critically goes over the processes of legislation-making.

iii) Hegemony through coalition on/around legislations: Implications of confrontation and non-confrontation

For hegemonic exercises (re)produced through urban space, what are the implications of confronted and non-confronted exercises for the society? The legislation process is a struggling medium of powers as far as it is a medium of domination. Political alliances or contradictions are apparent in how legislation processes, parliamentary-based processes are performed for which purposes. Shedding lights to actors or sides of the legislation process, this part argues states of confrontation and non-confrontation by questioning those political attitudes about inclusion or exclusion. The process of legislation is closely related to the facts of political hegemony related to space organization. Coalition on/around legislations which are about (re)production of space is assumed as involvement to the dominant order, in other words, being in, empowering and constructing growth coalitions.

There is a “growing power of urban coalition” (Türkün, 2011) for current urban policies, legal changes and new legislations enacted in the period after the 2000s “especially related to urban transformation driven by the motive of increasing urban land rents and real-estate development” (Türkün, 2011:61-72). The coalition is mainly composed of local and central government agents, land developers, professionals in the real estate and construction sector, finance institutions and like. This coalition by those legal attempts organizes “own short-term interests”

and consequently, reproduction of urban space is assigned “by highly asymmetrical power relation” (Türkün, 2011:70). This perspective concludes that this coalition strengthens the impact of legislation in due constitution of political hegemony. Legal ground is of utmost critical in this sense, aligned with the power coalition constitution. Henceforth, we put forward a possible hypothesis that may be such as: Hegemonic exercises are conflict-ridden, and therein struggles can be pursued in different levels or scales of politics of space. Based on processes and relations of legislations about urban space change and actor-based relations, political conflict or containment/inclusion are apparent by confrontation and non-confrontation practices. Because, although there is a conflict to be confronted for public benefit, general interest of society maintaining an attitude by the non-confrontation means a way of engagement to the dominant orders which strengthens hegemonic affair and thereby stimulates capital accumulation through (re)production of urban built environment not only doing ease for political power, but also influencing the political apprehension of society for the urban space change.

Questioning confrontation and non-confrontation

A research issue or argument can be drawn as follows: To warrant political containment of working class into the dominant class interest, it is significant whether there is a confrontation or not. Conflict resolutions in any intersection point of relations, forms, and processes, therefore pave away an understanding for the (ease or difficult) conditions of hegemonic - counter-hegemonic attempts. Following that assertion, legislation practices conducted in the AKP are questioned within the scope of intended-wise state-bound hegemonic exercises, basically by asking for which and how many of them are being confronted. This question needs a detailed analysis, yet there is a possible way of confrontation: appeal for the laws to the constitutional court level is one of the macro-scale conflict. This macro medium is examined for the period of the 2000s of Turkey. At this point, to remark that only the main opposition party has the legal right to appeal to the Constitutional Court in order to abolish the law - legal rules. Republican People’s Party (CHP/RPP) is the only political party that carry out this

duty for the AKP era, legal right to confront and struggle. On that, here come questions. i) What are the confronted legal enactments by CHP and how many are related to urban space organisation? ii) For which of the legislations did not CHP proceed for appeal, not confronted? For the main opposition party, what grounds for non-confrontation of the legislations that are disrupting general interest of society? For the first, by reviewing a documentary analysis on constitutional court documents and decisions all published online, this work investigates the confronted legislations and in brief, the findings are below. For the second, the answer is about the rest of the legislations and it is assumed that by means of those non-confronted legislations, it supports the power bloc being in the coalition and deepens the contradictory class interests.

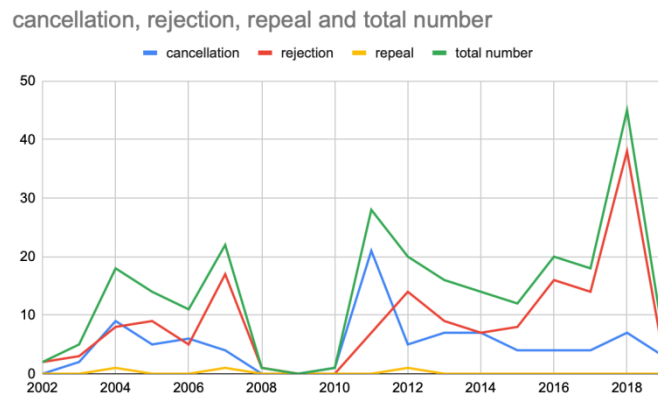


Figure 4.2. A review of norm decisions (cancellation, rejection, repeal) of the Constitutional court for the cases filed up by the opposition party (CHP) in the period 2002-2019 (Author, 2020)

The above figure is prepared depending on the data acquired from the web sources of the Constitutional Court of Turkey (Source: The Constitutional Court of Turkey, 2020; accessed date: September, 2020). For the period between 2002 and 2020, 254 applications were made as appeals to the Constitutional Court in terms of the review of norms. Decisions of the Court are concluded as follows: %35.3 are cancelled, and %62,7 are rejected. Notably those decisions should be analyzed in-depth with their content in specific by judicial assessments detailing explanations.

As it is seen that confrontations on legislations are intensive, specifically in the last decade of the AKP era (pointedly from 2016 to 2018). Overall analysis shows that this increase in the number of cases is related to the state of the emergency period through which several illicit legal rulings were enacted. Those laws were especially ruling forceful orders in conditions of workers, increase in surveillance in public life, and acclaimed laws related to change of space relations. Putting this analysis aside herein, we would like to mark the cancellation rate. Even though it is lower than the rate of rejections, it is evident that confrontation will work, and it is crucial. Moreover, the laws or legal changes can be categorized into three in terms of spatial relations of the main subjects -points of the legislation such as related, related but not immediately, not related. Then, immediately space-related legislations will be analyzed in specific. Confrontation means maintaining a difference for space, nature and politics at the politico-juridical level and non-confrontation means legitimization of the legal change or attempt, thereby supporting the power bloc.

Putting emphasis on non-confrontation attitude for legislations, another hypothesis will be drawn: Non-confrontational attitudes treated for the contradictory laws mean an involvement or referral of embodiment of the ruling's political hegemony. The nature of political alliances become evident on the conditions of non-confrontations, in other words, around practices of political attitudes by using power for whom, for the benefit of social class interest or dominants. Albeit having the power to abolish contradictory laws for the benefit of the society - working class-, not performing available confrontation mechanisms means an involvement in the dominant order.

Doing a case study enables to trace the main reasons for non-confrontations, for instance, making an investigation for the law numbered 3194 (as a case), which is a pivotal operational law committed to organization of space. Pointing to possible grounds of confrontations, the positions of non-confrontation can be analyzed, hence in which points and context there is an engagement to the dominant orders or not can be understood. In specific, non-confronted aspects of the legal changes on a

law of urban development (numbered 3194) in the period of AKP era can be critically scrutinized (and acclaimed those efforts by) to portray the ground of strategic-political alliances on urban affairs. However, here pinpoints an example, non-confrontation attitude on the juridical level about an amnesty act for unauthorized buildings enacted in 2018 called peace for development and critically argued above part. Although it was a contemporary legal question for urban space, we question why CHP did not confront both in juridical level and parliamentary spheres. This, as a research issue, should be examined in detail to address what are the motivations of non-confrontation attitude, but it is acclaimed that there is a political hegemony around the urban space organizations in which the oppositional party also directly involves in the coalition. Confrontation or non-confrontation for legislative interventions refers to a way of political inclusion or exclusion. There are complex relations or interconnections of forces in positing the attitudes of confrontation and non-confrontation. Abstain from confrontation, as a conscious effort of non-confrontation for the change of the law 3194 (in the amnesty article enacted 2018) is an evidence of hegemonic engagement. In other words, the fact that CHP, as in this case, drove its political capacity to form class alliances based on amnesty implications by means of not disturbing the masses of the society. Herein, the political motivation was seemingly rooted in historical and spatial knowledge through which it is known that ruling authority gains support by introducing amnesty regulations defined as promoting favourable conditions of society and capitalists. Seeing that, the opposition party did not take a confrontation position not to come across society and the capitalists. Consequently, it assisted in strengthening the hegemony that was produced by the legislative forces. This is how political hegemony rolls out in relation to space. There is a kind of political entrapment of the ruling power, wherein seemingly the oppositional party willingly supports it and is involved in a growth coalition. Non-confronted aspects of the law that trigger the (re)production of built environments aimed at capital accumulation are supposed as referral points to apprehend power relations. As drawn above, overall, the juridical level, i.e. constitutional court as a macro

level, and likewise parliament level, are confrontation spheres for political power struggles, and thus should be analyzed in hegemony studies.

Scales of analysis of political hegemony through space: Two scales of politics

The above part expresses how confrontation – non-confrontation means for the configuration of hegemony on the basis of legislative - political level. Nevertheless, political hegemony rolls out in more levels or different spheres. For arguing on what scales political containment realizes, two main levels – scales are defined under the intended exercises of hegemony, as follows: scale 1 is the parliamentary and judicial review for the legislative interventions, and scale 2 is the local government practices for the contradictory relations, processes and forms. The second one indicates a way of political inclusion by means of non-confrontation attitudes and further reveals an embodiment of those introduced by the ruling power AKP. Political engagement of different political actors/bodies (local governments) is evident through pursuing similar ways of reproduction practices in line with the dominant ruling authority that purges and aimed at capital accumulation through the (re)production of the built environment. Keeping up similar paths upon a conflictual urban affair means inclusions to the dominant order and strengthening hegemonic exercises. In the following parts, there will be some touches about how non-confrontation on the basis of spatial processes and forms manifest for the recent period of Ankara, questioning whether those mean an engagement to the dominant orders or not? On which spatial forms and processes there are evident embracements, which reinforce political hegemony of AKP by the support of CHP, oppositional party. The last discussion points to an intersection sphere of hegemonic exercises that is rolled out relations and processes about space, arguing the positions of political actors about legislative mechanisms. The below part will continue specifying actor and agent-based impacts in spatial exercises of hegemony.

4.1.2 Actor and agent-based relations about (re)production of space: Questioning conditions of alliances and contestations?

This part examines how actor and agent-based relations about space drive hegemonic exercises. In order to apprehend the alliances of social classes, it is necessary to question and trace by means of which stimulations or positions of agents impact on power conflict or coalitions among classes. Within this context, the role of governmental and non-governmental organizations, organized masses, conflicts and alliances of different levels of governmental organizations, the role of organic intellectualism in the production of space is taken into consideration. It is assumed that about the reproduction of space, the position and attitudes of agents, political-actor-based organizations are critical because they have the power to stimulate thoughts triggering consent or organization of dissent and struggle.

To enrich and illustrate the above debate taking place in the previous session, an actor-based approach for which the notion of “capacity to produce consent” (Penpecioglu, 2012: 308) is notable. Penpecioglu conceptualizes this term by reviewing “the mobilization of public support and consent for UDPs (urban development projects) through the hegemonic discourses, activities and collaborative relations of powerful governmental and non-governmental actors” (2012: 308). Underneath this apprehension, the power of state and capitalists, media, organized conscious social groups, and unorganized mass are put into a critique. It resembles, delicate balance of hegemony is derived from the activities of those agents or groups. In this sense, this work enables an understanding what kind of roles governmental and non-governmental agents have in the construction of hegemonic power. In the same line, by embracing Gramscian and Lefebvrian approach, Genç (2014) surveys hegemonic processes within the processes of neo-liberalization that have differences, contradictions, adaptations, and class struggles interplay. By doing an actor-based research, doing interviews with actors take role in both local and central state institutions, municipalities, political organizations, NGOs, his work investigates two urban reproduction projects located in different

geographies of urban space - in the core an urban renewal project in Suriçi and in the fringe suburbanization in Kayapınar-. It is pointed out that through commoning and mobilizing spatial conceptions, strategies and interventions, different political parties articulate even though having different political (2014, 300). In other words, associated relations of actors, social and political groups in several contexts and scales trigger hegemonic processes upon the reproduction of urban space in a neoliberal sense.

Another example can be portrayed with a work by Batuman (2013) inquiring the role of local governments in the right-wing for the case of Ankara. About the power relations through the urban regeneration projects and redistribution networks, local governments attempts are not as an ad-hoc institutional intervention for the poor, by virtue of how firmly they engaged with the power coalition; thus it has a contradictory ground such like while supporting policies of which are driving social inequality, deepened socio-spatial differences, doing aid affairs for the urban poor to gain public support and obedience. Batuman's findings conclude that "the political hegemony of the Islamist administration" is provided by those relations thereby leading a social coherence, draws consent to political authority and the urged urban change. Aiming to get ahead of any social dissent condition and construct hegemony onward, those attempts, driven through political identities, roll out an understanding of "benevolence (of the mayors) rather than the fulfillment of citizens' rights" (2013: 589).

Furthermore, Batuman (2006: 194-198) in another work elaborates the role of urban professionals especially involved in the Chamber of Architects as an agent of urban politics, and he acclaims that urban professionals were undertaken a new role in the urban struggle by doing documentary research on a specific historical period between 1960 and 1980 - the period between two coup d'états. Concerning the grassroots movements in squatter areas and a "new municipal program" introduced in 1977s, the engagement of the architects and urban professionals in those processes is explored. Then, it is acclaimed that they were positioned the spaces of counter-hegemony since urban professionals are "organic intellectuals", with the

Gramscian term, and they fulfilled this role. This study noticing the role of chambers dealing with urban issues (composing urban professionals- architects and city planners) in class struggle gives a primary way to develop an argument for the contemporary period. It is explicit that organic intellectuals employing producing and deploying knowledge have a social function in class struggle and the “constitution of a class as a self-conscious political agent” (Gramsci, 1971: 8; cited in Batuman, 2006: 197). This role is associated with the exercise of hegemony. Because this knowledge-ridden steam impacts on driving consent or dissent of the society. Pointing to intellectuals' role in the hegemonic struggles, the role chambers is fundamental, especially the ones who deal with the reproduction of urban space. The positioning of the chambers, by stimulating confrontations to the state interventions aimed at increasing the production of built environment and transformation of urban environment, play a significant role in urban struggles. It is specifically evident in the period of the AKP era. Yet, as noted before, not all of them are in the same manner, but this capacity and role in the exercise of hegemony are clear.

Litigation processes on urban contradictions carried by Chambers

In this part, we elaborate on juridical conflicts and argue how overriding juridical decisions stimulate hegemony. The judicial conflicts on planning or any spatial administrative actions are related to power relations in legal terms. Majorly, the contestations or conflicts present among the two: ruling power and society or public (organizations) such chambers, associations, public collectives seeking for public benefit, which is as well as carried out by individuals. As is known, by juridical decisions, who wins raises its legitimate ground and strengthens its contention. However, the political power aims to override judgements that pose obstacles for capital accumulation through the production of the built environment. In time, those attempts disregarding legal judgments ruin the struggle of public reputation and, thus, seemingly lead to a (common) thought that capitalists and state interventions are irrepressible. In this framework, the first part surveys the contestation drawn upon judiciary affairs. Secondly, it argues the concept of

illegality armoured by law, which implies legislation facilities as a force – a mechanism of hegemony -; in that so governing illegality constitutes a sphere for reproducing class and power relations through the production of space. Herein, we subject an antagonistic planning sphere. This is a struggle in terms of the legal aspect of planning, urban spatial intervention. Struggling for public benefit and space has always existed along with history. However, the capitalist urbanization processes extend, and for that reason, this contestation has escalated much more.

Pointing out chambers positions

There is a critical role of chambers in the hegemonic struggle, especially on urban affairs, space politics. Based on “organic intellectuality”, urban professional organizations’ role since they are urban agents of urban politics, as Batuman (2006) states that chambers have carried out counter-hegemonic positions. Since the 1970s, chambers of architects, engineers and urban planning have gained a political role. It has rounded deeply in the last two decades, in the AKP era. Chambers, especially chambers of Architects and City Planners, have stimulated the counter-hegemonic practices on the basis of discourses and pursued litigation processes on the ground of jurisdiction fighting for public rights. The Gezi park case, for instance, is illustrative for how legitimacy is gained and organized by the litigation processes carried by chambers in addition to the public discourses that they published. The political position of chambers driving legitimacy by addressing the politics of spatial interventions and producing critical assessments have become apparent in this movement. Since the urban agenda has broadened, these chambers' role has gained much more importance for driving legitimacy, conceptually by encompassing “capacity to produce consent” (Penpecioglu, 2012) for the urban dwellers by mobilizing professionally legitimate discourses and legal attempts in this scope. The positions of chambers undertake a role driving legitimacy regarding any urban change in the cities. They posit in a war of positions for urban space change. The positions of the chambers then forward take particular interest. Notedly, the positions of the chambers should be critically analyzed temporally, geographically and organisationally. For which urban changes they mobilize

dissent by practising critical studies and activities, and on the other side for which urban changes they mobilize consent by doing supportive actions or keeping silent, thereby strengthening political support for the conflicting urban change should be analyzed in detail and critically put into a debate. However, at this point, the purpose is putting significant roles in chambers in urban politics and exercise of power relations, thereby in hegemonic relations.

This study pictures basically the CCP's attempts in terms of litigation held for the recent period of Turkey and demonstrates how the constestation has increased recently. The figure below shows an increasing number of lawsuits filed by the CCP.

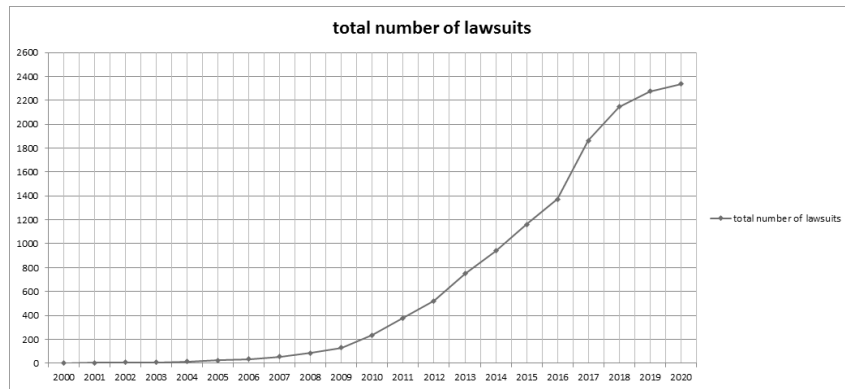


Figure 4.3. The graph indicating the total number of law suits filed by the CCP for the period between 2000 and 2020 (Source: CCP, 2020)

Throughout an inspection mission and ensured political perspective to struggle for rights of society, the CCP has filed several forms of administrative means associated with different scales and forms of urban planning-related exercises to cancel and traces 2336 number of cases in litigation processes in 2020. Those acts that are brought into litigation are usually aimed at solely driving capital accumulation through the (re)production of built environments - urban change, wherein there causes exploitation of general interests of society. The goal is to protect public benefit, commons, principles of urbanism, and the city planning profession's ethics. In the AKP era, as seen in the graphs above, the number of lawsuits filed by the CCP has increased in the late 2010s. Beginning from 2009 till

mid-2017, there is a radical rise in litigation processes. To note that decision-making about filing and proceeding litigation processes indeed depends on board members' condition and their political perspectives. Besides, the organizational strengths and weakness of the branches is another factor to follow these processes. In this sense, reviewing the content of litigations, it can be stated that four branches of CCP, Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and Bursa, are proceeding these litigation processes and carry out struggle on the legal ground. The below map displays spaces of conflict in Ankara, for which legal struggle carried for the planning acts between 2014 and 2018.

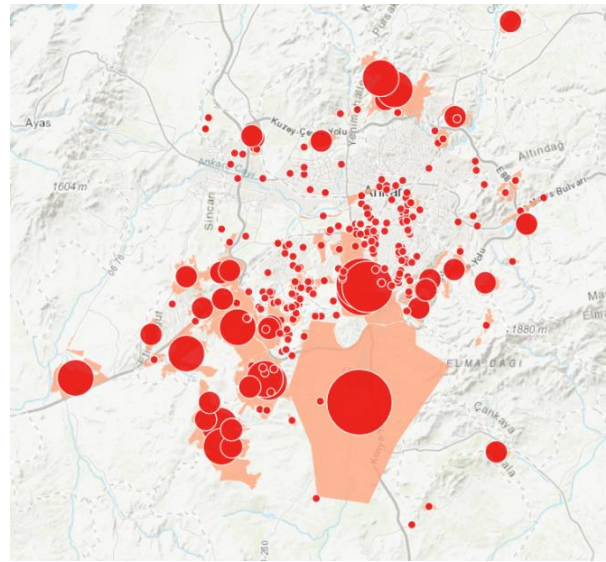


Figure 4.4. The conflict map in Ankara (Source: CCP Ankara, 2018)

The above figure was prepared by CCP Ankara Branch (can be accessed via <http://spoankara.org/hukuksal-mucadele-veritabani>). For Ankara, the figure indicates the concentration of the spatial interventions, indeed conflictual spaces subject to a jurisdiction process. It reveals implosion and explosion in Ankara's urban form; there are interventions in core and fringe aimed at building up with an additional construction right, expropriation of commons, the commodification of public lands, symbolic spatial interventions and so on. The representation of those conflicts on the bases of cases, tracing all the fighting spaces – the dynamic

features, is vital because reviewing all of them the knowledge via graphic representation, will enable to unveil the scope of (counter) hegemonic efforts.

What is more, repeated patterns of planning exercises are also considered problematic. They are introduced to overcome judgments on the cancellation of plans that are anomalous to public benefit by new planning practices. Legitimacy is gained through new planning exercise through complexing the litigation processes to drive construction processes thereby deemed urban change. Legitimization in legal terms has importance for fulfilling the interventions of capitalists and ruling authorities. For this reason, all the efforts in a continuous manner are put into practice. Legal interventions related to planning facilities refers to a slowing down factor for the commodification of space (Kaynar, 2015). Going one step further, it is believed that legal judgments obtained for the public benefit have also obstructor impact. Exploring the reasons for the repeated exercises of planning practices with similar contexts and content, it is assumed that this is illicit and unethical forms of planning practices issued in sequence to ensure dominant interests. These are functioned aimed at by-passing the rulings inhibiting the building up practices and respectively inactivating the rule in a tricky way. It causes planning practices turning into an ordinary, simplified administrative act without any public, political and professional concern; thus, it can be characterized as the “dark side of planning” (Yiftachel, 1998; in Marcuse, 2014). This affair, produced through several consecutive planning acts, is exemplified with two cases from Ankara, depending on the data obtained from archives of CCP Ankara, reviewed by the author (2016) with the simple figures below.

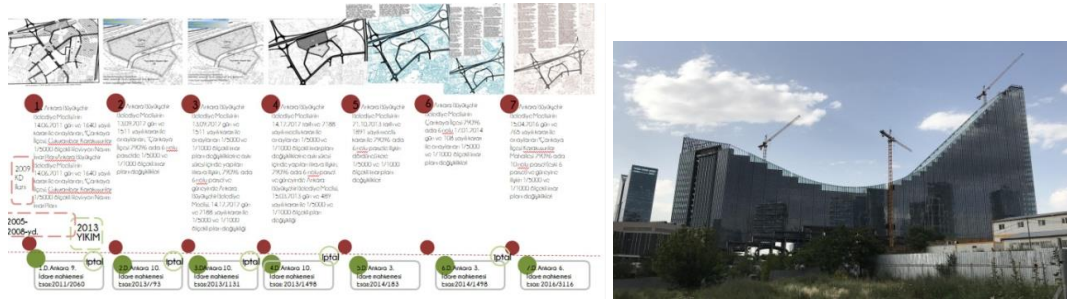


Figure 4.5. A graph presenting the resume of serial efforts of planning and legal rules for YDA center and a view of the conflict space (Author, 2016; 2018)

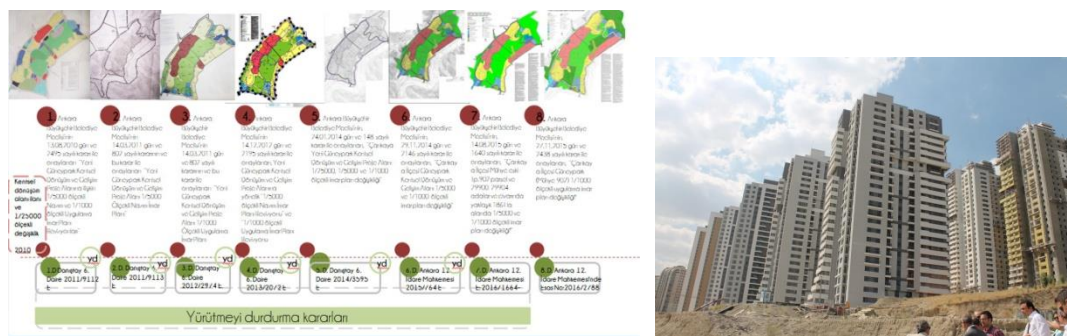


Figure 4.6. A graph presenting the resume of serial efforts of planning and legal rules for the Güneypark project and a view of the conflict space (Author, 2016; 2015)

Illegality is armoured by issuing new plans and rapid construction of materiality. Form and processes by materiality prevail overriding the legal orders specified through the litigation processes. Despite all the judgements disabled by repeated forms of planning interventions, the targeted built product figures on the right side reveal present, built-up conditions which is a new sphere of conflict. Both aspects of this process presented in above figures, have impacts on the formation of hegemony in an integrative manner. It is noticed that persistence through repeated planning exercises is usually challenged where the production of the built environment drives the supposed rent; in other words, it exhibits where there is large-scale capital accumulation. In this sense, as the above figures are some typical cases of legal fights of the CCP Branch of Ankara, there are also similar

cases in İstanbul and İzmir, where capital accumulation is comparably excessive. Within the scope of judicial conflicts, disregarding or not acknowledging the court order and continuing the construction facilities have integratively become a frequent problematic issue. The respective institutions assign over the legal rule and let the construction proceed on. Indeed, it is like a forceful spatial intervention. Nonetheless, as a consequence, it leads to (re)produce of the political power whereby keeping power via controlling over legal rules and in this sense, it – seemingly raises a common thought in society for the loosening impact of counter actions and lead an understanding to subordinate all the actions about urban changes driven through construction-led building practices.



Figure 4.7. Construction site of Togo buildings a conflict site in Ankara (Author, 2019)

There is an “architecture of hurry” (Dennis, 1988) at different contexts, but especially in legally conflicted urban areas. Imagined urban space, with regards to the levels of realization of masses, which is manifested either through building up or destruction, is thought as a vein of exercises of hegemony by forms. It is a process of subordination by means of a spatial issue. Particularly for the conflicts of space, it is believed that the fragility of hegemony gets slighter provided that the built form is completed, by doing so domination of capital and authority be able to achieve their ambitions. Built structure, even uncompleted, as an entity is being used for a legitimization matter of fact for the lawless and profit-oriented built

environment productions. Through the sense of spatial difference (indirectly) motivates desires and feelings within the scope of the relations of perception and apprehension. Provoking aspect of materiality is a mean of exercise of hegemony. It is apparent in many cases of conflicts in urban space and legally debated by terms of acquired or vested rights of construction. Herein, the power of incompleting or in progress of construction of building/built environment is illustrated by the Togo buildings (the above figure). Not going into details of the conflict (for the legal trajectory, see. CCP, 2019), it is noted that the contestation is carried out through the materiality of the building; political discussions are gone through with this matter of fact. The purpose is running the manufacture of consent through the power of uncompleted masses thereby overriding the legal rules. Timing, by fait accompli policy, and construction conditions provoke imagination and impact on strengths or weaknesses of dominance. This is one of the challenge that counter-agents deal with to express and settle their positions. In sum, the actor and agent-based relations, the positions of agents about urban space is crucial in those active relations.

4.1.3 Financial coordinates: Financialization of urban space

Financialization of urban space by the employment of increased credit and debt mechanism is considered a process and relation that drive impact on (reproduction of) spatial exercises of hegemony. The processes and relations dwelled by the financialization of urban space are associated with legislative attempts, agents, and institutions' roles; thus, this topic is cohesively interlinked with the above and below arguments, yet needs to be examined specifically how it is a means of spatial exercises of hegemony. At this point, the question is how power relations are exercised by gaining public support throughout the processes and relations of financialization, indeed by over-financializing attempts for (urban) land and state interventions in i.e. housing, large-scale urban development projects and reproduction of urban spaces in the era of AKP.

The processes of how people get involved in this process are implicit issues. Because the financialization of urban space, incorporating the question of increasing indebtedness, ensures the ability to capitalize and consume and (re)produce space and social relations. Therefore debt is elaborated in two tracks, as a two-fold issue: i) debt mechanism that state (governmental organizations - local and central governments organized, which rolls and fuels state interventions and capitalist urban space capitalist urban reproduction, ii) indebtedness of individuals – working-class, (either for housing ownerships or provisions of public services), which will be discussed in the latter part of the chapter entitled as a state of indebtedness and ownership, exploring in detail the conditions of indebtedness of working-class for ownership and how the living experiences of indebted people are considered concerning consent and coercion.

This part elaborates the relationship of financialization of urban space and debt within the scope of formation of consent and force. For this purpose, it first reviews relations of financialization and capital accumulation by the production of urban space in brief to ground the arguments onward. In this context, this initial part also elaborates the state's significant role in this process seeking to indicate how it sets up processes of financialization and constitutes power relations of the power bloc in this respect. It summarily argues the relation of crisis conditions and financialization of the built environment regarding expanded financialized real-estate and construction sector, which have become locomotives of the economy in the AKP era. Second, it explores two forms of implications of financial and debt mechanisms for state and capitalists as follows: i) financialization of housing organization and ii) financialization of state interventions for large scale urban redevelopment projects, which also comprises housing renewal - redevelopment projects. These two topics, it traces implementation, setting and imposition of debt conditions through extended features of financialization practices based on processes of reproduction of urban built environment. This is one aspect of the phenomenon, but it is significant to understand the other aspect of how they become common sense, either driving willingness or enforcement.

Beginning with, this part briefly examines the relationship between financialization and urban space. The rationale of finance is based on creating fictitious capital, via financial capital, obtained through over-production compared to real production capacities (Harvey, 1989). Financialization both depends on rendering imagination and contributes to this change. While financialization survives actively reimagining society from the finance perspective and forming up social institutions (investors, bankers, lawmakers, governments) in due reproducing fictitious capital, it also, on the other side, encourages to perceive the world with a view of ever-increasing financialization and interpret investments and speculations as just plays of economy, political and social life portfolio.

The financialization of urban space is a political process. Many countries (states, provinces, urban governments, universities, hospitals and other affairs or organizations about public infrastructure) get into debt to global financial institutions for significant amounts. This causes grand empowerment of those finance institutions on governments' policies, respectively enhancing dominant (financial capitalist) groups. In this context, finance, carrying a hegemonic role in neoliberal restructuring, is the founder and operator in processes of markets, banking facilities, flow of capital in different scales, and hence all facilities have an impact on the production of space (Gotham, 2009; Aslan and Dinçer, 2018). Herein what is critical for us is tracing the spatiality of finance and how it is a means for the relations of domination and subordination.

Once the capital accumulation is spatially produced, the financial organization of capital according to space is thus spatial. At this point, financialization has a pivotal role in switching circuits of capital through which there is "the increased interdependence between finance and the built environment" (Aalbers, 2008:148). Thus, it is explicit that financialization, which is a vein of capital switching among the circuits, is inherently related to capital accumulation through the production of the built environment. Therefore, the financial aspect of capital accumulation should be taken into consideration while exploring the relations of space and capital relations, thereby understanding how power relations are reproduced, for

instance, asking in what circumstances involvement of financial means influence class power relations.

As explicitly herein, the role of the state is significant. Despite its contradictory aspects, the state has a key role in financialization throughout operating legislative mechanisms and institutional and economic regulations. Enacting legal rules about socio-spatial organizations in terms of financialization providing a legitimization and upon which public support is mobilized; for that reason, it is related to the formation of hegemony. For instance, a key legal change recently readjusted the housing finance system and brought the banking system center of attraction. This is a law numbered 5582 – Law for housing finance system and changes in related laws- on mortgage credits-, which is a significant attempt for increasing financialization of urban space, was enacted in 2007 in the AKP era (Türel, 2015). All in all, implications of debt and financial mechanisms for state and capitalists explicitly enlarge the manoeuvring field by increasing the capacity of capital in the production of the built environment. The role of state in the financialization of urban space comprising state interventions in credit systems for capitalists roll out increasing facilities in the expropriation of land and driving capitalists' economic capacity to produce built environments. In doing so, the power bloc's dominance is reorganized by financial means and class alliances are redrawn by the new financial organizations.

Another debate is the legal arrangements that the state initiated to prevent a crisis in the real estate sector and markets of mortgage (Karaçimen and Çelik, 2017; Gotham, 2009). To exceed crisis ridden nature of financialization and coordinate organizational pattern in accord to the new order of global finance, there are initiatives about the development of new vehicles for finance; likewise, real estate investment trusts Real Estate Investment Fund and Real Estate Investment Partnership and certificate of real estate, differentiate the relationships of finance and construction sector. By doing it, they fluidize real estate properties in principle (Karaçimen and Çelik, 2017: 84-88). All in all, consent or coercion can be mobilized through the state's systematic arrangements on credit systems, execution

of indebtedness (providing means for enablement to own any property or for having sufficient capital to make any kind of investment), financial institutions about the production of space.

Not going beyond the financial crisis at large, it is useful to spotlight relationships with the real estate and construction sector and express some underpinnings about the crisis of financialization triggered by the production of the built environment. Because, there is a dramatic increase in construction and real estate sectors, which fuel the increase of production of the built environment, resulting in over-production problems in the production of built environments. This process is concluded by land and real-estate speculations and an increase in the production of built environment stock. That said, in overall, the relationship between real-estate and finance has been deepened and restructured through the crises. Economic growth on the construction sector's bases would not survive anymore. Because such growth, owing to a partial alignment with production of value inherent to capitalism, is fragile and inconsistent. What is witnessed in this perspective is that: The construction sector cyclically has only a revitalizing function for the economy. In relation to financing processes, the credit mechanism's role has gradually increased in both supply and demand sides of the construction sector. Financing via credits for both sides increases production independently from actual supply and demand rates. Seeing the increasing patterns, it is concluded that credits have a crucial role in realization of demand and supply. Overall, funding of supply and demand by the same financing institutions manipulate the two sides. This fact causes an over-increase in prices and ballooning of the real estate sector. Accordingly, complementarity and mutual dependent relations of finance and real estate sector consolidate the processes and make strength of each other (Karaçimen and Çelik, 2017: 84-88).

Even though financial means are the leading causes of the crisis, they temporarily introduce new means of finance to override or shift crises in time. It is believed that hegemony, which is exercised through financial means, is fragile, asking in what

circumstances a power can be driven through these relations and how long and by which capability of shift will be carried out with financial tools.

Exercise of hegemony through two major implications of financial mechanisms

This part explores how hegemony is exercised through financialization of housing and the financial aspect of large-scale urban redevelopment in the AKP era. It first examines the increase of housing financialization. Then, it spotlights processes of financialization of urban space through large-scale urban (re)development projects. For state and capitalists, these are two forefront issues in which financialization plays a key role and thereby, hegemony is exercised through.

a. Hegemonic impact of financialization of housing

Financialization of housing leads class alliances by means of maintaining capital accumulation by means of production of housing and classes involvement by debt mechanisms, which are expressed by willing or enforcement. Since the 2000s, for all around the world and Turkey, there is a growing increase in dependence and relations of production of built environment and finance; herein, housing has a key role. Especially in the context of switching to secondary circuits of capital accumulation, housing is a focus of interest for the built environment production, recognizing how large the housing market is organized by a mortgage on a global scale means that all relationships about housing are globally linked. The mortgage market is evolved in and embedded in global financial relations. Encapsulating all, the idea of this process exploitation of all who involves in the process of financialization (Aalbers, 2008). That being said, housing financialization presents “inherently variegated, path-dependent and uneven” (Aalbers, 2017) characteristics considering different systems for housing and thereby exercise varigated relations of domination and subordination through implicit uneven and different power relations.

This is not just a problem with economy and space; it is a question challenging labour. The house and how it is maintained, enforced debt mechanism, has been a financial issue and they are figured with coercions. Debt has always been a coercive thing for the reproduction of the labour force and by the mortgage means it got complicated.

Housing production and how it is configured are critical for classes. The role of the MHA, embodying extraordinary authorizations, is significant (Ergüder, 2015); however, it has been turned into an institutional engine for accelerating financialization of housing and expropriation of public lands with the purpose for urban development. The processes of financialization evidently impact the housing in Turkey and the state role in this process is explicit enacting legal rules and consequently causing spread of mortgage credits thus impressing everyday life of indebted households (Aslan and Dinçer, 2018: 152).

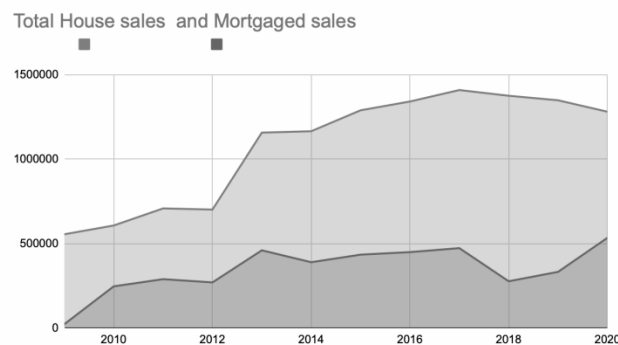


Figure 4.8. A graph that indicates the change of total house sales and mortgaged sales in Turkey for the period between 2009 and 2020 (Prepared by the author, 2020)

The rate of housing credits within the all consumption credits has increased %7,8 to %24,2 between 2002 and 2014 (Yeşilbağ, 2016). The above figure (Source: TÜİK (TSI), 2020, TKGM (GDLRC); accessed date: November 27, 2020) indicates the large proportion of housing mortgage sales among the total sales. As seen, the mortgage rate has a substantial impact on the organization of housing sales with its ups and downs. In line with the statistical data provided by TSI, the

mortgage loans multiplied over-nine times in İstanbul from 2009 to 2016. Yet, the studies about mortgage loans rehashed refer to the population index point Ankara, ranked as the first city where the most mortgage loans were issued (Aslan and Dinçer, 2018: 145-149).

The rise in household debt is dynamic due to the survival of construction-led capital accumulation. Furthermore, housing finance plays a key role in processes of ensuring economic discipline under the growth strategy, flexibilizing labour market and expropriating labour force (Ergüder, 2015). It impacts everyday life, entailing reappropriation of class relations through those relations come by the financial means. Therefore, housing finance is one of the mediums through which class alliances are drawn in the AKP era. It is considered, as a result, a form of relation and process about space exercising hegemony.

b. Large scale urban (re)development projects and financialization problem

The relations of growing financial dominance and the large scale urban (re)development projects are broadly discussed within the scopes of the new urban policy, new state entrepreneurialism and new economic policy as they are considered as catalysts of new rescaling and a new form of politics in governing by means of rendering new partnerships, new urban coalitions, along with which state puts new orderings via deregulation means, specific fiscal rules in exceptional manners, real estate development, flexibilization of labour market, state guarantees, “overestimated revenues” and “underestimated cost” (Flyvbjerg, 2014) of the projects, impositions of severe negative impacts on environment and society, exaggerated effects on relations of regional and urban space organization. As put into practice through the production of rent through the production of the built environment, those projects also employ ambiguous processes and power relations (see. Flyvbjerg, 2005a, 2005b, 2014; Sywngedeouw, Moulert and Rodrigez, 2002; Peck et.al., 2010; Harvey, 2005). In explicit terms, these processes empower the capitalists and disempower the working classes, thus a conflict medium of class interests. The condensations or convergences of class interests through those

projects roll exercise of hegemony out. Inquiring hegemonic-essence of large-scale UDPs: Along with the finance-led accumulation strategies and implementation exercised through the production of the built environment, assetizations of land (form), reordering of services, interventions on commons and reproduction processes are all rolled out. At this point, we question how “internalization of accumulation by dispossession” (Harvey, 2005) through large-scale urban development is materialized in the society, in fact, how class alliances are redrawn through fantasies of large-scale urban redevelopment projects.

The forefront factors that drive a common approval for those projects are figured those by means of creating and maintaining employment, comprisement of “a large element of domestic inputs relative to imports”, enhancement of “productivity and competitiveness”, benefits on the basis of having “higher-quality services”, replacement of infrastructure (Helm, 2008: 1; cited in Flyvbjerg, 2014: 7). In reality, there is no exact contribution to society or only marginal contributions. The question is even though there are obvious financial deficits, unfitted conditions of cost and benefits, unreasonable configuration for public interest, long term economical and environmental adverses, exploitation and capitalization of commons spaces and public lands and materially coercive impositions on everyday life, how those large-scale urban development projects are put into practice one and another and how those are have capacity drive power. Critically questioning how political support is produced by urban redevelopment projects associated with financial interventions, albeit they are disadvantageous for society. This is a financial force for society. It is a problem drawn through exploitation and capitalization of commons spaces and public lands and labour. And the processes and relations of financialization reorders and changes power relations by empowerments and disempowerments. In this sense, in many points, those processes bring consent and force into questions the means of social exclusion and integration.

The scope of large scale urban redevelopment projects in Turkey can be defined by a variety forms of reproduction of space, comprising of urban transformation

projects (housing renewal project, housing rehabilitation, housing development, likewise.), urban (re)development projects (multi-functional transformation processes), mega infrastructures (projects about transport networks, energy projects etc.), disneylandification projects, mega-event projects, reorder of social amenities (hospitals, stadiums, public buildings..etc)., reproduction of parks (national park projects). Therefore, the financial dynamics in those are active redrawing the conflictual terrain of general and capital interests.

Focussing on what? Herein, we point out the large-scale urban development projects formulated by distinctive financial apparatus and additional public motives to make them succeed in. To remark that, we tackle the large scale urban development project organized through public-private partnership. Especially the large scale urban reproduction projects, which are means of political propaganda to drive support, necessitate long term and in vast amounts of capital. The association of finance and the real estate sector, as related to geography, settled in this time. Aalbers (2012; cited in Yeşilbağ, 2016) calls this partnership complex of real estate property and finance. For finance institutions, built environment production has become a profitable investment issue

The “iron law of megaprojects” (Flyvbjerg, 2011; cited in 2014, 11) is also in effective for the large-scale projects in Turkey. They have excessive expenses with a huge amount of cost overruns, delays, disappear of public resources, finance-based accumulation strategies with chronic and long-term debts and severe damages on the environment and social assets. They are commonly applied by public and private partnerships, and the contracts put in this process into practice for materializing projects set forth the sharing risks and profits among public and private sectors. Within this scope, there are different models by variations of design-build-operate-rental-transfer processes. Furthermore, considering the contract rules, several forms of a guarantees provided by the treasury are specified according to the context of the project. For the financial affairs, projects are adjusted within the scope of the governmental decrees (Ministry of Treasury). Those problematic financial measures ground on legal terms which are called

Agreements on Undertaking Debt organized under the law numbered 4749 Public finance and regulations on the management of debt, enacted in 2014. Illustrating the financial orders of the projects, Varol (2018) elaborates four large scale urban infrastructural projects framed with specific fiscal issues by credit mechanisms and guarantees per year. The reviewed projects are as follows: Osmangazi Bridge, Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge (3rd Bridge of İstanbul), Avrasya Tunnel and Zafer Airport. For a broad analysis, those will be enlarged by updating those projects. Nevertheless, these mentioned projects' common properties are being carried out with the build-operate-transfer model, using external credits and having a guarantee as a mortgage repayment by state instead of the company. This work reveals a significant amount of difference between the measure of actual use and the guaranteed. The guarantee level is determined over the predictions. By doing so, it presents the irrationality of a model founded upon for public benefit. The fantasy of the projects is not only dwelled on their “underestimated costs, overestimated revenues, undervalued environmental impacts and overvalued regional development effects” (Flyvbjerg, 2005), but also their unreasonable condition for implementation, public land allocations for their organization, speculative uses, the conjuring up a provisioned amount of use that is guaranteed (passenger guarantees). For the last one, the capital transfer is organized for the non-use which is a type of expenses resulted by the differences of uses between guaranteed and realized. In these cases, contrary to the general interest of the society, the malfunctioning aspects of the projects turn into capital. A long-term financialized setting is produced by means of the large-scale urban projects with this rule. As obvious, this is the most significant aspect, yet how it is mean for being consented through is problematic. The Third Airport for İstanbul, Kuzey Marmara Motorway project (involving the Third bridge of İstanbul and articulated transportation network), Canal İstanbul Urban development Project and City Hospitals are the other large scale urban projects organized within this scope. About Third Airport for İstanbul, a project materialized by design-build-operate-rental-transfer model of public-private-partnership with treasury guarantee is criticized by several bodies

with different points of views spanning from unreasonable conditions for setting the (infrastructural) project, adverse environmental impacts, and exploitation and assassination of workers in the construction processes. However, this part comprises the financial aspect of the problems and questions how people agree upon and consented to the project's economic burdens. The project agreement put through by the ministry and construction consortium (companies namely Cengiz, MAPA, Limak, Kolin and Kalyon, in other words, selective capitalist groups) is based upon the commitments of the rental to the consortium, operating rights for the consortium, guarantee for up to 200 million the passenger/per year (the government will have to pay to consortium if the number of actual passenger of airport lower than the defined number) and provision of lands for building up in addition to the airport complex. There is no public benefit, since all rules are defined to ensure construction-led capital accumulation. It can be stated that it is not a public work, indeed there is enforcement for the society in economic terms.

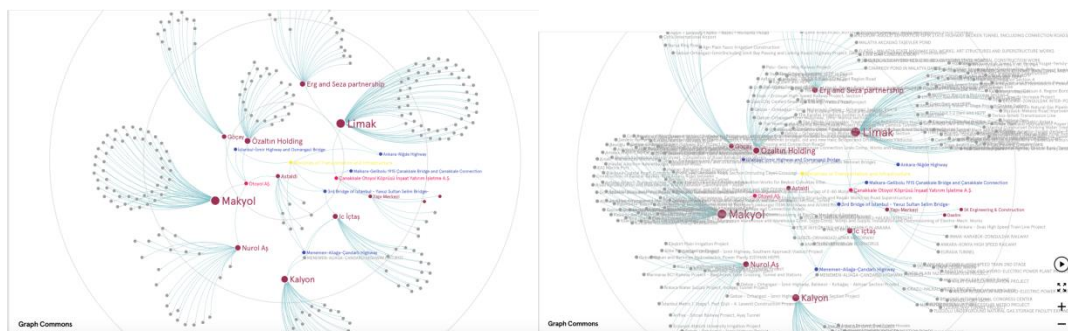


Figure 4.9. The articulations of capital groups regarding the five large-scale transportational infrastructure project (Author, 2021)

The above figure indicates how “investment partnerships” (Swyngedouw, Moulert and Rodrigez, 2002) are organized through large-scale infrastructure projects, focussing on five highway and bridge projects which are organized under the public and private partnership projects with the model of design-build-operate-rent-transfer models. Those projects are namely: (i) İstanbul-Bursa-İzmir-Motorway and Osmangazi Bridge, (ii) Northern Marmara Highway and 3rd Bridge of İstanbul, (iii) Kınalı-Tekirdağ-Çanakkale-Balıkesir Highway and 1915 Çanakkale Bridge,

The figure as a representation of selective deregulation on determining investment partnerships in city hospitals' case reveals that the capital groups in terms of companies, which are contractors of City Hospitals, are also the operators of some other large-scale urban (reproduction) projects. Thus, this is a network of capitalists, construction companies allied together in the era of AKP, focusing on city hospitals. Apparently, large-scale urban projects are contracted out to some particular groups. It presents through which (urban development) projects they come together and operate construction-led capital accumulation through.

The City Hospitals, are organized using the same model of design-build-rental-transfer of public-private partnerships with treasury guarantees. In sum, city hospitals' projects are political projects occupied to commodify public health services and their urban spaces (configurations). This is an unusual intervention, since it is more than a privatization attempt. The commitments under the contract are defined as following: rental for twenty five - twenty eight years of period, operating rights for the companies which built up hospital on public lands, tax release, provision of agency for seeking for international credits to tackle with building costs, guarantee by treasury through public resources for repayment of the debt amount for which company unable to pay back, assigning public lands belonging to existing but planned to be closed down hospital, guarantee for service procurement. Besides, the state guarantees %70 patient - occupancy rate for City Hospitals. This point of decree indicates how the government conceives of the health system as a part of commodification and financialization. Furthermore, those large scale urban projects cannot be handled through capitalists' own economic sources. Thus, it requires credits in large amounts, and relevantly, these credits are originated by international capital. Reproduction of capital accumulation and relations of capital, articulation for the flow of capital, run by the processes of construction of City Hospitals. The state undertakes all financial risks disregarding public resources for those projects. Since the rule that defines that state is assumed to pay instead of companies, they are unable to repay their credit debts. Hereupon, we would like to remark on the critical aspect of the build-rent-transfer model and

question why state authority is being put into the rental system, albeit public construction cost is lower than. As a consequence, the project of City hospitals in Turkey, which associatively comprises reordering of public health spaces in overall, is a precise example of “why the worst projects get built instead of the best” (Fyyberj, 2014: 2). Even though the contradictions of the projects are far-explicit in this case, it can be assumed that there is a particular form of manufacture of consent dwelled in this process, which is rooted through the necessity of society for public amendment, a crucial public service, the healthcare. Projects on hospitals enforce people-society to get involved in the system, which makes them keep their discontent alive. It is a form of consent armoured by coercion. Nonetheless, it should be explored in detail how hegemony is exercised through city hospitals’ projects, even seeing the deficits of financialization of space.

Pointing to a specific question, how the society assesses the financialization aspect of large-scale urban (re)development projects. The above part has an overall analysis, yet it is clear that their configurations in terms of their spatial relations, forms and processes are current urban phenomena in the AKP era, through which hegemony is sought to be exercised. Large-scale urban (re)development projects are open to examination in each with their local contexts. Hence, finding out the particularities of those all will portray the contextual differences of the processes that exercise hegemony or impact exercise of hegemony.

Concluding remark for this part, the finance-led accumulation strategies and state interventions applied throughout the large-scale urban development projects exercise hegemonic means; in doing so, it is aimed to reorganize power relations and drive political consent in accordance to survive capital accumulation by the reproduction of space. The introduction of the process and debt’s financialization has become a commonly used means for governmental organizations to apply their projects at the central and local level. Notedly, whereas this dissertation spans its elaboration on the central government practices (as above), it is fundamental to remark that specific research will be drawn upon questioning local governments’

financialized services or practices and how hegemony is exercised through those practices and processes and by doing it will enhance our outlook.

4.1.4 Institutional (re)arrangements to fulfill operations about space organization and reproduction of the built environment

This part investigates state interventions' intended attempts based on institutional (re) organization and/or new forms of institutions. Seeing the anchoring role of organization of institutional affairs on exercises of hegemony, as it is marked by Gramsci, this study put remarks exploring the institutional (re)arrangements that conduct or have touches on the organization of space. It is vital to address the institutional organizations which are dealt with the reproduction of the built environment. Because they have impacts on the constitution of hegemony by means of putting implementations or processes into operation. The relations and processes about space driven by institutional changes and, respectively, change the order of state interventions, reproducing power relations in society. Thus, those actions held by the institutions are acclaimed as some means of spatial exercises of hegemony by virtue of the applications embodying inclusive and exclusive impacts for social classes.

Regarding the condition of capitalism driven by the construction-led accumulation, it has developed its institutional settings to operate and manage the market of the built environment, which has a hegemonic impact on society. In line with the economic reorganization, state (re)structuring has been materialized in institutional forms and regulation authorities. For instance, the restructuring forms implying a turn has happened as an outcome of the economic crisis of 2001 in Turkey. This period is posited along the period that AKP settles in. This study is not going into depth of this discussion, yet noting that this period of reorganizations was noticed as a means that enabled AKP be a ruling power. Upon the crisis conditions, and after the crisis, it gained political support and kept power (re)producing socio-spatialities. For instance, in the first period of AKP, the institutional transformation

was a specific field of attention and intervention. As reviewed in Balaban's work, there were different types of transformations which are analyzed in terms of legislation, namely these are i) "reform on local governments" by which the authorities of central and local governments are redrawn, ii) "empowerment of housing development administration" by means of extending and increasing authorities and assigning it a sole competent role in housing and land reproduction, iii) organizations at the regional levels" (Balaban, 2008: 202). After that, throughout the ruling period of AKP, there are major changes held in institutional organization forms, which are adjusted according to the embodied capitalist policies and political context in a centralizing way through restructuring. For example, after the referendum held in 2017, it has systematically changed the governing system by abolishing the cabinet of ministers and adjusting ministries, over-centralizing authorities, and assigning ministries from capitalists who are in the related sectors and vice versa. In doing so, political ruling redraws its parcours of institutions and configures the capability of its interventions in an extending manner. The reorganization of institutions means adjusting powers or new ruling orders, change of authorities either strengthening or loosening, founding or abolishing.

This part focuses on institutional organizations within the scope of restructuring operations concerning (re)production of the built environment. In this framework, it specifically argues the collaborative or coalitive actions of institutions, asking for which purposes those are run through and how those collaborate with the power bloc.

Institutional affairs refer to one aspect of strengthening the power of growth coalitions, thus while examining growth coalitions about the reproduction of urban space, institutions' functions are taken into consideration. Growth coalitions, dealing with the production of the built environment, are composed of governmental and non-governmental agencies. In this, how they are articulated and facilitated in pursuit of (re)production of (urban) space is fundamental point for analysis of power relations. According to the paradigm that construction-led

accumulation is dominant, therein draws on rearrangement and new routes for public institutions. Focussing on the institutions which are majorly related to the processes of built environment production, this part sheds lights on some prevailing issues about organization of institutions, these are as follows: redefining the scope of MHA, increasing and changing role of Emlak Konut, extending authorities of Privatization Administration, the establishment of Wealth Fund, restructuring and readjustment of authorities of Ministry of Environment and Urbanism, restructuring of İller bank, reorganization of authorities of central and local governments (readjusted by the law numbered 6360) within the restructuring and rescaling attempts. This study claims that these impact coordinating interest of classes, processes of commodifications, land allocations, financialization operation, implementation of a deregulation turning point of planning practices and similar operative issues.

Under the rule of AKP, Mass Housing Administration and in relation to its formation of MHA Real Estate Investment Company of Emlak Konut, are in turn with regards to neoliberal authoritarian period. These (re)structured and formed up bodies signifying how the housing sector has changed and in line how public support is produced through these new changes are our questions. For instance, spotlighting the institution of MHA which has a key role in the production of built environment concerning basically for housing provision and land organization. Stating that “TOKİ as the sole path to homeownership.” (İdel, 2018: 10), it is found out that there is a particular conception for institutions about the sense of ownership, housing ownership dwelled in the contemporary period. Following that, according to Dođru (2016: 247-262) aiming to deepen understanding of housing sector in terms of “transformation, expansion, and institutionalization of capitalist social relations” depicts that MHA has a “contemporary form of the ‘benevolent’ (rather than invisible) hand role” as conceived as a result of identifying phases of state interventions about housing provision and organisation. For recent period, post-2000s, there is an ‘effective’ state for the formation of the real estate sector. The state, in the historical span, is pretended as a highly-determinant figure in

capitalist housing development. Ascribing “Benevolent hand role” for MHA, concerning the recent period, is exposed by the related processes and conditions of “(1) a state-led expansion of capitalist relations in the housing sector; (2) a neoliberal authoritarian style of state administration; (3) the organization of TOKI as a quasi-private company; and (4) the deepening of market mechanisms through indebting the ‘targeted masses’”. The new settings about MHA, the new formation of Emlak Konut REIT and authorities of Ministry of Environment and Urbanism are prominent housing-related institutions, organizing the politics, implementations and state interventions by means of leading expansion of commodification, financialization of the housing sector, imposing indebtedness for housing ownership, orchestrating processes of urban transformations, public land allocations for development, privatization of public lands, applying redistributions mechanisms and so on. The mechanisms of consent and coercion are entangled in diverse forms in these processes.

Concluding remark for this session is that these new order and authority capacities of institutions by means of coordinating land allocations, financialization operation and operative issues, and implementing deregulations via planning practices, in doing so those reorganize power relations about the reproduction of power mass of society is ruled and mechanisms of consent and force employed through.

4.1.5 Operational expert practices: Planning and design practices

“I shall show how space serves and how hegemony makes use of it, in the establishment, on the basis of an underlying logic and with the help of knowledge and technical expertise, of a “system”” (Lefebvre, 1991: 11).

Planning and design practices are technical expertise, thereby implicating knowledge about space, exercising a means of settling power of space, and geography. Majorly, spatial decisions, strategies articulated in through planning are all manifested to strengthen class power and survival of capital accumulation. In

this sense, planning and design practices are mediums of power struggles, means of hegemonic struggles. The contestations manifest in, by and/or around planning and design practices. These exercises varied by urban planning, architectural design and landscape exercises, and engineering exercises about reproduction of space reconfigure the class interests. Spatial organization by design, planning exercises enable hegemonic control over society. In this context, this study criticizes those. In this part, unravelling the design expertise role about the production of urban space in the capitalist system, we tackle current mainstream planning and design exercises held in the era of AKP in Turkey and examine how they stimulate the constitution of common sense about (re)production of urban. Design practices have power by defining, indeed changing spaces and individuals' everyday practices. We claim that changing planning practices much more aimed at steering rent obtaining by land; (urban-rural) space and like so commodification of public space -land and assets- and expropriation of commons, leads to an understanding of urban space. In fact, plans and design products which are technical and legal features related to space are hallmarks of legitimization for society's thoughts and imaginations. Besides, they are ruling affairs for space and controlling over space and society; they have -also- coercive impacts. Thus, they have a key role in constructing hegemony or force by the socio-spatial context. This role is not new, but it is clearly explicitly and used in this period. In the midst of producing public or private interest, planning has a decisive role in conflicting interests. As stated by Flyvbjerg (2005b: 57). "the public good, as defined by law, is planning's *raison d'être*.", thus, the sole mission of planning is figuring out the essential distinction between positing public good and private interest. Whereas urban planning in principle is deemed to ensure public benefit, general interests of society, this notion is widely broken or violated, as it has been operated in line with the dominant interests. In the AKP era, it is particularly involved in decision making processes, a means of application of state interventions, politics of rent production through the production of built environment along with the capitalist urban policies. Even though here elaborate and critically assess the design and technical expert practices

around urban planning practices, it is important to remark the impact of the whole picture of the processes that are followed by or/and associated to those with the acts such as means of implementation in the censoring phase through issuing building permits and vice versa.

This part briefly examines hegemonic aspects of design and planning exercises. They have been significantly changed and ruled through deregulations, flexibilities and contextless, have departed their essential frontiers and parcoured on seeking to drive the survival of capital accumulation and repulsing the mass of society in involvement of this order. Even though this part needs an extensive analysis, this session only draws some major points to figure out how exercises of hegemony are implemented through relations and processes carried out through planning and design means. Herein, aspiring to exemplify those by empirical issues, we take two research ways into consideration, which are as follows: examining media sources, doing investigations upon planning exercises by means of the chamber of city planners archives and press releases.

First, by resolving architectural scale - urban design scale works, this study remarks on changing forms of design practices which are used for mediating features, thereby triggering a desire for space via imagining a spatial organization. It is obvious that the processes and relations acquired by advances of representational techniques (three-dimensional or graphical tools) in those expert practices have influenced the manufacture of consent for the reproduction of urban space in society. For instance, it is claimed that urban design competitions by means of implementing further specific representation are mostly put to use as implements seeking to gain political support for the change of urban space. They refer to a specific form of design expertise and they are believed to be used as a medium of alliances of political agents throughout by driving society's consent. In this scope, questioning how hegemony is exercised by means of competitions, we put forward a research issue for the case of competitions held in 2020 organized by the Greater Municipality of İstanbul. Those competitions in specific will be possible research issues. Because, even though those were put into by the

opposition party, which is politically presented as by having or taking care of public interests, those design projects were formulated without any critical points or contestations with the projects in the site of the design area (see. Köksal et al., 2020), of which are reproduction of urban space that were applied by or involved in the intervention agenda of the ruling power, the AKP. Composing those spatial interventions within the design project idea means a kind of alliance of different political agents, on different scales of political organizations. Since those competitions are not confronting the central authority rulings within the context of defined sites of competitions. Consequently, those processes that were dwelled around and by design projects by competitions lead to thinking or questioning the role of design competitions to legitimize spatial interventions of the ruling power in society and strengthen its power in a way.

Second, we elaborate on how urban planning practices are considered driving forces for construction-led capital accumulation via discharging technical practicalities or requirements. By the time causing land speculations through being enacted against public benefit and legal rules, materialized without any qualifications concerning technical, political, legal interest. Herein it is important to remark that those -illicit- planning exercises have increased dramatically. Urban planning has gradually settled upon a bargaining medium about land rent for capitalist and local-central governments. Planning, by blueprints, reports and relevant official actions about the spatial organization, is being used as a means of capital accumulation. Besides, changing a line of planning materializes through overriding or exploiting the common interest aiming to survive political power. In this context, it reconfigures power relations. Along that, the essence of planning aimed at public benefit has disappeared; herein the trouble is operated by means of disregarding relations of land use and featuring mixed-use ordinance in any urban space and in any scale. By doing so, it enables investor, contractors to do their all desire in order of market-led. However, it drives on resolving the relations of land uses; thus these are deregulation facilities, provoking a further disorder. Applying

such forms of planning results in the planning discipline's reification, loosening its principle and power originated through involvement in conceived space.

Over flexibility in planning processes and rolling in processes in pursuit of planning exercises

In the recent period, there is over flexibility in planning processes and rolling in processes in pursuit of planning exercises, which are relations and processes in reproduction of the built environment leading to a new phase for deregulation. There are exceeding conditions over the flexibility and regulations in planning practices, which are operated by providing privileged building rights, issuing from two times to six times their building rights. As a result, over-building rights are occupied. It is essential to indicate the role of planning practices operating and legitimizing these processes. Regarding other articulations of relations, forms and process, planning exercises result for society through inclusion or exclusion. However, it is more than planning; the range of the flexibility and deregulation processes about exercises about controlling and specifying built environment has highly-extended. This enlarged scope of processes and relation relatively have granted the increasing (re)production of the built environment.

Reordering legitimization with referring to already completed forms that were illicitly formed up

In line with the debate above, this part reflects the changing reasoning grounds for planning thoughts and exercises. For instance, in a series of planning reports prepared by an incorporated company İller Bank, it is investigated that mapping out high rise buildings in the surrounding environment of the planning area (i.e. 28589/1 block in Beytepe, Çankaya, Ankara), which were previously done by illicit urban planning practices, being used for a kind of planning perspective acclaiming as a legitimating factor and so leading new additional building rights. Evidencing new development by means of mappings in similar lines has become a new method of planning perspective.

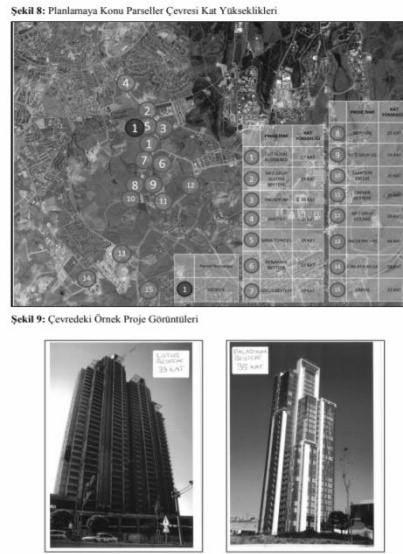


Figure 4.11. A figure in the planning report prepared by İller Bank to justify issuing privileged building-rights (Source: CCP Ankara Archive, 2017)

This is chaining planning practices subject to new urban development with privileged land rights, breaking out the idea of social justice and integrative spatial organization provided by planning. To notice, this form of planning exercises entails a challenging issue for CCP to cope with through the legal fight processes. In this sense, counter-hegemonic actions have been carried to defeat such justifications facilitated in a hegemonic manner, making the public to raise consent for new urban development by planning orders.

Explicit coalitions as apparent in the plan annexes which illicitly order building right to produce rent through increase of production of built environment.

In simple terms, the production of public social amenities has clear potential to gain political support. Production and/or organization of public amenities is closely related to social class interests and how they are organized is a question of politics and planning. Moving beyond, it is assumed that the organization of public amenities become subjects of manipulation by means of the planning exercises. For instance, there is some kind of planning exercises with annexes that underpin a commitment to do public or social amenities in return for increasing building

rights. By putting those commitments into plan annexes, naively, it is aspired to manufacture consent in the political arena to approve planning exercises to increase the right of the built environment. This form of planning has not mainly happened one or two times; it is illustrated by a series of plans decided by the Assembly of Greater Municipality of Ankara. The CCP Branch of Ankara (2016; 2017) brings forth the mentioned form of planning cases, which are particularly applied for increasing building rights with an exclusive manner with annotations committing to do school, kindergarten, dormitory, sports center and mosque in somewhere, - an unspecified area - , present how planning is being interposed in these processes. The purpose of those annexes is to intervene in urban space and to exclude and manoeuvre legal responsibilities around the - promised provision of - social amenities. The idea is that: On the ground of commitment for a mosque, school or likewise, doing an illegal planning exercise is aimed to be agreeable or consented from the public side, as if they are done for the public benefit. However, they are explicitly illegal and contrary to planning techniques. Thereof, the political coalitions constructed by those planning exercises with covenant social amenities. In order to override illegality, public amenities are used to drive support.

Increasing infusions of Islamic figures into planning exercises

Planning-based practices have a central operating role in decision-making processes by applying for ruling power orders. Moreover, seen in the above argument, Islamic features (rather than religious, Islamic as a politic) have become a dominant issue in planning tools. It is claimed that there is an increase of intrusions based on Islamic-features in planning. Those forms of reorganization of urban space by planning means -tools is a particular way of impacting exercises of hegemony by doing legitimate administrative documents for state interventions. Apart from the above issue presented as a case of planning annexes, here is another issue. Urban planning and spatial interventions are legal documents and they decide on destruction as well as the building up, fulfilling two sides of urban change (i.e. the decision of the Commission of Cultural Heritage of Ankara no.2 that ruled the demolition of the building of İller Bank in order to provide a site for

the mosque, a spatial depth for the islamic-symbolic feature). Apparently, acts related to urban planning are executed to mediate and legalize political interventions, in the case of reasoning with a highlight for the new built-up mosque, a symbol of Islamism. This spatial intervention or change, representing a field of power struggle, means symbolic revenge with the idea of the republican period.

In sum, referring to the power of production of conceived space, it is assumed that design and planning practices have a role in legitimization practices, whereby political support is driven through.

4.1.6 Media exercises about space

In the above and below, as can be seen in several points, this study uses, benefits and criticizes media exercises throughout pursuing its argument. It is because the media exercises have been both sources or facts to be analyzed for urban politics seeking to understand how they stimulate political support or dissent and in which tracks how it operates. Indeed, media is a medium of knowledge, which interlays power relations. In this sense, as an ever-present aspect in hegemony debates, media is a struggling field of power relations. Media exercises, as devoted to making public something - any issue -, therefore it is one of the spheres of power relations where they are clashed. Not going into depth, just to mark that the media is an agent and medium of confrontation of different power groups. Managing public opinion on any urban change with conflicts, media turns into a useful means for both sides of power. On the one side, there are media exercises with critical thinking and producing discourses in this counter line seeking to abuse or abolish dominant power. On the other side, mass-media practices take place, in which the exercises at large are treated with a purpose of an embodiment of dominant interest by the masses. They operate by supporting the dominant capitalist ideas, and in doing so, this way of media exercises seeks to involve masses into the dominant order, by aspiring to trigger consumption increase and to construct public opinion

around new patterns for consumption, to strengthen legitimization of politics, state and capital interventions for society. This study depends on the thoughts that media exercises throughout constructing a common sense in society, and they have a significant role in the production of space. At this point, delineating our scope of interest, it is not dealt with all sorts of media exercises; it pays attention to the (urban) space-related exercises.

Expressively, the media exercises in Turkey have a specific interest in the reproduction of urban space, and they have recently increased dramatically in the AKP era. Urban space is the domain of tensions and where interests are (re)produced through, and it is more significant than ever before. About production of the built environment, to convince society through constituting a common sense by public vehicles is significant. On that, this part briefly elaborates how media as a relation and process exercises hegemony. Getting around mainly empirical evidence, discursive and representational issues and by the time accounting the influence of lived experiences of media exercises, this part explains those, admittedly not limited to, in five subtopics as follows:

i) The interbedded ways of capital relations of the media and construction sector and its influences in/over society

For the inquiry on reasons for intense interest of the media on urban phenomena, we give credit that there are two traits, as well, technologically visualization has got further, and there is a capitalist collaboration among media companies and construction companies (as well as state), triggering the consumption. Seeing the assembly of capital relations of media companies with construction and energy companies in the AKP era in Turkey, the explicit role and involvement of the mass media in power coalition is far-evident for this period in specific (for details, see. <http://mulksuzlestirme.org/turkiye-medya-sahipleri-agi/>). This form of coalition by interlinkages is a phenomenon or setting purposely dwelled and results in and explains the reason for the increase of media in urban space.

The analysis of the capital relations among media and construction companies will be done broadly. Noting that, the latest real estate developers reserve at least %10 percent of project cost, according to Gülhan (2016: 44), measuring a substantial amount of capital to advertising, publicity and marketing. Instead of assembling with engineers and architects, having meetings with media experts is another indicator of the process. In this respect, the role of the media in terms of capital relations should be investigated. Needless to go beyond that, it is obvious that the media, likewise the construction sector, is a keystone for the reproduction of power relations in the AKP era (Yeşilbağ, 2016). The role of the media, providing political support, is self-evident in setting up a growth model grounded on the construction industry. Since “the leading media actors have helped to diffuse the hegemonic discourse legitimizing these urban transformations” (Türkün, 2011: 70). In a consolidated way of approach, common media discourses related to urban change engrave massive sources tackling with advertising, fetishizing and contradictory spatial issues seeking to legitimize the actions and attempts about the reproduction of urban space and thereby to manufacture consent about the production of built environment. Openly, there is an increasing use of vocabulary or terminology of urbanism applied by any means in media exercises. Those are commonly put into use to legitimize reproduction actions on urban space through using terms of public security, ownership, disaster risks, benefits of the urban change and etc., thereby drive a common sense for the spatial interventions seeking to make society convince and drive political support for the new forms of organization of urban space. By the time and further, it seeks to involve society into those capitalist processes via fetishizing, commodifying, making desirable or triggering to get into debt for the processes of urban built environments.

ii) Increasing media exercises on large scale urban redevelopment and national popular projects

In the AKP era, several mega projects, taking different forms of large-scale urban redevelopment projects such as new housing production projects, renewal projects, transportation and infrastructural projects like bridges, tunnels, airports, canals,

healthcare projects like city hospitals, office centers, administrative complexes, shopping malls, national parks and vice versa, have been implemented and respectively all they are issued in the media. These are national popular projects aiming to drive capital accumulation through the reproduction of the built environment. In mass media, there has been specific attention on those projects. The policies of mega projects with management aspects, technical characteristics, and cost-benefit critiques have explicitly been counted in the media because these are the conflict points for which masses deal and tackle with. From the dominant side, it is required to convince society for those and indeed gain political support from society through those. Both sides of the media value and elaborate those mega projects because they have “impact through tension points” (Flyvbjerg, 2012:7). While the power bloc seeks to increase credibility, legitimacy and approval of the projects thereupon gain political support over and by those megaprojects, the media from other points of view focuses on that projects are “financially non-viable” examining “escalated costs, cost overruns, benefit shortfalls, risk, optimism, and deception in huge and costly infrastructure developments” (Flyvbjerg, 2012:5), selective capitalist groups, exceptional incentives for the projects, changing property relations, adverse environmental impacts (i.e. The case of third bridge for İstanbul) and expropriation of labour. Likewise, in doing so those ways of media exercises subvert the knowledge that is drawn by the dominant side. Briefly as drawn above, it is clear that why the media for both sides has been more interested in urban phenomenon or commonly subjecting urban discourses is a question for those who studies hegemony and urban space. Engagement of media in large scale urban redevelopment projects, which is used as a smooth long-standing legitimization means for state intervention, challenges constructing urban hegemony. Therefore, how the media as a process and relation articulates or positions in and by those projects is our question. Any investment in terms of housing, infrastructure and likewise creative destruction, regardless of its adverse impacts and contrariety of public benefit, is convinced under the developmentalism paradigm, as is explicit within the common discourses of AKP

such as “there is no rest for the weary”, “built up İstanbul, lead survival” originated, respectively. The reason why political power is challenged with the built environment production is obvious that survival of political authority is associated with it in this sense.

Here are two exemplary issues on the ground of discursive attempts to indicate how they are engaged with other means of processes and relations of hegemonic drivers and how hegemonic conflicts are carried out on discursive means. One is that upon the discursive exercises by the state authority on a large-scale urban (re)development project. For instance, the Third Airport of İstanbul, not considered just a field of a transportation project, is deemed to construct a monument of a triumph (i.e. the speech of the president in 2018 can be reviewed). Besides, symbolic values are ascribed to those. In association, the new political agenda, which is settled upon- treating some dates with historical references has symbolic meaning, originated from Selcuk and Ottoman conquests, such as 2023, 2053 and 2071. There is no coincidence; instead, it aims to signify and establish its power for a long-dure and ensure its survival. In line with continuously alive power relations; thus, a new system, socio-spatial organization, is being legitimized through (Uzunçarşılı -Baysal, 2018). Another exemplary issue within the scope of large-scale urban (re)development project is National Gardens. This national-popular project is examined in the following part of the chapter. Yet, herein, we spotlight the conflictual condition in a discursive manner, carried by public statements by the chambers of landscape architects and city planners. Chamber of Landscape Architects (CLA) (2018), favouring National gardens and in pursuit of this view, declared some design and planning principles regarding it such as: making imperturbation valuable, analysis of urban and regional scale of parks, authenticity to local characteristics implying to local plant species, climate and architecture, ecologically sensitive landscape organization in so instructive and trainer for children, however, any attempts without any political and professional concern, legitimization just for the sake of expanding field of employment for landscape architects and as if it is a principle way for production of open space, means to

touch in the involvement of the dominant side. Contrary to CLA, CCP (2018 (3)) with critical approaches denoted that National gardens are today at the focus of urban politics and respectively it should be accounted as a vein of ideological, political and psychological matters rather than within the scope of technical expertise, details. Therefore, reviewing this conflict in a discursive manner, the chamber of landscape architects' approach can be considered to enrich "the capacity to produce consent" (Penpecioglu, 2012) for the reproduction of urban spaces, an urban park and greenery areas for the national park projects. The discursive conflicts in different mediums articulately will -possibly- impact the apprehension of what is our interest.

iii) Discourses rolling housing ownership through spatial interventions about (re)production of housing built environment

One of the featured media discourses in the recent period is discourses about ownership rolling out hegemony. In the following part of the study, there is a part of hegemonic ownership, and here, this part expresses that it is a notable subject of media exercises. Agreeing that hegemony is in flux, a short review on the history of urban space explicitly reveals that the symbolic meaning of housing, in pursuit of modernization, for the middle class of the Republican period has shifted from the apartment building to new and branded housing projects. Possessed housing, a class-based vein of reproduction constituent, has a symbolic meaning. To increase consumption practices towards branded housing projects, the media represents corresponding figures implying some typical issues concentrated on living with similar social groups, safe living conditions and profitable investment. Herewith, urban questions i.e. socio-spatial segregations favoured by the massmedia is a matter of of imagining the spatial configuration. Such an urban conflict has thus, become legitimized by images and discourses, consecutively - will- be turned into a convinced matter of subject, in time.

Housing has already been a vein of individual identity, social status, prestige and secured life and investment vehicle for a long time. Yet, housing ownership

recently has raised a new understanding (Öncü, 2005) and it has become more evident through speculations rapidly increased everywhere and expectations dwelled through surplus value of any urban space. Whereas housing is a matter of dwelling, secure, social space as a form of solidarity space of neighbouring relations, it turns into a commodity at large. Public and private real estate developers cooperate to increase housing production and media discourse to fetishize this ownership that counterparts developmentalism. In overall, this part aims to point to the increasing emphasis of housing ownership discourses used in media exercises by expressing its main circumstances. Yet, it is fundamental to make an analysis with more empirical evidence acquired by positive methods and detailed discourse analysis to see where the intensified geographies are and how it has changed in time, the fluctuating patterns sprung out according to political-economic relations.

iv) Media discourses underlying the themes of safety and public security

Following the above discussion, one of the pinpoints of mass media practices upon housing ownership is to lean on the production of “safe” housing environments to overcome security concerns that are controversially and mutually represented in media. All those kinds of discourses are rolled to legitimize and spread surveillance practices on urban space and legitimize reproduction of urban built environments to create safe places and spade housing-living environments. Herein, within the scope of interconnected relations, embracing the discourses on the basis of conceived space and living realities about feeling safety or having concern about individual or public security are taken into consideration. Imagination about and for security draws out this argument, questioning how security questions have capacity to constitute political support in a way. Notedly and limitedly, public security, which is an idea compatible with normative requirements of the capitalist paradigm, strictly controls the word “public” meanings at large. Particularly in the period of the rise of “terror threats or/and attacks”, created so-called a legitimate terrain, and these are widely extended with surveillance mechanisms (Haiven, 2018: 83). In the media, there are common discourses about public security and security in daily life

pointed out and strategically-employed. Security problem with characterizing spaces with crime, fear or threat, and negative adjectives respectively (in)directly brings out a condition to consent to any spatial reproduction exercises supposing that challenge with this increasing political affair. This security issue is not a new phenomenon since it has been triggered majorly within the neoliberal paradigm. Yet, it has contemporarily expanded in scale and used for a consent manufacturing mechanism.

v) Variegated and intensified ways of Islamic figures employment in media exercises

There is an explicit course of media exercises in which figures of political Islam and reproduction of urban space transversed, aiming to gain the political support of the masses via those articulations. In this respect, this study assumes that there are variegated and intensified ways of Islamic figures' employment in media exercises, and some typical cases are expressed here. However, these are not limited to those.

About the media exercises with intercourse of Islamic features, there are some representations and discourses grounded on domination over space associated with political figures. Arguing media magnets, Flyvbjerg points out how politicians enjoy having visibility at the beginning of megaprojects, how it is a center of attention to be presented "by the unique monumentality and historical import of many megaprojects", and in doing so it believed that "this is the type of public exposure that helps get politicians re-elected" (Flyvbjerg, 2014: 7). This is a common form of exercise as explicitly applied, getting beyond the limits of mega projects in Turkey. It is more in the era of AKP. As a kind of media politics, these forms of visualities are strategically-associated with Islamic features. The presence of politicians in or by a space aligned with Islamic features is used in order to gain political support for the spatial intervention for the defined -conflicted- space.

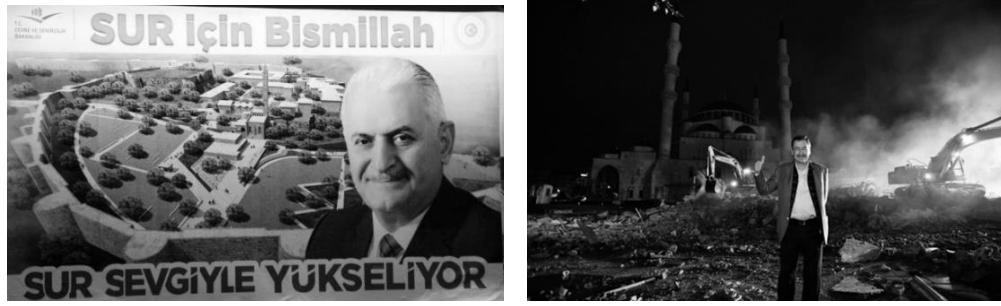


Figure 4.12. A mediascape in Diyarbakır and an image of the Mayor in the destruction moment of İller bank (Source: Author, 2017; CCP Ankara, 2017)

As illustrated in the first figure above, there is precise involvement of the Islamic line for the constitution of hegemony by using Islamic terms in discourses. The mediascape says that “Bismillah for Sur” implies an introduction for redevelopment facilities of authority in Sur where the warfare occurred. Discourses consisting of Islamic worldling are being used in some places with reference to the social contexts, for instance, such mediascape is not applicable and used in Ataşehir, İstanbul, where the social context is different from Diyarbakır. The second figure is related to the moment of destruction of a public building İller Bankası in Ankara, which has specific historical, architectural design and spatial assets. This visual, which means a forceful spatial intervention, seeks to signify power. Ongoing destruction is represented triumphantly by the Mayor. Thereby, it was sought to reproduce and legitimize the processes of reproduction of urban space and facilities for destruction. It produces political power, sovereign by space which is lean on a mosque, an Islamic feature.



Figure 4.13. Some screenshots from the video prepared for Council of Urbanism (Source: Ministry of Urbanism and Environment, 2017)

As known as, the political power AKP is aimed at strengthening its sovereignty through symbolic projects. In meanwhile, it is assembling its policies and implementations about spatial reproduction by Islamic discourses, also. Through Islamic aspects, it is commonly aimed to mobilize political support. Overall, this was declared in 2017, broad in scope at the Council for Urbanism, by the president. Herewith, his statements are analyzed and criticized briefly. At first, doing a meeting about Urbanism in the Palace complex that was built up illicitly is major contradictory issue to be underlined. Besides, concerning the video prepared for the Council of Urbanism, as a part of propaganda, it predominantly composes visual materials about the 15th July failed coup-attempt and mosques (see figure above). Discursively, it is an introduction of the Islamic regime, (re)produced by urban space. In line, the content of the council comprises decisively political Islam and urbanism. Several Islamic reframings about urban policies are implemented explicitly. This speech done by political leadership is regarded as a critical effort to construct hegemony in this sense. It is a central intervention about urban affairs with Islamic emphasis.

In sum, this first group of explorations elaborating the macro-level of relations and processes, indicate how the knowledge-based issues, state-bound interventions and organizations, and expert practices have varigatedly different capacity for actively rolling out mobilization of consent and force. The reviewed part, the macro-level mainly coordinating means for dominance of the bourgeoisie to involve the masses of society is not an atomized trajectory or dichotomously activating with micro-level of power relations, and experiences. Thereof, the following part goes through those, for the latter part.

4.2 Relations and processes dwelled through sensations, experiences, identities and characteristics

This part of the chapter examines relations and processes dwelled based on sensations, experiences, political, ideological identities and characteristics that - possibly - exercise hegemony in a way.

Common sense about space and power relations is evoked through temporal and spatial relations. It is produced through everyday life experiences as it embodies political subjectivities. Thus, this part crystallizes how representational space is a medium of hegemony exercises through (urban) space.

The power of signs, sensations, and invisible features of experiences have an intimate relationship for forming power relations and political contemplation exercising hegemony through space. As conceptualized by the lived space, this is a sphere of production of space that occupies everyday consciousness generating mental space even embodying a crinkly or ambiguous pattern. Throughout the relations and processes in this scope, both social consensus, political identities and reflections are established and reproduced through time and space. In this context, this part of the study explores how political support or force is derived from representational space. In other words, sensational steering mechanisms impact the apprehension of class interests and how people specify reflections or responses.

Outlining this part, it elaborates some sorts of subjectivities on the basis of sensations, lived realities, experiences, circumstantial phenomena, memorials, political-ideological identities and characteristics, which supposedly impact the apprehension of class interest. It composes critical explorations on those topics: political identities related to urban space, religious belief that has an impact on the apprehension of urban space, gendered relations of urban space by questioning inequalities of power relations, conditions of working and survival by/in (urban) space, state of indebtedness and ownership, increasing employment of (in)security orders and surveillance politics, and comprehension of space by memorial

reflections. These are basic issues that came to the forefront in the AKP era and argued in relation to the reproduction of urban space, yet those can be multiplied and detailed. This session carries out debates on mentioned subtopics revealing how they exercise hegemony as relations and processes. Besides, likewise, in the previous part, while doing empirical explorations, we engage studies that are definitely associated with the term hegemony with the studies that are immediately related to exercises of hegemony albeit they are not delving into exercises of hegemony by majorly. By doing re-examinations and the indwelling of those concerning the term hegemony, this study attempts to extend all around the spatial relations and processes based on sensations, experiences, political-ideological identities and characteristics that roll out consent and/or force by any means.

4.2.1 Apprehending powers of space through possessed political identities

Under the question is how living space makes negotiation and draws hegemony through, this part of the study goes over the political identities. Appropriation of space with power relations and ascribing class interest in and around the space is recognized by the knowledge and politically associated perspectives. It is assumed that embraced political identity influences people to understand space and power relations groundedly, yet not thoroughly. There is not a smooth pathway. Nevertheless, the possessed political identity is conceptualized as a relation and a process that impacts realization of exercise of hegemony. This part does not deal with how political identities are specified, even though this process has socio-spatial relations. Instead, it tackles the fact that political identities are one of the living considerations and the features for an appropriation of space, class interests regarding the change of urban space. Political belonging or involvement is supposed to bring out the conditions for raising consent to the (all) pursued (spatial) issues applied by the political authority. From the other perspective, in return, the consent to spatial issues bring political engagement, or support, hegemony. To state simply, different political identities cause different ways of appropriation of space.

Political identities on the right-wing or the left-wing results distinctively in their scope of interest. According to the possessed political identity, the reflection to the urban space can be adjusted throughout, taking into account which the political authority implies.

This study sheds lights on the AKP rule, which is a sole right-wing political party. Examining “ideological sources of the AKP hegemony”, Turhan states that it is dwelled upon “the (new) right tradition in Turkish politics” that is rooted from the 1950s, and its embracement of traditional politics of right populism is explicit through the utilized discourses that emphasize “developmentalism”, “nation”, and “economic growth promises” (2018: 79). These are hallmarks of the politics of right-wing politics, which are the basis of granting political support for AKP, strengthening its power. Developmentalism (and service) by construction, implying a matter of civilization with visible entities for the built environment, is significant for this perspective. A desire for construction is always an explicit phenomenon for the conservative, right-wing political line. Tracing ideological and religious features with various, AKP has raised its capacity to manufacture consent for subordinate social groups. Along with the right-wing political precedent in Turkey (i.e. in following the Demokrat party and ANAP), AKP figures as a unique representative of this ideology with linking to conservative politics, integrating cultural issues based on construction and development facilities. All established and built up urban projects (i.e. infrastructure, housing projects, etc.) are used for political propaganda by practicalness; hence AKP reproduces its power relations and causes its voters to identify with those all urban projects (Bora, 2011; Serter, 2018; Yeşilbağ, 2016). Herein the point, in reflection, how the changes of the built environment is considered by society throughout possessed political identities. As it is simply, employing, carrying out right politics, and explicitly adopting and supporting AKP, it conveys to manufacture support for the (re) organization of urban space.

Urban dwellers’ political identities are a vital aspect of subjectivity that directly impact understanding, producing meaning for and politically-describing urban

change. The embodied political identities play a key role in due course of internationalization of or contestation for any spatial relations, in other words, through the processes of manufacturing consent or dissent.

4.2.2 Understanding space and power relations along with the religious beliefs

This part probes the hegemonic impact of religious beliefs. Regarding hegemony, the urge of religion in (urban) politics is one of the disputes. In *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci (2012[1996]:241) states that the church recognizes and then supports political authority. Along with this recognition, it assures to provide political consensus with citizens whenever the state cannot sustain itself. Regarding power relations for the contemporary Turkey period, it is evident that there are close relations. Herein, in specific, considering Turkey's context, it examines how power is derived through Islamism, which is associated with the relations of conservatism, corporatism and nationalism, and how those relations settled around Islamism exercise hegemony through impacting on understanding space and power relations. This is an overall view to putting forth empirically those, inquiring what kind of factors they are in understanding spatial relations, spatial organizations and spatial interventions. The question is how Islamism and conservatism are the firm factors in manufacturing consent for the urban spatial change. For Turkey's conjecture, the tune of religion for the majority is Islam, but it has moved far beyond the secularism, and Islamism has turned into a domain of politics. This study does not treat this discussion in depth considering political episodes; its scope of interest is drawn around that what kind of a relationship this is for social classes to address their corporate interests organized throughout this religious-based political relations.

In the former session of the chapter, as it was problematized how Islamic discourses roll out political support, this part deals with how it is a matter of lived experiences as political-religions processes and relations that are active in everyday

life and impact apprehension of urban space. It is assumed that the religious belief as politically - operated by Islamism in Turkey dates a long history allied with conservatism, nationalism and corporatism in society. However, they have notably levelled up and have become more dominated in the AKP era.

Having a way of understanding run by Islamic-related, conservatism, nationalism and corporatism approaches has the power to impel society, classes manufacturing consent for the processes of construction-led accumulation regime, performed either by immediately involving in the processes or providing political support for those.

Analyzing the AKP era with Islamism is a crucial issue. Because, for the contemporary period of Turkey, "the Islamist success in urban politics opened a new era characterized by the juxtaposition of neoliberal policies and social welfare mechanism", as Batuman says (2013: 588). Two main contextual issues are as follows: one is that Islamists in Turkey construct their hegemony through urban politics, and in the AKP era, the dominance of urbanization has exploded, and the second one is that politics have been definitely urbanized. In other words, politics have mainly been carried out through the politics of urban space (Batuman, (2019 [2018]): 144). In line, AKP in Turkey has always subjected urban space as a basis, both for overcoming the economic and financial bottleneck which it has caused and ruling its authoritarian and radicalized ideology. In line with the neoliberal-conservative coalition, urban space is a sphere where politics are much more visible and a fundamental subject of politics in this period (Serter, 2018: 265-266). It is explicit that Turkey presents a neoliberal pattern associated with conservatism, Islamism, nationalism and corporatism (Çavuşoğlu, 2004-:131-152). The impact of conservatism is always in Turkey's political authority agenda about the relations of reproduction of urban space (Serter, 2018). While agreeing that there have been notable affairs and interventions of conservatism held within the circumstances of Islamism in Turkey's historical span, for temporarily the involvement and instrumentalization of conservatism has scaled up. Conservatism has predominantly transformed apprehension of spatial power relations and everyday

life. By the time, neoliberal rules in political context caused urban space to be commodified using multiple strategies and veins, as never-seen-before. Neoliberal and conservative coalition, for this period, treats and dominates spatial organizations and patterns of everyday life together while reproducing (urban) space by some strategies either viable for neoliberalism or conservative ideology. In this respect, the construction-led regime is the keystone for this coalition. In line, Yeşilbağ denotes (2016:599) that construction is a pivotal issue considering the growing significant role of (re)production of built environment in capital accumulation dynamics. The construction-led hegemonic project enables AKP "to transform the power relations within the capitalist class by forming a capitalist class fraction that is organically linked with the party" while incorporating a large mass of society in this project "through an Islamic-modernist discourse" (2016:599). For him, there are economic, political and ideological motivations carried out in an embedded manner. The construction sector is not a sole economic issue; it is a political affair and strategy incorporating various production relations, reproduction, rent distribution, social policy, class organization, consolidations in capital groups, power relations, and regulatory mechanism of the state. On that, the organization of capital in the construction sector is sense-making politically. It is apparent that who benefits from those privileged rulings for urban space change is majorly Islamist capitalist contractors, construction companies, but not limited to. Nonetheless, hereby, AKP systematically has strengthened the Islamist capitalist group, along the setting forth the strategic selective capitalist groups, allied with organic relations and dependent though, to consolidate its political power. Apart from the prominent role of religion in the current production of the built environment, it is pre-assumed that a group of people faithfully believe and be associated with these reproduction processes, which is also fueled by popular national projects. Inquiring about coercion aspect of reproduction of urban space, it is basically noted that there exists a group solely coping with religious beliefs they own and dedicated to, through being convinced to all practices of political authority, by questionless obedience, or patience that is majorly inseminated in

Islamism, and likewise. Nonetheless, disregarding religious impact in the exercise of hegemony, it is hardly understood an assented way of approach concerning the deepened class differentiation, socio-spatial inequality, and expropriations. In this respect, political authority has strategically employed and actively utilized religious and nationalist apparatuses and benefits from through balancing consent and force. Herewith, in line with Gramsci's stresses on corporatism, this part below briefly exposes the articulation of urban space. For Çavuşoğlu (2016:81-83), their relationship is not the issue of contemporary period, as is underlined by Gramsci's thought. Yet, its articulation with Islamism is crucial issue for the Turkey context. Corporatism is a nationalist policy dwelled upon national benefit on the base of the economy. It runs through greying differences of ethnic, religions and classes and repressing discontent under this national expedience. Corporatism has an authoritative character by centering the state, highlighting an influential leader, disregarding and even suppressing citizens' rights and freedom. Rejecting the contradiction of capital and labour inequalities assigns society some required issues as if an ordinary division of labour. Stability and consistency are pivotal rather than contradiction. Depending on national and Islamic features, it is philanthropic to control disobedience arising from social inequalities. In this respect, corporatism is a matter of fact treating hegemonic balances, steering up by any means of force and consent. Along with the urbanization processes of Turkey, it is decisive going hand in hand with space policies. However, the corporatism in the AKP era has been majorly adjusted with Islam, as claims Çavuşoğlu (2016). To be more clear about the hegemonic impact of Islamism, the class conflict on the bases of wealth and poorness is a matter of secularity, and thus, it is a subsidiary fact concerning hereafter as the primary issue. In this respect, what is being dictated in daily life by any means of inequality, it can be admitted regardless of its coercive effects. However, it is not a sole interpretive thing. Everyday experience has caustic aspects materially, and religion is not sufficient enough beyond its constant encompassing sphere. Speculatively reproduction of urban space is deemed to enriching a part of society, the bourgeois of Islamism. While it is thought so to say

for holy war, strengthening Islamism; it is admissible and consent from the other side of society by reasons of getting a share from the distribution of rent arisen by urban development policies and exercises (Çavuşoğlu, 2016: 84).

In sum, the articulation of Islamism for urban politics that reframe force and consent dynamics is crucial for analysis of power relations, for the AKP era.

4.2.3 Senses of space though gendered relations

Gender relations are a medium of power struggles, domination, subordination and/or means of dissent manufacture. Within the scope of the lived space, gendered relations are a significant factors for the sensation of space, through which the relations of inequalities of power are experienced. Women discover, (un)name the means of domination, challenge, cope with or negotiate with the impositions, and/or struggle in any facets and moments of everyday life whether inhabited space like a house, workplace, public space; everywhere. Considering space and gender relations, wherein masculine domination in/of urban space organization is associated with apprehension of power relations, it is essential to remark that hegemony for women is urged by spatial forms, relations, and processes. About political apprehension of change of urban space, exploration of women experiences and sensation in space, how they apprehend space with which emotions, senses, then temporally how they reflect by means of internalization, negotiation, the discovery of possible ways of resistance around/on which interest or concern are necessary interrogation points to go over aspiring to understand the way of how the sensation of gendered relations exercises hegemony. Notedly, this part of the chapter is quite limited, considering the broadened scope of relations in this topic.

The experiences of gendered relations have a long history, and they impact the exercise of hegemony. In this respect, gendered relations of lived realities can not be limited to a definite political era, either AKP or not. However, this era of AKP rule hosts a coalition of patriarchy, capitalism for which the main accumulation

regime dwells on the (re)production of the built environment, and oppressive and limited influences conservation policies. Seeing that, those all impact gendered relations of space and extend the scope of domination by variegated means. Thus, once the space organization has gotten through a significant change along the oppressive measure, there occurs new dynamics for formations of force and consent relations; thus, this is a fact the gendered relations are reproduced through.

The order of masculinity and femininity is incorporated in urban space along with everyday life, whereby deepening power relations materializes in gendered spaces. Gendering space, inherently dwelled upon power relations, is a political problem and assumed that some hegemonic veins construct it. To degender the spaces for equal society and sustain urban living conditions in regard, it is necessary to think upon hegemonic issues, which also portrays means of counter-hegemonic potentials.

In and out of the debates on the concept of “hegemonic masculinity” for which hegemony is defined, such as “hegemony means as a social ascendancy achieved in a play of social forces that extends beyond contests of brute power into the organization of private life and cultural process” (Cornell, 1987: 184), this study remarks the very-large and public aspect of the exercise of hegemony moving beyond the cultural issues and family, houses like private space, composing living environments, workplaces, leisure spaces, consumption spaces, transportation, and public spaces. Thus, hegemonic masculinity has a very extended scope of exercise in terms of spatial organizations.

Throughout the history of patriarchy and capitalism, men’s rulings dominate, where gender differentiation settles, and women are forced to subordinate or consented to this socio-spatial organization. Gendered space is a historical problem of power and class relations. Control over women through space is related to the social relations of daily life, labour relations, and body. As argued by Marxists-Feminists, patriarchy and capitalism interact with each other and live together by configuring superiority over women (Beneria and Roldan, 1987; Crompton and

Mann, 1986; Yaman, 2013; Spain, 1992) through socio-spatialities. Furthermore, spatial is constructed by social and production of space is social, social is produced by space (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1984). Gender, along with history, is a socially and thus spatially constructed phenomenon. The difference and division between men and women generate in all daily life experiences (at the home, workplace and community), in controlling land property, in relationships of means of production - in Marxian terms, labour relations, and so on. In this line, spatial organizations, as both products and producers, thus impact and the production of space reproduces inequalities.

Gendered urban space is the main statement of feminist geographers, women studies and some urban studies dwelled through questioning the inequality of spatial relations and criticizing dominant “masculinist rhetorics of space”. Herein, it is important to underline that feminist understanding of urban space is itself a feminist practice, at all. In order to understand social power relations, the feminist perspective provides us with a straightforward way (Jacobs, 1993: 834). Because in works residing on several forms of relations acquired through these ever-perpetual relationships. Gendered negotiations - in time and space have diversified. Domestic labouring (unpaid, non-paid, underpaid) and thus keeping a different degree of desire for qualified space/dwelling space, owing to different reproductive forces of women, profoundly change of everyday life with respect to new urban living environment, (new)inequalities about property relations, inequality and oppressive facets of working conditions for women, adverse impacts of indebtedness for women such as; unsecured, long working conditions and violence are considered some of the prominent aspects of lived realities of women. In this sense, this part simply points to gendered spaces and living realities of women, which are reinforced by a hierarchy/dominance by masculinity, which is conceptually defined as hegemonic masculinity and discussed broadly. Herein, it is crucial to investigate power derived through the masculine organization of urban space and the inequality of gendered relations of space. Women get depressed or manufacture consent by finding a medium of negotiation within the enforcing circumstances.

Women perceive and live some facets of the urban environment as different and provocative, for which men do not. Women are enforced to consent, are forced to negotiate or rearrange practices, and to change defined spheres within the limited urban configuration that is produced for the interests of masculines. Spatial organizations entail women to be in some particular domains. “Feminist perspectives on the city have broadened our understanding of the link between urban spaces, social identities and social practices” (Jacobs, 1993: 834). One of Bondi’s studies with a feminist critique enhances the claim on patriarchal gender relations in urban space, examining gentrification processes. She denotes that there are “the more complex gender formations in the gentrification process” (Cited in Jacobs, 1993: 834). To exemplify it with research conducted in Altındağ at Ankara, the findings of Hatipoğlu (2017) shed light on how women are involved in the urban transformation processes. Her study is valuable to illustrate a hegemonic aspect of space through the lived spaces, for instance, stating that women are manufacturing consent while looking at the new apartment buildings from their gecekondus. Far-order spatial perception with micro-scale experiences makes them involved in the transformation processes on the grounds of a claim aspiring to have convenient spaces, which are gender-based issues posing problems, difficulties in daily life are assumed to be able to overcome all through processes of housing renewal.

There are disparate spatial exercises of hegemony for women. Within the context of capitalism and patriarchy, women have different perceptions and performative everyday spheres. The inclusion and exclusion strategies of the dominant are gender discerned. Conditions of the built environment that extract women from space are enforcing forms of urban space organization. Some spatial organizations explicitly exclude women from space (see Figure below), and some of them are inclusively extractive.



Figure 4.14. A view of the of the built environment that extracts women practices in Yaşamkent, Ankara (Author, 2019)

According to observations obtained through the survey, some possible research issues have featured at the intersection of women's lived and perceived spaces. These are as follows: i) By majorly, women undertake child care through a gendered division of labour. This gender role entails a distinctive perception and lived experiences. For instance, the school and housing environment's relationship is a medium that has a capacity to roll out consent manufacture mechanisms for women. Because it is seen that the spatial configuration among these is crucial for them, this seemingly covers the conflicting conditions of those building practices aimed at capital accumulation (Interviewee 1 and 19). Concerning child care, there is a rather form of hegemonic exercises that are organized regarding the spatial practices around/in shopping malls. Throughout the processes of women's spatial practices, while taking child care in shopping malls, a – possible – subtle way of negotiation occurs with the dominant interest. There is an integrality of hegemony exercised by forms and processes for women; one is that the hegemony exercised by shopping malls, which is grounded upon the thought they are notable and safe places, their spatial configurations are organized for children with public facilities, playgrounds. The second one is hegemony exercised by forms and processes about shopping malls, which is based on that spatial practices commonly take place in. While spatial practices in shopping malls are conceptualized as where spatial inclusion is exercised for women, those spaces have also impacts about discarding women from urban space. ii) Regarding the conservative policies and male-

dominant social organization, negotiation of (single) women with the homogeneous form of housing environment and the processes related to its production is another question whether it is rolling a consent for the reproduction of urban housing environment or not. Considering their attempts to challenge the difficulties-oppressions and inequalities, they carry out different practices by coping with, struggling, and negotiating with the enforced conditions. Therefore the scope of spatial exercises of hegemony is explicitly different for women. By a dialectical insight, the present dominant relations dwelled based on gender relations, are therefore acclaimed as relations and processes that burden apprehension of space and power relations.

Regarding various levels and forms of spatial arrangements, for instance, dwellings, architectural, geographical formations, and (re)production spaces are all reinforced by gender differentiation. There is an assertion of difference and acceptance of limited, separated, widowed or banned-restricted zones of women. The apprehension of power relations of spaces based on gender relations is a lived experience that implicitly reframes the apprehension of class interests through urban space experiences and thereby impacts the spatial exercise of hegemony.

4.2.4 Conditions of working and survival by space

This part of the study betokens lived realities that are materialized through the working conditions and workplace circumstances. Working conditions and workplace circumstances have key importance for control over labour and class relations as well as the apprehension of space and power relations.

Conceptually, as known, the working and labouring conditions are at the core of the exercise of hegemony as a source of debates. On that, Buroway's studies on arguing consent mechanisms in labouring processes in capitalism can be visited. Herein, this study is not going into depth; it carries out its argument in overall. Simply to say that: “under capitalism workers have only their potential for labour

power to sell, they depend upon capital for the survival” (Buroway, 1985; Herod, 1994: 690-691). There is nothing to question. This very material basis explains why workers do not always and everywhere oppose capital, but often are involve in. However, herein we would like to remark the sensitivity dwelled through the spatial praxis of workers that span the everyday life, which is a means for apprehension of class interests.

In the early 20th century, Gramsci (1919), embracing his initial thoughts for hegemony, defines a problem for the revolution in his writings entitled "the problem of power", such as "to fix the great mass of the working people in a social configuration which might conform to the process of industrial and agricultural production". For the time being, positing the hegemony in its place by reconfiguration, this study reiterates the current economy's main mottos. The question of capitalist bourgeois classes and capitalist classes for today is to fix the working class in a social configuration within capitalist urbanization trajectories and fix them to favour and involved in the reproduction of built environment processes by manufacturing consent or challenging and coping with the complications of capitalism. Along this process, the sense and main impetus of workers are integral parts of this process, herein the questions are: How worker survive with the contradictions of capitalism which overrules exploitation of labour increases control mechanism over labour, increases precarisation, deploys uncertainties, intensifies overwhelming labouring conditions; How workers adjust themselves with regards to the challenging formations; How workers sense the uneven urban space that is commonly shaped around the workplace - a focus and locus of social, spatial relation-; How workers internalize spatial processes that are more or less related with the labouring processes; In what circumstances workers organize and manufacture dissent to abolish the domination; In and out how the space of workplace and changing forms of a workplace is a domineering factor; How working conditions impact understanding power relations and lead change of political attitudes, and how do workers' imaginations are manifested by which articulations of past, present and future relations, and as such. They "survive at all

under the brutality of capitalism" (Mitchell and Heynen, 2009: 613), herein simply to say that this is one step further in Turkey, workers challenge to survive under both the cruelty of capitalism and authoritarian government under the AKP rule.

Empirically, it is assumed that there are two main phenomena substantiate for currently and expressively come up in Turkey's AKP era, which impacts workers' senses and herewith, new forms of subjectivities settled depending on the working conditions redound exercise of consent and dissent manufacture. In this sense, those are elaborated as a significant aspect of exercise conditions of hegemony.

One is that: This recent period aligned with neoliberalism has explicitly witnessed a change of working - labour regime, which is a factor that influences lived realities, senses, reactions, new political apprehensions that came out within the scope of working conditions. The changes simply can be pictured by an exacerbated complexity of precarisation, increased unemployment level, deep-settling of insecure working conditions as prevalent-weakened labour rights, the abolishment of merits for working, and increasingly political organization of working circumstances. Those of all can cause over-subordination or accumulation of rage. Precarious employment-working condition is a spatial phenomenon. Therefore, it is a political affair incorporating neoliberalism at large and a leading issue about the political economy of urban space. The labour regime has distinctively intervened with new warrants that were even gained exceptionally by the state-of-emergency declared in 2016 applied limitlessly to politically disciplining masses of the worker class. Before and under capitalism, there have always been different coercion types, both political and economic, in the labour regime. In this line, the AKP era rules organizations about working conditions to keep control of labour and working-class by favouring capitalists interests. All in all, precarious working conditions, increasingly challenged daily life necessities, economic unrest, and indebtedness are regarded as some of the motives of the reproduction of power relations. Workers continuously revisit and posit their interest to survive.

Second is that: There is a rapid increase of the construction sector in addition to changing regimes of working the changing economic motors - paradigm as in Turkey's case. Employment in the construction sector and construction-related or construction-dependent employment sense the urban space change and respectively apprehend the power relations within this framework. The figure below indicates the change -only- in the construction sector's employment for 2006-2019 within the total employment. It shows a significant increase in this period, which is in nature, considering the built environment's increased production level. Then, the questions come: How do construction workers sense their urban environment by involving in any processes of (re)production? How do they sense and challenge their urban built environment with regards to working conditions? This should be analyzed in detail. Nevertheless, it can be thoroughly assumed that considering the corporate relations of construction sector workers taking in account the present employment conditions in overall and dominant and prevalent working conditions. While being and labouring these areas workers are enforced to drive a medium of subordination by thinking that fact (re)production of the built environment may be serving their class interest. It may be a favorable issue rather than problematizing even the overall cost -expenses of the facility is contrary to the class interest.



Figure 4.15. Within the total employment, the change of the employment of the construction sector for the period 2006-2019 (Source: KPMG (TUIK), 2020)

Supposing that "Hegemony borns in the factory" (Gramsci) and for currently it densely lives in the construction sites as well as having tunes in tension-included

urban spaces, we would like to remark the relations of change of labour, space of labouring and urban change by means of increasing (re)production of the built environment. Factories and construction sites are two critical spaces for the survival of capitalism, even during the pandemic of Covid-19. In the state of extraordinary health conditions in Turkey, workers were locked up in workplaces to carry on production, for example, Vestel and Dardanel factories, and for almost all construction sites were ruled to continue working (Odman, 2020). According to the imposed orders of working and workplaces, those spaces are potential sites of struggles. Similarly, the space of factories, for currently the construction sites, has gained possible spaces of turned struggling spaces wherein the conflict medium of capital and labour presents. Not limited to that, the workplaces which take place in or by the newly produced urban environments are also the centre of tensions. As seen in fieldwork, workplace and workplace environment are domains where the practice of spatial exercises of hegemony is rolled out. Hegemonic organization of work is one of the much-discussed or a priori issue of hegemony studies.

4.2.5 Relations of everyday indebtedness

Indebtedness is approached as a subjective issue by which space politics are apprehended in this regard. Making the mass of society indebted is explicit domination of the capitalist system. There is a significant increase in indebtedness in the AKP era, especially for housing ownership. Indebtedness has become a far more common issue. It is an evident hegemonic affair that the masses of society is involved in the system willingly or under-obliging circumstances. This part examines the conditions of indebtedness and the hegemonic impact of ownership, which are interrelated to each other. In principle, this study challenges the increasing indebtedness in society and inquires how everyday indebtedness is a factor for political apprehension for urban change, processes about the production of the built environment. Two simple conditions can be drawn for this topic, hegemonic exercises. One is involvement in the dominant order by deciding to get

into debt (with consent or force mechanisms). Here, what are the relationship processes and forms that involve indebtedness? Second is that: what is the consequent - ongoing- condition of everyday indebtedness, what kind of subordinations have been manifested through this lived experience. In this context, this part examines those issues as follows: i) A conceptual introduction about indebtedness acclaming that indebtedness is a social and spatial issue; ii) The relationship indebtedness and hegemonic ownership in the AKP era; iii) The relationship of precarious working conditions and indebtedness: Increasing subordination?, and iv) Everyday indebtedness: Is this an intensifying form for hegemonic issues or not?

i) A conceptual introduction about indebtedness: Indebtedness is a social and spatial issue

The current problem is extending and rising of indebtedness. Increasing diversified veins and capacity of finance outcomes caused a rise in indebtedness. This also brings an expanded inclusive condition for indebtedness in society, either involving or reinforcing all classes into debt. The credit system is precisely the system of inequality on the bases of two domains of expropriation and exploitation. Under this, "asymmetric" power relations are being reproduced through. Consecutively, in the financialization era, the conflict between capital and labour has deepened (DosSantos, 2009; Lapavitsas, 2009; Karaçimen, 2015). Thus, financialization of urban space as a processes and relations outsource a new dynamic relations for domination and subordination. Indeed, it has stratified and complexed. There is not a simple way of running; along that, indebtedness should be considered within the historical and social context. Because the condition of indebtedness can not be understood as a self-proclaimed or atomized entity, not an ordinary issue that disregard its political context. Within this, factors like property relations, political and social relations, and labouring conditions should be considered by spatial terms. Those all articulatively impact the legitimacy for indebtedness and then survival of indebtedness.

Financialization's keystone is making the working class regularly get into debt, conceptualizing hegemonic indebtedness. We question how hegemonic indebtedness is (re)produced through spatial relations. Financial economy and built environment production are hands in hand. Indebtedness has been raised, associated with capital accumulation based on built environment production. Through it, both production and consumption sides are being facilitated. However, to expose the point which we focus on is workers' perspective, the subordinating side. Being convinced or being forced to use credit could be counted as a stance or a moment where hegemony - possibly - is achieved. This study remarks how people decide to be indebted in order to possess property and how they manufacture consent through spatial forms and temporalities, and then how it become a condition for political apprehension of urban space change.

ii) The relationship between indebtedness and hegemonic ownership in the AKP era

On indebtedness condition, getting a credit for any kind of ownership, is a long-standing phenomenon subject in economic relations, either realized willingly or indispensably, as a result of the requisite condition. Financialization of urban space in the form of indebtedness is not invented through or emerged in the neoliberal period, and its history goes backwards. For Marx and Engels, calling to capitalist such that: if you want to make your workers obedient as a capitalist, then you will make him/her persuade to marry, have a family and own a house for thirty years, if possible. It ensures the dependencies to the capitalist system. The working class's indebtedness is a question, as Marx and Engels argued. Indebtedness is implicitly related to the problem of reproduction of the labour force. These two should be regarded within spatial circumstances. Notably, for capitalists, the household indebtedness is related both with controlling the labour force and expropriation of labour surplus values (Gülhan, 2016: 34). Political dependencies and consent manufacturing are in progress due to the condition of indebtedness. A letter of an industry worker (Artemis İşçisi, 2015) illustrates its, as it says that he determined his political preference, putting away his labour and daily life conditions, on behalf

of AKP concerning the long-term indebtedness for ownership and seeking economic stability considering indebted conditions.

Willing to have private property, ownership is a potent means in the exercise of hegemony. Regarding the capital accumulation regimes driven by the production of the built environment, the formation of indebtedness ruled by state mechanisms or other forms of private enterprises is a crucial issue. As hegemony is a continuous process with multiscalar characteristics, home ownership is one of the main pillars to drive conditions of indebtedness, which means an involvement in the dominant process about urban space change. Putting emphasis on private property politics and how it is mainly formed up and disseminated in MHA homeownership policies of social housing program applied in the AKP era, İdel (2018: 1-152) questions the "hegemonic politics of homeownership" for gecekondü residents surveying a gecekondü transformation project in Ankara. She examines the process of homeownership through an indebtedness program operated by MHA. Herewith, this study argues how neoliberal subjectivities are formed up through this process is also argued. According to that, the crucial role of private property formation and the class alliances through ownership affairs is specifically re-calibrated in the AKP era by making several strategic arrangements to form debt mechanisms within the scope of social programs, and urban (re)production processes, and thereby exercise hegemony.

iii) The relationship of precarious working conditions and indebtedness: Is it increasing subordination? What does debt mean for workers? Is this leading to much more subordination? In addition to unsecured working conditions, indebtedness is another topic by which political decisions are drawn through. Following the discussion held in the former part, precarization of labour and changes applied in the working regime are associated with each other. These processes are also related to increases in debt. Severe working conditions also become reasons for increasing conditions of indebtedness.

In pursuit of an increase in the mortgage loan, in Turkey, there is a dramatic increase in appeal by low-waged labour (Karaçimen 2015; Ergüden 2015). It means that indebtedness has expanded regarding the defined class-basis. Indeed, by employing indebtedness, there is a new process in which labour is tyrannized (Ergüden, 2015). Increasing household debts poses workers to endure working conditions, i.e. precarity and ever-worse working conditions, to pay back loans. Thus, it seems indebtedness has become a part of working life, as well as everyday life.

Indebtedness is a means of finance, which is forcefully performed. It is an explicit contradiction: Even though indebtedness is contrary to working-class interest, why are they involved? For laborers, indebtedness is commonly thought of as a temporary thing, considered a mechanism enabling coping with conditions for survival in urban life. However, social reproduction of the labour force has got worse with the rise of indebtedness. As a coercive aspect of survival, driving daily life with debt (Bedirhanoglu, 2018), the everydayness of debt has been continued by means of maintenance of new credits. This has relatively increased homeownership levels, even for those who could not imagine having property. Bedirhanoglu (2018) underlines a dramatic increase in the low-class debt rate for the period between 2000-2013. This is one of the reasons why the consent for neoliberal policies up to the 2010s has been manufactured through. Beyond that, the forceful aspect of the debt's financial condition is multi-faceted in terms of working conditions and rights about social security. Thus, force over those classes has multiplied, and working classes are disciplined by labour markets and financial markets. Inability to cope with the enforcements brings out consent for getting into debt. The precarious labour market forces labours to consent for engaging to debt processes; indeed, it is thought of as hegemony armoured by coercion, worse working conditions, long-dure working, working overtime with low wages, and dismissal. In the case of depending on housing debt, as a long term mortgage, secureness and precarious working cause more forceful impacts. (Karaçimen, 2014).

iv) Everydayness of indebtedness: Intensifying hegemony -in a multidimensional way? Or intensifying dissent?

Considering the expanded levels of indebtedness and assuming it as an economic-subjectivity, it goes deep inside the everyday life practices. At present, indebtedness is an indispensable aspect of workers' daily life. In so, everydayness of indebtedness in capitalist societies indicates a successful hegemonic matter. Because, it penetrates all the relations of everyday practices. The everydayness of indebtedness leads to the manufacturing of consent, which ensures the survival of capital accumulation. The rise of indebtedness should be considered with economic relations and societal, spatial and historical context; and, how everydayness of indebtedness is tackled should be examined. Herein, what we inquiry about is how everyday indebtedness impacts spatial apprehension and political judgments. It can be noted that, as seen in the fieldwork in Ankara, indebtedness is a factor for workers about how they reflect their urban change? It is noticed that they continuously examine their urban environment, especially their close housing environment, and assess their ownership as an investment and examine the housing environment in specific with a commodity approach. This imagination and approach even seemed ordinary; it is a possible indicator of how they legitimize reproduction of the built environment process by driving consent for those. In reverse, possible, the experiences of contradictory conditions by enforcement due to indebtedness will be thus a potent for cumulation of dissent.

4.2.6 Orders around (in)security and impacts of everyday surveillance

Orders of surveillance in urban space bring out new forms of sensations for society under the exacerbated (in)security affairs that are imagined for a broadened scope of urban space. Being continuously surveilled and increasing spatial interventions based on (in)security reasons are dominant features, and these inferential issues exercise hegemony in a way. The question is clear, for whose interests those surveillance and security means are employed through. Herein, the point is these

are means through which power relations are apprehended, by negotiation or conflicts.

Surveillance is not a currently-emerged issue; it has been applied for a long time, especially for the working class, to control over labour with discipline policies. Nonetheless, it has expanded significantly and become a part of common sense in everyday life. Surveillance politics have been extended through neoliberal politics and surveillance infrastructures have been excessively ordered in urban space. These dwell upon external threats, insecurity, increase of “crime”, increasing necessity to guard safety that is manifested based on fear politics but ruling authorities also utilize those mediums to monitor insurgent activities, social movements and vice versa. Surveillance impacts how people understand urban space, meanings over space around insecurity problems or possible threats. Recently, surveillance politics and spatial organization extended by concerning and employing security issues. Surveillance politics applied in multiscalar ways is a mechanism of social control which has become prescriptive and settled in urban space. Urban space is propagated with security issues largely (Graham, 2009: 278), and several surveillance means are run everywhere in cities. As seemingly, in response, the majority of society draws temporary extensive approval for imposed orders of surveillance applied by state authorities and capitalists. Those are gained legitimate grounds by crime control or prevent politics from external threats. Conjecturally, these are organized and ruled by the AKP in Turkey. This study claims that politics produced by employing (in)security issues, often with manipulations, by the AKP rule, are used for legitimization for domination by policing of public space, domination by surveillance, and control over society. This part aims to put forward some questions such as: how political understanding about the reproduction of urban built environment around security reasonings; indeed, how everyday surveillance has become everydayness, how being surveilled in space is a subjective issue that impacts or intensifies subordination, and how the apprehension of state interventions on urban space established through security reasons are dwelled and consented through.

There are some prevalent processes in major topics such as reproduction of housing areas on the ground of built housing areas risky or a place of crime. It is one of the means to legitimize reproduction of housing areas. These implicitly impact social polarization and social segregations. Furthermore, new housing environments with surveillance infrastructures become spatial desired features, and those new forms of reproduction actions gain support or approval by society. A note from fieldwork in Ankara is that: There is a correlation between new forms and a feeling of safety. Questioning the reasons for favouring new forms of industrial manufacturing in the organized industrial district of İvedik, via journeying with Interviewee 12, it is signified that new forms provide a sense of safety. The hegemonic aspect of the renewal of industrial districts' building stock has found a legitimate ground with the sense of safety, which is a problematic key issue in society, mainly ascribed to industrial workplaces. Under the paradigm of insecurities, defining the scope of daily practices is seemingly adjusted throughout the feeling of safety in space. Especially in the housing environment, perception of the urban environment is considered with the unsafety concerns. On that, practices in spaces (by orientations, routes, presences or not-existing) are re-calibrated.

What explicitly and forcefully impacts is the concentration of the policing/spectacle of forces in urban space. Power relations by space have been reorganized under the “security” reasonings; however, they cause more anxieties and increase feelings of insecurity in space. For example, “Seeing policemen never makes me feel secure” as says Interviewee 4 while walking in Kızılay. The domination is configured by the materialities of state forces. As known by the case of Yüksel street, policing public space and blockage of the street was specifically ruled due to the struggles taken place and grown through there. Setting a temporal/mobile police station is a coercive issue executed through the period of the state of emergency as a material imposition in the city centre. According to interviewees 4, 5, 19 and 24, the existence, materiality of the police station, and police's interventions all around its impact upon urban inhabitants' spatial practices in the city centre. Since the police station has gotten a steady form in Yüksel street,

as a constituent of oppression, people, in a subtle way, speed up their movements in the center, more than ever before. Besides, “no toleration, availability for any free stand, collective activity in the city center” (Interviewee 4). At the frontier, police force entities restrain socializing, meeting, encountering spaces, which deepens conflict and sense of the power of the authority. Corporeality and temporality (turning into permanent figure) of policing/coercive spatial organization incorporate spatial practices through getting them ruled and overwhelmed. Changing practice is exemplified by side stepping out the blockaded spaces, policed spaces; by redrawing (public space) routes. This enforcement raises the feeling of dominance, power of the authority, and it is evident that coercive exercises in space meet their objective. Thus, it maybe refer to a concept of hegemony armoured by coercion.

In sum, sensations of -possible- insecurity or threats in every urban space and relevantly internalization of surveillance practices and dominances on this basis are lived experiences that impact exercises of hegemony by creating a medium of legitimation for subordination or enforcements regarding the spatial organization.

4.2.7 Comprehension of space by memorial reflections

This part examines how memorial senses, memories are factors about the apprehension of space and power relations; thereby, it puts forth that sensations through memories are a factor to be discussed in exercises of hegemony. Through rhythms of repetitive or significant punctual actions and events, everyday life is both space and praxis of (re)production of memory. Memory is a part of the ascription of knowledge entangled with lived subjectivity, which is composed of past experiences and spatially-temporally reproduced. It is one of the key issues of the sense of space and a feature of attaining meaning to space. There is a medium of power struggles around the memory, memories of space. It is because the steam of memory dwells through the identification of space and appropriation of space in time. Therefore, the roots of memory have possible conceptual strengths by

interlinking “right to memory” and “right to the city”. Over and about the memories, therein complex power relations are (re)produced, political contestations are taking place. To clarify, along the increasing actions on (re)production of built environment, there have been increased spatial interventions on settled and appropriated urban areas, which are temporally and spatially produced; thus, by nature memorially produced for society. Urban changes in/around memorial spaces are explicitly tensions points of society. Recognition of the changes over space that have memorial value is the attention points of society. As ruling authorities commonly entail in history, society’s domination is also implemented via control over memories. In other words, domination is materialized through interventions of spaces that have memorial meaning and value.

Tracing some narrations of the interviewees, how memory is a means of sensation-around the state interventions on reproduction of urban space can be exemplified by followings. For instance, Interviewee 1 notices a vacant land, an industrial plant of Gas Factory before; she figures out her aggressiveness and disturbance about the factory’s demolition since it carries out historical traces about urban identity and her personal visual-memory about Ankara. Likewise, many of the interviewees specifically noticed the disneyfication project held in AFF land, which was previously a complex zoo, and it was visited and possessed by many by society. As it is observed, memorial senses about space induce specific attention to space and conflict of space. Besides, the memorial values of previous housing environments, such as experiences and memories in gecekondü, are remarked throughout the urban space. For gecekondü spaces, inhabitants have intense-labour for a long time which makes it appropriated and has a significance in the collective memory. The fact that gecekondü areas have been subject to large-scale urban housing transformation recently is a medium of spatial conflict. Through those processes, the reflections and apprehension of processes and relations are driven by majorly memorial senses. Another discussion will be drawn upon Ankara station (Gar) space - square after the massacre executed on October 10, 2015. This phenomenon surely needs to be detailed. The point is how contestation is carried out based on

“memorial sense” right to memory. There have been regular memorial events for the people who lost their lives by the bomb attack of ISIS. What we would like to remark is for the following year of the massacre, there was domination over the space and blocking for the memorial-purposed gatherings -which will be politically analyzed in depth-. Counter attempts by society have been carried out through strengthening the “right to memory”. It is assumed that a spatial conflict is configured on the basis of memory contentions of deterring political-memorial sensations and defending to maintain memories.

All in all, interventions on memorial assets, as appropriated entities, are thus accounted as the tones of exercise of hegemony. Because, whenever they are intervened or subject to a removal by the ruling authorities as seen, they become entities of apprehension of power relations and thenceforward runs an understanding of hegemonic relations of spatial organization in overall. Emphasizing the memorial sensation of (urban) space, we claim that hegemony is exercised by noticing differences over the spaces through memories.

4.3 Materialities of urban space: Things, processes, and performances

"from this moment on, the materiality of thick and heavy walls relinquished its leading architectural role. The matter was now to be no more than an envelope for space, ceding its hegemony to the light which inhabited that space." (Lefebvre, 1991: 303)

This part explores the forms and processes of urban spatial changes that are politically being posed and embedded in everyday practices, thereby interplaying the material aspect of the spatial exercise of hegemony. In this sense, it respectively seeks to understand which circumstances of forms and processes penetrate public thoughts perceptions; thus, it aims to figure out a broad, long-standing spatial configuration treating consent and dissent conditions for the urban changes.

Everydayness is the space and moments of struggle and contradictions (Harvey, 2019), therein capital accumulation and power relations produce through. Then, how do urban dwellers - workers- describe spatial practices produced in everyday life, by enjoyment or enforcement? Temporality and spatiality of everyday movement take different forms, considering perceptions related to conditions of classes and of contexts. However, it is assumed that some typical processes and forms materialize commonly. We pursue an investigation and seek to find properties of them, portraying to characterize a medium of which sets in domination by consent or force.



Figure 4.16. Forest area of METU, Gölbaşı, Ankara (Interviewee 9, 2019)

Figure 4.17. A dormitory building in Kızılay, Ankara (Interviewee 4, 2019)

"Each day, while passing through this forest area, I think it is so nice, but I wonder when this area will be plundered" says Interviewee 9. For another point, Interviewee 4 states that "this building is beautiful, a beautiful dormitory built up in the 60s era..... But, how long will these structures resist?" This kind of imagination or understanding for change of urban space is a feature or an indicator of how domination is settled through time and space. Those interpretations or descriptions are grounded on urban dwellers' intrinsically related and articulated perception of urban forms and processes, driving a way of readily consent for the further conflicts. They simply express that there is a consideration or awaiting for a continuum of forceful interventions imposed by dominants. Even for the

devastating urban reproduction processes, there is seemingly a mode of consent by normalizing the disruptive reproduction processes over the assets of natural, architectural, cultural, etc. to be condemned by the ruling authority and the capitalists. Seemingly, there is a settled or typical expectancy for other and forthcoming devastating urban processes that exploit and seize common spaces and public spaces. The moments that lay through the perception of the urban environment are embodied over and over. This respectively refers to a medium of hegemonic exercises. We specifically challenge this process and go on it by conducting a survey in Ankara.

Asking that, who enjoys domination of construction plants and equipment in urban space, will it be a condition wherein force features through. Over-production of built environment troubles for individuals, but it seemingly turns into a force armoured by hegemony. The above question is, for İstanbul, determined as a top-line urban problem. The visibility of the ever-intrinsic building-construction sites and mobile of concrete-mixing-machines, while providing capital accumulation through the production of the built environment, has an expanded impact area, (re)defining perceptions of space and power relations. Herein the question is how political support or consent and coercion is derived through spatial forms and processes. Today, the prominent issues are the mass, visible and speedy changing pattern of the built environment in switching capital into new investments by spatial organizations. The study's challenge is this highly-experienced but under-examined sphere of hegemony; the spatial things and processes regarding one of the Lefebvre's triads, spatial practices through problematizing the over-accumulation process of the built environment. This work is on recognizing landscapes of power and the processes how they proceed through; of landscapes of conflict whereby hegemony or force is derived. In this framework, this study traces the power of morphological and geographical issues, because it is not believed that they are not unquestionably-given entities or just result of contradictory processes; thus they need to be examined. On that, this study reviews different context and

temporalities-spatialities by three major means of things/structures, patterns and processes of urban space through the practices exercised in/by.

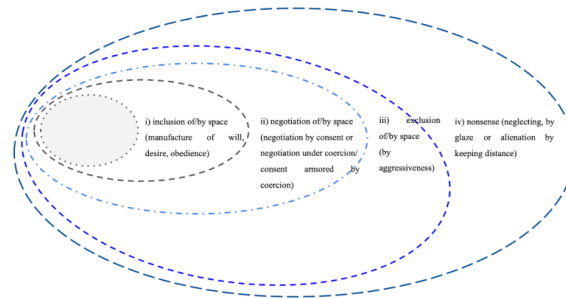


Figure 4.18. Four possible conditions of transition into the dominant orders (Author, 2021)

The research problematic in above is quite broad, to converge the question and walk a way, here puts forward a possible research issue: Which conditions are figurative to understand the tunes of hegemonic exercises? The embodiment of the dominant interests is exercised by forms and processes, which are brought through the apprehensions, temporally reproduced in everyday life experience. In this scope, we define four conditions or forms of relations that are figurative to understand any aspects of hegemonic exercises. These are as follows: i) inclusion of/by space (manufacture of will, desire, and obedience), ii) negotiation of/by space (negotiation by consent or negotiation under coercion/consent armored by coercion), iii) exclusion of/by space (by aggressiveness) and iv) nonsense (neglecting, by glaze or alienation by keeping distance).

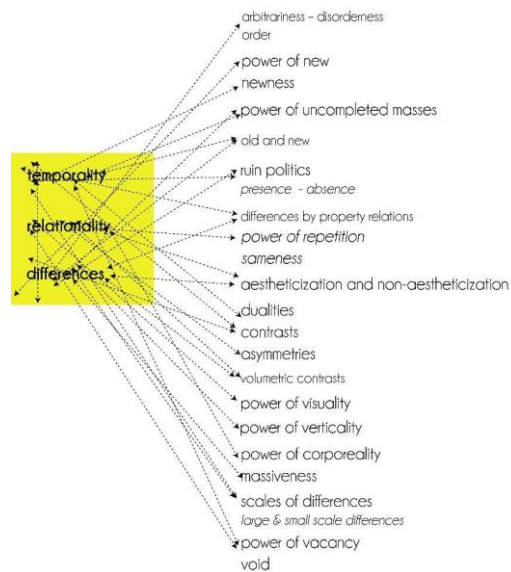


Figure 4.19.A conceptual schema presenting spatial conceptions that are used as markers of forms and processes within the power relations that trigger or urge exercise of hegemony (Author, 2020)

Argument: Finding out markers of forms and processes that have impositions on the exercise of hegemony

For currently, there is a conceptual difference come by through the volumetric thinking that shines out like “think about volume, through volume, with volume—rather than simply the vertical to make sense of the complexities of territory today” (Elden, 2013:1). Likewise the ruling power has an extraordinary persistence for building the “big” or “biggest” things -with larger volumes- along the dynamics of capital accumulation through the production of built environment. Besides, there is a popular configuration, bringing together housing, shopping malls and mosques. However, it is widely overbroad and still under-examined. They require analysis in-depth, for different scales and contexts. For that, this study offers that characterization of practice and (urban) space are debauched through temporarily and relationally consideration with notices of differences. Herewith the spatial conceptions are produced.

Markers of forms and processes which possibly lead people to drive understanding about power relations of spatial change are those spatial conceptions as follows. The scales of differences, visibility, aestheticization and non-aestheticization, corporeality, massiveness, verticality, repetition, sameness or similarities of forms, void spaces, imagination over urban voids or vacancy spaces, ruin politics, dualities, contrasts and asymmetries, (co-existence of old and new forms, power of new) and differences by property relations (see Table below). According to the observations and interviewees descriptions for their perceived urban space and conflict spaces, these spatial conceptions are found out in the fieldwork held in Ankara, but not limited to, they can be detailed further.

Table 4.1. Spatial conceptions that are possibly means of exercises of hegemony

Conceptions	Analysis in terms of how it is mean of exercises of hegemony	Illustrative visual representation
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Scales of differences	Small scale differences of forms and processes are also assumed as tunes of exercises of hegemony. These are bounded and interlinked one and another.	
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Figure 4.20. Ayrancı, Ankara (Author, 2019)

Visuality

Through the moments of in-seeing, by-seeing, the power of visuality composes imaginations, the impact of architectural enjoyment, addressing aestheticization and non-aestheticization, indication of monumentality or iconicity by architecture, and spectacularity. Visuality and imageability of design/form-based features stimulate to political involvement conditions.

Seing - being seen from many points of urban space refers to a dominant form in urban space, which originates from power domains in the perceived environment.



Figure 4.21.

Çukurambar, Ankara
(Author, 2019)



Figure 4.22. Çayyolu,
Ankara (Author, 2019)

Aestheticization and non-aestheticization, quite subjective measures, are used to identify forms in urban space. They are inherently related to the exercise of hegemony since those conceptions convey a way for concealing conflicts of space and legitimizing reproduction facilities.



Figure 4.23. Birlik, Ankara (Author, 2019)

Corporeality and incorporeality stimulate understanding of space. The corporeality of structures, gaining power by their obtained large sizes, is a constituent of domination exercised by forms and processes produced by differences.



Figure 4.24. Beytepe, Ankara (Author, 2019)

Excessiveness or extremeness is a notion to describe the top-level of corporeality, and it usually refers to spatial conception for over-forms of settings. Hegemony is exercised through the perception of intense and ever-increasing, excessive and continued construction facilities about which

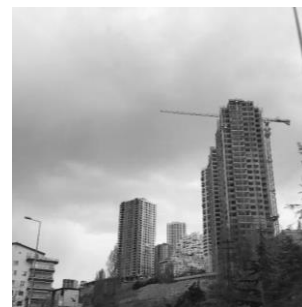


Figure 4.25. Kırkkonaklar, Ankara (Author, 2019)

urban dwellers are forced to go through and think upon them. Employing masses of the built environment, spanning by the spatial figures to build up homogeneous and heterogeneous urban spaces provoke one and another.



Figure 4.26. Eryaman, Ankara (Author,2019)

Uncompleted masses

Running manufacture of consent through the power of uncompleted masses



Legitimacy contestation comes in sight through the power of uncompleted forms along the power of massiveness or corporeality that justify the reproduction practices with conflicting interests. Permanence conditions of the spatial features/buildings or configurations make society's perception to get used to the domination over space and thereby manufacture consent or dissent.

Figure 4.27. Yenimahalle, Ankara (Author, 2019)

Verticality Verticality, rather than a notion of dimension, vertical forms and verticality conditions are issues of power relations. Concerning visuality and corporeality, it is a potent means of power in spatial organization.



Figure 4.28. Beytepe, Ankara (Author, 2019)

Repetition, Sameness or similarities of forms Seeing similar forms, repetitive processes and forms invoke a triggering fact for the manufacture of consent, operated by the imaginations for a similar development, and by the expectation of profit orientation. With corporations, repetition of the same spatial patterns causes consent overall. Already developed/built-up space by repetitive instances reproduce the capitalist accumulation through the production of the built environment. The exercise of hegemony is rolled on the cumulative or cumulative effects of repetitive forms and processes.



Figure 4.29. Incek, Ankara (Author, through Interview 14, 2019)

Imagination over voids or vacancy of built environment Urban voids are not simple spatial void no longer. The term void is approached by the notion of vacancy since it is used for defining unbuilt urban land. Voids in urban space undertake a new meaning, as possible a source for commodity, it is commonly expected to be built-up in time. Hegemony is exercised through understanding urban vacuum and appraisal for vacant urban land. People have prejudices, imaginations about a change of urban built environment, assuming those spaces to be builtup in time and be expropriated. Hegemony exercised by forms and processes, by noticing differences, is constituted even by the form of the vacant land and imaginations ascribed to them.



Figure 4.30. Bağlıca, Ankara (Author, 2019)



Figure 4.31. Çukurambar, Ankara (Author, 2019)

Ruin politics Perception of ruins, destructed spaces, of abandoned space associatively strengthen power of urban change. **Destruction power** Ordinariness of destructions, power of destructions and absences of certain forms and imaginations over destructions, perception of ruins/destruction and setting of a vacancy/urban vacuum that came by destructions collide with each other and



Figure 4.32. Ankara Cinnah (Interviewee 4, 2019)

sparkling off for new building practices. This is also related with apprehension of abandoned space. By a perception of one by one leave from the area and experiencing the ruin leads and strengthens the reality of change and concordantly drives tones of consent for change.



Figure 4.33. Esat, Ankara (Author, 2019)

Differences by dualities, contrasts, asymmetries

Understanding difference via superiority becomes the main motto of urban change; herein, the difference to what circumstances is designated takes importance. Contrasting differences occur through sizes in height-width, volumetric relations, temporal existence

Co-existences of old and new forms

by old and new, or twofold-construction and destruction processes. Those contrasts, dualities or asymmetries are constituents of the margins of difference.



Figure 4.34. Çukurambar, Ankara (Author, 2019)

Newness

Power through the contrast of duality sometimes subjects complexity, arbitrariness or disorder, in order to override them, “new order” comes into question.

Co-existence of old and new forms of space is one of the motives of a thought for the older one to be (re)produced. By the contrasting, the approval base is featured for further production of the built environment. By the way, the new one(s) dominance is settling in space through contrast.



Figure 4.35.
Çukurambar, Ankara
(Author, 2019)

The new form of what is built up has a strong impact on the perception of urban space. Reproduction practices essentially produce a new form in urban space organization. Nonetheless, there is a particular emphasis on new forms, and it is accounted as common sense, thereby produces power relations. Living in new manufactures consent, subordination to capital albeit living-experiencing in the midst of conflicts.



Figure 4.36. Cebeci,
Ankara (Author, 2019)

**Differences
by Property
relations:**

Property as a form of space is inherently a product of and producer of power relations. How property is correlated, how processes of acquisition of private property is realized, how dispossessions of public lands and/or commons are materialized, which circumstances rule-orders of property relations are contravened, are all conditions of



Figure 4.37. Ümitköy,
Ankara (Author, 2019)

exploitations of rights of property by material contestations.



Figure 4.38. Köroğlu, Konak, Ankara (Author, 2019)

Even though the above spatial conceptions are commonly used concepts to explain and describe urban spatial forms, these are power-laden perceptual explanations and are potent indicators for how hegemonic imagination is being dwelled by them. As seen in the fieldwork, they are settled on an approval, normalizing, or challenging aspects of increasing (re)production of the built environment. Those concepts will also be detailed. Among all, the relations of property can be distinctively analyzed since it is a cross-cutting issue, an embedded aspect of forms and processes.

Differences by property relations initiate a form of hegemony that is exercised by forms and processes

Spatial changes, which are driving the property relations by majorly, have a compelling condition. Property relations are principally deemed to issues of hegemony and force. With the critique of the political economy of space, the reason why we are doing this research is explicit since the increasing complexity of spatial practices, in fact, property relations, is the main trait of capital accumulation.

Property relations substantially constitute hegemony exercised by forms and processes. Property relations and changes of property relations are intrinsic issues for the judgment of space and power relations. How property relations are being

organized, what are the spatial interventions on the basis of property relations, what kind of property relations are behalf of own class interests, what kind of property relations have a positive or negative impact on everyday life practices and which authorities have the capability to manage property relations and likewise inquiries draw a frame of reference to configure and understand power relations. Because classes rethink and posit the condition of urban space (form and processes) with regards to their own class positions by means of property relations. By majorly, the struggle of classes is dwelled upon the property relations. In relation, for the exercise of (counter) hegemony by forms and processes, it is a significant aspect, upon which either domination of capital is rolled out or common benefits of society are figured.

Four main hegemonic aspects of property relations can be drawn as follows: i) exercise of hegemony through the property relations on the basis of housing ownership, which is commonly-known in hegemonic studies by the increasing common-sense of having “homeownership” motives, which is allied with encompassing with indebtedness, ii) exercise of hegemony through the dispossession of public properties -public lands etc.- and commons, iii) exercise of hegemony through spatial interventions by changing forms and uses on public properties, iv) reorganization of properties with coercive means by an increased number of limitations on public space use - forms.

Principally, the superiority of the dominant classes and authorities over the space is materialized by private property domination. For capital accumulation, private property is critical, but it is not limited to private property for the exercise of hegemony. To illustrate the issue with some phases, consent formation about possession and/or dispossession, rent expectation, corporate relations of production of the built environment, legitimacy of dispossession of public properties, enforcement by seizing of property, forced relocation, enforced to use public amenities by privately, and vice versa. Property relations are subjects of all conflicts of urban space; the conditions of private and public properties and how forms they are configured are dialectically related to the conditions of spatial

practice. That ground is a medium for exercises of hegemony, whereby apprehension of domination or subordination is (re)produced.

Remarking that dominant groups usually introduce new imaginaries and forms/processes into the production, aimed at making hegemony live and overcome any loosening moments of hegemonic issues. Power is not produced by symbolic features only, which is a common working focus. Lefebvre says that “How can we separate the parks, the gardens, the surroundings, the landscape itself, from the buildings?” (2014[1991]:15) and so, transportation systems and working spaces. Spatial practices exercise in all and the articulation of them; for that reason, the scope of the survey is broad since we claim that hegemony is produced within the integrity of spatial practices, and thus spatial hegemony has a far-reaching sphere.

In this sense, this part investigates how hegemony is constituted through spatial forms and processes in terms of four topics, as follows: (i) changing spatial forms and processes of public spaces and common spaces, (ii) changing conditions of spatial forms and processes about housing environments and changing performances, (iii) changing spatial forms and processes of workplaces and services composing reorganization of public services, public workplaces and configuration of spatial forms and processes of organized retail /shopping and office place environments, and (iv) changes in (re)organization of infrastructure and conditions of mobility. Notedly, the practices, temporal practices all among/in-between them, are also considered. This survey is an overall survey; it simply reviews the products of political power-driven spatial interventions by means of new ordering for an organization, and it will be detailed more.

4.3.1 Changing spatial forms and processes of public spaces and common spaces

The dialectical relationship between social order and social practice conveys the way of political understanding. Social practice in public space thus takes away into

the hegemony debates. Public spaces are where the reproduction of the individual's labour and self takes place. Also, public spaces are, by their relations of ownership, subjects of state power. Not (re)produced through built environment structures, of which having power in spatial perceptions and respectively political understanding, it is produced rather through an integrity, with the articulation of (urban) spatial relations. So do parks, public spaces. Besides, the motivations for reproducing parks of the politicians in local governments are "political gain in the form of votes", "representational niches and castles to present as gifts to the supporters", and "political stages and issues used in case political struggles" (İlkay, 2016: 259-260). As explicitly, the reproduction of parks, leisure spaces are political issues to consolidate power relations. In this respect, the study, aimed at understanding the exercise of hegemony, renders forms and processes substantiated in public spaces in terms of reproduction of public squares and spaces, parks and playscapes, and mediascapes as incorporated public spaces. Public spaces are spaces of encountering practices. For whom, classes, the configurations are inclusive or exclusive differentiate in the organization of public space. In this sense, public space is where the apprehension of power relations are (re)produced, by confrontation, condensation, or consolidation. Besides, this part briefly examines the common spaces. Because common spaces at large become subject of excessive spatial interventions and expropriations, of which processes are approached as means of class interests conflicts.

In this framework, this part problematizes those as follows: forms of reproduction of public squares and spaces, the policing of public space and prohibition of public use for political organization, struggles on/by spaces of marches, embracing privately owned public spaces, struggle over/through monuments, reproduction of parks and playscapes, national gardens as a popular national project, and mediascapes, and it examines how they are means of hegemonic exercises.

Reproduction of public squares and public spaces

Adjustments in public spaces in terms of form and use (re)creating monuments impact individuals' perceptions. Materially and cognitively, everyday practices change by the public space. Perception of the changes, in time, is also embedded with a configuration of political thought about space. Herein, we do not account all changing aspects of public spaces, yet put attention to the points where there are tensions, conflicting interests. Because, those perceived tensions in public spaces have the capacity to pave the way to understand how domination and subordination exercise through.

First, practices in public space change with regards to the spatial frameworks, configurations. The way we appropriate space is critical. The meaning ascribed to public space is related to practising and modifying behaviour; these are materialized and in the political sense. Condition of experience in public space is sense-making through identifying the order of society. Whether emancipatory or limited and enforced under disruptive lines, it exhibits political conditions and struggling venues. Recognizing that public spaces are “socially produced through a struggle” (Mitchell, 2003), actively taking space via inhabiting public spaces, streets, refers to the utmost level of emancipation, explicit in revolution wherein class-based social movements practice evolve through. On the other hand, proscribing public space use, which means highly controlled over space, implies repression, an authoritarian governing state.

Turn to perpetual: The presence of the police has a coercive impact on perception

It is apparent that police or security officers are in every corner of the urban space. Processes of “Policing of public space ranging in size from small squares to fairly large urban parks” (Mitchell, 2003:1) rise new rulings in public space, which leads to changes in political understanding. Limitation and restrictions of practice in public space propel a question of “who has the right to use public space” (Carr et al., 1992: 138, cited in İlkay, 2016) and who governs public space. Hegemony exercises by the control over the use of space the phenomenon of policing public

space, in which there is domination, control and over space and spatial practices, inherently a matter of the fact for the implication of domination.



Figure 4.39. Feminist march in İstanbul, November 25 2018, İstanbul; Blocking public use by policing forces, Ankara (Source: Gercekgazetesi, 2018; Author, 2017)

The above figure from a feminist march for November 25 (International Day for the elimination of violence against women) in İstanbul is very recent visual material. More examples can be given for the feminist marches that are challenging with strong police violences. It is a topic to be explored in detail, inquiring about the political impact of hostility or police violence for everyday practices, how people are troubled with these moments and how they react towards, as being excluded from some spatial practices, understanding of publicity and power relations. The performances, experiences on the moments of encountering police forces are sole temporality-materiality to apprehend struggle of powers. The second figure above from Ankara, in Saraçoğlu neighbourhood at Kızılay, presents blocking public use, which symbolically represents the power of the police force in the capital city. Emplacement of police with settling its riot control vehicle permanently in the housing environment has another purpose. Throughout this domination, it is aimed to settle an apprehension that dominants rule out for the transformation of the registered public housing environment, which is forced to be abandoned so as to reproduce urban space. In addition to the abandonment – forcefully displacement of inhabitants urged in the process-, the spatial form

produced by blockage with police forces, in this sense, changes perceptions and spatial practices thereby all practices lead exercise of domination.

Posting watchmen in public space and performances of in-seeing watchmen

Along the temporary police stations configure in city central area, to strengthening surveillance of public space and domination of political power, the application of “bekçi” has been ruled by the AKP, which is “a bodily presence of the watchmen”, as broadly argued by Batuman and Erkip (2019:10-11). They state that “in contrast to the techniques of surveillance excelled in making power invisible in the eyes of the subjects, the appearance of the bekçi not only in neighbourhoods but also in public spaces complicates the disciplinary mechanisms of power. Thus, the visibility and empowerment of the new bekçi go hand in hand” (2019:10-11). For them, distinguishing this bekçi employment into the public space by the AKP ruler from its earlier forms has a different meaning and purpose. By the watchmen-in the new form- expresses a different means of control (Batuman and Erkip, 2019:10-11). The watchmen is a new form of material domination, which was ruled by decree law of state of emergency and then turned into permanent implementation and currently active. Questioning the power that is reproduced through the performances in-seeing watchmen externalise how ruling authority settles in space, this study remarks this point of subtle forms of domination in public space.

Struggles on/by spaces of marches

The ruling over the marches in public spaces is a conflict and struggle medium. This study remarks on its hegemonic aspects. The urban areas where marches are manifested is crucial for class struggles and apprehension of power relations through space. The ruling power always has an ever-present attitude to control over social movements, and employs force to control space and society. Nevertheless, under this, this study remarks how AKP rule restrains the public squares and where it canalises and governs the spaces of social movements with which purposes. To exemplify, restrictions for Taksim square in İstanbul and Kızılay square and Gar square in the aftermath of October 10, 2015, in Ankara, are

well-known, symbolic places that AKP specifically rules through. It is believed that the imagination of public thought is also manifested through those contestations. Domination over the public space, while leading force for the public, also gets out political obedience and involvement by perceiving authority's power. On memorial days and political meetings, struggling for public space refers to power relations.

Here go over a discussion on why there should be insistence on Taksim square and in the same vein what is the purpose that ruling power urge classes to be in Maltepe bulkhead. Will being or performing in the contradictory areas normalize and provide approval for the space conflicts? This part benefits from an argument held in 2018 and assesses its view point. Taksim square, which has a symbolic and historical asset originating from May 1, 1977, for the worker class, has been strategically restrained by the political authority to hold down symbolic understanding of the public space and collective memory driven by the Gezi movement. In 2018, a restriction was implemented for the march May 1. Strategic by a hegemonic sense, the authority ruled restrictions to publicize Taksim square and forced it to organize rallies in the new built-up space, bulkhead line in Maltepe, which is a contradictory area where class interests are conflicted. To notice at first, celebrating May 1 should be in a public space which enables articulation of spatial areas, like Taksim square. Taksim has a specific meaning. Putting this ahead, the bulkhead in Maltepe does not have such a public character. Furthermore, the attempt of pushing the working class for 1 May in Maltepe is a politically challenging issue. Thus, it was criticized by many urban activists and some representatives of chambers. Those critiques (edited by Kivılcım, 2018) are drawn regarding this challenging decision-, the consent of the organizations that they pursue in a way, legally problematic aspect of the place owing to the litigation processes, earthquake risk of the place thus raising trouble for collective activity and paradoxical condition of the publicness for the May 1 in bulkhead which was constructed with rubbles of the gecekondus that was subjected to urban regeneration projects and inhabitants as involved in worker class are enforced to get into debt and to displacement processes. On that, as referredly to Harvey, it was

reiterated, the worker class's struggles and right to the city to be pursued hand-in-hand (cited in Kivılcım, 2018). Since the exploitation of labour and space converges each other in current struggles. Considering problematic issues and struggling aspects of the space, involvement in this space, via being and practising there, points to a kind of an approval provided for the built-up space, albeit its problems. The practice comes out and penetrates the urban dwellers' political thoughts, rolling up the power for authority. It is assumed that once to be consented throughout being there, then the urban project aimed at capitalist urban development without any design, spatial and property relations and public concern gets legitimate. Besides, it is thought that insistence to reject march in Maltepe for the chambers and worker unions, renders a significant means for production of space. Regarding this debate on the publicness and controlling over publicness via marches, it brings out hegemonic relations driven by spatial practices and forms and a question for the ones, on the counter-hegemony, how to carry out a struggle about the right to the city – without an exception and politically-articulated ways of practices..

Embracing privately owned public spaces

Changes in public space urge uncomfortable conditions and make public space disruptive for people, which reasons to leave over. Disagreement to use and change practice may become common sense towards defined circumstances and new spaces of desire. What happens in public space, in rest, are considered within the scope of forceful organizations. Beyond doubt, publicness in privately-owned spaces is a broad investigation issue. Yet, we analyze it briefly and assume that spatial practices in those areas, whereby dwelled apprehensions of power relations by the transformation of the publicness is a sway for hegemonic exercises. Privatization of public space entails conditions of inclusiveness and exclusiveness. Exclusion from public space and inclusion by privately-owned public spaces raises consent for the new spatial organization of the public spaces (formerly originated in shopping malls and then in new housing projects), which is engaged with other changes in line with the capitalist mode of urban space production. Upon that, it is

well aware that public squares, in city centers, public spaces or playgrounds in neighbourhood and community scale, i.e. on the street, are main encountering spaces in the living environment. However, the process of transition from public spaces to the use of privately-owned public spaces is one of the issue through which hegemony is formed.



Figure 4.40. Privately owned public spaces in shopping malls, Ankara; Public space for children in a shopping mall (Source: Author, 2018; 2018; Baltacıbaşı, 2019)

For whose interests is having joy in shopping malls? Within the scope of the capitalist mode of urban space production and aspiring to increase consumption, making public spaces shrunken, uncomfortable and unsafe, make absence, respectively the triggering desire for urban publicity to use newly developed (only-commonly) privately owned public spaces lead this process of change legitimate. In contrast, the outcome condition can be regarded as pseudo-public. In addition to the processes about spatial practice, the organization of public space in privately owned spaces, i.e. shopping malls, are usually designed and formulated, in-building and close spaces in back - front - side yards of the buildings. However, as well as seen from the above figures, it is arguable how those spaces are public. However, forms and activities seek to make spaces legitimate, consequently drive consent on newly developed shopping malls or privately-owned public spaces, neglecting the essence of the public space.

Struggle over/through monuments

Thirdly, this part puts into the political understanding of monuments. “The monument possessed meaning. Not only did it have meaning, it was meaning: strength and power” (Lefebvre, 2014[1991]: 18). For Lefebvre, introduction or demise of monuments are manifestation of the forms and processes caused by a moment of political change in social, economic and political terms (2014[1991]: 18). The recent period of Turkey, under the AKP rule, which aims to strengthen its sovereignty, also introduces new monuments to symbolize and its political power. Monumental interventions emerged with a failed coup-attempt on 15th July, which was organized to dwell a political triumph and raise political support through. The ruling authority while building monuments also poses spatial interventions on monuments, which are ascribed meanings of collectivity and human rights. As the figure 4.1. displayed, there was an interdiction of a sculpture of human rights, it was blocked, hence prohibited public use.

For monuments, politicians or governors decide not only the content of remembrance or celebration but also designate and intervene in the forms of them. In this line, adjusting spaces with no sense into spaces of mere places represents the authority’s political ideologies (Uzunçarşılı Baysal, 2018). Conflicts over monuments, driven through a symbolic expression of public space via their implicit forms and processes, are subject of power relations. Both the building up and demise of the monuments, corporeality or incorporeality of the symbolic features, are approached as forms that impact on the formation of hegemony.

Reproduction of parks and playscapes

This work claims that hegemony is exercised through the perception of public space by means of forms and processes about urban parks. Remembering Harvey’s (1999: 255) assertion with reference to Lefebvre “Hegemony constructed over the (reproduction of) space would lead to hegemony over the daily life, which would de-regulate the ‘material practices, forms and meanings’ of time, space and money and would determine the references and rules of societal organization (cited in

İlkay, 2016: 62). In this sense, parks and playscapes within public spaces are taken into consideration since they are materialities of everyday experience, manufacturing political dissent or consent. The research of İlkay (2016:254) inquiring “the moments of provision and appropriation of urban green areas” indicates that there are two ways of appropriations related to formation of publicity and one of them is defined as the “perceptions and experience of inhabitants”, for which we assume the importance of this aspect for understanding the exercise of hegemony. In this context, this part investigates the readjustment of parks and playscapes, development of popular projects on parks; by doing so it questions the properties of policies invoking political thoughts, perceptions throughout the reproduction of urban green areas, parks.

First, urban parks are one of the locus of the reproduction of labour force and socialization space where leisure, socio-cultural event friendships, sport activities, love lives, etc. However, on the contrary, considering the parks’ changing patterns and changing performances can be interpreted as spaces that lead to alienations.

Besides, hegemony is founded through apprehension of forms and processes about public space organizations related to the housing environment, which composes contradictions. Interviewees who have children particularly emphasize social amenities and public space for their housing environment. Although newly built housing enclaves are advertised and thus consumed through the provided better public spaces, the experience is seemingly different. Interviewees indicate a critical aspect of privately owned public spaces by exposing the problem with the deficit of private ownership for public space. Whereas “public” space is to be public in essence, the form of privately owned public spaces does not enable to fulfil public necessity. Interviewee 15 explores his challenge on this issue via a drawing, representing his housing environment’s morphology. He illustrates “three plots of park and three alone children” by saying that three lonely children looking at each other yet unable to come together there since three parks are privately owned public space. There are limits for children to be able to socialize and play with each other. Those social amenities are seemed as artificial, not able to be lived space in

its nature or spontaneity. Therefore, he questions this form of spatial organization and self-critiques of how he had driven consent through this matter of fact, concluding that they are tricked by common discourses and spatial formations to prefer to live in. Internal and intrinsically embedded contradictions of hegemonic projects -contradictory aspects of privately owned public spaces- is acknowledged by experiences; thereby, a deficit of spatial form by deepening agresiveness can turn it into counter-hegemonic impact in time.



Figure 4.41. A view Kuzey Ankara urban transformation project's recreation area, Keçiören, Ankara (Author, 2019)

However, as the figure above shows, there is a paradox “public space with nobody,” which means no one enjoys and appropriates public space in Keçiören. In addition to the failure of the privately owned public space, there is another way of failure for the publicly-produced public space. For instance, a large-scale park project built with the Kuzey Ankara Urban transformation project's scope is an unused - dead space by its inhabitants. It is evident that people hold back to use and utilize this large park area; the majority cannot appropriate the park area. Whereas a symbol treats the form of the largeness or massiveness of power, it is not effective for the inhabitants, carrying out a conservative lifestyle, as observed in everyday life. Nobody enjoys this park. Moreover, according to Interviewee 16, the inhabitants of urban transformation housing projects are pleased with the open space organization, landscaping and social amenities provided among and close to the housing blocks rather than the central large-scale park project, the place where

is illustrated above. Our assumption, which claims exercise of hegemony is grounded on provision and form of public space, leaves a margin fragile and how it will succeed or fail depends on the context and forms of space.

Second, hegemony is produced by the changes in parks, which are configured in accordance with the capitalist mode of urban production. Herein, readjustments of the public space, by triggering consumption activities, are accounted within the motives of hegemonic impact. Regarding it, we problematize the disneyfication of public space, which means changes in images of the spaces of entertainment, playscapes. It is assumed that the process of large-scale urban redevelopment by means of a disneyfication of public lands is a hegemonic effort of which inherently embraces new imaginative forms, likewise in Disneyland, penetrating a new perception about urban space. Ankapark project, a prominent case with its legal conflict, takes place among chambers and governments, which is conceptually a theme park “having thematic game tents, luna park uses, roller coaster and ornamental pool with excessive lightning, food and beverage facilities and service areas” (Çavdar Sert, 2017: 278). It is a part of process and form of reproducing common spaces of Atatürk Forest Farm, regardless of harming agricultural land and land of protected soils along with the Ankara watercourse/stream, property codes restraining commercial facilities and urban greenery. By the way, the establishment of the park at first has reasoned or legitimized spiriting away the organization of zoo, which had been produced as part of organization about Forest Farm dedicated to agricultural researches on discriminating race of the animals, portraying animals which are unhealthy for agricultural facilities, inhabiting a diverse range of animals in order to enhance consciousness about agricultural production (Keskinok, 2005; Sürmelihindi, 2013; Kimyon and Serter, 2015).



Figure 4.42. Ankapark project, a disneyfication of publicland in Ankara (Author, through the interview 12, 2019)

Scrutinizing that how hegemony is constituted by the large scale urban development project, for Ankapark, interviewees with critical senses posit the problems of location and property relations of the project that executed as “disneyfication of public land”, which is a process defined as the expropriation of public properties. Nevertheless, the large-scaled differences of property relations refer to an apprehension of domination, by which authority gets strengthened. This process, under the disneyfication, introduces new urban images aimed at to construct hegemony for the new urban development, is, however, thought of as a force about the dispossession of public land. Because, within the circumstances of the disneyfication, it is not feasible for the public reappropriation of space. Consequently, this process and form lead to a transformation of urban core, as a form of implosion in the urban environment, in addition to the building facilities of the Presidency Campus. Moreover, it is assumed, by the urban growth coalitions, as the repellent spatial form to make (re)develop new urban spaces around the popular projects site (for further, see related media discourses calling for investors - capitalists to have interest) aimed at triggering new construction facilities, indeed capital accumulation by means of built environment.

National Gardens as a popular national project

Hegemony is, even, produced by the open spaces, through parks. Producing a park seems like an ordinary facility creating a place, yet it is merely political trouble,

subject of urban policy and upon which spans power struggles. This part investigates a political contestation whereby developed by National Gardens as a popular national project, within the scope of contemporary hegemonic attempts of political authority. It was a popular project and in the late Ottoman period, in pursuit of a westernization idea for which enucleating that parks, as a created form of public space, is a social product of modernization. As inspired by public Gardens in France, National Gardens were introduced as a new configuration in spatial organization. The intent is to socialize and control over society (Memlük, 2018). National gardens are provided not only to control space but also to control over society's behaviours; on that, despite it being contradictory to the essence of open public spaces, those gardens represent conservative living codes and result in excluding people from space. They were mainly limitations for women. Besides, national gardens, with charges, also result in social discrimination by means of public space. Thus, although gardens were produced and planned to refer to western examples, they were different in terms of scale, -smaller than western cases-, the scope of uses, socialization means. They were embraced without any concern of enhancing public use, social cohesion for the community, aesthetic sense, design of space. In this respect, they are esteemed as figures of political power, usually organized in central areas and located right across the government office in Ottomans (Şenyurt, 2018; Çelik, 2018; CCP, 2018 (3)). Conceptually and literally, national gardens were (re)introduced by AKP rule to seek an association with the late Ottoman period. Nonetheless, when AKP reintroduced the National Garden in urban agenda, it gained new denotations aimed at reproducing conservative orders in space. This project, grounded upon parks configured by majorly with installations of symbolic (so-called) Islamic features, has recently been introduced, aspiring to display its power. In line with the conservative and Islamic idea, national gardens are formulated with mosques, as the must element of parks albeit the necessity, but just for the representation of ideology as a dominant spatial component, nation social house. In this respect, it is a coercive fact for the public posing limitations for spatial practices.



Figure 4.43. The AKM land which is projected to be a national park, Ankara (Author, 2019)

The AKM land in Ankara, which is a part of the city center, has been used and allocated for recreational and social activities since the republican era. However, this area is treated with reproduction of the axe of open space in the east and west extension of the city center under a national popular project by national garden. This study approaches those national gardens with a critical approach. Since they are built on existing open public spaces or protected areas with natural assets and in essence, the national park project is not creating open space or park. Even, in reverse, national parks are not aimed at creating publicity, they are identified with compositions of several structures, building structures like mosques, so on with Islamic symbols etc. Inherently, they are spaces of conflicts and aiming to change public spatial practices in new rulings with reference to the political authority. Thus, national park projects are considered as a form of exercise of hegemony. Moreover, this national garden projects are articulated with the processes of exploitation of common spaces. The exploitation of common spaces is considered a form of exercise of hegemony by land rents with the “redistribution of non-commodified spaces” (Çavuşoğlu, 2014). In the AKP era, there have been specific and intense interventions on common spaces to drive capital accumulation and domination. Interventions over the commons through popular projects are also articulated with exercising the hegemony by space; thus, they are accounted typically as one of the sorts of space contradictions. For instance, İmrahor valley in

Ankara, a protected area with natural assets has also become a target of a national garden. The conflicts are configured in the forms of exploitation of natural land by large-scale housing redevelopment projects by the valley-sides and the “canal projects” or “national garden project” along the valley-plain. Another example is a national garden project applied around Salda Lake, a protected zone having significant natural assets. As it is, those national garden projects will result in exploitation of commons and assets. It makes clear the idea that through those projects, supposed to grant a legitimization sphere and by doing so it enables power to override and put aside or disregard conservation rules and principles and produce new building space.



Figure 4.44. İmrahor valley; Conflicts lays through the İmrahor valley, Ankara (Source: Author, 2018; CCP, 2020)

Reviewing urban policies of AKP for urban parks and greenery, commons is fundamental. While this political authority under the rule AKP has several attempts on urban greens, dissolving green areas and making them built up, it is recently favouring producing large scale parks. However, herein the objectives of the national parks are straightforward, such that: i) Critically, it is assumed that national gardens have been (re)emerged as an outcome of a crisis of hegemony majorly dwelled upon spaces of housing, the previous central motto, which was intensively reproduced and challenged through by society majorly. Hegemony has a temporarily divergent character. Particularly, it is apprehended that there is a shift and attempts to reproduce and renew the spatial organizations' repertoire in this

manner. Therefore, this condition also meets our thesis; temporal changes are required to raise active consent through reorganization of urban spaces. ii) In order to reproduce urban spaces, authority necessitates popular projects to pursue new reproduction processes depending on those projects, which treat a kind of justification for the reproduction of urban space and thus entrenchment of the capitalist mode of urban space.

With the introduction of a popular national garden project, several forms of spatial intervention are applied to revive urban change as legitimate. In this sense, the trajectory of the İstanbul Atatürk Airport land can be investigated. It was abandoned at first after the installation of a third airport and transfer of transport infrastructure. It was announced to be a national garden to gain consent for the articulated spatial interventions. It was then reproduced by introduction of a temporary hospital on the ground of necessity that emerged in pandemic times. The reproduction of land has changed its rotation, but it is again to gain public support by a reproduction process that has more score conjecturally. The goal of political authority is to override the contradictory action of building large projects, the critical assessment of the idea of the deterioration and redevelopment of a specific urban infrastructural area.



Figure 4.45. Mediascapes by the large-scale housing projects across the national garden project site, (Author, 2019)

Furthermore, media exercises, spanning in mediascapes, inclusive with those projects (see. The figure above). As it is seen, national garden projects are not indispensable to the processes and forms of reproduction of urban space. To

maintain public consent for urban change, they are articulated in urban space politically. By doing so, in an integrative way, they impact urban forms via implosions and explosions. On purpose, openspaces and natural environments are used to derive consent for the built environment production, housing (re)development. The above figure illustrates how national gardens are instrumentalized and articulated for large-scale housing development projects in order to legitimize both urban changes.

As evident in the contradictions, for national gardens, there is no new measure to obtain land for urban greens and urban parks use, in terms of land production-property relations, instead, those gardens are projected in existent urban spaces-parks. In reality, those projects do not create new urban greenery; what it does is a reproduction of urban open spaces. As well as observed, those project areas are to be done on open -green spaces that produced natural and cultural, social spaces for a long time. Forms and processes inherently developed by National Gardens are configured with hegemonic purposes. Hegemonic efforts driven by spaces of parks, public spaces mean spatial interventions changes by forms and processes are in pursuit of control over space, freedom of everyday life, diversity of practices and spontaneity.



Figure 4.46. Mediascapes via building façades in Ankara; Mediascapes for (re)construction of public buildings in Ankara (Author, 2018; 2019)

Media practices by space: Inquiring hegemonic role of mediascapes

This part simply points out the mediascapes, acclaiming those as elements in public facades and spaces to mobilize and revive the public to reproduce the built environment. Mediascape means the urban public scapes with media involvement. The spectacle of media is a predominant feature in public spaces and scapes, aiming to represent new urban projects and trigger consumption ideas.

The basis of the spatial form of media, conceptualized by the mediascapes, meant any advertising or propaganda material source warded to urban space positioned without any order in Ankara either on a façade of a structure present as a single unit media instrument in urban public spaces. The mediascapes are spatial elements seeking to constitute an image, thereby taking attention and consumption. The forms, by architectural and media-based design characteristics, become mediascape entities. Mainly content of the mediascapes is composed of housing projects or mixed-use reproduction projects aimed at increasing capital accumulation through the production of the built environment. Mediascapes in content use representation of space, but they are spatial entities encountered through practices in everyday life.



Figure 4.47. Examples of mediascapes in İncek and Ostim, Ankara (Author, 2019; 2019)

A possible discussion issue is that: As empirically observed, the contents of mediascapes are changing regarding the socio-spatial organisation of urban space. It is seen that mediated projects are differentiated in class-based conditions, stratification of urban space. By empirical observations, mediascapes in Ankara

change by themes or by projects according to the social segregation of the city. The location and content-wise imagination/representation of mediascapes are associated with the targeted social class. Moreover, seemingly mediascapes have lost their impact recently because they have had more significant impacts previously. For example, interviewee 14 says that “I do not look over mediascapes evermore; once in a while, I pay attention to the ones only in my housing environment.” The multiplicity of the mediascapes subjecting housing projects in urban space poses a perceptual difficulty in distinguishing.



Figure 4.48. Mediascapes in Ankara (Author, 2019; 2019)

Mediascapes as spaces of struggling powers

In the recent period, there has been increased mass media exercises on urban affairs. In this scope, the fight is also represented in mediascapes; below figure from İzmir is an example stating that “they can not retain, we will do it once again”, and construction is proceeding, likewise announcing a victory. This figure intends to manufacture public support for the project to be built up and consumed through. Hegemony is exercised one or other way, by an articulated manner and thereby seeks to roll out.



Figure 4.49.A mediascape related to the legal fight aimed at (re)constitution of hegemony, İzmir (Author, 2018)

The role of mediascapes in the formation of hegemony, is elaborated in the following parts in detail; yet, here, it is used for its involvement in hegemonic processes through discursive aspects.

4.3.2 Changing spatial forms and processes about housing environments and through changing performance

As a pivotal spatial element of everyday life, the housing environment comes ahead of the curve about the spatial exercise of hegemony. Among all forms of production of the built environment, housing is figured as one of the forefront issues since it has been put into transformation at large for Turkey's contemporary period. In this period, there has been a dramatic change in the housing environment in cities, through which it is aimed to survive capital accumulation by means of (re)production of the built environment and to gain political support for the ruling authority. Housing is explicitly, wherein power bloc employs several forces and means in this process, respectively generating tension points in urban space for masses of society and encompassing a majorly perceptual urban environment. This part investigates changing conditions of spatial forms and processes about housing environments in an account of changing performances regarding these changing materialities organized or configured in/around the housing environment. In other

words, it questions perception-based knowledge and apprehension for the housing environment, which is crystallized by overt or subvert ways. The goal of inquiries about the housing environment is to explicitly indicate how they impact the exercise of hegemony. How and which forms and processes of the housing environment are understood as means of power relations that lead political inclusion to the dominant order.

Variegated forms and processes about the housing environment are co-orchestrated for setting up urban inhabitants' perceptions at large. One singular change and changing complete forms for housing overall have engaged each other, upon which political consideration is dwelled through. Common perceptual conceptualizations about materialities and temporalities, via spatial conceptions, have a fundamental role in defining circumstances of hegemony exercised by forms and processes.

Outlining this part, it firstly goes over the relationship of perception of housing environment and apprehension of class interest in simple terms, then it exemplifies the common forms of transformation about the housing environment which have occurred in the recent period of Turkey under the AKP rule impressing inhabitants' perceptions. The latter part examines common ways of current dynamics emerging in housing environments, and, by critical analysis, it illustrates the processes and forms of empirical findings obtained by ethnographic research and participant-observations held in Ankara. Herein, what is basically taken into account is the main issues people notice, problematize, negotiate, have desire or resist through. Even though these processes can be addressed within the scope of conceived space, as seen, the significance is the perception of those one or/and another together, as pieces of apprehension of power relations.

In this context, the second section of this part carries out an investigation on those following processes and forms: i) Elaborations on the production of new housing environment which composes production of new urban development for housing (housing complex) by means of adjusting common spaces, public lands or protected zones like agricultural lands, or forest lands, and production of new urban

development with increasing and additional (privileged) building rights; ii) Transformation of housing stock or housing environment; perception of materially and temporally changing forms of housing - which are shaped by means of the redevelopment of housing, revitalization processes for historical sites of housing, renewal practices of gecekondu areas, renewal of specific identities or assets to housing, reconstruction practices for singular units, and vice versa.

The relevance of hegemony and perception of housing environment

Perception of housing environments is corporealized for a medium for condensation of both micro and macro dimensions of reality, power relations about the built environment. Having a broadened understanding of houses by forms and relations, urbanists, in essence, conceive houses, not as single entities; we consider them with their urban environment with diverse spatial articulations. Housing environments have a highly complex nature and relationships in terms of social and political understanding rather than a physical entity. The behaviours produced within the scope of the housing environment display differences with respect to the diversified conditions. The perceptions of and performances in the housing environment are not only defined with specific forms; there is an articulation of forms and processes through which urban inhabitants compose perceptions and appoint power relations and their position. It is not limited to the perception of high rise buildings through distinguished singularities of materialities. It also encompasses perception of housing complexes built up in the fringes, contrasting forms of housing, as well as the impact of independent forms or processes about the housing environment in overall apprehension about housing and related-power relations. Therefore, exercises of hegemony around housing spaces (either in strengthening or weakening), those forms and processes are all articulated in different degrees of temporal rhythms for inhabitants' experiences.

Housing is one of the dominant forms and processes in which everyday life takes place and specifically through which capital accumulation is carried through. The AKP era distinctively has witnessed an immense change of the urban material

environment by employing and organizing several processes about the housing environment. By means of changing material forms throughout employing diversified means, the politics on housing is aimed at to exercise hegemony. In this sense, it is significant to examine this spatial element. Indeed, emphasizing that it is not possible to examine hegemony regardless of spaces in the housing environment. Pursuing the key role of housing in politics, the politics under AKP rule have strategically rolled to gain political support in line with favouring capital accumulation through the production of a built environment. This scope has embraced class-differentiate politics about housing production and form-processes differentiated housing production implemented. These are materialized -and thereby perceived- in both the core and periphery of the urban geographies. Housing geography, for instance in Ankara, portrays a dynamic figure in which the disappearance and emergence of some forms of housing environment take place. All in all, seeing and performing those changing housing figures leads to a way of sense that impacts the perception of power relations. Putting the impact of hegemonic housing ownership, discourses and representations on diversified housing environments, new legal means to produce or transform -the more - housing environment, and institutional reorganizations via MHA and Emlak Konut, and state-led operations on the redevelopment of land for (re)production of housing environment all aside by seeing their impacts, this part specifically concentrates on how people identify the materialities and temporalities of the housing environment. By which characteristics they are noticed and comprehended as a means of consented or dissented forms. Indeed, it is underlined that the (re)produced-materialized forms and processes become itself a ruling factor by perceptions. As ruled in the AKP era, as a most distinct issue, it is evident that hegemony is exercised on the ground of a recognition which is dwelled mostly through perceptual experiences and come forward through an apprehension of housing forms that are new and/or put into transformation but not limited to those. Thereafter part examines those issues.

Exercise of hegemony by means of the power of “new” housing

To what extent new will pursue an impact on legitimization of urban change and thereby approval or assent of masses will run for reproduction of urban space in which power relations are set through. In the nature of urban processes, new forms and processes are configured; however, herein the matter of new is embraced as a medium of domination through which it is aimed to get masses involved into the system and/or assign a denotation for the power of dominance. Empirically, there are evident motives of manufacturing consent for the processes to produce new urban environments - new housing units and environment and forms for new housing environments.



Figure 4.50. Urban land development by means of new housing development at the fringe, Tuluntaş in Ankara; New housing development at the fringe, İncek in Ankara (Author, 2018; 2019)

Seeing new materials of the housing environment in fringe (can be seen above figures) or central urban areas, which has been distinguished by having different forms, has a specific perceptual impact on people. For masses of society, as is a hegemonic project, the newness of housing is seemingly a medium of internalization or enjoyment of the reproduction of urban spaces. This hegemonic newness brings to front the legitimization of the reproduction of urban spaces aimed at housing productions. Perception of a “new(ly)” produced urban environment and produced “new” corporeality in different scales consequently make out a sense of domination of new housing units. Seeing, embodying and

imagining housing construction has turned into a common way of apprehension of urban space. Even though those processes can be against class- society's overall interest, they become reasonable in specific contexts because there is an intimate relationship between spatial forms and processes. The form itself and the processes which create/produce it are indispensable features. Those forms of processes perform this. Considering the recent period of urban changing dynamics, common processes are as follows: New urban development for housing (housing complex) through adjusting common spaces (i.e. preservation areas, forest/deforestation areas, agricultural areas or coastal areas to build up), and new housing (and commercial) development by means of expropriation of public lands.



Figure 4.51. Fringe views of housing developments, Ankara (Author, 2018; 2019)



Figure 4.52. Yaşamkent, Ankara; Eryaman, Ankara; Bağlıca, Ankara (Author, through the Interview 19, 2019; through the Interview 13, 2019; through the Interview 8, 2019)

Moreover, the processes that are implemented to produce new urban development with increasing building rights. Along with the relations of accumulation and rent, by the motto of the more housing the survival more, the corporeality obtained has a

significant role in the perception of an urban environment. Distinguishing changes in the core settled urban areas, as in the figure below, has a perceptual influence on urban change dynamics. Repeatedly seeing this figure or view over and over may impact settling the domination of the power relations.



Figure 4.53. Different scales of housing blocks came up by an urban transformation and development project area, Ankara (Author, 2018)

Exercise of hegemony by means of transformation of housing stock or transformation of the housing environment

The perception of materially and temporally changing forms of housing is performed through the processes of those: redevelopment of housing, revitalization processes for historical sites of housing, renewal practices of gecekondü areas, renewal of specific identities and assets of housing, reconstruction practices for singular units. They are associatively rolling out the apprehension of urban change for urban inhabitants.

i) Processes and forms of reproduction of housing environment through the processes of renewal of gecekondü areas

Over the gecekondü areas, the transformation processes usually result in forms of intense corporeality forms of urban housing blocks (see below figures), which are perceived with a specific interest by the urban inhabitants.



Figure 4.54. Housing renewal for gecekondu areas in Ulus, Ankara; Housing renewal for gecekondu areas in Mamak, Ankara; Şentepe urban transformation Project and gecekondu areas in Yenimahalle, Ankara (Author, 2015; 2018; 2019)

For masses, these kinds of processes are simply acclaimed for society's benefit to overcome problems of gecekondu areas such as having low or insufficient physical infrastructure and services. The legitimization for the attempts about a renewal of gecekondu areas in this framework has dated in Ankara. However, as between 2018 and 2019 in Ankara, the formed up renewal areas of gecekondu areas are turned into huge agglomerations. According to the urban context of the gecekondu areas, the renewal processes are ruled by the excessive number of-building rights going beyond the limits and essence of reproduction of gecekondu.



Figure 4.55. Renewal and redevelopment of gecekondu areas at the fringe, Güneypark, by the İmrahor valley, Ankara (Author, 2015)

ii) Renewal by units of housing: Renewal by singular forms in which there is an alliance of perception of a difference of housing forms and perception of ruins of the housing

The perception of “ruins” or “to be ruined” spaces can be a temporal form of perception politics discussed in exercises of hegemony related to the hegemonic transformation of housing and hegemonic new housing. They are small-scale housing (reproduction) projects in the core urban area.



Figure 4.56. Renewal by units of housing- at the core- Cebeci; Termination of housing blocks at Cebeci (Author, 2018; 2018)

iii) Renewal and redevelopment of public housing environments

Renewal and/or redevelopment of public housing is another process within the scope of reproduction of housing areas and public housing areas. There are some interventions for the renewal of public housing areas. For that, in the case of Saraçoğlu, there is a chain of attempts aiming to reproduce the public housing area, which is a public housing area having historical and architectural assets. Whereas it was a living housing area located in the city center, the inhabitants were forced to leave houses in 2015. The site then turns into an abandoned space, one of its streets is blocked by police enforcements, buildings were left to be damaged and later in 2021, the spatial interventions were employed. The state of the district was strategically degraded to legitimize any intervention. Enforcing abandonment and neglect of space is a crucial phase for legitimizing imagined attempts in the housing environment in doing so exercising hegemony by doing an intervention. The perception of an abandoned housing environment is a vein of a sense of domination. For the site’s temporal change, it was denoted “approximately three years, it has been in this condition, as an abandoned space” (Interviewee 16). Since

2020, some parts of the area have been enclosed in order to hide the spatial deteriorations against the rules. The form of forcefully abandoned public housing complex in city center i.e. Saraçoğlu district in the city center of Kızılay. This process is an abolishment of the use value of space, a public housing area organized for state workers, which is originally particular. Perceiving this derelict housing environment which has form based visuality power by virtue of architectural assets, historical value and environmental value, inclines a sense of political understanding, how dominance of ruling power exercise in any specific areas albeit having several positive assets.



Figure 4.57. Views from Saraçoğlu district in Ankara (Author, 2018; 2019)

iv) Processes and forms of the redevelopment of lands for production of housing environments

Under this topic, four simple forms and processes can be rendered as follows: Housing development by a complex involved with commercial uses; housing redevelopment by means of building public lands; housing (and commercial) redevelopment via densification (by means of increasing building codes so as to sustain privileged construction amounts); and housing (and commercial) redevelopment in public housing areas. The question is that through those processes and forms, how dominant interests and general interests of classes are clashes through.



Figure 4.58. Different side views of urban transformation for the land of EGO (Author, 2018; 2019)

Expropriation of public land occurs through large-scale urban (re)development projects with new functions, new scales, new corporeality. The changing form of this space has a precise impact on perception, in terms of property relations that change through the expropriation of land, of sense of corporeality that is figured out through highness and massiveness, of different form with reference to the urban fabric. Following the interviews 1, 11 and 19, those assessments are featured: It is described as “a huge wall, dividing central areas of Yenimahalle from the across Anittepe and Tandoğan” referring to a form of boundary leading imagination of disjunctive and interruptive; the visibility is a dominance sense at all and invisible part is also acclaimed by stating that “the base of the building was about five floors depth of the ground” which means that how an extension of imagination is broad in perceiving urban space. Besides, the temporality of urban change by monitoring the building practice is also a pointed aspect expressed through the dialogues by “it was almost 6-7 years, dismantle and removal of the site; but the rapid redevelopment process has been held in 2 years”. From another point of temporality, interviewees 1 and 19 whose everyday routes lay by this urban area present their concerns for near future through concordantly related impacts on urban spatial practices by which rooted in increased density of the built environment and therefore it is expected that there will be a rise of traffic junction, transportation problem originated by the new users of this urban site when the project is completed.

v) Housing rehabilitation and revitalization processes and forms

Upon the degradation of housing, rehabilitation and revitalization are usual ways of reproduction of urban space. However, they are power-laden processes and forms by considering the interventions applied in the AKP era. They are configured and used by the rehabilitation of housing with a conservation manner (in a way accumulation-oriented); and revitalization of housing/urban fabric (through refunctioning). An additional argument will be such that: As widely-known, spatial hegemonic exercises are materialized on and through the urban functional domains which are namely public spaces, common spaces, housing environments, workplace environments, social amenities, religious buildings, transportation and infrastructure organization, and they explicitly exercise hegemony for current urban spaces of Ankara. Contemplation of any of each is not interpretive enough since those are intertwined one and another and herewith, hegemony can be exercised through. For the case of Ankara housing environments, three major topics can be defined as possible sources of exercises hegemony in the field of housing: The form of gecekondü and urban transformation processes about gecekondus, renewal of housing collectives built up in 60s and 70s (80s), and the production of new housing (environment) productions.

4.3.3 Forms and processes of workplaces and services

Domination is exercised through the conditions of workplaces, through space and time organizations within which senses breed. Workplaces are the places where each stage of production is divided into pieces, and each part is reassembled in time, space and the worker's body to maximize profits most effectively. In this sense, they are organized and controlled from the entrance to exit, from light to air, through which surveillance is applied through (Odman, 2020). There are "scales of convictions in the workplace environment" (interviewee 11) refers to a forceful aspect of conflictual capitalist space organization. Workers' burdens to survive are temporally and spatially (re)produced through work-related everyday life.

Considering those integrated dynamics, workers attain and specify their political reflections. For workers, all complex relations, the relations of domination aimed at control over, subordination, negotiation or confrontation are unfolded through doing temporal assessments for the class interests. In this scope, this begins with a brief conceptual argument and exposes some simple empirical issues.

There are multiple forms of changes produced in spatial forms and processes of administration spaces, workplaces, and social amendments in the recent period. Those changes have fueled the increasing (re)production of built environments. Throughout those forms of reproduction of urban space, it is aimed to mobilize the collective interest of the masses. They are not operated in a way; they impact society by fascinating them, having attention for them, being imposed through the new rules of spatial practices, normalizing the change, or having aggressiveness. Different courses of impact one or/and another impact perception of changes in urban space and, in doing so, apprehension of power relation is materialized through those. This part of the chapter carries out its exploration in two sections. First, it examines the hegemonic impact of reorganization of public services and administration - public workplaces in which spaces of public administrations, spaces of healthcare, school spaces, social and cultural spaces and mosques are put into critical elaboration. Second, it delves into the hegemonic impact of spatial forms and processes of organized retail shopping and office place environments.

(Re)organization of public workplaces: Public services and amenities

The restructuring and reconfiguration of public services and amenities have been evident changes held in Turkey's AKP era. In this part, how hegemony is being exercised through those reorderings is questioned in five subtopics as follows:

i) The organization of spaces for public administration institutions as a legacy of hegemony to mobilize the power

Administrative Spaces: Reorganizations of Institutional Buildings

In the AKP era, the reformations for the public administrations - of hegemony by means of new forms and processes of public administration and its beyond. Empirically three issues are argued as following: i) By means of affixing monumental forms: Building a Palace complex in AFF in Ankara, ii) Destructive changes over symbolic public institutions and space: Domination in space by the revenging using symbolic figures, and iii) Reordering public administrations in - rental- plazas.

“Castles, palaces, cathedrals, fortresses, all speak in their various ways of the greatness and the strength of the people who built them and against whom they were built” (Lefebvre; cited in Elden, 2007: 105). Further, why are administrative buildings taken into consideration? In addition to political meaning ascribed through it, they articulated the relations of capital accumulation driven by the built environment production. To stimulate political attitude- perspective, authority in which forms of spaces matter. Lefebvre states that “The palace and the castle asserted, physically incorporated, materially realized that power over the territory; they made it acceptable and accepted by the people whom they protected and dominated” (2014[1991]: 20). As well as known that palaces and castles, likewise spaces of authority are built and held with a purpose of power. This sovereignty in modern times, is embraced through administrative buildings and palaces. In this sense, this part explores recent efforts in this sense and questions how they impact hegemonic relations. This era under the rule of AKP, aspiring to settle its power in a broad manner and settle its power, it pays attention to the reproduction of spaces of administrative buildings. Outlining this part, to understand spaces of new governing approach, it investigates reproduction of urban space by means of the new buildings, expropriation of public- administrative buildings (forced to subject to transformation), and administrative building in rental. It is supposed that those three main processes are veins of the constitution of hegemony. Besides, through reproduction or readjustments of administrative space, it is enrolled that changes in different scales of urban space – either produced by consent or dissent – leads to implosions and explosions on urban form. As constituents of central facilities,

changes in administrative buildings bring out new relations of city centre and urban development politics.

As acknowledged that palaces with their castles and visa versa have been predominant features of governing space. Not exploring spaces of palaces, we spotlight the organization of recent periods of governing spaces. The modernization period, which corresponds to the early republican period in Turkey's history, inspires spaces of governing to take a new shape in line with the modernization thought. Settling up a new authority, Ankara, as the enunciated capital city, has been respectively the center of intervention in terms of new administrative buildings. As one of the planned capital cities of its era, Ankara was planned in this political sense. Main orders of the urban form of the early Republican period of Ankara constitute, likewise, all state organizations, administrative structures utmost. Beyond the active subscription to organize public services, they have importance to produce power, symbolically settling its dominance by space. In order to impact public thought, the role of those administrative buildings-spaces is apparent in terms of perceived space. Politics is being made with spatial contexts, forms. On this purpose, recent spatial interventions under the rule of AKP are mainly dwelled through. The question is that whether all they, albeit legitimized for the public service, are subject to consensual things or not. It is assumed that in those milieus by their production processes and forms they take in, there are some coercive factors since impacting on spatial practices.

“Political architecture includes military architecture just as religious architecture includes the architecture of contemplation. Fortresses, palaces, and castles go together. Power always attempts to present itself and represent itself in the eternal, through imperishable architectural symbols and works. Power is exercised on a space that dominates and protects; there, it plants its symbols and its instruments, which are inseparable. The keep has both a symbolic and a practical relationship to the surrounding land, which it dominates and penetrates. It surveys space; it possesses nature the way a male warrior possesses the woman he has conquered

and holds captive, partly through violence and partly through protection” (Lefebvre, 2014[1991]: 13).

- v) By means of affixing monumental forms: Building a Palace complex in AFF in Ankara

To exemplify how authority is being inclusive by governing spaces is explicit by building new administrative complex construction (see figure below). Hegemony is aimed to be constituted by means of perceiving this large complex. It is more than building new administrative space; it is a reproduction of public space; it is new settling in Ankara and expropriation of Atatürk Forest Farm, as the representative space for the Turkey’s former sovereignty.



Figure 4.59. Spatial interventions on Atatürk Forest Farm (Author, 2019)

The purpose of building a palace complex symbolizing the ruling authority of AKP in AFF land is to dominate space and make propagandas. In analyzing the formation of domination, it is fundamental to inquire the reasons why to build a new administrative complex, to reappropriate and transform this property, to take this form comprising a mosque, nation library, cultural center, etc. What new spatial understandings come to existence via consecutively produced forms. Considering all those dimensions, it is obvious that regarding forms, imaginary provided with big structures, visually dominant figures, and architectural impacts with refer to all elements of Ottoman socio-cultural complex, new changes in forms of surrounding urban built environment, processes related to property relations and

processes of current experiences through creating new sphere leading to new spatial practices, forms and processes within the production of space are regarded as hallmarks in constituting power. This project is symbolically the new image of the AKP rule in Turkey, setting up its authority-dominance by space in Ankara. Taking the juridical conflicts among the Chambers and respective Ministries and Municipality in account, this is an exercise of the dismantling of public space and conservation rules, thus by forms and processes of building facilities have also significant impacts for public thought.

ii) Destructive changes over symbolic public institutions and space: Domination in space by the revenge of symbolic figures

Spatial interventions reproducing power relations, posed by the authority, materialize through expropriation and termination of the administrative buildings and social-cultural spaces. Reviewing changes both about administrative buildings and symbolic cultural spaces, it is assumed that power is driven through by their forms and processes. Those factors are used as a legitimization matter for further production of the urban built environment. Forced to subject and transform some buildings, which are ascribed symbolic meanings by the public, by means of processes of destruction or transformation and employing forms via corporeality by existence or incorporeality by absence, or new forms of corporeality instead, causes changes of perception, and it conveys thinking on power relations that repels through. While investigating how hegemony is constituted for the urban change and within which tracing how public consent is manufactured for the demolition of public buildings should be rethought. Termination of İller Bankası in Ulus, Ankara's historical city centre, illustrates this political contestation explicitly seen with the figures below. The difference, between the existence of the public administrative building as a part of the boulevard structure – a spatial spine – with full of modernist architectural components and the absence of the building providing more expanded open space for the mosque as lately built up, is related to power gained by destructing public administrative building as one of the pillar of

modernism and enlarging spaces of symbolical spatial figure of Islamism. The conflict arises from the difference produced by the process and form of space.



Figure 4.60. Building of İller bank that have cultural, historical, architectural assets; the destruction of building; area after the demolition (Source: Arkiv, 2017; İplikçi E., 2017; Author, 2019)

Besides, the process belongs to the space of İkametler sitesi in Kızılay, Ankara is another case to exemplify how public spaces are expropriated and demolished for new construction facilities. Regarding the phenomenon, how hegemony is mobilized through. İkametler sitesi was built in 1956 in the city center and designed for the housing complex. As a unique case, it has turned into a public institution and used it for a long time as a Ministry of public works and housing unit. Besides, the space of this institution occupied an architectural asset, and it had a socio-spatial asset as it witnessed the history of urbanism in Turkey; for that reason, it was valued by Günay et al. (2016), that it has a sense of place. However, the building was terminated, accused of having structural risk and leftover since then. By the time, property relations have changed, such that the public property was assigned to the Privatization Administration. Then via planning exercises, it has turned into the land to build a mosque (by the name of 15th July) and transferred to an association. This singular pathway of the land of İkametler sitesi is interesting and indicates how the destruction of public buildings' expropriation is legitimized and how privatization processes become a medium of strengthening political Islam. Herein, the property relations, the moments of abandonment, destruction and leftover, the difference between existence and absence of the building – in/corporeality- complementarity engage together and mobilize public

understanding about urban change, putting into some frames to legitimate. In 2020, conflict is still topical around the proposed form, mosque for which the authority from the opposition party that is in the power of municipality has raised approval. Regarding the reproduction of this area, the oppositional party representation has no confrontation regarding this transformation. Indeed, it has got into partnership in constructing the mosque. On that condition, there are counter views from the chambers. Thinking upon the current debates in 2020, it is assumed that for the form of mosque, there is common sense embraced by the oppositional political parties and has approval for this way of transformation. On that, a possible research issue will be that: How does non-confrontation manifest through the impact of hegemonic forms and processes and how do they are embraced as a matter of the articulation to the capital accumulation through the reproduction of space. Is there a specific political coalition that came up around the forms of mosque or not?



Figure 4.61. Ruins of old and new constructed building of TUIK (Author, 2019)

The administrative buildings have been in great transformation in the AKP era. They are either being demolished and built up in the new area by renewal practice or moving to rental office blocks and service in high-rise blocks. The transformation of the administrative buildings is a tension point. For instance, for the above figure, ruins of an administrative building done in the mid-1960s, Interviewee 4 says that “..what is the purpose of this demolition? What is built instead?” How typical architecture of new administrative buildings is being done is

also a question of space and politics. As commonly observed, the new forms of public institutions are designed as financial office blocks and can be called a plaza style. The embracement of those forms by authority and the leading increase of those forms in urban space are relatively impacting perception and legitimization of the forms and process, through which the reproduction of urban space enables capital accumulation.

iii) Reorganization of spaces of public administrations in rental areas/plazas

Amid the state restructuring and meanwhile exercises of the destruction of the public administrative buildings bring forth and ground to build new spaces for administrative services. In this sense, we delve into the emergent rental buildings' approach for governing purposes, which is particularly embraced in Ankara. To disentangle the conflict, we, first of all, ask whether it is rational to provide service in rental buildings or not, regardless of that Ankara, as the capital city of Turkey, has an excessive amount of public land stock and public buildings. In the latest period of AKP, these are put into transformation by the transfer of property rights and new rules for public authorities to service. For the latent, this part simply investigates the public administrative services in rental buildings of high-rise privately-owned plazas which were vacant for a while (i.e. Ministry of Family and Social Policies, organizational unit of Ministry of culture and tourism, Directorate General of Forestry, İller Bank, Presidency of tax inspection board, Disaster Relief agency, Ministry of Health, Turkish Medicines and medical devices agency, Administration for Turks living abroad and related communities, Departments of Ministry of Justice (Administrative Court, Commercial Court), PTT (Centre of Post office) and vice versa, in Ankara). This intervention seemingly figures out of an overproduction of the built environment and it is also considered as a means of power organized with the reproduction of public authority, power of AKP. This recent attempt in changing the spatial organization of administrative buildings is considered a state intervention to the built environment's political economy. As a result of speculative urban development, over-production of built environment, as apparent in the field of plazas, is an urban question, for which state steps in this

issue and transfers public economic resources to capitalists, the owners of the plazas and undertake the crisis conditions of capitalists. State authority provides a new route for the survival of capital; indeed, it guarantees to overcome the crisis of construction-led capital accumulation. It is to be questioned beyond all that will it be used in a triggered manner; and whether it has a speculative aspect of urban development so far. However, we condemn that the phenomenon of administrative structures in rental buildings is a political operation in line with the order of the capitalists dedicated to produce capital accumulation through new (urban) spatial configurations and images, aimed at to exceed crisis of overproduction of which lives an absorption of built environment and to lead new image of firm and open coalition with capitalists. Here, we problematize how hegemony is driven through the facilities of renting vacant office stock for administrative services and challenge dynamics of consensus -enforcement for the new organization of public services and related changes of urban space. Spatial practices of the society in/among the rental plazas within the circumstances of public official practicalities and public employment there inherently cause new perception for the produced urban space upon which consent or force springs out. Therefore, beyond the political economy of state intervention about rental plazas, exercise of hegemony on that point penetrates to the facts of new understanding for property relations, public buildings, reordering of public services, a new order for urban development, forms and ir/relations of public services and raise consent in time. As part of the constitution of hegemony, public administrative units have a role that traces an interlinked way of providing services via rental private plazas, possessing and representing plazas as dominant figures for society



Figure 4.62. Ministry of Family and Social Policies, and Administrative Courts and Tax Courts in Ankara (Author, 2019; 2019)

They reveal a pathway and spatial policy; therefore, we do not comprehend this condition as an ephemeral matter of fact. Instead, we conceive this policy as a part of hegemony aspired to construct via public institutions' reorganization. Some of them are visually exemplified in the below figures, and it is apparent how numerous they are, pointing out likewise a new urban pattern, which relatively leads urban change grounded upon a legitimization acquired through the fact of required public institutions and enforced and reconfigured everyday practices within the near-far order of changes. Compared to modernist forms of spatial organization produced in the republican era, everyday practices in the plaza of a public institution is a distinct experience for workers in terms of collectivity, publicness and provided relationships with around. Analyzing the spatial forms of plaza, they are single units, high-rise buildings, limited/absence of open spaces for collectivity, private enterprises, (locational aspect) close to shopping malls, and leading- triggering individualism and consumerism through their architectural formations. In pursuit of the capitalist mind, reminding the origin of the plaza form is a workplace, it has a disciplining spatial organization. Besides, society's understanding of public services/employment has been changed, perceiving a new form of corporeality and involving the public institution's plaza form. By any means, this new organization, patterning high rise buildings and shopping malls in

close/around is inclusive or enforcedly negotiative for public workers since those spaces inherently impact on their perception, daily practices. Nonetheless, through providing services in rental buildings, it is aimed to represent a new order of administrative power in a way.



Figure 4.63. Two examples of rental plazas for public administration in Çukurambar, Ankara (Author, 2019)

Remarking the processes of everyday practices in/among those buildings and processes of reproduction of institutions and urban spaces concerning them, new spatial organizations enforce change in everyday practices and perceptions. It is believed that those processes are pivotal to mobilize consent for the newly produced urban environment. Forms and processes articulate in this urban policy and initiate a terrain of hegemony for urban change, which materializes both in implosion and explosion of urban space. Within the scope of problematising power relations driven by the production of spaces of public institutions and inquiry about formation of hegemony by space, spatial reconfiguration of deregulation, commodification and privatization of public services are the hallmarks in the AKP era. In line, a new approach for the organization of institutions analyzed for the case of rental buildings is considered as a part of public land policies and policies of expropriation of public lands. This reorganization carried by forms and processes conveys acceleration in the capitalist mode of urban reproduction processes and triggers hegemonic formations.



Figure 4.64. Workplace environment of interviewee 11 in Çukurambar, Ankara (Author, 2019)

Having a critical view, Interviewee 11 calls relational forms of enforcement while reviewing his experiences taking place in his working environment in urban scale and building scale. Identifying scales of convictions in the workplace environment refers to a forceful aspect of conflictual capitalist space organization.

Analysis of new order of public administrative buildings that function in the private properties: Rearrangement of administrative institutions composing both building new ones and demolition of some is explicitly taking place in the AKP era. In almost all cities, there are spatial interventions on public institutions, such as reproducing courthouses; however, it is assumed that the rearrangement of public administrative institutions is highly evident in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey AKP era. Besides the new built-up ministry buildings and complexes, reorganization by property-based conflicts presents through the conflicts of rental privately owned plazas used for administrative purposes. The purpose of public administration operation in high-rise and privately-owned spaces is to drive capital accumulation through fulfilling the consumption of over-built office stocks and seeks to drive the symbolic impact of the change of the authority that is much-engaged with the capitalists. In overall terms, the political governing approach has shifted radically in the AKP era, discharging “publicity” or public benefit. The presence of the public authority in the rental of private properties signifies this sharp change. On the practice-based analysis, the functioning of public

administration in the plazas enforces both workers' practices through labouring processes and citizens' practices about official activities. Figuring the property relations of the change, interviewee 19 expresses the problems of reorganization of courts in the city. Moreover, Interviewee 24 who works in Çukurambar district where those multiple cases of public administration densely figure states that public administration in this plaza-formed office block has a limited expression for authority, and they seem just like the private workplaces. Those new forms public administration is perceptually argued and challenged through the overwhelming impacts everyday-working experiences.

ii) Exploration of reordering of health services through processes and forms

Under this topic, two issues are discussed. One is private hospitals, and the second is city hospital projects. Privatization of the healthcare system, perception of an increasing number of private hospitals in urban configuration, and approval of masses for using private hospitals can be identified as a settled form of hegemony. It has significantly increased in the AKP era and become a common issue, getting frontiers to the contests.

Tracing the processes settled by the introduction of city hospitals: Implosions of the case of building up private hospitals and city hospitals projects and explosions of public hospitals



Figure 4.65. Bilkent city hospital and Etlik city hospital construction site in Ankara (Author, 2019: 2018)

This problem is obviously exemplified with city hospital projects held/being constructed in Turkey. It is reported that some physical constraints for healthcare professionals and citizens derived from the oversized design of the structures. Within the scope of health reform policies that are ruled in the AKP era, reordering of public health spaces is put into practice. This context brings out a new spatial organisation in two tracks via building up new large complexes and destructing existing ones and assigning their public properties to capitalists. Hospitals, working and service places, live through various associated relations in their surroundings. Relocation of hospitals entails transformations for all spatial practices allied with hospital reproduction.



Figure 4.66. Hospitals abandoned in the city center, Sihhiye, Numune and Yüksek İhtisas Research Hospital, Ankara; A schema indicating reordering of hospitals in urban space (Author, 2019; 2019; 2018)

Reproduction of urban health service geography and economic geography: Discussing multifaceted aspects of the processes of city hospitals, this article approaches two-fold aspects of reproduction processes of healthcare services in the city with notions of implosions and explosion in urban geography. Looking at the trajectory of the city hospitals which are built in the peripheral urban areas, the most unseen is what happens in the closed up public hospital areas (Yücel, 2020), pre-functioning healthcare spaced in core urban spaces; however, the processes core and periphery, in other words, old and new forms of hospitals are one within the other operating the process. These projects will change the centre-periphery

relations on their own and around links, create huge expenses for the public, change the perception about the processes of urban change and everyday spatial practices. Besides, in due course and results of this process, it is evident that class inequalities are deepened in urban space. Moving beyond, spatial and social inequalities have been sprung in the pandemic, for which the healthcare spaces are of pivotal importance.

Whose collective interest? Albeit space organization – architectural design- of city hospital has overwhelming impacts. Remarking that material forms are imaginative sources of power, City hospitals are designed and built largely. However, city hospitals' material configuration makes this service challenging to provide since they are over-scaled to labour in and get service. Leading enforcement for the everyday life of labour also highlights inequality deepened for women considering gender-based healthcare practices. These forms result in overwhelming working conditions for care workers. As can be reviewed by the studies of Health Workers Union and the Turkish Medical Association, these are new devastating means dwelled through the spatial practices in hospitals. While working in the city hospital, care workers are forced to have and tackle increased walking distances in the workplace; they get more tired and worn out due to the structure's formal characteristics. These working conditions in the city hospital have become more severe in extraordinary period such as epidemic (İlhan, 2020). Furthermore, the change of workplace for healthcare workers inevitably causes a change in mobility among workplace and housing and an adjustment to the new conditions of the workplace with all expenses for which workers are obliged to undertake.

iii) Rearrangements of schools: Hegemony exercises through the transformation of education spaces

Schools have a decisive role in the organization of everyday life, especially for students, parents and education workers, especially organizing the relationship of housing (preference) and schools. For society, seeing and experiencing the changes of schools and school environments influences apprehension of power relations.

Likewise, many social amenities and spaces of education are put into transformation (i.e. privatization) for Turkey's recent period. Along with the changes in urban spaces and development and neoliberal policies, organization schools have taken new forms. Rearrangement of schools composes privatizations, new forms of public schools, and renewal of public schools. Although privatization of schools has dated back to the AKP rule, it is evident that privatization has rapidly increased in this recent period. The forms of schools have been reshaped. Simply to state that approval for and involvement in the private schools' system is a means of class alliances. But it is more. Retracing Gramsci's emphasis on education, it has a critical role in the construction of hegemony, having power as it is one of the "macro-institutional centers" (Gramsci, cited in Kipfer, 2002: 132). In this part, however, it is not elaborated in detail even though seeing and admitting notable changes and rules implied on the content of education. Additionally to note that putting privatization in education policies and organization aside, it only -and briefly- elucidates how hegemony is exercised through the changing spaces of education – schools, what kind of a relationship there is among (privatized) schools and (re)production of built environment how the material and temporal changes in spaces of schools are become means of hegemony. Appointing class interest around schools and school-related spatial practices is a possible significant aspect of apprehension of relations of domination and subordination.

This session carries out discussions in three sub-topics, as follows: i) Perception of changes of spaces of public school, ii) Perception of the increased number of private school complexes, and iii) Approaching private schools as a legitimizing effect of increasing production of housing built environment. First, how hegemony is being exercised through the perception of changes of spaces of public school. Schools have a pivotal role in the organization of everyday life. For instance, Interviewee 1 expresses that public school (choice) and housing relationship are a predominant factor in perceiving urban built environment and desire about housing environment, which draws her everyday routines and practices. In those circumstances, it is pointed that she is inclined to cope with all difficulties spawned

in this relationship with the cost of time and practice, and drives consent about the production of the built environment, mainly for housing, which is close to school. Spaces around schools that are attended are a sense of attraction for which changes upon there have either been thought as a consented issue or a matter of enforcement. For example, public schools' change, as in the case of closure of public kindergarten by reasons of the redevelopment project of AKM land into National park, is a medium for a sense of domination in space.

In addition, the closure or the primary school of Namık Kemal at Saraçoğlu district has also been ruled out due to the targeted renewal actions of the site. As seen in these cases, regarding any urban (re)development project, public schools will be discarded in the first place, and they are ruled to be (re)arranged, which causes impositions on settled spatial practices, thereby domination is reproduced. Second, hegemonic privatization of school has been an argument of power relations of classes, mobilization of masses to consent and to favour the privatization of schooling for their interest; as they are embodied "as possibilities latent in commodified everyday life" (Kipfer, 2002: 132). Further, materially and temporally perception of the increased number of private school complexes is assumed as a possible way that reproduces the means of privatization of education policies and strengthens the collective will of the society. As a spatial element of urban space organization, the increasing number of privatized schools are organized in many parts of the urban space. These spaces are common means of the difference of property relations. Along this process, the commodification of public amendment and public space are rolled out. Also, perception of them also impacts apprehension about land properties, the difference of public land, expropriation of lands, which all strengthen the capacity of organization of collective will about the reproduction of schools. Third, it is assumed that private schools complexes are rolled out as hegemonic projects. Since they are approached as a legitimizing effect of increasing production of housing built environments. Private schools have gained new meaning and political objectives. According to the account of extended consent of society, -a settled common sense – for privatization of education and

spaces, the reproduction of the built environment is accelerated. Along with the expansive internalization of privatization of education, building private schools – complexes- is run as an affair of urban rent. Herein the question is how urban (re)development is legitimized around the private schools (complexes) and how private schools are turned into motives of capital relations (re)produced through space. How spatial configurations of private schools, by means of their forms, architectural and geographical conditions, and spatial conceptions (adjusted around and by shopping malls, new housing projects, office projects etc.), are treated to manufacture consent.

iv) Interventions and reorganization of social and cultural spaces

This part highlights the dominance that is materialized by means of the interventions and reorganization of social and cultural spaces and goes beyond it. It puts that hegemony is exercised through the processes and forms organized by the reproduction of social and cultural spaces. Socio-cultural spaces are socially produced spaces and marked signs of everyday life. Within the scope of changes of social amenities, social and cultural spaces have been also put into transformation in the AKP era with hegemonic purposes. Socio-cultural spaces are also another domain of aggressive state interventions. Relieving those interventions and new organizations, they are operated as means of capital accumulation by means of reproduction of the built environment and of reproduction of symbolic power of spaces, and as well they are part of reorganization of everyday life. The reasons why those spaces intervened are to dominate and by the time to seek driving a collective will for urban change with the new phenomenon. Indeed, socio-cultural spaces are points of strategic-relational attacks of AKP. To disassociate that, even though Gramsci and Lefebvre pay attention to the cultural phenomenon while discussing hegemony, this part does not focus on the aspects of hegemony culturally-reproduced. For that, a specific case of spatial interventions on socio-cultural spaces will be the reproduction of AKM (Atatürk Kültür Merkezi), by a reconstruction facility. This intervention leads to a change in apprehension of symbolic socio-cultural space at Taksim, in İstanbul, is considered in this way of

politics. Herein, simply the power is aimed to be produced through a contrast of new and old forms. Furthermore, in order to drive a national popular project on the social-cultural spaces, employment and/or production of new forms employing “kıraathane” is configured in this sense within the political agenda of AKP.

v) Hegemony exercised around and/or through mosques spaces

This part examines domination through the configurations of religious buildings: The case of Mosques. Along with the hegemony debates, remembering Gramsci’s thoughts on churches and Christianity, religion and the religious buildings have always been taken into consideration for power and class relations. Mosques, a socio-spatial feature wherein social organization and political understanding is made up. Building mosques in Turkey’s recent period rolls up a new political understanding in line with the idea of the conservative and corporatist Islamic political authority AKP. Increasing the number of mosques in the urban environment redevelopment of the urban spaces to build mosques and build big scaled mosques has been argued broadly. This part briefly elaborates the increasing subjectivity of the mosques in new urban development and how their spaces and the organization in mosques are used for manufacturing consent for the reproduction of urban development.

To state in short, building mosques and mosques’ spaces have key roles in constructing hegemony for Turkey’s context. Mosque, as the sign of Islamism, and the thing of whose spatial configuration and possessing the relations with the surrounding urban environment produce some political reasonings. Whereas it is thought that mosques are the forms for which society unquestionably accepts as ordinary religious purposes, they are spatial organizations causing coercion for urban dwellers as well. This part also aims to portray two-fold aspects of mosques’ spaces exploring the alignments with hegemony considering current conditions and cases that exhibit mosques’ political characteristics, where to build it, how big to make it, insistence for building facilities notwithstanding regardless of the spatial

properties. It is obvious that mosques are notable features, instrumentalized to obtain political support through.

Spatial exercise of hegemony driven by spaces/building/organization of mosques is a central issue for the AKP, which attempts to construct a new regime under the conservative and Islamic ideology, aiming to Islamize urban space while restructuring the state. In this scope, mosques have priorly employed. Through the power visibility acquired by the materiality of mosques, political Islam has expanded (Uzunçarşılı Baysal, 2018; Dağ, 2019:169). Since then the 2000s in AKP rule, we analyze the problem of spatial hegemony produced by mosques in two tracks such as i) processes and forms of reproduction of symbolic public spaces through building mosques and large scale symbolic mosque projects ii) building more mosques in housing environments (needless to build).

For the first, building Mosques in Taksim square is a well-known example aims to (re)appropriate public space by mosque projects and symbolize the authority's power after the Gezi movement takes place centrally, distressing the political authority of AKP. Within the revanchist and oppressive manner, building a mosque in Taksim means controlling over the political space, impacting collective memory via changing spatial practices by symbols of the Islamic government. The purpose of this reproduction of the space is to rewrite the perception of urban dwellers. Besides, to remark that some symbolic mosques dominate the geographical landscape of İstanbul originated from the historical spatial configuration of Ottomans. In this respect, in order to articulate with the political and Islamic organization in İstanbul, a mosque in Çamlıca Hill is built comparable largely to reach in scale and size with this representation idea. Hagia-Sophia is another case. In order to sustain political consolidation, AKP overruled its function by making it a mosque in 2020, which is not another scale of intervention.

In terms of spatial forms, size and the location of mosques is a material issue for intentional meaning. On that, there is another case, owing to the most important in terms of representational, the mosque built in the Palace complex in Ankara. It is

aimed to realize the reappropriation of the public lands with the new ruling's place of pivotal organization. Admitting them, yet keeping aside, our objective is to demonstrate the principal spatial form of the Nation mosque, called political engagement in this complex configuration. This mosque, the central place for Islamic facilities organized by the government, thus is Islamic representation of AKP political sovereignty, and by means of its corporeality and dominance, the public perceptions are aimed to be changed through. Besides, the large-scale mosques, complexes with mosques, or mosque complexes like in Keçiören, are constituents of power, thereby exercising hegemony by spatial forms. For mosques, the size of this typical religious building structure is particularly prepositioned in organization of urban space for the recent period of Turkey. The form of larger mosques is thought of as a pillar of the construction of hegemony of AKP. Beyond the increasing number of mosques and visual power of mosques expressed in the era of AKP, the politics of corporeality by means of the changing massiveness of the structure is seemingly shined out. In the palace complex, Millet mosque is a paragon of it, symbolizing administrative and religious co-joint ideology.



Figure 4.67. Kuzey Ankara mosque, Ankara; Taksim mosque, İstanbul (Author, 2019; 2019)

Thus, by means of the forms (visuality-aimed sized) formations, location, property relations, architecture, symbolism,) of mosques and the processes applied (re)producing mosques' space cause particularly a political understanding of space. The processes committed to building (more) mosques, thereby increasing the

number and visibility power of mosques in urban space, as the dominating element of urban configuration exercises hegemony.

Mosques in Turkey under the rule AKP can be considered within the scope of large scale urban development projects. In addition to the Nation Mosque, North-city Mosque and its Islamic-ottoman social complex is another project built in Ankara. This large mosque complex contains spatial references to Ottomans period-orders such as poorhouse/imaret, tabhane/guesthouse, pavilions, ottoman bazaar and symbolic landscaping with cypresses bulbous plants. What is more, this complex provides particular service, which is a new concept (VIP Mosques). This sharp-decisive division of classes in mosques is another justification, that mosques are the pure elements and spatial figures, instruments of political power and bourgeois classes. In addition, mosques can not be accounted as a form and entity of social amenity for inhabitants of the Islamic community; they are rather used for political purposes, explicitly a means for symbolizing political authority and thereby, it aims to drive political support. Mosques form "oppression and domination" through visibility, iconically, corporeality, functionality, and accessibility (Dağ, 2019:169). Thus, by means of the forms (visuality-aimed sized), formations, location (strategically-visible places), property relations, architecture, symbolism,) of mosques and the processes applied (re)producing space of mosques cause particularly a political understanding of space. The processes committed to building (more) mosques, thereby increasing the number and visual power of mosques in urban space, as the dominating element of urban configuration exercises hegemony.

ii) Configuration of spatial forms and processes of organized retail /shopping and office place environments

Along with the dramatic urban changes in the recent period, which is materialized by increased production of built environments to survive capital accumulation and reproduce power relations, the configuration of urban built environments through shopping malls and offices has a major function in this change. In terms of offices

and shopping malls' forms and processes, they have become significant dominant elements of urban spatial organizations by means of their massive forms, multiplicities and perceptually-distinctive visual and architectural forms by reproducing capital relations. How those spaces mobilize society's collective will, how spaces of shopping malls and offices -or complexes of two- are perceived and performed around the embracement of dominant class interests for which society is consented through. How they drive common sense for understanding of urban space and change of urban space. How the processes and forms of two become legitimizing issues for reproduction of urban space. This part stems from asking those mentioned questions, claiming that these are two spatial conceptions - elements that exercise hegemony. It is believed that the forms of shopping malls and offices are giving rise to the increase of the (re)production of built environment. Shopping malls and offices are spaces of workplaces. But it is more, the integrated forms of two can be conceptualized as spaces of consumption, of practices for privatized public space, of privatized leisure or socialization, of increase of surveillance by means of controlling. These spaces are exact figures for subjection to the capitalist organization of space. Seeing that, practices and performances around/in offices and shopping malls have a great capacity to foster or mobilize the approval of the project and to increase the feeling of impositions that are deployed in their spatial configurations.



Figure 4.68. Some illustrative figures for office and shopping mall complexes, mixed-used blocks in Ankara (Author, 2019; 2018; 2019)

Empirical examinations can be drawn by analysis of Ankara. Since the early 2000s, shopping malls have increased, and they materially dominated the urban change,

impacting changes of central and peripheral urban areas of Ankara. Perceiving the fragmentation of central areas and re-contextualization of central areas through shopping malls or/and mixed-use single blocks or multi-building blocks encapsulating consumption spaces spawn in pursuit of capital accumulation regime dwelled upon production of the built environment, influence the political understanding of inhabitants. Everyday life, involved in or around those spaces, is decisive about the origins of political sense, thereby the constitution of hegemony. About that, it is claimed that power constituted in/around shopping mall-based central facilities and socialization, of which is formed with single/multi-building enclave(s), is highly evident and settled in Ankara. Shopping malls are considered constructive and repellent figures by their forms and processes, bringing them into being, mobilizing implosions and explosions of urban geography. They are elements of urban space that make society inclusive to the dominant order. Besides, taking into account the temporality of hegemony, hypothetically, through the pandemic times, the strength of hegemony that shopping malls exercise has been weakened due to specific health concerns.

4.3.4 (Re) organization of infrastructure and conditions of mobility

Throughout everyday life experiences, how do infrastructures have a - key- role in the conception of urban space and power relations, by means of which forms and processes are they negotiated, consented or contested? This part delves into how infrastructure settings and processes are supportive or coercive matters for the understanding/perception of urban spatial change for society. Upon that, it aims to demonstrate that process and forms of infrastructure is constructive issues for spatial exercises of hegemony. Having conceptual and contextual brief analysis, it analyzes the processes and forms about networks and/or (re) organization of infrastructure and conditions of mobility depending on perceptual understandings. Then, it acclaims two forms of exercises of hegemony which are defined as follows: i) through the perceptions about the changes in networks and/or

organization of infrastructure, ii) through different perceptions produced according to the mode of mobilities. Questioning how infrastructure systems regarding the urban change drive hegemony, this part analyzes those topics: how the provision of infrastructure is being handled, changing processes of property relations about infrastructure, changing urban forms and modes of transport-infrastructure, debates on automobile hegemony, captured/developed/urged perceptions in through the mobility by public transport, hegemonic issues for pedestrians, large-scale urban transportation and infrastructure projects and temporality of projects. For all of them, there are some underpinnings cumulatively leading to a reasonable ground or common sense about urban change, the production of the built environment.

There is a specific and increasing interest in the production of infrastructures in the AKP era. For this period, it is evident that hegemony is exercised through transportation configurations of built environment about transportation and (urban) mobility, embodied by the spatial practices. Precisely, as in the case of previous ruling periods remembering the the hegemonic impact obtained for instance by the construction of “double highway”, transportation and infrastructural elements and processes of those reproductions have impacted society to attain their political opinions, attitudes, support or dissent, exercising political chargement of society. However, seeing the contextual changes of urban spaces aimed at immense capital accumulation through the production of space, has scaled up. Current infrastructure systems promote or/and result in splinter urbanism by means of implementing several forms of tunnels, highways, energy power plants, water systems, roads - streets and vice versa (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Likewise, in Turkey, there are policies and interventions based on increasing production of the built environment by means of implementation of large-scale urban (re)development projects (i.e. Third bridge, highways, airports, Canal İstanbul projects, etc.) and implementation of energy projects (hydropower projects, wind power plants, etc.), through which urban forms - macroforms- are splintered. Infrastructural networks and elements become involved in everyday politics and contradictions. Seeing the expenses and difficulties of third bridges, third airports that impose society in everyday life,

those projects are subject of contestations. Considering the dynamic nature of power relations, there are limits of hegemony that are employed by infrastructural projects.

Infrastructures have a key role in everyday life and production of political apprehension. In Gramsci's oeuvre, some pinpoints about transportation and infrastructure networks can be reviewed in his examinations about urban planning of Milan. Therein, he observes "exaltation of the big cities," "grandiose [urban] projects" and superhighways" and he examines those processes and relations of capital accumulation (Kipfer, 2013: 90). It is more, considering the increasing and variegated forms and processes applied within the scope of transportation and infrastructure. Where everyday experience happens, by any means, has a relationship with power relations, within which domination or subordination processes occur, in this sense, the moments manifested in or around the infrastructure system are sense-making to develop our question of spatial hegemony. It is believed that in everyday experiences, infrastructure systems reside a vital part, mediating "everyday urban life" (Graham and McFarlane, 2015) they they influence how inhabitants approach urban built environments and respectively apprehend the class interest in this organization of the system. In this sense, infrastructure is not just a technical issue of projects of structures and patterns of roads, railroad, highways, tunnels, bridges, airport, wires, pipes and related buildings, thus can be physically elaborated and debated; rather, it is also a political and social issue. In this broader scope, since it is composing a vein of state and society relations, we investigate the role of transportation infrastructure in the formation of hegemony therein and how they are used for meditating, legitimating or provoking. Inclusive or exclusive aspects of them result in a conceptualization of urban space. We assume spatial interventions in infrastructure and transportation systems, either by building new systems or blocking, deteriorating, infused by any means, and penetrating public thought to persuade, negotiate, or dissent through. Graham and McFarlane (2015) underlines the key role of everyday life experiences through which inequality and change are apprehended; thereby, power relations in

urban space can be traced through. Furthermore, even though Graham and McFarlane (2015) do not explicitly work on hegemonic impact of infrastructures, the way of their analytical research approaches is useful for us to interpret people's perceptual and political reactions about infrastructures. In their study, four conditions are defined by those: "knowing infrastructure", "on being excluded from infrastructure", "on producing and managing infrastructure" and "experimenting with infrastructure". It is supposed that those four conditions, which refer to a different scope of experiences of infrastructure, will provide different conditions of approval and contestations, in which class relations can be analyzed with detailing. As an example, obtained from the fieldwork in Ankara, an interviewee 12 who has three aspects drawn above, as a civil engineer having technical expertise on infrastructures, affirms that those multi-level junctions, reproduction infrastructure and transportation systems with forms of junctions and crossings, can be thought of as fundamental exercises of local government, regarding the whole complexity of transport in Ankara. As interviewee 19 says that "multi-level junctions, overpasses - underpasses, at some important points, have been ways out relieving traffic junctions", it is understood that despite causing problems substantially, short-term solutions or manipulations by means of forms about troublesome of infrastructural problems are perceived favourable issues means positive political sense through. As is seen, compensating a problematic of urban space organization, which is rolled on complexity, with palliative kind of spatial exercises, so as to override current problems raises support for the spatial interventions in this respect. Simply, what is seen above is a new arterial road constructed for a new urban development area. The experience in this area constitutes a phase of understanding for change of urban space and increasing production of built environment. In this context, recognizing main arterial routes (whether there is public transport or not) has key importance. Taking infrastructural systems granted is essential to urge the production of built environments. The interdependencies of transportation/infrastructure systems and urban (re)development are clear. Since

urban development is a superimposed matter of fact, infrastructural organizations are interconnecting elements of the process.



Figure 4.69. Views for the new station building for the rapid-rail system, Ankara (Author, 2018)

(Re)organization of infrastructure is significant issue upon which class interests' clash or negotiate. This process goes along with the transformation of property relations, an articulated process for a change of form. In this sense, privatization - the expropriation of public lands and properties- is exercised through infrastructure projects. The organization of infrastructure is principally and supposedly based on public interest, and for that reason, it is governed and produced by the state. However, the neoliberal agenda changes the essence of the provision, the way of implementations put into the subcontracting system. Yet, under the AKP rule, there is a new phase for the increasing privatization in this respect; this shift has become apparent in large scale infrastructure projects, namely Third Bridge and Third Airport of İstanbul. This trend aims to make exchange properties a subject of accumulation of finance, and to a broad extent, the ports, airports, tunnels, bridges, roads etc., are ruled with privatizations. Those infrastructural projects are portrayed as a means of developmentalism strengthening the collective interests. Hence it is aimed to mobilize classes into dominant order and take social classes granted for.

Infrastructure projects are mediums of conflicts, since their (re)organizations are conflicting the class interests. For instance, provision of this service, albeit the constraints exposed to society mainly to the worker class of society, raise public support and respectively to keep political power. However, it is not a smooth way to proceed. How people perceive and live, respectively respond to infrastructure

politics is changing, and therefore questioning those is important to understand forms of exercise of hegemony in the perceptual scope. Because, alongside this question, we will be able to trace how infrastructures are rolling functions of “urban production, negotiation and contestation” (Graham and McFarlane, 2015:109). This is a broad issue to be analyzed herein in the following part; there are some empirical issues to exemplify different scales of forms and processes of infrastructural processes that impact the exercise of hegemony through the production of urban production (bridges, canal, airports, roads, etc with their new technologies and/or designs for infrastructure, attached-symbolic figures and likewise.)

For instance, in the AKP era, within the scope of interventions that transform the natural environment, several hydropower projects (HPP) have been implemented in exploiting nature and ecological assets. Those are configured to drive the capital accumulation and offered as a means of developmentalism. In doing so, it is aimed to drive the collective interest of inhabitants. However, HPP projects have also been figured as a medium of struggle. In many project areas, confrontations, struggles have been raised by the inhabitants of the place where HPP is constructed or projected to build since they are adversely impacting their lives directly.

Herewith, the moments of materialization of conflicts are assumed to be a critical phase of adjustment of hegemony, it is assumed that fast politics are strategically-produced to override the social contradictions or illicit actions of urban change herewith exercising hegemony. Simply, it is an intended action seeking to gain political power while seeing possible or definite socio-spatial contradictions. Executing a *fait accompli* spatial change is meant to drive legitimacy by materialization, which the society can perceptually understand. In order to override social-spatial contradictions, ruling authority strategically applies temporal - rapid spatial interventions on specific urban areas, which is acclaimed as fast politics. The purpose of those kinds of spatial interventions within the scope of fast politics is gaining legitimacy through the temporality of materialization. The moment of materialization of any conflict is assumed to be a preemptive attack of the

sovereign thought and practice to override counter-hegemonic practices or thoughts. By means of the material change in terms of corporeality and image in the conflict space, the conflict finds out a legitimating factor, which compels all efforts to become out of unreasonable or pointless. On that, it is taken for granted that legitimacy is put into use temporally by several means such as speeding up the act via acutely exploitation of space (enforcement) or in contrast putting up space-a conflict space- exert to drive a thought for which present spatial interventions on a reasonable ground (consent in back of coercion). The temporality of legitimacy by space is, therefore, a subject of exercises of hegemony. It is assumed that temporality of materialization of a built environment is a policy to suppress the society's thought about an illicit operation on commons. Herein the question is: whether all fait-accomplis spatial projects are stepping exercises of hegemony or not? An example is the trajectory of the construction of Ankara Boulevard in Ankara (for details, see the achieves of Chambers). The temporality of the infrastructural organization was a subject of political conflict. Shortly, on the 17th of August, 2015, the greater municipality of Ankara, as an agent, implemented a change in transportation flow by blockages. The purpose of the blockage ruling, which causes difficulties in everyday mobilities of urban inhabitants, is to manufacture society's consent for the new transportation intervention (for the case of Ankara Boulevard) with coercive means. By means of imposed difficulties in users' practice, it was aspired to raise approval of society through enforceably convincing that the project as if it is for their interest and taking advantage of the struggle with enforcement.



Figure 4.70. Transportation network through engaged to project of city hospital Bilkent, Ankara (Author, 2019)

From another point of view, Interviewee 23, in whose workplace environment there is a large-scale urban development project on the complex of city hospital (Bilkent Campus), routinely utilizes the road network, built up in association to this project as a significant part of city hospital project. Since this transportation investment arranging circulation around her workplace environment advances accessibility to the housing environment via shortening mobility, she favours the new form of the built environment in terms of transportation networks. She has not been to the city hospital project; thus, she has limited expressions about it. However, the spatial practices associated with the transportation aspect of it lead a positive attitude to the project relatively (see Figure above). Another example for this was featured for construction of the palace complex at Beştepe in Ankara, at AFF. On that, we claim that hegemony exercised by forms and processes is not only constructed with the central structures of the large scale urban projects, i.e. buildings of the hospital complex, it is also constituted by means of associated forms, such as (reproduced) infrastructure networks. As mentioned like in her case, a useful aspect of this form embodied in spatial practice impacts the inhabitants' political attitude or workers' experiences around there. Yet, the contrary conditions–practicing through challenges also exercise through those.



Figure 4.71. New transportation network built up associated with the Palace Complex, 2019, Interview 11 and 15 (Author, 2019)

The longiness of an everyday journey (among workplace and housing) is a circumstance by which perception of the urban environment changes for people. Notedly, length-of-journey is the outcome of class relations and hegemonic issues

active on housing preferences. The longer the everyday journey, the more people perceive expanded urban space, diversified or repetitive spatial organizations at current urban geography. The longer journeys consist of numerous forms of encountering, and thus, those are assumed having more hegemonic impetuses. More moments - elements by which power relations are examined continuously around class interests possibly correspond to a more intensive sphere to drive political alliances and/or dissent.

Mobility experiences inherently dwell through class conditions. Besides, in due course of mobility, different stratification of working classes encounter each other, and in those moments, they reproduce understanding of relations of class, space and power. In due course of everyday mobility, thinking and examination of class conditions through socio-spatial divergences and/or convergences. Therefore, these everyday experiences are a medium of rooting political attempts to flow away in the orders of capital, and subordinate via articulating-being included in the capital accumulation. Spatial exercise of hegemony is (where it is) constructed by means of everyday mobilities. Mobility is the medium of condensation of macro and micro practices. Mobility experiences are the medium of spaces of classes' convergence or divergences. The course of mobility and mode of mobility are factors in the perception of urban space, and therefore it refers to a dynamic of hegemonic exercises. Because how perceived urban space has a critical role in understanding of power relations and internalization - apprehension urban space through mobility- impact levels of internalization of hegemonic forms and processes, the scope of urban space, attended-wise urban spaces, and so on. Furthermore, the diversified perceptions take shaped by the different modes of (everyday) mobilities (by walking, by using public transport, by automobile). The mode of mobility circumstances the perceptions of urban dwellers and its scope; thereby, it adjusts the conditions of spatial practices. The mode of mobility is structurally related to the speed of movement and scale and scope of perception. The depthnesses or limits of perception are affected by the mobility practices by means of the spatial patterns and the dialectical relations of personal and urban

space. Thus perceptually, penetration gradients of built environment organization change according to the mobility mode and though it has diverse responses in a political sense. As an example, three different mobilities, namely walking, by using public transport, by automobile, present different levels of an embodiment of urban space change and, respectively, distinctive reflections.

In conclusion, throughout the infrastructures, hegemony exercises spatially, by large-scale transportation projects, by transportation alliances - aspects of large-scale urban redevelopment projects or simple small-scale infrastructural changes. The everyday experiences of infrastructures, how they are perceived, problematized, normalized, put into reasoned, or/and is essential to unfold the way of hegemony that is exercised by forms and processes of infrastructures.

This third part of this chapter especially investigated hegemony that is exercised by spatial forms and processes, as we defined. Herein examined how political support or consent and coercion is derived through spatial forms and processes. The concept of hegemony exercised by spatial forms and processes is defined as an aspect of hegemony embodied in spatial practices. It is an interlayer of hegemony concept, emphasizing the dynamic order of materialities. In sense-making, it is a cross-cutting, operable term within the context of production of space, to investigate changes in spatial practices more explicitly. Investigating this aspect is significant because the "common sense" comprehension is dwelled upon "taken-for-granted everyday life (daily routines)" and "logically rationalized urban" spaces (articulations, spatial settings in between the home and work, home and leisure, etc.) (Lefebvre, in Shields, 1999: 162). Today, prominent issues are the mass, visible and speedy changing pattern of the built environment in switching capital into new investments by spatial organizations. The study's challenge is this, highly-experienced but an under-examined – or partially-examined sphere of hegemony; the spatial things and processes regarding one of the Lefebvre's triad, spatial practices through problematizing the over-accumulation process of the built environment.

Although having a survey on hegemony that is stimulated by spatial forms and processes points to materiality does not mean that it merely puts physically into center; rather it underlines political relations of materialities. This work is on recognizing landscapes of power and the processes how they proceed through; of landscapes of conflict whereby consent or force is derived. It seeks to figure out what possibly impact the common sense about the space and thereby apprehension of class interest through the urban space. Consequently, the purpose of pursuing those several -possible- means of forms and processes of urban change depends on the fact that both "complete and seamless practices and arrangements" and "divisions and inconsistencies" (Lefebvre, 1991: 40) work together and they are making sense in a way.

4.4 Remarks

In conclusion, as this chapter unveils that in many scales and places urban space is reproduced aimed at securing capital accumulation and political authority, those of which relations of dominance and subordination are reconfigured. This chapter illustrates several issues, which will be expanded through, open to criticism, advancements, additions, yet it provides an outlook on how they are multi-sited, multi-scaled, produced by articulations and disconnections, temporally reproduced association of past, present and future.

This chapter made an empirical exploration of the thesis by three main sections. These have dwelled under the embraced theoretical framework, of which the main question is: how hegemony is constituted by spatial processes, forms and relations about space. In the first part, following historical assessment and political economy urban policies, it investigates first the relations and processes based on state-bound interventions, discourses, expert practices, in the second part it examines relations and processes based on sensations, experiences, political-ideological identities and characteristics, and in the third part it pursues how hegemony is exercised by

changing forms and processes via exploring the materialities of urban space based on things, processes and performances.

This exploratory research can be interpreted as defining the issues related to the production of the space, such as catalog by catalog subjects and urban processes. Undoubtedly, these are the issues – as embraced relations, forms and processes – that can have possible effects grounded on the basis of the fields indicated by the embraced theoretical framework. However, this study does not state that all of these selected issues as mentioned, analyzed have absolute effect, it states that they have possible effects. The question is recognition of to what extent and in which circumstances they have impacts. It claims that, for the working class, these mediums can have an effect in one aspect within the multiple intersection and relationality of the forms and relations, and emphasizes these in an articulated manner. These exercises in a multifaceted and multi scalar way that everyday life touches, directly realized or linked to. Internalization of the interests of the ruling class takes place in the context of everyday life, by consent or coercion. The socialization of this process occurs in different contexts; thus, the understanding and discovery of the contexts in which it takes place is a critical issue in doing so being able to posit how it happens in which circumstances. Hegemonic inclusion operates in moments and spaces where it is contested, negotiated or normalized in the process of everyday practices. In other words, whenever these are the subject of class conflict of interest, these relationships, forms and processes acquire a hegemonic character at that point. This study portrays a broad picture, open to more detailings and enhancements. The limitation of this work is apparent in the points where there are some overall elaborations, rather than detailed and more-enriched. Nonetheless, the intent is by employing this portrayal to draw the articulations of those all and see the unseen or underestimated issues.

CHAPTER 5

ALL-IN-ONE: A CONCEPTUAL RESEARCH APPROACH

In light of the exploratory research, this chapter first opens up a debate by depicting a research approach. Second, it goes around all research issues by making an overall assessment in terms of conceptual, empirical and methodological. Third, it reitraits the initial statements of the study and then exposes its main hypotheses grounding upon all empirical and conceptual arguments.

The purpose of the study is to explore how hegemony is exercised through (urban) space. For that, this part offers a research framework revealing some contours for urbanism studies. Upon an empirical exploration of how political support or consent and coercion is derived through (re)production of urban space in Turkey, as displayed in the previous chapter, this chapter intends to indicate some contours of research on spatial exercises of hegemony. In this sense, it lays out some conceptual and methodological points regarding the findings (issues, concepts, problems). Hypothetically, hegemony through the production of urban space is exercised by three pillars, namely spatial forms, spatial relations and spatial process. In the same breath, this hypothesis provides a way of research, and this part aims to unfold it in broader terms. This chapter puts forth some conceptual allegations and essential properties, tunes about the hegemony exercised through urban space. Further, it argues commonly used and possible methodological ways to understand it better. It aspires to develop an integrated-relational-critical understanding of the hegemony research related to the production of urban space.

Before going into the depth of the conceptual framework, this part as an introductory renders the pathway of the study, exhibiting how it creates a new concept, spatial exercise of hegemony.

Primarily, and plainly, there exists a grounded theoretical knowledge plainly on hegemony and the production of space, which is an abstract form of knowledge.

Secondly, this study problematizes the empirical issues and conditions by drawing those questions: Considering that there is an evident change of the relations of capital accumulation regime (in the case of the 2000s of Turkey, for which AKP rules), which is materialized through the excessive (re)production of the built environment. This is a historically-specific moment of the accelerated switches to secondary circuits of capital accumulation inherently occurred along with the very spatially-specific transformation, therefore it is significantly differentiated from the previous periods of Turkey. On that condition, what are particularities within the current dynamics of hegemony that makes it exercised, herein hegemony through urban space come to the forefront?. In addition, how can hegemony be disrupted within the scope of current urban conditions? How do people -of working class-manufacture consent or challenge for the contradictory capitalist urban change? In doing so, how do they internalize the urban condition, power relations by any means, either via enforcement or enjoyment? In other words, even though the contradictoriness of the capitalist urban phenomenon is quite explicit, since it is being organized contrary to the class interest, then how does the system make it roll out?

Thirdly, this study reviews related theoretical arguments and studies and thereby “examine what theories and concepts are appropriate” for its discussion, on that it settles conceptual apprehensions according to the research problem and by the time it examines whether it is necessary to develop new concept or not, and as well as it probes “whether existing methodologies can be used” (Phillips and Pugh, 2010: 59) or not. Moreover, it examines the empirical surveys related to the research phenomenon. While discussing the Poulantzas-Miliband debate on the Marxist political thought about the role of state, Laclau says that “a theoretical critique starts from the 'empirical' confrontation of the theoretical system under consideration” (1975: 95). However, herein there is not a theoretical critique. There is no theoretical problem, and this study is not doing reconstruct, resolve or the

theory, or it is not an attempt at creation of a new theoretical system, it just highlights a part and conceptualizes it with reference to empirical analysis. The aligned way of theoretical approaches of Gramsci and Lefebvre, propounded by Kipfer, is fruitful. Since they express that hegemony is spatially (re)produced within the capitalist relations. Essentially in exercise of hegemony, the production of space has an implicit role. Stressing the theoretical nature-bases, the conceptualization -by exercise of hegemony through spatial relations, processes and forms- aims to express the phenomenon in a more descriptive and brightened manner. This study does not exert a dichotomous conceptualization like spatial hegemony and non-spatial hegemony. It definitely asserts that hegemony is spatial, as it is. Having said that, it notices that the theoretical approaches are quite explicit and applicable to demonstrate the problematique; however, it is found out that this requires a conceptual approach providing a scheme presents the wide, temporally reproduced, crisis-ridden, multi-scaled feature of glaring relations of space. Because, despite the fact that the theoretical affirmations are clear, in several studies held on hegemony, space is underestimated and disregarded within political analyses. This study evokes that hegemony is spatial, and the studies which have non-spatial approaches are explicable to a certain extent. From another point of view, the studies in the field of urban space and politics dealt with construction of hegemony, of which investigate the hegemonic aspects of spatial interventions with anchoring one or a couple of exemplary empirical issues, and therefore they are enabling to comprehend the whole picture, complex relations of space. The origin of re-formulation is the endeavour of to express the issues in a more accurate way and to disclose the variegated articulations that operate the exercise of hegemony, to try to find answers of how's, -how worker class people internalize the dominant interests of its own, even challenging conditions and how those can be observed and analyzed - and thereby enhance the research approaches as with analytically-practical concepts. Furthermore, this conceptualization has emerged regarding the specificity of the conditions. According to the specificity of the relations of capital,

labour and space occurred for the current urban circumstances, it seeks to posit an explicatory conceptual framework.

Fourthly, this study draws an initial statement, which can be described as a priori thoughts, is that spatial forms, processes and relations have impact on exercise of hegemony. Besides, the research questions are reformulated into those in specific: i) How does hegemony exercise through the (re)production of urban space? How are political alliances of social classes formed through the production of urban space, by means of which spatial forms, processes and relations?; ii) What are the main relations, processes, and forms that urge subordination of classes or masses and exercise alliances of classes upon capital and state authority interests, power bloc? On that question, how spatial exercise of hegemony is manifested for the AKP era, through which the excessive amount and formations of the (re)production of the built environment has been realized? How is the hegemony exercised through the (re)production of urban space manifested for Turkey's recent period? By which means of processes, relations, and forms? What are the dynamics of hegemonic exercises? What is the extent of hegemonic relations, processes and forms?; iii) How can those spatial processes, relations and forms be understood and investigated for urban studies, and by which research ways, methodological approaches?

Fifthly, it investigates the empirical issues according to initial statements, and explains the affairs in line with the embraced theoretical framework and related conceptual arguments. As it is in the previous chapter, it makes exploratory research for the AKP era in Turkey with qualitative research and points out relevant matters of spatial relations, processes and forms.

Under that it pursues to take research one step further, aiming to make a deepened survey focussing on spatial forms and processes. This can be defined as a further-specificity of the conceptualization, inquiring how hegemony is exercised by means of forms and processes, what is the hegemonic aspect of perceived space, and how it can be understood. This sort of survey, which emphasizes the everyday

spatial practices, is a neglected aspect. This study makes an attempt to go through a widely-known but under-explored, or partially-analyzed not-fully-analytical, issue of spatial forms and processes. Indeed, this is drawn on the thought that there is an epistemological weakness which is associated with a methodological problem. What we mean by the epistemological weakness is that to what extent are we capable of stating that something or some configuration of dominant sources is hegemonic or non-hegemonic. Here comes two questions: How those affirmations can be propounded in what circumstances and how it is pronounced without accounting and understanding everyday life of workers, the lenses of subordinates. For us, the theoretical framework provides major lines of it and many researches have been carried out on those blazing fields, carrying out analysis of documentary researches and doing discourse analysis. Herein, we believe that we need to push the frontiers of the knowledge or techniques we commonly apply; by diving into the grey zones of the problematique. Because, what theory unambiguously indicates is the significant role of everyday experiences. This study conducted a fieldwork – attempt- with ethnographic ways following the everyday rhythms in which or through which dominant interests are trickled or disrupted. This way of research is implemented as we suppose that the exercise of hegemony can not be analyzed solely through the dominant-sourced means. All in all, after exploring the concept, we conducted a fieldwork, a fortiori analysis to apprehend and experience the phenomenon, thereby aspiring to discover the variegated relations of forms and processes and exceed the limitations of epistemological evidence. Despite the fact that fieldwork is left as an attempt of fieldwork, and not centrally debated in the dissertation due to its own problems, the observations and insights obtained through the fieldwork experiences have become thought-provoking for the author and in some part of the study, they are expressed. Actually, the fieldwork is conducted aiming to analyze the details of the concept, yet it is not empirically straightforward. Nevertheless, the validity of the concept and how it is significant are thoroughly evident.

Sixthly, apprehending all empirical issues and conceptual arguments with a critical sense, by taking in all account, it is supposed that it is necessary to express the phenomenon that is problematic. Defining a new concept settles on a long review and the critiques to what extent the concepts developed under the theories are explicable regarding the new context. Having surveys and illustrations of the phenomenon, this study situates the concept and around the conceptualizations it puts forward possible hypotheses. In addition, it re-defines three pillars of the exercise of hegemony, which are spatial forms, processes and forms, into two-tracks: i) spatial exercises of hegemony through spatial processes and relations related to space, and ii) spatial exercises of hegemony through spatial forms and processes. Finally, it introduces a conceptual debate and offers to make further arguments about it. As this chapter lays out, it furtherly demonstrates what are the critical issues in methodological terms.

5.1 How it works: An approach on exercises of hegemony through (urban) space in virtue of relations, processes and forms

Questioning power relations and class relations on the ground of exercise of hegemony within the context of the socio-spatial organization of the state, class relations in terms of domination and subordination issues and the production of space, this part aims to demonstrate our proposal which reframes the relations of hegemony and urban space. For that, as inspired from Gramscian and Lefebvrian theoretical perspective, we put into question the spatial exercise of hegemony and expose our approach, defining two courses for exercises of hegemony, which are temporally reproduced, interweaved with each other, everyday life centred, having conjecturally related, sensitive spatial-temporal scopes.

Pointedly, this is a tough question to answer: How spatial exercises of hegemony realize, how does it work? Because the exercise of hegemony is inherent in spanning from absolute space to abstract space. A research framework is thus simply an attempt at breaking the door to configure it by any means.

Hypothetically, this study embraces that class interests are apprehended through certain spatial forms, spatial relations and spatial processes. Around those three concepts, in space scope, involvement to the dominant order or dissent is realized. In this context, this study aims to illustrate a terrain to understand the integrity and (dis)interlinkage of several relations, processes and forms of involvement in the spatial exercise of hegemony. The research seeks to contribute to urban studies, investigating political landscape within the scope of the consent and force conditions through space, “..the study of urban forms must be superseded by the investigation of urbanization processes at all spatial scales”, as underlined by Lefebvre (cited in Brenner and Schmid, 2013). In this line, via the concept of spatial exercise of hegemony, we question performative spatial practices patterns - the properties, pathways and relations- in exercising hegemony.

It is exercised by enjoyment or/and enforcement. Enjoyment or enforcement is not the sole feeling of the moment. There are several and co-ordinated forms of relations, of which seemingly block the system resting upon “the body, everyday, usage and wear, symbols of depression, femininity” says Lefebvre (2014[1991]: 59) and signifies a revolution to overturn the system. Herein, while blocking the system, there are engaged conditions, perceptions constituted through either pleasure or overwhelmed and exploited. Among those, aiming to understand the war of positions, manoeuvring actions and conditions with relations of domination and subordination, we argue hegemony, which is a process and embodying a set of tools stimulating primary interests, views in private terms into public, common sense. In-depth analysis on conditions, motives and circumstances of enjoyment or enforcement through the everyday experiences regarding class relations paves away to distinguish examination of consent and force. At all, power relations, and space, are continuously being (re)produced by several mechanisms, and the exercise of hegemony is present within and among them. Any attempts or configuration, in this sense, cause to be laid in empowerment and disempowerment of any counterparts, either of dominant or subordinate. Considering the levels of spatial mediations elaborated in global, medium and private levels, as Lefebvre

calls, for which laterly theorized those levels through the triad of spatial practice, representation of space and representational space within the scope of space production, there are multiscalar and temporally reproduced relations, processes and relations, where struggles of power relations present. Domination over space comprises forms, functions and structures coherently and cooperatively; by doing so, it materializes power (Lefebvre, 1991). Spatial exercise of hegemony is an interplay of power relations formed up spatial issues. Herein makes a distinction by identifying which forms, relations and processes related to space exercise hegemony. Hence, with three terms, it tries to settle one step further – a medium between theory and empirical evidences-. This approach is dwelled along with intersectionalities with Gramsci's thoughts, by the terms of connections of different scales of forces, socio-temporal fixes, different identities, spatio-temporal fixes, different contexts of common senses -by conjectural analysis-, strategic-relationality of powers, alliances of political and economic interests, societal foundation of dominant rules through taking active consent of subalterns and continuous interplay of war of politics. With this, principally dwelling upon the Gramscian-Lefebvrian perspective, our approach is formed up by the term spatial exercise of hegemony, which is a blending and analytical concept with theoretical insights through the production of (urban) space. Putting away hegemony from most known hegemony analyzing parameters or apparatuses, we entitle spatial exercise of hegemony for the articulations of those two arrays of spatial relations, processes and forms. In specific, this concept refers to the hegemonic means of production of space. It is founded on and embedded in three moments of the production of space. This approach is produced by condensation of macro and micro, different levels of relations, put forward a broad framework for exercises of hegemony through (urban) space. Believing that this conceptual refinement will carry hegemony and urban space analysis -only- one step further, it will enhance political-spatial analyses, which are much-more done for currently. Indeed, this study, by this conceptual framework, opens up an argument. It resolves spatial dimensions of exercises of hegemony distinctive and tries to posit an approach for

urban studies research. Analysis of the spatial exercise of hegemony offers a comprehensive perspective that brings together several studies on hegemony and space held in different fields of sociology, politics, urbanism, law, gender, media, architecture etc.

In addition to theoretical insights, exploratory research on empirical findings highlights three terms: spatial relations, forms and processes. For the spatial exercise of hegemony, those three are articulated together and continually reproduced. Among the three, processes are a widely-used key term that is considered in several debates about hegemony. Nonetheless, spatial relations and forms are, as well as subjected in various studies related to hegemony and urban space. This study takes three conceptual elements associatively, and thereby, it seeks to refine or draw an appropriate approach for urban studies on that topic. Getting in and out, this is a conceptual approach that delves into three sources of spatial exercises of hegemony. Notedly, the three pillars of the framework, such as forms, relations and processes, which set up our approach for hegemonic exercises, are as well as expository for the counter-hegemony formations, implicitly encapsulating potentials of breaking up.

5.1.1 A reframing: Spatial exercise of hegemony in two courses

Referring to the triad of the production of space, this work attempts to redraw those three aspects of hegemony with the concepts of spatial relations, forms and processes in two courses such as i) hegemony exercised through relations and processes related to space ii) hegemony exercised through spatial forms and processes. The route can be described as a process of deconstruction and reconstruction of the conceptualizations on the basis of spatial forms, relations, and processes.

With theoretical and conceptual insights, these two courses of spatial exercise of hegemony are interwoven with each other. There are complex alliances between

the two courses. Herein, it is fundamental to explain the reason why two tracks are identified. There are some basic interpretations. In simple terms, approaching it with two courses makes it easier to understand and analyze the exercises of hegemony. The concept of “process” is a common point for the genesis of spatial forms and relations. Processes have co-jointness to the relations and forms. Out of the process, forms and relations can not be identified in this framework. It is not able to approach any form or relation without its process aspect. The process is inherent to both having different roles in the two parts having different roles in the two parts. Therefore rather than three courses, drawing two courses for exercises of hegemony is believed to be more operative, analytical and conceptually meaningful. Notedly, the embeddedness of process in two arrays of the conceptualization do not ascribe processes less importance, rather the processes are conjunctive agents undertaking different sorts of roles. Herein, by conceptualizing processes in two manner, there comes a question that whether there is unbalancing of the three terms of spatial exercises of hegemony. Expressively, our conceptualization does not defines for any of those three either predominant/highlighted or weak point.

The objective of conceptualization is, in due understanding the power relations, to represent the significance of forms, relations and processes of space, wherein everyday life takes place. It seeks to reveal a more identified and operational framework to reveal traits of spatial exercises of hegemony. Composing empirical issues allied with hegemony provides a ground to set up a proposal framework or conceptual approach.

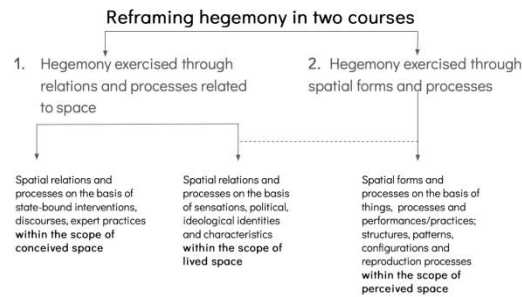


Figure 5.1. A conceptual schema displaying two courses of spatial exercise of hegemony (Author, 2019)

i) Exercises of hegemony through spatial relations and processes related to space

This course of the spatial exercise of hegemony comprises knowledge-based,- or system coordinating-issues about reproduction of urban space and different forms of subjectivities about space. This track is composed of (i) spatial relations and processes based on state-bound interventions, discourses, expert practices, the issues within the scope of conceived space and (ii) spatial relations and processes based on sensations, political, ideological identities and characteristics within the scope of lived space. Relations and processes related to space, which impact the constitution of hegemony, particularly refer to issues within the scope of representation of space and representational space. This track dwelled upon processes and relations that are accounted through political and institutional arrangements, actor and agent-based relations inquiring positions of coalitions or contestations, discursive issues composed of legislative mechanisms, judiciary issues, authorizations, institutional (re)organization to enable several forms of spatial interventions thereby enabling to have inclusion of society and coordination dominant interests, expert knowledge and design exercises, media practices, political identities that differs for apprehending the issues, relations of masculinity-femininity, gendered power relations, working conditions, memorial sense of space, everyday indebtedness, subjectivities about security and threats, and likewise

lived experiences that impact the understanding of class interest about urban space change.

ii) Exercises of hegemony through spatial forms and processes

This course of the spatial exercise of hegemony embodies spatial forms and processes on the basis of things, processes and practices; structures, patterns, configurations and reproduction processes within the scope of perceived space in conjunction with lived space. By its path of the process, the power of space is quite crucial because socio-spatial order is the main issue within the formation of political power and accumulation of capitalism, working up domination. Materiality and temporality lead exercise of hegemony. The power of materiality and temporality is elaborated as a question and hallmarks for current debates. For this purpose, it displays, to some extent, a functional and relational schema composing forms and processes of public spaces, housing (spaces, environment) and workplaces and workplace environments, and spaces for social services and infrastructure networks. This part draws out spatial forms and processes. It is assumed that such a refined framework enables us to deepen and examine hegemony arguments geographically, by forms and processes. This study emphasizes and challenges the spatial setting of the urban space and through which properties they have impacted upon power relations and hegemony.

In nature, our approach is firmly associated with knowledge based issues such as legislative mechanisms, financialization of urban space, media discourses, expert practices and sensation, impact on subjectivities based issues such as political and ideological identities (i.e. right-wing political belongings, conservatism for the Turkey case), different forms for a sense of domination- (i.e. gender relations, precarious unsecured working conditions). We admit all their impacts on exercises of hegemony and recognize the interlinking pattern as embedded in the production of space and hegemony. Specifically, this study also pays attention to the perceived space, the material aspect of space and aspires to deepen this dimension. This aspect is certainly a widely-known aspect of power relations and this aspect is

indispensable with the issues in the first track. This study sees the embedded lineage between two aspects and thus, tries to unveil the articulations among two.

Why does this study have an incline to figure out forms and processes? Materialities are studied one by one or co-jointedness. However, it is believed that a political understanding of materiality and temporality of spatial things and configurations has deepened and scaled up. Because this is a moment meant to a different form of the urban condition, which is realized through immense production of the built environment under the forces of secondary circuits of capital accumulation. In this regard, it is necessary to make a critical analysis of hegemonic impacts of materialities-temporalities in depth. Making an initial critical review aspiring to figure out some common perspectives and empirical works on how hegemony is exercised through urban space reveals that studies either overemphasize spatial settings and processes or examine just one aspect and thus fail to have a coherent-relational-geographical approach. This leads us to rethink the relations of hegemony and urban space through the forms and processes with a particular interest. It is believed that the second array of reframing, defined as exercises of hegemony through spatial forms and processes, has not gone through much more. Seeing that, as we attempted, by doing ethnographic research (Appendix A.), to resolve this field of or aspect of hegemony and intend to find a way to delve into this not-much known and studied area. It is believed that this aspect inwards critical understandings for hegemonic exercises because this aspect comprises a synthesized sphere of intended and unintended exercises of hegemony. This sphere may therefore be a medium by which unexpectedness for counter-practices can be driven through. Besides, the depth of hegemony or overwhelming capitalist urban space organization for urban inhabitants can be apprehended.

Hegemony exercised by spatial forms and processes

This part briefly expresses the theoretical basis of the conceptualization for hegemony that is exercised by spatial forms and processes. As far as known that, perceived space is one dimension of a dialectically interwoven triad of production

of space, theorized by Lefebvre (1991). Elaboration of hegemony that is exercised by spatial forms and processes is a way of deepening hegemony understanding throughout concentrating on perceived space, spatial practices. In that respect, spatial practice depending on materiality, (re)produced in all moments and spaces of everyday practice, comprises “building typology, urban morphology and the creation of zones and regions for specific purposes: a specific range of types of park for recreation; test sites for nuclear weapons; places for this and that; sites for death (graveyards) and remembrance (memorials, battlegrounds, museums, historic walks and tours” and so on. Shields (1999: 162), referring to Lefebvre, defines spatial practice as “production and reproduction of specific places and spatial ‘ensembles’ appropriate to social formation”. In that way, spatial practice has an impact on “reproduction of the social relations of production” rendering “social continuity” with a cohesive manner. Lefebvre claims that there is an articulation among those, engaging social practices and “spatial performances” of people in everyday life. How they are done by emancipatory, consentedly or forcefully matter. Paths of allowances and restrictions are major lines where power relations are (re)produced.

The main question is how political positionings, whether consent-oriented or constrained, force-oriented, are stimulated or urged by spatial forms and processes. Spatial form and spatial (reproduction) processes are, by majorly, matters in exercise of hegemony pertaining to capitalist urban geography. This is actually an easily-embraced aspect and raises new problems, yet not discriminated against with a focus on spatial terms. As well as known that physical aspects of urban space is the premise of urban analysis and this study, not reworking through former finiteness, notice materiality and temporality of materiality in due production of force and consent. With reference to spatial practice of the triad of Lefebvre, hegemony exercised by spatial forms and processes exhibits the ground either consent or force in terms of three basic constituents. Within this scope, specifically our concern is on the second topic, built environment, in terms of their corporealities (in form of structures or articulations) and temporalities. This is why

we assert this aspect of spatial relations, which is quite characteristic and significant in manufacturing consent and coercion, requires a research method. Thus, our study challenges to find a way to analyse these configurations. In fact, this study aims to figure out the seamless functioning of spatialized power relations in terms of forms and processes as considerations of production of built environment. Forms, as powers of spatial visualisation and material embeddedness, are one of the questions. Keeping in mind the corporeal and incorporeal dialectics, to which circumstances it is active or being reasoned, by reasons of being the most material entity of power relations. In addition, temporality, of the changes in the urban environment, constitutes the other aspect of the question. This research challenges the degree of their impact on manufacturing consent and coercion. It tries to apprehend the patterns of hegemony that are exercised by spatial forms and processes. Because, as apparently, urban and architectural configurations of built environments are spatial machinations of contemporary power relations by means of relative domination, orientation, agglomeration, concentration and difference. They are temporally changing. Besides, it is important to scrutinize those: In which conditions consent is able to be manufactured, in which conditions force is introduced with regards to what kind of inabilities of forms and processes, and in which conditions both of them are inclusive.

Highlighting corporeality and processuality of forms in spatial exercise of hegemony, we tackle hegemony problems with its legitimizing and reproducing impacts through spatial practice. Spatial order and processes stand at the core of our debate rather than the ones of which have approaches centered upon agent-based, discursive facilities or legal regulations. Furthermore, although we appreciate these likewise the ones which use quantitative data drawn by critique of the political economy of urban space, our perspective emphasizes the use-value apprehended through everyday life.

With Lefebvrian and Gramscian perspective, we care about dialectical tensions among different factors triggering construction of hegemony, and more specifically deal with the forms and processes of built environment production. Rehearsing the

political economy of urban space, the capitalist logic is explicit that reproduction of urban space is essential for survival of capital accumulation and the shift of crisis of capital accumulation. Driving factors for spatial interventions are domination over spatial settings or assets, everyday life practices due to indicating and reproducing the power relations and creating new (symbols and) places to be desired and commodified. In that sense, creation of new landscapes and deterioration of the existing, in brief the spatial changes in the built environment have increased and they are held as major activities in cities. The created new urban landscape provokes another change(s); thus, there are certain attempts and processes triggering the increase of built-up urban areas and dispossession of commons, public lands or services. Moreover, it is for hegemony, in terms of spatial organisation, is not only manufactured by the new built up structures, is also materialised by tyrannizing practices of particular places. Through the realizations of them enable social and spatial control in which domination and subordination comes into being.

As implicitly seen in the above examples presented in the fourth chapter, whatever the spatial change in urban areas is, it means the changes in property relations. The purpose of changes is redrawing or transformation of property rights, exchange of land, possession and “dispossession by accumulation”; in addition by Harvey’s terms, “privatisation and commodification of public assets including natural resources and land, public services and institutions” (2005). At present, engaged empirical processes and settings, embodied in (re)production of built environment, are such that: creative destruction process processes applied regardless of public benefit, involve either one or more of the following operations: redevelopment of urban space- city centers and periphery of the city-, reorienting the urban routes- changing routines, reordering (spaces and formations of) public services, demolition existing urban fabric, termination of traditional urban fabrics, termination of cultural beings, renewal rather than improvement, readjusting building rights (or codes), exchange of property, withdrawal of public property, increasing building densities, revalorization, refunctioning and likewise changes.

These are compelled to be legitimate, yet the question is clear, for whom? or for whose interest? . If it is not legitimate or persuaded, it takes the form of coercion. For instance, as a result of the processes above numerous functions or places are replaced and they, by any means, lead to coercive conditions for society, as displacement of poors and long daily journeys with costs and time for them.

In this vein, there are means of the processes which are commonly used problematic facts such as territorial stigmatisation (whether old, new, outdated, developed or modern..etc.), land speculation, privatization and commodification of publicness, expropriation of the land and so on. In other words, fetishism of big volumetric buildings or certain architectural formations (called as flagship- branded projects) composes another aspect of hegemony materialized through space.

Structures and articulation of structures, either with their existence or absences, are subjects of space control and compose material bases for the survival of capital accumulation. These spatial design artefacts are, by the time, assumed as common producers and issues of dreams, desires and daily aspirations of society. For instance, Kipfer (2008) illustrates it with two key spatial forms, high-rise tower and bungalow. But it is not limited to two, we concern spatial forms positioning, forms, (recent and rapid) changes and uses in urban built environments. It is obvious that they constitute a maneuvering field and in so doing either socio-spatial consent or socio-spatial coercion generated through.

This study defines its scope of survey by the everyday environment, which is significant yet too broad and complex. Beyond that, the notion of the built environment is highly-awkward phrase or simplification for Harvey (1989:111), thus he exposes built environment as a complex kind of production, composed of various elements i.e. roads, canals, docklands, harbours, factories, stores, sewage system, public institutions, schools, hospitals, housing, offices, commercial blocks and etc. Those are produced, by means of different ways and codes. Thus, for him, the components of those constitutive factors, throughout their exchange and consumption processes, are to be run together likewise in an orchestration. Besides,

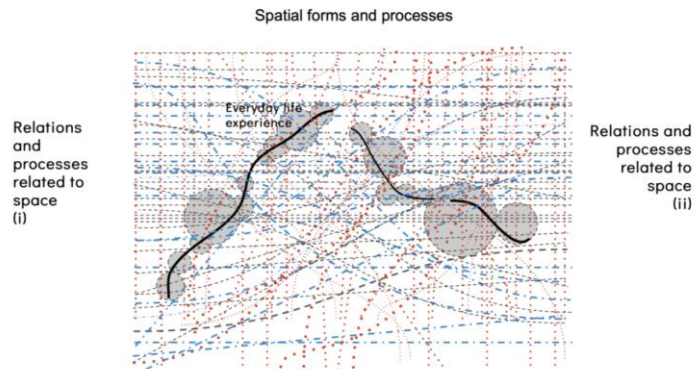


Figure 5.3. A simplified form of conceptual schema (Author, 2020)

In order to have a comprehensive approach to understand the spatial exercise of hegemony, there are two tracks that are dialectically related - interwoven to each other, as follows: i) hegemony constituted through relations and processes related to space and ii) hegemony constituted through spatial forms and processes.

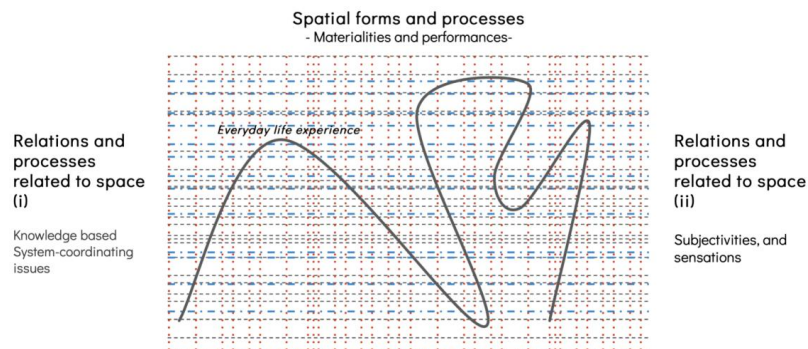


Figure 5.4. A more simple form of presentation for conceptual thought (Author, 2020)

What will this conceptualization work out? This framework might be considered that it is not a grand issue; what it does is making a connection of empirical and theoretical approaches in a more liable way, exceeding the frontiers of dominant source-based issues and taking into account workers spatialities through which interests are apprehended. Even though it is known as critical in the social production of urban space, it is usually unseen or slightly approached in several political analysis. It will make a better understanding between the urban space and

the exercise of hegemony by evoking the differential and temporal-spatial nuanced relations, interlinkages, and confrontations. This conceptualization enables an approach indicating the relative conditions of exercise of spatial hegemony. This framework will provide a medium for research to comprehend the empirical issues in line with the theoretical insights adopted from Gramsci's state, working-class and revolution analysis and Lefebvre's critique of capital accumulation and production of space. It will help to draw a greater analysis of the social reproduction of hegemony with in-depthing how it exercises. Furthermore, this conceptualization is dwelled in two tracks, as mentioned above: hegemony through relations and processes about space, and hegemony through spatial forms and processes, bring forth a new outlook for space analysis.

This conceptualization offers to extend the perspectives that underestimate working-class people experiences, which is -rather- key for this relationships. It highlights that working-class people, through their everyday life, are active social agents of the socialization of the dominant interests, of capital accumulation that is furtherly dependent on the reproduction of the built environment. Now we come to question how to interpret the very important mission of the worker, working-class people experiences, which is implicitly reproducing the material forms, thereby to get a way to unclothe the unintended ways of exercise of hegemony. By doing an analysis from the lenses of workers' spatial praxis, this study believes that what will weaken the power of dominance is hinted at in the workers' spatiality and experiences.

Enable to make a superb analysis of spatial praxis of workers rather than only focussing on a specific-project, so-called-trendy of any, and analyze regarding it. For example, it tries to understand what makes a large-scale urban redevelopment project - supposedly- hegemonic as an urban spatial element to raise the active will of the society. What are the interlinked relations of social reproduction of this space, what are the extrinsic spatial relations out of the project but makes this project socially approved? Another example is that can it be unrelated perceptual experiences and financial containment for the housing ownership? This conceptual

approach can be useful to criticize top-down affirmations that something or some formations are hegemonic, and as well as, it seeks to analyze unseen, ordinary issues that have hegemonic content or sense-impact. This study seeks to go beyond the structurally deterministic expression to analyze hegemony. On that, it will allow overriding rough, rotely-done political analysis. In addition, this study puts a point of openness with “if not”, what if the given things are not hegemonic? The purpose is to abolish the ambiguous forms of use for the concept and intends to advance the validity of the questioned political issue.

Indeed, conceived space-based hegemonic issues, which describe the means of dominant power, can be illustrative and significant and we also rank them as one of the pillars of the framework. Nevertheless, taking this part solely into account, in an isolated manner, can be incapable of expressing the phenomena and undervaluing the theoretical insights, which underlines the dialectical relationships among the triad of the production of space. It also encompasses the understandings of lived and perceived space. This study embracing Lefebvrian theoretical thought correlates by highlighting the embedded relationships the hegemonic features produced through the lived and perceived space.

Arguably, this conceptualization points out highly-experienced and argued one by one, but a not-specifically-named concept -by spatial relations-and takes it into a dynamic pot. It is essential to consider the increasingly and intensely contradictions of ongoing conditions of capital accumulation that specifically materialize the urban space. Hereby, it will possibly enable us to figure out the contradictory conditions of internalization of capitalist interest with an urban geographical outlook.

Herein, this approach will allow to go beyond the political analysis of the state-bound interventions, agent-based analysis, or acclaim that social approval is organized through just-rent seeking or rent-expectancy, because it articulates a key dimension, everyday spatial practices in its scope. This study will stretch the linkages of different means of hegemonic exercises that articulate temporally and

spatially (Example: enactment of new legal rules, contestation of the agents, memorial impacts for space, daily perception ruins of an apartment in the housing environment, and vice versa).

This study puts forward a base, especially for urban researchers, through which it can be analyzed how bourgeois interests are embodied by the working class, which triggers the tunes of - elements of this process can be analyzed, for instance, which themes are touched, active and weighty to drive approval for the dominant spatial organization. This framework will provide a base upon which differentiated (and temporally-occurred) spatial relations, forms and processes can be attributed. It will enable us to see the broad picture of how it generally exercises different factors and their linkages. Consequently, it can be asserted that this dynamic framework, settled upon the dialectical relations of space, society and capitalism, also reveals the weakened, nonsense devalued non -influential factors and settings.

5.2 An approach for urban space researches

This part aims to unveil the main points of the research approach grounded upon theoretical knowledge and empirical research. Outlining this part, it traces and points out those issues: dialectics of intendedness and unintendedness, commoning or embracing whose interest, how hegemony is distinctively exercised for whom, the relationality of exercising associated to relations of articulation, intersectionalities, interlinkages, multi-scalarity of relations, forms and processes, spheres of spatial exercises of hegemony, and temporality of spatial exercises of hegemony.

5.2.1 Dialectics of intendedness and unintendedness

Intended and unintended forces dialectically reproduce spatial exercises of hegemony. In this framework, there are dialects of relations, forms and processes. The relationship is formed up by commonly known dominant forces as

strategically-introduced (imposed or applied) relations, processes and forms with urban inhabitants' reflexive or intuitive understanding and practices for them.

The endless motive for capital accumulation and sovereignty objective purvey dominants to employ variegated forms relations, processes and forms for constantly seeking to manufacture the consent of the working society; the rationale for this intended forces is the recognition that there is not one-way-functioning relations and a decisive way for success, seeing the unintended aspect of this relation. Unintended aspects are manifested through people's apprehension and attitudes in response along with everyday life experiences. This is essence of internalization of dominant interests. Therein, the war of positions or manoeuvring materializes to take active will or consent of society. In essence, the unintended aspect has the potential for counter practices, for articulation for revolutionary possibilities. Nevertheless, herein the point is the significant role of disclosing unintended aspects. Because it is believed that this facet of hegemonic exercises abounds with obscurity, it means that not always assumed-hegemonic exercises are hegemonic in reality. There will be unintended features that make something to be hegemonic which is, however, not consciously or intendedly implied. Considering the ambiguity of everyday life and the pivotal role of everyday life in hegemonic exercises, delving into the unintended aspect of hegemonic exercises is fundamental for research.

5.2.2 Commoning or embracing whose interest?

Hegemony is the social acclamation of dominant - capitalist interest, and it principally exercises aiming inclusion of social classes into dominant orders. It pursues three ways of making inclusions that are materialized through different appreciations of class interests. The first one is solely embracing dominant class interest, and thereby inclusion rolls out. It means the internalization of urban space that is produced for the sake of capitalists ensuring capital accumulation - and bourgeois and political power regardless of their own class interest. It may be

conceptualized as commoning, albeit it is contrary to working-class own class interests. The second one is embracing dominant class interest on behalf of the working class own class interest. This way of an alliance with the dominant orders is thought through the examinations via organization of working-class interest in line with capitalist order. It may be defined as commoning capitalist interests as if it is working-class interest (i.e. city hospital project considering as a mean for public benefit by healthcare provision for the general interest or a new means for capital accumulation through the reproduction of urban space for dominant interests). The third one is being included in the dominant order even though explicitly knowing the fact is not contrary to one's own class interest. This is a form of hegemonic exercises that can be delineated by commonalities albeit the contradictions.

5.2.3 Hegemony for whom?

Spatial exercise of hegemony varies for whom it dwells through. In this sense, the identification of “who” is essential. Principally understanding whose everyday life paves the way to understand the circumstances of hegemony.

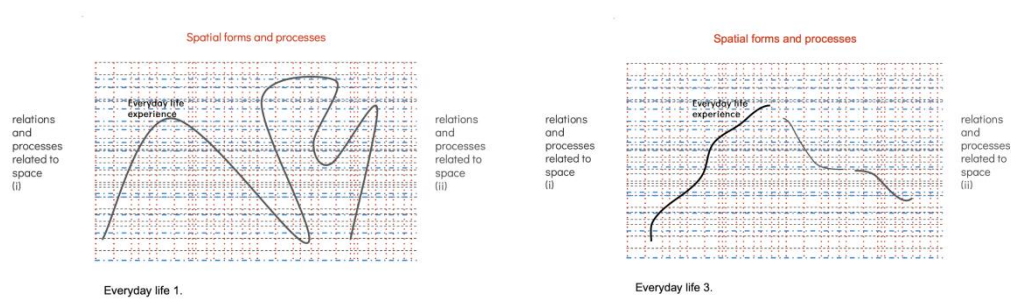


Figure 5.5. Conceptual schemas illustrating different everyday life practices—experiences (Author, 2020)

Different scope and means of hegemonic exercises with regards to the stratification of the working class

Reiterating the nature of the hegemony concept, it is a complex, interrelated and continuous relationship of domination and subordination of classes, seeking to survive the sovereignty of ruling capital classes. In due so, relation making society to subordinate the capital interests. However, the working class has stratified carrying out different class conditions as well as different everyday life experiences. In this regard, it is assumed that there are different mechanisms to capture and contain working-class fractions into dominant order. The basic rule of hegemony is driven by a diversified mechanism for classes with the implementation of inclusion strategies for classes by manufacturing either consent or force.

A simple resolution of class stratifications with regards to exercises of hegemony

There are some theoretical and empirical studies doing class analysis aimed to draw schemas on possible forms of class stratifications for Turkey's context (for further see. Boratav, 1991, 1995; Köse and Bahçe, 2012; Aktaş, 2001). These have Marxist theoretical insights utilizing the studies of Wright (1991; 1997; 2015) and Goldthorpe (1996) about classes. Not going into depth, herein use the class framework drawn by Köse and Bahçe (2012), which states that the reality of bourgeois society can only be understood through social classes since bourgeois society encompasses society with several means. In this sense, the exercises of hegemony (in space context) dedicated to surviving bourgeois interest can only be understood through the acknowledgement of current forms of social classes, class stratification and class dynamics. It will be more explicit about reviewing what kind of hegemonic exercises are produced, in which circumstances how hegemony takes shapes. To describe their analysis of classes in brief, it basically dwells upon the forms of production and property relations, further considering the location of classes in rural and urban, relations of exploitation and domination (acquisition of

the interest of labour), labour qualifications. In broad, the classes are defined such as i) Urbanized property owner classes (capitalists, petit-bourgeois- professionals, petit-bourgeois functioning as a capitalist - a group of people who has exploiting labour employing one-three waged workers in addition to own labour - i.e. small-scale workplaces-, urban rentiers -a group of people who are not centrally involved in working conditions having property incomes or financial rent-, ii) Petit bourgeois, iii) Rural property owner classes (Large-property owner peasants, peasants, rural rentiers), iv) Subsistence peasants, v) Urban workers (Qualified workers, workers, the proletariat, urban unemployed), vi) Rural workers (Agricultural workers, Landless subsistence peasants, Rural unemployed) and vii) Non-workers (Retired people, widowed - orphan people). In this schema, petit-bourgeois, who are working on their labour with means of production, are categorically acclaimed as a distinctive form of classes regardless of working location. Nevertheless, working-class stratifications in Turkey, all in all, are defined as the following: unemployed, subsistence- property owner peasants, subsistence - proletariat peasants, agricultural workers, qualified workers, property owner workers, proletariat workers, petit bourgeois.



Figure 5.6. Different scopes of hegemony for different stratification of working class (Author, 2020)

It is assumed that hegemonic exercises are implemented, practiced and (re)produced distinctively in each of class stratifications. However, notably, there

are also some common intersectional points applied and reproduced for more than one stratification of the working class. In doing so, common senses are organized socially. While studying exercises of hegemony, it is essential to figure out the depth and details of class stratification - fractions in the research context. On that ground, it can be found out how hegemonic exercises are diversified in different configurations, what are different subordination strategies of the dominant, and in return, what are the different appropriations or challenges- reactions manifested by the subaltern group.

Understanding exercises of hegemony with regards to heterogeneity and homogeneity of social classes

Hegemony means how classes are allied through. "Each spatial strategy has several aims: as many aims as abstract space - manipulated and manipulative - has 'properties'. Strategic space makes it possible simultaneously to force worrisome groups, the workers among others, out towards the periphery; to make available spaces near the centres scarcer, so increasing their value; to organize the centre as locus of decision, wealth, power and information; to find allies for the hegemonic class within the middle strata and within the 'elite'; to plan production and flows from the spatial point of view; and so on." (Lefebvre, 1991: 375).

It is believed that hegemonic exercises should be analyzed with regards to heterogeneous and homogeneous social groups in urban space. Without a doubt, class conditions and stratification of classes are the main pillars of a configuration of heterogeneity and homogeneity in society. However, there are some other social and spatial properties (housing environments, workplaces environments, everyday practices) that should be taken into consideration. Herein, not going into detail of those properties, we claim that homogeneity and heterogeneity are a matter of fact or questionable field for exercises of hegemony. On that ground, hegemonic exercises can be analyzed in two ways: i) through common senses of homogeneous social class, ii) through common senses of heterogeneous social classes. First, one may be thought of as a simple form of exercise. Formation or production of

Hegemonic exercises figures in both the common points of homogenous groups and the common points of heterogeneous groups (means an organization of common points of different classes regardless of having or owning variegated forms of class interests). Both of them are important to take into consideration while making inquiries on exercises of hegemony. However, it is believed that this is a conceptual and methodological distinction for exercises of hegemony.

As reviewed in most of the studies, site-specific or group-specific studies are being done seeking to sustain methodological accuracy. These are surveys making inquiries for the first array, homogenous group. Nevertheless, it is important to make an attempt to delve into the second array of the phenomenon, keeping in mind the methodological limitations or intending to investigate the most-known forms ensuring methodological accuracy. Extended ways of research can be put into practice because interrogating properties of heterogeneous groups is assumed fundamental in order to demonstrate intersection points of heterogeneous groups, thereby picturing whole aspects of spatial exercise of hegemony. Exercises of hegemony dedicated continuously to increasing the inclusion of workers. The ruling authority impels different policies, means of practices regarding the heterogeneity of the classes aiming to encapsulate working-class into dominant order with possible means. For instance, the research on “income-differentiated housing strategies of AKP” (Çelik, 2020) portrays that AKP, aspiring to sustain political authority, introduces various strategies and politics seeking to meet expectations of different classes around homeownership. Hegemonic exercises are organized with regards to the heterogeneous social classes or heterogeneous class stratifications, and as well as to the homogeneous social classes. Considering the two aspects, the cross cuttings for spatial exercises of hegemony should be analyzed distinctively.

Hegemonic exercises for urban and rural working classes: This work puts aside the importance of studying rural workers, and it benefits from the studies done in urban areas, focussing on urban workers of working-class stratification. Regarding the class analysis above, we shed lights on urban workers in particular. Urban workers

are the center of attraction for both doing documentary reviews and analysis and carrying out fieldwork in Ankara, a study as an attempt. The palette of research issues and empirical findings is engrained mostly by urban workers experiences. Putting emphasis on a categorization of class stratification through rural and urban spaces, it is assumed that spatial exercises of hegemony should be analyzed in two terms: spatial exercises of hegemony for rural workers and spatial exercises of hegemony for urban workers.

Spatial exercise of hegemony regarding sexuality and gender relations: For whom hegemony is being settled, which means is not only framed by a framework for the class relations and class stratifications, but also gender relations. As obsoleted and perforated to class relations, sexuality differences are a means of power relations. Considering the different urban space experiences (re)produced under the dominance of patriarchal and capitalism, there occur distinctive scopes for the spatial exercise of hegemony. For that reason, spatial experiences of femininity and masculinity should specifically be analyzed to posit entangled patterns of domination and subordination and to unveil how, unlike conditions of internalization or inclusion exist. Even though in the previous chapter, while exploring hegemony, gender relations are elaborated under the array of exercises of hegemony through spatial relations and processes related to space, which may be rearranged or reconsidered. Because the conditions of femininity or masculinity are forthright a condition of class relations, it will essentially be reconfigured in the conceptual figure.

Hegemony for space analysts and non-space analysts: This part offers a possible hypothesis, since space analysts and non-space analysts have different perceptions and conceptions for urban space, the exercises of hegemony in urban space are distinctively produced through. As observed in the class analysis, class stratifications in the working class and workers' qualification are factors. Spatial exercise of hegemony can be thought of as being diversified regarding workers' different qualifications. Into the parenthesize the qualification factor for working-class stratification, herein, we remark on being a space analyst. Space analysts are

acclaimed professionals who dealt with urban space as an expert, especially city planners, urbanists, and architects. Along with the urbanized society, space analysts in Turkey are commonly urban inhabitants. In the broad class strata of urban classes, it can be accounted that space-analysts belong to urbanized property owner classes, petit-bourgeois- professionals, petit-bourgeois functioning as a capitalist, petit-bourgeois, the proletariat, unemployed. Nevertheless, it can be reckoned that the group of space analysts majorly ranks within the urban workers' scope. The inclusion of space analysts into the dominant orders depicts a distinctive pattern as compared to non-space analysts. The ones who are involved within the practices of conceived space own unlike the ones-who have non-sense or non-acknowledgement for urban space in specific.

As traced in the fieldwork attempt, perceptual distinctiveness originated through the professional interests and specific capability in terms of space analysis is one of the tunes that impact exercises of hegemony in this scope of interest. It is observed that hegemonic exercises for space analysts are in diverging character, which is conceptualized by a convergence of conceived space with perceived space. Spatial exercise of hegemony takes shape distinctively for people who are spatial analysts having expert knowledge about the production of (urban) space and having intertwined knowledge and perspective in due course of perception of urban space. Because space analysts own special knowledge about space and consideration about relations of power and space, it may be rooted from the facts as follows: spatial depth analysis by professional terminologies, owing acknowledge about (spatial) legislative processes, owing acknowledge about property relations and the ways how property relations change, usual monitoring the spatial forms and the ways how they change, revolving around the three-dimensional imaginative products which are fabricated to drive desire. Having an apprehension on the basis of expert knowledge, space-interested knowledge and perception, space analysts' political cognizances and reflexive attitudes are shaped. Lefebvre's critiques for urbanists are seemingly important in analyzing how the spatial exercise of hegemony indwells for space-analysts. Shedding lights to this group owing

different forms of perception, for instance, it is claimed that there are two main attitudes acquired by inclusion to and exclusion of the dominant order. Like a knife-edge, on the one hand, the condition of owing professional insights can be a triggering factor to flow away to inclusion to the dominant orders (willingly inclusion or with frustrating inclusion) by doing blueprints or official documents to realize reproduction of urban space by any way. This group supposedly has internalized dominant ruling and embraced power. On the other hand, owned insights and specific knowledge may lead to critical thoughts and thereby manufacturing dissent. Nonetheless, it is fundamental to survey by which means this group is involved or excluded in detail. Research can be designed to figure out how distinctively spatial exercises of hegemony by means of forms and processes will be expressed for space-analysts like urban planners, architects, professional workers dealing with space research and design.

Hegemony for permanent inhabitants and hegemony for temporary inhabitants: Another possible hypothesis will dwell on this issue. Spatial exercise of hegemony differs for inhabitants based on their being permanence and temporariness. Hence, surveying spatial exercises of hegemony should consider the living period of inhabitants. Being a permanent or temporary inhabitant is one of the factors that make differentiation for urban experiences. Therefore, it is believed that the scope of hegemonic spatial exercises depends on the conditions of being inhabitants based on a period of being urban inhabitants, longines of urban space experience (knowledge, memorials, everyday challenges, problems or enjoyment). Temporal inhabitants have different motivations, perceptual interests and living experience in urban space, whereas the long-standing urban inhabitants have unlike interest, appropriations, challenges, and vice versa. For instance, the immigrants may be much likely dedicated to fastening on space and dominant rulings - organizations, and therefore, their inclusions may become easier.

Admittedly, the spatial exercise scope is not confined or limited, with just the inhabited urban environment. The fact that the forms and processes of popular national urban space reproduction projects impact a political understanding of

urban inhabitants is considered; however, the scope of everyday plays a crucial role in the spatial exercise of hegemony. At this point, the circumstances of inhabited urban space in terms of period is an issue to be accounted for in analyzing the depth of hegemony. Emplacement or setting of hegemony depends on the living period of an urban dweller.

Depth of awareness about the urban space and processes formed up through the inhabitation period

Inhabitants who live longer have a more in-depth perception and ability to make a historical assessment about urban space. On the contrary, comparably, ones who live for a shorter period have comparable constricted spheres of interest and attention. It relationally leads to differences in terms of appropriation of space, limited acknowledgement about spatial assets etc., in broader terms. Thus, the scope of interest is essential to understand urban space since thereafter apprehend the change with political senses. The narrower or limited awareness of space may be a factor to assign any conflicting spatial configuration without a sense of attention. Depth of awareness is assumed to be a factor delineating a challenge or negotiation with urban change. For that reason, the awareness of urban space, which is majorly acquired through simply living period, inhabitation periods, is a tune for exercises of hegemony.

Perception of whom?

Perception is virtually a class issue. As an aspect of space production, the perception of space is a sphere that is dwelled through the constant considerations of class interests in space. It is believed that the circumstances of perceived space draw the circumstances of hegemony.

As assumed and evident, not every spatial form has a certain/ definite perception - for people-, and perception changes in time regarding the changing circumstances. This study emphasises the relationship of perception and exercise of hegemony and scrutinises the notions of hegemony under the perception and perception under the

hegemony, among which there is a dialectical relationship. By the concept of hegemony under the perception, it is meant that hegemonic exercises are unintendedly produced through the (everyday) perceptions. By the concept of perception under hegemony, perceptual conditions or reflections are produced in accordance with the dominant impacts.

5.2.4 The relationality of exercises: Articulation, intersectionality, interlinkages, multi-scalarity of relations, forms, and processes

Relationality is the rationale of thinking, apprehension and driving attitudes. Variegated relations, forms, and processes are intertwined with each other in some relational contexts. Hegemonic exercises can not be treated/approached with one aspect or vein. The relationality of hegemonic exercises also involves interlinkages, intersectionalities and articulations.

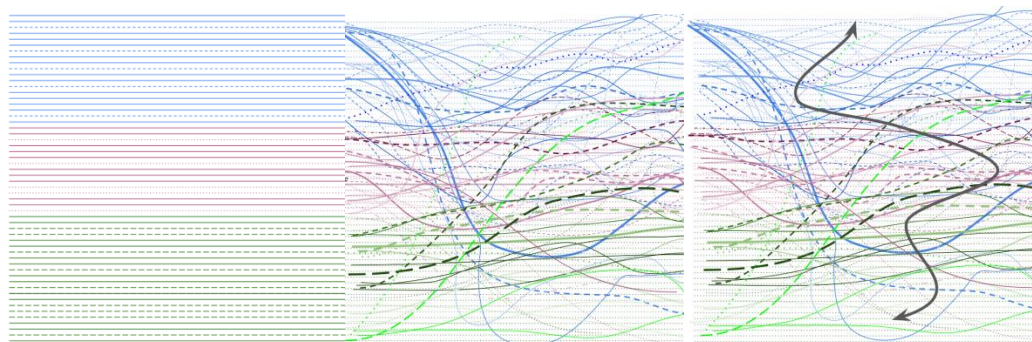


Figure 5.7. Three conceptual graphs indicating that rather than straightforward relations, intersectionality of different means of relations, forms, and processes around/in everyday life (Author, 2020)

Pointing out that two: i) There are alliances - relations of spatial exercises of hegemony (the focus and limit of this research) with other forms of hegemonic exercises, and ii) there are alliances or embeddedness of the two courses of spatial exercises of hegemony (exercises by spatial relations and processes and exercises by spatial forms and processes) as drawn above part of this session.

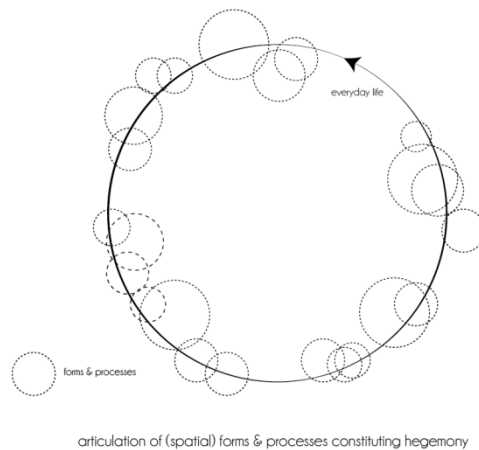


Figure 5.8. A conceptual schema illustrating articulation of forms and processes through everyday life (Author, 2020)

“Gramsci emphasize the interweaving of different temporalities into complex conjunctures and situations and search for the openings between a path-dependent present and possible futures” (Jessop, 2005: 435). The composition of aggregate forms of relations means a form of articulation. The exercises of hegemony are based on articulating several variegated or/and similar forms, relations and processes, which are temporally and spatially reproduced.

Multi scalarity of relations, forms and processes

The ensemble of materialities, temporalities, senses, thoughts, attitudes, reflections pictures a multi-scalar form. As a basis, it means that each spatial affair or articulation of some/all of them relevantly may have an impact on the manufacture of consent and force; they come together in different multiple degrees, scales and scopes, thereby all enabling exercises or rolling out hegemonic impact through condensation of macro and the micro dimension of reality/thing. To reiterate here, the thoughts of Gramsci, Lefebvre, Brenner and Jessop on scale about hegemonic exercises is theoretically reviewed in the third chapter and it is preliminary exposed that the scalar aspect of hegemony is a characteristic thing. Entanglements of several means of spatial relations, processes and forms carry through hegemony. The incorporation of social and space, wherein hegemony actualizes, presents in

multi-scalar materialities and temporalities. From global to small scale, by an embodiment of conceived, lived and perceived spaces, considering the scales of legal enactments, authorizations on space, media exercises - discourses, naming of streets and perceptual understanding of urban space, the multi-scalarity of hegemonic exercises is fundamental. From another perspective, as an example, multiple-scales by a notion of newness, according to the fieldwork analysis it can be stated that newness as a concept is highly-influential in consent manufacturing and multi-scalarity of newness presents key for understanding of new spatial configurations both for one single unit of changes in urban space (i.e. new housing block), and for new large-scale urban redevelopment. On that, it can be stated that social reproduction of any means likewise in the case of newness without any specific-performance or attempt for spatial relations, forms or processes, will be multi-scaled and thereby penetrate exercise hegemony with strengthening measures. “Look, urban transformation in Ayrancı” (fieldwork, interviewee 4), making such characterization refers to an understanding acquired by multi-scalar relationality of urban space. What is seen in the neighbourhood means a small-scale understanding of processes which is being made through a correlation with the term of “urban transformation processes” being implemented in several parts of the city. Anew in the fieldwork analysis (see. postscript), it can be stated that multi-scalarity of any form, process and relations may also result in an inscription of reification, which meant normalization of specific conflictual issues. Illustrating this idea, saying that “I don’t know when this building happened, I’m not even looking anymore” (fieldwork, interviewee 10). Overall apprehension of urban change entails loosening contradictory impacts of a single structure that materialized in the everyday sphere of urban space. Therefore, articulated and multi-scalar spatial forms and processes may shade any new singular changes, indeed blunt new spatial conflict. Multiplier exercise of this nonsense or normalizing reflection regarding the new spatial conflict expresses a vein of hegemony which can be defined as hegemony urged by the spatial forms and processes.

5.2.5 Spheres of everyday life drawing spheres of spatial exercises of hegemony

In line with Lefebvre's theoretical insights by space of *connaissance* and of Gramsci by conjectural analysis, the spatial exercise of hegemony manifests on the basis of spheres dwelled in everyday life experiences. Considering the broadened scope of relations, forms and entanglements of capitalist urbanization, the hegemonic exercises which are (re)produced through spatial practices in urban space can be acclaimed by the terms of hegemony urged by built environment forms and processes or perceptual aspect of spatial exercises of hegemony, both of which underscore sphere of everyday life. The scope of experiences, by which courses everyday life happens, and depth of practices are all regarded as a medium through which urban inhabitants produce apprehensions for spatial features or spatial changes in terms of whether they are in behalf of class interest or not. The course of this apprehension corresponds to the exercise of hegemony. In this context, it is alleged that the intrusion or relationality of spatial forms, relations and processes variegates with regards to the conditions and spheres of everyday life.

Different contextualities of hegemony: Different circumstances spotting different impositions, penetrations and practices

The contexts of spatial practices in everyday life are diversified within the complexities of urban space. Nevertheless, senses and in response attitudes of people have intersections. Studies of cognitive and environmental psychology expose many aspects of urban forms for humans. From architecture discipline, Rapoport's work is one of the pioneering, but his works investigating human relations with urban environments have seemingly cultural bases and do not propose anything about the political aspect of the built environment for urban inhabitants. Even so, those works are functional at the crossing point of our survey, seeking to relate urban forms and processes with political consideration. People have different attention, in different degrees for certain spheres, about their everyday urban environment. Through the fieldwork observation and points

underpinned by the deciphered dialogues, we draw sketches for each interviewee to indicate how much interests are alive or apparent, for where -workplace environment, housing environment or in between-, as Figure 5.9. illustrates. While some of them are highly responsive to their workplace environment, the others are not. Beyond the subjectivities of perception and lived experiences, the contexts - conditions of (the forms and reproduction processes take place in) workplace urban environment, housing urban environment and the route in between are decisive in those variances.

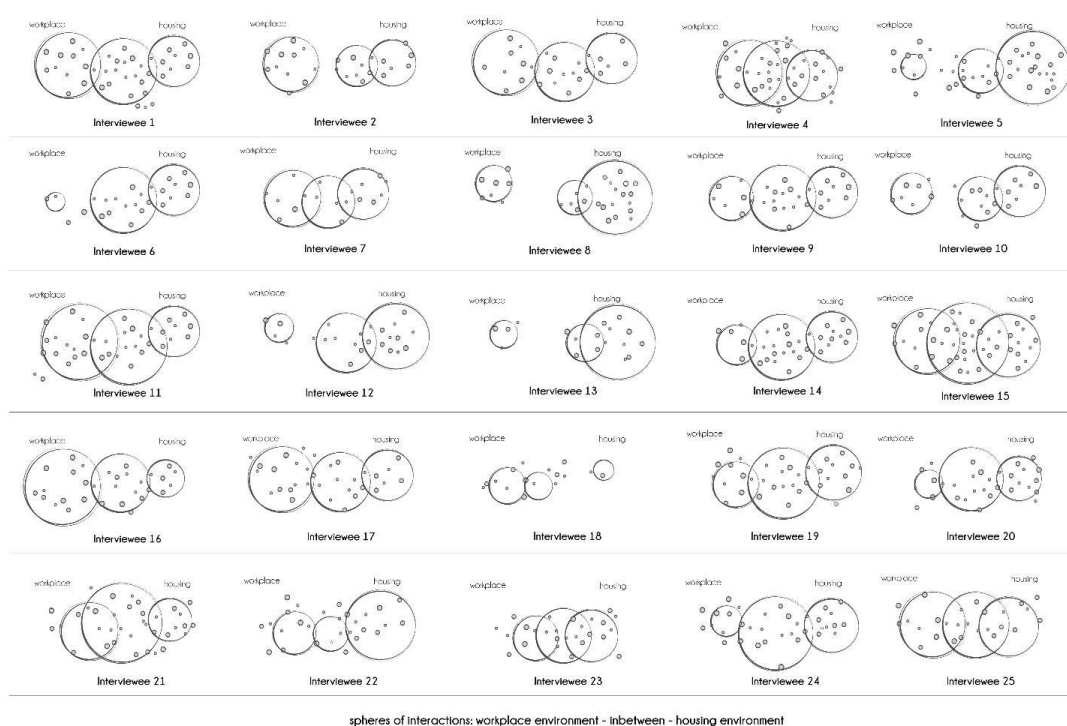


Figure 5.9. A schema graphically indicates the different spheres by interactions/pointings of the interviewees through the everyday journeys among workplace and housing environment (Author, 2019)

The above figure is prepared by the author depending on participant observations through the co-joint journeys, inspired by Rapoport's drawings. Having that, it is assumed that different contexts, in relation to the perceived environments, will spawn accordingly different political attitudes and comprise. Hence, we claim that

the ground of hegemony, power relations, differs considering those different everyday contexts. Although we reclaim an argument contemplating different practices and perceptions, we explore some similarities among the different contexts, which refers to articulations of forms and processes to construct hegemony. Besides, the particularity of each context's practices indicates how the repertoire of the hegemony exercised by forms and processes is expanded and manifold. Experience of hegemony exercised by forms and processes is undoubtedly related to the everyday rhythmical experiences, routes, spheres of extensions and narrowness of perceptions are thought to be scrutinized.

An argument: The spatial exercise of hegemony is unsteady, and it is context-dependent and time-dependent. Power relations are embedded in question through the dynamics of everyday urban experiences, and therefore, there is no granted form(s) of construction of hegemony which is timely a struggle of classes. However, some perceptual differences draw the variegated spheres or terrains of the constitution of spatial hegemony and those perceptual factors can be identified and surveyed. The way how people perceive urban environment and practice is associated with how society/the working class is incorporated towards the dominant order, either being included or excluded. Concludingly, there are circumstances of spatial exercises of hegemony, and perceptual factors and the course of everyday life centrally matters. While probing spatial exercise of hegemony, the spheres are to be beholden with analytical lenses. At this point, while scrutinizing how spheres can be defined, two conceptual issues are disputed by: i) correlations of seen and unseenness, ii) correlations of defined-hegemonic and undefined-hegemonic. Nevertheless, not limited to two because there are several factors that draw the main contours of spheres, likewise the factors how the course of practices- performance actualize, i.e. the mode of everyday mobility.

Through correlations of seen and unseenness

As embracing a dialectical approach to understand relational issues among the environment and thought/behaviour, which are continuously produced through

everyday practices, in a rhythm, it is assumed that conditions of seen and unseeness for the relations, processes and forms bring out different levels of intrusion of hegemonic impulses. The sphere of spatial exercises of hegemony involves interplays of seen and unseen forms, relations and processes.

Notably, unseen features have impacts on the political apprehension of inhabitants; however, the seen features have comparably much-more or powerfully impacts on apprehension. Herein, remarking two points: First, we do not claim that all the seen forms, processes and relations are hegemonic; those with hegemonic senses should be explored. Second, even though esteeming that hegemonic exercises are embedded in ordinary seen features, it is believed that its scope is far-extended than the widely-known forms, processes and relations. As believed that the scope of practice and interaction with the perceptual urban environment - urban space has more palpable effects on political understanding of urban space. The sphere of spatial exercise of hegemony is primarily or basically drawn by the perceptual urban environment. What is being noticed, overwhelmed, problematized, negotiated, appropriated or internalized are predominantly driven through material and temporal spatialities.

Relations of near-order and far-order

Going into the depth of seen and unseen perceptual environments, the sphere of hegemony figures between the ranges of the relations of near-order and far-order urban environments. The extent of the far-order and near-order is a class-based issue, likewise the everyday urban experience.

Sphere of practice by proximity: Examination of near and far order

Although near and far order spatial forms, processes, and relations are associatively draws contours of spatial perception, thereby exercising hegemony, entanglements in the near order of everyday life form up the centre of hegemony exercised by forms and processes. Near-order forms and processes, which are comparably more influential than far-order ones, can be acclaimed as the center of interest about the

exercise of hegemony. Conceptualization of forms and processes in the near order is practically touching-and reflecting issues; thus they are comparable to more-evoking compositions. Interviewee 15 states that he takes care not to let his son see Ankapark project, a disneyfication of public land, a conflict area. Because it will lead to a desire for involvement, therein runs consent. Near order is, here, a key term to debate-define circumstances of hegemony exercised by forms and processes. Political meanings ascribed to (forms and processes of) urban environment are thought to have a broadened framework because there are more penetrations on the constitution of hegemony from the far order, exceeding the near order's operational environment. The study taking part as a postscript of the thesis highlights the key importance of the near order of urban experiences for the sphere of hegemony and its relationalities with the far-order configurations of forms and processes. It can be posited that the scope of near order is a critical order because deeper senses of forms of impositions are able to be exercised in this close order of practice.

Saying that the sphere of the practice based on proximity levels is configured by two levels, near and far orders. There are relational assessments of forms and processes considering both near and far order forms and processes. There will be three points of the way for surveys, such as: Surveying near order impacts, surveying far order impacts, and surveying both relationalities of near and far order impacts. This study also put forward a question asking the impact weights of far and near order spatial relations that make people apprehend their class interest through. On that there is a methodological problem, how could it be understood, the changing the weights of these two in ordering hegemony?

Correlation or/and Engagement of defined-hegemonic and undefined-hegemonic

Recognizing the spheres of spatial exercises of hegemony, there are engagements of two different forms of hegemonic forms, relations and processes, which are identified as defined-hegemonic and undefined-hegemonic. To clarify defined and

undefined terms, some forms, relations and processes, which are strategically and materially figured by dominants with an intended manner, are simply acclaimed as hegemonic, and for those, we call defined-hegemonic. On the other hand, we call undefined-hegemonic for the forms, relations and processes which are unintentionally-rationally-produced things having - inlining hegemonic impacts. Hypothetically it is assumed that there is a conjunction of evidently-known hegemonic (defined-hegemonic) and evidently-not known but having a contextually hegemonic impact (undefined-hegemonic). It is significant to trace for the latter one as well as the conjunctions of those exercises. Illustrating that, the production of new built environments as an intended practice objectively brings forward specific forms and processes -for instance, “new forms of architecture”- through which capital accumulation is driven and embodies imaginary powers. However, unintentionally figured out that intended-form may be figured in a spatial composition in which “new”ness is not perceived predominantly. Instead, the perception of old-new contrasting forms and processes in the urban area may be the source of power sources and exercise of hegemony. The point is that whereas the old forms or processes are not defined-hegemonic forms, they will be exercising hegemony by the burdens of perceptual perspectives.

The exploration of the spheres in which correlations of defined-hegemonic and undefined-hegemonic forms, relations, and processes rolling out are thought significant. Moreover, this way of exploration may pave the way to notice the dissolution of defined-hegemonic impacts, which are reproduced temporally and contextually.

5.2.6 Temporality of spatial exercises of hegemony

Spatial exercise of hegemony is temporal - temporally (re)produced in nature. Spatial exercises of hegemony are temporally changed and reproduced; it is unsteady, crisis-ridden, fragile and explosive. The temporality of hegemony is a key issue taken into account theoretically, primarily, and as well as conceptually

and methodologically. Spatial relations, forms and processes temporally change and thereby, the hegemonic - exercises/constitution takes different forms.

Through which processes, temporality in terms of structure, use, and movement have impacts on hegemony? (Seeking moments of hegemony)

Perceiving change and temporally changing settings of hegemony through urban space

People perceive their environment, notice changes temporally, identify the process(es) and assign thoughts related to the change(s). The thought, grounded upon an apprehension of the changing forms of space and processes, examines the change and correlatively sets an understanding for the forms' urban space and dynamics. Seeing and apprehending the settings of an urban built environment are both rooted in perception and convey the individuals' imaginations. In simple, temporal perceptions of urban change correspondingly and temporally revises the spheres of spatial exercise of hegemony which is formed up within the scope of dialectical relations of perceptual and performative exercises. The apprehension of urban space with constant consideration of space is a critical issue in this sense.

Changing weights and changing spheres: Changing impacts of relations, processes and forms

Spatial exercises of hegemony are manifested by means of the continuous interplay of relations, forms and processes. The unsteady character of hegemony, respectively impels dominants to put new means or arrays of relations, processes and forms into practice aspiring to mobilize society's active consent and make alive class alliances. There is no guaranteed way of embodying a steady collective will of the working class. The containment, incorporation and involvement strategies are continuously changing. The validity or impact of some forms, processes and relations may change in time. Uttering that loosening or strengthening is not a natural or sole temporal functional phenomenon, it depends on the power of class struggles.

The weight has changed by a conceptual term regarding the loosen and strengthened hegemonic impact of relations, forms, and processes. If the impacts are loosened or be impotent, then the introduction of new exercises comes. Seeing the loosening impacts, the dominants, indeed the power bloc constituents, introduce new forces by utilizing some spatial forms, relations, and processes. The toolbox of domination is changing with a manner of strategic selectivity and impositions, strategic introductions of new means of interventions. However, there are no definite or concrete fruits of those runnings since the power of the weights is dialectically produced in line with how they are embraced by the working class - subalterns.

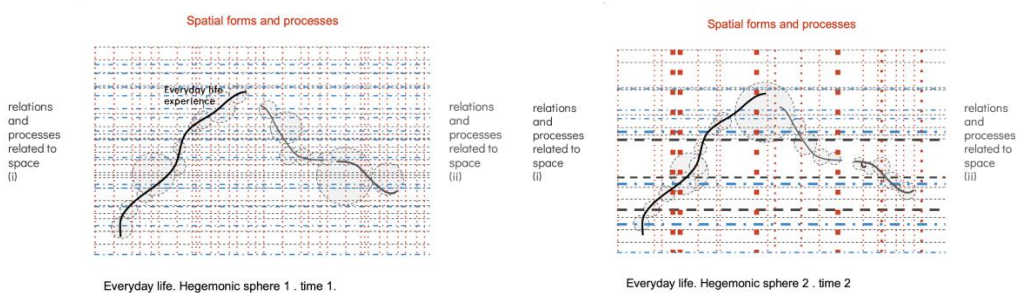


Figure 5.10. Hegemonic sphere at time 1 and Hegemonic sphere at time 2 (Author, 2020)

The above figures, graphically schematized, indicate that temporally changing relations, forms, and processes lead to temporally changing hegemonic spheres. Marking that everyday life conceptually fixed in figures, but it is changing as well.

Changing spheres in time: Temporally shrinking or expanding spheres

According to the changing weights of spatial forms, relations and processes, the spheres of hegemonic exercises can be shrunk or expanded temporally.

Redrawing of spheres for spatial exercises of hegemony concerning crisis-moments

The course of hegemony changes over time, and the change of it is a compulsory case since it has a crisis-tendency by not able to actively consent of the working

class with respect to which it has to redraw its setting with backup strategies or policies by manoeuvring practice. In crisis moments, the weights of spatial relations, processes, and forms are being adjusted, revived, and the condition of classes is decisive. This is a moment of reproduction of power, for dominant and subaltern. For instance, as a crisis moment for currently, the ongoing pandemic process changes people's everyday lives, working conditions, usual attitudes, perceptions, apprehensions, and legitimization parameters/factors pointedly with healthcare issues. As said, this is the moment; it also means rethinking urban space understanding and everyday life with regards to class interest about outbreak conditions. As well as the perception of the workplace environment and housing environment, the mode of mobility has all reorganized with a health concern. Because of the fact that everyday life has profoundly changed, the sphere of spatial exercises of hegemony has supposedly been changed. The moment of outbreak resultantly and procedurally makes the class differentiation clear. Two-sided impacts are configured. One is that, as evident by the pioneering studies, the working class has been subjected to more overwhelming conditions. The second is that this process brings forth the deepening of the accumulation crises of capitalism. At this point, by major terms, the redrawing of hegemony means a way of an organization for this process, which substantiates among seeking to manufacture the consent of the working class and to enable the flow of capital accumulation.

Transformationality of the hegemonic affairs: Becoming non-hegemonic or Becoming hegemonic in time

Temporally-produced relative apprehension of urban space changes is a perceptual issue. For spatial exercises of hegemony, the transformationality of spatial relations, forms and processes should be taken into consideration. It is assumed that some configurations which are denoted as hegemonic or non-hegemonic for a particular group of people may turn into reverse in time. By transformational, it means variations of hegemonic and non-hegemonic forms, processes and relations.

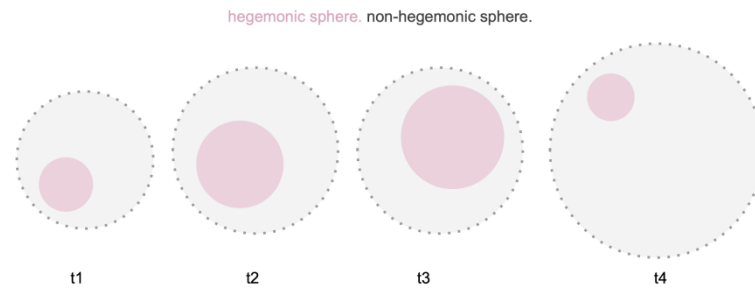


Figure 5.11. A schema indicating the temporality and transformationality of hegemonic and non-hegemonic means (Author, 2020)

Some spatial relations, forms and processes may gain strengths or lose impacts in time. These are acclaimed as instances of manoeuvring of powers. The power/hegemonic exercises of favourable forms, known for a definite period, may change in time. For instance, the embracement of a capitalist mode of reproduction of urban spaces, likewise the case of shopping malls, whilst it is contrary to the class interest, refers to a hegemonic setting. Shopping malls which are widely-recognized as a spatial form and processes of hegemony seemingly lose their impacts at large through the pandemic period since people are unwilling to use shopping malls for healthcare reasons. It is hypothetically assumed that hegemony driven by shopping malls has been drastically down in line with the current conditions, which conceptually means a transformationality of hegemony that is exercised by forms and processes.

From the other point of view, the way of making a non-hegemonic turn into hegemonic can be carried out, for instance, by throwing off some spatial interventions which have reckoned the legacy of some certain forms, relations, and processes. Annihilating/destructive-aid spatial interventions to institutional - administrative buildings can be considered in this scope. To clarify it, the spatial interventions upon a space of administrative buildings - complexes, which were built- produced at a time with hegemonic purposes. However, it was fading for lately meaning as non-hegemonic, are aimed at representation of sovereignty over space and leading a setting of non-hegemonic become hegemonic (example: the destruction of a public administrative building of İller Bankası in Ankara).

To sum up, the above part interprets the main contours of how spatial exercises of hegemony is produced through relations, forms and processes by discussing dialectics of intendedness and unintendedness, pinning how class interests are embraced, different forms of hegemony regarding social and class relations, and relational, intertwined and articulated, multi-scalar, temporal traits of its.

5.3 The methodological challenges and opportunities in empirical studies

Aspiring to enhance methodological research ways of spatial exercise of hegemony, this part delineates some key issues, elaborates blind alleys that are used commonly and opportunities. In this context, it carries out arguments on those topics: Research with which means/ways by stressing multi-qualitative research opportunities, the importance of doing continuous analyses, discrimination of studies analyzing dominant or subaltern perspectives by asking research with whose lenses?, putting emphasis on the question of how people internalize their urban environment and by which circumstances internalized things are related with power relations- hegemony, the interest of geographically-sensed analysis, everyday space- focussed surveys and in an account of the substantiality of power struggle means - propounding a way by means of tracing conflicts - conflict mediums. Notedly, below arguments or statements, benefit from the allegations and usual ways used in methodological studies of social research. Utilizing those works up to find a way for socio-spatial-sensed research for the spatial exercise of hegemony.

Research with which means/ways?

Spatial exercises of hegemony can be understood by multiple, qualitative, space-sensed/based and critical researches. Drawing a frame of reference spatial exercises of hegemony with urbanism - urban studies, this way of research is inherently space-based. Moreover, it should be critical because the nature of hegemony is power-laden, and for that reason, critical analysis is believed fundamental to

comprehend power relations and examine how subordination and domination is realized. In fact, it can not be recognized without a critical outlook. Encompassment of hegemony in everyday life is a problem of the working class seeking to explore hegemony and be disentangled from the domination and gain emancipation, and the scholars who have class-consciousness in this manner have to hold a critical perspective to diagnose exercises of hegemony. In addition, by reason that spatial exercises of hegemony have socially-reproduced, variegated, contextual, temporal disposition, it should be analyzed by multiple qualitative ways to acquire an overarching understanding. Although we attach importance to all sorts of studies, analysis and non-academic attempts having interpretations in relation with hegemony and space, we have a reflection upon the studies, which results in concrete and generalized terms by means of commonly used as a way of making discursive or semiotic analysis by documentary research (i.e. historical reviews) depending on a specific source/archive or phenomenon. For instance, taking a particular legal rule at a time or representational analysis of card postal/photographs into account has only an ability to address and notice a tune or some tunes of exercises of (counter) hegemony. As embracing a standpoint that hegemony is an incomplete and temporal relations of perceived, lived and perceived space, it is assumed that society's political stances can not be postulated throughout the mentioned way of specific surveys. At this point, a possible hypothesis can be drawn such as: Doing only one way of qualitative research, for instance, doing the only documentary is limited, and not enable to provide sufficient knowledge; it will just rough out some pillars of hegemonic runnings. For those, what is overlooked is how people see, understand, attain meaning, drive behaviour (react, negotiate, disregard) and political attitudes for those within broad complexity of everyday life and whether the analyzed matter is really a matter of power relations, in specific a matter of hegemony or not. Herein ethnography (everyday ethnography, political ethnography and visual ethnography) is a useful way of research to comprehend them. Thus, instead, multiple qualitative researches are required in order to enable comprehension of the exercises. It is depicted that

multi methodologies of documentary and ethnography should be integrated with researches for spatial exercises of hegemony. Thereby material, social, and temporal evidence, as acquired, can be taken into consideration and deduced through it will be more proper.

Upon the methodological challenges of the researches on hegemony, a methodological research approach, likewise ethnography, has to be introduced in studies on hegemony and urban space. Because it enables seeking to draw particular voices, perceptions, experiences of inhabitants (acclaimed as the subordinates of the society) rather than reviewing evident mechanisms of dominant orders or sources of subordination. By doing so, it is possible to interpret how subaltern or dissent groups of society understand, internalize the changes about urban built environments and respectively produce political support or lead an antagonism. Unintended aspects and impacts of material forms and processes can only be analyzed in that way.

Making continuous analyses

For any temporally divergent socio-spatial phenomenon, doing research permanently with qualitative and quantitative research methods will be essential. In the same manner, aiming to understand spatial exercises of hegemony, there is a necessity to have permanent reviews for it. Temporal understanding of spatial forms, relations and processes renders conditions and moments of inclusion and exclusion, as well as it will offer to unveil strengthening and loosening aspects of any of them. This way of research will enable us to notice in-depth and subtle forms of involvement in dominant issues and as well as to discover possible dissent means. Moreover, doing continuous analyses will make possible unearthing articulations of hegemonic relations, processes and forms.

Reviewing mediums of temporality as a methodological burden

Everyday life practices govern our thoughts and imaginations, thereby spatially constitute (counter) hegemony. Depending upon the Lefebvrian perspective as

exposed in the critique of everyday life (1991, 18), “the everyday is difficult to decode due to its fundamental ambiguity”; in other words, “the realities that exist in everyday life” manifest in the forms of “quotidian, the timeless, humble, repetitive natural rhythms of life, modern, the always new and constantly changing”. Therefore, the exploration of subtle and overt forms of political contestation of a defined period of time is significant to discover the basis of political conflict and political attitudes possessed in respective. In light of conjunctural analysis, hegemony can be traced through the incorporations of social and spatial formations in a definite context. Timely conditions of forms, processes and relations have their own tensions, relationalities and contradictions in itself, which point out different conditions or condensation of several means of powers. In line with the reviews in the previous part by the temporality of spatial exercises of hegemony, it is assumed that temporal analysis is essential to changing dynamics, newly-produced and dissolved or loosen impacts of certain forms, relations, and processes roll out hegemony. Temporal recognition of changing weights of forces, new introduction means of dominants and toward those apprehension/attitudes of people can be reviewed through. This way, the rationale/pattern of the spatial exercise of hegemony will be discerned. This way of research will be applied in definite contextual spaces (i.e. in an urban renewal project). In doing so, the layers and constitutive measures for the manufacture of consent or dissent can be exposed. Temporally repetitive surveys for a definite urban space will cumulatively and historically open up new arrays of arguments and will enable to express of notable points of spatial exercises of hegemony.

Furthermore, since everyday life experiences are key issues- central phenomena that evoke hegemony either by internalization and adoption with negotiation - consent driving mechanism or antagonism with conflicting and coercive mechanisms, tracing a routine in other words, a phase of everyday life, rhythms will be a decent way of research parlaying rhythmanalysis. Offering that spotlighting a rhythm, a routine of the working class, for a definite time is believed to provide exploratory means for hegemonic exercises.

Research with whose lenses?

By lenses of dominant or subaltern? Inquiries for above or below are two aspects of social and political research, and for the case of ours, of urbanism and urban politics. Doing research with either dominant or subaltern lenses is a crucial issue in studies related to power relations. The researches which are based on spatial exercises of hegemony produced through conceived spaces are broadly gone around what dominants do, urge or evoke. Even though dominants rule out lived and perceived spaces, how they are embraced and reflected by the working class society is not much-more studies in urban studies. To posit accurately, several studies are carried out in the field of urban sociology, but those of which have no research question immediately related to spatial exercises of hegemony. Nevertheless, the ones related in space and power relations, can be a referral and useful studies to understand the spatial exercises of hegemony.

Recognition of the fact that what dominants do and purposes with which means to roll out hegemony are significant, but this is not sufficient to comprehend the reality and whole picture. Acknowledgement of how the dominant rulings, impositions, manoeuvring actions of power bloc and vice versa are embraced, reflected, internalized, conflicted by the society is substantial. For instance, there is a broadened knowledge on why capitalists build high-rise buildings on public properties blended with imaginary politics and with which means and with which capitalist purposes and relations they execute those. Admittedly, the examination of those is significant, but further, this study stirs up how those material and temporal processes and forms are understood and reflected by society. Inquiries from below are an overlooked aspect of the spatial exercises of hegemony. In other words, it is notmuch-examined in urban studies. On that, this research remarks how spatial relations, forms and processes are apprehended and/or conflicted from the working class society - from the below-. As it is questioned whether all-anchored issues (spatial relations, forms and processes) by the dominants are the entities of hegemonic exercises or not. At this point, it is decisive to go over by which means

and in which circumstances relations, forms and processes are conceptualized and configured as the agents of hegemony from the below.

Inquiries from below in the context of hegemony researches

As commonly used means, carrying out everyday and political ethnography are two favourable methodological ways applied to research the below, hearing voices of society and understanding experiences of the working class, in doing so questioning how they see, internalize or reflect for the changes of urban space. Upon that, allegations on how collective will of society or dissent of society will be depicted through.

How do people internalize their urban environment?

Reflexive urban experiences drive the main pillars of the hegemony that is constructed in everyday life. Inquiries from the below and for the below, spotlighting the everyday life of subaltern and dissent social groups, is an indispensable aspect of realizing and conceptualizing hegemony. Herein, our difficult question is to understand how people internalize their urban environment, the changes of urban space, how they apprehend power relations, how the inclusion or exclusion means are noticed through, and respectively throughout all those how spatial exercise of hegemony is indwelled there. Possible hypothesis: Notedly, not all internalized spatial practices -forms, relations and processes, are sources of hegemonic exercises; however, what is defined as-hegemonic should be produced through the internalized matters of forms, relations and processes which are materialized by any means either will or pain, as refer to consent and dissent. Internalization of dominant class interests which is run through the production of urban space has key importance for the perceptual and lived space entanglements, experienced-based hegemony research.

Understanding and assigning whether something is hegemonic or not

How are we able to assign something noticed as a constituent of hegemony or not? For our problem of the survey, which is drawn in detail in the postscript of the

thesis undertakes particularly the means of internalization of forms and processes, it is definitely challenging to comprehend all aspects of perceived and lived spaces and appoint all relations related to urban space as sources of hegemony or constituents of subordination.

Hegemony is rested in ordinary practices. Surveillance of ordinary practices, for Lefebvre and Certeau who highlight critique of everyday life, is significant. Urban ethnographic analysis, therefore, is used to explore the ordinariness of everyday life embodied with (spatial) forms and processes aiming to deepen common senses/formation of hegemony as a means of power relations. Because hegemony is something visible, imaginable and experimental phenomenon, materially and temporally embedded in everyday practices. In order to explain how extended scope of hegemony and force, we should consider where everyday life happens, indeed in which circumstances colonization of space, everyday life, is driven/urged by capitalism and state authority. Everyday life, ordered by capitalism and state authority, materializes in all moments of working life, private life and leisure life. Thus, controlling over everyday life practices is related to the organization of space where class inclusion or exclusion is conditioned. Indeed, domination/subordination in/about space puts forward an argument of hegemony about which this work reckons its constitution throughout forms and processes.

Remarking that reviewing the current dynamics of urban geography, forms are outcomes of processes and mutual processes are outcomes of forms. This dialectical relationship is investigated on the ground of hegemony. For us, hegemony incorporating forceful impositions is risen in the forms, processes and relations, in the organization of space. People perceive their environment with many subjectivities and dimensions, therein noticeable differences in many scales and contexts; upon them, it is assumed that consent is driven through. For that reason, analyzing the spatial exercise of hegemony, we are not able to go over entirely. Even so, through the interviews and fieldwork, we try to keep and understand what people value highly, how and what they select and how they organize everydayness. Herein, not only positively narrated issues are taken into

consideration but also the points of aggressiveness, depression or anxiety related to urban everydayness. Thus, a twofold investigation is considered decisive for assessing the political sense about urban space and how hegemonic impact is produced. Along with explicit political responses, latent political responses/inferences, come out by conflicts, upon how they are involved in or be convinced through the spatial practices are discussed.

Possible hypothesis or drawing an approach: An approach is formed up, as an attempt, to understand hegemonic exercises with four reflections to conflict spaces appropriated spaces, spaces that are posed as problems, spaces that are normalized.

Beyond question, not all spatial forms and processes are accounted as a means of hegemony. How they become entities of hegemony can be only understood and traced throughout how people internalize the entrenched interventions on (urban) spatial organizations. On that, we define some basic referring points, to be able to understand inclusion and exclusion of inhabitants in the ruling order, such as: i) approaches to (spatial) conflicts, ii) approaches to appropriated spaces, iii) issues that are problematized, and by which reasons, and iv) normalized issues – normalized forms and processes – with regards to temporariness of urban space change.

i) Approaches to conflicts: Approaches to conflicts are hallmarks of the analysis. What is meant by the conflicts is that spatial changes seek to drive capital accumulation through production of the built environment or/and to drive reproduction of political authority. The spatial conflicts have a frame of reference drawn by urban planning exercises indicated by the Chamber of the City Planners. Those conflicts can be seen in the figure below; they spread the city and lead to urban sprawl besides the changes in core urban areas. All in all, they present forms of implosions and explosions in Ankara.

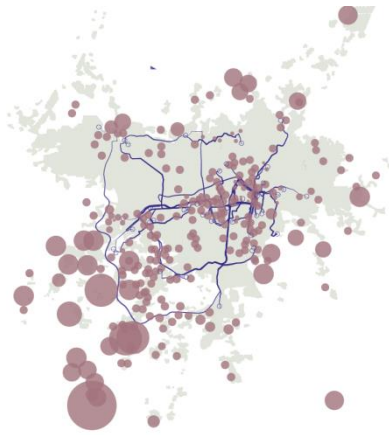


Figure 5.12. Geographical representation of conflict spaces in Ankara and the routes of interviewees passing in/through conflicts (Author, 2019)

ii) Approaches to appropriated spaces: Approaches to appropriated spaces are assumed critical to understand particularly which forms and processes about urban spaces are sources of the constitution of power relations and thereby pursuing the constitution of hegemony. Appropriated spaces intersect with the everyday urban space and spaces where specific historical experiences take place. By all means, appropriation of something- for this case- appropriation of (urban) space is merely a subjective issue besides the societal aspects of appropriation. Since appropriation of space is a key term for the perception of urban space throughout paying attention to notable spaces, having with memorial importance. The courses of forms and processes taking shape for those urban spaces are subject of attention and respectively refers to a scope where political appraisals are (re)produced. Simple, people drive their thoughts regarding the forms and processes about those spaces, the way how their spatial practices have changed in time, and so, attain positive or negative meaning for those spaces. These two-fold approaches correspond either to the manufacture of consent by favouring the forms and processes or the manufacture of dissent. Appropriation of space for people is a strong feeling to realize, and thus breaking/diffuse/reproduction of appropriated space is concordantly subjected with a particular sense. It is observed that people particularly distinguish domination over the appropriated spatial practices because there are intensified ways of perceiving delineated forms and processes on the

appropriate space(s). Impositions of hegemonic organization and, by the way, on the contrary, the motivations for constructing counter-hegemony dwell upon appropriated spaces and practices. Through the fieldwork, as well, interviewees notably underline the fact of appropriation of space and detail their political sense about those spaces.

iii) Problematized issues: What inhabitants reckon problems about urban space organization also roll out to express the overwhelming issues are, to figure out the coercive aspect of hegemony. Herein another critical point is that spatial intervention to change or attempts to intervene over the appropriated spaces and practices. Attempts, which are acclaimed as attempts to drive capital accumulation by the production of the built environment or symbolic interventions to construct symbolic power impact, to change inhabitants' everydayness or culturally, historically value attained spaces, are problematized by the inhabitants. At this point, the appointment of problems traces how urban dwellers/inhabitants understand power relations by which spaces and spatial changes. What are problematic for whom? It is also a critical question. Kipfer and Dikeç (2019: 40) points out the key importance of disruptive matters for an understanding of politics, saying that "disruptions force us to "stop-and-think". Utilizing this viewpoint, it is assumed that disruption or problematized issues are the key figures for the constitution of politics and hegemonic understanding. Even though problematized issues can be subjective, the common sensed problematized issues manifest an analytical ground to understand the constitution of hegemony by coercion. What is apprehended as problematical seemingly refers to coercion.

iv) Normalized issues (forms-processes) about urban space: Not problematized contradictory issues are other indicators to apprehend the consent aspect of hegemony. "Normalization of everyday life is not neutral, but remains politically charged" (Graham and McFarlane, 2015: 9). At this point, normalized issues about urban space also guide us in order to understand the inclusion of the class/inhabitants towards the dominant interest. What is normalized in urban space; in fact, how conflicts are normalized by which characteristics and by which

temporal conditions? This question draws out conditions of “not in my backyard” syndrome (which means that being acknowledged about contradictory aspect of the spatial forms or processes; however, there is an approval about the forms and processes and so, consent lays on a far order of presence of urban change), dematerializing the problems, disregarding of problems, or addressing urban space configuration as a normal in accordance to the urban developmentalism. Despite the evident conflict that is experienced, disregarded, or normalization of the conflictual spatial change is, by any means, a marker of consent manufacturing. In conclusion, by means of normalized issues, it is assumed to be able to portray what kind of forms and processes with which properties lead inhabitants to convergence towards the dominant order.

Regarding the four approaches briefly exposed above, the survey tackles to depict commonly sensed forms and processes that are supposed to be some tunes of hegemonic exercises. An analysis is carried out tracing political commitments of inhabitants throughout, making a relational assessment within the scope of the above four. Needless to say, those approaches can be detailed and multiplied to improve the study in terms of conceptual and methodological.

Multi-sited and multi-scalar space sensed analysis

Morphologically, what are legitimizing features for urban environments? By means of which configurations and articulations have an impact on convincing/force levels regarding urban space? By means of which structure(s), spatial conditions or organizations, people judge and relevantly convince or not? Geographically what kind of spatial configurations can be referral points to understand spatial exercises of hegemony? What are the distinctive levels of agreements/constraints concerning peripheral and central conditions? How are we able to understand geographical hegemonic circumstances? Primarily putting those above into question, it is explicitly a challenge of this research topic, of which scrutinize which circumstances or forms of everyday practice are power-laden on the ground of driving political authority and capital accumulation, implying inlining exclusion or

inclusion by space. In this respect, it is assumed that the studies should draw and argue multi-sited and multi-scalar relations of space in researching spatial exercises of hegemony. Notably, the pivotal thing is centering on spaces of everyday life. Around the spaces of everyday experiences, the multi-scalar relations of space organization are a research field for spatial exercises of hegemony.

Two possible ways for analysis are as follows: Reviewing implosions and explosions in urban space and geographical approaches to hegemonic exercises by rescaling the core and periphery.

i) By means of reviewing implosions and explosions in urban space

Imbrication of several urban changes at a time by the notions of implosion and explosion puts forward a useful means to analyze power-laden issues. Following current urban morphological changes aimed at driving capital accumulation through the (re)production of the built environment, it is thought that those forms which are manifested by creative destructions or new building practices, thus are multi-scalar and multi-sited, being figured both in core and peripheral areas of urban space. Those featured forms of production of urban space acclaimed as forms of “implosions and explosions” specifically displayed in urban built environments within which dispersions, concentrations, intensifications, reordering, sprawl, aggregations, diffusions- infusions, and annihilations occur. They are intertwined and conflicted by any means. However, the coexistence of all morphological changes in different scales and geographical areas entails a comprehensive overview to understand the change of urban space. Depending on Lefebvrian’s concepts of implosions and explosions, a mid-phase, towards planetary urbanization, implosions and explosions of urban space are re-conceptualized and detailed one-step further in order to represent morphological issues in a comprehensive way. At all, the presence of this overall form and the way how it is perceived by the inhabitants is questioned. Upon that, while perceiving processes and forms of implosion and explosion, it is questioned how hegemony is articulated and embedded through them.

Remembering key notion that many scholars studying on urbanism admit likewise Harvey, as he explores by that “the thing we call city is the outcome of a process that we call urbanization”(cited in Brenner, 2014:19), rather than the relation of source and outcome, about things/entities and processes. Herein we claim a mutual relationship between the product form of urban space and processes of the production of urban space, mutually reproducing one each other on the ground of the constitution of hegemony. That is to say, hegemony is constructed aimed at (re)production of urban space; besides, perception of processes and forms as the outcome of dominant ideas has also a repelling impact on the constitution of hegemony in return. In fact, the product of forms (by single structures and articulation of structures) and the urban processes themselves materially reproduce political impact for society; yet, it is not granted for a decisive hegemonic impact because there will not be any political impulse for inhabitants as far as they can be figured out by driving consent or dissent for the dominant order. Herein the idea is that there is another aspect of the constitution of hegemony, rooted in materialities, and it should be taken into consideration. As so in cities of Turkey, political apprehension of space and spatial processes, apparent as implosions and explosions in urban space, is questioned.

To depict in short what is meant by concepts of implosion and explosion, Lefebvre introduces the concepts of implosions and explosions in pursuit to the studies on history of the cities done by Mumford of which draws moments of implosions for the “characterization of destruction of European mercantile cities” and moment of explosion for “the subsequent growth of megalopolitan territorial formations to support industrialization”(cited in Brenner, 2014: 17-18). However, Lefebvre advances those concepts in a way that they are used in order to describe broad forms of territorial changes acquired in line with capitalist urbanization.

“In this way, processes of concentration and dispersion, as well as new patterns of core-periphery polarization, are superimposed upon one another across places, territories and scales, creating an almost kaleidoscopic churning of socio-spatial arrangements during successive cycles of capitalist development. The notion of

implosion-explosion thus comes to describe the production and continual transformation of an industrialized urban fabric in which centers of agglomeration and their operational landscapes are woven together in mutually transformative ways while being co-articulated into a worldwide capitalist system.” (Brenner, 2014: 17-18).

Capitalist forms of spaces and processes are intertwined issues, and they have ever-changing characteristics to fix the crisis of capitalism by means of creative-constructions, production of built environment. That is why there are “variegated expressions in diverse morphological forms and spatial configurations” (Brenner, 2014:17) in urban space and they mean urban concentration, migration to cities from rural areas, expansion of urban space, contingency of rural to urban orders. Within the range of implosions and explosions, all forms are (enforced to be) amalgamated with each piece of forms.

In Lefebvre's approach, implosions and explosions are conceptualized as representation of ““moments” in the dialectical sense of the term- mutually interdependent yet intensely conflictual dimensions of a historically constituted, discontinuously evolving totality” (Brenner, 2014:21). In a broad term, Lefebvre goes around “capitalist urbanization as a process of implosions and explosions”. In line, about processes of implosions and explosions, Lefebvre alleges and associates those with the term “the politics of space” - contestation over the political-economic hierarchies and power relations that are inscribed in and in turn transform, socio-spatial arrangements.”(Brenner, 2014:21). Therefore, those notions of implosions and explosions are key to analyze urban configurations since they invoke all-pervasive spatial changes in urban space through small or large scale urban space (re)productions. Then comes the question, how implosions and explosions are apprehended in political respect. In the pursuit of this, this research scrutinizes how hegemony-force is operated by means of which characteristics of the urban space implosions and explosions that are manifested as enforcement of capital accumulation. For that inquiry, our approach for the conceptualization of implosions and explosions is that: in terms of the morphology of urban space rather

than territorial developments, implosions and explosions are thought beyond the dispersion and concentration such as mutually exercised despite the contradictories they entail, multi-sited, multi-scaled and co-orchestrated changes (deteriorations or creating (new) massiveness) of urban space materialized both in the core and periphery of the city. Thus, implosions and explosions are reconsidered on the ground of urban built environment forms and they are investigated scaling up the forms.

Argument (i) through the fieldwork: Hegemony exercises by means of forms and processes in the AKP era of Ankara portray a distinctive characteristic by its compositions of materialities and temporalities. Articulations of implosions and explosions (materialized in core and fringe of) urban space lead exercises of hegemony urged by forms and processes.

Argument (ii) through the fieldworks: For Ankara's contemporary urban condition, spatial hegemony is alive in both implosions and explosions where the urban conflicts have already originated or are temporarily being produced. There is not a systematic form of exercise for hegemony. Nonetheless, characterization of common typologies and conceptualizations regarding materialities and temporalities is critical to define circumstances of hegemony.

Explorations of urban processes and forms of implosion and explosion and the ways how hegemony is articulated and embedded through.

ii) (Urban) Geographical approaches to hegemonic exercises

As noticed in the second chapter, Gramsci's views depend on the "socially nuanced treatment of geographical differentiation" and his sensitive territorial analysis regarding relations of power and class struggles and relations of capitalism. Upon this, his theory on hegemony is dwelled through. Hegemony is treated by the emphasis of spatial and geographical spaces, scales, rhythms and social relations. And it was mainly argued by the relations of city and countryside, regional and national divides (i.e. debates on the south question, east-west). In line, this study

embracing an urbanist perspective reckons it by relations of core and fringe dynamics of urban spaces.

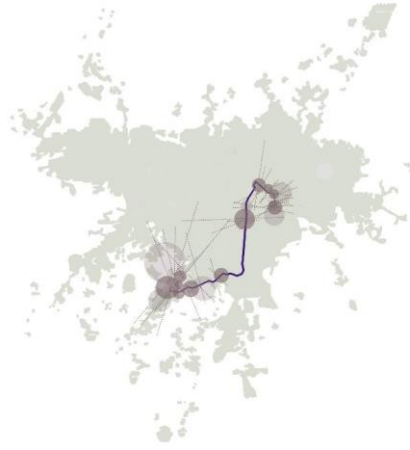


Figure 5.13.A graphical illustration presenting a geographical representation of hegemonic circumstances -a relational examination of forms and processes influencing current political attitudes dwell through an everyday routine of an urban inhabitant i.e. Interviewee 19 (Author, 2019)

Geographical hegemonic circumstances

Scaling up the arguments on the basis of city and countryside, the spatial exercise of hegemony should be analyzed by the geographical elements of core and fringe/periphery. The dynamics of/among the two should be taken into consideration in hegemony analysis. Herein, another question comes, what are the complementary and contradictory forms of hegemonic exercises manifest in core and periphery.

For the case of Ankara, different hegemonic spheres of housing and workplace defined by geographical elements of core and periphery

Urban geographical spheres are decisive and contextual factors for the exercise of hegemony, which are shaped such as i) working in core living in the fringe, ii) working in the fringe and living in the core, iii) working and living in the fringe, iv)

working and living in the core. These four main typical forms refer to geographical spheres for the spatial exercises of hegemony for urban inhabitants.

- Under the changing forms and processes, (re)production of central urban areas form up or alive spatial exercises of hegemony.

Happenings in the city center have diverse dimensions, and the city centre's perception takes a significant place for urban space understanding. As a domain of urban geography, the city centre urban areas are the places wherein hegemony is being exercised. These are the domains wherein capital strives to settle in, and the political authority seeks to represent its sovereignty in particular.

Central urban areas, which encompass inhabitants' everyday practices, are conflictual issues, and they have a pivotal role within the context of the construction of hegemony exercised by forms and processes. Indeed, central areas are thought to be key and critical figures or components unveiling implosions and explosions in urban geography.

Perception of city center has various dimensions, and thus substantially it is a particular research topic provided with specific analysis approaches and scope, asking how hegemony is being constituted through the processes and forms produced particularly in city central areas and through relations of central facilities, how hegemony has been manufactured within the relations of capital accumulation and spatial organization of central areas, of which encapsulate historical inquiries.

Different central experiences come forward with variegated forms of hegemony produced by (re) organization of central spaces for fringe inhabitants and core inhabitants.

For the case of Ankara, there are two tracks of approaches: i) Approaches to, with regards to current urban geography, the conditions of newly produced centers, (perceptions regarding central facilities organized usually in mixed-used complexes, new central development at Söğütözü, shopping malls, central formations in new developed urban districts); ii) Approaches to conditions of

historical- and current - identified urban city centers (perceptions central conditions in Ulus and Kızılay, central conditions of settled urban district).

- The scope of everydayness in between housing and workplace environments

The scope of everydayness between housing and workplace environments is a medium wherein hegemony is dwelled through for the urban working class. Since this everyday interval means a social practice wherein perceived, lived and conceived spaces are explicitly interplayed and condensed in a way - either with contradictions or with negotiations -. The interval of housing and workplace, which is one of the domains wherein hegemony exercises, is therefore not only a conceptual phenomenon but also a fundamental methodological means to do survey for. The conditions of housing and the housing environment are broadly known elements of hegemonic exercises. Under it, the mobility of the housing environment - historically changing forms and processes of the housing environment - in the city, adjustment of housing preferences through time is thoroughly made with class conditions and power relations in urban space. Besides, experiences in dense-conflict areas, for both the workplace environment and housing environment, is another scalar aspect of political apprehension of urban space changes, thereby delineating the circumstances of the constitution of hegemony. For example, workers whose workplace environment is a conflict-dense area seemingly are more anxious and embedded in coercive forces much more. This spatial configuration will be thought of producing specific circumstances for relations of consent and dissent.

Research through what: Tracing the conflict mediums in order to understand exercises of hegemony

Considering that spatial exercises of hegemony are a crucial means of war politics, the nature of a continuous interplay of powers reproduced through spatial relations, forms, and processes is inherent to conflicts and/or antagonisms. In this sense, specifying conflict mediums or possible conflicting - contradictory fields, issues,

the phenomenon will be guiding or referral points upon which analysis can be drawn easily. By the notion of conflicts, the contestations among the class interests are fulfilled by the overruling of dominants over space. These conflicts are conceptually defined as the means formed through and/or over the urban space aimed at ensuring capital accumulation - capital flows and political sovereignty rather than benefits of the working class. These are present in several mediums, scales and practices in concentrated or dispersed forms. Tracing conflicts or “following conflicts” as a known research way enables us to observe the conditions of involvement by inclusion having consent or exclusion through enforcement- and possible struggle bases or contexts. Seeing those conflicts or conflict mediums, the conditions of confrontation and non-confrontation of agents or social organizations are also to be taken into account and questioned. It is essential because the presence/entity of confrontation makes conflicts more explicit, and, in contrast, the conflicts are slightly evident on the condition of non-confrontation, which strengthens dominance by purveying the manufacture of consent. Concluding, this is an attempt to push the frontiers of the studies related to the exercise of hegemony by any means.

The moments of materialization of conflicts are assumed to be a critical phase of adjustment of hegemony. Temporal materialization is a provoking aspect of materiality that is a means of exercise of hegemony produced through spatial forms and processes because perceptually temporal analysis of the urban space by the moments of realization of masses practices temporally production of hegemony exercised by forms.

Conflict research paves a way but is limited to some extent. Spaces of conflicts on a legal basis, but not limited to, point out the spaces wherein hegemony is exercised by forms and processes. In the light of conflict research which is documentarily obtained based on litigation processes, this work reviews urban dwellers’ perceptual and practical assessments about those conflicts. It questions the exercises of hegemony, referring to them primarily, but not limited to those. Thereby it seeks to do a broader survey enabling the advancement of conceptual

terms to identify hegemony exercise. Indeed, spatial exercises of hegemony can not be limited to the current phenomena- urban settings-, the extent that it has drawn out furtherly. Nevertheless, the method of following urban conflicts offers an expressive way of research.

The condition of readily consent for the further following conflicts - contradictions

Relational and temporal assessments of spatial forms and processes drive a kind of thought for inhabitants by which consent is manufactured for current and further spatial changes - spatial interventions- imposed by the authority and capitalists. Hypothetically, it is conceptualized by the condition of readily consent conditions. It means an embodiment of dominant power relations by thinking an acceptance/normalization of spatial interventions even though they are contrary to their own class interests. This is a kind of consent-based political sense - forms of thought - within which political interventions exercised by spatial forms and processes are being normalized. It refers to a condition in which there is a consideration or awaiting the continuum of forceful interventions imposed by the ruling authority. In other words, there is a settled or common expectancy of inhabitants for further and forthcoming devastating urban processes that will exploit and seize common spaces, public spaces and public properties, and they will not be irresistible.

A question: The more intensive impacts of forms of conflicts -of capitalist spatial organizations, the slighter impact singular conflicts

Articulated and multi-scalar spatial forms and processes shade any new singular spatial changes, which means a conflict. Multiplier exercise of this nonsense reflection regarding the new spatial conflict expresses the inclining aspect of hegemony urged by the spatial forms and processes. Overall apprehension of urban change entails loosening of the impact of a single structure' impact.

5.4 Remarks

This chapter exposes the research framework approach about how hegemony is exercised through spatial relations, processes and forms and then concludes all possible research issues associated with spatial exercises of hegemony.

This study departing from Turkey specifically concentrated on the AKP era tries to formulate its hypotheses. The study's main hypotheses are as follows, but not limited to, as can be reviewed, several possible hypotheses put forward along with the dissertation's conceptual debates and empirical explorations.

Hypothesis 1. Spatial exercise of hegemony has manifested by multifaceted, multi-scalar, temporally changing different relations of spatial relations, processes, and forms. Those spatial relations, processes, and forms are the ones in which dominant class interests are apprehended and challenged.

They configure based on knowledge, subjectivities, and material configurations and performances. They are interwoven with each other, articulated, variegated, temporally and contextually-reproduced, and conflict-ridden.

Hypothesis 2. The extent and circumstances of the hegemonic relations, processes, and forms are defined through everyday life, and they are continuously (re)defined through redeemed or exacerbated conditions of those. Dominants rule those in a way, but it is not one-way-arrayed. The spatial exercise of hegemony is intendedly and unintendedly, temporally- socially (re)produced.

Hypothesis 3. Studies that ascribe one aspect of space explaining the exercise of hegemony is limited to some extent. Therefore a relational and interweaved, temporally-reproduced, geographically-spatially analytical, contextually-nuanced research approach can be introduced to understand hegemonic formations.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This chapter reviews the dissertation and highlights significant statements, arguments and challenges of the study. Additionally, it presents some points and ways for further research.

6.1 Summary of the study

To summarize the research, this part first draws major lines of the research problem and arguments by expressing the motivation for this research, main questions, the framework of the study, and points put forward. Then it revisits its hypotheses and resumes possible hypotheses that are found out through the empirical explorations. After, it pictures the significance and limitations of the research. Finally, it portrays further questions and reflections within the scope of thesis discussions.

6.1.1 Major lines of the study

The essence of the hegemony is turning what is necessary for class domination into society's interests at all and thereby aimed to get classes inclusive via making them subordinate for the sake of capital accumulation. This study questioned the central dynamics of hegemonic exercises that are (re)produced through urban space.

This study began with explaining the reasons why we tackle this work by delving into the relationship of hegemony and urban space. This research rooted from making inquiries upon the following topics: the significance of spatiality for (counter) hegemony, questioning how power is organized through spatial legitimization that is as inherent to hegemonic exercises, temporally-changing nature of hegemony, the contested nature of the relations of consent and force with

regards to urban space configurations and contextual drivers leading to investigate hegemony in-depth, of which composes the critique of political economy of production of built environment in Turkey by doing examination of capital accumulation, over-accumulation, accelerated switches into secondary circuits through materiality and temporality motives, increased mass media exercises on urban affairs, critique of current practices of architecture and urban planning, and in relation a detailed probe of litigation process for planning exercises and thereby seeing juridical conflicts about space as a mean of struggling of powers, considering possibilities and challenges of counter-hegemony practices for the aftermath of Gezi resistance (anti-hegemony).

This study is settled upon those issues, the challenges the overwhelming conditions of everyday life and the means of inclusion for the dominant interests through the reproduction of urban space. How can hegemony be succeeded or failed? Asking that basic question, it problematized the variegated forms of several materialities and temporalities that are employed and rolled out in this process. The intent of the research was primarily to explore those mediums, elements, conceptions that materialize hegemony in a way. In doing so, by resolving the elements of hegemony, it sought to find possible ways to make the hegemonic power and organizations explicit and abolish them aiming to disentangle possible exploratory practices for society.

Considering the phrases “war of positions” and “war of maneuver” asserted by Gramsci, a conflict zone was defined for the relationships of hegemony and counter-hegemony which is (re)produced on the bases of spatial relations, forms and processes. On that, this study questioned the dynamics among classes and power relations on the ground of production of (urban) space and how contestations of the two are carried out –and on which grounds those are produced through-. This study initially conceptualized that spatial processes, relations and forms are the means of exercises of hegemony that is produced through the everyday life experiences. This major conceptualization dwelled on the basis of empirical observations and theoretical insights. In this scope, this research shed

light on how spatial exercise of hegemony is being reproduced considering the current potent of urban spatial change in Turkey. It critically reviewed how hegemonic organization's repertoire takes shape in the AKP era, what kind of articulations there are to strengthen hegemonic forces, what are the unseen dynamics that strengthen or weaken the hegemony and vice versa. And, how those will be surveyed.

Unearthing what kind of a dissertation this is: This study intrinsically discusses a widely-used and commonly-discussed issue, relations of hegemony and urban space. Nonetheless, it challenged to push the frontiers of knowledge that we have and use in analyzing the urban politics and power relations of space with the term hegemony, and it sought to bring a possible useful concept with a framework to the front and hoped that it will advance the perspectives for political spatial analysis.

Notedly this study does not have a theoretical confrontation, it does not critique the hegemony concept. This study dwelled its conceptual idea definitely upon the theoretical basis of hegemony, which is associated with the production of space. Because hegemony is unquestioningly related with space, spatial practices.

Tackling to examine the current problematique, a new conditions of relations of capital accumulation and the production of urban space (investigating the Turkey case), it rolled out a new conceptual approach aiming to progress the conceptual approach, to resolve the insufficient conceptual explanations, to situate the concepts (forms, processes and relations) in accord to the theoretical ground, to point the broadened complex and multi-scaled relations, to remark temporally reproduced nature of the phenomenon, to question the epistemological terrain of the affirmations in society.

This study basically put forth a conceptual debate through the concept of spatial hegemony and spatial exercise of hegemony considering the current urban space dynamics in order to deepen the political understanding of urban space with the conceptual notions of spatial forms, relations and processes.

This study anchored three main concepts - spatial processes, spatial relations and spatial forms - around and through which the exercises of hegemony are discussed. It alleged that this framework converges the contradictory forms of empirical issues with the theoretical statements.

This study does not pretend to be an empirical study, but rather, it is a conceptual study that will encourage empirical studies, it points out the methodological problems that may be encountered in any possible empirical studies.

Research framework was defined by the AKP era, 2000s in Turkey. With reference to this period, it made reviews around these three notions by asking by means of which relations, forms and processes hegemony is exercised. The main endeavour of those reviews was simply to explore whether the propounded concepts have empirical validity and if it has, what are the empirical elements of it. This work is as well as finding a way to puzzle out the methodologically insufficient research ways.

It carried out a two-level of qualitative exploratory research. The first level of empirical research was an overall review of which spatial relations, processes and forms exercise hegemony with reference to the AKP era in terms of (i) state-bound interventions and relations, discourses, expert practices, (ii) sensations, experiences, political-ideological identities, and characteristics, and (iii) materialities by things, processes, and performances. It portrayed a picture of the repertoire of hegemonic issues, the components and means of hegemonic exercises about urban space.

The second level of work, the fieldwork in Ankara held in 2019, focused on an inquiry of forms and processes. There are some limitations and problems to indicate the findings outspoken, thus those were identified as some tunes or trends. Therefore, the fieldwork, the second level of survey, is not centrally put in this study. The findings of the fieldwork are open to discussion. Nevertheless, this fieldwork attempt awakened the author's perspective and enhanced her understanding. This fieldwork experience, implemented by ethnographic ways

which surely improved the thoughts. In this sense, this study benefited at some point and illustrated some issues that had been acquired through the fieldwork. By virtue of the fieldwork, several questions originated and possible hypotheses were announced.

Processes and relations are commonly used key terms in hegemony discussion, however, the spatial forms are not taken into account as a principal aspect - component despite their significant role in exercise of hegemony is gone through in various studies. There is no specific conceptual identification which encompasses all aspects, and this study highlights this aspect and how it is embedded in the apprehension of power relations and apprehension of dominant interests.

Although the role of form in power relations, in specific relations of domination-subordination, has been underlined and discussed a lot, it has not been dealt with in terms of processes, relations and form in a conceptual framework. This study attempted to show these linkages. The form as a unit-element that is often reified or approached as a given entity, unquestionably given, as actually had a different political operation today. This study states that historically it is important to highlight how and in which aspects it has a hegemonic effect on the current complexity of form in a situation where the commodification period of space accelerates with the thrust of capital accumulation processes.

This study specifically remarked the crucial role of spatial forms in exercises of hegemony and it attempted to go deeper with the fieldwork research. It believed that this aspect is open to make further dig-ins. Even though it is well-known, it is under-explored. Because, as seemingly: i) it is partially or symbolically-selected fragments scrutinized, ii) its effects are a priorly supposed as approved by the society, in other words, it is thought as given influential for constitution of collective will of society without interrogations, iii) it is not traced through the ordinary seen and experienced issues along the everyday life, iv) it is commonly analyzed with the dominant sources, not analyzed form the lenses of subordinate groups.

The concern about forms and processes are rooted by those inquiries: how hegemony is dwelled by means of spatial forms and processes, how people - working class- apprehend urban spatial change and how they challenge with the new urban conditions, how they posit the spatial formations - configurations - with regards to their class interests, what is the role of spatial forms and processes that workers either willingly involved or forcibly excluded to the dominant orders and thereby apprehension of hegemony works out, herein how it is exercised by which means.

Furtherly, this study was an inquiry of methodological challenges of the surveys/studies that dealt with exercise of hegemony, with reference to the production of (urban) space. It questioned whether spatial relations, forms, processes really have hegemonic impacts or not; if they have, how they can be understood, and how they exercise by which means, by which circumstances, by which spatio-temporalities. It pursued to draw out the scope of epistemological terrain for the hegemony with regard to spatial practices. For that, it adopted ethnographical ways of research incorporating visual, political and everyday ethnography, and -attemptedly- surveyed the everyday experience of workers, by co-joint journeys among the workplace and housing environment and by doing so, interviewees' perceptual and sensational attentions are observed. Even though it was not able to fulfill the answers, it enabled to discuss how to go over or discuss methodological ways. It highlighted how unseen everyday ordinaries are critical for apprehension of dominant interests, internalization of those or not.

This study overall investigated and used appropriate exemplary issues to indicate the empirical validity of the concepts throughout making explorations on the bases of i) knowledge-based relations and processes about space as coordinating means of dominance, ii) subjectivity based relations and processes about space via sensations, political-ideological characteristics, iii) the materiality of changes and performances. In brief, this study departing from Turkey specifically concentrated on the AKP era formulated its hypotheses.

This study presented meaningful, relevant examples to produce concepts and tools in the relevant field for justifying its supposes. Herein, we should remark that this is not a testing-out study. Over the obtained and discussed issues, the conceptual framework was propounded by offering possible new research topics. In the end of those works, this study portrayed three hypotheses, as followings:

1. Spatial exercise of hegemony has manifested by multifaceted, multi-scalar, temporally changing different relations of spatial relations, processes, and forms. Those spatial relations, processes, and forms are the ones in which dominant class interests are apprehended and challenged.

They configure based on knowledge, subjectivities, and material configurations and performances. They are interwoven with each other, articulated, variegated, temporally and contextually-reproduced, and conflict-ridden.

2. The extent and circumstances of the hegemonic relations, processes, and forms are defined through everyday life, and they are continuously (re)defined through redeemed or exacerbated conditions of those. Dominants rule those in a way, but it is not one-way-arrayed. The spatial exercise of hegemony is intendedly and unintendedly, temporally- socially (re)produced.

3. Studies that ascribe one aspect of space explaining the exercise of hegemony are limited to some extent. Therefore a relational and interweaved, temporally-reproduced, geographically-spatially analytical, contextually-nuanced research approaches can be introduced to understand hegemonic formations.

Regarding the relationship of hegemony and (urban) space, this work brought forward a conceptual framework on the basis of spatial relations, processes and forms. By introducing a conceptual framework, it believed that a conceptual framework will be a floor on which new possible hypotheses will be dwelled onward.

How did it come to this point? The following part reitrates the initial statements and research questions. Beginning with hegemony can not be argued and

constituted regardless of (urban) space. In this sense, all political debates upon hegemony that disregard the role of space production are reckoned as insufficient. Inclusive and exclusive aspects of spatial organization for society are thought associated with power relations of space whereby political apprehension is sprung out.

Initial statements: i) Spatial processes, relations, and forms are the means of exercises of hegemony that is produced through urban space. Indeed, hegemony can not be achieved regardless of those spatial relations, processes and forms. ii) There are multi-scalar, articulated, variegated, temporally and contextually-reproduced, conflict-ridden spatial forms, processes and relations to warrant inclusion of the working class for the exercises aimed at the survival of capital accumulation through the reproduction of urban space and for the reassertion of political authority. Those are intendedly and unintendedly (re)produced through everyday life.

The main questionings of the study were as follows: i) How does hegemony exercise through the (re)production of urban space? How are political alliances of social classes formed through the production of urban space, by means of which spatial forms, processes and relations? ii) What are the main relations, processes, and forms that urge subordination of classes or masses and exercise alliances of classes upon capital and state authority interests, power bloc? Following those grand questions, research questions are formulated as follows: How is the spatial exercise of hegemony manifested for the AKP era for Turkey's contemporary period? By which means (of processes, relations, and forms)? What is the extent and circumstances of hegemonic relations, processes and forms? How can those spatial processes, relations and forms be understood and investigated for urban studies, and by which ways/methodological approaches?

Main theses were drawn, as aforementioned above, after having exploratory research in overall terms dwelled on above empirical level i questions and benefiting from fieldwork (attempt) carried out in Ankara that focuses on

investigating perceived aspects of hegemonic exercises. Three hypotheses drew major ideas, but this study offered possible hypotheses and research issues related to research questions in many points. Those were ranked throughout the discussions held in previous chapters.

Hegemony is a temporal form and process of complex and intertwined power relations within the scope of which class alliances are dwelled on, throughout rolling out willing consent of society- exercising subordination and domination of the ruling orders. Commonly known that hegemony refers to the embracement of dominant classes' interests and ideas by the working class either in a consent-wise (collective will) or force-wise manner. It is a concept expressing the ally of classes on the ground of dominant interests, exercised by consent or force. This study spotlights its embedded aspect, spatial exercises of it.

As the third chapter rendered theoretical debates about hegemony and urban space, the study's theoretical framework embraces a Gramscian and Lefebvrian approach. The theoretical framework of the dissertation was comprised of the debates of hegemony and urban space on the basis of the relations of power and space. In this context, it traced Gramsci's approaches in principle. It reviewed his thoughts on hegemony with spatial stress by getting in touch with arguments done for recently. The spatial terms used in explaining relations of classes and politics, draw the major lines of relations of domination and subordination, that we referred to. These complex relations that are redefined and rearticulated through time and space are employed in order to win the active consent of the society, working class. Second, it examined the socio-semiotic approach for hegemony by referring to Gottidiener's studies, elaborating meanings of the material objects and claiming them as a product of social context. Third, it simply reviewed the arguments about relations of capital accumulation and urban space, going through Harvey's studies to express the dynamics of accumulation. Herein, it examined explicitly relations of exercise of hegemony and capital accumulation through the production of space in line with Harvey's, Lefebvre's and Jessop's thoughts. Fourth, it mentioned neo-Gramscian debates on hegemony, specifically parlaying the debate among Joseph

and Jessop, of which set forth that there is no societal unity of formation of hegemony, indeed there is strategic relational perspective underlining critical approaches to structural approaches and pointing out strategic-selective articulations of places, spaces and scales that make socially reproduction of the capitalist formations to survive capital accumulation. Fifth, it examined how Lefebvre approaches hegemony. As it is major, hegemony is exercised through the production of space, as a means of dialectical relationship of mental space and materiality. Finally, as a co-operated approach of Gramsci and Lefebvre's thoughts for hegemony, enriched by Kipfer, is analyzed. According to those thoughts, hegemony is an incomplete and unsteady project, having temporally and spatially nuanced circumstances, implemented through articulations of symbolic sides of everyday life, institutional-ideological dimensions of space, and practical exercises. Throughout condensation of macro and micro power relations, hegemony is stimulated by everyday life and common senses, inscribed by consent with enjoyments or negotiations, and/or by force with suffering and enforcements. Hegemony is a political concept granting active inclusiveness of the masses to the dominant relations, to securing the capital accumulation and dominance of bourgeois political authority. It is a conflict medium of classes, of interests of dominance and working class. Considering the spatiality of capital accumulation and accelerated switches to secondary circuits of capital accumulation, the more spatial forms occurred to overcome the crises of capital accumulation. The spatial forms and inherent spatial processes, and relations and processes about space are interlinked in different scales and places, temporally reproduced.

Conceptualization of spatial exercise of hegemony

This study conceptualized the spatial exercise of hegemony to describe and discriminate analytically how hegemony is materialized through the production of space. In line with Lefebvre's insights, it assumed that hegemony is produced through spatial forms, relations, and processes. Around, for or by spatial forms, relations and processes, class interests are both reorganized and apprehended. Through three concepts, class alliances are constituted or crackled. Throughout re-

conceptualization by “spatial exercise of hegemony”, this study offers a conceptual framework to understand and interpret dynamics of power relations, different circumstances, concurrent conditions of consent and force, variegated spatial-political inclusive strategies. Herein, the purpose of this study is to abolish a dichotomous separation of social and spatial issues within the context of the hegemony debate and draw out a dialectical schema for the two.

Spatial exercise of hegemony embraces (i) the oppressive issues with sorrows, but some of them are regarded as “joy” emancipatory or ordinary things; and (ii) approved issues, which ensure dominant interests. Then, it is usually shaped as willingly done things. Political-power relations are produced by space, and this power is today adhere strictly to urban space and its deep engagement with capital accumulation via the production of the built environment. Theory of hegemony, likewise political sciences approaches, analyzes the mechanisms of political power. It aims to explain the power relations’ functioning in democratic capitalist societies, relations of classes, relations of domination and subordination. Here, the spatial exercise of hegemony means the exercises of those domination and subordination through spatial forms, relations and processes.

About ephemerality of the concept, it can be said that the spatial exercise of hegemony can be abolished when the revolution comes true. The spatial exercise of hegemony is a temporal concept. On a macro scale, by political and theoretical terms, this concept of spatial exercise of hegemony put forward can be ephemeral whenever class society is abolished. Except for this condition, this concept will revive with distinctive spatial forms, relations and processes regarding the dominant orders and the conditions of class struggle. This concept also depends on the ephemerality of forms, relations and processes. There is no smooth and a granted-way of tools to involve and ally the working class into dominant orders. Therefore, the concept expatiates on the ephemerality of those three.

Spatial exercise of hegemony is conceptually reclaimed upon the consideration of blurred explanations, after that braced up by theoretical and conceptual review on

hegemony related to (urban)space. Regarding this lacking point, this study introduced a notion of spatial exercise hegemony. Thereafter, this study is settled on exploring its empirical references with an intent to expose and justify how it works and what are possible elements and factors that it has and vice versa. This study is produced with several backs and forwards, moves among theoretical and conceptual insights with empirical observations. In this respect, it draws a broad framework around concepts of spatial forms, relations and processes, which will be enhanced and refined according to different spatialities and temporalities.

This conceptual framework will advance epistemological depth for this topic and bring forth several research issues to exceed the limitations of understanding the means of the spatial exercise of hegemony. It will enable us to figure out the contradictory conditions of internalization of capitalist interest with an urban geographical outlook.

The absence of this conceptual framework will cause those as follows: The problematic governing of non-spatial approaches to hegemony, underestimation of a significant aspect of hegemony, spatial forms, which is although theoretically explicit; overlook of empirical pieces of evidence even explicitly that are on the theoretical grounds; the neglectedness working people experiences which is a keystone in an analysis of relations of dominance and subordination; non-apprehension of blurring alliances of intended and unintended aspects of exercises; non-embracement of complex and multi-scale and multi-sited relations whereas those which articulative; ruling out the bright relationship among the spatial relations, processes and forms; unseeing their temporal and spatial relations, albeit their significance.

Delineating the research framework

To offer liaisons among spatial forms, relations, and processes with the exercise of hegemony and put forward possible research issues, it comprised extensive empirical exploration rather than focussing on a specific site. This may be

considered as a weak point, but this is resulted with an embraced approach that stresses far-extended nature of hegemony.

Up and down: Exploration of multi scales and variegated forms of hegemonic exercises

Having critical realistic approach, this research carried out exploratory research seeking to display empirical basis for the spatial exercises of hegemony in Turkey for the recent period and thesis, onward, put forward the possible research issues and frameworks around a new conceptual framework called the spatial exercise of hegemony by means of spatial forms, processes and relations.

The experience of space is alive with diverse temporal and spatial trajectories; therefore, different ranges and scales are put into question, and they are analyzed so as to explore common hegemonic properties of them for a defined period, AKP era in Turkey and AKP era in 2019 for Ankara. Herein, the objective is to enhance a conceptual approach for hegemonic exercises and to express methodological limitations and possibilities. By means of exemplifying some major issues concerning a definite time interval, this study sheds light on relative autonomy of dominance and subordination of power reproduced through urban space of the 2000s of Turkey under the AKP rule. Even this thesis spotlighted this period, its argument and challenges are not limited to a defined period, it argues and goes over grand issues, patterns and outlooks for methodology. All debates about spatial hegemony are subjects or relevance of power relations. Therefore, the thesis's claims and assumptions could be accounted for a specific period, even it is departed from the recent period and fieldwork attempt in Ankara.

By the way, it was definitely important to spotlight a political period and expose what are the constituents of the spatial hegemony of its time. The significance of the research is dwelled through the facts that AKP period is a critical period for Turkey history; indeed, it refers to contemporary political urban issues, and capital accumulation by means of production of the built environment has dramatically

expanded in this specific period, thereby political economy of the space has deeply and contradictorily interlinked with the formation of spatial hegemony.

Exploratory research paved the way for the thesis to draw out a conceptual framework for the spatial exercise of hegemony based upon spatial relations, processes and relations. In this scope, two intrinsically interwoven genres were defined, such as (i) hegemony exercised through relations and processes related to space and (ii) hegemony exercised through spatial forms and processes. First, hegemony exercised through relations and processes related to space composes the issues (but not limited to) of legislative powers related to space, actor-based relations about (re)production of space, financialization of urban space and increasing debt mechanisms put into practice, institutional (re)arrangements, changing and ruling character of design and planning exercises, media exercises about space, political identities apprehending powers of space, religious impacts (impact of increasing conservatism), gendered relations of space, conditions of working and survival by space, state of indebtedness and ownership, insecurity and securing affirmations. Second, hegemony exercised through spatial forms and processes composed of materialities of urban space- based on things, processes and performances by means of changing forms and processes (but not limited to) of public spaces, public amenities and common spaces, housing environments, workplace environments, spaces of public services and administration, and networks/organization of infrastructure. Those are also taken into account through how they are being characterized. For instance, as obtained through the fieldwork attempt, the main markers of forms and processes were unearthed by those concepts: scales of differences, visibility and imaginations, aestheticization and non-aestheticization, verticality, corporeality, repetition, sameness or similarities of forms, void: imagination over void – vacancy spaces, ruined spaces, absences of certain forms, dualities of forms, contrasts and asymmetries by means of perceiving differences, volumetric contrasts, co-existences of old and new forms, the power of new and differences of property relations. These concepts are not simple means of

descriptions, they are rather mediums of politically understanding of urban space change. Besides in which circumstance those conceptualizations made are critical.

Moving beyond the large-scale projects: Large-scale capital accumulation by means of production of the built environment is manifested and through these processes central authorities, AKP rule likewise in Turkey, drive power on the ground of defining new orders of urban space while it disregards and disqualifies the local actors in this process of the organization. Agreeing upon this argument and statement as it is evident in the AKP period, however, the ruling authority of AKP power furtherly substantiates it, applying forces on all terms of scales, thereby driving hegemony. There are articulative relations with small-scale issues and hence the dominant interests are – possibly- embodied. In the AKP era , specific interests are successfully interlinked through the urban space changes.

Spotlighting the approach of Gramsci for politics of geography, by examination of city and countryside (Kipfer, 2013: 98-99), sheds light how it is approached for them as elements of struggle for hegemony. In this study, it is assumed that relations of implosions and explosions exercise hegemony. Rather than considering two localities (by center and peripheral), interwoven characteristics of implosions and explosions both manifested in core and fringe. As in the postscript of the dissertation, assessment of spatial fixities manifested through implosions and explosions in the urban space of Ankara has a broadened terrain within which urban inhabitants are involved and/or excluded in the dominant order. The weight of the inclusion, albeit the coercive conditions, is politically ambitious of the power bloc, political power and the capitalist groups. Ever-broadening and diversified forms of experiences lead to different grounds to propel political attitudes. That is questioned and tried to feature the properties of the forms and processes and how they are sources of hegemonic impact. Therefore, a surveys attempt conducted in Ankara on a medium of everyday life rhythm (everyday experience of workers amid workplace and housing environment) brings forth some particular traits. It is an attempt to find a way to investigate and understand possible dynamics or tunes.

Methodological approach

Like many studies on hegemony, it also carries our critical perspective to behold possibilities of emancipatory practices. This study did exploratory research with critical analysis for the current urban change and urban questions around the concept of spatial exercise of hegemony.

Spatial forms, relations, processes can not be accounted as the solely responsible matters about the urban problems and thus can be charged with. However, at this point, it is essential to note and explore in which context they are used and instrumentalized as a means of the constitution of hegemony. Well, from working-class lenses, how do we understand relations, forms, and processes are sources of hegemony or commits to the constitution of hegemony? It is thought that they can be traced throughout how people internalize the entrenched interventions on (urban) spatial organizations. Inhabitants' reflections to them via anxiety or will appoint the manner of political attitude of individuals. This is the main methodological challenge of the study. It tried to go through, but the problem is still vivid and to be explored.

The scope of the research is determined very broadly because the essence of hegemony is organization of masses according to the dominant rules. In order to find out common points- senses of masses, it necessarily dwells in a broadened manner.

Carrying out multiple qualitative research ways, this study put through i) documentary surveys (content and discourse analysis of studies, press statements, media exercises, visual materials, etc.) and ii) ethnographic survey, resolving all empirical issues, and then it maps out possible conceptualizations and arguments about exercises of hegemony. The second aspect of the qualitative research methodologically refers to a survey done through everyday ethnography associated with political and visual ethnographic research methods with an extended case method incorporated with following conflicts; thereby seeking to unveil featured forms and processes rolling out hegemony for the case of Ankara, which is a

specific urban area crawled with contradictory issues since it is a field of multiplex materialities and temporalities take place by reasons of an excessive level of capital accumulation through production of the built environment and of where political authority strategically applies several forces to ensure its political sovereignty. In order to understand the perceptual aspect of those changes, which are in latent and overt forms penetrate exercises of hegemony, by the subaltern lenses, it conducted co-joint journeys -a participated observation interviews in the meanwhile of the everyday journey in between housing and workplace environments (in Ankara, 2019)-, with urban dwellers who belong to the working class and have different modes of mobility. In doing so, it attempts to render variegated tunes of hegemonic exercises and conceptual and methodological arguments in pursuit of the narrations and observations of practices (the moments and spaces of inclusion or/and exclusion), which are specifically urged/stimulated by spatial forms and processes.

Having both documentary and ethnographic research, this study offers encouragements for more ethnographic modes of urban research, and as observed, it is essential to deepen the understanding of hegemony. Everyday life is embodied with orders of negotiated, dissented, tensioned or desired issues, possible and/or evident (counter) hegemonic issues. To recognize them, ethnography is a crucial way of research methodology.

This study conducted a fieldwork -attempt-, named as empirical level (ii). This was a fortiori analysis for which this study emphasizes hegemony that is exercised through spatial forms and processes. It was applied to deepen the understanding of hegemonic impact of spatial forms and processes and to find a way to observe the coordination of different scales and relations.

Besides, this survey dwelled on advancing the epistemological terrain of the conceptual debate. By means of this conceptualization, this study aspired to make alliances of empirical evidence and theoretical insights. For that it necessarily made a fieldwork to enrich empirical awareness, to resolve the epistemological ambiguity and by the time it endeavoured to find a possible methodological way to explore

those. The very basic questions for a study arguing spatial forms and processes exercise hegemony were as follows: Does every form and process have an absolute hegemonic effect, or otherwise, if they do not? Under what conditions and temporalities what forms and processes have a hegemonic effect? What are the unseen spatial formations, spatial experiences that make some spaces as spaces of conflict, and how temporal impacts about the spatial forms occur. The uncertainty of these dimensions or the general assumptions that forms and processes are undoubtedly effective as a given entity cause an epistemological weakness. There is not an extensive research that digs into, thus, this study can be described as a step towards opening this. Moreover, here is also a methodological question, how can we understand whether a form or process has a hegemonic effect or not, and to what circumstances it can be detailed.

In the ever-changing urban environment, the political importance of the forms has become more evident within the context of the rapidly and intensely increasing reproduction of the built environment which is composed of complex relations of forms. These forms, which operate as a temporal solution of the crises of capital accumulation and are constantly subjected to change. Also, the processes which are inherent to forms change. These two are innate to each other, therein social practices are realized. At that point, spatial practices have a critical role to play in specifying how a phenomenon that is not of class interest is internalized and therefore those spaces are principally put into analysis. On that basis, how forms and processes are socially internalized and challenged. Especially for the working class, how dominant interest organized around forms is defined, perceived and internalized; in other words, how spatial embeddedness of workers (Herod, 2003) and spatial entrapments are drawn within the scope of capitalist urban space configuration, these are critical issues to identify circumstances and tunes of hegemonic exercises. How, in what scope, with which practices, and on what occasion this happens should be investigated and understood.

Nevertheless, there are some limitations of the fieldwork done in Ankara, therefore this dissertation gave it a place in the appendix entitled “A Survey In Ankara:

Exploration of Circumstances and Tunes of Hegemony Exercised by Forms and Processes”. This study acclaimed it as a fieldwork attempt and it did not centrally argue it. However, this study benefited from it at some points of the debates through the study.

Even though this survey has some problems, it has some positive aspects. Here briefly examines the openings of the survey. For instance, it enables to comprehend the critical importance of ethnographic way of research to address the formations of power relations for discovering the power relation embedded in ordinary seen through spatial practices, unearthing the subtle issues or noticements through the repetitive everyday life, to distinguish the variegated circumstances and scales of power relations, to discover unseen micro-scale reasonings, relationalities.

Nonetheless, this fieldwork had some limitations, below part shortly draws the critiques that this study has and weakening aspects of the survey. In the same breath, this part expresses the reason why this study put the fieldwork at the appendix, as an adjacent empirical survey attempt rather than the central place of the dissertation. In two topics, the problems can be disclosed. First, there is an incertitude about the validity of the empirical findings, thereof stating something is baseless. Second, there are temporal limitedness and changed context of the survey, which came out of Covid-19 pandemic, to continue the survey throughout clearing up the problems that were reflected in the first topic. For the first, four points constitute the weakness, these are as follows: making insufficient number of interviews to generalize the idea, having one singular journey with the interviewees which is not sufficient to be capable of obtaining the depths of the spatial practices; not defining the interview group with more specific similar measures (i.e. age, sex, profession, political view etc.), and just defining them on the ground of that they are involved in worker class by an overall view, and having an extended research framework spanning Ankara at all without focussing on a focal research area to make the observations clear, herewith the embroilment of two occurred on the basis of those, acquiring common senses of the heterogeneity and common senses of the homogeneity. The fieldwork was settled on the idea of following numerous spatial

conflicts aiming to gain insights of those relations. Those critiques bring forth some inquiries about the validity of the findings, therefore what is obtained through fieldwork portrayed as tunes or trends, providing that outlook offering possible research issues. The fieldwork was carried out in 2019 and opened to debate in early 2020. After having those critiques, unfortunately, this period has run into the Covid-19 pandemic, therefore it was not possible to resolve the problems and so advance the survey. Hereby passing toward the second topic, there occurred temporal-spatial limitations, due to the fact that running into unexpected, extraordinary contextual change. In this period, many studies under the social sciences have challenged to carry out their surveys, like this one. Because, it is not possible to mobilize and get involved in the everyday journey of the workers due to the risk of infection. The author beared to have interviews not to -possibly- infect the interviewees and thereby not exceed the overwhelming conditions of this difficult period. Furthermore, the conditions of pandemic have extensively changed everyday experiences, by means of limited urban experiences and limited workplace experiences mostly inhabiting at homes for the ones who are able to stay at home, limited socialization only which virtual ways of socializations have usually been possible, pandemic as a crisis moment of healthcare in nature lead primary concern around the health which is forefront ever than before. It was not even possible to continue the survey with some of the interviewees because their experiences have changed contextually, thus, it was not able to deepen some specific findings and acquire validity and in depth of the empirical evidence. Thenceforward, it could not resolve the problems of the fieldwork and settle a fieldwork in the same manner with ethnographical ways of research. Consequently, there occurred a problem of validity for the pre assumptions. For those reasons, the survey was identified as a fieldwork attempt.

Furthermore, as mentioned above that covid-19 pandemic which occurred during this study, as a major temporal phenomenon cause limitations to recoordinate and fix the fieldwork. The covid19-outbreak materialized while working on the latest phases of the thesis, and it leads us to make some inquiries with regards to our

research questions. At first, we challenge ourselves to proceed on our analysis and necessitate reviewing our assumptions and findings considering that the perception of urban dwellers may change radically, circumstances of hegemony evoked by forms and processes may change in line with the changing spatial practices. This factual-ongoing health crisis may collapse and resolve some aspects of hegemony stimulated by perceptual relations. The ongoing pandemic is a historical specific and spatially specific condition, herein presents some brief arguments, as following: How covid19 pandemic will impact on exercise and circumstances of spatial hegemony? As it is an extreme health condition, there are the measures for prevention, politics applied in this period, reorganization of labour and space relations, conditions of (non)confinement, within those, differentiated spatio-temporalities, outrouted everyday practices. A very premise discussion, with reference to our research interest, can be done around those questions: How will covid19 pandemic impact on exercise and circumstances of hegemony that is stimulated by forms and processes? There are some recent studies, arguments on the relationship of emergence of covid19 pandemic and processes of sovereign capitalist urbanization and urban space configurations, the impact of exploitative environmental politics, as well as socio-spatial analysis of covid19 cases, socio-spatial problems within the mechanisms to cope with the spread, intensifying forcing ruling impact on experiences of urban spaces, current forms of labour fixity of the conditions, and post-covid urbanism arguments etc. Within the scope of this study, questioning the condition of pandemic concerning the urban forms and processes, those can be stated: Hegemony exercised by forms and processes is temporally (re)produced issues and this state of pandemic points out a breaking point for historically changing exercise of hegemony. While some forms and processes lose weight, some of them possibly gain power. This health crisis means a change of context and is open to surveys in order to better analyze. In short, it brings and requires new spatial organizations into debate and herein, the way how dominant attempts are grounded with which spatial relations, forms and process; what are current new means for spatial exercise of hegemony.

Main arguments of the study

This thesis aims to bring out an antithesis towards the thesis that approaches hegemony regardless of the (urban) space, spatial forms, processes, and relations. The ultimate issue is that subverting approaches have non-spatial frameworks. Furthermore, it aims to crack - possible- relations of hegemony and urban space, and going beyond the frontiers of the studies. Hereby, it opens a conceptual argument, with the spatial exercise of hegemony, to initiate an analytical lenses to depth understanding of relations of dominance and subordination through the reproduction of urban space, and to undermine the random uses of “spatial hegemony” by putting it into a framework based on spatial forms, processes and relations.

This thesis asserted that hegemony can not be achieved regardless of urban space, specifically spatial relations, processes and forms. In this context, this thesis opposes non-spatial hegemonic approaches, which presupposes hegemony other than spatial context. However, hegemony is inherently realized -by succeeding or weakening- through the production of space. As it is denoted in Gramsci's and Lefebvre's thoughts, hegemony is necessarily spatially exercised. Thus, the non-spatial hegemonic approaches are limited in a way. Therefore, this study has an antithesis to the non-spatial hegemonic approaches, which neglect spatial relations. Hegemony is necessarily spatial.

Intrinsically, there is no dichotomy to the concept of hegemony by a conceptualization of spatial exercise of hegemony. This conceptualization that dwells on spatial forms, processes and relations, and the processes of increasing production of the built environment provides a subfield within the hegemony debates. Besides, the spatial exercise of hegemony is not an isolated aspect of hegemony; rather, it is an essential and implicit aspect of socialization of dominant interest that is ruled through the reproduction of urban space. In this sense, this conceptualization work which referred to roots from questioning how condensation of micro-macro relations of urban politics of space are realized asserted that it is

settled at the core of the exercises of hegemony. This conceptualization seeks to somewhat brighten the complex relations of domination and subordination, and how class interests are (re)apprehended through (urban) space. By putting this conceptualization draws two tracks: Hegemony exercised through processes and relations about space; and Hegemony exercised through spatial forms and processes; and refined the conceptual outlook in this frame and tries to understand the dynamic elements, forms of alliances, tunes, differentiated relations of domination and subordination and to take them all in order to enhance the political analysis of urban space.

Reproduction of hegemony and changing scopes of hegemony should be analyzed following the capitalist urbanization orders, spatiality and temporality of capital accumulation and the conditions of class struggle. In this sense, the spatial exercise of hegemony, which is a course of hegemony manufactured by spatial forms, relation and processes, has to renew and reproduce its repertoire, constantly to ensure a way of an alignment of classes.

Why does this study situates “spatial exercise of hegemony” currently? Is this rooted in a confrontation to theoretical implications or not? The current form of urban change, what we challenge with is empirically new; however, it lays on the theoretical horizons of production of space and hegemony. Thus, there is no confrontation to the theory. The study intends to find a way to explain the contradictory empirical issues with better and explicit conceptual and to endeavour possible operative ways for examinations.

While discussing the Poulantzas-Miliband debate on the Marxist political thought about the role of the state, Laclau says that “a theoretical critique starts from the ‘empirical’ confrontation of the theoretical system under consideration” (1975:95). However, herein there is not a theoretical critique. There is no theoretical problem; this study is not doing reconstruction or resolving of the theory, or not attempting to create a new theoretical system. It just highlights a part and conceptualizes it concerning empirical analysis. The theoretical approach is fruitful. Stressing the

theoretical nature- bases, the conceptualization (by the exercise of hegemony through spatial relations, processes, and forms) aims to descriptively express the phenomena. Re-formulation employing relations and processes about space and spatial forms and processes expresses the issues in a more interpretive way. In other ways, this conceptualization can be identified as practical concepts to point to the specificity of the conditions which dwell upon increasing contradictions of the capitalist urbanization accelerated switches of secondary circuits of capital accumulation through the reproduction of the built environment.

Obviously, there is not an inadequacy in explaining the real, empirical issues for the theory of hegemony. This study is not rooted from this point onward. In fact, there is not critique or opposition to the concept of hegemony. Indeed, this study seeks to highlight a significant aspect of hegemony, which is (urban) space. Profoundly, this conceptualization dwells upon the hegemony theory. The spatial exercise of hegemony is extricated from the theoretical ground of hegemony and the production of space. The conceptual statement is laid over those theoretical insights.

Spatial exercise of hegemony is a specific political term of hegemony dwelling upon the thoughts of Lefebvre and Gramsci. As their insights intersected, space is political and wherein, thereby social relations are produced through, (urban) space is a terrain of hegemony. Their thoughts articulate relations of state, capitalism, dominant knowledge and everyday life. According to them, hegemony is exercised through the condensation of micro and macro politics of reality. In this condensation process, there are different conjectures, scales, scopes, levels of coordination and subordination powers, composing political-institutional-administrative interventions, mental space impacts, and materialities of built environment elements such as housing environments, infrastructures, symbolic features, workplaces etc. This condensation is a temporal issue based upon relations of past, present and future and the articulation of the means of hegemony is temporally reproduced. Thus, exploring the means of hegemony for a definite time and space context can enable us to figure out the means and their strengths

and weakening points of articulations. There is no fixed formulation. Indeed, along with the processes of spatial fixes, reorganization of space regarding overcome the crisis-tendency of capitalism, new mediums occur. Besides, there is no societal unity in the formation of hegemony (Jessop, 2003); thus, it is formed up by the differentiation with reference to specific conjectures, class fractions and geographies. Nevertheless, this condensation also incorporates the contradictions and thus involves the potential disrupting points of the dominance and the possibilities of struggle.

The conceptualization of spatial exercise of hegemony is inspired by Lefebvre's this thought-provoking question that "is it conceivable that the exercise of hegemony leaves space untouched?" (1991: 11); besides, the statement that hegemony is a spatial project. In this scope, he exposes in several phases the relations of classes with the critique of capitalism that is organized through everyday life. By his scrutinization of for instance, the apprehension of class interests is featured by enjoyment and/or sufferings, which are challenging class interest. They are formed out through the contradictions general interests and private interests, and these are all spatial issues. Well then, even if it is more explicit, following the theoretical explanations, why didn't anyone conceptualize "spatial exercise of hegemony" in specific term employing spatial forms, relations and processes? Arguably, here are two possible answers. One is that it might be thought it is "right over there" in the theoretical explanations, no need to go beyond, acclaimed all as the given entities and thus, not interested to go through. Second is that it might be found as so-complicated and how to observe it is not a straight answer enabling the research with success. Whatsoever, it may be the right time to discuss it now. Indeed, as it is challenged with the context of Turkey, temporal and spatial trajectory paves us to argue upon it now.

Why does this study situates "spatial hegemony", "spatial exercise of hegemony"? There is no explicit explanation or expression that takes spatial forms, processes and relations about space altogether and examines their articulations and disassociations, disconnections, circumstantially-temporally reproduced, with

which multi-sourced. Indeed, some studies about urban processes are put forth as hegemonic, as explored through the processes of capital accumulation, which are usually and solely depending on the analysis of dominant knowledge - as if this is all that matters- and coordinating forces about the reproduction of spaces. Nevertheless, there is not an approach that brings spatial forms, processes and relations about space, considering their dialectical relations.

In other words, up to now, commonly, the intended actions, such as state interventions, legislations, discourses of media, agent relations based sources/examinations, have an impact on the socialization of the dominant interest. However, this work points out articulation of intended and unintended means of hegemonic exercises, with drawing a temporally-spatially dynamic framework. The study intends to figure out and go in-depth of the processes of unintendedly exercising for the socialization of dominance, of involving the working class into dominant order. In the way, it aims to unearth different spatial relations and their articulations and disconnections (i.e. political belongings that shape attitudes about urban change, reproduced unequal gender relations that are reconfigured by the urban transformation, symbolic figures imposed by the mosques, the surveillance practices in public spaces, (un)seeing an advertisement on the billboard, rehabilitation practices that results in displacement of the inhabitants, experiencing the changes around workplace environments, etc.). Concerning the preliminary analysis or sketchy uses of the notion of hegemony regarding urban space, the main endeavour of the conceptualization of spatial exercise of hegemony was to lighten and make the empirical analysis more specific.

Beyond doubt, dominants introduce several means (i.e. enactment of laws about spatial organization, applying new rules about reordering property relations, media discourses favoring creation of values through expropriating practices, distribution of land rents via implementing new construction rights, collaboration of agents and institutions, expert practices such as urban planning) that are strategically configured- into practice aiming to roll out the collective will of the society as

supposing that anchor of one or more of them, will lead embodiment of the capitalist interests.

By the way, this study held in the field of urbanism aspiring to extend its outlook for understanding complex power relations of urban space, is not limited to the critique of the capitalist urban planning actions that are applied to justify capitalist spatial interventions. Even though they are coordinating the processes of space production and have a significant role in exercising hegemony through mobilizing (il)legitimacy of the spatial interventions, this study did not centrally focus on those practices; instead, it attempted to extend its calibre by questioning a broadened framework. Nevertheless, tracing where and what purposes planning actions are taking place is an orbiting feature, to some extent, that indicates the spaces of conflicts. As observed, the terrain of the hegemony is not limited to those, and in a more extensive framework, interlinked, multi-sites, multi-scaled power relations rules.

Furthermore, this conceptualization takes the impacts of seen ordinary things and practices into account, which are under-explored, seemingly those are approached unquestionably given entities. We had a specific attention to those. The unintended aspect of exercising is often disregarded -or undertaken as disregarded- perhaps because it is difficult to resolve it, despite the fact that they are crucial mediums of socialization of space, capitalist urban space, and socialization for internalization of dominant interests, either by challenging or negotiating with it. Thus this conceptual framework pursued to take impacts of unintended aspects of hegemonic exercises.

Regarding this hypothesized conceptualization, the fourth chapter which displayed an exploration in three tracks, simply revealed how multi-scalar, multi-sited issues, contextually-differentiated processes, seemed ordinary things and performances, overt and subtle confrontation mediums, and subjectivities related to space can be (in)directly influential means or explicitly conflictual means that will impact apprehension of class interests. Thus, this conceptualization and explorations with

refer to it offered to apprehend the processes of continuity and discontinuity of the power relations, to see fragments of the relations of subordination and domination, to picture how geographically they are presented, such as implosion and explosion of urban changes both manifested in the core and peripheries of the city as a result of tempered motives of the capital accumulation through the reproduction of the built environment. This study inquiring the possible modes of articulations of classes that lead involvement to the dominant class interest, explains those with the notions of spatial forms, processes and relations, by examining the Turkey case with major themes and a fieldwork attempt in Ankara.

Why does this study put forward “spatial exercise of hegemony”? The intent of the conceptualization dwells upon three major issues, which are as follows: (i) To have a better understanding of exercises of hegemony because there is no meaningful and explicatory conceptual framework with a spatial-historical perspective by using spatial forms, processes and relations and offering possible research issues. (ii) To overcome insufficiency of the methodologies applied in surveying hegemony, which also results in the epistemological problem. This study emphasizes the everyday experiences of the working class (even though it failed in its fieldwork-attempt). The purpose is to abolish the methodological abuses of studies which seemingly reasons insufficiency, by only analyzing the dominant sources and overlooking experiences of the working class, whereas they are crucial to notice and understand how socially reproduced this trajectory of capitalist urbanization, (iii) to brighten the relationship of empirical evidence and theoretical insights.

Whether the spatial exercise of hegemony is surfaced now or not? Indeed, it is not, but it is blazing now, concerning the case of Turkey. As we reviewed the theoretical studies, it has been argued within the critique of capitalist urbanization and there are key figures of this conceptualization. Nevertheless, considering the condition of capitalist urbanization, broken out with diverse implosions and explosions in urban space, it can be propounded that it is much more challenging. The conceptualization is surfaced now because everywhere is excavation and fields of construction; state interventions to space have scaled up lately; seemingly a

large segment of the society think of every piece of urban space possible actions of interventions and transformation, there are several elements, phenomena, arguments that shape imagination about urban change, intriguing through the change of urban space, property relations on the basis of construction rights and vice versa. Therefore, this argument with offering a conceptualization has surfaced recently. It is put forward to understand the issues better and broaden and dynamic scope of (dis)articulations. It is forefronted and ever-than-before, spatial forms and processes, relations and processes about space, rule politics majorly and everyday life. Thus, this study composes those active conflicting relations, processes and forms, as the stimulating factors about relations of domination and subordination through the reproduction of urban space.

This work drags spatial forms and processes to a central point of the analysis in opposition to the approaches that reify or underestimate spatial forms in their analysis by positing that forms ve processes are pre-assumed as they are given entities utilized to mobilize hegemony. Also spatial forms are simply more upfront issues-affairs, yet it is not simple as it is posited, they are power-laden, conflict-ridden. They don't have a pure-soft nature, they are rather complex, and we acclaimed that they are the hints of unintended exercises of hegemony, therefore they are significant issues to be critically analyzed. Because, these are mere mediums of socialization of dominant interests, as sources of contradictions.

This dissertation remarks on the relationship perception and exercise of hegemony. This study wondered and aimed to deepen understanding among those two. For that, it carried out fieldwork, and it significantly opened the author's mind or approach, despite having some methodological challenges and problems. Nevertheless, as the fieldwork has several limitations and critiques in terms of methodological design, it is not centrally ranked in this thesis. The perceptual aspect of hegemony through spatial forms and processes is a promising research topic to be gone through. Following that emphasis, this study put forwards that not all forms produce an archetypical perception for society; perception changes in terms of time and dominant impositions. It opens up inquiries around those

concepts: turn of perception into hegemony, perception under hegemony and hegemony under the perception.

On the basis of the relationality of forms and processes: Apart from Jessop's relational-strategic aspect of hegemony, which acclaims relationality among the economic, political and ideological affairs within relations of the capital accumulation regimes, herein by further scaled up the relationality, what it is meant by relationality is a relational perception of the spatial conception of forms and processes. Characterization and production of meanings about space (forms and processes) is not merely recognized – taken shape by singular units; it has a rather extended framework and materialized with relational assessments. Under relationality of perception and through relational exercise of hegemony by forms and processes, contextuality is a hallmark for the characterization phase of exercise of hegemony.

Following the above argument, as this study emphasizes the spatial forms and process, questions come such as: Why are forms forefronted?, and is that the first instance it came to the forefront?

The spatial forms and processes are the ever products and producers of the hegemonic projects, as a means of mobilizing common senses. Form is always as a means of determining power relations as an important, indispensable part, of perception, of experience thereby apprehension of class interests is realized. However, in this moment and context of excessive materiality production, it is argued that these become even more prominent. Materiality politics has ruling much more and the class struggles challenges this materiality. Nonetheless, clarifying that it is not the first instance their significance is noticed or argued. What is distinctive is that their complex relations have been scaled up. Concentrated forces of capital accumulation in urban space cause implosions and explosions both in the core areas and fringe of the cities. These multiple forms of -implosions and explosions- led us to think, what kind of a power they result in society, how can confrations be mobilized, why not confrontations are not

mobilized. In this context, how apprehension of class interests are reshaped with which relations actually gain importance in the internalization of power and the determination of their own class interests.

Spatial forms and embedded processes of the forms with practices are not just materialities. They are inscribed to class struggles, conflicts as more than before because commodification of urban space has intensified and increased the reproduction practices of the built environment. Examination of spatial forms and processes exercising hegemony is thus significant, and they are sole capitalist products and means of socialization of capitalists. In other words, whenever they become a matter of class dominance and serve the interest of capital, at this point, it can be said to be hegemonic. How is this noticed? They can be noticed through the understanding of everyday life because they are realized in temporalities and spatialities of everyday life through employed attention of what, articulation of which elements of urban change, in which proximities and with which weights, embodied practices of what, with differentiated reflections either desire or confrontations and likewise.

Although the role of form in power relations, in specific relations of domination-subordination, has been underlined and discussed a lot, it has not been dealt with in terms of processes, relations and form in a conceptual framework. This study attempts to show these linkages. As a unit element that is often reified or approached as a given entity, the form has actually had a different political operation today. This study states that historically it is important to highlight how and in which aspects it has a hegemonic effect on the current complexity of form in a situation where the commodification period of space accelerates with the thrust of capital accumulation processes.

In any capitalist spatial intervention, a form of interest - the rationale is to gain a kind of interest and thereby causing contradictions of labour, class and land. There is no specificity of the AKP rule. Yet, there is a specificity of the relations of capital accumulation, urban space, labour considering those: increasing

privatization of public lands and public services, changing property relations, exploitation of common spaces, overruling publicity, flexible and deregulation of planning exercises that operate and officially justified commodification of spaces, increasing indebted conditions regarding ownership, applied of large-scale urban (re)development projects, etc. This period witnessed a great transformation of the urban space and resulted in complex relations. This study remarks this historically-specific condition and necessarily, it should be analyzed. Forms and processes, thus, have been forefronted in this context.

Notably, spatial forms and processes are not responsible features or sources of for all class conflicts, political contestation or urban questions; however, in which circumstances and contexts forms and processes become means of hegemony is assumed research problematic of urban studies.

Remarking that not all spatial relations, processes and forms are hegemonic, what makes them hegemonic is being one of the mediums through which the workers embrace dominant capitalist interest in a way within the moments or contexts that they are involved in. But how is it exercised? This is a question difficult to answer with exact and indefectible statements. Because apprehension of class interest is a temporal and spatial practice dwelling based on experiences. It is difficult to notice this continuous, contextually-reproduced, challenging issue with its all dimensions. It is exercised within the scope of multiscale, fragmented, multi-faceted, temporally reproduced relations of past, present and future, through an perceived process (i.e. ruins and demolition of gecekondü areas, imagination of new housing blocks), through marking a new difference (i.e. the construction of a new housing structure by seizing public land or reproduction of infrastructure networks with the construction of bridges, or airports), through subjectivities dwelling based on gendered discriminations, patriarchal power relations, enforcements, ideological attitudes regarding the transformation of specific areas (i.e. approval for the construction of mosque albeit that dispels land of urban park), knowledge about legislations actions which catalyze urban change and expropriation, seeing watchmen in every corner of the neighbourhood, etc. The condensation of those

micro and macro policies is exercised with those -possible- interconnected in temporal and spatial tunes, and thereby it is assumed that class interest are continuously recalibrated.

How are we able to understand which of those have hegemonic impacts? This study challenged how this internalization through forms and processes take place. Arguably, it comes true sometimes with the inability to get closer to a public space, sometimes with a newspaper article, sometimes by signing an urban transformation project contract. It realizes in everyday life, in moments and places where attention is normalized, appropriated, problematized, and/or ignored, which takes place momentarily and circumstancely. These are sometimes understood as verbalized by overt and sometimes by subtle means.

This study believes that hegemonic power relations can be understood by subtle involvement and exclusion of spatial processes, forms, relations about space. This complex relationship can be dug by analyzing and portraying spatial processes, relations and forms, which are either or all in sorts of legitimizing means of the spatial interventions. These are featured, for instance, by an introduction of new forms taking the imaginations, appreciation of cause-effect relations of spatial interventions (i.e. infrastructural projects), by being enforced to change daily practice, by involving challenges or contests, struggling means. It can be traced by understanding the attention of what and why, during practising what, proximities of the practices, the scope of knowledge as obtained, and/or the way of (re)valuation of the built environment. A debatable approach, as an attempt to understand hegemonic exercises, is put forward, which supposes to analyze with four reflections: i) approaches to (spatial) conflicts, - i.e. that are featured by agents or political actors-, ii) approaches to appropriated spaces, iii) issues that are problematized, and by which reasons, and iv) normalized issues with regards to the temporariness of urban space change. By looking at those, the prerequisite involves what the significant changes are, dynamics as the theoretical insights pave the way explicitly (analysis on the topics of legislation, institutional relations, authorities, intellectual agents, religious impacts, patriarchy, symbolic figures, and likewise).

Concludingly, this study, with its exploratory research, posits possible sources of those processes of determining class interest in the urban space. Hence, it tries to figure out the factors, circumstances, elements, relations, conflicts that are possible means of how society internalizes the dominant class interest, thereby seeking to understand the spatial exercises of hegemony.

The pathway of hegemony is not warranted, and it compels the reproduction of its scope and means. There are several dynamics of the construction of hegemony. Therefore, the argument on spatial exercise of hegemony is not limited to common national popular and large-scale urban redevelopment projects; rather, its scope is quite broadened. Everyday spatial practices produced and urged under the configuration of the capitalist mode of urban space wherein political apprehension is driven through (simultaneously- temporally). This is the medium of exercise of hegemony.

Highlighting the conjecture analysis of Gramsci, this thesis emphasizes the conjecture of the space of practice, which is approached by the concept of circumstances of hegemony. The spatial exercise of hegemony is context-oriented or context-dependent. Likewise, this research emphasizes the temporariness of hegemony by and in space. Forms and mechanism/operation of force and consent infuse in a certain context and spatial configuration. The impact of hegemony will be loosened or strengthened according to the changing circumstances. In principle, changing power dynamics evolved through the struggle of classes, hegemony split or weakened. Nevertheless, one step further, when the political conjectures challenge with grand, instant issues (i.e. war, pandemic, disaster), the hegemonic balance of classes is deeply unsettled. In those conditions, dominants by a manoeuvring sense seek to re-consolidate efforts into practice by introducing new means, re-exercising some sensitive issues, or applying coercive rules. Consequently, the scope of spatial exercise of hegemony is rejuvenated. Some means can be redeemed or exacerbated. The temporality of hegemonic exercises is a prominent character.

A possible discussion will be carried out regarding the common use of “construction” term for hegemony, which alludes to one-way functioning patterns. Instead of construction, this study embraces the use and conceptualizes “exercise of hegemony”. Even though this study begins with the expression of construction, it then enhances its approach. Throughout carrying out studies, it questions which one is appropriate? Since the word of “exercise” allows encompassing the dialectics of intended and unintended impact of hegemony, it found out more convenient and preferable. Moreover, unintended aspects of the exercise of hegemony manifested by spatial forms and processes materialized by urban dwellers' practices in space are the most pivotal matter. The unintendedness of the practices has a potential of counter-hegemony, reactionary; therefore, the dominant courses are aimed at entrapping spatial practices with various means and forms. This study aims to shed light on these parts and understand the conjectures of the realizations of the hegemony.

The significance of the work can be resolved with its conceptual argument and research methodology applied for a survey of the constitution of hegemony.

Firstly, this study employs a broad theoretical discussion about hegemony and the relationship of hegemony with the (re)production of (urban) space. Hegemony, which is a key term for comprehension of class power relations, is embraced majorly in political studies. However, studies on space politics have made significant contributions through acquired theoretical arguments and empirical analyses in relation to the constitution of hegemony. Nonetheless, it is thought that there are more to crystallize the interlinkages of those two fields of studies. In particular, correlations on the bases of exercise of hegemony through the lenses of urban studies are required. It is the main challenge of this work. This research aims to enable a convergence of approaches of two disciplines on the concept of the hegemony of urban (design) studies and (urban) political studies. It puts forth interlinked theoretical debates done on this question and pictures related arguments held in Turkey regarding this context. Secondly, methodologically carrying out everyday ethnographic research was a research design that has not been an applied

way of research in the studies that tackles and argues hegemony in relation to space. Therefore, it is assumed as a methodological attempt to improve research ways of studies that deal with hegemony. Essentially, this is a remark for urban studies. Thirdly, portraying the research context, this study focused on AKP period in Turkey and carries out fieldwork in Ankara since it is one of the city where hegemonic impulses are strategically employed due to the concentration of capital accumulation driven through the production of built environment and recognition as a locus for the political domination of the authority.

Scrutinizing the AKP era by resuming the related issues and dynamics is also significant for the defined research problem. Because this era refers to a historically-spatially specific period through which there are exclusive conditions for the survival of capital accumulation aiming to drive production of the built environment perpetually.

6.1.2 Limitations

The major limitation of the research is not building the dissertation in a testing-out way, which is a more proper and clear way for each PhD study. Going on by making exploratory research and putting hypotheses afterwards, is in the nature of conceptual arguments like this study followed through. Nevertheless, this embraced way of study is thus a foggy road, making it difficult.

The second limitation of this study is failure or weakness of fieldwork -attempt-carried out in Ankara. This study, as it fails in the fieldwork in a sort of way, can be defined as insufficient to overlay how spatiality of hegemony is exercised with exact terms and left enabling to state just tunes, featuring those tunes can be defined as possible research issues. Even though it fails, making a fieldwork with ethnographic research means following everyday practices has positively impacted the researcher's perspective. But the failure of the fieldwork is a reality, thus, the lack of empirically more clear, reclaimed by its methodological problems (i.e.

having survey with a definite group overriding the argument common senses of heterogeneous or homogeneous social groups, focal studies rather than extended spatial frameworks, etc.). So, not having a steady work is a limitation. Indeed, it is difficult to express all dynamics, especially to observe the implicit issue: internalization of the capitalist interests albeit conflicting to own class interest, the means of collective will or conditions of involvement to dominant orders, and as well as struggling means. Researching the exercise of hegemony is surveying the means of social reproduction of capitalist urbanisation, thus, it is broadened and conflictual. Having surveys or attempts can only be capable of raising one or more points to this grand terrain of research. This study in this sense has a limited contribution. Besides, in the fourth chapter, where makes an explorations has some overall examinations at some points (i.e. gender relations, working conditions). These are reviewed with basic touches believing that those issues should not be neglected and they have -possible- important impacts to the spatial exercises of hegemony. However, they are overall and deserve to be detailed analysis.

6.2 Further questions and reflections about the scope of the thesis

This study, remarking spatial forms, processes and relations about space dwelling on the production of space, intends to note down or name what is forefront and attempts to make relations - to some extent- visible. The excessive amount of and aggressively produced built environment, which is a means of specific condition capital accumulation, result in over-production and extreme change in urban environment. The entrapment of urban change -through which the worker class is oppressed and exploited much more, brings forth a question of how this condition will be survived through explicit coercion and consent mechanisms. On what grounds these conditions are articulated and can be disarticulated and abolished. This study emphasizes the contestation of hegemony and counter hegemony, which is an ever-dynamic essence. Monitoring class struggles and after that writing synopsis of the means and debating what constitutes the background of the counter-

hegemonic formations will be explicable - to a certain extent -. However, it is fundamental to figure out the possible confrontation mediums, and conditions that possibly mobilize class struggle. To foster counter hegemony and thereby emancipatory forms of everyday life for the subalterns, we need to abolish those hegemonic entrapments of the urban space, and thus to find out how the conditions of involvement to dominant orders is –possibly– exercised. Putting forward the conceptual framework, and pursuing that offering possible research issues, this study hopes to draw an exploration terrain to outmaneuver the capitalist overwhelming urban configuration, seemingly workers trapped, but this entrapment harbors the class struggle. Thus this study will be criticized and developed furtherly. For that, the exploratory study, as in the fourth chapter, can be detailed. Some topics will be extracted, new possible ones will be joined. Maybe, locally-specific surveys, observation of spatial-temporal means focussing on a specific place or processes, can be applied. Moreover, specific class fractioned based surveys will be carried out. Likewise, for a specific-temporality, crisis-moments of hegemony such as pandemic times will be further researched. Besides, studies upon the offered possible research issues can be detailed, for instance, how different modes of mobility is a factor to apprehend power relations in urban space. Finally, experience-based surveys can be made, which will allow us to understand what materially constitutes discontinuity and continuity whereby consent or force is exercised through.

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APPENDICES

A. Postscript

This postscript is a brief of the fieldwork attempt. It summarizes the research questions, main initial arguments of the survey and draws the research methodology; yet it does not detail the findings and examinations. Concludingly, it expresses some remarks and research issues that are put forward by the survey.

A SURVEY IN ANKARA: EXPLORATION OF CIRCUMSTANCES AND TUNES OF HEGEMONY EXERCISED BY FORMS AND PROCESSES

Spatial forms and processes have a significant role in driving class alliances of power, which means the exercise of hegemony. The research is mainly focussed on questioning by means of which characteristics of spatial forms and processes are apprehended through the spatial practices as hegemonic. Besides, within which spheres or circumstances spatial forms and processes become sources of hegemony and how their interplays are succeeded in the embodiment of dominant interests are taken into consideration. Regarding the changes in urban space, how urban dwellers of the working class drive their political thoughts and in which means or in which contexts those political thoughts are communalized and thereby become entities of hegemony. For the problematic, introducing everyday ethnography methodology through tracing inhabiting spaces among the housing and workplace, this survey is carried out in Ankara to analyze how inhabitants' insights are produced by the morphological and temporal configuration of urban space and the spatial practices in their everyday life. This study focussing on workers's spatial praxis may fail to express them all; however, it can be accounted as a step to enrich the hegemony studies in this sense.

Going beyond how hegemony is exercised through spatial forms and processes

Urban is reconceptualized through “production of space and the production of spatio-temporality”, in which there is a “dialectical relationship between process

and thing” (Harvey, 1997:23). For him, the main phenomenon that urban researchers have to challenge “relationships between processes and things”. For us, it is fundamental for deepening the understanding of hegemony analytically. Our question is how hegemony is produced by processes and forms. We aspire to present the common characteristics of those processes and forms regarding urban spatial change that lead to consent and force in a way.

Either involved in inclusion by space –through consent-, or in exclusion by space-through force-; spatial forms and processes inherently rolls through the conditions associated with other integral aspects of hegemony. Aspiring to enrich urban studies, this study seeks to find a way to analyze changing and conflictual spatial figures of the built environment in terms of power relations. Indeed, it is a recognition of hegemony, mainly using spatial issues and processes, so that it pursues to examine hegemony more operationally. This study challenges whether every spatial setting, the topic is subject of hegemony or not; how spatially hegemonic configurations in forms of structures, patterns, processes can be found out; and whether each spatial happening has any role in the construction of hegemony or not. We question possible methodologies and facts to identify and discriminate spatial forms featured with hegemony. Particularly, what kind of spatial associations formations are -probably- subject of hegemony and facilitate us to review the theoretical toolbox.

Meanwhile, there are some settled conditions left in backward of the living or today hegemony. In this respect, we tackle the conflicting issues that are assumed as constituents of hegemony, through which power relations are generated and consecutively reproduced. Indeed, what is significant for political authority and capitalists settles the ground of, subject of, hegemony. That is a broad phenomenon to handle and comment on. Moreover, hegemony, similarly hegemony that is exercised by spatial forms and processes, is inherently a continuous, temporally divergent and imaginarily driven phenomenon. Hegemony, to guarantee power via creating class alliances, takes particular forms for different periods and context for a particular class of the society. Thus, this study requires adjusting analytical lenses

towards hegemony for urban affairs in a more definite manner, such as carrying a survey in Ankara for a recent period. In this sense, critical assessment of current urban questions leads us to think through exploration by the spatial exercise of hegemony stimulated by spatial forms and processes.

This survey spotlights the hegemonic aspect of perceived space, which is intrinsically related to lived space and conceived space. Indeed, it is a survey exploring the intersectionality of practice and materiality, as conceptualized by forms and processes, for the exercise of hegemony. With a basic inquiry of how class alliances are formed up by spatial forms and processes, dialectics of spatial practices and political responses are questioned with regards to the exercise of hegemony. Assessment of urban space by means of forms and processes and decisions of the courses of practices or assessments of enforced practices are all interlinked issues and produced/products of power relations. About the exercise of hegemony, these are simply put into question. Putting aside the impact of hegemony constituted through relations and processes about space. In this context, research questions are defined as followings:

In specific, how do spatial forms and processes draw active consent through everyday life experience? For the current urban geography of Ankara, what are the common characteristics, properties or tunes of forms and processes that stimulate the constitution of hegemony? How does hegemony dwell through the perceptions of space, in which scope of interest? What are the mediums of forms and processes, the practices that ally and articulate classes on the ground of dominant interests? In detail, the questions are as follows: (i) How do perceptual differences have a relation with the constitution of hegemony? What are the factors that shape the circumstances of exercises of hegemony? (ii) What are the sources or elements of hegemony in terms of forms and processes? What are evident forms and processes in Ankara that have a hegemonic impact(s) on urban inhabitants? (iii) What does figure out through the practice among workplace and housing environments, as a defined sphere of everyday experience? In terms of exercises of hegemony, which conditions of practices manifest? (iv) Regarding conflicts of space as referred to,

what are the common senses about forms and processes that are perceived as power relations? How does a temporally changing understanding of the conflicts occur? Whether all conflicts are regarded or not? How do the working class people perceive spaces of conflict in Ankara? By which mean conflict spaces are regarded as aspects/tunes of exercise of hegemony? Moreover, by which means they are not? Geographically how are we able to represent spatial exercises of hegemony, whether hegemony forms up in implosions and explosions of the urban built environment of Ankara or not?

Observation of hegemony exercised by spatial forms and processes means exploring powers of forms and processes.

Understanding hegemony exercises by spatial forms and processes, in other words, the courses of spatial form and processes in the construction of hegemony, is essential to develop critical geography. In this context, this part surveys the scope of consolidated patterns of conflicting urban issues. The investigation framework drawn above might encounter a critique, on the grounds of being so-structured. However, the drawn framework with forms and processes will change in time and under the contexts. This approach implies a relational and analytical lens to have an insight about exercises of hegemony produced spatially. It is a sphere of hegemony that employs the cognitive aspect of hegemony whereinspatial praxis occurs, pre-supposedly produced by forms and temporalities. Multi-scalar conditions operate the relations of domination and subordination. Regarding the spatial conception, pre-assumed key themes that impact the perception are such that: the power of corporeality and void, verticality, visibility-imaginings, aestheticization and non-aestheticization, contrasts and asymmetries, repetition-sameness, complexity, temporality, property relations, arbitrariness and disorderliness. Herewith, the question is to what extent they are factors, in which circumstance they are, what else the factors, and whether those all supposed conceptions are ever-hegemonic, as a means to apprehend dominant class interest regarding the built environment production.

Research methodology

Methodologically, this survey embraces ethnographic research ways, namely everyday ethnography, political ethnography and visual ethnography. Entanglement of three around the everyday ethnography is an appropriate way to scrutinize how the urban environment is apprehended and sensed with which attitudes and feelings and circumstances. Because everyday ethnographic research enables the discovery of and portraying individuals' conceptualizations, justifications, and interpretation for their environment by their everyday experiences; therefore, it is assumed a respective way of exploring the politics of space. Indeed, ethnographic findings in fragmented, hierarchical, differential and uneven spatial questions mentor the understanding of space with political terms and how space is inscribed with which features. As theoretically agreed that the hegemony is embedded in everyday life experiences, it paves the way for the orders of originating political understanding of space. Nevertheless, as a self-critique, this study has failed at some points. That is to say; it is not entirely providing an everyday ethnography since it has done surveys for a medium of an everyday work day, a repetitive spatial practice among workplace and housing environments.

The framework of space and time originates through the specificity of the historical period and context defined with the scope of excessive capital accumulation by reproducing the built environment that distinctively manifested in Ankara, 2019. The AKP rules this historically-specific period. The reason why we explore spatial exercises means of hegemony in Ankara can be expressed as follows. i) It is an urban context wherein practices of capital accumulation through reproduction of the built environment are significant in terms of amount and intensified actions where taken. ii) It involves more or less some political manifestations laid on historical and ideological power conflicts. Thus, it subjects politically revanchist urban interventions to strengthen power relations, thereby legitimating its actions and constructing political hegemony in this vein. Ankara is the space in which the "everyday state" is produced.

We designate to convey the research for workingclass people, the principally who are aimed to be contained within the scope of dominant interest. In doing so, this study intends to enrich the epistemological terrain of the research question. For workers, how spatial forms and processes are influential; and by which means they are effective.

Data productions of qualitative research

Fieldwork, beyond author self-experience and fieldnotes, is grounded on doing unstructured in-depth interviews with production of visual materials through the journeys. By carrying out ethnographic research under qualitative research, it is expected to obtain outcomes, findings by doing so, opening up the theoretical debate via (re)examining the study's statement. Investigating the components of spatial exercise of hegemony, political and visual ethnographic research is conducted to understand how spatial form and processes are traced through and respectively how they are ascribed political meanings.

In this respect, we formulate some open questions in depth-interviews to understand what are the self-assumptions of individuals regarding their life, what kind of things are accepted as the bare things, for what kind of things people react to, what forms of daily life experiences are sources of consent manufacturing, how daily experiences are interpreted, how they configure their public realm and likewise. In brief, interviews focussed on perceptual assessments among the workplace and housing environment, which makes them disturbed or pleased with which formations in everyday life practices.

Research context-based: Spectating the conflicts

Aiming to settle an ethnographic critical eye about reproduction of space and in that way to delve into how spatial hegemony is constituted, first of all, we define the scope of research throughout framing with what happens contemporarily in Ankara, and point out the conflictual issues found out in legal ground or empirically, in otherwords, what are the major forms of spatial interventions. The

main intervention topics are as follows: large-scale urban housing developments, urban transformation projects, reproduction of housing areas, reproduction of central areas and centralities, reproduction processes of administrative areas, public spaces and etc. They are mapped out basically. This base map of conflicts, by the reproduction of space, portrays a comprehensive way of spatial interventions materialized on a large-scale, but it also embraces small scale interventions. Tracing the current urban conflicts and mapping them enables us to carry out the evaluation geographically.

“Following conflicts” is one of the conceptualizations done by Marcus (1995) used for conducting ethnographic research. We question that urban space has dwelled upon the conflicts, where contradictions of classes interest occur. In this research, we are following conflicts, regarded as domains of spatial exercise of hegemony because conflicts are acclaimed as the points where capitalist efforts or/and political authority’s interventions are particularly introduced to reproduce space.

Regarding the work of CCP, within which the author has involved in and also originated the idea of representing the juridical struggle of the organization by means of spatializing the case areas, points out main urban conflictual areas by means of a mapping of the cases that have been filed up in Ankara for the period of from 2013 to 2018 (see Figure 4.5). The Figure represents the “litigation struggle” of geography. It grounds the research context composing conflictual issues such as urban plan amendments, new planning exercises, or spatial changes executed by means of planning tools or related urban space administrative acts posing urban change and they are thought as exercises handled opposed to the public benefit in principle; indeed they are presumed as issues seeking to pursue capital accumulation by space and strengthen the political power of the AKP throughout urging symbolic interventions and empowering power bloc of capitalism. And by those works become juridical contestations, they refer to changing forms in different scales of point and processes of reproduction of (urban) space. The conflict map for litigation struggle of CCP for Ankara presents geographically where the spatial interventions take place. It is as well a representation of the

current conflictual geography of Ankara, but not limited to, implying where spatial struggles are on the ground of litigation, by which insurances because the larger the point, the more persistence aiming to realize capital accumulation through the production of the built environment, how expansive and dense in which parts of the city. It displays changing and concentrated forms of urban changes and reproduction processes of urban space in Ankara. The period between 2013 and 2018, the study we reference, is assumed as the period of AKP realizing turbulent urban changes in Turkey and Ankara. Besides, it can be conveniently stated that the conflicting geography of Ankara for the period back to the 2000s, the period under the rule of AKP, is more broadened and dense. However, the figure indicate several forms of implosions and explosions occur in both central and peripheral areas. Both this geographical apprehension and self-experience in Ankara enable to observe this dynamic urban change originating the thoughts of their interrelations temporally and spatially reproduced.

The extended case method of ethnography

As drawn above, a survey design concerning the conflicts, an extended-case method is applied for this research. Notedly, this way fieldwork surveys tunes or trends about exercises of hegemony that are stimulated by forms and processes, rather than making generalizations. In this sense, methodologically, it applies an extended-case method of ethnography. Burawoy asserts that the extended case method means a macrolevel of analysis. It draws out “macrofoundations of a microsociology”, and particular significance of social situation (1991), for the case of, analyzing a macroterm of hegemony through transversed everyday life experiences among the workplace and housing environment in different contexts of urban conflicts. Besides he specifies the properties of method acclaiming that it provides a generic explanation not general, object of the analysis is “situation”, it draws attention to “uniqueness is located in a context external to itself, which elucidates society” for the nature of totality, it is dealt with societal meaning of significance, it points out “indivisible connectedness of elements” about the causality of the research phenomenon, it is applicable for analysis of social changes

likewise “socialmovements” (1991: 280). Common sense is produced through the condensation of macro and micro social-spatial relations of everyday life. “Spatial expressions of social relations” (Castells,1978: 181) which are acquired by causal relations of spatial practices through everyday life, trace ways for understanding apprehension of power relations and so exercise of hegemony. For that, the extended case method, which aims “to uncover the macro foundations of a microsociology” presents a fundamental research method regarding the research problem. In the same vein, it is crucial to “respecify the meaning of micro and macro to appreciate the relevance of the extended case method for studying power and resistance in the modern metropolis” (Buraway, 1991:283). On that, an extended case method is defined as a proper way to surveying exercises of hegemony, which means interplays of power relations in urban space.

Research means: What happens in the meanwhile of workers’ everyday journey?

The experiences in urban space among the housing and workplace environment are assumed as a research means in the span of everyday rhythms. This is a means of everyday life for urban dwellers explicitly enforced to mediate or struggle with the state rules, power of the authority on the basis of spatial organization of urban space and capitalist productions of urban space. In the meanwhile of the everyday journey, apprehension of forms and processes materialized by spatial practices inherently infuses the formation of the (political) understanding of the space. The focus of fieldwork is how hegemony is being constructed through everyday life experiences in between housing environment and workplace environment. The research means is designated by the everyday journey in working life. Travel experience is a matter of fact for people’s everyday lives; thus, we spotlight this, one of the mediums of everyday life. It is assumed that in the meanwhile, the journey there is a penetration of consent-force. During the temporary everyday spatial practices, people develop their environmental perception andpolitical responses towards them.

The mobility of workers among the housing environment and workplace environment is a rhythm of everyday life. Our intent is to understand what kind of feelings or responses are manufactured through the forms and processes that are experienced, to find out tensioned issues, to notice unseen or non-sense things that are parts of urban questions. Concordantly, ethnography is a more convenient way of research concerning our question while exploring questions grounded on how and why. Employing an ethnographic survey, we believe that we will be able to catch some points of political senses produced in response to the internalization of spatial practices. By following this way, the survey devolves into finding (characteristics of) forms and processes currently active for the context of Ankara through doing everyday ethnography associated with political and visual ethnography.

Significance of spatial practice in between housing and workplace environment is questionless. This routine medium of urban space is a specific interval of workers' everyday life, through which political apprehension is being (re)settled. It is assumed that the housing environment and workplace environment are figures-elements of hegemony. The whole course of this practice involving every entity and aspects of this practice is a medium where power struggles are played out, and hegemony exercised throughout it.

Fieldwork analysis

This research has dwelled to draw circumstances of the hegemony that is exercised by spatial forms and processes, and we carried out fieldwork in Ankara. About contemporary urban geographical conditions of Ankara, we try to find out constituents and dynamics of exercises of hegemony, spheres of hegemony within the scope of space-practicing sphere. This part of the study presents the fieldwork findings rendering both manifested and subtle issues. Further, it seeks to open up arguments by reviewing tunes of exercises of hegemony via going through conceptualizations that are acquired from fieldwork.

The analysis is done with obtained findings via fieldnotes, transcriptions of the interviews, participant observations, analysis through visual materials (photographs), analysis by following the spatial conflicts acclaimed as sources of where hegemonic effort. With a critical approach, we elaborate characteristic points of everyday responses, reflections about perceptual aspects of the built environment, and how people settle and ascribe (political) meanings about their practiced urban environment and relevantly drive consent or feel coercion. Along with the conceptual schemas, drawings and photographs, observations about interviewees' emotions, behaviours, which are as far as caught up by the researcher, are all considered and conceptualize the featured facts regarding the research problem. Employing multi-sited ethnographic analysis and the extended case method of ethnography, we try to figure out political alliances of responses and narratives of the urban dwellers, through a means of their everyday environment, in relation to the fragmented forms of urban conflicts. Comprehensively, it is aimed to display (dis)articulated and co-exist forms and processes that are constituting hegemony for the current urban geography of Ankara.

This study, as a pathway, follows up those questions: i) what are the hegemonic factors for the urban workingclass in everyday life within the scope of journey among housing and workplace environment, ii) in this context, what kind of spatial forms and processes have hegemonic impacts (discrimination of hegemonic and non-hegemonic forms and processes); and secondly, on noticed hegemonic forms and processes it investigates what are the spheres of forms and processes and how they articulate with each other; thirdly, it explores the realization of hegemony by means of forms and processes by scaling up analysis probing those: for whom, by which practices, through which elements and through which characterization of forms and processes. Furthermore, in light of conflict research that is documentarily obtained based on litigation processes, this work reviews urban dwellers' perceptual and practical assessments about those conflicts. It primarily questions the exercises of hegemony referring to them, but not limited to those.

Thereby it seeks to do a broader survey enabling the advancement of conceptual terms to identify hegemony exercise.

Key information about interview group

This part first portrays the basic properties of the interviews and then, while examining what matters about the perception of everyday urban environments, briefly argues the possible courses of understanding of hegemonic impact for urban inhabitants. Second, it defines the scope of the survey and unfolds the significance of the experience among the workplace and housing environment for inclusion of dominant interests based on a political understanding of urban space and relations about space. Third, it puts forth the assessments in the pursuit of narrations and performances and pinpoints how hegemony is inclusive through the forms and processes, through which processes and forms, through which conditions of practices. It unveils featured forms and processes about hegemony exposed clearly in overt form or in latent form deduced from and comprehended through the depth-interviews that are done with a participated observation and exercised the everyday journey while in between housing and workplace environments.

interview	connection degree	sex	marriage status	period of living in	age	workplace district	workplace building type	housing district	housing building type	debt condition	property ownership status	mode of transport	mobility of core fringe relations	housing preference related to lifestyle
1	primary	female	married	30	21 years	semonjale-mezar	5 story office building	marak-abidinpage	5 story apartment building	tenant	by automobile	in core	family oriented	
2	primary	male	single	30	23 years	colobun-cankaya	25 story high-rise building, plaza	ataman-cankaya	5 story apartment building	tenant	by public transport metro bus	in core	family oriented	
3	primary	female	single	31	18 years	collo-cankaya	campus block, 3 story block	east-cankaya	5 story apartment building	tenant	by public transport bus	in core	family oriented	
4	primary	female	married	30	30 years	kolay-cankaya	5 story office building	ayranci-cankaya	5 story apartment building	tenant	by walking	in core	community oriented	
5	primary	female	single	30	30 years	new-cankaya	new built university campus - without any	semenca-cankaya	5 story apartment building	own property	by public transport bus	fringe to core	family oriented	
6	secondary	male	married	41	41 years	colim-venezuela	2 story manufacturing building	scuti-aydinlar	4 story apartment building	tenant	by automobile	in core	family oriented	
7	secondary	female based	married	31	13 years	troussaint-moutfahand	1 story restaurant	100-cankaya	7 story apartment complex	tenant	by automobile	in core	community oriented	
8	secondary	female	married	31	13 years	mekke-mevlak	5 story office building	bagca-attornogul	10 story new built gated-residence	get debt	jointly	by public transport bus	core to fringe	consumption and social prestige oriented
9	primary	female	married	33	33 years	mekke-golbag	5 story public building	barik-cankaya	5 story apartment building	tenant	by automobile	fringe to core fringe	family and social prestige oriented	
10	secondary	male	single	30	30 years	cankaya	single story office block	bagkale-ve-cankaya	5 story apartment building	tenant	by public transport metro	in core	family oriented	
11	primary	male	married	42	35 years	cali-karabag-cankaya	high-rise office building	ayvansalir	5 story apartment building, clustering	tenant	by automobile	in core	family oriented	
12	secondary	male	married	42	42 years	colim-venezuela	high-rise office building	caprakent-cankaya	10 story new built gated-residence	get debt	jointly	by automobile	core to fringe	consumption and social prestige oriented
13	primary	female	single	40	13 years	serin-karabag-cankaya	city-hospital complex	ayvansalir-attornogul	10 story residence buildings of new built gated area	tenant	by public transport - bus	core to fringe	community oriented	
14	secondary	male	married	42	24 years	colim-cankaya	high-rise office building	ayvansalir-attornogul	10 story residence buildings of new built gated area	get debt	jointly	by automobile	core to fringe	consumption and social prestige oriented
15	secondary	male based	married	43	22 years	cologlu-cankaya	high-rise public building	caprakent-cankaya	10 story new built gated-residence	get debt	jointly	by automobile	core to fringe	consumption and social prestige oriented
16	secondary	male	single	31	15 years	ayvansalir	5 story public school building	ayvansalir-cankaya	8 story apartment building	tenant	by public transport bus	fringe to core	community oriented	
17	secondary	male	married	32	13 years	colim-ve-ulus	3 story public hospital building complex	colim-cankaya	8 story apartment building	tenant	by public transport bus	in core	community oriented	
18	secondary	male	married	31	14 years	colim-cankaya	commercial above 5 story apartment	barik-cankaya	20 story residence buildings of new built gated area	get debt	jointly	by automobile	core to fringe	consumption, social prestige and environmental oriented
19	secondary	female based	married	30	30 years	collo-cankaya	5 story building	mekke-cankaya	10 story residence buildings of new built gated area	get debt	jointly	by automobile	core to fringe	consumption and social prestige oriented
20	secondary	male	single	34	29 years	colim-venezuela	2 story industrial workshop	ayvansalir	5 story apartment building, clustering	own property	jointly, family	by automobile	core to core	family and community oriented
21	secondary	male	married	30	30 years	colim-cankaya	3 story villa office	mekke-cankaya	2 story detached house -clustering	own property	jointly	by automobile	core to fringe	consumption and social prestige oriented
22	secondary	female	single	40	27 years	medisyal-cankaya	2 story private school complex	new-cankaya	5 story apartment building, clustering	tenant	by automobile	in core	community oriented	
23	primary	female	married	61	61 years	tekin-bah-dikent	2 story public school	colim-cankaya	10 story apartment building, clustering	get debt	jointly	by automobile	in core	community oriented
24	secondary	male	single	30	35 years	colubunbar-cankaya	high-rise new built plaza	tekiner-ulus	5 story apartment building, clustering	get debt	jointly	by public transport walking	in core	family and community oriented
25	primary	male	married	30	31 years	serin-karabag-cankaya	workshop in historical yard	colim-cankaya	5 story apartment building, clustering	tenant	by walking	in core	family and community oriented	

Table A.1. Key information about the interviewees (Author, 2019)

This study had twenty-five interviews. All the interviewees are working-class people. Occupations of the interviewees are such as: cadastral engineer, architect, research assistant, computer engineer, biologist, civil engineer, environmental engineer, lawyer, teacher, technician, managers; manager, mechanical engineer, research assistant, officer, city planner, (hospital) worker, officer/forest engineer, doctor and industrial worker. Putting aside the studies on categorization of

fractions of the workingclass, for this fieldwork, there are two main categories considering the working conditions of interviewees, defined in terms of being white or blue-collar workers, and sectoral differences working in the private sector working in the public sector. Class fraction differentiation in urban space rolls out particular spheres of everyday practices. For each of the fractions, it is pre-assumed that specific forms of hegemony are exercised by spatial forms and processes repertoires or compositions. Consequently, there are some class-based- and context-based forms and processes that have an impact on the constitution of hegemony.

In nature, surveying hegemony means surveying with working-class and aspiring to understand how subordination is settled and (re)produced through, in which circumstances hegemony is succeeded or failed, it is important to spotlight experiences of working-class in urban space. At this point, this study focuses on conditions of subordination of the workingclass in urban space. It seeks to understand patterns (whether they exist or not) of subordination of the working class regarding the contemporary condition of Ankara.

Space-based specification or conflict-based specification for interview group

We define interviewees concerning the conflicts that are assumed by the representation of implosions and explosions manifested in core and fringe urban areas. Thus, either involvement in or involving through those conflicts in everyday practices, in the means of practice among the workplace and housing environment, is a basic criterion for defining interviewee. Moreover, the crossings of the spaces of conflict and the space of route indeed the sphere of everyday practices is beheld. Besides, the intersectionality of those paths or spheres of interviews is remarked, thus crosschecking –common senses or non-commonsenses come to light. Also, balances between core and fringes – periphery are taken into consideration to make analysis more stable and coherent.

The scope of the survey: It is defined by tracing constituents of hegemony exercised by spatial forms and processes within the scope of everydayness in between housing and workplace environments.

This survey scrutinizes forms and processes of urban space that seem ordinary configurations. To trace underpinnings about the construction of hegemony through the way inhabitants convey in the everyday of experience among the workplace and housing, survey is settled on the basis of those main questions: how environmental, cognitive perception employs –embodiment with the formation of subordination, through which materialities and practices. This work explores what is politically produced through the everyday practices between the housing and workplace and the urban experience for these repeated spatial practices. In the drawn framework for everyday practice of inhabitants with their socio-spatial imaginations and experiences, we look for the mediums of hegemony, of which are described with reference to forms and processes, and for challenging urban issues towards which how consent-dissent is driven in through.

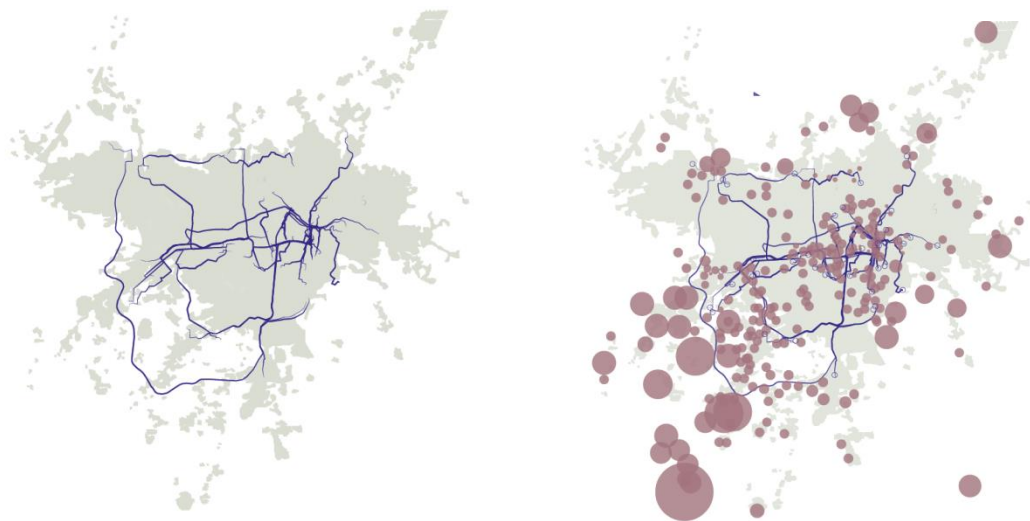


Figure A.1. The representation of everyday mobility routes of interviewees on urban macroform of Ankara and the representation of pathways of interviews passing through conflicts on urban macroform of Ankara (Author, 2019)

For the contemporary urban condition of Ankara embedded in implosions or explosions, the objective of the survey is to explore the foreground forms and processes, which are unevenly woven or fragmented. Besides, it aims to define how they all articulated, co-orchestrated through constructing hegemony.

We define a survey phase-section of everyday life based on everyday mobility embodying experiences among the workplace and housing. This practice is repetitive and exercised two times a day. We question, for this period, how people see the urban environment, how they feel about it, what they like or dislike, which attitude seem self-evident for them. In response to these key questions, we try to understand how they attain meanings for their everyday environment and decide their performances because everyday interpretation is critical to go beyond the political sense about it. For this purpose and narrations acquired in response to questions, the author accompanies the journey with the interviewees and shares experiences to enable monitoring the feelings, gestures, emotions, behaviours, sometimes challenges, conflicts, and vice versa apparent for the urban environment. This participant observation is done with a critical eye to explore both the explicit ways of meanings and unstructured ways of meanings attained to urban forms and processes.

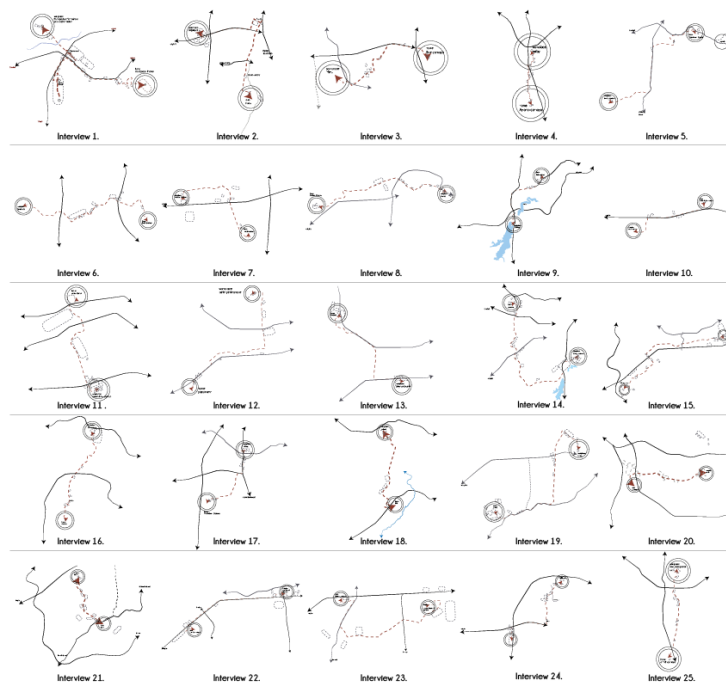


Figure A.2. A graphical representations of everyday mobility routes of all interviewees (Author, 2019)

Different contexts of forms and processes exercising hegemony through the different everyday scopes of interest and experience

The circumstances of perceptual and performance-based differences primarily shape the sphere of the exercises of hegemony. This first debate is about different contexts of hegemony, claiming that there are different impositions, penetrations, and practices. The contexts of spatial practices in everyday life are diversified within the complexities of urban space. Nevertheless, senses and in response attitudes of people have intersections. It is assumed that different contexts will spawn accordingly different political attitudes and comprise concerning the perceived environments. Hence, the ground of hegemony, power relations differs considering those different everyday contexts. Although we claim an argument contemplating different practices and perceptions, we explore some similarities among the different contexts, which refers to articulations of forms and processes to construct hegemony. Besides, the particularity of the practices for each context

indicates how the repertoire of the hegemony exercised by forms and processes is expanded and manifold. For the condensation of micro and macro politics, the practice is a vital issue in which span forms and processes are surely related to everyday routes, spheres of extensions and narrowness of perceptions are thought to be scrutinized. For instance, one of the context determinants is geographically defined by core or fringe. Spheres are shaped by core and fringe/periphery. The spheres are mainly shaped as working in core living in fringe, working in fringe and living in the core, working and living in fringe, working and living in the core, all decisive and contextual factors for the exercise of hegemony.

Debates on exercises of hegemony stimulated by spatial forms and processes

This part comprises the expositions of tunes in the exercise of hegemony in pursuit of the narrations and performances of the interviewees and the analysis of findings. This fieldwork surveys the spatial-temporal orders which are embodied in the everyday journey, and they are assumed as spheres within which some particular veins of hegemony come along. In the light of fieldwork and observation, we endeavour to conceptualize the issues, forms, processes and practices that are supposedly factors for apprehending different class interests, embracing dominant interest, or conflicting interests.

A further note, for us, typification of the spatialities might not be a proper way of work besides, as well it is not possible to get through them with generalized terms. Therefore, and instead, we make an analysis by conceptualizing features to enhance the approach on the constitution of hegemony by forms and processes.

Following arguments that are acquired either overtly or subtly in pursuit of the narrations and performances are all put into the debate.

Argument 1. Hegemony exercises through forms and processes in Ankara for the period of AKP era portray a distinctive characteristic by its compositions of materialities and temporalities. (Dis) Articulations of implosions and explosions

materialized in core and fringe of urban space impact apprehension of space and power relations.

The exercises of hegemony are manifested by infusing in different contexts of society and of space with diverse mechanisms. Hegemony has to produce a repertoire to penetrate different sorts of the society, fractions of the working class to be succeeded. On that, multi-scalar forms and processes urge exercises of hegemony. This fieldwork puts forth multi-scalarity with the examples. Hegemony is constituted by means of largescale urban reproduction projects. However, it is also constituted by several forms and processes experienced in everyday life, in small or middle scales and their articulations, reproduction processes-configurations are noticed as the constituents of hegemony produced the everyday life meanwhile.

In Ankara, hegemony is (re)produced geographically with diverse forms while this corresponds to the dominant capitalist rationale aimed at increasing capital accumulation by the production of built environment both in core and fringe urban areas, it also encapsulates society with several forms and processes, enclosing or hedging in a space. Exercise of hegemony by means of forms and processes pursues in explosions and implosion both in core and fringe in different scales and articulations.

Considering urban changes wherein urban conflicts are embedded, they are implosions and explosions of Ankara. Re-characterization of those implosions and explosions, is a question since they present in extending forms and scope. Implosions and explosions in core and fringe urban areas are not limited to the drawn maps of conflicts used as a framework. In most cases, there are intersections, and it can be concluded that those conflicts of space are the spaces (by forms and processes) where hegemony is exercised through urban space. But scope of hegemony produced by spatial forms and processes is quite different and extended or limited; rather than a totality approach, it is evident that space of

contextuality drives major lines for the hegemony as it infuses in different contexts and different scales of forms.

In line with the increasing reproduction of urban space aimed at capital accumulation, compensated materiality and practices in those urban spaces are intrinsically related to the power relations by which hegemony is exercised. Besides the common sense driven through the forms and processes, diffusiveness of the forms and processes in geographically and intensely (re)production aims to lead to weakness for the constitution of counter-hegemony by strengthening hegemony. Evidently, by forms and processes, the war of positions in urban space has been strategically widened, leading to difficulties to constitute counter-hegemony. To notice those positions and recognize them by which properties they become sources of hegemony is assumed significant. This study analyzes and states that implosions and explosions of reproduction of urban space refers to spheres of hegemony.

This survey scrutinizes forms and processes of urban space that seem ordinary configurations. Doing so composes the common points of perceptual assessments of ordinary matters with respect to hegemonic impacts. However, since the conflicts are scattered in urban space expressed as implosions and explosions, there is a power of encompassing society or being encompassed by the conflicts. Although this is the depth of power that hegemony by space is succeeding, it also puts forward possibilities of counter practices once the commonalities of enforcements are identified socially.

Common perceptual conceptualizations about materialities and temporalities via spatial conceptions have a fundamental role in defining circumstances/spheres of hegemony exercised by forms and processes. The range of the forms (conjecturalities) that is encountered and (willingly or coercively) mediated through changes according to the sphere of everyday practices. The sphere of everyday experience among the housing environment and workplace environment

is one medium of hegemony exercised by forms and processes set in. Upon that, the circumstances of exercise of hegemony originate.

Not all forms produce the same perception. Forms have varied impacts on society with regards to the social and contextual properties. In time, the impact on the perception of forms changes. Temporality (re)produced apprehension of forms and processes belonging to spatial forms has changed political understanding wherein changes the exercises of hegemony urged by the forms and processes.

Exercise of hegemony through the form and processes dwells upon the temporariness of urban space. Besides the permanence of the forms driving a political power, the permanence, by temporality of the forms and processes, also impacts the exercise of hegemony. Moments of processes related to spatial forms are of weight.

Under the contextuality, in particular, hegemony is spatially exercised, by majorly, through the nearorder forms and processes. Both far order and near order urban space configurations have hegemonic impacts. Far-order spaces that are known or occasionally experienced spaces are not predominant than near-order spaces. Not attended or literary nonsensespaces (forms and processes in the city) in the far order may not be accounted as primary sources of political sense constructing hegemony. On the other hand, near order spaces, where practices materialized regardless of the degrees of involvement. Nearorder is main sphere for the exercise of hegemony in which perception comes true temporally; this process of perception and dialectical relationships weight potentials that will legitimate spatial organization (aimed at capital accumulation) and spatial practices with some aspects or will become sources of dissent due to the enforcements.

In which circumstances practices are realized

Practices have temporally dwelled through the gestures by space, positioning, conditionings, reflections, imaginations and viceversa. This part elaborates the courses of practices through everyday life. It traces how circumstances of those

practices can be understood within the scope of exercise of hegemony and how practices are enforced to change by hegemonic impacts.

Conditions of practice: By enjoyment or enforcement?

Answering this may be a piece of very simple evidence for the assigned will, pleasure or force. Nevertheless, inquiring should be pursued to get in-depth, to explore reasonings and political ascription. Politics is not fixed, emancipatory power lays in disruptions and reflections. Problematized or disrupted modes of practices thus bring out possibilities of political practices. Because politics are not stable or fixed in space, they are in transformation and being articulated. Disruptions are key issues to notice tunes for the exercise of hegemony and counter-hegemony. The scope of practices are explored in this way, with two-fold aspects of hegemony. Whether there exist negotiation degrees about the disruption or not gives a hint for the exercise of hegemony which is evoked by forms and processes.

Sphere of practice by proximity: Examination of near and far order

The sphere of the practice based on proximity levels is configured by two levels, near and far orders. There are relational assessments of forms and processes considering both near and far order forms and processes. There comes the question: how do each have weight, how they engage. However, the scope of near order is assumed more critical because deepensenses of forms of impositions are able to be exercised.

Entanglements in the near order of everyday life: Centre of hegemony exercised by forms and processes

Hegemony is constructed through diverse forms of relationships. Yet, we assume that the near order of everyday life, which can be defined, on the ground of experiences, as the primary degree of relational urban space (urban) everyday geography, is predominantly the deedy sphere of hegemony. Because near order means to where spatial practices materialize in or around, thereby perceptions and

in response driven political sense, either subordination to capital or related power relations. Nevertheless, we agree that large-scale or popular urban (re)production processes also have a hegemonic impact on society, associatively posing and grounding discern about the understanding of urban space and power relations. Nearorder is, here, a key term to debate-define circumstances of hegemony exercised by forms and processes. It is a medium of encountering class directly and composes spatial-temporality about socially understanding and fractions of classes. In this sense, near ordered social experiences, via bringing class convergences, are a significant sphere in which political apprehension dwells. While assessing the nearorder, the significance of reviewing near order and the critical role of political understanding of appropriate spaces, which are components of near order urban everyday life actualized for a definite time, are also reiterated by the interviewees.

The course of practice: Many factors can influence the course of practice. Nonetheless, through the analysis four main aspects are featured assumed related to the exercises of hegemony. These are as follows:

- i) Diversified perceptions take shape by the different modes of (everyday) mobility.
- ii) Circumstances of walking experience: Walking, to what extent? Hegemony exercised by forms and processes inherently runs through the walking practice, the circumstances of walking condition. Walking, freely by will, can be accounted as the most emancipatory human behaviour-action. In what limitations, restraints, determinations the walking practice is defined and framed is a political question.
- iii) We question whether the longness of the everyday journey has a different impact on generating hegemonic relations or not. The conditions and length of the journey is significant issue actively impacting apprehension of space.
- iv) Mobility experiences are produced by class relation and mobility experiences as spaces of classes' convergence. The perceptual approach regenerated through mobility crystallizes the differences of the classes and settles how power relations are produced in urban space. Furthermore, the geographical perception, understood

and interiorized through everyday mobility, raises a view about class and power relations, creating a sense of hegemony embodying class antagonism.

Dragging the above argument further, near order of mobility brings front class convergences (encounter of different classes via public transport in the course of mobility practice) which is about relations of social justice and power, drives new spatial practices in the order of capital. Seeing, time and again, the sovereignty of dominant classes over the workers in everyday life settles a political notion and respectively originate new ways of mobility in line with the dominant order of the capital. In response to spatial practices experiencing class convergences that exist in everyday mobility, middle-income ones, to escape encountering with different classes, tend to flow away in the orders of capital, and subordinate via articulating-being included in the capital accumulation.

v) Performances in public space: Emancipatory or limited? Perceptions span the spatial practices in the public space and the view from the home, living environment. The sphere of hegemony exercised by spatial forms and processes is specified thereafter.

vi) Forms of keeping distances: This condition is described by the exteriority of urban space. This approach brings forth how the hierarchical capitalist mode of urban space organization is embedded and consented through time—this practice of distancing results in keeping distance to the conflicts that take place there.

vii) Re-inhabiting practices: Being re-inhabited spatial practices in a new way is considered a part of settling hegemony exercised either by manufacturing consent or by enforcements. Upon the problematized issues, seeking to another way of challenging means re-inhabitation practice. This case of the condition can be traced by consent armoured by coercion. This change of performance necessarily comprises critical apprehension of power relations based on conflicts of space.

viii) Consent mechanisms roll out by the condition of “not in mybackyard” syndrome. Inhabitants present reflections, which means that they do not prefer a

kind of spatial configuration in their near order of everyday life because of the foreseen enforcements to be laden. There is a tune of consent manufacturing by means of a syndrome of “not in backyard”.

Argument 2. Forms and processes exercise spaces of conflicts that are identified on the legal basis, but not limited to, point out the spaces wherein hegemony. Conflict spaces are a war of positions defining spatial forms, processes and practices in and among that conflicting configuration. Exercise of hegemony is applied in a broader framework; it is manifested more than the conflict spaces. The conflict spaces in Ankara that are issued regarding the legal – political form of contestation are evident sources of hegemony, inclining the crystallization of power relations. Conflict spaces refer to the points of exercising hegemony for some of the inhabitants, but the exercise of hegemony has extended further, it moves beyond.

Argument 3. Through the spatial practices (assumed as unintended aspects), the hegemony exercised by forms and processes (assumed as intended) brings out the co-existence of intended and unintended aspects of the production of space with dialectical relationships (involving both antagonistic and consensual-compatible relationships). Transversality of practice and materiality in terms of hegemony is temporally (re)produced.

Although element(s) of spatial form were not produced to drive hegemony, in time lately formed up the spatial configuration within which they are one of the components, they become essential features of exercises hegemony produced by forms and processes (i.e. the notion of an old building that undertakes political sense through the contrasting relations with the new produced one.). The perception changes in time and the context of hegemony that it is settled up on. From another point of view, intendedly produced materiality to drive hegemony might have failed to exercise hegemony; thus it might not be/counter as an issue of hegemony. Therefore, understanding the intended and unintended aspects of the production of space is significant.

Drawing an analytical approach for the realization of exercises of hegemony urged or stimulated by forms and processes.

The preliminary inquiries are as follows: the exercise of hegemony imposed or evoked by what, under that how spatial forms and processes can be inclusive or exclusive and with which means, what are the forms of inclusiveness and exclusiveness, inclusiveness by enforcement or will (force or consent) and commonly what is subjected within the scope of space apprehension, types of apprehension with regards to the constitution of hegemony. Urban inhabitants continuously characterize forms and processes; in other words, people describe the materialities that compose forms, processes, and practices. Overt ways or subtle ways expose these. Herein, researching the constitution of hegemony, not all the characterization of materialities is considered. As explained above in part entitled as understanding and assigning whether something is hegemonic or not, assessments of people, which are commonly-sensed with regards to four approaches: i) approaches to (spatial) conflicts, ii) approaches to appropriated spaces, iii) issues that are problematized, iv) normalized issues regarding the temporariness of urban space change, are put into question in the analysis. Thereafter, the embodiment of the forms and processes is hypothetically formed up by four forms of relations such as i) inclusion of/by space (will, desire or obedience), ii) negotiation of/by space (negotiation by consent or negotiation under coercion/consent armoured by coercion), iii) exclusion of/by space (by aggressiveness) and iv) nonsense (neglecting, by glaze or alienation). Although four aspects of apprehension are pointed out here in the analysis, these can be multiplied and improved to deepen the analysis since it is believed that there are multi-scalar aspects of materialities, senses and political thought.

Three main pillars of characterization: Temporariness, relationality and differences

Temporariness is materialized by dialectical relations of temporality of the form(s) and process(es) and temporality of practice(s). By temporariness of perception, it is

assumed that characterizations of space, spatial forms and spatial processes – apprehended by consent or by coercion- are (re)produced in time. Likewise, the temporariness of practice is also a decisive factor to attain meanings to urban space and characterize, and through hegemony, exercised by having enjoyment or being enforced that is internalized through the practices. Temporality is a keyterm for the apprehension of class interests.

Phases of consent manufacturing: Temporally, what shapes inhabitants' judgments, for instance, from an insurgent position to manufacture assent, renewal agreement? or in reverse, what temporally evokes insurgent positions, critical? Change is the key phenomenon of process, and as well the reproduction of space. It is inherently one of the most powerful senses of perception. Change, the embodiment of changing process (es), conceptually and literally temporal-meaning of itself, is seemingly a significant source of hegemony. By virtue of changing spaces, things, temporality, there is a tendency for that hegemony is settled as a consequence of those temporalities.

Remarking that, not all the changes are subjects of a constitution of hegemony that is exercised-stimulated by forms and processes, nonetheless the cumulatively perceptions of urban space, i.e. perceiving massiveness and over-reaching processes of (de)/construction of buildings – structures or articulation of structures imply power relations produced by the space. The point is that perpetually perceiving the change of urban environment -change of urban space configuration or reproduction processes-produces attention exposed by overt ways or remains subtle. This intimated thought about change inclines an understanding of power relations, which is resolved dialectically in understanding urban space and deciding the practice of everyday life.

Although it is not verbalized or exposed in overt ways, the cumulatively described urban change and urban environment imply how imagination and readily consent are present for the additional conflict issues. Overall apprehension of urban change entails loosening of the impact of a single structure' impact. Therefore, articulated

and multi-scalar spatial forms and processes have any new singular changes, indeed new spatial conflict. Multiplier exercise of this nonsense reflection regarding the new spatial conflict expresses the inclining aspect of hegemony urged by the spatial forms and processes.

Fast politics are applied to override the conflicts and hereby activating or resulting in the temporality of legitimacy by materialization. The moments of materialization of conflicts is assumed a politics of space. The moment of materialization of any conflict is assumed to be a preemptive attack of the sovereign thought and practice to override counter-hegemonic practices or thoughts. The conflict finds a legitimating factor through the material change in terms of corporeality and image in the conflict space, which compels all efforts against becoming unreasonable or pointless. On that, it is approached as a means to take legitimacy for granted. Putting temporal-material actions into use by several means such as speeding up the act via acute exploitation of space (enforcement) or in contrast, putting up space- a conflict space- exert to drive a thought for which present spatial interventions on a reasonable ground (consent in back of coercion). There is nothing left for confrontation. This idea weakens the counteractions. The temporality of legitimacy by space is, therefore, a subject of exercises of hegemony. The temporality of constructing a built environment is a policy to suppress the public about an illicit operation on commons, wherein hegemony armoured by coercion is constituted. Moments of realization of materiality is a means of gaining legitimacy. The contestation over space is carried out through the power of uncompleted forms, constructed or employed massiveness. There are three basic conditions in timescapes in an urban built environment: appearance, disappearance or reappearance of forms and processes. They are actualized through pre-production/construction of masses, during construction of masses, after construction – complete form, and the changes in the use of masses. However, these are not simple terms or phenomena. Perceptual temporal analysis of the urban space by the moments of realization of masses is assumed to be temporally production of hegemony exercised by forms. Exercise of hegemony is a time-

wisefact. The permanence of the spatial features or configurations makes society's perception to get used to the domination over space and thereby manufacture consent or dissent.

Contextuality of the spaces: Perceptions are (re)produced in relation to everyday experiences, which refers to the central sphere for exercises of hegemony as scrutinized above, analyzing domains of hegemony exercised by forms and processes, how hegemony is rolled on according to contextual, geographical conditions. Geographical context is a prominent issue drawing main lines of exercise of hegemony. Moving beyond, the contextuality of spaces has several scales such as micro-contextualities in terms of structures, articulation of structures and network.

Articulation of scales of processes-forms for hegemony: Hegemony exercised by forms and processes is being constituted by the articulation of scales of processes or forms. There are scale based differences yet contently referring to the same issues-processes, are presumed as complementing each other. To clarify, seeing everyday renewal practices in the street in the neighbourhood, working with largescale projects, and workplace environment cumulatively impacts the perception of the urban environment and the related political sense. Noticing a small scale intervention of renewal which is realized by demolition and reconstruction practices of two housingblocks, remembering as mentioned the statement that "Look, here, the urban transformation comes to Ayrancı" (Interviewee 4) into the sphere of the living environment, to the core of the city. In the course of walking home, she points out four similar cases – materialized by forms of togetherness of the two different conditions of blocks and elaborates in the sameline. Urban transformation is not only exercised in the outer -fringe of the city, but it has also expanded its field of execution, and as a result, the process strengthens its rules and legitimacy and infuses perceptually and politically in many spheres of the city.

Layered aspect of forms and processes: In pursuit of the perception of the materiality of building-construction practices, reckons about the respective impacts on daily life practices. Whether positively or negatively, people think of their conditions about spatial practices with refer to the perceived change. Even for the worst case, they are preparing their apprehension and considering how to cope with it. Nearorder of everyday life, once again, comes to the forefront. Driving consent is realized day by day for further conditions while experiencing and envisaging in everyday life. This conceptualization originated from many criticisms imported by the interviewees (Interviewee 1, 2, 7, 11, 15, 18, 21), which have different mobility modes (walking, automobile, public transport). They state that how much those newly built-up spaces result in overload in terms of infrastructure and transportation, increasing traffic congestion and thenceforward how their practices are gone be affected. They all feel and express their anxieties, indicating a coercive aspect of the production of the urban built environment while mainly signifying forms and processes of construction of high-rise buildings and large-scale (re)production of urban projects. Herewith, as supposed, hegemonic exercises by forms and processes do not only involve the structures of the largescale urban projects, i.e. buildings of hospital complex, but also through associated forms, such as (reproduced) transportation network as a part of built environment production, of largescale urban developments. These approaches reveal that some typical forms, such as large-scale urban redevelopment projects, are not the absolute and ever-consent manufacturing issues. All in all, about relationality, this part figures out common analytical points through contextuality of spaces, relationality of the spaces, articulation of scales, spaces and processes, and layered aspects of hegemony exercised by forms and processes.

Exercise of hegemony through noticing a difference(s) of forms and processes making differences

Differences of forms and processes that make differences. The difference is a hallmark for the exercises of hegemony by forms and processes. Regarding the statements, expositions, connotations, judges done in interviews and observed

spatial practices, drawing inhabitants' perceptual understanding of urban space in everyday exposure either in subtle or explicit ways, this part displays analysis and our main assumptions.

Urban space is produced, developed or shaped by many forms of differences; the differential amount also determines the capacity to control society. Creating a sense of difference, and similarity, as dialectically interwoven with each other, are key terms for the production of hierarchical, fragmental and homogeneous urban built environments in line with the survival of capital accumulation. On that, perception of difference is esteemed as a legitimating factor in public thought.

Differences arise out of everyday life and are noticed, mainly through spatial practices. It is assumed that hegemony is constructed by producing noticeable differences. The difference is one of the strongest, powerful senses comprehending (urban) space. Inhabiting differences within circumstances of everyday spatial practices constitutes the perception of urban space. Noticing differences is a key mark in the perception of human beings, and this is the point why all material attempts are drawn with regards to this motto, producing difference. However, to note that we do not account for all forms of differences constituting power, triggering the exercises of hegemony. At this point, we mean the ones hierarchical and leading perceptually subordinate one form to another, correlating imaginations related to it. Hence the configuration of urban space (impressing further processes about urban space around) oriented to the dominant one, for which common sense is produced, is regarded as a form of power relations. The hegemonic impacts conceptualize the dominance of forms and the processes it entails.

Apprehension of differences roots from the relational perceptual of space. Power of difference originates from noticeable issues, and they lead to possible moments for embracement of dominant interests in some conditions. Therefore, doing ethnography is a fundamental way to investigate how hegemony is driven by differences. It traces for us a pathway to find out how people comprehend those

forms of differences and what kind of political responses, effects that those differences have.

Elements of forms and processes: Featured forms and processes rolling out hegemony in a way

The production of the built environment to survive capital accumulation through these processes touches almost all urban spatial elements and imposes changes. Therefore, the very basic elements of the built environment become power-laden materialities, through which class interest clashes become potential sources of the spatial exercises of hegemony. The spatial forms and processes of urban space compose urban geographical domains of forms and processes, core and fringe, urban centres, urban functional domains, namely public spaces, common spaces, housing environments, workplace environments, religious areas, symbolic structures, transportation and infrastructure organization, shoppingmalls, disneyfication projects, etc. The forms of those elements and the processes of how they are reproduced incorporate the relations of space politics. Those are indeed what theoretical insights propounded. What is critical is that those forms and processes are featured as class conflicts and as a vehicle of internalization of dominant capitalist interests. The survey intends to unearth the characteristics and relationships of all. Implicitly, forms and (re)production processes are mutually complementary issues. In this sense, they should be approached jointly, in an articulated manner.

Perception of dispersed -sprawl urban macro-form leads a legitimization for further urban changes. In relation with core and fringe and beyond the relations of core and fringe, common sense about urban macroform dispersion is another issue that is underlined and argued by the interviewees. Perception of dispersion of macroform is assumed as a factor that increases and intensifies the imagination about the processes and forms of production of the built environment.

In addition to class relations of production of central areas, city central experiences of inhabitants change in relation to their usual everyday urban geographical

mobility. Seemingly noticed that diversified approaches are associated with the living environment, fringe or core, which defines the scope and circumstances of perception of individuals and thereby, their political responses, contexts of involved issues and aspects, via forced or consented, change. In brief, interviewees, carrying out distinctive everyday pathways, own different approaches to and experiences about spaces of central areas.

It is assumed that central areas that encompass inhabitants' everyday practices are conflictual issues. They have a pivotal role within the context of the exercises of hegemony exercised by forms and processes. Indeed, central areas are key and critical figures or components unveiling implosions and explosions in urban geography.

The workplace environment and housing environment are two main sources, indeed two domains of perceptual and lived spaces, and as well domains of practices in urban space. Therefore, they definitely draw a circumstance of forms and processes that trigger construction of hegemony.

The condition of housing (environment), how it is defined by which reasons and how it is being tackled through time is a class issue and thereby an issue of the exercises of hegemony. About the housing environment, by which purposes the preference of the housing environment is specified is an important issue. Consumption oriented or social prestige oriented housing preferences rather than community-oriented indicates a way of inclusiveness to the dominant order. Besides, common housing typology of the housing environment, which is preferred via utilization by consumption or social prestige aspects, is an additional factor invoking consent manufacturing about the production of the built environment. It is claimed that the sphere of exercising hegemony rolls specifically through the housing environments; for this point, beyond the entities of housing units, understanding and apprehension of the housing environment in urban space relations with power relations take importance.

About the workplace environment, the practices in/around the workplace environment have central importance about the constitution of political apprehension of urban space. It is a domain of everyday practice whereby usual political assessments take place and concentrate there. As distinct from the housing topic, preference of the workplace environment cannot be an issue that implies hegemonic impact. Two notes, as obtained through the fieldwork, are as follows: i) Workers in private-sectors work in a different morphological workplace environment in terms of spatial organization, the architecture of structures, and the processes that depend on, have distinctive approaches which posit seemingly more tendencies to be inclusive by the hegemonic idea, dominant rules of capitalist urban configuration, capitalist urban processes. ii) Experiences in dense-conflict areas, for both the workplace environment and housing environment, are another scalar aspect of political apprehension of urban space changes, thereby impacting the constitution of hegemony. To illustrate, workers whose workplace environment is a conflict-dense area seemingly are more anxious and embedded in coercive forces much more.

Likewise, workplace environments are assumed as other significant domains of exercises of hegemony. The choice of the workplace environment, either it locates in fringe or core, is not conditional or optional for workers. The workplaces are appointed by the dominants, under the order of capitalist urbanization, rulers and for which workers are supposed to orient. Mobility practice simpliciterly adjust these orientation processes through everyday life, which is imposed by forceful courses. Saying that “the workingclass has to come here” Interviewee 5 describes how she feels enforcements through workplace-oriented mobility and points out different spatial configuration of workplace environment in the fringe of south-west with her housing environment east of Ankara in major terms, which correlatively leads her be externalized. The conflicts in and around the workplace environment, even if it is in the fringe then impacts occur extraordinarily, is though assumed a critical domain for exercise of hegemony.

Besides, hegemony is exercised through transportation configurations of built environment about transportation and (urban) mobility, embodied by the spatial practices. Public transport policies, ordering basic structural-infrastructure public service, have significance for political authorities to drive political support of the society. Planning and organization of transport systems, investments and running management is not just a technical affair; it is also considered with its political economy, social impact relations.

Various aspects of the urban built environment are used as elements of exercises of hegemony. Multi-scalar characteristics of the exercise of hegemony by urban space is basically rendered above. The scope of exercise of hegemony is broad since it tends to infuse all sorts of urban spatial configuration and drive political support and capital accumulation through built environment production. Herewith, it aims to enclose or involve society in its order by any means. However, it is assumed that particularly the elements of exercises of hegemony has been re-scaled and multiplied in Ankara under the rule of AKP.

Different conditions of practice in relation with power of forms bring out different spheres of hegemony. For instance, exercise of hegemony in Ankara is formed up through the different mobility modes. As a course of everyday practice in urban space, mobility is a rhythm through which forms and processes are engaged and perceived since mobility means a cosmos of manufacturing consent and driving force in urban space.

Characterization of practice and (urban) space by spatial conceptions: Markers of forms and processes that have impositions on construction of hegemony

Those characterizations commonly figured by the interviewees and ascribed political meanings refer to political tensions driven by forms and processes. Those are (in)directly legitimate or apprehension of dominance is assigned through the reproduction of built environment. Those characterizations are embedded power relations and this work investigates the commonly used conceptions. These conceptions are as follows: scales of differences, visibility, aestheticization and

non-aestheticization, verticality, corporeality, massiveness, repetition, sameness or similarities of forms-, void, vacancy space-, ruins of spaces, dualities, contrasts and asymmetries, differences via contrasts and asymmetries, (co-existence of old and new forms, newness) and differences by property relations. Those conceptions are one and another related with each other and this study challenges to portray those all. However, one of those conceptions can be specifically analyzed and furtherly detailed.

Limitations of the survey: This part demonstrates the limitations of the research. Indeed, these are self-critics of the field research that we carried out.

This survey is just a way of attempting to intercept tunes and frames of exercises of hegemony through how people internalize the spatial interventions with which political apprehensions, how they involve in their space of connaissances with what kind of responses (either by manufacturing consent or being enforced). Because observing the means of hegemony through interviews through journeys is not something too operatively realistic or possible. Hegemony is not quantifiable and temporally changed.

The fact that interviews are not actualized thought lessly, the social researchers are aware of the dialogues' un-intrinsic or less intrinsic aspects. It points out a limitation of work. Beyond this limitation, the state of political condition, the steady condition of oppressing ruling in Turkey under AKP power, is seemingly an additional factor that leads to particular limitations for the surveys related to political senses. Besides the political relevance of the research subject or topic, the political condition of the researcher(s) becomes another limitation. Seemingly, this factor causes people to drawback their expression of thought, setting barriers.

Moreover, the dismissal of the author under the rule of the state of emergency, which means as being taken in a blacklist of the state ruled by AKP, is a decisive factor that limits carrying out fieldwork by political reasons. To clarify, the author experienced certain limitations to find interviewers and convince people to do the survey together. Besides, another disadvantage is that interviewees who are

reached directly or by secondary relations know that the respondent /researcher has an opposing view, which might have led to some orientations and positioning for interviewees.

Another limitation is that there is not a specification for the interviewees with regards to their political identities. There may be surveys adjusted for the conservative people who are usually assumed to have provided political support for the authority. It can be understood how hegemony urged by forms and processes is differentiated regarding owning the same political identities. Furthermore, another study can tackle this research problem. However, this research is framed with spaces of conflicts stressing the trends of hegemony urged by forms and processes regardless of political identities. Therefore, the scope of the survey does not majorly give attention to these political identities. Yet, it may be considered as a limitation, critique of the designation of the survey.

Likewise, in this survey, perceptions of the workingclass people are taken into question in overall. However, there will be further surveys and analyses for the rest of the workerclass, for defined group of working-class fractions. Having more than one journey will enhance the findings and deepen researchers' examination of the interviewees' tunes-reflection. In this way, the perceptions may –be detailed and more accurate resolutions can be made. Besides, the speed of movement is a fact of perception. As mentioned above, the survey is carried out by different modes of mobility to seek the impact of mobility mode on the exercise of hegemony. Nevertheless, it is seen that interviews with high speeds originate limitation in time to discuss issues in the context of research.

Researching as a means of everyday practice through the journey between the workplace and home is indeed everyday mobility research. As a result, it is featured that most of the interviews emphasize and critiques mobility and transport-related issues. This causes a sort of limitation for our scope of interest. Because our goal initially is configured to comprise perceptions about the workspace environment and housing environment. Nonetheless, (forms and processes) issues

about the organization of transportation are considered hegemonic; thus, this research provides information in this sense and elaborates more on that aspect of exercises of hegemony. This research focuses on the everydayness of the journey through the working day, but research encompassing, designed for the leisure time or weekend period, will render different veins -aspects of hegemony according to the different experience of urban space.

As much-emphasized, hegemony is temporarily changing, exercises of the hegemony and scopes might be differentiated according to the period that is analyzed. We conducted research in 2019; all findings are all related to this period. This kind of survey might be temporally applied in order to enhance conceptual arguments. It can be profoundly claimed that after the covid-19 outbreak, there are some new measures and arguments.

Furthermore, fieldwork might have been settled on a definite workplace (i.e. cityhospital), and interviews will be carried out with its workers. It will be more convenient to state something more coherent for the common point of the work place as one of the conflicting spaces. Since we aspire to indicate how diversified forms and processes occur in urban space and how conjecturally different spheres of practices inclines exercise of hegemony, it puts forth a broader picture and stresses multiple conflicts of urban space whereby forms and processes exercise hegemony. For us, it is important to discover how extended and several forms of tunes for the exercise of hegemony. Without focusing on space might be considered a weakness of methodological design; nonetheless, our assumption is based upon that there are diverse frameworks of the forms and processes leading to consent or force. The fact that multi-scalar exercising of hegemony through implosions and explosions in urban space provides strength or success of hegemony. Two arguments may be made such as while it points to the limitations of the counter-hegemony practices encapsulating the classes to subordinate, it also accumulates the contests produced by the space through everyday life and can be turned into counter-hegemony. Yet, noticing the contests and enforcements is thought critical, for which this study is originated. As a result, avoiding focusing on

a single workplace or housing environment is thought reasonable regarding the conceptual and empirical evidence. However, it is acknowledged that this way, research is over extended or afocal, which is not enrolled as appropriate for common fieldwork social research. Nonetheless, there are some concerns about the empirical validity of those thoughts.

Concluding remarks: What patronizes everyday practices? And how does society involve itself in everyday life by willingness, negotiations or enforcement while producing the space? We try to think about the complexities of everyday life - seemingly- ordinary places by new ways via apprehending them in an articulated pattern aspiring political senses to constitute hegemony. Indeed, the aim is to experience different pathways of realization in everyday urban life, thereby finding out to trace conditions of spatial forms and processes that penetrate the manufacture of common sense.

Hegemony is more than dominance; it is rather an involvement of the classes and their embodiment of dominant thought and orders. Hegemony which means to be a force or success refers to leading classes for the interest of dominant rules of capitalism and state and enforcing dominant interest for all as the common, by common sense. This is embodied through the everyday life practices wherein apprehension of power interests or power relations comes true. Herein, the conflicting nature of everyday life also accompanies counterpractices, reflexive responses and understandings. Therefore, beyond the explanation that acclaims hegemony aimed at communizing dominant orders for subordinate classes, it is embarked and produced with controversial impacts, counter-hegemony.

The exercise of hegemony is materialized in (urban) spaces through everyday life that spatial relations, forms, and processes are the main pillars for the subordinate classes to be included or/and excluded, but embodying them associatively universal interest by any means. Dialectically related consensual and forceful aspects of hegemony are of specific interest for all hegemony studies. Herein, this study seeks

to understand what forms and processes are perceived as universal interest and how they are valid to constitute common sense.

Concerning the current urban conditions of Ankara, we approach our research question through conceptualizations acquired from among the narrations of the interviews entangled with some contexts. Reframing the exercise of hegemony, the analytical approach is drawn by three main parts such as hegemony for whom, by which practices (conditions of practices) it presents and by which spatial elements use, and it is simultaneously configured with characterizations of the urban space and practice. Through this analysis, unintended aspects of practices within the everyday perceptual environment are considered beyond the intended aspects of hegemony.

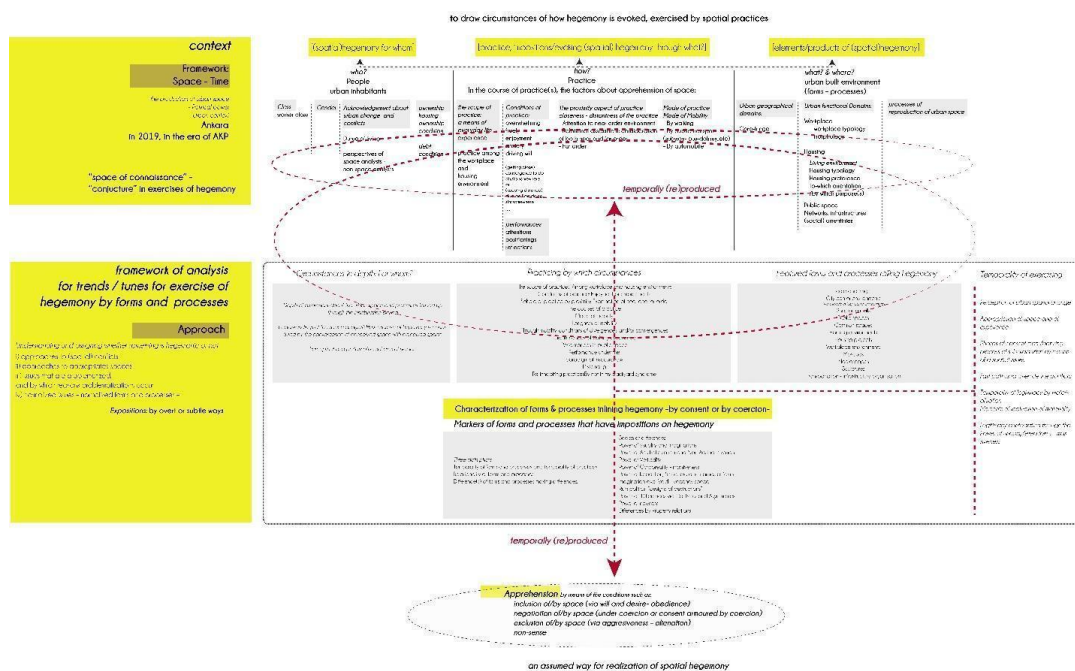


Figure A.3. A key schema for defining the circumstances (Author, 2019)

Principally this research aims to improve perspectives on how hegemony will be surveyed. Those findings provide some tendencies rather than generalized terms. However, this way of research is considered as a sub-survey in order to ensure generalizations. Rather than a generalization on hegemony, through pinpointing a

dynamic ground of hegemonic infusion, this work carries out an extended case method of ethnography to allow us to display tendencies or tunes of hegemony exercised by forms and processes.

Even though people, urban inhabitants, do not explicitly or immediately use or involve in some urban spaces, they urge and produce their ideas, thoughts and feelings about them. Relational and associative thinking and comprehension concerning the urban change by driving capital accumulation produced by built environment impel in overall means. In this framework, people configure their practices, ideas, and attention through driving consent or being enforced through in response to the ruling authority and capitalist urban space organization. Under that, the research cursor is on forms and processes while exploring hegemony while arguing the exercises of hegemony through the production of space.

B. Approval of METU Human Subjects Ethics Committee [Etik Onay Formu]

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10 Mayıs 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof. Dr. H. Çağatay KESKİNOK

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Deniz Kimyon TUNA'nın "Mekansal Olarak Hegemonya İnşası: Mekansal Hegemonyanın Ankara Referanslı Araştırması" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 223-ODTÜ-2019 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

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PUBLICATIONS

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