

URBAN MOVEMENTS RELATED TO (RE)PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE:
DEBATES ON SELECTED PROJECTS IN İSTANBUL

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

BY

PINAR ÇOBANYILMAZ ÖZTÜRK

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

APRIL 2018

Approval of the thesis:

**URBAN MOVEMENTS RELATED TO (RE)PRODUCTION OF URBAN
SPACE: DEBATES ON SELECTED PROJECTS IN İSTANBUL**

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ABSTRACT

URBAN MOVEMENTS RELATED TO (RE)PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE: DEBATES ON SELECTED PROJECTS IN İSTANBUL

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April 2018, 364 Pages

Socially produced urban space is located at the core of contradictions and conflicts. Capitalist mode of production and its special relation with urban space introduced different bases for urban conflicts at every stage of capitalist relations. In the latest stage, market-led urban process has defined new roles for urban space. Particularly, (re)production of urban space on the basis of market demands and with the logic of commodification and privatization has established the foundations of current urban conflicts. And, urban movements as manifestations of urban conflicts, are also directly associated with the process of (re)production of urban space.

As of 2000s, over-production of built environment with various projects, defined as privatization-oriented state-led projects in the study, has stimulated a noticeable amount of urban movements in İstanbul. Parallel to the change in urban conflicts in accordance with different stages of capitalist relations, dynamics and formations of these movements have transformed as well. Based on this argument, the study investigates contemporary urban movements together with process of (re)production of urban space. In order to explore dynamics and formations of these movements and

introduce some concepts derived from urban space, various analyses and discussions are conducted over the city and over the selected cases from public space.

Key Words: urban movements, (re)production of urban space, privatization-oriented state-led projects, privatization of public space

ÖZ

KENTSEL HAREKETLER VE KENT MEKANININ (YENİDEN) ÜRETİMİ: İSTANBUL'DA SEÇİLEN PROJELER ÜZERİNE TARTIŞMALAR

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Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü

Nisan 2018, 364 Sayfa

Toplumsal olarak üretilen kent mekanı çelişki ve çatışmaların merkezinde yer alır. Kapitalist üretim biçimi ve kent mekanı arasındaki ilişki kapitalizmin değişen evrelerinde yeniden tanımlanır ve farklı çelişki ve çatışmaları beraberinde getirir. Bu çerçevede, piyasa mekanizması öncülüğünde şekillenen kapitalizmin en son evresi kent mekanı için yeni roller tanımlamakta ve yeni kentsel süreçleri beraberinde getirmektedir. Özellikle, piyasanın talepleri doğrultusunda metalaştırma ve özelleştirme mantığı ile gerçekleştirilen kent mekanının (yeniden) üretimi günümüz çatışmalarının temelinde yer almaktadır. Kentsel hareketler kentsel çatışmaların dışa vurumu olarak ele alındığında, bu hareketler de mekan üretim süreçleri ile doğrudan ilişkilenebilir.

2000'lerden itibaren İstanbul 'da çeşitli projeler (özelleştirmeye dayalı devlet projeleri) ile gerçekleştirilen aşırı mekan üretimi, sayıları gün geçtikçe artan kentsel hareketlerin ortaya çıkışına zemin oluşturmuştur. Söz konusu bu hareketlerin dinamiklerinin ve biçimlerinin kapitalist ilişkiler ile değişen kentsel çatışmalara paralel olarak değiştiği gözlenmektedir. Bundan hareketle, bu çalışma günümüz kent

hareketlerinin mekan üretim süreçleri ile ilişkisini kurarak bu kapsamda tartışmaktadır. Bu hareketlerin kent mekanının kendine özgü özelliklerinden kaynaklanan dinamikleri ve biçimleri bir takım analizler doğrultusunda İstanbul genelinde ve kamusal mekandan seçilen örnekler üzerinden tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: kentsel hareketler, kent mekanın (yeniden) üretimi, özelleştirmeye dayalı devlet projeleri, kamusal mekanın özelleştirilmesi

To the hopeful new life
with my dears

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü for her continuous support and patience throughout the preparation of my Ph.D study. Her guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this thesis. She has always been more than a supervisor with her open minded and friendly attitude.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to members of my doctoral steering committee, Prof. Dr. H. Çağatay Keskinok, and Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül for their valuable criticisms, comments and contributions in each committee. I would also like to thank my examining committee Prof. Dr. Kıvılcım Akkoyunlu Ertan and Assoc. Prof. Dr. S. Zafer Şahin for their advice and encouragements.

My special thanks go out to Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay, Prof. Dr. Adnan Barlas, and Prof. Dr. H. Çağatay Keskinok and Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü once again, who have become the role model academicians and urbanists throughout my assistantship.

The members of CRP 1 Planning Studio, Assist. Prof. Yücel Can Severcan, Assist. Prof. Olgu Çalışkan and Assist. Prof. A. Burak Büyükcivelek, the instructors Argun Evyapan and Tuğrul Kanık, are acknowledged for their sincere supports and encouragements within friendly discussions. I am also grateful to the following faculty staff: Hayriye Ayhan and Halime Çapan for their endless helps and supports in my tougher times.

I offer sincere thanks to the interviewees who facilitate the completion of the case studies with their precious contributions. I would like to acknowledge all the staff of Chamber of Architects who bring into use of their library and all kinds of sources. I also gratefully express my appreciation to Mücella Yapıcı, Gül Köksal and Tugay Kartal for their guidance in the field.

I would like to thank to my colleagues and friends. Nagihan Tuna, Gonca Tunçbilek, Berk Kesim, Ender Peker, Duygu Cihanger Riberio, Onur Tümtürk, Büşra Durmaz Erçetin and Cihan Erçetin, Şule Demirel, Felat Dursun and Yavuz Kaya touched to my ups and downs with friendly and supportive manners. Elif Uğurlu Uyanık and Emre Uyanık also eased to accomplishment of the field research in İstanbul with their welcoming and hospitable faces.

Kind helps of my students and their sincerity in this process are quite valuable for me. I would like to express my gratitude to Akın Akçay, Bennur Betedin, Bilen Deniz Uyar, Burcu Ünsal, Candan Kabay, Dilara Sungur, Elif Karagümüş, Emine Yılmaz, Fırat Yıldırım, Göksel Üstündağ, Hasan Fatih Köksal and Ülcan Türkkan for their willing helps during transcription process of the interviews. I offer special thanks to Aylin Aygüneş, Gül Özkuzukıran and Zienab Zalt for their helpful and motivative attitudes and for all the coffees and chocolates.

I fully appreciate to my life-coaches, my family: I owe all my mindset, stance and success to them. I would like to express my eternal love and respect to my dears, Hayrettin, Nazmiye and Özgür Çobanyılmaz, and Erdem Öztürk, from whom I have learned to feel free in my own way. Many thanks to my dears who light up my way and give me a boost in this long and difficult way.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For more than thirty years, economic and political restructuring in line with market-led neoliberal ideology has fostered a definite urban change together with enlarged and deepened contradictions. The last decade has been characterized by come to exist with an accelerating emergence of uprisings all around the world. Market-led structural change has reached such a level that the dominated majority of citizens have become harshly opposed to the dominant minority in different parts of the world. Parallel to these dramatic uprisings, such multifaceted movements have appeared as the most pivotal agenda for various fields from different viewpoints. Within the wide scope of these movements, obvious relation between oppositional movements and cities has become one of the major inquiry lines for which studies dealing with market-led urban processes.

The 2000s came along with the crisis of late capitalism. Hegemony of the market has enclaved urban space and urban processes as well as all domains of socioeconomic and sociopolitical life since the 1980s. Under these conditions, rising crisis could not isolate itself from urban processes and gave impetus to contemporary urban movements. Spreading movements have primarily pointed out common problems which are articulated in increasing unemployment, poverty and authoritarianism alongside the abolition of democracy by virtue of the crisis of over-marketization. However, the relationship of this crisis with urban processes is much more complicated than these apparent problems. At this point, different comprehensions exist in regards to the relation between cities and conflicts. For some of them (e.g. for Uitermark, Nicholls, Loopmans etc.), cities are seen as a battleground. They are the places of density, size and diversity. These attributes make cities inevitable

places of conflicts, and they also constitute the suitable environment for oppositional movements. From this point of view, any kind of social movement can be called an urban movement since they take place in the city. Such an approach tackles urban space as a container, and urban space becomes only a locus for social conflicts. In this sense, it does not establish a direct connection between urban processes and conflictual outcomes of structural conditions. Thus, explanations and descriptions of contemporary urban movements are confined to meta-concepts like equality, liberty and democracy most probably with reference to the right to the city.

On the other hand, for some other scholars (e.g. Lefebvre, Castells, Harvey etc.), socially produced urban space is located at the core of contradictions and conflicts in capitalist relations. The significance of urban space for capital accumulation moves it beyond being just a battleground for structural contradictions. This kind of comprehension of urban processes points out that urban space is both locus and focus of conflicts. Urban movements as manifestations of these urban conflicts become a pivotal line in order to comprehend the contradictory nature of urban processes, and urban space also should be addressed to find out urban movements. In this sense, the special relation between urban space and capital accumulation has become more visible in the last stage of capitalism with market-led restructuring. Like many other products, urban space has been commodified through the peculiar modes and processes of (re)production of urban space. Therefore, the dominance of capital accumulation and necessary interventions of the state under the hegemony of the market has constituted the origins of contemporary urban movements.

The most recent stage of capitalism, so-called neoliberalism or late capitalism, has fundamentally focused on urban space. The aim of competing at global scale with the market rules has introduced a new role for urban space. Branding and marketing of cities have become a major driving force in redefining the role of urban space. The new regime of capital accumulation and form of the state have offered commodification of urban space on the basis of exchange value. Such circumstances have led a dramatic sociospatial transformation along with certain outcomes. Following the abolishment of industrial production, changing division of labour and

class relations, privatization and (re)appropriation of urban space have introduced a new urban process. Urban development projects as a current mode for (re)production of urban space have come to exist with changing land use forms and patterns. The inherent attributes of these projects in terms of implementation means and processes, and their negative effects, have built up the present urban conflicts.

Within this overall picture, of the two above-mentioned main frameworks, the latter is the adopted approach to find out contemporary urban movements in our study. In this sense, we assume that contemporary urban movements are not independent from urban space. Interrelation of economic and political structures and urban space steers us to consider urban movements on the basis of production and reproduction of urban space. Therefore, the aim and the questions of the thesis rest upon this point of view.

1.1 Aim of the Thesis and Research Questions

Similar to many of the urban studies in recent literature, the aim of the thesis is to *investigate formation and dynamics of contemporary urban movements*. The contextual focus of the study is confined to Turkey in general. And, in particular, the investigation is mainly carried out on emergent urban movements after the 2000s in İstanbul.

The outstanding increase of urban movements in parallel to market-led urban processes in İstanbul has led to constitution of a substantial amount of study. In specific to the field of urban studies, broad nature of urban issues and also urban movements have made it possible to focus on various aspects like economic, political, social or cultural with different approaches. In this sense, many of these studies deal with a particular event and evaluate its prominent features. Although significant contributions are provided for urban studies with these event-based comprehensions, there is still a need for comprehensive understanding which addresses interrelation of contemporary urban movements and urban space. From this point of view, our attention concentrates on urban space. We attempt to elaborate contemporary urban movements with reference to (re)production of urban space.

Thus, the thesis aims to *investigate contemporary urban movements in relation to (re)production of urban space with a comprehensive approach and to introduce their main concepts deriving from urban space.*

(Re)production of urban space refers to a multifaceted process, which cannot be merely confined to planning practice. Socially produced urban space is always under the domination of capital and the state in capitalist relations. In this way, (re)production of urban space is in a direct relation with economic and political structures. Structural changes of capitalist relations redefine urban space in terms of its function and meaning for capital accumulation. In parallel to this, actions of the agents, which arise not only from economic and political interests but also non-economic and non-political interests, present the sociospatial aspects of urban space. Based on these, urban space and its production is a matter that should be considered in both structural and sociospatial perspectives. On the other hand, the intricate ground of urban movements mostly leads to emphasize structural aspects in certain events and neglects the connection with urban space.

On the basis of such an argument, some objectives are defined in order to exhibit direction of the study. These objectives are:

- To build up a theoretical and a conceptual framework over urban conflicts which combine (re)production of urban space and urban movements
- To explore structural and sociospatial transformations which reshape urban conflicts and urban movements
- To classify and to introduce dynamics of contemporary urban movements in relation to process of (re)production of urban space under market conditions in the case of İstanbul
- To detail formations of contemporary urban movements comparatively with case studies and to establish their relations with urban space

In line with these objectives and following theoretical discussions, the process of (re)production of urban space and urban movements that occurred in İstanbul after the 2000s has been specially investigated. The justification for such a temporal and

spatial confinement is grounded on the noticeable interventions over urban space under market mechanisms and the emergent oppositions in response to them. It is observable that over-production of built environment in particular parts of urban space with various projects as of the 2000s was confronted with specific reactions to each one of these projects. According to this, the hypothesis of the study has been formulated as follows:

Hypothesis: *Fragmented mode for (re)production of urban space generates fragmented urban movements in different formations and dynamics.*

Based on this, a two-staged investigation has been conducted, which covers the whole city and selected particular cases. In the first stage, (re)production of urban space with projects together with urban movements against them have been examined on a citywide basis. This investigation posed the following research questions:

- How and by which means and processes do these projects produce urban space?
- What kind of conflictual bases do they constitute?
- What is the relation between interventions to specific domains of the city with these projects and urban movements?
- Do the interventions to specific domains define different dynamics for urban movements?

In order to answer these questions, the projects and urban movements in the city have been eliminated with certain criteria. Like that, only the projects that are offered by the state have been discussed in terms of legal and institutional (re)arrangements. Parallel to this, most of these projects have generated oppositional movements. And, each of these has been analysed in accordance with their peculiar processes in order to put forward distinctive dynamics of interventions to urban space and of urban movements. Such an investigation has made it possible to classify urban movements and clarify the reasons for their distinctive dynamics. Thus, we observed that there are certain intervention domains which appear in private space, public space and

common space. And, on the basis of property relations, each of them stimulates its own peculiar oppositional movement. In the light of these designated domains, we could take one step further to make a comparative investigation in public space.

The second stage focuses on case studies in order to make detailed analyses. The intent of the investigation into particular cases is to explore commonalities and differences in formations of contemporary movements. For this reason, similar projects and oppositional movements against them have been analysed in various dimensions. From this point of view, three prestigious projects, which are known as Haydarpaşa Port, Galata Port and Haliç Port, have been selected for case studies. Since all of three represent public space and have been exposed to similar prestigious projects, they are suitable to compare and to explore the concepts effecting their dynamics and formations. The research questions directing the investigation in this stage are as follows:

- What kind of a process do these projects comprise? Are there certain stages to launch the process and offer the projects?
- Does the existence of oppositional movement have any effect over the process in respect to designation of new stages?
- Do similar projects generate urban movements in similar dynamics and formations?
- What kind of a relation is there between urban movements and urban space?

The second stage of the investigation, at the outset, has required data gathering specific to selected cases. The qualitative research of the study has comprised two fundamental data sources. The first one is textual sources which include reports, articles and news. The trajectory and story of each case could be narrated by using this kind of data sources. The case study method requires field research in urban studies. Based on this, in-depth interviews with the opponent actors constituted the second data source, even though the study did not fundamentally ascend on these interviews. By means of semi-structured questions (See: Appendix A), interviews were carried out with the diverse representative actors in these movements (See: Appendix B).

Selection of the interviewees is a critical point in methodological terms. Because of partial participation and narrow relationship networks in such events, it was not possible to determine certain criteria or classifications in regards to the personal qualifications of the interviewees like age, sex and education. Preliminary field studies indicated that the actors took place in urban movements according to their interests and they represented different parts of the society. In this sense, the study did not focus on qualifications of the actors. Rather, it dealt with the social domain and its diversity that the actors represented. Therefore, interviewees were selected from different representative groups such as chambers, unions, local residents, and so on by utilizing from the stories of the cases.

Design of the questions is another methodological point. The trajectories and stories of the cases became fundamental bases to structure the questions. Even though there were case-specific questions, mostly, similar questions were prepared in order to put forth differences of the cases for the same issues. Based on citywide discussions, the semi-structured questions covered a broad scope to establish the relation between structural transformation of the city and the cases.

In line with these questions and gathered data, a number of analyses have been conducted for the selected cases. First, the process of (re)production of urban space for each one has been elaborated. In this analysis, processes of the cases have been decomposed and their stages have been identified. With such an inquiry, distinctive effects of urban movements during the process could be defined. Second, formation of urban movements in terms of issues/stakes, organizations, actor compositions, repertoires have been discussed for each case. Finally, the analyses have made it possible to observe that these movements arise in different levels of mobilizations and degrees of social engagement with similar issues/stakes. This finding has steered us to explore the reason in connection with urban space. And thus, the last part of research is comprised analysis of spatial attributes of these public spaces in order to establish the connection between urban movements and urban space.

1.2 Scope and Design of the Thesis

The scope of this thesis is based on the relation between (re)production of urban space and urban movements in the context of İstanbul. According to this, the study is designed in seven chapters. Following *the introduction*, *the second chapter* puts forward the fundamental concepts of the study. Through a critical approach, (re)production of urban space was discussed by emphasizing the dominance of capital accumulation and the state in capitalist relations. Urban conflicts originating from this process were presented within a conceptual framework in order to comprehend basis of urban movements. Another effort of this chapter is to establish a ground for dealing urban movements. In this sense, a frame for formation of urban movements was portrayed to analyse these dynamic events. In line with the historicist approach, the changing trajectory of these movements was examined in parallel to structural transformations.

The third chapter demonstrates a historical overview of Turkey and the İstanbul context in the designated periods. As a consequence of the uneven nature of capitalism and late integration to capitalism, Turkey takes place as a developing country in the capitalist world. And, this constituted its own contextual characteristics. Based on this, to make clear the context, structural and sociospatial transformations were tackled within three periods. According to this, the period of integration to capitalism between 1923-1950, the period of engagement to capitalism between 1950-1980 and the period of hegemony of market between 1980-2000 were discussed by focusing on economic and political structures, and (re)production of urban space, urban conflicts and the İstanbul context. The aim of such an investigation is to understand the grounds for the structural and sociospatial conditions of the 2000s.

Building on the basis established by Chapter 3, *the fourth chapter* concentrates on market-led urban process in İstanbul from the 2000s onwards. Structural transformation and its sociospatial outcomes in parallel to deindustrialization and global city vision are elaborated in this chapter. The specificity of being a developing country particularly showed itself in the process of (re)production of urban space. In

this sense, over-production of built environment appeared with privatization-oriented state-led projects (PSPs) in İstanbul by constituting a definite geography over the city. Together with this, an outstanding geography of urban movements emerged in response to these projects. The debates surrounding this geography and citywide analyses were conducted with certain classifications deriving from property relations. According to this, three main domains for the projects and urban movements were defined through private living space, public space and common space. And the overall process of (re)production of urban space and dynamics of urban movements were evaluated for each domain.

The main contours of the new urban process were drawn in the fourth chapter. However, empirical evidence from case studies become prominent in order to detail formation and dynamics of contemporary urban movements together with process of (re)production of urban space. Among above-mentioned domains, the three fundamental prestigious projects – Haydarpaşa Port, Galata Port and Haliç Port- are selected from the public domain. In this sense, *the fifth chapter* comprises trajectories and stories of the cases to establish a ground for further analyses.

In *the sixth chapter*, selected cases are investigated comparatively in order to explore commonalities and differences. With these analyses, at the outset, (re)production of urban space with PSPs was elaborated by defining stages of the process. The aim of this analysis is to put forward the effects of existence of oppositional movements during the process. Following this, the formation of urban movement for each case was discussed in terms of their organizations, actor compositions and repertoires. Like that, the cases were conceptualized in accordance to their distinctive levels of mobilizations. The last part of the chapter mainly seeks for the answer of these different levels of mobilizations. The content of urban space for each case constituted main discussion line by evaluating different dimensions of use value for aforementioned spaces.

In *the conclusion chapter*, the discussions made throughout the study are presented in a general sense. The first section reveals the findings and main concepts for contemporary urban movements deriving from them. The last part delivered the

debates in association with the theory to draw an overall framework for contemporary urban movements.

CHAPTER 2

(RE)PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE: URBAN CONFLICTS TOWARD URBAN MOVEMENTS

This chapter explores the fundamental concepts which constitute the main stance of the study. In this direction, the aim is not to present a mere literature review. Rather, the intent is to demonstrate a critical discussion to build up our perspective over the urban phenomenon, its contradictory and conflictual nature, and urban movements.

The main focus of the study relies on urban movements related to (re)production of urban space. To construct an epistemological and ontological approach to them, at the outset, the origins of social conflicts are briefly and generally investigated. Within a historicist treatment, the relation between urban space and distinctive modes of production is pointed out in order to follow the line of social conflicts and unveil the shift to urban conflicts with capitalist relations. The special relation between capitalism and urban space is one of major focal points for the study. In this sense, the connections among (re)production of urban space, capital accumulation and the state are discussed in order to comprehend the bases of urban contradictions and conflicts through capitalist relations of production. The intent of such scrutiny is to draw a conceptual framework for urban conflicts stemming from (re)production of urban space.

Urban movements are another concern of the study. They are considered as manifestations of urban conflicts. From this point of view, the answer to how such dynamic events should be approached is examined in this section. In addition to this, along with the transformation of capitalist relations over time, how the formation of urban movements has changed is another aspect of the study on the way toward conceptualizing the contemporary formation of these movements.

2.1 Origins and Fundamental Concepts in Social Conflicts

The society in any epoch of the history of social development gets its origins from certain conflictual and contradictory bases. To explore these conflictory bases, the social phenomenon should be approached in terms of structural components and actions of the agents. Based on this, a Marxian perspective draws a broad structural framework for understanding social conflicts, particularly in capitalist societies.

From Marx's point of view, any social phenomenon should be tackled by considering the terms of production and reproduction, which compose the essence of social formations. The history of social development, for Marx, is entirely in relation to production. Cohen (1988) emphasizes Marx's argument in that "history is, fundamentally, the growth of human productive power, and that forms of society (which are organized around economic structures) rise and fall according as they enable and promote, or prevent and discourage, that growth" (Katz, 1993, p.363). In addition to Cohen's highlight over production, another argument of Marx regarding the history of social development rests on conflicts and their revolutionary capability in the form of class struggles.

The term *production* has a broad and inclusive content. Production is not merely related to the material conditions of life. Rather, it is about the (re)production of social relations. This point of view gives a wide range of definitions for the term, which expands from the production of commodities to production of humans themselves through reproduction (Aksoy, *unknown*). Marx deals with production through two aspects—*forces of production and relations of production*. For him, in any mode of production of a specific epoch, the matter is actually about forces of production and relations of production, which trigger the social and spatial formations. *Forces of production* refers to whole components of the production process including both social and material forces. Humanity and its experience and knowledge, technology, science, organization, that is labour and the means of production, compose the productive forces. The development of the productive forces over history indicates change in mode of production. *Relations of production* imply the relationships among the individuals in a set of social organization during

division of labour and exchange and distribution of products. These relations constitute *the economic structure (infrastructure)* of a society. Property relations in means of production, which enables exploitation and domination or socialization in social relations, are the key factors to define relations of production. They are also completely regulated by the state, and require legal foundations. The role of state and its apparatus in this process for coordinating productive relations establish *the political structure (superstructure)* (Marx, 1999 (*originally published in 1859*); Nikitin, 1995 (*originally published in 1962*); Sayers, 1980). Ultimately, as Marx (1999) indicated, social relations in a given stage of the development are able to be understood by dealing with *political economy*.

Conflicts are the fundamental driving forces of *change* in the mode of production. Through the historicist approach of Marx, and also his colleague Engels, theory of social development should be built upon the term conflict. Conflicts as a source of social change refer to differentiated interests and values of individuals or certain classes determined by the structural conditions. In this sense, they stress that man makes his own history but not according to his desires. Rather, they make it according to given conditions. Marx and Engels (1979) (*originally published in 1852*) assert that humans have objectives within a consciousness, which is determined by infrastructure and superstructure, in other words by the mode of production. And so, nothing happens spontaneously. However, everybody has their own objectives, and these different goals mostly embody conflicts. As a result, the history of social development arises along with shifting modes of production and social orders within transformed contradictions.

In Marxian terms, conflicts include the process of transformation of productive forces and productive relations. The incompatibility between the productive forces and relations, namely the struggle among social classes, is the main reason for social revolution toward a social change. Marx (1999) explains this change as follows:

At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or -- this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms -- with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these

relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure. In studying such transformations it is always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic -- in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. (p.Preface).

The emphasis of Marx on conflicts obviously reveals that any contentious social phenomena should be tackled in regard to economic and political structures derived from mode of production. And, in any epoch of history, if the mode of production is founded on exploitation, it generates a class-based society. In this way conflicts are located at the core of the contradictions and tensions of class struggles. The perpetual conflicts between dominant classes and dominated ones confront certain crises depending on the clash of productive forces and relations. The competitive form of struggles intra classes and the antagonistic form of struggles inter classes are the underlying cause of the crisis. Thus, inter and intra class struggles define new social formations within a new order after the crisis of the existing mode of production. From this point of view, Marx labels five social relations that are founded on differentiated modes of production in the history of development (i.e. primitive society, ancient (slave) society, feudal society, capitalist society and socialist society). In addition, role of the state as being the superstructure of the infrastructure gains a vital place in the generation of conflicts. Thus, class struggles consist of political struggles at the same time. And they are the consequence of determined acts of the state within the dominant economic foundation. Parallel to mode of production, typology of the state shifts during the history of development for coordinating and ruling the social order.

The Marxian approach to establishing the theory of conflicts turns its main focus to the capitalist society. Within the history of social development, the high level exploitative nature of capitalism generates two antagonistic classes –the bourgeoisie and working class. Expansionist behavior by the bourgeoisie has the capability to cause exploitation of the majority of dominated working class. In essence, according to Marx, the dominant minority's competitiveness in acquiring means of power and wealth and the dominated majority's opposition to oppression and inequality in the

distribution of resources and wealth, are the fundamental reasons behind the conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the working class.

Going deeper, capitalist society brings up dialectical relations by classifying the societies within different types of complex relations (i.e capital and labour, capital and land, land and labour), and they include contradictions and tensions. Through the dialectical relation between them under the determination of structure, social conflicts arise because of structural antagonism and class contradictions. Based on this, Turner (1975) puts forth the main assumptions of Marx for giving the abstract frame of conflicts in capitalism. Therefore, although social systems are recognized as independent units, there are interrelations among these units which generate conflicts. Disproportionate distribution of resources and power in the society are the driving forces of conflicts of interests. And, sooner or later, latent conflicts of interests emerge as overt and violent conflicts. The eruption of conflicts change the existing social order by fostering a shift in the mode of production, and relatedly in social and power relations. All of these assumptions point out social movements, which can be classed as manifestation and expression of conflicts. The focus of Marx is grounded on violent conflicts and he ascribes a revolutionary mission to these kinds of movements. At the same time, there is an optimistic assertion from Marx regarding the motion of history toward social development in a progressive sense to reach a socialist society.

Ultimately, the aim of Marx in such a meta theory is to establish a guide for social change toward the salvation of mankind and, in particular, of the working class from capitalism by analysing the history of social development through economic and political changes. The terms of Marx, which are used to explain social change and social development throughout the history on the basis of conflicts, have also been used to explain urban phenomena. In particular, urban space and its function under the capitalist mode of production have radically transformed along with the social change in capitalism. The relation between social change and spatial change depending on mode of production automatically makes urban space conflictual as both locus and focus of those conflicts.

2.2 Brief History of Relation between Social Conflicts and Urban Space until Capitalism

Change in social formations along with variations of mode of production has defined new spatial forms and relations with diverse conflicts. Urban space encapsulates all social relations by generating conflicts in capitalism. However, the relation between social conflicts and urban space took a different form prior to capitalism.

In the history of social development, the shift to capitalist mode of production has led to complex and multifaceted social relations. In parallel with that, urban space has become locus and focus of these relations. For us, before capitalist society, the function of urban space was mostly limited to be a geographical locus for structural conditions. Urban space was instrumentally the object of economic and political structures until capitalism. With the genesis of capitalism, it has become both the object and the subject of productive relations in the history of social development. To make the differentiation of function of urban spaces throughout the history of social development and changing nature of conflicts clearer, a brief overview might be useful. Without deviating from the Marxian terms, the birth of the city and the process of its change rest on the development of productive forces and productive relations. Furthermore, mode of production and its means in different epochs shaped the origins of conflicts.

The agricultural revolution caused a change in the history of social development as it led early civilizations to sedentary agriculture and division of labour. Following this development, progress in forces and relations of production toward appearance of surplus product and private property paved the way for urban revolution in parallel to a shift from primitive society to ancient (slave) society. Increasing agricultural surplus led to specialization in different tasks like craftsmanship and trading. Production and exchange of these goods introduced more complex social organizations. With increased population, concentration of surplus and control of the political power (i.e. in different forms of the state) was held in a certain place. The ancient city constituted the initial core of urban-based economy out of agricultural production. And the new economy defined new social relations. Apart from

economic factors, regulations in political terms took place in the center of urban logic, as well. However, beyond economic and political forces, ancient cities were built on the basis of spiritual codes, and urban space gained sacred meanings. Those represented the cultural aspects of urban space. (Zubritski *et al.*, 1980; Mumford, 1961; Gottdiener *et al.*, 2015). According to V. Gordon Childe (1950) (cited from Castells, 1977; Gottdiener *et al.*, 2015), the first cities could be characterized in agglomeration of population, concentration of agricultural surplus in a taxation system, emergence of state apparatus, public works, and development of arts and science. Through these social relations, urban space was not the locus of main production. Rather, it was the locus of influence for the political power to regulate social organization. In addition, the city had the function of exchanging the surplus products of agriculture. And most importantly, it was a prominent place and symbol for social and civilized life, but not the focus in regards to production.

The conflicts of ancient time did not get their origins from urban space. Rather, rising slave society came to exist with class-based social relations. The division of society into masters and slaves led to the commodification of human beings under complete ownership of masters. For Marx and Engels, slave society of ancient times was the earliest form of class society. Engels (1978) defines the formation of this society in these words:

The increase of production in all branches -- cattle-raising, agriculture, handicrafts -- gave human labour power the capacity to produce a larger product than was necessary for its maintenance. At the same time it increased the daily amount of work to be done by each member of the gens, household community or single family. It was now desirable to bring in new labour forces. War provided them; prisoners of war were turned into slaves. With its increase of the productivity of labour and therefore of wealth, and its extension of the field of production, the first great social division of labour was bound, in the general historical conditions prevailing, to bring slavery in its train. From the first great social division of labour arose the first great cleavage of society into two classes: masters and slaves, exploiters and exploited. (Engels, 1978, p.194) (*originally published in 1884*).

The fundamental conflicts of ancient times were rooted in power struggles among city-states. The need to increase the number of slaves made conquests necessary. On the other hand, class conflicts were veiled facts in slave society within a primitive form. They were veiled and not revolutionary. Because, as Marx and Engels stated,

slaves were not capable of opposing their owners or enacting a revolution. Unpaid slaves were completely possessed by their masters and they were kept in the worst living conditions imaginable. Another dimension of veiled class conflicts concerned the productive labour of freemen. The harsh exploitation of slaves in production made the labour of freemen dysfunctional. As a result, conditions of freemen got closer to those of the slaves (Engels, 1978). The relations of production exhibited an unsustainable economic structure for reproduction of social relations. Thus, deep tensions among classes caused social resolution along with oppressive interventions of the state. And change in productive relations provided a shift to feudal society.

The main characteristic of feudal society was private property. Agricultural land and its ownership defined class position in the society. Contrary to slave society, distribution of private property on the basis of the manor defined new classes and new social formation. The social order was organized by a form of feudal state, which was founded on vassalage relations among king, landlords, chevaliers and peasants. Granting property rights provided the constitution of privileged groups through decentralized state authority. Thus, relations of production stemmed from land ownership. At that point, land property and its economic importance in terms of rent became the most significant determinant in social organization (Zubritski *et al.*, 1980). Actually, land became the essential means of production and having this means defined a certain power which becomes apparent in capitalist society in an upgraded form. Ultimately, feudal mode of production led to commodification of land.

Urban space, as Gottdiener *et al.* (2015,p.35) emphasized, was “reclaimed by countryside”. Invasion of barbarians and resolution of the state as central authority corrupted the urban idea of ancient times. Feudal cities, primarily towns, were enclosed and became less important in contrast to the exalted urban idea of ancient cities. The domination of agricultural economic structure confronted both the urban and rural. The importance of land ownership for agriculture made cities relatively less significant than the rural in terms of commodified land value. On the other hand, feudal cities were governed by their own lords and their laws were the sign of their

power. In economic terms, urban space carried on its function as the marketplace where trade and commerce relations were driven. The characteristic of trade was mainly grounded on simple commodity production. Exchange of these commodities occurred among the producers. A small part of the population settled in cities. And they were also the ones that had privileges to sell and buy commodities freely. Besides, unlike strict and arbitrary jurisdiction in rural areas, juridical interventions over traders and craftsmen in cities were quite tolerant. Chargeless tenure of urban real property made financial autonomy easier. The rights granted to traders and craftsmen, namely the bourgeois, caused the development of guilds, which was the collaboration that led to the rise of further merchant capitalism and rise of cities (Mumford, 1961; Gottdiener *et al.*, 2015; Epstein, 2007). After all, throughout the decline and rise of cities, urban space sustained its function as a locus of trade and commercial activities, namely as a marketplace. And it was the center of organization for land distribution in countryside in feudal society.

The conflicts of the feudal mode of production had the characteristic of class struggles. The contests happened on two fronts as the conflicts between peasants and landlords in rural areas, and the conflicts between urban privileges –the bourgeoisie– and landlords in cities. The roots of these conflicts could be explained as crisis of the system in different forms. In relations of production, peasants were positioned as both direct producers and also a labour force. Under the ownership of landlords, surplus labour and products were extracted from them. Being a direct producer meant possessing one's own means of production. This relatively independent position of the peasants gave them power of economic control, and the capability to reproduce their own economic conditions unlike the slaves of the previous epoch. Additionally, limited investments of landlords to increase production and surplus by virtue of their ownership warranty, and the obligation of peasants to sustain their livelihood forced them into improving productive forces (e.g. land reclamation, innovations for cultivation etc.). Despite the efforts of peasants to increase productive capacity, landlords used surplus for the military and political relations to maintain their class power. Peasants had limited appropriation over the surplus of goods because of the exaction of lords and their demands for the surplus triggered cleavages (Katz, 1993;

Epstein, 2007). Established guilds became another conflictual line in the cities. Increasing significance of traders and craftsmen, who had their own means of production, entailed to be empowered in economy. Their powerful economic position made the bourgeoisie a potential rival to landlords. Because of these escalating conflictual relations, revolts against the landlords became apparent. With the particular domination of peasants for demanding land rent (*refers to a specific form of rent consisting of surplus labour and surplus product*), class struggles started through peasant revolts in rural. Even though these revolts were concentrated in countryside, urban bourgeoisie took also an important part in the revolts.. In the end, exploitation of landlords over peasants ended, and the liberty of peasants in terms of moving, buying and selling rights triggered land transfers (Katz, 1993). Unlike weakened lords, the power of peasants and bourgeois increased in the economic structure, and ensured the genesis of primitive accumulation of capital. All of these prepared the pre-conditions for shifting to the capitalist mode of production.

The history of social development gives us some key points to comprehend the process reaching to capitalism. Starting from slave society, production of surplus and its evolution into accumulation of wealth as capital constituted the bases for the genesis of capitalism. Exploitative and unequal appropriation of surplus and the distribution of accumulation lead to consistent class struggles in all social formations. These two different social formations make obvious the function of urban space and the roots of conflicts depending on modes of production. Rural production maintained its domination over social organization during pre-capitalist epochs. And the predominancy of rural areas pushed the city into an insignificant place in the productive relations. Pre-capitalist cities were mainly the locus for appropriation of surplus within a narrow and domestic market. The conflicts among classes focused on rural land, which was the essential means of production. And urban space could not take place as a focus in terms of production in these conflicts.

In parallel with the development of productive forces, expanding trade activities and development of manufacturing to supply the needs of increasing populations assured transition to capitalism. Through the shift in mode of production, agricultural

production lost its significant position, and the enhancing prominence of industrial production transformed the function of urban space. The cities have turned into places where agricultural production was unnecessary, and they have taken an essential place in relations of production. Transformation of urban space, including form and built environment, generated a new form of urban society, which articulates more complex social organization engaged with spatial organization in advanced relations of production.

To sum up, Marx believes that the history of social development is the history of conflicts between social classes derived from a specific mode of production. In a broader sense, the history of social development and the conflicts arise from materialism which refers to ownership and private property in varied modes of production.

Undoubtedly, the progressive line of history is not simplistic or homogenous all over the world and the same events and development paths may not recur. Although the history of social development depending on different modes of production gives some ideas regarding the function of urban space and roots of conflicts, uneven development does not exhibit certain and concurrent shifts everywhere. Or, it is not possible to experience the same social and spatial organizations in different geographies. However, to understand the specific meaning and function of urban space under the domination of capitalism, a brief overview of history gives some insights for our study.

2.3 Capitalism and Urban Space

2.3.1 The Urban Question toward Neo-Marxist Urban Thought

The rise of capitalism has set up a new social order, which has been experienced up to now by evolving and reproducing itself in varied forms. With the major shift to an industrial mode of production, petty commodity production has turned into extended production. Following this extension, advanced commercial relations beyond simple exchange of products have defined a large scale accumulation of capital. The main

logic of capitalism, in essence, rests on private property and its ownership. This seeks more money or capital for further investments through extraction of surplus value, and this rationality supports a new cycle of accumulation. Through the dynamic and cyclical nature of capitalism, and its changing stages (i.e early capitalism, advanced capitalism and late capitalism), new relations of production would define urban space as main locus and focus for wealth.

The early stages of capitalism in the 19th century, that is to say the beginning of industrial capitalism, were a prominent transition from rural to urban for massive human aggregations. The city became the place for productive relations. As these relations rapidly expanded, a new social order and physical environment penetrated into urban space. The emerging image of the industrial city as an unhealthy built environment and its social extensions through increasing exploitation provoked a variety of movements of thought. These movements mostly included utopian considerations for the ideal society (e.g. as is seen in Marxian thought focusing on class exploitation and anticipating socialist utopia), or the ideal city (e.g. dealing physical conditions like Ebenezer Howard (*Garden Cities of Tomorrow, 1898*) or Tony Garnier (*An Industrial City, 1904*) for planning and designing beautiful city utopia), seeded the first considerations of urban space. In company with these ideals, the urban phenomenon became a necessary spatial unit to define capitalist social formation and its physical reflections¹.

Marx, who pioneered social conflicts in capitalist relations of production, focused his attention on division of labour and class struggles as outcomes of the industrial mode of production. Even though he recognized and indicated the distinctive characteristic of the capitalist city, he had a limited consideration regarding urban phenomenon. Within his limitations, Marx (1968) (*originally published in 1846*) approached the industrial city as “the separation of town (*city*) and country” that derives from “the greatest division of material and mental labour” (p.20). The shift from feudal society to (early) capitalist society was a struggle between social relations located in the

¹ This study adopts a dialectical relation between society and urban space. The term *reflection* is used ironically and consciously to reveal epistemological understanding of the first studies.

urban as the center of capitalism and in the countryside as the center of feudalism (Gottdiener et al, 2015). So, the city is the antithesis of rural. And from the perspective of Marx, it seems like the urban phenomenon became apparent with the genesis of capitalism in real terms.

According to Marx (1968), the outstanding character of the city was established upon being the main place where the proletariat had emerged for the first time. He explained the distinction of this newly emerged class from the previous exploited classes by showing the city as one of the influences. Unlike spatial division of feudal mode of production in rural areas, the city ensures spatial togetherness for the working class, and enhances their organizing capacity. From his point of view, the city was a perfect association as it could be seen in the guilds of feudal cities. In a similar perspective, Şengül (2001a) makes it clear that the aggregated industrial proletariat in the cities could get the chance of being together both in factories and also in living spaces. The exploitation they experienced together pushed them to unite in order to defend their rights. And thus, the city would be the place of arising class consciousness and massive mobilization.

Marx saw the city as the locus of class struggle, but did not ascribe a meaning to it as a focus of capitalist means of production. It is only a battleground of class conflicts and also a container for the working class. However, he did not tie up the city, namely urban processes, with the process of capital accumulation in an integral way. He only mentioned that the rapid accumulation of capital led to the rapid aggregation of exploitable labour capital, and such mobilizations resulted in poor quality of living conditions, that is to say shelter, for the working class. Accordingly, Marx has a little word for urban processes and urban space.

His colleague Engels (1997) (*originally published in 1845*) established some facets in relation with the industrial development in early capitalism and its reflections on urban space. Engels treated the urban phenomenon as a lab for solving out the general aspects of capitalism. For him, large industrial cities were the social systems that can be used to research capitalism in a similar manner to the research into the relation of capital and labour in the factory. Parallel to that, his observations provided

an insight to explore the fundamental tendencies of capitalism over urban space. As a result, Engels asserted that the main tendency of capitalism was to concentrate on the urban space not only for the capital investment but also for the workers, to maximize profit by benefiting from their proximity and their numbers. Another tendency was that capitalism sought new centers after over agglomeration and development of a spatial center. And, Engels stated that investments moved away from old centers and extended to the periphery. In addition, the exploitative nature of capitalism generated social problems in the urban area which arose from poverty and deprivation (Gottdiener *et al.*, 2015).

The most prominent contribution of Engels, which would be matured in further urban studies of Marxist scholars, was the emphasis upon the interrelation of production and reproduction processes (Şengül, 2001a). Within his observations, Engels (1997) pictured the living spaces of working class. For him, the conditions of the working place (i.e wages, working hours etc.) extended to the living spaces, and resulted in homelessness, inadequate housing or spatial segregation between bourgeoisie and proletariat. Thus, the working class is exploited by bourgeoisie both in the place of production and reproduction. On the other hand, segregation of working class in urban space brought some advantages in constituting class consciousness. Deprivation in these neighbourhoods forced them to develop their own communal places. And such places provided them a chance to deliver class problems to their living spaces (Şengül, 2001a).

Engels's attitude to urban space, in essence, can be considered as defining a relation between the factory and the living space of working class. From his point of view, the city is an extension of production which makes poor conditions visible in reproduction. Contrary to the pure affirmative attitude of Marx, Engels found the urban phenomenon problematic in some ways. Even though urban space provides a habitat and helps in developing class consciousness, the dominance of productive relations push the working class into a vicious circle of capitalism in reproduction processes (i.e. to have affordable house owing to financial institutions, and to be forced to work in any conditions). As Marrisfield (2012) stated, Engels discovered the

capacity of the capitalist city for creative destruction. Indeed, he also articulated the contradictory and dialectic nature of the city. The pressure of urban growth in parallel with increasing wealth of surplus led to renewal of the city center. And the miserable neighbourhoods of the proletariat were constantly swept towards invisible parts of the city. For Engels, it meant that problems of working class are expelled corresponding to the interests of the ruling class. Accordingly, he stressed that any reformist approach to the city would not solve the root of working class problems.

Relatively broader than Marx, but still limited, the approach of Engels to the urban question reveals an obvious emphasis on class in terms of segregation and reproduction of labour. This emphasis is an intimation of urban conflicts. The city under capitalist productive relations presents poverty and exploitation, but it also comprises immanent revolutionist potentialities for the proletariat. Engels did not articulate that those potentialities would be gained by struggle engaging with urban space. He also could not estimate the evolutionary behavior of capitalism by using the urban space to reproduce itself in different forms. But the insights of Engels would steer towards establishing a mutual relation between capitalism and urban space on the way to examine *the urban question* in the stage of advanced capitalism. Engels did not define urban conflicts directly. However, Marxist focus on social conflicts and Engels' inputs for urban processes enabled the construction of further ideas. In particular, it is observable in the inquiries that focus on urban conflicts by adopting Marxist epistemology in terms of class struggles through production and reproduction processes.

The urban thought of Weber, in parallel with structuralism and historicism of Marx and Engels, draws another line for the city of early capitalism. According to Weber (2000), the city is a market place, however, it is also basically the place of political power. Unlike Marx and Engels' overemphasis on economic structure, Weber defines the city within institutional structures (e.g. managerial, legal or religious etc.). His way of thinking departs from social relations and the dominant institutional system defining those relations. For him, urban society refers to a certain institutional order, and presents a system of powers. This assumption means that social relations

require domination and dependency during the process of social interaction. And urban society is regulated through rules which designate the position of individuals in the process of decision making. Contrary to Marxian thought, which defines society among classes determined by productive relations, Engels considers social relations within institutional status. Indeed, he did not reject social classes, but he added social stratifications stemming from power possession by prioritizing them. Thus, Weber's urban thought is shaped within the same concepts. Metaphorically, he saw the city as a company that should be managed in strategic ways.

This kind of political-based urban thought comprises social conflicts. Material emphasis of the Marxian approach on class definition and conflicts over means of production turns into different contentious spheres in the Weberian perspective (Wieviorka, 2010). Accordingly, if the city is the place of political power, it would be explicitly the place of power conflicts. Even though Weber accepts the existence of class struggles in productive relations, for him, rational-legal domination of political power exists to control such conflicts. As Weber (2000) pointed out, each society is an organization of individual interests. And institutions indicate the lines and frames for balancing and preventing conflictual crises derived from those interests. Nonetheless, the point that rationalizes urban society is its well-organized institutional structure. Thus, the assumption of Weber absolves the urban from being the core of conflictual crises.

The studies of Marx, Engels and Weber did not directly focus on a conceptualization of urban phenomena toward a systematic understanding. Rather, they gave fundamental basis to political economy and urban managerialism for constructing systematic urban thoughts. As Gottdiener *et al.* (2015) asserted, their most significant contribution is that they showed different social formations (e.g. feudalism, capitalism etc.) need distinctive spatial forms. Their historicist perspective regarding social development and social change constituted a significant outlook for further urban studies. And this takes us to an epistemological comprehension arising from the idea that urban space is not a simple spatial unit, rather a social product with

different dialectic relations (e.g. urban& rural, power& opposition etc.), which we will discuss later in a deeper way.

Advanced stage of capitalism has generated a different form of city from previous ones with a new urban society. In addition to changing meaning and function of cities, enlarged scale and increased population depending on industrialization attracted scholars' interest. Whether or not it is explicitly expressed, the integral relation between capitalism and the city has forced scholars to understand new social order within urban phenomenon. The Marxist approach and its main concepts of political economy (i.e. production and reproduction, capital accumulation, class struggles, state interventions etc.), could not take place in these inquiries for a long time. And, the specific attempts opened a special field concerning urban phenomenon in sociology². The most critical point of these conventional studies is that cities were assumed as the basic reflectors to understand social facts. In a broad sense, Gottdiener (1985) asserts that spatial organization of the city was an instrument as material manifestation and social environment for illustrating social facts. At which level the mainstream and conventional urban thought considered social conflicts by virtue of spatial structuring is the critical point for us.

The first systematic studies on the formulation of the urban question drew a theoretical frame with reference to inherited sociological canons. Those attempts, in fact, concentrated on social organization aggregated on a specific geographic location in certain functional relations rather than an effort to understand urban phenomenon in a transcendental manner. The mainstream theories inspired by

² The first inquiries into capitalist society in relation with capitalist city embraced urban space out of Marxist concepts and with a lack of dialectic/sociospatial perspective. Rather, the city was considered dichotomous with the rural. Scholars attempted to define urban society by comparing rural society through new conceptualizations.

For more details see: The study of Ferdinand Tönnies (1957) concentrating on distinction between *community*, which refers to living together in the consciousness of gathering, and *society*, which means working together and living in established cooperation and collaboration with the primacy of urban space (*originally Gemeinschaft und Gessellschaft, 1887*).

The study of Emile Durkheim (1893) highlighted the concepts of *mechanical solidarity* in rural and *organic solidarity* in the city (*The Division of Labour in Society*).

George Simmel (1903) was interested in urban life and transformation of *individual consciousness* depending on the effect of size, density, heterogeneity by differing from rural life (*Büyük Kentler ve Tinsel Yaşam*).

biological analogies considered the city as another form of ecological environment comprised of urban economy, sociology and geography. According to the urban ecology perspective, especially pioneered by the Chicago School in the 1920s, the city was a system that works in similar ways to natural systems. Based on this point of view, the city is a social environment that individuals adjust and adapt to. Social organizations inclined to adjustment and adaptation constitute a self-regulating urban system, which seeks equilibrium similar to natural systems. Such an urban thought dealt with the city as a *spatial deployment* through socio-biotic forces rather than a *(re)produced product* within conflictual and dominant interventions of social forces. With the deployment of space by expansion and agglomeration, the locational preferences of individuals, functional zones and their relations in terms of differentiation and integration, centralization and decentralization tendencies through land speculations embodied the fundamental research subjects³. Constitutively, the law of deployment of space occurs through interrelation of behavioral patterns of individuals (e.g. agencies in the form of firm, target group etc.) in economic rationalities and land use patterns in a functionalist sense (Gottdiener, 1985; Keskinok, 1997; Gottdiener *et al.*, 2015). All of these relations emerge in *laissez faire* economic preferences (*in the conceptualization of Gottdiener (1985)*), and in a *non-political and autonomous* manner (*in the conceptualization of Keskinok (1997)*). In particular, observable urban change through suburbanization, expansion to metropolitan scale, progression in city functions, and integration of productive activities in regional and international scale after World War II opened new research branches by revamping conventional urban thought. The revision of

³ The most prominent studies of urban ecology perspective were initially given by Robert Park, Roderick McKenzie and Ernest Burgess (1925).

Park pointed out *biotic and cultural factors* that engender *competitive and cooperative* essence of human nature. For him, while biotic factors push individuals into a struggle for survival, cultural factors force individuals to cooperate with each other in a moral order.

McKenzie underlined *location and position* in space for struggle of existence and *spatial patterns* derived from competitiveness.

Burgess indicated *central agglomeration and decentralization* in the process of spatial deployment. He drew a frame for spatial patterns called *concentric zones*. Following attempts revising his theory in a similar manner were presented by Hoyt (1933) with *sector theory*, and Harris and Ullman (1945) with *multiple nuclei theory*.

Also see: The theorists in urban geographic and economic approaches were Christaller (1933) and Losch (1954) *central place theory*, Zipf (1949) *rank size rule theory* etc.

conventional thought touched some considerations of the political economy approach in non-Marxist sense by focusing economic competitiveness. However, it still regarded economic behaviors of individuals as rational impetuses independent from structural determinants.

The conventional urban thought, assuming spontaneous adaptation and equilibrium in urban systems, mostly ignored capitalist relations of production and forces of production. By definition, social classes and role of the state over space could not take place in the theoretical frame. Thus, contradictions and tensions among classes, and contentious effects of political interventions are neglected in the urban question. Even though the city as a container, rather than as a social product, is the locus of economic competitiveness, the competitive behaviors of individuals and possible conflicts (i.e. in the condition of deficient cooperation and equilibrium) do not emerge as a crisis that could boost a social change. Thus, the social conflicts were either ignored entirely or considered as isolated and independent sociological phenomena of the urban space. As Keskinok (1997) put forward in a critical manner, space fetishistic framework of conventional urban thought by reifying social forces presents a determinist and non-political urban realm. The lack of analysis over the role of agents in mediating in production of space and ascribed meanings over urban space compel us to think of an autonomous urban perception. Ultimately, conventional urban thought dealt with urban phenomenon in a non-conflictual manner by ignoring and reifying social facts.

This non-conflictual framework of the conventional urban thought was questioned within the atmosphere of contradictions and tensions in late 1960s. The crisis of advanced capitalism and revolts that emerged in relation with urban space led to a number of attempts toward re-conceptualization of the urban question. Within these efforts two mainstreams and challenging lines are outstanding in urban study literature. The studies following Marx's approach, namely neo-Marxist urban studies, constitute one of these currents. The major concentration of neo-Marxist studies is to conceptualize urban phenomenon in the perspective of *political economy* through capitalist relations of production, role of the state and conflictual outcomes

in urban processes. On the other hand, the studies adopting Weber's understanding, that is, neo-Weberian urban studies, settle on the authority of institutions including the state and their influential capability for organizing urban processes in the *urban managerialism* viewpoint.

Before we move on to neo-Marxist studies in detail, it is necessary to take a brief look at the neo-Weberian urban thought. In the Weberian school of thought, the main assumption is for urban process to dominate the institutions and bureaucratic decision. The neo-Weberian approach deals with "*supply-side activities*" in urban processes (Keskinok, 1997, p.15). The city gains a meaning in rational organization for allocation of resources. Access to affordable housing and urban services mainly depend on attitudes of urban managers. Such "gatekeepers" are the agents that organize and control entire urban processes. Decisions of these managers and power relations generate inequalities in supply of urban services. Exercised power of the state in policy making describes new stratifications⁴ depending on consumption patterns (Pickvance, 1984). As a consequence of these, new class definitions not in relation with production but in relation with consumption derive from policies of urban managers in the process of resource allocation.

The power centered approach of neo-Weberian studies defines inequalities in urban processes independent from economic structures. In addition to independency of economic and political structures, the spatial dimension of urban phenomenon is presented in a detached manner. Pahl (1975) establishes his theoretical frame by dividing urban space and decisions of urban managers. In this context, space is perceived as a scarce material and functional entity including locational distance, which refers time and cost features. Under these spatial constraints, decisions and implementations of those managers, or gatekeepers (i.e. the state and its officials in national level, the local government and bureaucrats, real estate agents, planners,

⁴ The most prominent study proving this argument was exhibited by Rex and Moore (1967). The study of *Race, Community and Conflict* unveils access conditions of immigrants, namely black and Asian immigrants, to council housing within different interests of politicians. Pivotal elaboration of the study is over political debates that focus on whether those immigrants were the cause of housing shortage or the victim. Political interests of parties regarding elections and public reactions determined political interventions to the matter. As a result of exercised policies, immigrants are deprived the right to house ownership. Thus, race and ethnicity oriented policies constitute new social stratification.

technicians etc. at the urban level), constitute the pivotal determinant over control and allocation. Social aggregations taking place outside of urban managers are the ones demanding and who are affected by decisions of the gatekeepers. In such a relational assumption, urban space with its scarce resources and social aggregations with limited access is a dependent variable, whereas, urban managers supplying and directing these resources are independent variables. Here, the attitude of these managers, shaped by their interests, goals and values, become important. Accordingly, for Pahl, these characteristics set off the core matter in the analysis of urban process.

Constitutive social structures (i.e. economic, political and ideological) and their interrelations are put aside by neo-Weberian urban studies. Instead of determinant characteristic of economic structure on political structure, they accept social relations within the dominance of political power. According to Keskinok (1997, p.16), “the *structured* nature of the urban spatial outcomes is rejected, and *contingency* in spatial outcomes is accepted”. Based on this, the urban phenomenon acquires an autonomous dimension (Pickvance, 1984; Keskinok, 1997). In neo-Weberian urban thought, the main source of conflicts is unequal resource allocations stemming from decisions of urban managers. However, the clear cut separation between spatial and political dimensions of urban processes brings a different frame in order to understand social conflicts. Two facets of conflicts become apparent in urban processes. The first facet is that the conflicts arise from the demand-side because of unequal access to spatial resources. The other facet is that the conflicts occur among gatekeepers because of differentiated interests. But, in this approach, the main focus is likely to be directed over the latter one. In addition, neglected interrelations of urban processes in terms of economic and political relations, their socio-spatial effects or spatial inputs in economic and political actions cause constrictive conflictual understanding. Besides, neglected class struggles and focused political conflicts lead to ignorance of the nature and logic of capitalist social relations over urban space. Thus, neo-Weberian urban thought does not have the capability of embracing conflicts derived from integrality of economic, political and spatial dimensions in a comprehensive manner.

The urban question in capitalist mode of production has carried diverse ontological assumptions to conceptualize urban phenomenon. As is seen, varied urban thoughts and their specific foci have constituted different epistemological viewpoints. Since the pivotal aspect of the study rests on urban conflicts and their manifestations as (urban) (social) movements, the distant considerations of social conflicts of these approaches is not able to explain the origins of urban conflicts. Besides, these approaches do not concern themselves with linking urban processes and emerging social conflicts in the urban sphere.

The brief overview of distinctive urban thoughts is prominent for showing our ontological and epistemological basis throughout the study. Marxist apprehension over social facts suggests a comprehensive outlook on social conflicts from a political economy perspective. Neo-Marxist approach has enabled us to construct an extensive urban thought by associating this perspective with the urban question. Inspired by urban crisis of the 1968s (i.e. crisis of Fordist industrial mode of production and Keynesian welfare state) and under the guidance of Lefebvre, capitalist social relations have been remoulded in spatial processes. Thus, Lefebvre has injected (urban) space into relations of production. Onto this new foundation, a vast variety of studies (e.g. by Harvey, Castells etc.) have provided an insight detailing some parts of the integral but intricate interrelation of capitalism and (urban) space. Neo-Marxist urban studies highlight social conflicts in urban processes. Some of them specially attempt to establish a bond between urban processes and social conflicts toward a conception of urban conflicts. From this point of view, for us, neo-Marxist urban thought constitutes the most contributive basis for the concerns of this study. The rest of ontological and epistemological discussions of the study over urban processes and urban conflicts will be conducted by following these studies and Marxist concepts.

2.3.2 (Re) Production of Urban Space and Urban Conflicts in Capitalism

The pivotal notion of neo-Marxist urban thought departs from production and reproduction. The capitalist mode of production and its relation with urban space become crucial. From now on, urban processes are elaborated with reference to production and reproduction of space. In this sense, the significant concepts of neo-Marxist thought spin around capital accumulation and its relation with land, (re)production of urban space and role of the state, and class struggles derived from the complex relations of all these processes. Such a point of view involves multifaceted relations, processes and outcomes that direct us to comprehend urban phenomenon in a sociospatial perspective.

Production and reproduction of (urban) space at any scale become a core matter in the capitalist social relations. The intrinsic role of (urban) space makes it vital to warrant endurance of capitalist relations in different forms. The fundamental aim of capitalism is to (re)produce surplus value in different forms (i.e profit in the form of money and rent) by organizing capital accumulation processes. In this process, (re)production of built environment has turned into the means of production to generate surplus value. As Harvey (1978) emphasized, (urban) space attains a special meaning and function under the capitalist mode of production by differing from the previous modes.

Here, the question of why (urban) space is so significant for capitalism should be answered. But before passing on to the answer, first we need to examine “What kind of an entity is (urban) space?” In this regard, philosophy of space, its varied scales and its agents (i.e. in particular to capitalism) are put forward in order to make our ontological understanding of (urban) space obvious and articulate the focus of our examination.

(Urban) space is a social product. It is not a neutral container comprising things, acts and events. From another stand point, *(urban) space is produced socially.* It is made by human beings and social relations. These statements need to be queried in terms of what kind of a product (urban) space is and how it is produced. Lefebvre (1991)

(originally published in 1974) discusses the reply in a multiplicity without rejecting but by predicating and challenging the Marxian view. In other way, production of space is not a simple and external implementation of the concept of production formulated by Marx. As broadly discussed above, the Marxian concept of production and product do not represent a smooth and a concrete formulation. Rather, the concept of production hints at historically complex relational processes with productive forces and productive relations. And product invokes mainly tangible objects but also intangible values or the totality of all. Based on this, space is not a simple tangible object in a material sense, or something imagined. Space represents a material world in which sequences of the actions are operated. It entails other produced products and encloses interrelations of them. These set of relations address social relations derived from using and exchanging. And these compose the value of space through function and meaning. To reference Marx again, productive relations engender social relations through economic and political determinations. As it can be remembered from the political economy approach of Marx, ideology (i.e. practical consciousness) also originates from economic and political determinants toward shaping social relations. From this point of view, Lefebvre (2009a) (originally published in 1970) puts the philosophy of space in these exact words:

Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology or politics; it has always been political and strategic... It is a product literally populated with ideologies. There is an ideology of space. Why? *Because space, which seems homogeneous, which appears given as a whole in its objectivity, in its pure form, such as we determine it, is a social product. The production of space cannot be likened to the production of any particular object or commodity.* Nonetheless, there are relations between the production of things and that of space. The latter accrues to private groups who appropriate space in order to manage and exploit it. Space is a historical product-like anything else-but, moreover, is historical in the classical sense of the term. (p. 170-171) (*emphasis is mine*).

In this sense, space is not a pure formal and scientific object. Rather, it is mediated in social relations, and thus, produced socially.

“Socially” addresses an interactive process that occurs by interrelation of structures and agents. In such an assumption of social relations, structural properties including economic and political factors (i.e. rules and resources draw upon (re)production of social relations under dominant, that is, capitalist mode of production) and the

actions of agents (i.e. decisions and selections of the agents within structural factors toward reproduction or non-reproduction social relations) becomes significant considerations. In spatial processes, structural conditions behave as determinants that are constitutive over the actions of agents, but they are not external to them. They mostly constitute practical consciousness of agents (i.e. ideology) in an integral way rather than being incidental. So, isolation of structures and actions of agents from each other would present missing and invalid ontological assumption over space. Thus, social structures expose a dual character (Giddens, 1984). This duality means that social structures are “both medium and outcome of practices” (Giddens, 1984, p. 25), and they are embedded in space. Apart from the dialectic between structure and agent, another point required to be kept in mind is the dual relation between economic and political structures. Economic structure is defined in the laws of (capitalist) mode of production and political structure embodied by interventions of the state. In this relation, economic structure is the main determinant and restrictive upon political structure. Interventions and policy decisions of the state take form due to economic constraints toward reproduction of productive relations. As Keskinok (1997, p.ix) pointed out, “the effects of overall state activities actualize themselves on space through various ways. And this activity is structurally limited by the economic structure”.

Space is structured, namely organized, rather than being an autonomous phenomenon, with dialectical relation between structure and actions of agents under capitalist mode of production. However, this organization comprises contingencies at the same time. In other words, space, as a social product, is not a sum of mere premediated structures or mere sum of spontaneous actions of agents. Rather it is the outcome of dynamic and interactive process emerging from interrelation of structure and agent, and open to redefinition, modification and transformation. Similarly, Keskinok (1997, p.ix) defines the process of (re)production of space as “multifarious relations and complex interactions between the structures and the agents”. Like that, urban space remains open to reproduction, structuration, restructuring and transformation under these variations.

The space consisting of economic, political and ideological structures gains functions and meanings in a specific mode of production, but also at specific levels of (re)production. Differentiated scales of space organization and interrelations among them become another question within this perspective. Keskinok (1997) explains the nature of distinctive functions and meaning of space in hierarchical levels of (re)production. According to him, (re)production of space can be seen at the level of global space, national space, regional space and local space coming with their own sui generis relations. Even though there are relations between these levels, they do not define linear, cause and effect relations. Rather, variable structure and agent relations at each level, and actions impose partially contingent effects over other levels. (Re)production of space starting with global level can be narrowed toward urban level through a totality. That is, a set of processes that include abstract level of economic and political constraints at the global level, and the concrete, active and reactive level of urban space. The point is that the urban level is the articulation of all complex relations inter and intra hierarchical levels. Hereunder, (re)production of space does not only refer to the material aspects of spatial forms or physical built environment. It defines dependent and independent processes at each level within structural limitations and actions of agents. With these differentiated levels and processes in a totality, our focus is based on (re)production of *urban space* (i.e. local level including built environment as a part of urban space) which is the place of concrete actions and struggles manifested. Thus, the rest of debates will scrutinize (re)production of *urban space* and its processes in capitalist relations of production.

The question of the agents taking place in the process of (re)production of urban space, indeed (re)production of absolute urban space, is another inquiry. Here the main concern is to articulate that urban space is a social product, but not (re)produced in a collective manner. In a broader sense, (re)production of absolute urban space is an interrelated process consisting of actions of agents as well as structural determinations. However, in class-based, exploitative and dominative social formations power relations change the level of participation and appropriation of space for different agents (i.e. individuals, classes etc.). At this point, it should be noted that (re)production of urban space, albeit its above-mentioned comprehensive

nature, is simply perceived in two dimensions in society. First dimension is the (re)production of *built environment* under the domination of economic and political relations. Second dimension transpires in *utilization and experimentation* of space within its function and meaning. This dimension consists of social relations mediating (re)production of urban space derived from non-economic and non-political relations. And in fact, this mediated urban space involves entire society within utilization. Keskinok (1997) makes it clear as follows:

(Re)production of space refers to a production beyond the mere physical and material attributes of forms and patterns. Besides the direct agents in the production of space (i.e. in a restricted sense), relations pertinent to civil society other than economic relations indirectly determine the limits of variation in the (re)production of space. Here the domain of civil society contains unpoliticized relations such as habits, customs, conventional standards of life, moral notions, religious activities, ideologies, family and gender relations, ethnicity, habits and customs related to utilization of already (re)produced space and the economic relations (dominantly capitalist, non-capitalist etc.) of the society. Non-economic relations of civil society mediate the (re)production of space through utilizing the already produced space. (p. 51).

Undoubtedly, these dimensions interpenetrate toward integrality, however, from the agents' point of view, the former is the explicit domain of productive relations and capital accumulation in economic terms, and the state interventions in political terms. The agents in the process of (re)production of built environment are mostly direct participants, decision-makers and commanders (i.e. institutions of the state, professionals, capitalist as being investor etc.). They have imposition capability by retaining state apparatuses, means of production etc. to production and reproduction of built environment toward capital accumulation. Here the state and capitalist, that is, *power* from now on, are the most direct agents. The latter dimension is the implicit domain of economic and political relations, rather it is space of *class praxis* and *everyday life praxis* consisting of entire society (i.e. *civil society in the statement of Keskinok (1997)*). Interventions of the power in (re)production of built environment and their negative effects (e.g. unequal and poor supply of collective consumption facilities, deprivation or displacement in living space, commodification of public space etc.) over utilized space generate conflictual bases in the society. So, conducted process and its effects in (re)production of urban space provoke *opposition* among participants in utilizer position against the power. The major

inference from this relation is that urban space becomes spatial organization of the contradictions, tensions and conflicts stemming from capitalist productive relations under domination of the power and their effects over utilized space by the society.

In this frame, the answer to the question of why urban space is significant for capitalism can be given by delivering a discussion of (re)production of urban space in particular to capital accumulation. This also will take us to discovery of urban conflicts deriving from the process of (re)production urban space.

2.3.2.1 (Re)production of Urban Space for Capital Accumulation

Urban space has lost its instrumental attitude since the advanced stage of capitalism. It is no more mere manifestation of capitalist relations of production. By following the above-discussed insights, the greatest discovery has become (re)production of urban space. Engagement of capitalism and urban space has granted endurance of capitalism despite its intrinsic contradictions and crises. Lefebvre (1976) puts evolution of capitalism in and by space correctly as follows:

What has happened is that capitalism has found itself able to attenuate (if not resolve) its internal contradictions for a century, and consequently, in the hundred years since the writing of *Capital*, it has succeeded in achieving “growth”. We cannot calculate at what price, but we do know the means: *by occupying space, by producing a space.* (p. 21).

As drawn precisely, capitalism could inject *production of space* into *occupation of space*. Here, we have to ask, “What does it mean for urban space?” and “Does it change content of social conflicts?”. At the outset, a critical point should be clarified regarding the new stage of capitalism. Capitalism has shifted from its early stage (i.e. small- scale manufacturing industry within the basic logic of capitalism in space) to advanced stage (i.e.large-scale Fordist production and interventionist welfare state conception by producing of space).This evolution marks the moment of realization of creative destructive capability of capitalism to overcome its crises. Intrinsic contradictions and conflicts of capitalism bring it to the edge of crisis. The history of social development shows that crisis of a specific mode of production evolves into a

newer mode, which has traces of the former, but within its unique constitutive logic. Nevertheless, capitalism has been able to transform and upgrade its formation by saving the main logic. And, capitalism did it by using urban space.

The meaning of the shift for urban space can be explained by expanding the insight of Lefebvre (1991). In the former stage, capitalism could occupy space by organizing production of commodities. In a broader sense, process of production, consumption, distribution, circulation and exchange are manifested in space with functional spatial forms and patterns. The logic of capitalist mode of production constructs itself upon land, labour and capital. This constitutive trinity becomes the inevitable means of production. With this formula, space is one of the vital means in order to manifest spatial forms and patterns to functionalize relations of production. In the latter stage, capitalism orchestrates (re)production of urban space, and urban space joins the world of commodities. Through this new formation, urban space is no longer perceived as a mere means for productive relations. But also, as a commodified product, it needs specific means and mechanisms (i.e. mainly the state interventions with planning and legal regulations to lead capitalist investments). Ultimately, urban space has turned into a social product from being mere geographic location of where the commodities are produced. However, from now on, it is a commodified product in capitalist social relations. From this point of view, Keskinok (1997) defines urban space in locus and focus dialectics. For him, urban space is both the *locus of affairs* and *focus of interests*. Here the point which must be kept in mind is that urban space keeps its locational function for rational organization of capitalist productive relations and circulation of surplus value. But also, urban space has gained one more function by extracting surplus value from itself. Harvey (1978, p.101) underlined that “urban space has a specific meaning under capitalist mode of production”, alluding to this injected function and meaning of urban space, which makes it a product.

Some insights over distinction between occupation and (re)production of urban space can be captured with the *capital accumulation* approach. To substantiate the upgraded function of urban space, the logic and process of capital accumulation must

be elaborated in a critical manner. Hill (1977, p.41) (*cited from Gottdiener, 1985*) outlines capital accumulation by giving initial impulse of capitalism as follows:

Capital accumulation, the production of surplus value, is the driving force of capitalist society. By its very nature, capital accumulation necessitates expansion of the means of production, expansion of the size of the wage labour force, expansion of circulation activity as more products become commodities, and expansion of the realm of control of the capitalist class.(p.87).

“Expansion” in all meaning is not independent from urban space. Because, physically or instrumentally, expansion, in essence needs to concentrate on a geographic location at the outset. Concentration is necessary for well-established internal relations (i.e. intra-urban relations), and also expanded networks with other external concentrations (i.e. inter-urban relations). Urban space, in a locational sense, is one of means of capitalist relations. It provides fundamental physical means (e.g. industrial plants and their technical requirements), aggregation of stable labour force and its social control, developed transportation and infrastructure for circulation, and defined administrative spatial unit for the state interventions in favour of capitalist class. Marx (1973) emphasizes importance of spatial organization in terms of its communicative attributes for expansion as follows:

Economically considered, the spatial condition, the bringing of the market, belongs to the production process itself. The product is really finished only when it is on the market. The movement through which it gets there belongs still with the cost of making it. It does not form a necessary movement of circulation, regarded as a particular value-process, since a product may be bought and even consumed at the point of its production. But this spatial moment is important in so far as the expansion of the market and the exchangeability of the product are connected with it. The reduction of the costs of this real circulation belongs to the development of the forces of production. (p. 534) (*cited from Gottdiener, 1985, p. 186*).

All of these pertain to occupation of urban space⁵. Nevertheless, since a society seeks “accumulation for accumulation’s sake, production for production’s sake” (Harvey,

⁵ Most Marxist studies grounded on urban political economy establish relation between production of commodities and urban space within an occupational sense. That is, main concern of these studies is to explore spatial manifestations of productive relations. From different perspectives, they postulate an explicit connection implying that spatial forms are manifestations and locus of capitalist productive relations. This means urban space as a locus of best place selection for firms, transportation costs between factories and markets or locus of labour concentration for social control (see: Gordon 1977,1984; Walker and Storper, 1983,1984). Accordingly, urban space is a functional locus for rational organization of physical and social infrastructure. In essence, the approach of Marxists seems

1978, p.102), the organization of productive relations upon well-defined locations confronts crisis at some point.

The dynamic and expansionist nature of capitalism constitutes its internal contradictions, and leads to inevitable crises. Indeed, as Harvey (1978, 1982 and 1989a) clearly stated, crisis of capitalist relations is the outcome of overaccumulation. Unequal levels of production and consumption results in the overaccumulation of either capital or labour. And variations of class struggles are significant for the overaccumulation problem⁶. Surplus capital and surplus labour provoke uneven production and consumption which derive from the realm of exchange. And thus, absorbing them in a profitable way becomes important. Overaccumulation of labour is mostly articulated in temporary crisis of a social basis.

similar to conventional urban thought, however, the approach of Marxists based on class struggles and capital accumulation deriving from productive relations make them different.

⁶ Here, brief and parallel discussion regarding to essence and logic of capitalism for accumulation and overaccumulation may provide some insights into related intrinsic contradictions. The simplistic side of capitalism is able to be defined through the relation between capitalist class and working class. In this relation, the capitalist organizes working the process in command to get more profit, while the labourer takes the commands and obeys the organized process by selling labour power to get a living wage. In short, one focuses on more surplus value, and the other seeks more wage to enhance living conditions. Under the domination of the capitalist for more surplus within expansion, internal contradictions of capitalism arise.

Fundamentally, accumulation and class struggle are twin and integral themes. So, specific to class struggle, we may mention two core contradictions emerging among capitalists, and between capitalists and labourers. The former is the result of spontaneous and creative actions of individual capitalists. The tendency to seek more surplus pushes individual capitalists toward self-interested and competitive domains. Thus, sum of individual actions endanger social relations for future accumulations. On the contrary to concealed and implicit struggle within capitalists, the latter is overt and explicit. In capitalist accumulation, exploitation of labour is the inevitable result of getting more profit. Excessive levels of exploitation (e.g. violation of freedom and equality, long work hours, low wages and their extension to sphere of exchange) stimulates class struggle between capitalist and labourer. In addition, the struggle among labourers in competitive sense is worth mention because labourers are for sale in the labour market, and they have to compete with each other (Harvey, 1978; 1982; 1989).

Capitalist accumulation covers many contradictions stemming from its dynamic and in some level contingent relations of production. However, class struggle situates on intersection point which is both cause and result of internal contradictions by delivering the system toward overaccumulation. Accordingly, for us, class struggles defines a couple of struggle domains which are conceptualized as *competitive struggle* within capitalist and capitalist, and *antagonistic struggle* between capitalist and labourer. Competitive struggle of capitalist class is the major determinant of overaccumulation and superior for switching capital flows into a new formation of accumulation (i.e. domination of capitalist class over (re)production of built environment).

Harvey contends the overaccumulation and class struggle relation for only process of commodity production (i.e. primary circuit of capital accumulation). However, according to us, (re)production of built environment attends new forms of class struggles.

On the other hand, overaccumulation of capital is a crisis of capitalism and its survival. At this point, Harvey (1978, 1982 and 1989a) separates capital and labour, even their integrality. Superiority of capital and actions of the capitalist class in productive relations necessitate such separation in order to acquaint contradictions toward (re)production of urban space through capital.

The capital accumulation process appears in three circuits of capital flows according to the definition of Harvey (1978, 1982 and 1989a). Each of these circuits defines distinctive forms of capital flows and regimes of capital accumulation⁷. According to this, the primary circuit refers to the production of industrial commodities. As above-discussed, production of commodities is not limited to the interior organization of a factory, and also manifests and expands itself upon urban space. However, from Harvey's point of view, the overaccumulation problem in the primary circuit is related to surplus capital (and also surplus labour in specific). The need to absorb surplus capital canalize it towards the secondary circuit of flows comprising investment in fixed capital and consumption funds. The secondary circuit pertains to (re)production of urban space (i.e. and built environment as a part of urban space), and it actually encapsulates the entire urban process. The tertiary circuit involves science and technology investments which upgrade the forces of production. And also, to ensure reproduction of labour, investments in human capital (social expenditures like health and education) take part in this circuit of capital flows.

In this formulation, we concentrate on the secondary circuit, which means (re)production of urban space and its capital-oriented analysis. According to this, for Harvey, the overaccumulation problem occurs in the primary circuit, and investing in built environment is a temporary solution in order to cope with crises and absorb surplus capital. At this point, differentiation between occupation and production of urban space may be emphasized once more. By definition of capitalist productive relations (i.e. expansionist tendency), the primary circuit cannot be separated from

⁷ Investment options of capitalist class defines regime of capital accumulation. These options may be specified as fixed capital and consumption fund, investment in science and technology, investment in human capital (Harvey, 1978; 1982; 1989).

urban processes completely. As mentioned above, urban space as locus of productive relations is one of the means of capital accumulation in this circuit. At this stage, urban process may be conceived of simply production and consumption facilities. Ports, highways, railways, industrial zones etc. are basic spatial instruments of productive relations. And housing, health, education facilities become an instrument of consumption. In this respect, consumption should be considered as complementary to productive relations by establishing reproduction of labour force. Here, built environment is still not the focus of investments of capitalists to extract surplus, and, as Harvey (1978) asserted, “it serves as a resource system –*a complex of use values-* for the production of value and surplus value” (p.113) (*emphasis is mine*). If switching capital to the secondary circuit is a requirement for getting surplus from another channel, (re)production of urban space is no longer conceived within mere use value in productive relations (i.e. industrial mode of production).

(Re)production of urban space, that is built environment, comprises its sui generis attributes and own contradictions. At the outset, in Harvey’s words, built environment is a complex and intricate social product. It includes different urban sectors (i.e. transportation, dwelling, industry, commercial, open and green spaces etc.) through relational land uses. Differentiated sectors and utilization levels from them within distinctive property relations add another dimension to it. Most of all, physically, built environment has characteristics of being long-lived, immovable and cannot be reshaped and is in need of a huge amount of investment. This means investment to built environment requires fixing capital for a long time. And even though it seems profitable at first glance in terms of stable surplus, it also comprises many risks for individual capitalists. Therefore, (re)production of built environment brings eventualities in this complex process for investments, when it is tackled merely from a capital-oriented perspective. As Harvey (1978, 1982 and 1989a) emphasized, investment to built environment strongly necessitates mediating mechanisms for individual capitalists to overcome risky eventualities. At that point, the state institutions and financial agencies become pivotal structural aids to share these risks, and steer individual capitalists to (re)production of urban space. Here, role of the state gains an important position as a regulator for actions of capitalists

and a supplier of public services for civil society. However, for now, the role of the state will be set aside for further discussions.

Comprehension of built environment in complex relations of production, exchange and consumption, and through deep level social forces comes up with its own contradictions. For Harvey, contradictions of built environment constitute its limits at the same time, and make it a temporary solution. Even though investment in built environment seems to be a safety zone to absorb surplus capital, the limits of it cause no longer profitable investments. With a simplification, from capital-oriented point of view, Harvey (1978, 1982 and 1989a) solve out the limits of capital flow and accumulation in built environment through logic of fixed capital. Fixed capital mainly functions as use value, and its exchange value is blocked in utilization duration. Getting surplus value in this formulation is ensured by efficient and rational utilization from this capital fixing into built environment. However, periodic cyclical investment in built environment, which has spatially immovable and long-life characteristics, can cause over-investment that concludes with uneven spatial development and devaluation. If we put aside the utilization level of civil society from a certain space, functionality or dysfunctionality of it, for capitalists, is the point of discussion for devaluation. Harvey's periodic cyclical model presents devaluation of built environment as *functional* for future investments. Because, according to that, devalued investments of the past serve as a free good and encourage renewed investments. Harvey (1978) explains this process as follows:

Capitalist development has therefore to negotiate a knife-edge path between preserving the exchange values of past capital investments in the built environment and destroying the value of these investments in order to open up fresh room for accumulation. Under capitalism there is, then, a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy it, usually in the course of a crisis, at a subsequent point in time. The temporal and geographical ebb and flow of investment in the built environment can be understood only in terms of such a process. The effects of the internal contradictions of capitalism, when projected into the specific context of fixed and immobile investment in the built environment, are thus writ large in the historical geography of the landscape which results. (p. 124).

The passage clearly shows that switching capital flow toward the secondary circuit is productive for capitalists at any moment in time. Even though he indicates that the

tendency to absorb surplus capital in fixed built environment is a temporary solution, he also puts forward relative and contradictive advantages of capital formation in urban space.

The approach of Harvey, albeit a suggestive formulation of it, brings some critiques⁸ with it. His unidirectional and limited postulations neglect some dimensions of the process of capital accumulation and (re)production of built environment. Firstly, considering the secondary circuit as subsequent to primary circuit in a dependent manner leaves no room for tendency of independent investments to (re)production of built environment. Switching capital flow from primary to secondary circuits is assumed in counter- circuits. Nevertheless, for us, there is no certain and clear cut switches between primary and secondary circuits. Unlike the counter-circuits of Harvey, Lefebvre(2003) (*originally published in 1970*) gives the hints for parallel circuits of capital accumulation in a more dynamic but not modelled manner. Accordingly, the primary circuit consisting of manufacturing and retailing, and secondary circuit comprising real estate market with its specific logic work in parallel to each other. Both have their autonomous means and mechanism, however, they are not isolated rather permeable to compensate for likely risks. From this point of view, (re)production of urban space (i.e. consisting of built environment) constitutes a second sector for capital formation and realization of surplus value defined in real estate markets. So, selections of individual capitalists through investment options do not have to canalize toward built environment in a following manner. Rather, the aim of capturing surplus value in rent formation of capital stimulates investment toward real estate markets. Here, the main criteria would be choosing the most profitable investment option(s) within ensured suitable means and mechanisms.

A second critique, which relates to the first, is to approach considering the secondary circuit as temporary solution. Even though Harvey underlines the functionality of devaluation in built environment for further investments, he also states that saturation

⁸ See case-specific studies for empirical details: Studies of Feagin (1987) , Beauregard (1994) and Balamir (1975) reveal controversial sides of the approach by analysing different cases.

and over investment in (re)production of urban space hinder continuity of investments. Thus, the cyclical model reveals a temporality for absorbing surplus capital within (re)production of urban space. Here the point highlighted by Gottdiener (1985) is that Harvey reduces urban space into built environment. That is, he deals with built environment within only material forms of space. At that point, the critique of Gottdiener (1985) of Harvey's model rests on its deficiency for explaining why surplus capital is channeled to built environment, and what makes it profitable. Even though Harvey puts forward in some way how capital flow happens toward investment in built environment, he cannot reveal the reasons. By following Lefebvre, the initial point must be highlighted that commodification of urban space occurs in the form of real estate, that is to say speculation and construction. Lefebvre also defines a cyclical model in a manner similar to Harvey. However, on the other side, real estate emerges as an attractive investment domain independent from these cycles by existing over time. Gottdiener (1985) explains the reason for constant interest in the real estate market with the nature of property as a commodity. In a broader sense, land is a commodity and can be utilized in a wide variety of ways. An infinite number of possibilities exist to get exchange value by transforming it into substitutive uses and marketing (i.e. the same land can be transformed into apartment first, and condominium or a large project later). At the same time, institutional factors (i.e. the state and finance institutions) through regulations, taxation, incentives and subsidies constitute promotive mechanisms in the real estate market. Although built environment, in physical terms, presents a cyclical model by functioning devaluation, the real estate market exhibits limitless variations in different land use categories like farming, housing, industry, commerce or recreation (i.e. out of these main categories also new trends ensure new land uses in differentiated dimensions such as shopping malls, luxury residents, tourism facilities etc. spatial instruments out of productive relations). Distinctive land uses have their own intrinsic dynamics in real estate market. For Gottdiener (1985), ascribing secondary circuit as temporary but functional with a clear understanding is not possible. Through intrinsic dynamics of real estate sector consisting of chaotic finance and market arrangements, it is difficult to determine the optimal amount of

investment for capital accumulation. Unlike Harvey's assertion regarding the secondary circuit, there always exist miscalculations and dysfunctionalities for capital accumulation. So, the real estate sector, which is seen as productive for achieving surplus value, serves for fluctuations of investment waves within a crisis base capital accumulation (i.e. tendency for overinvestment in real estate does not only trigger crisis of capital accumulation, but also leads to social crises due to environmental deterioration, underutilization of urban space and also decreasing rate of industrial production. All of them have social extensions for urban conflicts). According to Gottdiener (inspired by Scott (1980)⁹), intrinsic dynamics of real estate sector and urban land development are manifestation of anarchy of location decisions and uncoordinated construction activities within speculations. And thus, (re)production of urban space under capital-oriented activities constitutes contingent spatial patterns in particular toward overinvestment in real estate. Here the most emphasized point by Keskinok (1997) from the perspective of structure and agency dialectics is that, even though actions of individual capitalists evoke contingent outcomes through functionalities or dysfunctionalities, there are always structural limits which affect selections of agents. Regulations of the state and mediations of class struggles draw structural limits of individual decisions, and define selective tendencies for investment to (re)production of urban space. Ultimately, while the uneven nature of urban land development in capitalism, legalities and policies of any level of the state, competitive or antagonistic class struggles in structural sense restrict contingencies at some levels, actions of agents (i.e. individual capitalist, corporation, public-private coalitions etc.) by being in search of surplus value may cause contingent spatial patterns and functional or dysfunctional outcomes depending on locational and temporal aspects.

⁹ Allan J. Scott (1980) puts forward urban growth in his study of "urban land nexus" through a perspective of uneven nature of capitalism and its contingent outcomes upon urban land development. For him, urban land has an epiphenomenal status due to aggregation effects of individual, social and economic activities referring to unplanned and spontaneous outcomes. On the other side, interventions of the state for providing infrastructure and public services in planned and decided manner regulate and control land development. The anarchical outcomes from uncoordinated private interests and intended interventions of the state pave the way for contingent urban land development.

Lastly, Harvey's approach links the primary circuit with the secondary, however, no connection exists with the tertiary circuit in terms of its relation with built environment. (Re)production of urban space in economic terms, namely from capital-oriented point of view, is prominent for the capital accumulation process. But also, built environment serves utilization by distinctive parts of civil society with perspective of use value for its users. Utilization of urban space in varied urban services/land uses ranging from transportation to housing, or from education to health, or any kind of facility including working place within supplied services is substantial for reproduction of labour force and social relations. Based on this, the tertiary circuit, which implies developing forces of production like labour force and technology within social expenditures, is not independent from urban space. As will be mentioned later, urban services may be considered as public services supplied by the state for ensuring reproduction of labour in favour of capitalists. Besides, it needs to be articulated that social expenditures of capitalists are another form of urban services for reproduction of capitalist social relations consisting of use value and exchange value. Even though they cannot be constrained to mere material forms of built environment, they also take place at certain levels in the process of (re)production of urban space. In Harvey's model of capital flows, for us, he falls into the trap of isolating these engaged processes by considering and defining them independent of each other. Although they differ in terms of capital formation, social effects and outputs regarding urban processes and urban conflicts cannot be dealt in a separated manner. Lefebvre establishes this interrelation by delivering labor exploitation beyond the working place. For him, investment in built environment is profitable, because "existing institutional arrangements enable landowners to claim part of the social surplus produced in the primary sector" (Gottdiener, 1985, p. 185). And this surplus would be enlarged to and engaged with built environment through investments of social expenditures.

In summation, the relation between capital accumulation and (re)production of urban space suggest a capital-oriented perspective over urban process. As is seen, this capital-oriented perspective goes beyond an understanding comprising mere locational relations and land rent seeking by occupying space. In the real estate

market, from an economic point of view, (re)production of urban space represent property relations as a major part of social relations toward defined spatial forms and patterns. Even though economic relations are determinant for (re)production of urban space in urban processes including social extensions, it is not a unidirectional and linear process. Rather, urban processes present multi-dimensional, complex and dialectical relations within limits of structures and actions of agents. So, the state and its role become significant in the process of (re)production of urban space. Institutional, legal or supplier interventions of the state constitute vital means and mechanisms for this process. At the same time, abstraction of power in subordination, taking part in some certain groups in the society reveal hegemony of the state over urban space and its (re)production process, which penetrates everyday life and social praxis. To understand urban conflicts derived from the process of (re)production of urban space, the role of the state is another major point required to be discussed in detail.

2.3.2.2 Role of the State in (Re)production of Urban Space

(Re)produced and/or occupied urban space in capitalist social relations is not independent of interventions and regulations of the state. The imbricated feature of urban space (i.e. occupied means of production as a locus and produced commodity as a focus) stimulates it into a contradictory and conflictual urban process. Although, in this process, urban space is mainly under the domination of capitalist interests with capital accumulation, at the same time, urban space runs between generation of use value and exchange value, function of production and consumption for ensuring social relations. Through contradictory interrelations of use and exchange value, of production and consumption in urban process, some questions arise in regards to the role of the state. Here the fundamental ones that should be posed are “where does the state position itself?”, and “how does the state act?” in the process of (re)production of urban space.

The state and its relation with urban space is the core issue of our discussion. But at the outset, our comprehension of the state, which represents political structure, should be explained by avoiding an inquiry over theory of the state¹⁰. Although a vast number of interpretations about ontology of the state exist, the Marxist political economy approach mainly adopts it and its apparatuses as epiphenomenal for the survival of capitalism. The approach accepts the state as functional and instrumental for capitalist economic relations. And, in some aspects, the structuralist understanding of the political economy approach falls into trap of unidirectional determinism to explain the state under the pure domination of economic structure. Nevertheless, main contradictions of capitalist relations of production carry with its limits and opportunities for reproducing or non-reproducing these relations in multifariousness. It is a fact that capitalist relations of production become major determinant for acts of the state. And, with the contradictory nature of capitalist social relations including economic relations between classes and non-economic relations of civil society, the state seems a regulatory and organizer mechanism. As O'Conner (1973) pointed out, the state has to assist capital accumulation and legitimize capitalist social relations in order to prevent both capital and social crises. It means that the state interventions mostly pave the way for reproducing existing economic structure and desired conditions for it. Parallel to these debates, for us, the state is not a self-generated entity independent from capitalist relations of production. However, at the same time, the state has its own unique relations as a power mechanism which produces domination and subordination over civil society. Lefebvre (1991) defines the state as a framework that cannot be reduced into mere economic interests but also consisting of the exercise of power in its own interest. This framework of power connects with a spatial framework similar to spatialization of capital accumulation. Thus, the state is not a simple and epiphenomenal instrument of capitalism.

¹⁰ Gottdiener (1985) arrays debates over theory of the state from distinctive perspectives. These tackle the state as political power and/or political apparatus (Althusser, 1971), as a structure of power relations and/or instrument of dominant class (Poulantzas, 1973; Miliband, 1973), functions of the state in capitalist society and the capitalist state (Clark and Dear, 1981). And also Marxist studies defines the state within various aspects (Holloway and Picciotto, 1979; Offe and Rouge, 1995; Therborn, 1978; Jessop, 1982).

The relation with the state and urban space can be considered within *accumulation* and *legitimation*, as well. As mentioned above, urban space serves for not only production of commodities as an occupied land but also (re)production of itself as a commodity in the real estate sector. These engaged characters of urban space are inseparable from each other. In this regard, the role of the state is as the *supplier* of public services and *facilitator* for profit making from real estate sector in capital accumulation process. Priority of the state between supplier and/or facilitator depends on the form it takes in relation to the mode of capitalist relations of production (i.e. interventionist welfare state in Fordist mode of production, capitalist state in Post-Fordist mode of production). But, with the aim of capital accumulation, the state, in its both roles, mainly acts in favour of capitalist interests making them the dominant class in the society.

Role of the state as *supplier* of public services is in direct relation with *production* and *consumption* activities. These activities also denote reproduction of capital and labour to keep capitalist social relations. And they require a large amount of physical and social infrastructure, which constitutes the main intervention domain of the state. In production-side, the state provides necessary spatial organization to promote investments in production activities and expansion of capital. Here, the state mainly subsidizes reproduction of capital through construction of transportation, infrastructure, industrial plants and other physical requirements in space. Besides, provision of public services is not limited to only construction in production side. To reproduce capital, the state has to regulate the competitive class struggle between capitalists to hinder conflicts depending on locational decisions. Some critical approaches depict planning as major apparatus of the state to moderate competitive class struggles. But, the planning matter will be mentioned in further discussions of the role of the state.

The role of the state becomes more crucial on the consumption side. Up to now, mostly, contradictions of capital accumulation in/by space have been focused from a capital-oriented point of view. As is seen, acts of the state tend to regulate and minimize contradictory and conflictual outcomes in order to make investments of

capitalists easier. However, apart from capital domain, labour domain is an inseparable part of the accumulation process, and acts of the state are inevitably significant. Consumption-side, referring to reproduction of labour, presents a contradictory and conflictual nature as much as production-side. Castells (1978) especially remarks on this domain by emphasizing the vitality of collective consumption activities in urban process, which warrants endurance of capitalist social relations through the state interventions. According to him, organization of collective consumption (e.g. housing, education, health, transport etc) within daily life is a crucial axis of social organization in advanced capitalism. In other words, urban space is the arena of collective consumption process, which is directly related to reproduction of labour force and dominance of the capitalist (Lowe, 1986). Contrary to approaches focusing on mere productive relations, Castells points out that public services of the state, namely collective consumption goods, unveil and embody contradictions of capitalist social relations upon urban space. Orthodox Marxist approaches can explain antagonistic class struggles (i.e. struggles between capital and labour) by addressing relations of production, and this view causes class struggles to be understood in a limited way (e.g. low wages, long working hours etc.). Likewise, extension of this view to urban space mainly explains competitive class struggles in the capital accumulation process. The complementary perspective of Castells, even if he seems to be subordinating productive relations at certain points, enables us to read antagonistic class struggles in consumption activities by linking urban space. In addition to that, his assertion of the role of the state in provision of collective consumption goods distinguishes urban conflicts from traditional class struggles, and also engages with political struggles. For us, this perspective can help us get a better idea about urban conflicts and broaden our comprehension of them. But, it should not be forgotten that relations of production and consumption are inseparable from urban processes. Neglecting one of these domains would lead to lack of understanding of the roots of urban conflicts.

A detailed examination over the notion of Castells (1978) will introduce how the state acts in consumption-side of process of (re)production of urban space and what this means for capital accumulation. According to Castells, advanced capitalism

needs industrial labour force and its cheap reproduction (i.e. reproduction of labour implies that preparing of labour for next working day by providing quality of life). The urban form of advanced capitalism enables the reproduction of labour by organizing collective consumption in a settled territory. However, supplying collective consumption goods is not profitable and manageable for capitalists and sustaining matured capitalism requires active participation of the state for provision of the public urban services. Castells (1978) explains these as follows:

As capitalism develops, the means of collective consumption at the basis of urban structure are required increasingly by the evolution of capital, production and consumption processes, and social demands. Now, at the same time it so happens that, usually, *the production and management of most of these collective goods are not profitable for private capital- at least not unless an intervention external to capital has established the prior considerations necessary to capitalist profit.* The reason for this is related to the historical relations between classes and not to the “nature” of these goods and services themselves. This leads us on to a major contradiction of capitalist development: the logic of capital cannot fulfill a diversity of fundamental demands. It is in an attempt to resolve this contradiction that *the state decisively intervenes in the production, distribution and management of the means of collective consumption and spatial organization of these services.* (p.169) (*emphases are mine*).

Public services supplied by the state definitely work for capitalist interests. Interventions of the state function to organize urban space and define everyday life patterns of labour which capital needs in the process of reproduction of labour. Like that responsibility of capital to labour is decreased in terms of social expenditures. On the other hand, the state invests at a loss which is unprofitable and represents a form of devaluation of capital, and hinders possible falls in the profit rate of private capital. Castells (1978) clearly points out that the state investments in collective consumption and built environment serve private capital. However, the critical point is that interventions of the state are not continuous, and need to integrate with the private sector at a certain level. This means that the state makes such urban services profitable and then transfers them over to the private sector. Thus, in essence, all of these signify that the state performs reproduction of capital. At this point, it should be noted that explanations of Castells mainly focus on the role of interventionist welfare state in urban process. At present, evolution of the state from interventionist to capitalist state has brought new acts for provision of public services (i.e.

privatization of them by integration with private sector) and relatedly (re)production of urban space. These issues will be dealt with in further discussions.

The active role of the interventionist state cannot prevent crisis of capitalism. Rather, it deepens contradictions and conflicts by increasing inequality for the working class. Socialization of some fundamental consumption goods and its organization, not only spatial but also in financial and functional terms, make all society dependent on each other. So, socialization of consumption in an organized society with urban processes takes conflicts out of working place toward urban space ranging from wages to housing, education and health. Inadequate supply of affordable housing, equal and easy access to education and health, cheap and well-networked public transportation, and other living and social services for enhancing quality of life define new conflictual lines within social cleavages. Out of all social inequalities, debt-financed expenditures of the state arrive at a crisis point, and cause social costs through increased taxation and privatized social wealth. And the state interventions engage intrinsic contradictions of capitalism deriving from productive relations with urban processes, and embed the urban into its own contradictions.

The state seems to act as mediator between capital and labour in order to minimize class struggles. Nevertheless, it politicizes these contradictions and conflicts by placing them in urban space. Because, despite provision of collective consumption goods perceived in economic terms, it also installs political and ideological meanings into urban processes. Urban conflicts are no longer considered as mere class struggles, rather, they combine with political struggles within politicized urban problems. Castells (1977) calls them a political class struggle “which has as its objective the preservation or the destruction-reconstruction of the state apparatus. It is at this level, consequently, that one may map the indices of change of a spatial formation, what is being transformed, what remains, what adopts new forms in accordance with the same social logic in order to deal with new problems.” (p. 243).

Urban space inevitably enables organization of relations of production and consumption through favorable spatial forms and patterns. As is often declared, these functions of urban space primarily specify its locus attributes. In addition, urban

space as a focus in real estate market becomes the subject of commodification. The real estate market, which refers land development for future profits or transformable built environment into more profitable use, includes a wide agent profile. As Gottdiener et al. (2015) emphasized, this sector does not involve a group of selected investors, rather, it comprises “both actors interested in acquiring wealth from real estate and a structure that channels money into built environment.” (p.95). But, the actions of these agents are not organized independently from the state. It is a structural body that acts as a *facilitator*. Different branches of the state in institutional term (i.e. financial intermediaries like banks, mortgage companies, insurance companies, saving and loan associations or direct state institutions like public agencies, local governments etc.) arrange the real estate market. Organization of these agencies may be suitable for facilitating or restricting in order to encourage or prevent profitable but speculative and destructive activities over urban space.

Capital accumulation in distinctive forms is pivotal for the state. In addition to that, legitimation is just as vital for its acts. Legitimation for acts of the state over urban space is specified as a stake which strengthens capital accumulation in built environment through varied actions of the state for ensuring the deployment of capital in space and public policies to moderate class struggles. In addition to that, legitimation of any act performed by the state is realized by some means. Here, the framework of Althusser (2006) (*originally published in 1970*) over the state apparatus and its means is worth mentioning briefly. From the viewpoint of (re)production of labour force in capitalist relations, Althusser (2006) points out the main means of the state to legitimize actions in favour of capital and construct its own dominance. He argues that the state has means which are defined in repression (e.g. army, police, courts and prisons) and ideology (e.g. legal, media, culture, religion etc.). In the process of (re)production of urban space, ideological means of the state become significant for ensuring consent within the contradictory and conflictual nature of urban processes. Urban planning and laws acquire ideological means of the state in the legitimation process. Even though these means can be varied by consisting of hegemony and manipulations, as Keskinok (1997) defined, planning and laws are means used in a regular manner.

Lefebvre (2009a) and Castells (1977) interpret urban planning as a specific ideological means in urban politics. They provide an insight from different dimensions. For Lefebvre, urban planning comes from a scientific background, and the notion of science of space makes legitimate and also rational actions of the state over urban space. On the other hand, Lefebvre asserts that the scientific nature of planning is melded with ideology of dominant structures (i.e. urban economy and urban politics), and urban space moves away being a mere scientific object. Because, urban planning is a composition of intellectual and bureaucratic practices, and functions as a strategic means of the state for social control by production of controlled space. Thus, “the space of knowledge and the knowledge of space” (p.169) engaged with each other through ideology in hands of the state. The ideas of Castells concerning urban planning are shaped in a similar manner, while he fundamentally emphasizes the political content of planning. It is a political issue, because the state in the role of decision-maker intervenes and regulates all spatial units through its ideology in the framework of structural limits. Politicized planning in legitimation of expected spatial and social order specifies the most vital means of social control for the state. In this sense, planning holds deep social significations by working as mediator between capital and labour. Castells (1977) explains urban planning from his point of view within these words:

The intervention of the political in the specific articulation of the different instances of a social formation within a collective unit of reproduction of labour power with the aim of assuring its extended reproduction, of regulating the non-antagonistic contradictions, thus assuring the interests of this social class in the whole of the social formation and the reorganization of the urban system, in such a way as to assure the structural reproduction of the dominant mode of production (p.263).

Hence, both Lefebvre and Castells approach urban planning in an overcritical manner. Because the anarchical character of urban space is ordered in favour of capitalist relations by the state, and also because the state dominates urban space by politicizing it toward a definite social control, so, urban planning serves for legitimation of reproduction of dominant capitalist relations under the claim of public interest.

Laws, which draw the legal framework of direct or indirect spatial interventions, are an important part of urban planning through enforcement. The state, empowered for law making, uses this means to vary and/or limit planning domain. Compatibility of laws and plans are crucial for justifying spatial interventions. However, in this compatible relation, legitimized spatial decisions and their attributes become critical related to their closeness to either public interests or capitalist interests. As discussed above, and as Keskinok (1997) pointed out, urban planning decisions arise from selections under structural limitations. The codes of laws provide opportunity for direct and indirect effects over spatial development. Besides, the established legal framework within diverse laws and by-laws enables alternative selections in structural limitations, which articulate capitalist relations of production, as well as planning decisions. Therefore, legal framework constituted by the state and mainly for capitalist interests is used as a means of legitimation in the process of (re)production of urban space.

To conclude, (re)production of urban space is political as well as economic. Even though the role of the state has been dealt in differentiated dimensions (i.e. in accumulation and legitimation or supplier and facilitator), all of them constitute complex urban processes and their (re)production in contradictions and conflicts. The active role of the state melds class struggles with political struggles, and thus, urban conflicts are underpinned by class and political struggles.

2.3.2.3 Roots of Urban Conflicts: Toward a Framework

Comprehensive urban process shaped around distinctive interests in capitalist social relations produces a wide range of conflictual domains. Unlike approaches that regard the urban as a stage and a battleground where social conflicts occur, for us, socially produced urban space is located at the core of the conflicts, and they become urban conflicts. As discussed above, (re)production of urban space stimulates class and political struggles in a generic but constitutive sense. At this point, it should be clarified that, both occupied and produced space (i.e. production in space and

production of space) will be no longer separated from each other, and will be called (re)production of urban space. Because complex and intricate urban processes do not allow clear cut divisions (i.e. between structure and agent, occupied and produced space, labour and capital, economic and politic etc.) through distinctive positions and perspectives of individuals, groups, classes etc. over urban space. Thus, trial for exploring and conceptualizing urban conflicts in a sociospatial perspective addresses an adoption that runs between the absoluteness of everyday life and abstractness of economic and political domination. And based on this, urban conflicts, which may be also termed as sociospatial conflicts, extend to infinite social interactions through overt and covert struggles.

Class and political struggles as roots of urban conflicts become crystallized in urban space with varied extensions. In a broader sense, crystallization of class and political struggles in urban space signifies that these terms cannot be perceived in a well-defined frame anymore. For instance, class struggles, in particular antagonistic class struggles, are no longer just working place conflicts when they are considered in relation to urban space. And also, they are not simple reflections upon urban space, which is removed beyond the working place. Since, as Gottdiener (1985) defined, urban space “cannot be reduced merely to a location or to the social relations of property ownership- it represents a multiplicity of sociomaterial concerns” (p. 123). In this viewpoint, urban space is “*a physical location*” that social and productive relations are engaged in occupation, and where actions occurred; it is “*real estate*” that defines property relations in possession toward economic social relations; it is “*existential freedom*” that ensures consumption in utilization; and it is “*mental expression*” that articulates power relations in political and class based, professional relations in science and knowledge based, social relations in function and meaning based (i.e. derived from customs, habits, memories, ethnicity or gender notions etc.) (p. 123). Within these characteristics, urban space serves as means of production, force of production, element for class struggles, political instrument toward contradictive and conflictual social relations. And thus, all of these dynamic, multifaceted and transformable characteristics of urban space carry class and

political struggles beyond conventional political economy perspective. They are melded in social praxis consisting of (non)-economic and (non)-political domains.

Our discussions up to now have shown varied facets of urban space by virtue of class and political dimensions, in particular, (re)production of urban space in task of capital accumulation and legitimation that underpins class and political-based conflicts. On the other hand, by its very nature, urban space performs in everyday life of capitalist social relations in economic and political relations as well as non-economic and non-political relations. From this point of view, not only does urban space serve for organization and connection of capitalist relations of productions, but it also functions concurrently in utilization of civil society through its multifaceted nature. Here, the insights of Lefebvre into abstract and absolute (social) space can help us to conceptualize urban conflicts without abandoning class and political stands. Moreover, in our sociospatial perspective, point out structure and agent dialectics, the approach to urban conflicts in relation to abstract and absolute space, enables us to link structural relations that occur in the process of capital accumulation and the state interventions and actions of agents that settle in everyday life praxis of social relations. This prevents us from falling into the trap of reductionism of structuralist perspective that focused only upon political economy without embodying concrete and deep level of social relations.

From the start, it should be remarked that urban space is “a complex process involving contradictions, a process which not only repeats and redoubles those contradictions but also displaces, changes and enlarges them.” (Lefebvre, 1976, p.8). Accordingly, even though it is not easy to conceptualize these contradictions and conflicts in certain frames, it is possible to manifest in general terms. And within this perspective, urban conflicts are simply stimulated from confrontation of contradictory nature of abstract and absolute space in multifaceted complexity of urban space. For Lefebvre (1991, 2009b), absolute space that exists in social relations (throughout history) and abstract space that is peculiar to capitalism restricted in repression and oppression of economic and political relations clash with each other.

To be more precise, absolute space suggests use value that produces social relations deriving from needs and social interests for reproduction of human existence (i.e. livelihood, family fulfillment, emotional satisfaction etc.). In this sense, use value of absolute space is not only a built environment in the material sense. Beyond that, its functions for utilization and its symbolic meanings constituted by habitual, cultural and moral notions construct routines and rhythms of life in historical deepness. So, use value of space derive from tangible and intangible aspects of absolute space that is located in everyday life. Lefebvre (1991) defines absolute space as social space since its priority in utilization includes both economic and non-economic, political and non-political dimensions of social relations. In absolute space, the primacy of use value pushes aside economic interests stemming from urban space, instead, brings socialized space into the forefront. Thus, absolute space is the space of appropriation rather than domination, and space of use value rather than exchange value (Lefebvre, 2009b). On the other hand, abstract space is the space of exchange value and domination where power (i.e. the state and capitalist class) is centralized in capitalist relations of production. Indeed, it is the space that we have discussed in process of (re)production of urban space for capital accumulation and legitimation in power relations. “Externalization of economic and political practices” (Gottdiener, 1985, p.127) leads to quantification, homogenization and commodification of urban space. With the aim of extracting surplus from urban space, it is divided into real estate parcels toward pulverization of space for organizing interchangeable fragments in private property. Furthermore, political domination of the state in the legitimation process subordinates diverse aspects of social practice toward unification and restriction (Gottdiener, 1985, Molotoch, 1993; Stewart, 1995). Intervention in space for both capital accumulation and legitimation is destructive, and neglects absoluteness of space coming from its uses, utilizations, meanings and historical deepness. Lefebvre (1991) puts forward destructiveness of abstract space in a metaphoric expression as follows:

We already know several things about abstract space. As a product of violence and war, it is political; instituted by a state, it is institutional. On first inspection it appears homogeneous; and indeed it serves those forces which *make a tabula rasa of whatever stands in their way*, of whatever threatens them — in short, of differences. These

forces seem to grind down and crush everything before them, with space performing the function of a plane, a bulldozer or a tank.(p. 285) (emphases are mine).

All efforts for capital accumulation through quantifying, homogenizing and commodification of space forge a certain domination in the process of (re)production of urban space. However, space keeps its perpetual use value by resisting the imposition of exchange value in social relations. That is, in dialectical relation between use value of absolute space and exchange value of abstract space, social relations of everyday life and pure economic and political capitalist relations of exploitation are all together in urban space. However, domination of capitalist relations requires constant interventions to space through dissolution of old relations and generation of new relations. At that point, it is relatively easier to define newly generated relations in parallel to capitalist mode of production. As mentioned above, the tendency of power (i.e. the state and capitalist) to homogenize all spatial units is articulated with the aim of getting surplus value. This process of creative destruction over urban space under the domination of power removes old relations of society which may represent either relations of production (e.g. working place, transportation etc.), reproduction (e.g. housing, health, education etc.), gathering space (e.g. square, street etc.) or common space (e.g. forest, agricultural land etc.). Here, the critical question is, what kind of existing relations are removed and become old. In the process of (re)production of urban space, domination of abstract space, and fostered class struggles and political struggles find differentiated responses in the domain of absolute space. Existing organized relations in space inevitably have class and political connotations in capitalist social relations. Abstract space of capitalism and its mode of (re)production of urban space always generate class struggles (i.e. both competitive and antagonistic struggles) and political struggles. But, their manifestations may not consist of direct articulations pertinent to class or political terms. Rather, they are melded with actual domain of absolute space through the multifaceted nature of it. And, conventional class struggles and political struggles may become embedded in these sociospatial conflicts. As Gottdiener (1989) pointed out, these interrelated domains of struggle crystallize when they confront concrete absolute space, and emerge in new contents. For us, the content of these struggles

depends on *content of space* which finds meaning in praxis of absolute space consisting of *class praxis and everyday life praxis*. Even though sociospatial praxes change scale to scale, case by case toward a context and gain distinctive meanings, such an understanding moves us beyond the structuralist Marxist approach and its deficient considerations in regards to the interrelation between urban space and its (re)production and political economy (i.e. refers class and political struggles).

In summation, the main inference extracted from our discussions is that urban conflicts cannot be considered merely in structuralist generalizations. Rather, a framework for urban conflicts in relation to (re)production of urban space is located in the sociospatial perspective. From this point of view, our framework emanates from two contradictory domains of urban space –abstract space of exchange value and absolute space of use value. Generalized conceptualization of class and political struggles in abstract space is embodied in praxis of absolute space. They gain varied extensions pertinent to content of space (i.e. toward specified issues which connect cultural, environmental, moral, professional etc.). Here, it is possible to emphasize a clash between impositions for exchange value and existing use value in urban space which gets up to *defence of urban space*. And, for us, content of space represents one fundamental investigation sphere to comprehend embodiment of urban conflicts in praxis (Figure.2.1).

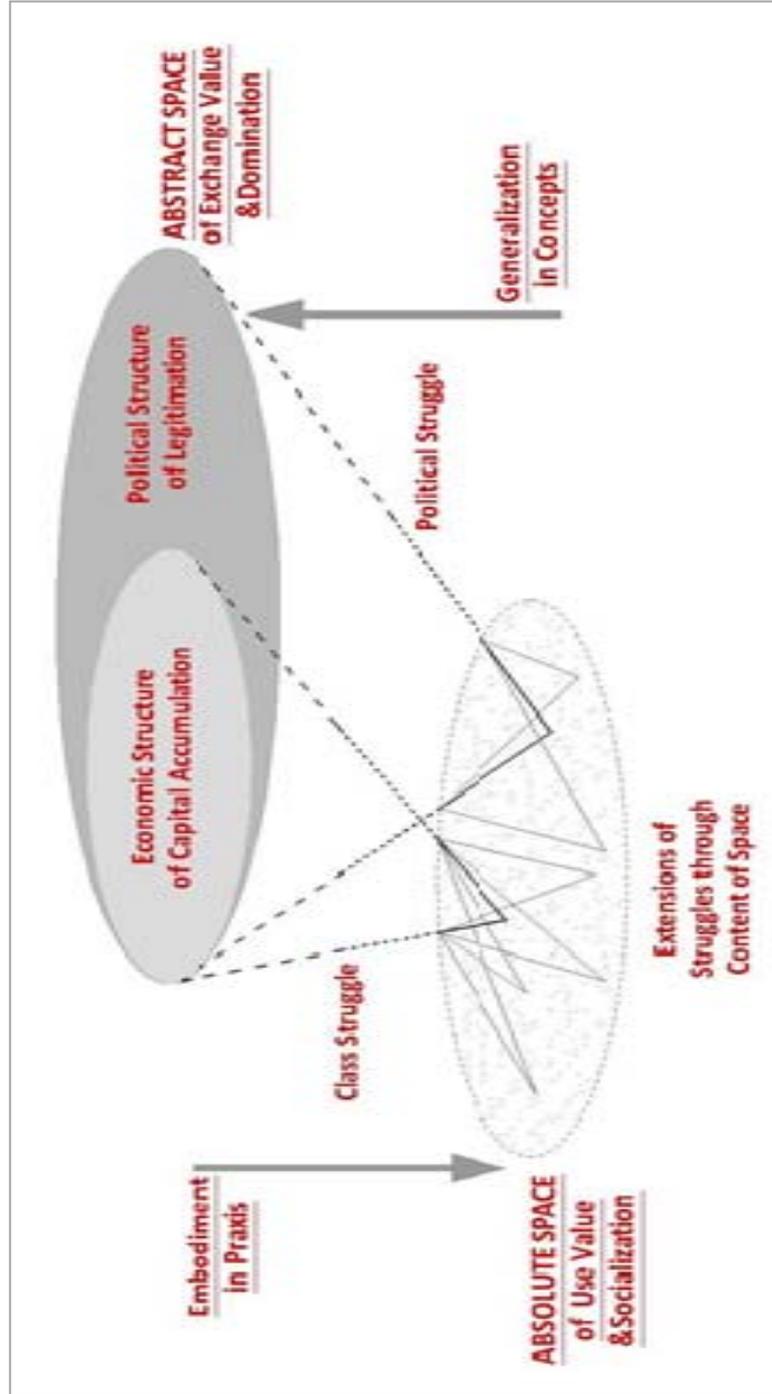


Figure.2.1 Framework of Urban Conflicts related to (Re)production of Urban Space

To conclude, any kind of intervention over urban space, in essence by the power, inevitably confronts already existing and organized sociospatial relations. This confrontation resolves and destroys these relations deriving from utilization of space. Accordingly, urban conflicts including class and political struggles may emerge in collective actions. Urban movements are the most pivotal manifestations of these conflicts. So, these movements demonstrate a specific research domain by uniting with the domain of urban conflicts.

2.4 Urban Movements: Manifestations of Urban Conflicts

(Urban) (social) movements¹¹ are significant manifestations of conflicts in form of collective actions. They act as social determinants pertinent to grievance, discontent and oppositional stand by specifying mostly antagonistic insights. As Snow et al. (2004) defined, these movements “are one of the principal social forms through which collectivities give voice to their grievances and concerns about the rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective action” (p.3). And, Touraine (1985) puts correctly that the notion of (urban) (social) movement “does not describe part of "reality" but is an element of a specific mode of constructing social reality” (p.749).

(Urban) (social) movements imply a specific form of collective actions which stems from capitalist mode of production. Undoubtedly, antagonistic collective actions in societies did not emerge with the genesis of capitalism. Until capitalist social relations, the history of social development (i.e. slave society, feudal society) exhibits varied conflicts derived from productive relations and forces. It was soaked in antagonistic mass movements of societies (e.g. barbarian invasions, peasant

¹¹ In theoretical debates, phrases of social movements, urban social movements and urban movements are used in different contents. Origins of the phrases are not different and imply similar connotations since urban social movements and urban movements proceed from social movements. That is, they are not distinctive categories for collective actions. But they are tackled in divergent body of literatures. Our study fundamentally focuses on urban social movements and urban movements, however, all three phrases are used to provide basic insights related to such collective actions. That is why, parenthesis is used in order to refer social movements, urban social movements and/or urban movements.

movements in feudalism, the French revolution etc.). However, dynamics of productive relations and forces did not give chance for appearance of organized mobilizations coming from exploited parts of the society. On the other hand, capitalist social relations ascending upon class relations have enabled perpetual mobilizations stimulated by working class with organized collective actions. These mobilizations standing against the domination and exploitation of capitalist class and the state gain an important ground in the Marxian approach. In particular, studies of Marx and Engels of social conflicts in capitalism give a special attention to these mobilizations. For them, such conscious and organized mobilizations have the capability to transform and reverse the dominant class relations in favour of the working class. And thus, revolutionist and radical uprisings of working class constitute the core of social change.

(Urban) (social) movements are prominent social phenomena in collective actions. Our focus mainly concentrates on urban (social) movements, however, they are specific types of social movements. So before moving on urban (social) movements, it is necessary to clarify social movements in a general frame. The first theoretical background for these events appeared through traditional interpretations of collective actions in specific to social movements. From viewpoint of sociologic-psychologic epistemology, social movements are evaluated as part of collective behavior. And, inquiries focus on logic and rationality of coming together for a defined objective. The traditional approaches¹² have primarily seen social movements as sudden and short-term grievances, which is caused by structural strains of rapid social changes (Jenkins, 1983). On the other hand, two main lines exist that deal with social movements in a top to bottom approach or vice versa (i.e. ones that concentrate on social level, and the others that focus on individual level). In the first line, for Le Bon, the crowd that represents new sociological formation comes into mental unity.

¹² For traditional approaches focusing on rationality of collectivity also see: Gustave Le Bon (1918) and Gabriel Tarde (1969) for revolutionary crowds and their rational of mental unity
Sociologists of Chicago School adopting collective behaviour Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian (1957), Joseph Gusfield (1962, 1968)
Talcott Parsons (1941, 1951) and J. Neil Smelser (1959, 1963) for social systems and social change

Collective actions of these crowds, namely social movements, occur by means of common values and norms, collective thinking and behaving. According to the Chicago School, social movements are ordinary elements through mutual relations of conscious individuals and their collectivity in order to create equilibrium between institutional processes and collective behaviour. In the second line, the School of Common Sense points out that the bases of social movements originate from balanced common sense and rational, enlightened self-interest. The Public Opinion approach emphasizes interaction among the individuals for imposing common thought generating collective behaviour (Oberschall, 1973; Keskinok, 2007). In a critical insight, all of these approaches deal with the tendency of people to take part in a mobilization. And, none of them is directly concerned with content of such movements by virtue of social conflicts. The aim of these studies is to define concept of social movement as a phenomenon. They mainly deal with driving forces that make people join such actions from the view point of social psychology mobilizing individual or social behavior. Structural grounds do not take place in the scope of investigation. Thus, for us, neglected grounds that lie behind collective actions turn social movements into self-existing phenomena in these approaches.

The Marxist approach to social conflicts and social movements is a pivotal following line in the literature for which the studies pay attention to structural conditions. These studies either reject or accept Marxist arguments. But eventually, they try to interpret and understand social movements in economic and political structures by linking or breaking their relations with Marxian terms. Accordingly, within the frame of history of social development, capitalism as the last epoch of social relations has modified and transformed in itself. Transformation of capitalist mode of production has defined new patterns for social relations and conflicts through nuances at every turn. Therefore, social movements have presented a parallel transformation in terms of their conflictual bases, level of mobilization, forms, actor compositions and so on. Approaches to social movements adopting such modifications introduce a trajectory-based understanding, which rests on temporal and structural changes.

Major classification of social movements appears as *old and new social movements* in the trajectory-based understanding. According to this, old social movements encapsulate conventional labour and nation movements of industrial society. Early capitalism and industrial relations of production generated social relations which gathered around class struggles and dictatorship of governments. From Marx and Engels' point of view, massive uprisings of working class (e.g. Chartist movement as the first working class uprising in Great Britain, the Revolutions of 1848 that extended throughout all Europe as nation and class struggles, and the Paris Commune of 1871 as an attempt for proletariat government) were seen as elements of social change within their radicalism. Out of their political dimension in regards to nationalist motives, old social movements highlight capital and labour contradictions especially arising from working place exploitation. Thus, old social movements and interpretations of them catch the centrality of capital and labour conflicts in Marxist terms.

The transformation of social relations toward post-industrial society of advanced capitalism after the Second World War revealed varied cleavages in the society. Social movements emerging in the 1960s under these cleavages acquired more complex, multidimensional and diversified content. Through widening content of movements, most scholars have preferred to label them as new social movements. New social movements are based on the deep contradictions and conflicts of post-industrial society of advanced capitalism. According to that, advanced capitalism generates new identities, needs, power relations, rights, freedoms and democracy on the way to seeking for a new understanding of life (Mukherji, 2013; Edelman, 2001). The demands of these movements transformed from instrumental issues to quality of life (Pichardo, 1997). The main reason why such a label exists is the opinion of scholars who emphasize that the orthodox Marxist theory in structuralism could no longer adequately explain the latest wave of social movements (della Porta and Diani, 2006). The critiques of Marxist analysis gather around two core issues. First is economic reductionism which treats political actions as if they mainly stem from capitalist relations of production and treats other social relations as secondary reasons. Second is class reductionism which narrows diversity of society to pure

class relations, and sees the working class as the most primary social actor (Buechler, 1995). In return, the prevalent view among scholars rests on the view that class-based revolts have lost their centrality by virtue of the shift of working class position at a certain moment of capitalist history. Depending upon this postulation, the content of movements has moved beyond working class as primary social actor and engaged with cultural and identical issues of individuals. Following that, the main characteristics of new social movements are summed up with a number of issues. First, these movements are defined by elements of social status rather than social classes. Second, instead of gathering around an ideology for unifying and integrating (e.g. Marxism in working class ideology), they adopt divergent thoughts and values through self-interest. Third, these movements are decentralized in autonomy and self-determination due to their diversified interests. And lastly, cultural and symbolic spheres are major driving forces for new social movements (Savran, 1992; Buechler, 1995; Coşkun, 2006, Barker et al., 2013). Ultimately, the characteristics of these movements show that this new understanding invites the shift from class politics to identity politics, and from material interests to post-material interests.

Here the major question to be asked is whether new social movements have completely ruptured from old social movements or not. Or, in other words, “Are new social movements completely independent from class matters?” At this point, two contrasting thoughts might be mentioned -one assumes a *break* and the other *continuity*. According to that, a distinctive new social formation under structural transformation of capitalism has led to divergent interpretations from varied perspectives. As determined above, the main idea of the break stems from assuming the decline of the working class. The most radical theories for a new formation of society (similar to Habermas (1984), Laclau and Mouffe (1992), Melucci (1995) etc.) and break of new social movements from previous ones come from Touraine (1977, 1985). Touraine points out that the capacity of society to produce itself and variations of social actors in social life have increased. Post-industrial society of advanced capitalism has limitless capacity for self-production and self-transformation. On the contrary, industrial society of early capitalism was only allowed to transform the means of production by developing devices and

organizational systems with a limited capacity. The increasing capacity of post-industrial society develops technology for producing information and symbolic goods toward ends of production. Thus, the new social formation encapsulates “consumers/clients in the role of popular class and managers/technocrats in the role of the dominant class” (Buechler, 1995, p.444). Within this social formation, new social movements cannot be confined with the borders of class relations and productive relations. Rather, they exhibit out of class-based contents. In this perspective, the thought of break mostly gets near rejection of class relations, in particular working class, and social extensions of productive relations. The thought of continuity may be apprehended from the view point of Offe (1985) (and also Castells may be accepted as in this line of thought). Offe (1985) clearly asserts that there exists a certain structural transformation. However, capital and labour contradiction still remains, as it grows through other contradictions (i.e. domination of contradictions in bureaucracy and technology) toward a structural body. Specifically concerning the class issue, he reminds that social actors taking part in these movements cannot be considered independent from class relations. Despite main social actors are no longer classical working class, for him, new middle class and elements of old middle class, which connect with productive relations, constitute the roots of new social movements. In addition to that, demands of these actors in movements (i.e. peace, gender, democratization, environment etc.), that are called “new” by many scholars, are the values inherited from working class movements. Thus, even though social movements of advanced capitalism have broadened toward diversified issues by exceeding the dominance of working class movements, they cannot be completely separated from class matters. Moreover, in regard to focused demands, these movements still represent continuity by comprising some mediated social extensions by virtue of new emerged values.

The debates over old and new social movements present that these interpretations fundamentally originate from changing formation of society. In the history of social development, different ontological and epistemological social comprehensions establish different perspectives of transformation of society to understand conflictual bases and also social movements. Just an overview of them is enough to show that

the new social formation of advanced capitalism is very different from the early capitalism. But, for us, this does not mean that Marxian concepts are not able to explain current social facts and their contradictions. Social phenomenon and conflicts can be still read in a Marxist point of view, especially in capitalist social relations. Although Marx scrutinizes social conflicts of early capitalism and reads social movements through working class uprisings in a narrow sense, his ontological and epistemological approach to social phenomenon, which is constructed on the concepts of productive relations and class contradictions, is still applicable. The transformation of productive relations as well as transformation of society under domination of capital and the state has made profound and embedded classical class contradictions by expanding them into the social life, in particular reproduction processes. So, even though the classical understanding of the working class and its struggles has lost concreteness and homogeneity, contradictions and conflicts of class matter and still exist. In social movements, these contradictions fostered by economic and political structures are melded and mediated in various parts of social life through urban issues, environment issues, gender or cultural issues.

Along with classifier attitude of new social movements, they encompass a large number of issues with a wide range of goals, varied values, forms and actor compositions. In this sense, research domains of new social movements enlarge from environmental and ecology movements to peace movements, and from gender movements to cultural movements. Urban (social) movements becoming one of these lines constitute the focus of our scope.

2.4.1 Urban (Social) Movements

Urban (social) movements¹³ emerge as manifestation of urban conflicts. Although they are mostly seen as a particular category of social movements, urban (social) movements exhibit their sui generis content which emanated from capitalist relations

¹³ Parenthesis is used on behalf of two distinctive uses of urban social movements and/or urban movements.

of production with unique contradictions and conflicts of urban processes. That is, the thing making them “urban (social) movement” different from social movements does not occur in the urban sphere. Urban (social) movements have become a special field since the 1970s for urban studies. While debates over social movements (i.e. in terms of definition, analysis, and shifts along with changing social formations) are valid for urban (social) movements, as mentioned above, urban processes constitute their own specific context. Because of this, debates about urban (social) movements can have very different ways of approaching these processes. But, they are elementarily not self-existing emergencies or isolated research objects. Rather, they are outcomes of encountered structural conditions and actions of the agents in urban processes.

Castells, who got inspired by the revolts of the 1960s to pioneer the phrase, bonds urban contradictions and conflicts with urban social movements. The ideas of Castells (1977) on the urban are shaped around politization of urban space under the state interventions to collective consumption process in order to ensure reproduction of labour force. Urban planning as the fundamental means of intervention gives political content in process of regulation to contradictions and conflicts between capital and labour. In this way, roots of social conflicts in new social formation derive from “collective creation of everyday life” through legitimation with urban planning (Castells, 1977, p.376). Unlike urban planning, urban social movements come from inside the society and articulate conflictual matters in urban process. They are against the planning and alternative to planning. From this perspective, he places these movements within urban politics. For him, urban social movements have a significant role as precursors for transformation of urban social change. Because urban space, in addition to its contradictive and conflictual nature, is also “a focal point of a range of new challenges to the dominant capitalist order, matching the industrial class struggle as a fundamental source of social change” (Lowe, 1986, p.2). From this point of view, Castells (1977) defines urban social movements as follows:

A system of practices resulting from the articulation of a conjuncture of the system of urban agents and of other social practices in such a way that its development tends objectively towards the structural transformation of the urban system or towards a

substantial modification of the power relations in the class struggle, that is to say, in the last resort, in the power of the state (p.263).

As can be understood from the definition of urban social movements, Castells attributes grand meanings as they fire up structural transformations for urban social change. The formulation in association with working class movements enhances revolutionary capacity of urban social movements. Disengagement from political parties and formal bodies of the system radicalizes and marginalizes these autonomous organizations. All of these make urban social movements capable of provoking urban social change and exploring new meanings in structural terms. It is clear that he does not treat urban social movements as an urban struggle in general terms which articulates ordinary claims about the urban like garbage collection, street signs or traffic lights. For him, these movements are directly related to structural problems of social significance. They inevitably consist of class and political conflicts which make them revolutionary. At that point, although Castells points out explicit connection between urban issues and structural issues, he deliberately neglects mediations of structural matters in urban space at the level of absolute space. On the one hand, he identifies that thoughts over urban social movements should go beyond orthodox Marxian perspective when the matter is urban issues. This means, social conflicts that emerged in working class struggles cannot be considered within the working place any more. Rather, class struggle has displaced into urban processes with consumer unionism (i.e. constitution integrated demand-based distribution of communal resources) by acts of the state. His statement goes beyond the classical thoughts of Marx. But on the other hand, he adopts urban as an object, and applies structuralism of political economy approach to urban issues. His attempt provides prominent progress for understanding the contradictions and conflicts of urban in a Marxist sense. However, it also establishes a trap in interpreting urban social movements. In other words, such an approach tends to adopt only the actions which have concrete effects on structural matters as urban social movements. And, it ignores social extensions and mediations of structural conflicts at the level of everyday life as well as oppositional positions being incapable of transforming society. Castells (1977) underpins his position by saying

that “the political importance of an urban social movement can only be judged by relating it to the effects it has upon the power relations between social classes in a concrete situation.” (p.377). Thus, urban social movements are the actions that challenge economic and political structures with ideology by demanding collective consumption, mobilizing new political power relations and also defending cultural identity.

The transformation-oriented definition of urban social movements shows how Castells' focus centers on the effects. At that point, Pickvance (2003) specifies that there is confusion about use of the phrase due to distinctive level of effects. For him, the position of Castells tends to overemphasize transformative structural effects of urban social movements. This causes an ambiguity surrounding conceptualizing oppositional actions related to urban processes. In a wide range of urban issues and level of social significance for issues, urban social movements mostly stay limited to reactive actions rather than being transformative (i.e. especially transformation of capitalist social relations in time has increased domination of power and loosened the impact of these actions). Correspondingly, Pickvance (2003) classifies use of urban social movements by Castells as a restrictive and generic sense. According to that, in the restrictive use of the phrase, for Castells, any action of society caused by the conflictual contradictions of urban processes may be defined in three levels of effects on urban and politics. First one is *participation* and describes the lowest level with symbolic effects. Participation refers to control over reproduction of the urban system. Second is *protest* in intermediate level. Its effects are limited in a reformist manner, which means change in minor elements of the urban system by keeping its relations with other ones. Third is *urban social movement* at the highest level. They have transformative effects on the urban system by changing both elements and their relations. In other words, their effects increase with structural transformations (Pickvance, 1975; 2003). And thus, this implies a restricted usage of the phrase by enclosing it into only the actions having capability for changing structural relations. On the other hand, generic usage suggests an understanding that exceeds limitations and comprises all oppositional actions over urban issues. Here Pickvance (2003) emphasize that effects of such actions may be considered in potentialities rather than

their actual effects. Due to the rarity of actions capable of leading to urban social change, he advocates usage of urban movements for being faithful to the position of Castells. Accordingly, usage of urban movements seems to be the most proper in order to separate the oppositional actions that foster structural transformations toward urban social change. And from now on, the phrase urban movements is adopted for our study.

The perspective over the transformative capability of urban movements related to their effects is vital, but also displays a unidimensional approach to these actions. Because they are transforming actions as well as transformative by virtue of their trajectory-based nature. Here, it is possible to pose the question “What does transformation of urban movements mean?” It fundamentally corresponds to the formation of these movements. So, at the outset, formation of urban movements should be introduced. In a narrow sense, urban movement is a phenomenon that has its own intrinsic dynamics in a body, although it is not a self-existing entity. In this way, formation of urban movements in terms of organizational forms, actor compositions and used repertoires exhibits transformation (Tarrow, 1998; McAdam et al., 2001; Snow et al., 2004; Tilly, 2005). Such components of any action mainly acquire its internal structure, and show transformative tendencies along with transformation of capitalist social relations (i.e. transformation into cross-class composition through innovative and technological action tools, or creative organizational forms by engaging with transnational organizations etc.). In a broader sense, by resting on our framework on urban conflicts, the formation of urban movements has to exceed limitations of their internal components toward an external structure. External structure implies the extensions of structural conditions. Based on this, issues/stakes are precursors and driving forces of a movement, and they come from urban contradictions and conflicts. In this sense, they constitute the core matter of movements. Degree of social force (i.e. cross-class, only working class or middle class etc.), extent of goals and demands (i.e. anti-capitalist or only focused on a specific issue, that is to say; broad or narrow goals, structural or interest-based goals etc.), level of mobilization (i.e. massive or fragmented) are explicitly related to how crucial issues/stakes are (Pickvance, 1975). Thus, all of these external structures

basically build up effectiveness of urban movements as an outcome. At this point, (Pickvance, 1985) asserts that these externalities in formation of urban movements reveal context-dependent characteristics of movements. This means that economic and political milieu of a specific society constitutes its own structural contingencies (i.e. out of dominant political economy in the globe, unique productive relations of nations, regions or cities by virtue of uneven development of capitalism), and formation of movements articulate contextual differences (Figure.2.2).

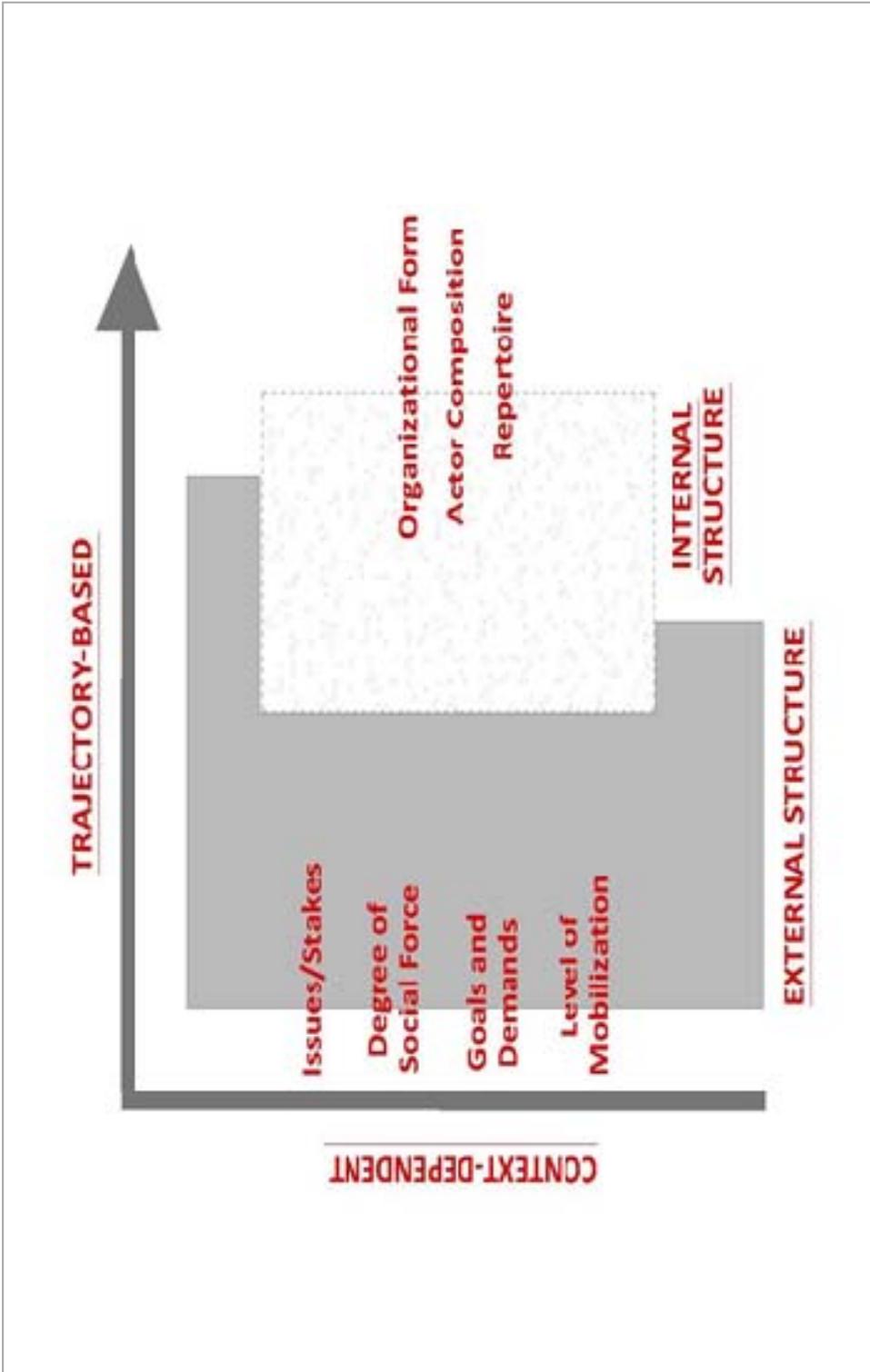


Figure.2.2 Framework for Formation of Urban Movements

Transformation of urban movements in terms of their formation mainly pertains to structural conditions. Urban movements are manifestations of structural contradictions and conflicts since, as mentioned earlier, they are not self-existing phenomena. Accordingly, historical moments of capitalist relations of production and their transformations emerge in new contradictions and conflicts at every turn. As it can be remembered, socially produced urban space is involved in the same transformation. Because changes in capitalist productive relations increase with new initiatives in urban space, and requires new means and modes of (re)production. Urban movements as manifestations of these contradictions and conflicts deriving from urban processes cannot be thought of as independent from (re)production of urban space. Therefore, parallel to transformation of structural conditions and process of (re)production of urban space, urban movements follow the same transformation line, as well. On the other hand urban conflicts related to (re)production of urban space are interpreted in sociospatial perspective in our framework. That is, structural conditions (i.e. economic structure in capital accumulation, political structure with interventions of the state), which focus on exchange value of urban space in capitalist relations of production, and transformation of them are pivotal. However, at the same time, embodiment of structural contradictions and conflicts in praxis appear in varied extensions of class and political struggles when they confront with use value of absolute space. Extracted issues/stakes from content of urban space, their capability for social force constitution, extent of goals and demands, level of mobilization, and thus, their effects appear as a specific and concrete domain of movements. But, it should not be forgotten that they become apparent under limitations of transformed structural conditions.

Ultimately, urban movements in a certain moment of capitalist productive relations arise in trajectory-based and context-dependent attributes. Thus, modes and means of (re)production of urban space in a specific moment of capitalist relations specify conflictual bases and their manifestations within transformed formation of urban movements.

2.4.2 Trajectory of Urban Movements

The transformation of urban movements follows a trajectory within certain periods of capitalism. This trajectory defines emerging structural conditions (i.e. political economy), new urban processes with new means and modes of (re)production of urban space and configurations in urban movements. A brief overview to get insights in regards to their transformation becomes significant on the way of understanding current formation. Accordingly, out of early capitalism, transformation of capitalism (i.e. consisting of advanced and late capitalism moments) is scrutinized in certain periods labelled pre-1980s, 1980s and 1990s, and post-1990s.

Early capitalism and its industrial relations fostered movements that were grounded on working class revolts. They could not meld with urban processes by exceeding economic contradictions and conflicts of capitalism. Yet, transformation of capitalist relations into advanced capitalism after World War II came up with its sui generis structural conditions, and ended up in a crisis which penetrated into urban space. Pre-1980s was the period that is characterized by an interventionist Keynesian welfare state and large-scale Fordist mode of production. An overall frame of structural conditions can be drawn in dominant interventions of the state to regulate intense labour process including reproduction of it, to balance mass production and consumption, to decrease capital and labor contradictions, to ensure spatial organization toward socialization in cohesion (i.e. production-consumption, capital-labour, urban-industry etc.) under excessive institutionalization and bureaucratization (Jessop, 1996). To preserve the Fordist capital accumulation regime, expanded interventions of the state from pure productive relations to their spatial organizations, and also to everyday life constituted cleavages conveying toward social crisis. Jessop (1991) says “the crisis of Fordism involves more than the forces of production or profitability in any simple sense. At stake is capital's inability to create a new regime of accumulation with appropriate institutional forms, social relations, and balance of social forces in the power bloc and among the people.” (p.90). His definition clearly points out that crisis of that time articulated multifaceted aspects of social conflicts by exceeding mere economic and political terms.

The one pivotal domain in manifestation of the crisis emerged as conflicts stemming from urban processes. Indeed, it was a turning point for recognizing contradictory and conflictual bases of urban space. As Fainstein and Hirst (1995) remarked, the urban had been considered in a non-conflictual view until the mid-1960s and 1970s. However, domination of the state in process of spatial organization within changing land use and zoning according to needs of capital accumulation connected conflicts of capitalism with urban space in a visible manner. It was the time when cleavages increased through major urban movements in American and European cities by engaging working class struggles with urban processes.

Suburbanization, which mainly served for reproduction of labour force, appeared as new spatial pattern. The monopoly of the state over provision of social housing to working class and affordable mass housing to middle class in suburbs fostered material and social problems. Poor conditions in supply of infrastructure, unqualified environmental conditions in neighbourhoods, high rents of social houses and high costs of mass houses can be counted as main problems of suburbs at first glance. Out of these, urban renewal projects in the old parts of the cities resulted in displacement of ethnic groups, students and immigrants. Besides, unequal distribution of public services, varied qualities according to social classes and their high prices revealed other problems in provision of material goods. On the other hand, the domination of the state over (re)production of urban space by urban planning, non-participatory decision-making processes about urban issues and supply of public services, and impositions upon everyday life composed other conflictual domains (Castells, 1983; Akkoyunlu Ertan, 2007; Mayer, 2006; 2009). All these problems were part of wide mobilizations in united oppositional positions. In spite of diversification of actor composition by comprising working and middle class, students, immigrants, gender groups and other minorities, these movements managed to unite as a mass under similar goals and demands.

Castells (1983) specifies three conflict lines from radicalized urban movements of the 1970s. Depending on extracted outcomes of his broad and intense research over varied cases in different contexts, focal points of urban movements primarily rest on

collective consumption (i.e. case studies in Grand Ensembles of Paris, American ghettos and squatters of Latin America exhibit demands of right to housing and quality of life). The second line in movements is based on having *political power* against the monopoly of the state and having a voice over urban issues (i.e. Citizen Movement in Madrid obviously reveals the claim for autonomous local government and participation in decision making). The last one is related to *cultural identity* and its expression in social life and on urban space (i.e. San Francisco Gay Movement shows importance of diversity in society and its relation with urban space). Ultimately, for Castells (1983), opponents of these mobilizations demand sufficient performance of urban functions, taking part in definition of urban meaning and express their symbolic values in urban functions and meanings. All of these anti-systemic movements against capitalized and bureaucratized urban processes have the capability for urban social change.

The period of the 1980s and 1990s exhibits a structural transformation into neo-liberal ideology. After the crisis of advanced capitalism (i.e. both social crisis of Fordist regime of capital accumulation and Keynesian interventions of welfare state, and economic oil crisis), a transition period appeared in post-Fordist productive relations. The period came up with a new regime of capital accumulation (i.e. based on deindustrialization, and decentralization of industrial plants by relocating overseas) and new form of the state toward late capitalism. The 1980s were the years that structural conditions started to shift within a roll-back phase. According to that, the reasons for crisis were sought in the over-interventionist attitude of the state through over regulation of finance and labour markets, corporatism and state ownership (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Thus, the state pulled out of the markets by abandoning its regulatory role under austerity measures and by freeing up markets for individualized opportunities. This means that demand-side policies of the state were replaced by supply-side implementations of the free market. On the other hand, “pulling out of the markets” for the state not meant its passivization, rather, as Peck and Tickell (2002) remarked, “state power was mobilized behind marketization and deregulation projects” (p. 388).

Structural transformation by adopting market rules became apparent in urban processes as a new regime of capital accumulation. Under fiscal restrictions, the neoliberalized state dismantled subsidies and welfare tasks from itself, and transferred them to local governments so as to marketize them. This roll-back of the state compelled local governments to integrate with the free market in order to overcome increased expenditures and decreasing budgets by seeking economic innovation within entrepreneurialism (Mayer, 2000). Emerging urban policies of local governments rested on cutting public services and promotion of private initiatives by facilitating privatization of infrastructural facilities with tax abatements and land allocations (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). As Harvey (1989b) observed, the attempts of local governments to seek more revenue came up with the shift from “urban managerialism” to “urban entrepreneurialism”. Although the roll-back phase of structural transformation did not mark itself in spatial change as of late patterns and forms, introduction of market mechanisms affected urban process in the new urban politics. Thus, urban conflicts changed dimension by shifting to other domains with different formations of urban movements.

Increasing unemployment and poverty in parallel to deindustrialization and decreasing welfare provision for social reproduction constituted the roots of urban conflicts. Indeed, this period made matters of old social movements as current agenda by focusing on unemployment, poverty and deprivation problems. On the one hand, plundered suburbs because of housing problems and deprived neighbourhoods by virtue of lack of infrastructure provision emerged as spatial appearances of these conflicts and foundations of urban movements. On the other hand, local governments were forced to discover conflicts strategically in order to defeat both fiscal restrictions and their outcomes including urban movements. In this way, local governments attempted to build consensus with oppositional groups, and target especially non-governmental community groups as a possible collaborator (Mayer, 2009). By including and funding them in bargaining mechanisms, local governments managed to employ organizations of previous urban movements under the programs and projects in regard to social services, neighbourhood revitalizations, cultural activities, local housing and economic development (Mayer, 2000; 2009). Therefore,

as Mayer (2009) emphasized, engagement with local governments led to sharp transition from protests to programs for urban movement organizations, and formation of urban movements suffered a significant change. By professionalizing and institutionalizing, the urban movements of the 1980s were no longer antagonistic and radical like pre-1980s. But it should be noted that groups excluded from bargaining and consensus mechanisms became radicalized gradually because of their unsolved problems.

The 1990s are called a roll-out phase represented by a qualitatively modified neoliberal framework. The earlier structural framework of roll-back phase had arisen as a strategic return to the crisis of Fordist and Keynesian political economy. However, when confronted by institutional and political limits to the autonomous market-led economic outcomes (i.e. problems in finance and labour markets, environmental problems, social problems etc.), failures in policies and crisis tendencies of the earlier period coming from intrinsic contradictions of neoliberal ideology itself came up with a reconstituted form (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Nick and Theodore, 2002). Against deregulation and marketization in shallow policies, the state and its institutions were rebuilt in new forms for empowering government and consolidating the neoliberal project. That project was reconstituted under revitalized and renewed state interventions, which have come up to the present in a path-dependent manner, and has exclusively focused on spatial restructuring toward a competitive real estate market.

Urban space and its (re)production have become major focus of the state and capital from the 1990s onwards. Both globalization as a hegemonic rhetoric and governance as a powerful instrument have highlighted the significance of urban development for integrating and establishing the hierarchy of global cities. For this, the recent form of the state, which emerges out of standardized and united administrative structure, has encouraged economic development that originated from urban space at varied scales. As Brenner (2004) expressed, national, regional and local governments have adopted growth-oriented approaches in urban policies by supporting market mechanisms, and this motivation has fostered “place-specific forms of state administration and special-

purpose, customized regulatory” (p.2-3). A new regime of capital accumulation has been grounded on over-production of built environment in precedence of market-led rules. Harvey (1989b) underlines that entrepreneurial tendency in new mode of (re)production of urban space has been made prior of image and focused on political economy of place rather than coherent territorial political economy. As a consequence, flexibility of administration and regulation has entailed polarization in national space. However, intensified investments upon specific localities have accelerated cleavages among the society, leading toward urban conflicts.

The competitive urban development and governance in the form of public-private partnerships have come to exist with corrosion of welfare rights. Inherited poverty from previous periods has consolidated in deprivation of welfare services. To attract foreign investments by upgrading image of the city, productive functions have been abolished, and consumption within service and culture industries has been promoted by governments along with enlarged and stretched regulations. Attempt to achieve a world culture has mostly concluded with social exclusion of local parts of the society. In particular, (re)production of urban space by large-scale projects has led to extended conflictual outcomes. Most of these projects appeared in gentrification, displacement, loss of publicly owned amenities and public services at first glance. Out of such direct effects, they have imposed indirect social costs (e.g. taxation of losses, charging of services and places etc.). Under these multifold circumstances, Mayer (2000; 2009) defines the new formation of urban movements as *heterogeneous* and *fragmented* in contrast to homogenous and massive movements of the Fordist period. Urban movements of the 1980s transformed by engaging government bodies and have maintained their existence by enhancing their capability behind governance function. They have used cooperative methods rather than contestatory ones. Out of cooperation-based movements, there exist a number of oppositional urban movements that focus on particularly conflictual lines in urban processes. Mayer (2000) classifies them within urban movements against competitive urban politics and the ones opposing to corrosion of welfare services. Behind these lines, urban movements come to the forefront in varied types depending on extended impacts of urban policies. The first is the ones that arise in

neighbourhood scale as the type of NIMBY (Not in My Backyard) movements against local development projects in order to conserve quality of life. Another is the movements against hegemonic large-scale projects of neoliberal urban politics and their social effects in gentrification and displacement. The stake of these oppositions mainly rests on democratic participation to decision-making process for urban development. The last type derives from poverty and housing needs related to changing conditions of labour market and welfare services. The classification of Mayer (2000) gives fundamental insights into the heterogeneous and fragmented terrain of urban movements by outlining them. However, it should be noted that there are no clear cut separations among these subject based comprehensions. Rather, with increasing debates over the question of “Whose city?” many of conflictual issues/stakes overlap, and connect with the sociospatial context.

The period of the post-1990s may be seen as a follow-up of former period in regards to with logic of structural conditions. In particular, neoliberal policies took root along with globalization, and were imbedded into the course of social life in the early 2000s. Finance markets all around the world united, and metropolises were exposed to harsh foreign investments into built environment through the state facilitation. Financialization of metropolises has created sharp social polarization due to market-led policies over labour market and income inequality, and has driven spatial segregation within the income distribution gap. Market policies of the state have reached dimensions that affect and become visible in everyday life (i.e. commercialization of public space, surveillance and police violence etc.). To enact these policies, authoritarian state tendencies toward deterioration and abolishment of democracy have become dominant. Previously expanded but now deepened contradictions have constituted the foundations of urban conflicts.

Heterogeneity and fragmentation of urban movements have stayed the same while new formation of urban movements has become apparent. Global networks of financialization have deepened cleavages and conflicts in urban processes. However, at the same time, global urban networks have facilitated spreading anti-capitalist mass movements, which may be considered as social movements within distinctive

focal points (e.g. against war, for immigrant rights, anti-racist etc.). Excessively capitalized and politicized urban space and urban processes have not stayed out of these networks as well. Indeed, such unions mostly demonstrate that over-marketization and authoritarianism have inserted socioeconomic and sociopolitical issues into urban processes. For instance, the Paris suburban movement in 2005 took its origin from police treatment against immigrants. However, spreading movement toward other cities and suburbs clearly put forward the urban dimensions of the uprising. Corrosion of welfare services, particularly in suburbs where cheap labour force is aggregated, resulted with spatial deprivation, economic poverty and social exclusion (Akkoyunlu Ertan, 2007). In another instance, occupy movements all around the world, which concentrated on varied issues (e.g. Wall Street occupation against economic inequality (New York, 2010), occupation of Puerta del Sol and Syntagma squares for anti-austerity (Spain, 2011), occupation of Tahrir square for democracy (Egypt, 2011), Taksim Gezi occupation against authoritarianism (Turkey, 2013) etc.) could be united under the claim of appropriation of public spaces and the right to the city (Harvey, 2012; Thörn et al., 2016). Out of these massive and worldwide movements, local urban movements have subsisted by increasing numbers and by claiming urban space in order to sweep away the effects of market-led urban policies. Essentially, process of (re)production of urban space, in which these policies are embodied, has become prominent in fragmented urban movement terrain.

To conclude, discussions of urban movements clearly demonstrate shifting formations along with transformed structural conditions. As a result of the trajectory-based comprehension, changing urban processes within transformed productive relations, regime of capital accumulation and role of the state comprise its own unique contradictory and conflictual outcomes. Here, it should be noted that urban movements are context-dependent social phenomena, and our discussions mainly represent the general frame of western urban processes. By keeping in mind uneven capitalist (urban) development, for us, under wide range of urban policies based on over-production of built environment in late capitalism, neither corrosion of welfare

services nor poverty and neither poor quality of life nor marginalization are no longer considered independent from the process of (re)production of urban space.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW TO THE CONTEXT: STRUCTURAL AND SOCIOSPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

Socially produced urban space can be comprehended in terms of structural and sociospatial transformations. Urban processes within (re)production of urban space and urban conflicts exist and take shape under structural conditions. And all these should be discussed in a contextual consideration. For this very reason, this chapter portrays a historical overview of structural and sociospatial transformations in the context of Turkey and İstanbul.

Turkey is a developing country as a result of the uneven nature of capitalism. The formation of capitalist relations occur either one step behind those in developed countries or by their impositions. Under these circumstances, each country comes up with its own unique context. Within this framework, İstanbul is the city most affected by changing capitalist relations in the country. Each stage of these relations defines new sociospatial processes that create new contradictions and conflicts. Based on this, the context of the country and İstanbul is addressed in three periods. Together with changing forms of the state and of capitalist relations, the regime of capital accumulation and (re)production of urban space are demonstrated in order to discover conflictual bases in a general framework.

3.1 1923-1950: Nation State and Integration to Capitalism

This was the period that started with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and birth of the Republican regime. This shift brought with it a radical transformation. The construction of a nation state and of bases for integration to capitalism represented an

obvious revolution which covers economic, political and sociospatial transformations.

3.1.1 Economic and Political Structure

The first phase of the nation state was a manifestation of the new regime through construction of economic, political, and social structures. After the Turkish War of Independence and the proclamation of the Republic, the years between 1923 and 1950 were used to restructure the required conditions for a new political ground. This restructuring was not only about political life, but was also projected through transformation of both cultural and educational domains. Through the transformations in political and social domains, the new regime aimed to construct a new order based on redefinition of social identity, emphasizing nationalism and modernity.

The main goal of the regime was to ensure economic development and urbanization in statist and counter-imperialist principles through a certain plan and program. The Republican regime adopted a statist economical model. Despite its revolutionist roots, it did not oppose the transition to a capitalist economic order and the expansion of the bourgeois class that had come from the Ottoman Empire. In the period of Musatafa Kemal Atatürk's presidency, consisting of the years of 1923-1938, the economy was constructed in two phases and approaches. For the political economy approach of the first phase (1923-1929), Treaty of Lausanne and its demands related to customs were determinative within certain areas. To ensure capital accumulation, industrialization and conservative nationalist economic development had to be placed as a secondary priority. Rather, promotion and improvement of the national bourgeoisie with the state support was adopted as a priority. The İzmir Economic Congress was the place where the main philosophy of political economy was declared and based on a steady conservative model via developmentalist, facilitatory, and promotional principles toward national and foreign capital, and support for farmers (Boratav, 2016). In this frame, the impetuses of economic development were industrialists, traders, landlords and foreign capital (Çavuşoğlu, 2014).

The year of 1929 was the beginning of the second phase of political economy. The main reasons for the shift were both the expiration of some clauses in the Treaty of Lausanne and its economic restrictions, and the Great Depression around the world. In this phase, the adopted approach was grounded on a conservative and statist industrialization model. In fact, this kind of a model was a reflection of the attempt to turn the Great Depression into an opportunity. Until that time, Turkey had imported raw material from the world and exported consumption materials. However, due to the depression, it was necessary to move into a national economic development model. And also, it was a great chance to get industrialized in order to integrate with the capitalist world. The shift to statist industrial development, similar to the mode of production in Western countries, was crucial for independent economic development. Thus, the state became pioneer of economic development through being the investor, operator and controller. Particularly, this attitude has major implications for the industry sector since the industry-based development model was accepted through state enterprises with the first five-year industry plan in 1934 (Boratav, 2016). Together with the plan, statist industrial development came along with establishment of a number of public economic enterprises.

After death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, İsmet İnönü became the President and the effects of World War II spread all over the world. In this context, positive conditions emerged for Turkey's economic development attempts. The efforts to minimize exports turned into a natural outcome of the war. However, at the same time, production decreased because of conscription. As a result of this, it could not be possible to follow the designated policies. And plans and programs that were prepared beforehand could not be carried out properly. Developing problems resulted in different political interventions and the state had to integrate market conditions to its policies. At the end of the following process, a liberal economy would be internalized with the transition to multi-party system (Boratav, 2016).

The construction of the national economy and bourgeoisie for development caused some parts of the society to become privileged thanks to the state support. Thus, an unequal social order coming from the Ottoman Empire was reproduced and deepened

through the integration of capitalist system (Çavuşoğlu, 2014). On the other hand, the statist mode of production, through balanced development principles, was articulated in the mode of (re)production of urban space. Restructuring urban space regarding to the needs of the industrial mode of production enforced adoption of planning approach within the bounds of possibility.

3.1.2 (Re)Production of Urban Space, Urban Conflicts and İstanbul

The republican regime considered that Westernization and integration to the capitalist world were crucial for modernization. To achieve this, the importance of industrialization and urbanization was an undeniable fact. However, it was aware that the urbanization requires some level of capital accumulation and fosters the constitution of social classes on conflictual bases. Faced with such realities, the new regime consciously avoided rapid urbanization and proletarianization due to the economic constraints. Consequently, in the early years of the Republic, the slow urban development policies were adopted through promotion of agricultural production and keeping the peasant population in rural areas (Çavuşoğlu, 2014). Following the shift to industrial development, a slow and planned urban development approach was adopted to enable gradual integration to capitalism.

After proclamation of the Republic, the capital city moved from İstanbul to Ankara. Thus, a new era started for İstanbul in terms of spatial restructuring. It is a common opinion that 2,700 year-old İstanbul was disregarded in the early years of the Republic by concentrating on the construction of capital city, and it began a deterioration (Akpınar, 2010). However, it would not be a mistake to say that this process for the city had begun during the time of the Ottoman Empire. After World War I, İstanbul was occupied by invading states and daily life had started to change. The main reasons for the change in daily life of the city was decreasing production and increasing unemployment after long war conditions. After the last Ottoman Sultan Vahdettin's departure from the city in 1922 and the proclamation of the Republic, bureaucracy and embassies started to abandon İstanbul (Durhan, 2009).

Therefore, it is possible to claim that the Republic took over a city from the Ottoman Empire that had already lost its privileged position and deteriorated in many aspects.

Until the 1930s, detailed planning works were only held for urban development of the new capital city. The year of 1930 was significant in both economic and political terms. It represented the crystallization of republican ideology and politics on urban space. The promulgation of a law on industrial incentive in 1927, the expiration of some of clauses in the Treaty of Laussane and the Great Depression of 1929 were the milestones to foster the reformulation of political economy. Thus, the Statist and production based economic model required well-developed infrastructure investments for distribution of products. To ensure relations of production, mobilization intra and inter cities became the main agenda of well-defined and planned urbanization activities (Durhan, 2009).

At the outset, the state concentrated on construction of the capital city. Adoption of planning was a new approach for the young state, and there was lack of basis for it. During the construction of the capital city, new arrangements emerged, which, afterwards, affected the entire urban development process nationwide. In this sense, the urban development of Ankara was underpinned by addressing the lack of legal and institutional bases for (re)production of urban space. The most notable legal arrangement was a definition of property rights in the Civil Law. As a result, the new regime put forward that it endorsed a liberal property order in land development. Parallel to increasing rent value, new legal regulations¹⁴ were made by the state to compensate for the price of the land. In this way, expropriation was used as an efficient instrument in this process. And later, expropriated lands and assets were gradually transferred to private property. Another prominent arrangement was the establishment of a land bank. To promote production and possession of dwellings, credits with low interest were supplied (Kahraman, 2010). With these regulations, the urban development process gained momentum to industrialize the cities. And with the promulgation of the Municipality and Public Sanitation Law, preparing development plans come into force for those cities (Tekeli, 2013). Despite all the

¹⁴ Law no. 583, Law no. 3710, Law no. 5228

Statist attempts at equal distribution of land value, these regulations represented de facto privatization acts. Some parts of society were able to extract land rent through speculation. The realized appropriation of this value led to the emergence of further conflictual and contradictory results in urban processes, particularly in metropolitan cities.

The place of İstanbul in this picture was not in the foreground. However, it had to be planned inevitably since it was the only cosmopolitan city in the country. In addition to its historical background, the locational importance of the city, which opens Anatolia to the Western countries, was unignorable in economic and political terms (Gül, 2013). In this respect, the adopted planning approach for Ankara was adjusted for İstanbul as well. In 1936, Henri Prost was invited to İstanbul with an official letter calling for “planning a modern, hygienic and beautiful city” (Akpınar, 2003, p.64). Here, the statement of the letter clearly states the mission of the further plan. İstanbul was no longer the primary city of economic development. The centrality of the city in commerce and manufacture-based economic activities was to be frozen for a while in order to transfer economic investments to inner parts of the country and ensure a balanced development. Therefore, although the industrial production inherited from the Ottoman era was saved, the city was not promoted for new industrial establishments. Rather, it was upgraded for conservation of urban characteristics. In this sense, the essence of the plan was based on contemporary urban standards and a high level of publicity by taking the historic fabric of the city into account. However, a large part of the plans could not be realized, and the city left to develop within its own dynamics.

With the slow and planned mode of (re)production of urban space, the Republic mostly attempted to spatialize itself over the old capital city through increasing publicity and modernization. Instead of making new investments into industrial development, it expropriated economic enterprises under the control of imperial capitalists. The limited investment in industrialization can be seen as serving the aims of a controlled transition to the capitalist world and decelerating the emergence of class struggles in the process of restructuring.

3.2 1950-1980: Welfare State and Engagement with Capitalism

This was the period when Turkey engaged with capitalism entirely. The process that started with transition to a multi-party regime and adoption of liberal ideology continued with welfare state and Fordist productive relations. İstanbul became the most substantial city for capital accumulation through the primary circuit. And the city regained its importance in terms of economic growth and urban development.

3.2.1 Economic and Political Structure

The switch to a multi-party regime was a breaking point for the new political economy. As of the 1950s, the period of the Democratic Party (DP) put a new formation of capitalism into practice. Unlike the Statist approach of the previous period, the new government adopted liberal ideology in order to engage with the imperialist and capitalist world.

The new transformation process for Turkey started with becoming a member of international finance institutions (i.e. the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and the Organization for European Economic Co-operation). With the directives of the Marshall Plan and loans, restructuring in liberal ideology was started by the DP government. According to that, economic restructuring process first took place in the countryside with modernization of agricultural production. Integration to a market mechanism was ensured with the promotion of private capital. Foreign-dependent investments in import substituted industrialization hastened economic growth for a while. However, the government was compelled to use credits in certain sectors. The wrong sectors and locational selections brought negative results in the long term (i.e. economic and political dependence on imperialist Western countries) (Çavuşoğlu, 2014; Türkün et al., 2014a).

The industrial investment boom with external indebtedness created rapid economic growth. Parallel to capital accumulation in the primary circuit, modernization of agricultural production and decreasing labour need triggered migration from rural areas. Thus, industrialization and lower labour intensity of agricultural production

resulted in rapid urbanization. Particularly because of concentrated industrial investments, metropolitan cities became the most preferable destinations for those migrants. This massive labour migration and lack of social policy gave rise to the emergence of squatter (*gecekondu*) developments. Inasmuch as structural transformation, sociospatial transformation of metropolitan cities prepared conflictual and contradictory bases.

The 1960 coup d'état introduced a new period for political economy. At first, the army became a restrictive political power. And further, the civil government adopted a populism-based political understanding in order to get the support of society (Çavuşoğlu, 2014). From the 1960s onwards, political instability shaped economic and social structures along with political conflicts and contradictions.

The economic policies still remained based on import substitution industrialization. Economic growth gained momentum and became institutionalized during the period. However, the liberal ideology of 1950s gave way to a welfare state understanding (Türkün et al, 2014a). Parallel to the welfare state approach, the state attempted to be the only authority, and committed to supply public services for improving and upgrading relations of production. As a consequence of this, the State Planning Organization was founded, and the state initiated planned development. The aim was to regulate and control rapid economic growth by promoting industrial development. The adopted development model involved both public investments utilising external finance aid and also private investments. However, the plans prepared mostly became a tool for directing the private sector (Soyak, 2003). In addition to that, public investments were conducted through the directives of international institutions, and foreign-dependent industrial development was still supported by the state. Under the hegemony of capitalists and imperialists, development plans prioritized the needs and demands of capital, rather than the needs of labour. Despite the definition of the welfare state, social expenditures of the state were relatively limited and unequal. Economic development was not associated with social development. Thus, such a lack of understanding of development resulted in certain

sociospatial outcomes. Intensified contradictions between capital and labour fostered class struggles as a direct result of this process.

The 1960s were the years in which the welfare state ideology tried to become embedded despite its failures. However, the oil crisis of the 1970s surrounding the whole world also affected the economic and political context of Turkey. Due to economic crisis in the world, the increasing need for imported goods could not be met, and industrial firms faced difficulty in regards to their growth. All these directly influenced labour in the forms of low wages, precarious employment and unemployment. Unequal distribution of income stimulated working class struggles in cooperation with radical middle classes. Besides, unstable political conditions were added to these economic conditions. As a result, economic and political cleavages, demands and conflicts spread throughout society (Aslan, 2016). In this sense, the 1970s were the most noteworthy years for the oppositional history of the country. Especially, the birth of a leftist opposition became prominent for social movements and uprisings. As a result of industrialization and urbanization, and directly proletarianization, the movements appeared on the line of class struggle as well as political struggles.

Urban processes were particularly shaped by an incorrect development approach (i.e lack of economic, social and spatial integration). Industry started to develop with the demands of the new bourgeoisie, and foreign-source dependency increased due to increasing exports. On the other hand, import substitution industrialization stayed through populist allocation policies. And long term interests of dominant social blocks were fulfilled, while other parts were forced to subsist with short term interests or their own resources (Boratav, 2016). Similar to the 1950s, the 1960s and 1970s were also faced with migration from rural to urban areas. Despite rationality and a planning approach to urban development, urbanization entered into a dramatic inconsistency. Due to rapid population growth, the prepared plans were not able to estimate sufficient land development. On the other hand, land use decisions of these plans could not be implemented in the face of de facto and informal urban development.

3.2.2 (Re)Production of Urban Space, Urban Conflicts and İstanbul

The promotion of capitalist productive relations and their special relation with urban space structured urban processes as of the 1950s. Under the contradictions of this relationship, urban conflicts arose, and İstanbul was the most affected city.

İstanbul moved to the forefront in this period in contrast to the previous phases. With its own dynamics, the city entered into an overgrowth process in terms of industrialization, population and urbanization. In this sense, it became a city in which all the structural and sociospatial characteristics of the period could be found. Urban space was produced in relation to demands of industry and service sectors. And İstanbul differed from surrounding cities by virtue of the density of capital and labour force. As Türkün et al. (2014a) have expressed, İstanbul transformed into an over-industrialized city under the domination of capital and the political authority in contrast with initiatives for well-balanced growth. Plans that were prepared for these developments could not be followed and increasing demand for dwelling and public transport could not be met as it was planned. So, informal relations played a major role in the (re)production of cities. Along with informal spatial development, the society began to produce its own pragmatic solutions. As a result, *gecekondu* (squatters) emerged for the first time, and spread all around the city (Gul, 2013; Çavuşoğlu, 2014).

Before moving on to the squatter phenomenon and its conflictual bases, at the outset, the urban process until 1960 should be mentioned briefly. This period had special attributes since it was the first experience for İstanbul of over-production of urban space. Under liberal economic principles, the so-called Menderes operations over urban space engaged with the capital accumulation process. Promotion of private capital to increase accumulation in import substitution industrialization came to life with certain spatial agglomeration processes. Along with abandonment of regional and urban plans, the operations were carried out in order to compensate for the transportation and infrastructure needs of exploding industrial development. As Keskinok (1997) has shown, industrial development took place on urban infrastructure which had been constructed in the previous period. Operations

independent from the plans allow the improvement of “non-reproductive effects of the historical pattern of the city for capital accumulation processes.” (p.95). Foreign credits were used for transportation and infrastructure investments which expedite capital-oriented growth and legitimize operational urban development. However, Keskinok (1997) underlines that social costs of industrial development were externalized for early capital accumulation. This means expenditures were mostly drained for (re)production of capital while they were constrained in reproduction of labour force. In this contradictory and conflictual relation, the squatter phenomenon emerged as a self-generated solution of the working class.

Squatter neighbourhoods became the centre of structural and sociospatial contradictions and conflicts in this period. They became space of working class as of the 1950s. Parallel to industrial development, newcomers to the city gathered around the factories, and built their own dwellings. As mentioned above, urban politics of the government in priority of capital production engendered the most egregious class contradictions in regard to urban processes. Squatter neighbourhoods as a form of self-help housing developed on public lands through occupation. The space of reproduction of labour force came out as a consequence of structural contradictions and rapidly found itself a place in the urban fabric. However, squatters themselves generated new contradictions and conflicts in the sociospatial transformation process.

Şengül (2001b) elaborates on the contradictions and conflicts of squatters in relation to two main lines. The new conflictual bases increased the tension between the state and squatters, and between the middle class and squatters. To begin with, expansion of squatters over public lands threatened property relations and planning regulations which justify the existence of the state in the urban process. Such a condition increased tension between squatters and the state. Thus, the first encounter of the state with the squatter phenomenon came with demolitions. But the welfare state approach of the 1960s led to relative decrease in demolitions of these dwellings. Despite the duties of the welfare state to ensure social equity and justice in public service supply and resource distribution, working class squatters produced their own dwellings and provided their own reproduction without financial support of the state

and capital. By this way, capital focused investments could still be carried on by the state. In addition to this, increasing population of squatters all over the city generated a certain consumer potential. In this sense, they took place in both productive and consumption relations.

The second conflictual line developed between the middle class and squatters. The urbanization project of the state in the previous period, which focused on the middle class, came close to collapse because of squatting. The vision of an ordered, beautiful and hygienic city was reversed along with squatter occupations. Squatter neighbourhoods, which were unsanitary and lacked proper building foundations, appeared in contrast with middle class neighborhoods. Beyond contradictions in the physical environment, socioeconomic and sociocultural incompatibilities constituted further cleavages between them. The hegemony of the middle class in urban processes was threatened because of increasing population and the voice of these occupiers. On the one hand, unequal distribution of income and allocation of welfare led to certain conflicts. On the other hand, sustained rural culture in squatter neighbourhoods and poverty fostered divergence through exclusion processes (Şengül, 2001b).

Gradual legitimization of squatter neighbourhoods was another problematic issue, which is also escalating the tensions right now in urban processes. At the outset, the genesis of the squatter phenomenon over occupied urban lands focused on use value of space through dwelling needs. In response, squatters faced demolition and social exclusion. However, over time, the large consumer population, which produces its own dwelling without support and provides cheap labour force, gained importance for capital accumulation. Together with that, peculiar local networks of these neighbourhoods made them ripe for integration to politics as a substantial floating voter pool. As a result, populism and clientelism in the political domain brought legalization of property and improvement of infrastructure, electricity and sanitary conditions (Şengül, 2001b; Bozkulak, 2005). Following that, legal arrangements¹⁵,

¹⁵ Law no.6188 in 1953, Law no. 7367 in 1959, Law no. 327 in 1963, Law no. 775 in 1966, Law no. 1990 in 1976 are legal arrangements related to squatters (Kahraman, 2010).

which may be seen as quasi-amnesties that partially legalize and partially prevent the development of squatter neighbourhoods, paved the way to transfer public lands to private property. Thus, the act that aimed to privatize public property just established new conflictual bases.

Extensions of the 1970s' economic and political cleavages over squatter neighbourhoods should be also mentioned. Parallel to the politicization of squatters, while some of them had already gained rights thanks to populist rights distribution, others were still deprived of most of these rights. Under the political circumstances of the period, radicalized middle class groups, who were mostly leftist and anti-systemic, considered squatter neighbourhoods as a structural problem on the basis of social justice. And thus, these informal political groups initiated struggles against unemployment, poverty and deprivation caused by the intrinsic contradictions of capitalism. Even though there did not exist a traditional working class or class consciousness, squatter neighbourhoods seemed as living space of working class and place of class struggles. In addition, these occupied settlements were recognized as anti-systemic in appropriation of use value. Therefore, squatter movements together with informal radical groups spread, and they struggled for liberated areas (Şengül, 2001b; Aslan, 2016). In this sense, squatter movements may be considered as the first movements claiming urban space through class and political struggles.

Aside from squatting problems, it should be noted that the process of marketing the city gradually started as of 1970s, became more apparent in the 980s and 1990s, and turned into a mere resource for capital accumulation by the 2000s. Construction of the Bosphorus Bridge and project for the 2nd Bridge were put into action. Similarly, preparations for finance centre projects first appeared in this period (Yapıcı, 2017). These spatial projects and interventions would lead to the introduction of the urban conflicts of the following periods.

All things considered, this period coincided with a rapid engagement with industrial capitalism. Sociospatial outcomes of the economic and political structure appeared more specifically in İstanbul. Thus, certain conflictual bases surrounded the

industrialization and squatting phenomena. Along with this, the structural crisis at the end of the period created a certain transformation and defined new urban conflicts.

3.3 1980-2000: Capitalist State and Hegemony of Market

The first seeds of neoliberal ideology were introduced in this period. The political and economic restructuring process pushed urban space into the hegemony of market mechanisms. Even though the period of 1950-1980 was prominent for laying foundations of capitalist productive relations through the logic of “expansion” and “occupation”, urban space entered into a gradual commodification process as of the 1980s.

3.3.1 Economic and Political Structure

Impacts of economic crisis deepened dramatically in the late 1970s. The desire of the state to overcome crisis in favour of capital came along with a start of structural transformation. The period introduced the genesis of neoliberal ideology which gave way to a new regime of capital accumulation replacing import substitution industrialization.

The impacts of economic crisis were felt (i.e. high rate of inflation, low wages, unemployment, scarcity of consumption goods, decreasing profit rates etc.) by capital, labour and the majority of the society. Capital was deeply influenced by distribution and sharing of surplus as a result of decreasing productive growth. Under these circumstances, capital tried to minimize contradictions in its own favour. And at the first stage, wages of labour were reduced, and then layoffs followed. Along with these interventions of capital, the state’s lack of direction yielded an uncontrolled escalation in prices of consumption goods and many other economic problems, which were dramatically suffered by both capital and labour. In response to labour strikes and capital depression, the state had to find a solution, and the

January 24, 1980 decisions were introduced as a new economic formulation (Boratav, 2016).

The decisions, which were designed under the directives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB), served a liberal market approach in order to satisfy the demands of capital. In this sense, the political directions of the program were not based on mere stabilization of the economy. Rather, it defined a structural adjustment to the developed capitalist world (i.e. adjustment of periphery countries to central countries in financial liberalization) in a new regime of capital accumulation. According to that, export-oriented growth, restrictions over production for the domestic market, attraction of foreign and national investments, initiatives and subsidies for some export sectors, decreasing influence of state economic enterprises over the market, and abolishment of subsidies for agriculture were introduced in the program. Its capital-oriented design neglected labour interests and presented a counter-attack against labour (Boratav, 2016). In this first step of deregulation policies, minimum state intervention (i.e. roll-back stage of the state) and maximum liberalization for foreign and national capital constructed a new regime of capital accumulation.

Due to political instability, the 1980 coup took place and the program was consolidated by the military government. With parliamentary order and democratic rights suspended, the military government built up political bases and put the January 24 decisions into practice. The political structure for engagement to world capitalism was ensured with the 1982 Constitution Act. The constitution was prepared in anti-democratic terms in order to respond to demands of capital and the new market economy (Kaya Özçelik, 2011). In this respect, the labour market was burdened with a dramatic exploitation. The constitution limited all rights of the working class by restraining activities of trade unions, strikes and bargaining mechanisms to decrease labour costs in favour of capital.

The military government founded political bases for anti-labour and capital-oriented approaches over three years. The civilian government that followed (i.e. Motherland Party) also obeyed and kept the directives of the program (i.e. increasing incentives

for export, import liberalization etc.). Even though exploitation of labour market was consistently kept going, policies for distribution in populism could cover this exploitation at some levels. Similar to the previous military administration, the civilian government adopted privatization of state economic enterprises as a substantial program, however, the program could only be implemented after the 1990s (Boratav, 2016).

The 1980s may be seen as the first phase of globalization through integration and engagement in global market mechanisms. In this process, structural transformation started to get into global market during 1980-1983, and this transformation was completed in 1990. As a result, the national economy entered the 1990s, opened to the global market. However, the 1990s were the years that economic and political regulations of the 1980s over labour markets (i.e. low wage policies) came to an end. The state was obliged to develop new transfer and distribution mechanisms (Yeldan, 2013).

Exploitation of labour force eventually started a grand resistance among the working class (i.e. spring movements), and these movements dramatically influenced the political milieu. Although the government reused populism by increasing wages, after a while discharges and informal employment became prevalent. However, the second phase of globalization started with the elimination of the barriers to the flow of capital. Based on the structural adjustment policies, entrance of foreign funds helped finance capital, and liberalization of foreign capital flows was fully accomplished (Boratav, 2016). Together with these dynamics, political competitiveness among parties and political instability prepared the foundations of a new economic crisis. The crisis of 1994 brought the economic stability program, and this program escalated the privatization of state economic enterprises. The public sector and its enterprises were seen as a source for funding.

All these economic and political structures and their transformation had dramatic influences on urban processes. Decreasing supports and subsidies to agriculture fostered new migration waves to the cities. In addition, forced migration in 1990s because of the terror attacks expedited migration. New urban politics and

sociospatial transformations as a consequence of structural transformation led to new contradictory and conflictual bases.

3.3.2 (Re)Production of Urban Space, Urban Conflicts and İstanbul

The most notable sociospatial effects of structural transformation of this period yet again occurred in İstanbul. Up to that time, the city had served for rapid capital accumulation in industrial productive relations. However, parallel to aim of attracting investments through liberal capital flows, the potentiality of the city was canalized into new visions. Thus, a vision of the city as hub of a new regime of capital accumulation was defined in the finance, service and tourism sectors. According to that, İstanbul would be the global city of the country, which would attract national and international capital in finance, management, and specialized services. Decentralization of industry was designated as one of the goals for the city. In this way, the process of switching from the primary to the secondary circuit was launched for the city.

Parallel to structural transformation under the directives of international institutions (i.e. IMF and WB), urban processes, particularly in İstanbul, were restructured through similar directives. Reduction of urban service delivery, privatization of public economic enterprises, elimination of restrictive regulations on urban space led to sociospatial transformation (Keskinok, 2015). Corrosion of welfare state came along with dismantled supply of collective consumption services at the local government level. Therefore, the state started to function for reproduction of capital instead of reproduction of labour. In this line, as discussed above, the military government established political bases for capital-oriented accumulation. The civil government carried onward this tendency with legal arrangements¹⁶, which

¹⁶ Tourism Encouragement Law no. 2634 (1982) enabled private tourism investments in public lands located on coastal areas. Mass Housing Law no. 2985 (1984) served for private sector investments in housing. Promotion of Savings and Acceleration of Public Investments Law no.2983 (1984) provided public-private partnerships and set out preliminary legal arrangement for privatization acts. In addition to those, under market conditions, Metropolitan Municipality Law no. 3030 (1984) empowered municipalities for plan making, and Development Law no. 3194 (1985) gave the authority to

facilitated investments of capital for (re)production of urban space. Through these foundations, capital moved away from the real production domain, and preferred to invest in speculative and profitable built environment. Thus, urban processes entered into the hegemony of market mechanisms (Şengül, 2001b; Kahraman, 2010).

Under the circumstances of rent seeking and market-led urban processes, land development toward deconcentration and multi-centralization became one of the substantial tendencies. A loosened planning framework was adopted to ensure market interests through excessive land development. Local governments collaborated with private firms in local investments, and supported new land use patterns which manifested in shopping malls and high rise office buildings (Türkün et al., 2014b; Keskinok, 2015). In İstanbul, for instance, preliminary neoliberal spatial patterns emerged with the expansion of the central business district and decentralization of industrial plants which were located near the city centre. In this sense, the first steps of present mode for (re)production of urban space were put into practice in the 1980s.

To pave the way for private investments in the central business district, construction of the 2nd bridge over the Bosphorus and other access roads was facilitated by central and local governments. Here, it is important to mention that the first professional opposition against market-led urban politics came along with the construction of the 1st and 2nd Bridges. The chambers (i.e. chamber of architects) in particular pioneered urban movements in response to process of (re)production of urban space for private interests. This was prominent since they created awareness in society of public space. Following that, the movements against opening of Tarlabası Boulevard to demolition, and the Park Hotel and Gök Kafes projects over public land emerged with social engagement. Along with legal tools, some other oppositional tools were used in order to cope with these kinds of interventions. In this way, out of squatter neighbourhoods, urban movements were launched to defend public space by the chambers in these years. In addition to this, the 1990s represented a pivotal breaking

municipalities in approval of the plans. In this way, local governments ensured private initiatives on public lands as a consequence of the changing planning framework.

point in regards to building civil society organizations and enabling organized participation of the citizens into urban movements (i.e. by virtue of 1995 HABITAT II), although these organizations could not come together¹⁷.

Abolishment of import substitution industrial development and export oriented commodity production fostered decentralization of industry. This attempt was justified under the global city vision in the 1990s, and small-scale industries located on rentable lands were decentralized to the periphery (i.e. they mostly relocated in organized industrial districts). Particularly, the Golden Horn and the Historic Peninsula were exposed to a dramatic industrial clearance during these years. Although it was not an exact deindustrialization attempt, it removed the relation between industry and squatters. Thus, such interventions came along with sociospatial changes. As of the 1990s, privatization of productive spaces also gained a new dimension through legal arrangements¹⁸. According to that, privatization acts included not only public services but also publicly owned lands and assets (i.e. mostly owned by public economic enterprises). This meant that privatized public spaces could be developed and (re)produced with partial plans and privileged rights. Therefore, land use of the city started to transform in line with market demands.

Squatters were still a pivotal issue during this period, but they also had a different dimension. The conflictual position of squatters in the previous period, which ran between the demand for housing right and property right, evolved into a complete integration to capitalist relations. In another word, squatter neighbourhoods that identified with use value were included in the real estate market through a series of legal arrangements¹⁹ and the exchange value of these areas increased substantially. Following the arrangements, occupied lands were privatized and included in private property. Consequently, public lands and squatter neighbourhoods were integrated to

¹⁷ From the preliminary interview with Chamber of Architects on 02.09.2015.

¹⁸ Privatization Law no. 4046 was accepted and Privatization Administration was established in 1994. The administration was empowered in plan preparation and approval for privatized public lands.

¹⁹ A number of arrangements came into force in this period by broadening the content of amnesties. Law no. 2805 (1983) articulated a squatter amnesty for the first time. Law no. 2981 (1984) gave the title deeds for squatters and development rights. Law no. 3290 (1986) and Law no. 3366 (1987) widened the scope of implementations. Law no. 3414 (1988) enabled property transfer and selling for squatters (Kahraman, 2010).

the market mechanism, and this commenced a new wave of sociospatial transformation. In parallel with legalized lands and new property relations, squatter neighbourhoods gradually turned into apartment blocks and increased rent value commodified urban space. All these may be seen as conscious strategies in the process of structural transformation. At the outset, as Kahraman (2010) asserts, the amnesties after the 1980s offered urban land development and rent resources for capital accumulation. After that, the urban poor could act in the formal real estate market and they could improve their social profile (Türkün et al., 2014b). Inasmuch as constitution of hegemony of market ideology, all these appeared as a political preference for distribution of property and development rights in terms of populism and clientelism. As can be seen, the main conflictual bases of the previous period in regards to squatters shifted through market mechanisms. Absolute social exclusion might be conquered by allowing the urban poor to join the real estate market. However, new exploitation mechanisms over property rights emerged through deepening contradictions and conflicts. Social heterogeneity of squatter neighbourhoods was consolidated with heterogeneity of property relations, and the system brought new losers and winners within a complete inequality.

The mid-1990s were significant for the establishment of present urban politics. The first basis of Islamic neoliberal ideology was founded in these years, and project-based (re)production of urban space was suggested as an efficient way for local governments to develop their cities. Even though a very limited number of offered projects were actually completed, hegemony of the project fetishism began to settle in the society. The global city and “urban transformation” discourses were strengthened, and modernization of the city was presented as a substantial goal. In line with this goal, disordered parts of the city, particularly squatter areas, were pointed out for regeneration with a number of projects (e.g. projects of mega urban transformation, prestigious centres and informatics valley etc.) (Türkün et al., 2014b). However, the earthquake of 1999 caused these projects to be delayed until 2002. And, “modernization” of the city was carried out with shopping mall projects, thematic parks and housing projects in the form of gated communities. Therefore,

new urban contradictions and conflicts overlapped with social polarization and spatial segregation.

To conclude, it is obvious that structural transformations came up with sociospatial transformations, and defined distinctive conflictual bases. In Turkey's case, late integration to capitalism kept going engagement with capitalism through the shift in the regime of capital accumulation and in role of the state. The last period, under the hegemony of the market, demonstrated a prominent breaking point in the 1980s, which has continued until today. Parallel to these transformations, sociospatial outcomes, particularly in the case of İstanbul, changed with each period. Ultimately, the main characteristics of these periods may be addressed with the conceptualization of Şengül (2001b). As stated by Şengül, the first period of integration raised as spatialization of the state in order to stigmatize the new ideology and political economy. The second period of engagement appeared as spatialization of labour in parallel to industrialization. And, the third period emerged with spatialization of capital under liberal market conditions, and is still an ongoing process.

CHAPTER 4

İSTANBUL FROM 2000s ONWARDS: GEOGRAPHY OF PRIVATIZATION-ORIENTED STATE-LED PROJECTS AND URBAN MOVEMENTS

This chapter scrutinizes a new process of (re)production of urban space and its conflictual bases in İstanbul. From the 2000s onwards, a definite break in the regime of capital accumulation and political dynamics became apparent. Under the domination of neoliberal ideology, this new regime of capital accumulation was derived from over-production of the built environment. In this direction, a number of *privatization-oriented state-led projects (PSPs)* have established the bases of urban conflicts that manifested in a considerable number of urban movements.

The chapter, at the outset, briefly draws the frame of neoliberal ideology in relation to urban space. Afterwards, the structural and sociospatial transformation of İstanbul is discussed. And finally, geography of projects and urban movements is illustrated by portraying distinctive domains of privatization-oriented state-led projects and oppositional movements.

4.1 Neoliberal Ideology and Urban Space

The transformation of structural conditions up to late capitalism has reached neoliberal principles. Since the 1980s and 1990s, the ongoing political economy all around the world has brought with it the recent urban processes, which define distinctive modes and means of (re)production of urban space, a new spatial order and urban politics.

The neoliberal principles, which mainly define political economy, have evolved into a dominant ideology that penetrates sociospatial sphere. As Peck and Tickell (2002) put forward, it “has provided a kind of operating framework or “ideological software” for competitive globalization, inspiring and imposing far-reaching programs of state restructuring and rescaling across a wide range of national and local contexts... The new religion of neoliberalism combines a commitment to the extension of markets and logics of competitiveness with a profound antipathy to all kinds of Keynesian and/or collectivist strategies.” (p.380-381). From this point of view, neoliberal ideology fundamentally prescribes market-led institutional transformation and realignment of politics by shifting from the state socialism to market capitalism with new policy adjustments, limited intervention and a new regime of accumulation. Jessop (2002) specifies the basic aim as commodifying all factors of production and monetizing all social practices in economic terms. In addition to that, politically, it aims at collective decision-making through limited power and intervention of the state and legally guaranteed substantive freedom in the public sphere. At this point, it should be noted that neoliberal ideology seems originate from openness, participation and freedom. However, these discursive concepts are mostly true for only market drivers in terms of facilitating market-led capital accumulation. On the other hand, the critical role of the state in abrading welfare social rights for the sake of accumulation advances an authoritarian form of the state. Social extensions in the abolition of publicness, restrictions of democratic rights and exploitation by market mechanisms.

The insights into neoliberal ideology primarily rest on its market-oriented nature. To be precise, Brenner and Theodore (2005) demonstrate major characteristics of neoliberal ideology within a number of propositions. According to them, this ideology represents a process of market-led transformations, rather than being an end-state which is a target to be reached. Due to its transformative procedural nature, it is difficult to articulate a well-defined form for neoliberal ideology. It is determined by context specific strategies varying according to historic and geographic conditions. Contrary to what is asserted, it requires active power mobilization of the state. To legitimize and promote market-led actions, the state and

its institutions need to regulate it with a complex rearrangement of state and economic relations. Depending upon contextuality, the outcomes of these relations emerge in path-dependency. Scale-specific rearrangements appear in diverse results in regards to the inherited institutional and economic landscape. It is deeply contradictory and conflictual by virtue of the unstable nature of economic development, political arrangements and social integrity, and also of diverse social forces contesting for non-market forms of regulations. Thus, instead of solving intrinsic contradictions and conflicts of capitalism and preventing its crisis, neoliberal ideology mostly deepens cleavages toward crises.

The dominant neoliberal ideology of late capitalism has to crystallize itself in urban space just as other moments of capitalism (i.e. early industrial capitalism and advanced Fordist/Keynesian capitalism). Harvey (1989b) and Peck and Tickell (2002) address the fact that neoliberalism cannot be reduced to local preferences, but is rather an external coercive law which places all spatial units into a competitive process in different levels. Competitiveness as a driving force of neoliberal ideology articulates itself in urban space concretely. The precedence of competition, not only among individual capitalists for profit maximization, but also among governments in order to brand and market cities with the rhetoric of globalization, introduces urban space into a new process of (re)production. Before moving onto the new urban process, we should briefly address globalization, which can be considered as the discourse for justifying and naturalizing market actions of neoliberal ideology, in order to understand the new regime of capital accumulation and its spatialization. In this sense, it defines a dispersed capital accumulation process created by market demands. The new regime of accumulation and new division of labour, parallel to development of productive forces (i.e. communication technologies, high-qualified professionals etc.), has exceeded definite boundaries. To attract foreign investments, which depend on corporate economy and highly specialized service sectors (e.g. finance, real estate, business, banking, high technology, tourism, creative industries etc.), it is necessary to create a flexible and facilitating political structure with new spatial forms and patterns, and social inequalities. As a result of the new capital accumulation process and organizational structure, urban space comes up in

cosmopolitan characteristics within the global city concept (Baevarstock et al., 1999; Sassen, 2005). In parallel with globalization, Peck and Tickell (2002) point out that neoliberalism:

Not only privileges lean government, privatization, and deregulation, but through a combination of competitive regimes of resource allocation, skewed municipal-lending policies, and outright political pressure undermines or forecloses alternative paths of urban development based, for example, on social redistribution, economic rights, or public investment. This produces a neoliberal “lock-in” of public-sector austerity and growth-chasing economic development. (p.394).

Accordingly, market-led capital accumulation encourages governments to capture all chances to develop and integrate urban space to the interurban competition landscape through image-making by recovering and branding places, taking risks in high-cost investments and rearrangement of legal and institutional structures. Thus, the aim of competing for more investment has to define new means and modes for (re)production of urban space.

Promotion of competitive urban space, in a general frame, has to appear in a matured real estate market. The investments in pure real estate for producing urban rent and/or other specialized service sectors are directly pertinent to (re)production of urban space. If we call all of them as the real estate market, the aim extending from image-making to facilitate investments in urban space requires well-organized political construction of the market as well as flexible administrative, legal and organizational structures in favour of capitalists. Project-based (re)production of urban space becomes the most appropriate mode in order to meet the needs of the market with case by case arrangements. The projects that are mostly led by the state in varied scales and types (i.e. large-scale projects, mega projects, renewal projects, transformation projects etc.) are constituted by using privatization as a major means of (re)production of urban space. Ultimately, neoliberal ideology in urban processes significantly actualizes itself with *privatization-oriented state-led projects*.

4.1.1 (Re)Production of Urban Space by State-Led Projects

The competition-driven urban process comes up with its sui generis mode and means for (re)production of urban space. To increase investments in urban space, activation of real estate market mechanisms becomes the most notable agenda for urban processes. Unlike a restrictive and well-defined urban planning approach, project-based (re)production of urban space defines dynamic and open-ended processes through support and facilitation of the state.

Along with the characteristics of neoliberal ideology, which is grounded on process of transformation (i.e. creative destruction), creation of adjustable and maneuverable urban policies come as an inevitable obligation. As discussed previously, the shift in the regime of capital accumulation from industrial production to deindustrialization and over-production of built environment according to market demands has brought the shift from urban managerialism to urban entrepreneurialism. Harvey (1989b) expresses it as follows:

Competition for investments and jobs, particularly under conditions of generalized unemployment, industrial restructuring and in a phase of rapid shifts towards more flexible and geographically mobile patterns of capital accumulation, will presumably generate all kinds of ferments concerning how best to capture and stimulate development under particular local conditions...From the standpoint of long-run capital accumulation, it is essential that different paths and different packages of political, social, and entrepreneurial endeavours get explored. Only in this way is it possible for a dynamic and revolutionary social system, such as capitalism, to discover new forms and modes of social and political regulation suited to new forms and paths of capital accumulation. (p.15).

Entrepreneurial understanding of governments started with fiscal restrictions after the crisis of Fordism, however, transformation of neoliberal ideology through globalization has stimulated attention upon urban space. As stated earlier, Harvey (1978, 1982 and 1989a) explains the interrelation of built environment and capital accumulation with reference to fixed capital and emphasizes its advantages in stabilized surplus but also possible disadvantages in over investment and devaluation. Parallel to this, he points out that investment in urban space forces capitalists to collaborate with the state in order to share risks. In an era that extracts surplus value from real estate market by producing built environment, Weber (2002)

underlines the fact that the state tends to collaborate with capitalists by supplying their demands for liquidity. At this point, developing mechanisms to make urban policies responsive and adaptable to over-production of built environment, compensating for devaluation and risks, and oppressing conflicts in favour of the market become the state's responsibility. Mostly the concept of governance appears as a legitimation instrument in this process.

To address the governance issue later, at the outset, project-based (re)production of urban space and its main logic should be mentioned. In an entrepreneurial understanding, Swyngedouw et al. (2002) highlight the importance of urban development projects in varied scales and contents to include into the accelerated circulation of capital in global economic hierarchies. In this sense, urban revitalization comes to the forefront with these kinds of projects as a strategic precondition of economic restructuring. Even though urban development projects are imposed by market-led profit seeking in neoliberal ideology, their rationale rests on revaluation of central parts of urban space, which is explained by Smith (1987) within the concept of the rent gap. Particularly, he deals with the concept in gentrification (i.e. transformation of the inner-city for upper classes through residential, recreational and other uses), and urban development projects seem to be a crucial part of this process. According to that, the rent gap means that disparity "between the actual capitalized ground rent (land value) of a plot of land given its present use and the potential ground rent that might be gleaned under a higher and better use" (p. 462). From this point of view, urban space (i.e. not only land and also amenities on it) becomes a material resource, and some parts of it have already become devalued, constituting potentiality for real estate development. Instead of considering these areas in the integrity of the whole city, closing the gap and extracting maximum profit by way of urban development projects is preferable for the new regime of capital accumulation. In this sense, not only is the inner-city being gentrified by displacing working classes from their neighbourhoods to get upper class people in their place, but also the industrial districts and brownfield areas in the city center are being developed with large-scale and emblematic projects for the sake of getting high level rent, at the cost of abandoned industrial production. Thus, urban

space and real estate development in such projects, as Smith (2002) emphasized, “become a centerpiece of the city’s *productive* economy.” (p. 443).

The rent gap issue gives the rationale for project-based (re)production of urban space. And also, the process, including formation and implementation of these projects under domination of the state and market mechanisms, and social outcomes (i.e. in the form of conflict or consent) represents its specificity. Even though the process changes due to the flexible and adaptable nature of the project-based approach, it is possible to determine its main aspects. Swyngedouw et al. (2002) advocate that the process of urban development projects are conducted by the state, contrary to discourse of market-led activities in the absence of the state. With the centrality of production of high urban rent as fiscal revenue, the state encourages and finances these projects in order to revitalize the local economy, reorganize the tax base and redefine income distribution. Thus, under legitimation of economic growth, the state leads urban development projects. Out of promotion and subsidization of such projects, mechanisms for policy-making and their (re)arrangement in reference to market demands are ensured by the state facilitator. As Swyngedouw et al. (2002) pointed out, urban development projects are characterized by privatization of extracted surplus value through risks undertaken by the state. The contradictory nature of these projects requires new institutional and legal organizations, which seem to be complex and concealed from the society, while they are flexible and facilitatory for capitalists. In this sense, the fragmented project-based mode for (re)production of urban space brings fragmented institutionalization through hybrid institutions (i.e. arrangements of semi-public and semi-private agencies, or collaborations of varied institutions) by mostly subordinating formal governmental bodies. The fragmentation is ensured by both empowerment of new institutions and authorization of existing ones in specific to urban sectors. Like that, exceptional power mechanisms (*in the conceptualization of Swyngedouw et al. (2002)*) are defined by the state, and projects are orchestrated by conditionally arranged and empowered institutions and agencies. Here, the point to be clarified is that subordination of the governmental bodies to semi-public institutions and private agencies may be perceived as elimination of the state centrality. However, even

though it is partially a valid argument for local governments, central government leads the whole process by defining and integrating private agencies within the governance instrument.

Exceptional power mechanisms inevitably need to legitimize themselves and their actions upon urban space through pseudo democratic instruments. Governance becomes the strongest instrument for democratization, and separates itself from governing since it enhances the representation capacity. In this way, governance conceptually acquires interactive, non-hierarchical networks among diverse social agents in policy-making. The multi-agent content of the process includes not only governmental and market institutions but also civil society in order to get citizens' consent by widening the social base. Behind negotiation and bargaining systems, it is asserted that a participatory process is delivered in the formation and implementation stages of urban development projects. However, the collaboration and coalition between the state and capitalists in an entrepreneurial sense is basically constructed upon public-private partnerships behind the concept of governance. This partnership mostly includes government bodies, investors, financial institutions, development and business agencies, and local authorities while neglecting civil society that represents the grassroots consisting of working-class and middle-class. From this perspective, although governance principally refers to a wide participation of different parts of the society in order to enhance transparency, accountability and degree of representation in the process, the actual case mostly articulates a form of elitist government (Keil and Boudreau, 2005) (*cited from Brenner and Theodore, 2005*). Through coalitions of political elites, the aim of market-led growth is legitimized under the disguise of governance. Merrifield (2014) underlines engagement of the state and capitalist, namely public and private sectors, along with the shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism as follows:

A dramatic transformation of urban governance was wrought, a shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism, from social investment in the urban realm to the speculative binge of the urban itself; use values had uses only because they were exchange values; cities' "scarce" resources quickly became speculative stock, new futures and options for expanded capital accumulation by dispossession. Yet while we know that this shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism involved disjuncture and rupture, that it revealed in forcible implementation, we also know with hindsight

how it involved a certain morphing and role switching of protagonists, with revolving doors between public managers and private entrepreneurs, between managerial entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial managers. (p. 107-108).

This coalition between the entrepreneurial state and capitalist in the form of governance describes a definite *power* over urban processes. From this point of view, Swyngedouw et al. (2002) consider urban development projects as “elite playing fields” that enable the power to reach its desires in shaping of urban space (p.568). Thus, the governance mechanism on the one hand ensures inclusion of selected elites of the society in urban processes, and on the other hand opens the way of exclusion of those parts utilizing the urban space.

All in all, the logic and the process of urban development projects clearly show that the state becomes the main agent who leads and promotes them. Accordingly, urban development projects are characterized in *state-led projects* through intense coalition with capitalists. To extract high level rent from urban space, private investments and private property development make the privatization issue pivotal, and it appears in varied dimensions. Privatization as a notable means for (re)production of urban space and as a result in uses becomes the spine of state-led projects.

4.1.2 (Re)Production of Urban Space by Privatization-Oriented State-Led Projects

State-led urban development projects along with public-private partnerships come to the forefront as an increasing trend in globalized and competitive cities. As a consequence of entrepreneurial understanding, private ideology penetrates into and dominates entire domains of urban space, and comes up with various connotations of privatization. Both formation of the projects (i.e. models of governance, finance and transfer) and outcome of the projects (i.e. produced built environment in commercialization and gentrification) suggest different connotations of privatization. Thus, in state-led projects, we may discuss mainly two dimensions –privatization as a *means* and privatization as a *result*.

Privatization is broadly considered as transfer of property, ownership and/or supplier role from public to private. In this sense, it defines a legal status by taking different forms in specific laws. There exist a number of definitions of privatization which describe its distinctive models. Savas (2005) gives a list of definitions in order to point out the nuances between models of privatization. According to that, privatization may occur by contracting or transferring the state-owned enterprises to the private sector. Barring the state enterprises, sale of the state assets like land and buildings demonstrate another model of privatization. Transformation of public institutions into an independent agency or government corporation also appears as privatization. A further model arises in public-private partnerships which arrange the state and private entity in a collaborative relation. Although there are a set of additional models for privatizing publicly owned goods, services and assets, we confine ourselves to the ones related to urban processes. This is because they are the models that may boost direct spatial emergencies (i.e. land development patterns, (re)production of built environment etc.) and/or non-spatial emergencies (i.e. affordability and accessibility to urban services, quality of life etc.) within urban policies.

State-led urban projects, which become the default mode for (re)production of urban space, are particularly actualized through privatization. Privatization appears as a fundamental *means* for realization of such large-scale projects. According to that, one highly adopted privatization model is public-private partnership. As a part of governance instrument, not only process of decision-making but also implementation and operation practices are carried out by the private sector. The rationale of such partnerships particularly rests on large-scale, capital-intensive and long-lived investments over built environment being conducted by private sector to be transferred to the state (Savas, 2005; Sönmez, 2017). Seemingly, partnership model is perceived as a representation of public interests because of the existence of the public sector. And the model appears as if the private sector ensures financial support for investment in public services. As can be remembered from Harvey's (1978, 1982) assertion, fixed capital to built environment of capitalists requires support of the state in order to compensate for eventual devaluations and other risks stimulated

by flexible market conditions. Based on this, although participation of the public sector is comprehended by virtue of property ownership (Taşan-Kok, 2009; Sönmez, 2017), in essence, it takes or shares the risks along with primacy of redistribution of urban rent toward the private sector. Swyngedouw et al. (2002) confirm this argument through case studies, and argue that involvement of private sector does not imply better financial contribution. Rather, financial resources of the state are excessively used for these kinds of projects (Taşan-Kok, 2009). In this way, for Swyngedouw et al. (2002), state-led projects through the partnership of public and private sectors enable “socialization of cost and risks and privatization of the possible benefits.” (p.11). Thereby, with market-led capital accumulation, state-led projects exist in privatization.

Specific to the process of (re)production of urban space, privatization matters directly pertain to property relations through immovable assets. Here, property of vacant land and property of built environment may be treated in a separated manner for further discussions of state-led projects. To begin with, land has always been a prominent component of property relations throughout history. Allocation of private property by regulatory urban policies of the state has constituted a contradictive and conflictual domain in capitalist urban processes. However, a real estate market that is mainly grounded upon land ownership turns into a matter of priority in neoliberal ideology. From the standpoint of urban land development, publicly owned vacant lands, which are reserved for future needs of urban services and uses in the public interest, becomes an essential part of this market. As Keskinok (2015) underlined, in neoliberal strategies, publicly owned vacant land causes certain obstacles (i.e. protection priorities in natural zones, conservation in historic areas etc.) to entering and expanding the land market. Privatization of public lands seems to be operational in order to enhance flexibility of market under deregulation policies. And this allows exceeding limits of urban land development for extracting more surplus value.

Following the publicly owned vacant lands, built environment (i.e. as a wholeness of land and built assets) in public property is also subject to privatization. Special interest of state-led projects over already produced built environment necessitates a

particular consideration for their privatization. At this point, out of the above-mentioned rationale and process of state-led projects, the main characteristics of these projects should be identified in physical, functional and locational terms. To underpin competitiveness by image making, such projects emerge in large-scale, high-profile and self-contained development in order to enhance prestige (Loftman and Nevin, 1995). In this sense, noticeable functions of the projects launch sociospatial restructuring leading to new land use patterns through world trading centers, cultural and entertainment centers, science parks, convention centers, multi-component shopping malls, and luxury residences (Harvey, 1989; Loftman and Nevin, 1995). Locationally, state-led projects are preferred to be situated in the most profitable and rentable parts of the built environment. Central business districts and waterfronts become target places in order to close the rent gap and achieve a surplus. Because of this, the projects arise through regeneration of waterfront, renewal of historic districts and recovery of old manufacturing areas (Orueta and Fainstein, 2008). In particular, public economic enterprises largely typify a significant portion of publicly owned assets in the built environment, as a consequence of deindustrialization. The huge abandoned building stock of these productive spaces represents a valuable source in public property for privatization. Behind the justification of revitalization of declined industrial and port districts, privatization of devalued assets comes up as a result of promotion and revaluation. Thereby, privatization of built environment is acquired as a current agenda in conjunction with state-led projects.

Both privatization of public vacant land and privatization of built environment pave the way for changing land forms (i.e. mostly uncontrolled sprawl) and patterns of land use (i.e. mostly in consumption uses). In this process, the role of urban planning becomes questionable since privatization has dominated planning via state-led projects. Following the crisis of Fordist productive relations and the Keynesian welfare state, (comprehensive) urban planning as a legitimation and intervention mode of the state for (re)production of urban space has undergone a similar crisis. Although state-led projects have nearly been replaced with planning by evolving into prevalent mode, urban planning has kept functioning as a tool to legitimize

exceptional mechanisms and policies of the projects. Along with the fragmented form of state-led projects, prioritized privatization policies have led to new insights and tasks in planning. “Privatization as a form of state intervention” has appeared as means of spatial restructuring in an accelerated manner (Eren, 2007, p.79). Aside from the decentralized function of planning, its response against privatization-oriented spatial process emerges as a prominent matter.

Günay (1995) states that urban planning is the most fundamental institutionalized and legalized instrument to regulate and control property relations. So, planning has to sustain its legacy by maintaining an interventionist position in property relations either by regulating or by only legitimizing. The act of planning, which is grounded upon rationality and systematicity, tends to be restrictive (e.g. land development, building density, exceeding private interests etc.) and works better for long-run policies (e.g. projected sectors, population, growth etc.). However, in increasing numbers of state-led projects under the domination of private interests, the need for rapidity in (re)construction, renewal and revitalization for realization of capital in the short-run has swept away these kinds of priorities of urban planning. To achieve this, from the start, a fragmented form of state-led projects only focused on aesthetics of the projects, design and image, which suggests an eclectic planning style, by pushing away systematicity. With new planning interventions, goals and tools, urban planning has also been reorganized by losing its rationality at some levels (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). Through the privatization policies, the market mechanism has forced planning to serve private interest, rather than public interest (Eren, 2007). The task of regulation and control of property relations has worked in favour of legitimation of privatization policies of the state. In this way, as Keskinok (2015) underlined, the new framework of urban planning concentrates on production of exchange value instead of use value. Such a priority leads to ad hoc partial planning approaches under deregulation policies along with privatization. And market-led urban planning procedures have gained a role for legitimation more than regulation.

Privatization as a *result* fundamentally derives from new land uses which enhance spaces of consumption rather than spaces of production. The dialectical relation between production and consumption inevitably implies an inseparable integrity. In addition, interrelation of urban space and (re)production keeps the same force for interrelation of urban space and consumption. As Eren (2007) defined, in a similar way to (re)production of the capitalist productive relations, “(re)production of the capitalist relations of consumption cannot be structured without production of suitable spatial forms and patterns.” (p.77). Here, the issue is shaped by spatial restructuring occurring around the dominance of exchange value instead of use value. Structural economic transformation toward deindustrialization drives the private sector to seek profit-oriented new uses, which can transform use values into exchange value. Keskinok (2009) defines this process as a reappropriation of use value in order to produce exchange value. Parallel to that, in a time when urban space is harshly commodified for branding and image making, privatization has occupied urban space by commercializing it. State-led projects and their functional offers in the competitive market milieu make it easier to upgrade new forms of privatized spaces of consumption within finance, business, tourism, creative and culture industries.

Privatization as a *result* refers to much more than just property relations. Zukin (1998) remarks that new consumption regimes are the evidence of going beyond extracting surplus value from the real estate market (i.e. through construction, operating and maintenance). Rather, the endeavor is for getting mixed economic benefits via commodified urban space in an era of global capital flows. To cite the insights of Gottdiener (2000) over (re)production of urban space would make it easier to expand on the recent meaning of commodification. According to that:

The production of space is directly and intimately part of the capital accumulation process that is increasingly tied to global linkages in the investment, disinvestment, construction, reconstruction, renovation and redesign of real estate. In short, settlement space today is a resource turned into a commodity by the political economy of contemporary capitalism that can be bought, sold, rented, constructed, torn down, used and reused in much the same way as any kind of investment. (p.266).

This well-known attribute of urban space derives from capitalist relations, and capitalism inherently commodifies urban space. However, along with late capitalism and new consumption-based relations, urban space is excessively exposed to privatization through commercialization. Gottdiener (2000) makes this point clear by separating consumption of space and space of consumption. According to him, consumption of space implies use value of urban space which defines utilization from space (e.g. housing for working class, locations of factory for capitalist). Even though relations of production in early and advanced capitalism supplied a limited degree of utilization under the domination of exchange value, late capitalism and its spatial uses transformed into a complete commodification by changing utilization forms. This means that the new form of housing, shopping and leisure is no longer for reproduction of labour, rather it serves upper-classes and consumers by commercializing and theming the urban space. Thus, the spread of exchange value toward all domains of space signifies the moment that urban space emerges as space of consumption.

As a consequence of the abolishment of industrial production, in contrast to the narrowed public interest, enlarged private interest stigmatizes itself with public-looking privatized spaces of consumption. In this sense, privatization as a *result* puts out its own sociospatial extensions. The capability of socially produced urban space upon transforming of social structure constitutes a new social order by penetrating into everyday life praxis which is defined in consumerism and loss of public space. State-led projects privatize public space by promoting exchange value and commercialization for selected social groups. Because of this, social exclusion and segregation appear as the most significant outcome of the recent process. Besides changing publicness in everyday life praxis, shifting commercialized spaces of production (e.g. old industrial areas, ports etc.) toward spaces of consumption directly relates to class praxis and labour processes. Implicit and explicit effects of deindustrialization and privatization start with unemployment and carry on to unaffordable welfare services, and lack of quality of life. In addition to effects to public space in relation with class praxis, spiral effects of abolishment of

manufacturing reach outwards private living spaces, and open up a gentrification and displacement processes.

To conclude, (re)production of urban space by state-led projects comes along with privatization of urban space. Within the framework drawn here, both dimensions of privatization constitute new conflictual and contradictory issues. On the one hand, privatization as a *means* paralyzes urban planning via the fragmented form of state-led projects, and turns planning into a legitimation instrument rather than regulation. On the other hand, privatization as a *result* transforms everyday life and class praxes through spaces of consumption. This also comes along with current sociospatial conflictual bases. Accordingly, the recent mode and means of (re)production of urban space is shaped with *privatization-oriented state-led projects*. The fragmented form of these state-led projects has generated a fragmented ground for urban movements. And dimensions of privatization and their conflictual outcomes stimulate urban movements over certain issues/stakes. İstanbul, as a unique case in the context of Turkey, has exposed a number of privatization-oriented state-led projects and urban movements opposing the aforementioned process since the beginning of the 2000s.

4.2 İstanbul from 2000s onwards: Urban Movements related to (Re)Production of Urban Space

Since the 1980s, the endeavor to integrate to a global economic hierarchy has been a major agenda item for Turkey. The process started with replacement of import-substituted industrialization by liberal market economy along with deregulation and privatization policies. In addition to the new regime of capital accumulation, adopted neoliberal strategies has been carried out with spreading effects over time. In this sense, the 2000s launched a new era with the help of steered capital accumulation extracted from urban space. Thanks to this, this period exhibits a definite transition to the roll-out phase of neoliberal ideology right from the start. It therefore represents

the period in which sociospatial contradictions and conflicts become apparent regarding deeply sensed spatial interventions.

The economic crisis of 2001 was followed by a series of shifts in political economy. Even though the presence of neoliberal ideology remained, conditional drivers constituted the unique context of the time. For this reason, it is necessary to draw an overall picture of these conditions in order to introduce this specific era. Initially, the crisis consolidated control and enforcement of international finance institutions such as the IMF and World Bank, which had already constituted the foundations of the new regime of capital accumulation before the 2000s via structural reform directives. Along with newly imposed economic program, directives of the IMF steered Turkey into the last stage of neoliberal process for integration. In addition to economic restructuring, after a little while, the crisis led to change in political dynamics. The Justice and Development Party (JDP), a recently founded party, formed government alone. And this Islamic-oriented party has remained in power until today by being the constructor of the new regime of capital accumulation.

The economic restructuring process via the directives of IMF had instituted a range of economic reform packages even before the crisis. However, political bodies could not put most of them into practice. The last package after the crisis was presented as “Transition to the Strong Economy Program”. The policies and strategies of the program were justified as a stance to overcome the crisis, ensure economic growth and get social welfare. Although the program frequently articulated the need for stable and sustainable growth, it insistently suggested a growth model resting on promotion of volumes in trade and finance along with foreign investment and external borrowing. Besides, reducing real production and public expenditures by encouraging privatization were the most noteworthy suggestions (Bağımsız Sosyal Bilimciler, 2001). Yeldan (2002) highlights that the program would push Turkey into a fragile economic environment by cutting-off subsidies for industry and the real sphere of the economy, and strengthen speculative capital flows. Furthermore, implementation of the program would force the institutional and systemic

transformations by damaging deep-rooted mechanisms, which may be spreading to the labour processes and social structure (Bağımsız Sosyal Bilimciler, 2001).

After the election of 2002, the JDP government adopted the policies and the strategies as a stake for itself. Along with fulfilling directives of the program, the government has kept and enlarged ongoing anti-labour attitude through specific discourses grounded on Islamic-neoliberalism (i.e. populist and redistributive policies based on communitarianism and charity, but also corporatist power relations with capital) (Çavuşoğlu, 2014; Karaman, 2012). Institutional and legal mechanisms have been radically rearranged as well as economic restructuring. In harmony with the program, the JDP government has followed global trends for attracting foreign investments and ensuring capital flows. And they picked construction and real estate sectors as the driving forces for economic growth. As a result, mode and means for (re)production of urban space have been rearranged in parallel to neoliberal strategies.

The study of Balaban (2008), which investigates production of built environment through construction and real estate sectors in distinctive periods, proves how the government accepted urban space as a primary source for capital accumulation. According to the results of macro-analysis, the declining trend between the years of 1994-2003 has reversed, and the rate of aforementioned sectors²⁰ has steadily increased from 2003 onwards. Investments of public and private sectors in the built environment have dramatically followed an upward line. As Balaban (2008) underlined, in this period, economic growth has gained a new dimension through foreign direct investments. The amount of global capital in production of built environment has risen. And Turkey has finally achieved integration with the global real estate market through a construction boom.

The new regime of capital accumulation has been stimulated from over-production of built environment. This means that the state and capital have desired to intervene in

²⁰ The analysis of Balaban (2008) shows that the share of construction sector in GDP increased from %4 to %4,8 between the years of 2003-2008. In addition to that, the report of INTES (Türkiye İnşaat Sanayicileri İşveren Sendikası) gives the latest rates for the construction sector. Accordingly, the share of construction in GDP rose to %6,1 in 2010, and to %8,8 in 2016.

all domains of urban space including non-commodified commons all over the country. In line with this target, meadows and agricultural lands, forests and flatlands, water basins and coasts has been allowed to be developed via state-led projects. Restrictions on conservation and protection zones have been alleviated to encourage energy, mining and tourism investments (e.g. coal plant projects, hydroelectric power plant projects, nuclear power plants, Green Road project etc.). Out of such common spaces, urban space has been exposed to excessive interventions, which penetrate into varied domains comprising public space and private living space. The interventionist attitude of the state associated with capital has demanded reorganization of institutional and legal instruments specific to urban space for facilitating a range of practices related to urban space and coping with inevitable conflicts. In this process, some institutions have been equipped with new functions, while some of them have been deauthorized. A series of new laws, by-laws and amendments have been exercised which define new intervention areas and privileges for investments.

The coalition between the state and capital in (re)production and (re)distribution of urban rent has resulted in deep contradictions and conflicts among the society. Although the state and capital, that is the power, have set up hegemonic consent mechanisms and discourses, exceptionalities in the process of (re)production of urban space have generated oppositional movements. Social, environmental and spatial extensions of over-production have spawned countrywide environmental movements as well as urban movements. The study of a volunteer group, which is composed of academicians and activists, called Political Ecology Working Group, maps about a hundred state-led projects. The projects are the ones that mostly define energy, infrastructure and tourism investments on commons and lead ecological destruction. The primary aim of the study is to demonstrate the geography of local resistances (Figure.4.1). According to the map, the projects and movements ranking along the coasts are notable. Furthermore, İstanbul is distinguished by both the intensity of the projects and their characteristics including infrastructure and urban transformation projects.

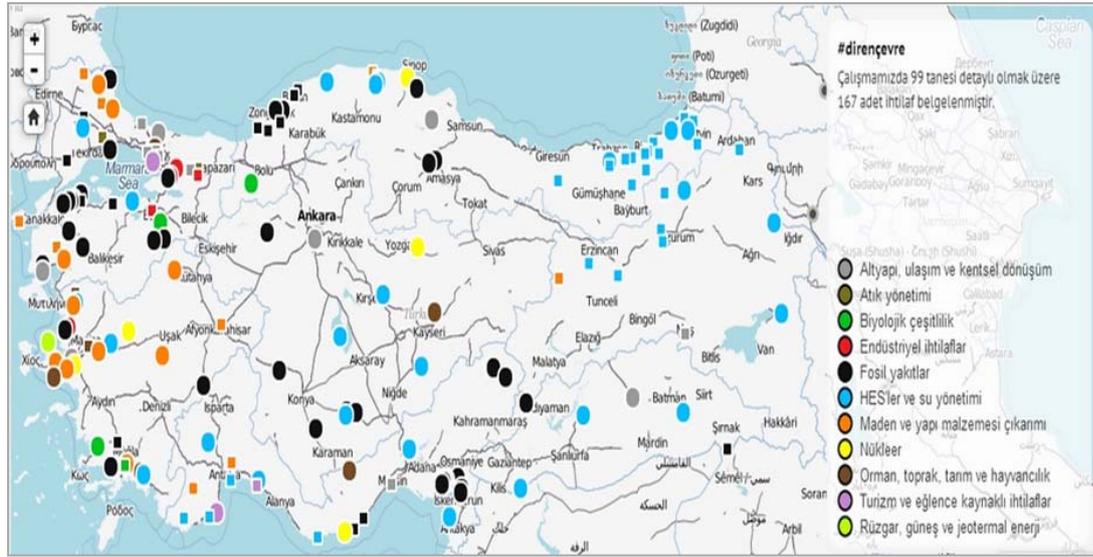


Figure.4.1 Local Resistances against the Projects in Turkey
 Source: Political Ecology Working Group (<http://politikekoloji.org/direncevre>)

The tendency of the state to follow global trends has made İstanbul prime candidate for being a global city. And İstanbul has come to the forefront in the country for extracting surplus value from urban space. Along with globalization rhetoric, the most prestigious investments have run to İstanbul through promotion of privatization-oriented state-led projects. Because of this, İstanbul has had a special position in the process of capital accumulation. However, the density of interventions inevitably has built up plenty of oppositional urban movements citywide. The effects of these projects, which can be sensed in everyday life, have turned İstanbul into the geography of urban movements as well as privatization-oriented state-led projects.

4.2.1 Structural and Sociospatial Transformation of İstanbul

The metropolis of İstanbul is not officially the capital, but it is the most important city for the national economy. İstanbul has taken the center place for capital accumulation of the country throughout history. Along with shifted productive relations, the city has been included in a constant structural and sociospatial transformation. And parallel to shifts in structure, the metropolis of İstanbul has

presented the most evident footprints of the sociospatial sample with characteristics of the industrial city at first, and then the global city.

The shift in productive relations, which started in the 1980s and accelerated in the 1990s, was exposed to a certain break since the 2000s. After the economic crisis of 2001, the new government of the JDP aimed to open Turkey into the global economy under the mandate of the IMF. As a result of changing economic and political dynamics, globalization, deindustrialization and privatization as identifier key words for new relations in İstanbul moved beyond partially accomplished rhetoric. Rather, since then, they have been embodied as primary targets for realization of capital accumulation by extracting surplus value from urban rent. Accordingly, with the resurgence of actual globalization, İstanbul has been consciously selected as a showcase for the country. And the city has entered into the recent wave of transformation which creates deep sociospatial tension that can be felt all over the city.

The pivotal numerical indicators would initially help us illustrate the quantity of transformation and its likely contradictory results in short course. İstanbul is the most populated city of the country as a consequence of being the place where intense public and private investments agglomerate, largely in the industry sector until a certain time, and service sector after that. Over the years, population growth in the city has been high and this growth originates from migration. According to the official numbers of Turkstat, the city hosts approximately %20 of the country's population, that is equal to about 15 million residents. The rate of population has reached this level from %15 at the beginning of the 2000s. In parallel with globalization and deindustrialization, the rates of sectoral distributions give traces of the trends in economic restructuring. The numbers of Turkstat shows that sectoral rates of employment in 2004 were distributed as %42 in industry and %57 in the service sector. The rates of 2015 show the decline of industry sector to %36 and the increase of service sector to %63. The proportions for the finance and tourism sectors, which are seen as the most notable criteria for being a global city, indicate that %94 of national banks' headquarters and all foreign banks locate in İstanbul in

reference to the finance center vision of the city (ISTKA, 2014). In tourism, the number of foreign visitors has increased, however, the countrywide number has gone down (IMM, 2009). Human capital is another significant determinant in the way of being a global city. According to the data of 2012, the ratio of workforce by education level indicates that %51 of total workforce is under the level of high school education, %23 at high school and %25 at level of university graduate (ISTKA, 2014).

These main indicators allow us to make some inferences about the ongoing process. At the outset, despite the increasing service sector proportions, İstanbul still remains the epicenter of industry in the country. In the meantime, it is obvious that the steady decline in manufacturing is a precursor of an ongoing process related to deindustrialization of İstanbul. From a human capital point of view, low educational levels of the workforce clearly explains the industrial characteristic of the city. Since the 1960s, labour-intense manufacturing has formed the city. As a result, together with many other parameters, the city has established its sociospatial organization in reference to relations of production based on the industry sector. Although the rich historical and cultural heritage that goes back a long time had some level of potential for accumulation, industrial production has always been the driving force of capital accumulation for the city. And, in line with the vision of a global city, the desired replacement toward new regime of capital accumulation and division of labour has fired up the tension in the society.

It is apparent that deindustrialization constitutes the main nexus, and offers an insight into the discussions about structural and sociospatial transformation of İstanbul on the way of dealing with contradictions and conflicts that emerged. Deindustrialization, briefly, implies reduction of industrial activities, particularly manufacturing, by decentralizing and/or upgrading from labour-intense to technology-intense production. Here, it is necessary to mention again that structural transformation initiatives can be traced back to the 1980s, and accelerated with the aspiration to be a global city as of the 1990s. In this sense, even though the late 1980s and the mid-1990s included major attempts for industrial areas, these attempts

were limited to moving the factories that were located in the city center to outer rings of the city center or to the fringe (e.g. factories around Golden Horn and Historic Peninsula, Büyükdere-Maslak). As Erbil (2017) pointed out, this shows a tendency for decentralization of industry rather than radical transformation via decreasing industrial production or restructuring, even though decentralization also entailed sociospatial consequences as well (e.g. housing and working place relations, commuting, urban decline in some parts, gentrification, urban sprawl etc.). However, the 2000s as a turning point included decentralization as well as restructuring attempts with a definite structural transformation.

Putting aside fragmented state-led projects and their ambitions for structural and sociospatial transformation for a while, initially, the approaches of the 2009 İstanbul Master Plan and the 2014 Regional Plan for industry sector demonstrated the legitimization of deindustrialization. Both of the plans have the characteristics of manifestation for economic restructuring by prioritizing services, finance and tourism sectors and culture industries. To upgrade specialization in these sectors, the plans call for promotion of private investment by state-led projects. In specific to industry, restructuring is defined with technology-intensive, innovative and creative sectors for high value- added production and integration to global capital flows (IMM, 2009; ISTKA, 2014). Along with expected restructuring, the master plan foresees the ratio of industry in total workforce as %25 by 2023. To get away from the industrial city character in which labour-intensive manufacturing agglomerated, the plan proposes three policy implementations. According to this, rehabilitation of a part of industrial areas by saving them at present location but transforming them into technology and capital-oriented sectors is the first policy implementation. The second is to enhance organized industrial zones to full-capacity along with infrastructural rehabilitations. The last and most important implementation is replacement of industries located in the city. In fact, a large part of the manufacturing industries spread across the city is decentralized to organized industrial zones and mostly to surrounding cities. The master plan articulates the need for replacement of these areas, showing the pollution as a reason, and also increasing land values. The offer of the plan for the areas of replaced industries concentrates on services and

finance sector uses. In distinctive hierarchies of business centres, these rentable lands are envisaged for capital-intensive private investments (Figure.4.2). In this way, structural transformation through neoliberal strategies corresponds to deindustrialization of the industry epicenter of the country.

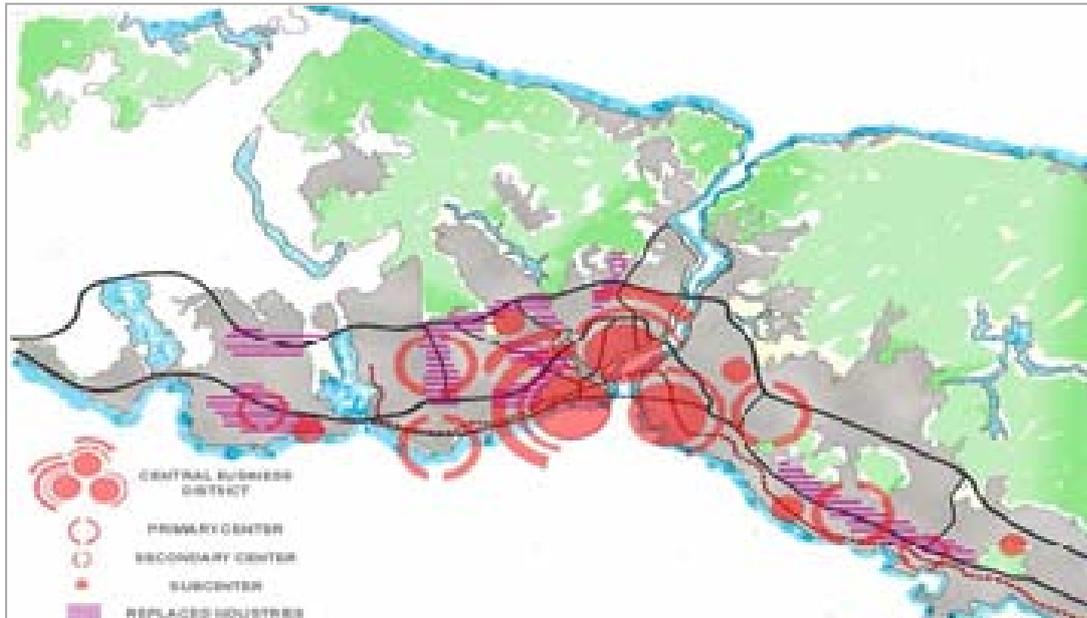


Figure.4.2 Replaced Industrial Areas and Proposed Hierarchies of Business Centers
Source: Çobanyılmaz Öztürk, 2016

Inasmuch as structural transformation, the vision of shifting productive relations with deindustrialization leads to sociospatial transformation. From a class praxis point of view, the primary effect of abolished industrial production inevitably increases as unemployment and degradation in social rights (e.g. low-waged new job, disorganization). However, this is not limited to working place and working conditions, rather spreads over urban space in terms of labour processes. The history of industrial development in İstanbul is not independent from the history of working class neighbourhoods. Even though it seems like a common tendency for all industrial cities, the dynamics and the processes occurred with their own specificity in the İstanbul case. In this sense, in contrast to many Western cities, in which working class neighbourhoods were provided by the state, these neighbourhoods (*gecekondu*) sprawled all around the city as a form of self-help housing through occupation. By clustering around industrial plants, gecekondu neighbourhoods

provided both needed labour force for industries and dwelling needs of working class. As a consequence of deindustrialization policies, the rationale of relation between spaces of production and reproduction went away. And the clearance of these neighbourhoods, which were mostly deprived but occupied rentable lands, appeared as an agenda, which always ends up with displacement of working class and gentrification. Following class praxis, repurposing of residual spaces after industrial production emerges with expending effects which exceeds working class and spread over the entire urban space and society at varying levels. Along with encouraged privatization, increasing spaces of consumption and gentrification citywide have transformed everyday life praxis of the working class and also the middle class.

In the current situation, İstanbul is in an actual and ongoing transformation process. The aim of, and commitment to, being global city is the cornerstone of structural transformation. A large number of state-led projects seem to be used as driver for upgrading, image-building and restructuring the city on the way to globalization. On the other hand, over-production of urban space which cannot be justified within the limits of a global city vision and deindustrialization stimulates some of the fundamental questions. Accordingly, we are faced with the necessity for an inquest into whether the aim is to globalize the city or to get maximum urban rent in line with privatizations.

4.2.2 Geography of Privatization-Oriented State-Led Projects (PSPs)

Sophisticated discussions of the interrelation of capitalism and (re)production of urban space become concrete in the İstanbul case from now on. Neoliberal ideology and global capital flows coming up as the latest stage of capitalism have made the specific relation between urban space and capitalism deeper. Amid market-led capital accumulation on a global scale, competitiveness, deindustrialization and global city vision, state-led projects in distinctive dimensions of privatization come to the forefront as the main concepts that define present productive relations. Because of

this, to cope with the dilemmas of capitalism, commodification of urban space through a construction boom has reached the highest level via numerous urban projects underpinned by the global city rhetoric. Therefore, even though we have put forward the concepts of neoliberal ideology up to now, the issue is not independent from capital accumulation with built environment (i.e. secondary circuit of capital flows).

Harvey (2012) claims that neoliberal ideology does not produce real value, rather produces unreal values with fictitious capital. In other words, with the ambition of production of more exchange value, neoliberal ideology skips production of use value. New functions along with capitalist organizations (i.e. management, finance, insurance etc.) are the sectors of the present that form (un)productive relations. In this process, the law of accumulation, circulation and realization of capital becomes a part of credit and interest systems. By definition of the internal dynamics of such activities, they are mostly unproductive on their own, and they work with the logic of lending and receiving interest in return. To sustain this, the system is also in need of real productive activities that produce real values. Together with the financialized global economy via spreading networks and as a consequence of abolishment of industrial production at some levels, production and especially reproduction of urban space become prominent to present an asset ripe for investment and a concrete commodity, which seems to be a real value. In this sense, highly speculative construction and real estate sectors constitute a major complementary stake for economic growth. Here, the question is whether (re)production of urban space is really productive for getting real value or not. First and foremost, it should be noted that built environment as speculative, long-lived fixed capital is a risky sector for producing real value. This means that (re)production of urban space yields a profit and productivity in the short-run for growth, while it may become unproductive in the long-run. And, the short term gains are mostly preferable in this process. So, over-production of urban space, specifically in developing countries like Turkey, may be explained as a result of this characteristic of built environment.

The process of (re)production of urban space with the aid of the finance sector and other supportive mechanisms of the state may be profitable for the investor. However, the critical point is the attribution of produced built environment. Because, whether built environment produces real value or not is pertinent to its use. What Harvey (2012) implies here is the function of space in provision of utility for production activities (e.g. factory, infrastructure etc.) and/or in labour activities for reproduction (e.g. housing, transportation etc.). But, as mentioned before, transformation of spatial uses into spaces of consumption does not provide the production of real value (i.e. shopping malls, luxury residents, tourism activities etc.). The consequence of expansion in such a spatial pattern means comprehension of urban space as exchange value rather than use value.

In this picture, producers of built environment and of fictitious capital (i.e. banks, finance institutions, investors, real estate speculators, the state etc.) seem to be taking on the entire risk. However, mechanisms of the state as well as the mechanisms of finance work to share the inevitable risks and costs of such an unstable and unproductive growth within the society. All in all, the reason for the ambition of both investors and the state for (re)production of urban space originates from short term and rapid capital accumulation rather than updating and restructuring the economy in creative and innovative sectors. In particular, the initiative in developing countries like Turkey, which could not reach saturation in manufacturing and in supply of welfare services, the rapid structural transformation is definitely explained through the ambition of ensuring capital accumulation by over-production of built environment. Additionally, it should be footnoted, as Flyvbjerg et al. (2003) asserted, one of the driving forces behind the persistence on built environment is connected to its political aspects. Within the state-led projects, aim of the state is to strengthen and enhance the political support of the society due to the sculptural and concrete visuality of these projects.

After remembering the logic of (re)production of urban space, the embodiment of over-production of built environment dramatically appears in İstanbul. As mentioned before and Balaban (2008) unveiled, Turkey has demonstrated an upward line in

(re)production of urban space since 2003. In this picture, İstanbul takes a special part along with the aim of being a global city and deindustrialization process for structural transformation. Together with these generic discourses for justification of over-production, specific to the İstanbul context, the earthquake of 1999 has been presented as one of the major justifications. Reproduction of fragile building stock has arisen as a prominent discourse in response to future disaster risks. In this way, behind the justification of the global city vision and earthquake risks, the impulse of accelerating capital accumulation has come along with the geography of PSPs in İstanbul.

Our study for mapping the spread PSPs²¹ over the city is conducted with varied classifications (See: Appendix C for the list of mapped projects; Also see: Appendix D for some selected examples which sum up the process of projects). To demonstrate the ambitions of the state and investors over urban space, distinctive domains of PSPs are portrayed on the map. By dealing with the concept of privatization as a streamline within above-discussed dimensions (i.e. new property relations and new land uses), the state-led projects are characterized in three main domains. According to this, the domains originating from property relations lead to differentiated intervention and reaction processes. The projects have diffused into domains of public and private property as well as commons of the society (i.e. they are mostly publicly owned natural assets, but also may partly include private property) (Figure. 4.3). The city, enclaved by neoliberal ideology, which completely rests on market demands and private interests, runs for production of much more privatized space. Because of that, the projects covering the entire city attack not only *public spaces* (i.e. publicly owned spaces) but also *private living spaces* of the urban poor to reprivatize them and *common spaces* including natural resources of the city and the nation in wider sense. Mapping projects in broad categories is significant for putting

²¹ To prepare the maps, the projects, initially, have been eliminated in reference to their characteristics, and the projects that are offered by the state have been selected. The sources used for selection of the projects are official websites of governmental institutions, newspaper and Internet reports, and lastly the active map prepared by the Association of Architects in Private Practice (<https://megaprojeleristanbul.com/>).

forward how privatization acts to drive sprawl in all domains of the city. And the map obviously portrays to what extent the projects privatize urban space.

In addition to the broad categories of projects rooted in property domains, sub-categories are also defined in order to classify projects more accurately. The aim is to discuss different intervention processes of the state over specific spaces of the city along with their legal and institutional (re)arrangements. Before moving on to detailed discussions, the sub-categories of each domain should be stated. In line with this, in private space which includes neighbourhoods of the city, PSPs primarily focus on reproduction and reprivatization of squatter (*gecekondu*) neighbourhoods. Secondly, the historic neighbourhoods located at the inner old city appear as another rentable part for reproduction. So, reprivatization of private space occurs by *reprivatization of squatter neighbourhoods* (e.g. Ayazma-Tepeüstü, Derbent, Başbüyük, Gülsuyu-Gülensu neighbourhoods etc.) *and historic neighbourhoods* (e.g. Sulukule, Tarlabası, Fener-Balat, Ayvansaray, Süleymaniye neighbourhoods etc.). Public space and its privatization comes to the forefront in three sub-categories. The first and best-known is *privatization of public vacant lands* (e.g. Sama Dubai (old Dubai Towers), Four Winds and numerous other examples). This is the most common one in privatization acts. The second is *privatization of productive and operational areas* in the city (e.g. Haydarpaşa Port and Station, Salıpazarı Port, Camialtı and Taşkızak Shipyards etc.). In particular, the residual spaces of deindustrialization and corrosion in urban services are reproduced with PSPs. The last one emerges as *privatization of open and green spaces* by containing coasts, squares and parks of the city (e.g. Maltepe coast, Kadıköy coast, Gezi Park etc.). *Privatization of common spaces* implies a wider and more specific category. So, these spaces are composed of natural resources like forests, meadows, agricultural lands etc., and there is no need to entitle a sub-category (e.g. 3rd Bridge and Airport, North Marmara Highway projects in the North Forests) (Figure.4.4). All of these labelled sub-categories of PSPs come along with their own legal and institutional (re)arrangements.

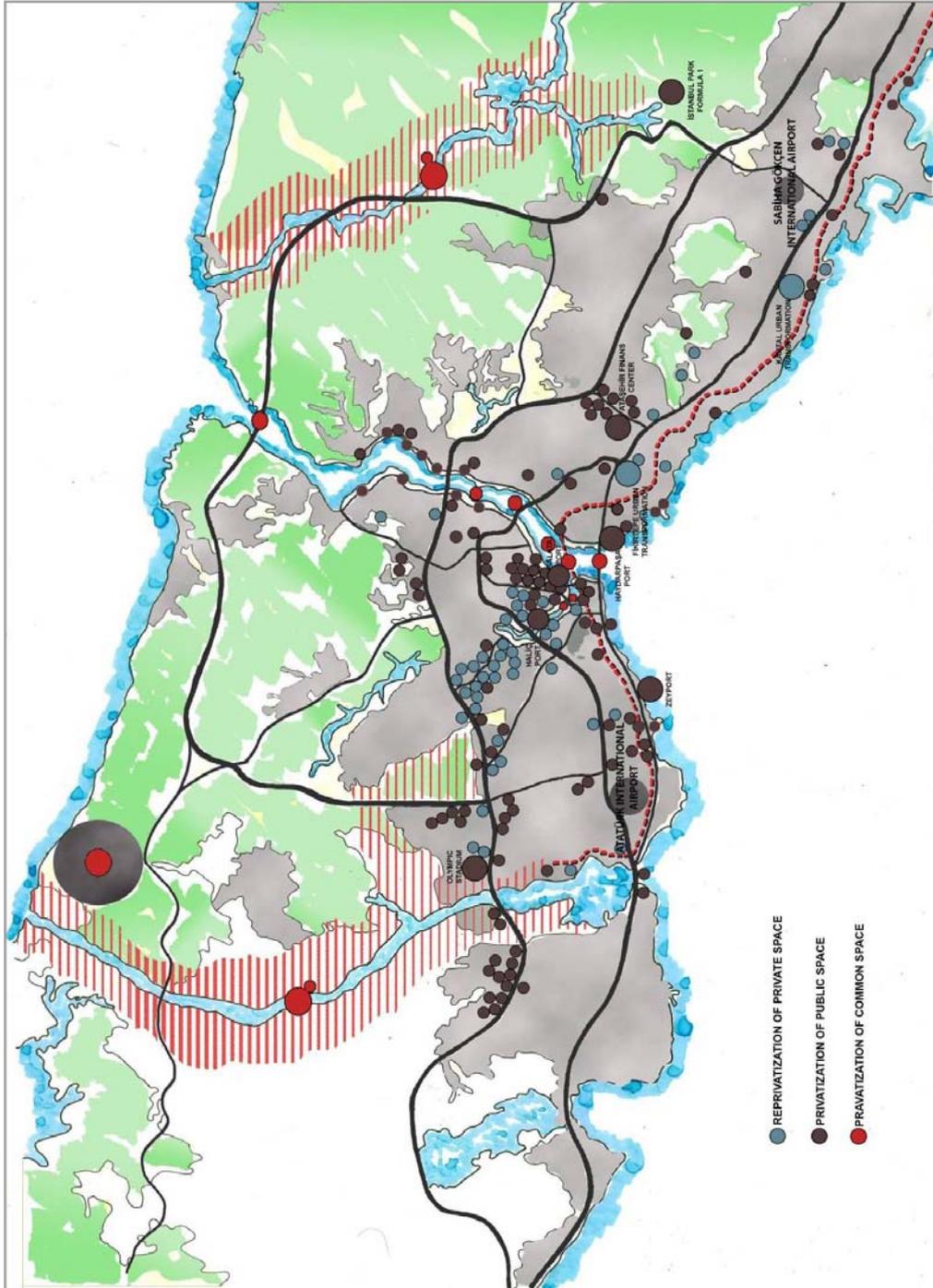


Figure.4.3 Distinctive Domains of PSPs
 Source: Çobanyılmaz Öztürk, 2016

Our earlier argument pointed out the dimension of privatization acts. In addition to privatization as a means of restructuring property relations that we have discussed up to now, privatization as a result also emerges in land use patterns. If the projects are investigated according to their offers, it is most common that they introduce spaces of consumption. Our study for mapping PSPs in relation with their spatial uses reveals that the projects come along in mix-use complexes (Figure.4.5). Fixed functions in luxury residences with shopping malls, offices and sport halls; tourism centers together with cruise ports, hotels, shopping malls, conference halls and fair halls; thematic parks through commercial facilities; marinas with hotels and culture centers; new settlements with luxury residences, high-technology centers, private education centers; transportation through toll bridges, tunnels and highways all carry spaces of consumption with them. So, initially, the projects and their spatial uses do not produce a real use value from the viewpoint of Harvey. Urban space and its functional offers are programmed for production of a constant exchange value. Within structural transformation, diffusion of spaces of consumption has an impact upon class praxis by abolishing spaces of production. Then, new land use patterns of the city remove publicness in everyday life praxis as well as public property. And this also comes along with a conspicuous sociospatial transformation.

To underpin the attacks into all of the domains, the state promises to facilitate and legitimize all kind of privatization acts in all kind of domains. To put every piece of land into the process of capital accumulation, it tries to enhance amount of rentable urban space along with exceptional, ad hoc, area-based and case-specific (re)arrangements. As a result, a massive legal and institutional change has been conducted by the state as a determinant of the roll-out of policies since 2002. In this sense, these changes are considered in relation with implementation tools of PSPs, and they are discussed within each specific sub-category instead of a chronological approach.

4.2.2.1 Privatization of Public Space

Starting with privatization of public space is important in order to show how this act has gained a new dimension, and how it has discovered new spaces since 2002. As it has been already discussed, privatization of publicly owned assets has been launched in the mid-1980s via adopted neoliberal market-led policies. Although this period consisted of privatization of public services (i.e. public economic enterprises), privatization of publicly owned lands and other immovable assets (of public economic enterprises) mostly came into force as of the 1990s. However, it should be marked that the number of these kinds of acts and their sociospatial effects were relatively limited until 2002. After that, broadened jurisdiction of central government bodies has extended the scope and content of privatization acts over public spaces by attaching vacant public lands, publicly owned productive and operational spaces, and open and green spaces to the process of capital accumulation.

As of 2002, privatization acts, which were carried out by selling public properties in both vacant lands and built assets and by encouraging their (re)production with prestigious projects, has accelerated through unsystematic and ad hoc legislative interventions. That is to say that the new process of privatization moved beyond mere transfer and sale of public properties in order to improve the general and/or institutional budget for public expenditures. Rather, it has come along with a project development approach by means of giving privileged planning authority to specific governmental bodies for enhancing development rights and proposing private uses over public properties. According to this, the inquiry of Balaban (2008) presents that the scope of sale of public properties has been enlarged after an array of legislative actions²² In this way, aside from public economic enterprises and their immovable assets that had been privatized by the Privatization Administration since 1994, other public properties that belong to various ministries and directorates (e.g. properties of Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Health, General Directorate of

²² The amendments and new laws for only sale of public properties are Law no. 4916 in 2003, Law no. 5005 in 2003, Law no.5018 in 2003, Law no. 5220 in 2004, Law no. 5228 in 2004.

The amendments and new laws that also give planning authority for PSPs are Law no. 4833 in 2003, Law no. 5003 in 2003, Law no. 5335 in 2005 and Law no. 5234 in 2004.

Highways etc.) were included into the scope of privatization. In addition to the sale of public properties, some of legal changes also gave the rights for project development over these properties through exceptional planning power. In this process, the Ministry of Finance received the authority for the sale of public properties similar to the Privatization Administration. Parallel to that, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (i.e. called the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization at present) got the power of planning and approving developed projects in a fragmented manner. But over time, some other governmental bodies have attained the authority to prepare and approve plans along with other excessive competences for particular projects.

Alongside the expanded privatization acts, local governments as well as central government bodies have taken part in this process by virtue of some legal changes. To create funds, municipalities were granted the power of privatization. In this sense, the amendment to Municipality Law no. 5393 has given the authority to municipalities for selecting and selling their properties and services. These actions did not only cover the sale but also provided (re)production of urban space via the projects and privileged development rights. Thanks to these actions, metropolitan municipalities in particular have developed a large number of projects with private investors.

The leading governmental body for project development, plan preparation and approval over public property has become the Housing Development Administration (HDA). It has been empowered by legal amendments and institutional reorganizations, specifically for privatization of vacant public lands for the housing sector. The administration, which is subordinated to the Prime Ministry, was founded by Law no. 2985 in 1984 to supply affordable housing for low and middle income groups. With the mission of producing a kind of social housing, HDA could produce only 43 thousand housing units until 2002 (HDA, 2016). A range of legal amendments²³ granted for excessive empowerment of HDA as of 2002. In addition to

²³ The amendments are Law no. 4964, Law no. 4966 in 2003, Law no. 5162 and Law no. 5273 in 2004, Law no. 5492 in 2006, Law no. 5069 in 2007 and Law no. 5793 in 2008, respectively. And also,

that, the attempts for institutional reorganization came along with delegation of authority. To broaden the institutional framework, responsibilities and affiliations of Land Office and Mortgage Bank were transferred to HDA. As a result, it has become the most influential body in public land supply and finance provision (to the private sector). Following legal changes and arrangements, the administration received the authority for credit granting, developing and realizing profit from projects which involve housing, social facilities and infrastructure, and establishing companies and getting into partnership with other companies associated with the housing sector. Most critically, the HDA was given the competence for preparation of all kinds and scales of plans and expropriation of all immovable assets with regard to its projects. Out of public spaces, HDA acquired the power for interventions over private space. Due to legal amendments, the administration has had the authority to eliminate squatter settlements for regeneration projects, and renew historic neighbourhoods. Thus, the administration gained certain power over private spaces to reprivatize them. As a consequence of all this, the limitless competence of the administration has been allowed to intervene in all domains of the city. And, the administration has become the most autonomous institution in provision of public land, production of housing and planning of them in a fragmented manner.

With all of these excessive empowerment arrangements, by means of the Real Estate Investment Trust, the public-private partnership frames the new pattern of (re)production of urban land and built environment in a complete privatization under facilitation of the state. The new financial scheme of the HDA, called revenue-sharing, was justified as production of much more housing for low-income groups. With the target of reaching 500,000 homes by 2011 (HDA, 2016), the public-private partnerships would allow raising revenue by profit-oriented projects, and then this revenue would be used in production of housing for low-income groups. However, in particular to the İstanbul case, the expanded instruments, activities and authority of the HDA has upgraded its facilitator role in allowing the private sector join in profit-oriented housing market. Thus, the vacant public lands have been appropriated for

Law no. 5366 in 2005 and Law no. 6306 in 2012 can be considered in the empowerment arrangements.

PSPs, essentially for the luxury residence projects that mostly include shopping malls and sports halls in the same complex. At this point, the evaluation of Tayfun Kahraman (*cited from Uşaklıgil, 2014*) of the financial scheme of the HDA is worth mentioning. According to him, the HDA overshoot the target of 500,000 rapidlu, and this might be an achievement in respect to production of social housing if we neglect some of determinants in terms of provided quality of life and infrastructure systems. However, the critical issue is that the HDA realized its target by extracting enormous amounts of urban rent from İstanbul and by redistributing this value to other cities. That is, the HDA managed to create a fund by privatizing public spaces of İstanbul for a large number of PSPs. All in all, as Kayasü and Yetişkul (2014) highlighted, the result of the new power dynamics have turned the HDA into the only authority in redistribution of urban rent.

Other empowered governmental bodies related to exceptional planning authority and privatization of public properties has been the Privatization Administration (PA) and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT). First of all, the PA, which was established in 1994, carries out specifically the privatization of public economic enterprises (i.e. productive and operational spaces in our categorization) and their public immovable assets. Limited privatization acts and planning authority of the administration were broadened with Law no. 5793 in 2005. Consequently, the PA has received the power to plan the public properties that are at its disposal. Here, it should be noted that the PA has had the responsibility of plan preparation for its properties since its foundation. However, with the new change, the plans prepared by the PA at all scales are exempt from public exhibition, and the PA approves these plans without getting permission from other related institutions. The approved plans cannot be modified during the first five years, in other words, they are closed to objections. Besides, PA properties are excluded from the comprehensive planning process, and the administration designates land use decisions in reference to demands from its private investors. Similarly, the MCT was empowered with excessive planning authority for promotion of tourism investments by amended Law no. 4957 in 2003. Thus, plan preparation and approval for designated tourism centers and public land allocation to the private sector in these centers have been assigned to the

MCT. According to this, both the PA and MCT have been made superior to local governments and other concerned institutions in the planning process. As a result, in parallel to the deindustrialization process and the aim of making İstanbul a global city, reproduction of residual productive and operational public spaces, especially in tourism projects, has become very attractive. And these projects have mostly been completed under the exceptional competences of the PA and MCT. In addition to institutional empowerment, some ad hoc and area-based legal arrangements have brought unbounded development rights. For example, the amendment to the Coastal Law has introduced new definitions in terms of land use of coastal areas (i.e. cruise port and permission for shopping malls, hotels, offices etc.).

The ambition of rapid capital accumulation via urban space has come along with removing all legal barriers. The legal changes and centralization of the authority the autonomy given for (re)production of urban space facilitate and promote private investments. All these attempts have encouraged production of built environment upon public spaces with numerous projects. With bypassed planning procedures, loosened control and exceptional competences of government bodies, the scope and content of the privatization of public space have been widened.

4.2.2.2 Reprivatization of Private Space

The connection between private living space and the privatization issue demonstrate a peculiar domain. It clearly unveils the search for much more urban land and the desire for reproduction of built environment with the aim of recapitalization. With its unique implementations, PSPs in private space arise as a process of reprivatization due to changing property relations. In this sense, unlike privatization of public space which is justified as a consequence of deindustrialization and global city vision, the reprivatization of neighbourhoods of İstanbul has been shown as a requirement for earthquake preparedness and mitigation of associated risks. Surely, improvement of quality of life in deprived inner city neighbourhoods and squatter neighbourhoods, which cover more than half of İstanbul, has been another justification to get

residents' consent. However, putting private property in capital accumulation process is the most important motivation.

The target private spaces of PSPs, which come out as the projects of “renewal” and “regeneration”, have been listed in our sub-categorization as historic neighbourhoods and squatter neighbourhoods. Both of them carry specific attributes in the overall urban fabric of İstanbul. Because of that, the legal and institutional arrangements to remove obstacles are worth mentioning together with the sociospatial features of these private spaces.

The first one concerns historic neighbourhoods located in the conservation zones and in the city center. In this respect, these inner-city slums represent the most valuable parts of İstanbul both culturally and capitally. The residents of these settlements are largely composed of minorities with ethnic identities, immigrants and LGBTI members. From the state's point of view, in essence not an overt but an implicit view, such deteriorated and marginal neighbourhoods should be renewed and gentrified via interventions of the state. As discussed before, the framework of Smith (1987) about the interrelation of rent gap and gentrification shows the importance of closing the gap and getting maximum profit with these kinds of projects. With this aim, the legal and institutional bases of PSPs were ensured with the Law no. 5366²⁴ in 2005. According to that, local governments and provincial local administrations²⁵ have become the most pivotal authorities for these projects. Municipalities have received the competence for preparation and approval of all kinds of plans in project districts. By this way, deteriorated parts of conservation zones have been specified as “renewal areas”, and local governments have had the capability to demolish and rebuild or restoring in association with private investors. In this process, local governments have the right for expropriation, and the status of residents under these conditions is not defined clearly. Another issue regarding the renewal of these

²⁴ Full name of the law is “Law on Conservation of Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Heritage by Renewing and Utilizing”

²⁵ Here, the critical point that should be noticed is the centralization of the authority for planning and process conducting in the projects. Although the power received by the local governments seems as distribution of power to the localities, the competences of provincial local administrations in this process point out the ongoing centrality.

neighbourhoods is the institutional reorganization. The responsible institution for conservation zones is the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Committee. The law provides for the constitution of new committees called “renewal committees” instead of existing ones. As a result, privately established committees specifically for the projects facilitate the implementation.

The following sub-category for private space is the squatter (*gecekondu*) neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods constitute a unique housing typology in the urban fabric of Turkey and especially of İstanbul. As mentioned earlier, these neighbourhoods take a special part in urban development process of the city in spatial and social terms. In this sense, squatters are the symbol of the living space of working class, and emerged as a form of self-help housing by mostly occupying public land during the industrialization period of the city. Though most of them have been transformed in the first wave of regeneration without the state intervention (i.e. within the logic of a plot-based, build and sell form of regeneration), there still exists a considerable amount of squatter areas. Occupants of squatter neighbourhoods, who were a part of the working class, were employed as cheap labour in the period of industrialization and have mostly integrated into the informal service sector since gradual deindustrialization policies of the 1980s. And now, many of these neighbourhoods represent the place of urban poor. Here, the property regime of squatters gains an importance for getting an insight into present regeneration attempts. As Keyder (2005) remarked, in its peculiar history, squatter and its legal status evolved with a series of transformations. And, the illegally appropriated public land turned into an ambivalent property regime as a consequence of amnesties. In this property regime, some of the occupants managed to legalize their property and get economic returns by transforming their dwellings into apartment buildings. On the other hand, some of them remained illegal occupiers in the city. Despite the existence of some ambiguities regarding the legal status and physical patterns of squatters, the reality at the last stage is that these neighbourhoods must be inserted into the recapitalization process in parallel to structural transformation.

The projects related to reprivatization of squatter neighbourhoods were presented as “urban regeneration” by the state. And the “Draft Law on Urban Regeneration²⁶” came up as the first legal proposal in 2005. The rationale of regeneration projects was based on upgrading and rehabilitating the illegal building stock in these deprived and deteriorated neighbourhoods and mitigating foreseen earthquake risks. Similar to renewal projects, local governments were empowered in the process of regeneration. Accordingly, municipalities had the authority to declare any part of the city as a “regeneration area” and help the development of projects. The draft law did not come into force, however, by means of the amendments in Law no. 5216 and 5393, municipalities could announce and carry out the regeneration projects. But, due to the uncertain property status of squatters, process conducted by municipalities and the private sector proved unsustainable (i.e. particularly because of demands of residents for more property rights in the bargaining process, and because of organized resistance against the projects). To overcome obstacles, Law no. 6306²⁷ was prepared and published in 2012. The law enabled the opening of entire dwellings for regeneration by designating “risky areas”. Under the justification of earthquake risks, according to the law, risky areas, notably in squatter neighbourhoods, are specified by central government (i.e. by Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, and Council of Ministers). The most critical issue is that the residents of an area designated as risky cannot object to the decision, and the regeneration process starts up through negotiations. Only two options are offered to the owners: either sell or participate in the project by borrowing. In case of disagreement, the ministry has the competence for “urgent expropriation”. Local government, the HDA and/or the ministry carry out the planning process by increasing development rights. After removing the obstacles, the projects are carried out in collaboration with the private sector.

The arrangements for reprivatization of private space clearly prove the violation of the housing right and the property right. Given the history of property relations, the

²⁶ The draft law involved not only squatter neighbourhoods but also historic neighbourhoods by citing the necessity for renewing them.

²⁷ Full name of the law is “Law on Regeneration of Areas Under Disaster Risk”.

private sector could not take the risk of investing in such potentially valuable parts of the city (Gündoğdu and Gough, 2009). On the other hand, the ambiguity of de facto and de jure property ownership, and ambitions for excessive rights have also increased inequalities among dwellers as well (Lovering and Türkmen, 2011). However, the deindustrialization process had already started up a dramatic sociospatial transformation by discarding the working class. Accelerated “class cleansing” (*in the conceptualization of Gündoğdu and Gough (2009)*) and massive dispossession and displacement have deepened contradictions and conflicts.

4.2.2.3 Privatization of Common Space

The privatization of common spaces because of the mega projects proposed by the state is another topic of discussion here. These over-scale projects usual introduce transportation projects (e.g. highway, bridge, tunnel, airport etc.) and new settlement projects. Depending on the character of public property and scale, the realization scheme of these projects rises to prominence. According to that, the unsaleable character of natural resources and the need for enormous funds cause the realization of public-private partnerships with the build-operate and transfer (BOT) model. In this way, the state does not sell the property, rather gives the right to operate it for a period, in response to production of built environment. However, during the process of project realization, the state still plays a role in order to take risks. In case of a need for major financial support, credits from national and foreign banks are provided via the guarantee of the state.

The BOT model, which has been carried out under Law no. 3996 since 1994, has been rearranged to facilitate the practice of mega projects. With gradual amendments and additions to the law, it has gained a distinctive content in line with allocating all the risks to society. One of the most critical changes²⁸ is that the authority for BOT projects was given to the related institution without the control of the Higher Planning Council. As a consequence of the amendment, the governmental

²⁸ The mentioned amendments were made with Law no. 6111 in 2011.

stakeholder of the private sector gets all initiatives in conducting the project. Not only does the lack of a controller body eliminate coordination, but also it removes transparency and accountability to the public (Sönmez, 2016). Another prominent amendment is that the governmental body received the competence to guarantee a certain level of demand for the produced service. This means that the loss to the private sector during operation because of low-level demand is covered by society (i.e. through additional taxation).

The fund-addicted mega projects were supported by national credits and external financing. However, Sönmez (2016) highlights that economic fragility and procedural breakdowns (e.g. neglect of Environmental Impact Assessment reports) caused a reduction in external finance. Consequently, the state was obliged to discover new ways to create funding for the projects. At the outset, the Compulsory Personal Retirement System has been used to support financial needs. And lower participation to the system than expectations of the state brought about the Wealth Fund, which consists of various kinds of public funding. The reality is that the socioeconomic costs of the projects are considerable. In addition to the socioeconomic costs, the environmental impacts are also worth mentioning. The natural resources of İstanbul, particularly the North Forests and water basins, have been destroyed by over-scale mega projects for the sake of securing new urban land for future rents.

To sum up, the geography of PSPs and the new urban politics demonstrate a definite and conscious structural and sociospatial transformation. The investment and construction boom in İstanbul has been supported by direct initiatives of the state through a clear legal and institutional restructuring. The legal and institutional restructuring ensures the place of the private sector in privatization of the urban space with different projects. Along with providing facilitation and legitimization, the state removes all obstructions for promoting private investments. These legal and institutional bases have directly affected the process of (re)production of urban space in İstanbul. Exceptionalities in the planning process and privileged development rights given to private sector via fragmented PSPs have pushed investors to gain

much more rent. At the end of the day, the picture proves that urban space with all its domains has been completely commodified and become the main stake of capital accumulation. And the sociospatial effects of this process have widened urban conflicts that have manifested in a large number of urban movements.

4.2.3 Geography of Urban Movements

The commitment of the state to fulfill the requirements of the new regime of capital accumulation has resulted in a complete engagement of the state and capital since 2002. Together with PSPs and new urban politics, allocation of urban space between the state and capital has inevitably come up with sociospatial consequences. Emerging urban conflicts and their manifestations in urban movements have demonstrated an oppositional landscape. As a consequence, in parallel to the geography of PSPs, there exists a noticeable geography of urban movements in İstanbul.

The structural transformation in market conditions may lead to similar conflictual bases in many cities, particularly in the ones proceeding with the global city project. In the most general sense, the chain of transformation, which is observed in market-led economies, dismantling public services and gentrification of society, results in a loss of productivity, unemployment or low-wage employment, poverty and deprivation, loss of publicness, social exclusion and moral corruption. However, together with spiral effects, all of these generic outcomes are embodied in urban space through many extensions. The apparent spatial concentration of the market, which tends to enclave and (re)appropriate produced use value for transformation into exchange value, constitutes the roots of current urban conflicts.

As has been stated, our standpoint, which was based on (re)production of urban space and urban conflicts, was portrayed in our earlier discussions (See: Figure.2.1). According to this, actions of the state and capital, which prioritize exchange value in (re)production of urban space, find a conflicting return originating from elimination of use value. And as mentioned before, in respect to urban movements, formations of

movements in varied issues/stakes, demands, actor compositions etc. are pertinent to the content of space with reference to our framework (See: Figure.2.2). With this approach, the fragmented mode of (re)production of urban space with PSPs, for us, drives a fragmented urban movement landscape in İstanbul. Together with differences in designated domains of projects (i.e. private space, public space and common space), each project also enjoys its own peculiarities. Parallel to that, fragmented movements against these projects arise in defence of space, and demonstrate their own specific dynamics. But this does not mean that they have no commonalities. Despite their uniqueness due to their context-dependency and trajectory-based nature, urban movements also provide an overview in a purposeful categorization. By keeping in mind this dynamic landscape for movements, an overall framework for the movements may be drawn within designated domains. Based on this, our analysis constitutes a general insight into urban movements occurring in these domains (See: Appendix D for some selected examples which sum up the process of urban movements in associated with the projects)²⁹. At the same time, the map shows the geography of urban movements in relation to already mapped PSPs (Figure.4.6). Thus, urban movements are categorized in association with three main domains as movements of private living space, movements of public space and movements of commons. Here, our main assumption is that different property relations and different means of intervention and process management of the state result in different conflictual outcomes. And all of these shape dynamics and formation of these movements.

²⁹ In Appendix D, stories of the projects have been displayed on the tables and timelines through interrelation of the power (i.e. the state and capital) and the opposition (i.e. urban movements). Articles, newspaper and internet reports have been used as sources for the compilation of each case.

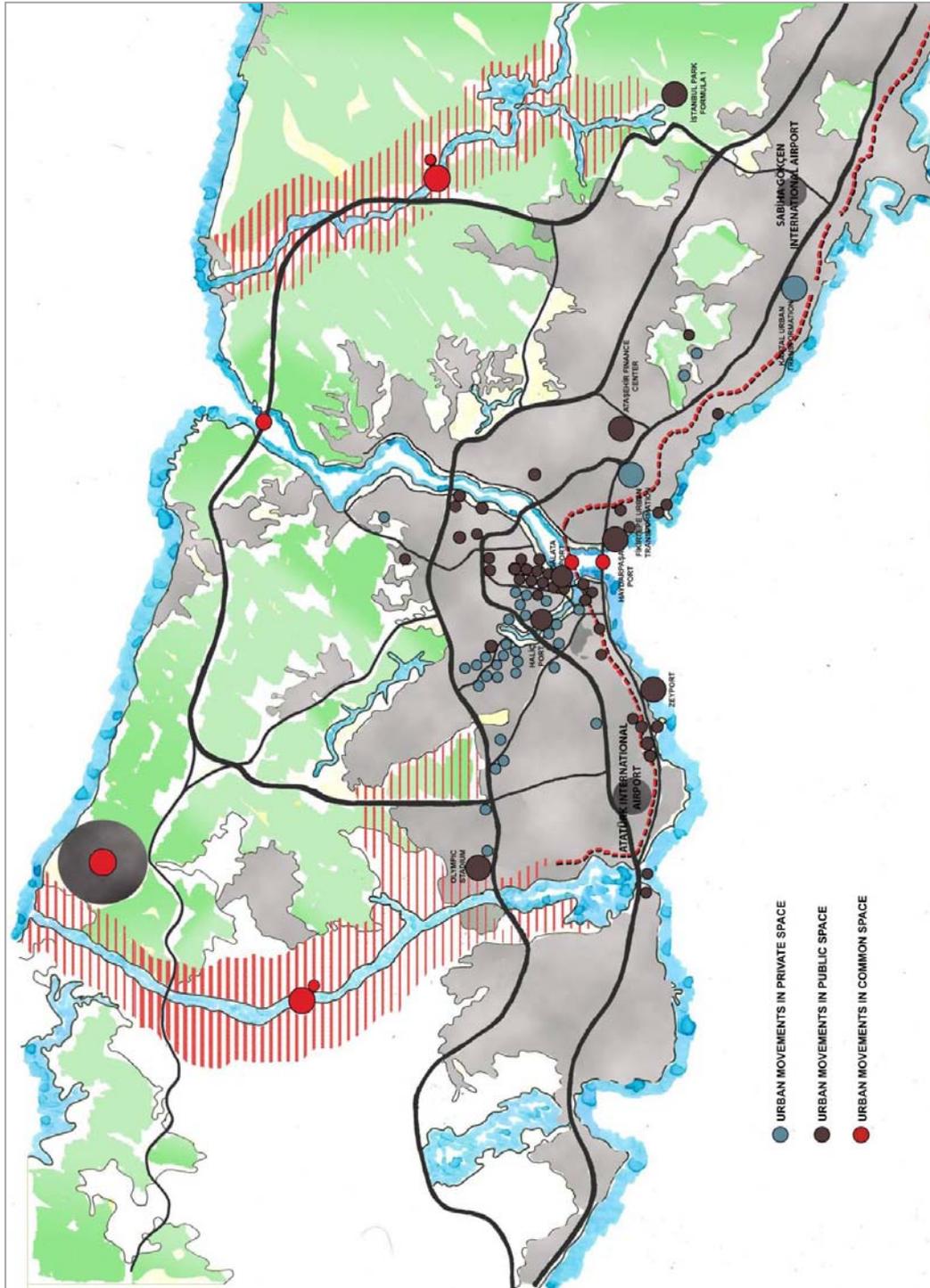


Figure.4.6 Geography of Urban Movements
 Source: Çobanyılmaz Öztürk, 2016

4.2.3.1 Urban Movements in Private Space

The movements originating from *reprivatization of private space (particularly as a field of urban regeneration and renewal)* is the domain that scholars are most interested in (e.g. Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010; Lovering and Türkmen, 2011; Uysal, 2012; Özdemir, 2013; Türkün, 2014 and so on). For us, there are a number of fundamental reasons for the existence of such literature and considerable amount of studies. Firstly, the PSPs targeting private space became a focus of public debate after the 2000s. And, the emergence of such an intervention field engendered newly apparent conflicting bases. Secondly, class and poverty-based characteristics of neighbourhoods that became the most pivotal domain of resistances in the past help us make a direct connection with oppositional movements. Thirdly, the history of evolution of squatter neighbourhoods from single-storey dwellings to apartment buildings and the changing demands for more property rights demonstrate another facet for the movements. And lastly, internal cleavages and contradictions in movements due to the socioeconomic returns of private property, ambiguous property regime, and division between owners and tenants make this domain detectable. And thus, under these circumstances, urban movements in private space may become a starting point to serve as a base for the discussion of other two domains.

As it was discussed before, urban movements in the private domain first emerged in the 1970s. In particular, the squatter neighbourhoods defined a prominent field of struggle with class connotations. Left-wing political groups, who never took position in public space struggles, intensively supported the defense of private space with the aim of legalization. The squatters and the occupiers, who had not yet gained a legal status, struggled for their right to housing. However, contrary to the leftist political groups, chambers and other professionals did not appear in this oppositional domain. The amnesties for these neighbourhoods, which was the first and primitive step for

privatization from the viewpoint of the chambers, constituted a gap between the chambers and the residents of squatters until the 2000s³⁰.

As of the 2000s, urban movements in the private domain gained a new dimension. In this sense, urban movements in response to urban regeneration and renewal projects established a conflictual base grounded on violation of the right to housing and also property rights. With the aim of recapitalizing private property, the process operated with certain mechanisms, and resulted in dispossession and displacement to a large extent. The process that starts with excessive authority of the state, mostly of local government and the HDA, follows by making contact with the residents. This means that the state decides and declares regeneration areas through the competences given with laws, and gets into partnership with private investor(s). The residents, who are directly influenced by the project, are able to get involved in the process within a defined mechanism. Through the mechanism, after local government appraised the value of the property, the residents have three preferable options. The first is to accept the designated price and leave the property to the state and private sector. The second is to buy a new dwelling among new constructed blocks (i.e. either among new luxury residence in their own neighborhood or affordable ones on the periphery) on condition of paying additional money that meets the difference between the designated price of former property and the price of the later one. At that point, banks and credit systems come into play, and the residents are burdened with debt through installments for long years. The last is the use of means of “urgent expropriation” if the residents agree to none of these options. In this condition, the governmental bodies have the power to restrict property rights. And in any case, the residents are evacuated with their consent or with force. In this frame, the result for residents mostly appears to be displacement. But also, Karaman (2013) adds that the mechanism pushes the urban poor into an immature mortgage market. Thus, a mechanism that should grant a compensation to the residents turns into a burden due to the additional costs. There is a very high risk of failing to pay the installments and of the new house being repossessed. So apart from displacement, dispossession becomes another result of the process.

³⁰ From the preliminary interview with Chamber of Architects on 02.09.2015.

The precedence the mechanism enjoys over the economic dimension, which reduces the housing phenomenon into a mere exchangeable property for redistribution of land rent, motivates the local residents to consider the primacy of greater property rights. Because of this, oppositional movements in private space are inevitably forced to take a position on interest-based motivations. The inherited complexity due to ambiguous tenure structure paves the way for cleavages between varied interest groups in movements. According to that, in addition to division of tenants and owners, division between occupiers, who have no legal title to the property, and owners, who have title deeds acquired by amnesties in the 1980s, causes other cleavages (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010; Lovering and Türkmen, 2011). Under these circumstances, the movements in neighbourhoods are always on the edge of dissolution.

With reference to our investigation into neighbourhood movements, the process is mostly shaped by the cleavages between offers of the state and private investors in the bargaining process. Although opponents of the movements gather around neighbourhood associations, which are mostly established after the emergence of the projects and are supported by external actors such as chambers and professionals, massive mobilizations dissolve over time for the aforementioned reasons. In this respect, the main interest lines in regards to differing ownership status may be drawn in brief arguments. From the viewpoint of tenants who represent the most vulnerable group in spite of appearing in a neutral position, their interest depends on the right to housing. The group usually excluded from the process articulates that they have the right to participation and a need for affordable housing. Although they are the neglected ones in both the negotiation process with the state and also in neighbourhood movements, there are some cases when the tenants performed in a strong manner. The Ayazma-Tepeüstü and Tarlabası cases are the most notable ones in these terms. Similar to tenants, occupiers are another vulnerable group in this process due to legal insecurity. However, Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010) underline that negotiation and bargaining instruments can determine the position of occupiers within resistance and also that of property owners as well. At this point, the approach of the governmental body and investors (*hereafter the power*) and their offers gain

importance due to varied ownership groups. Face to face negotiations between households and the power, before the rise of resistance and establishment of an organization, start with a minimum level of offers. After an organized resistance, the power extends the commitments with formal negotiations. However, this time, the power benefits from legal (in)security of the inhabitants by turning movements into fragile resistances. For example, the mobilization in Başibüyük was weakened by the power with the tactic of “divide and rule”. In line with this tactic, the power offered occupiers some rights they were eager to accept at the risk of disrupting the resistance. (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010, p.1495). However, it is possible to mention reverse situations. That is, when property owners bargained to increase their rights and share in negotiations. And when they achieve more privilege, they may leave their oppositional positions. Fikirtepe is one of those examples with its own sui generis dynamics in terms of the implemented regeneration model and property regime.

Beyond all of these property-led interests, the local dynamics of each neighbourhood appear as prominent determinant in neighbourhood movements. As much as ownership status, development trajectory and content of the space, the social profile of inhabitants together with their class-based dealings are pertinent to their political ideology, level of consciousness over use value of space, sense of belonging to their living space and level of engagement with external actors are other noteworthy determinants for formation of movements. The Sulukule and Gülsuyu-Gülensu cases are the ones that managed to move their demands beyond property-led interests and engage with identity and class- based issues. Sulukule with its cultural identity and Gülsuyu-Gülensu with its ideological stance claimed housing rights and to maintain their existence in the same place. In these cases, superiority of use value of space to exchange value changed their characteristic toward insistent, visible and collective mobilizations. In addition to the distinctive position of inhabitants, external actors taking place in the process become a part in order to improve neighbourhood movements. They provide technical support to unite the residents around a target, mediating in the negotiation process and protecting the residents rights.

The repertoire of the movements depends on the legitimacy of the demands and insistence of the actors. The opponents mostly applied to negotiation and bargaining, but, legal instruments and street demonstrations were used with violence and fighting sometimes. The negotiation process is mostly conducted by neighbourhood associations in order to justify the collective demands. Together with this, the cases reveal that legal instruments for cancellation of plans and projects are used by external participants more than local residents. Local residents are more prone to be the figures of street demonstrations and even fight to prevent evacuations and demolitions. However, as discussed above, the movements are divided into varied interest groups through a dynamic interrelation between the residents and the power. At this point, the intervention repertoire of the power is also worth mentioning. The most common instruments of the power are usually shaped around oppression and hegemony. To ensure consent of the residents, hegemony instruments pertinent to bargaining and persuading are used. Oppression emerges in case of an effective mobilization. The stubborn resistance of local people causes legal enforcements, police brutality and cutting off urban services (e.g. garbage collection, electricity etc.).

All in all, neighbourhood movements illustrate a process that goes between the right to housing and property rights. With diverse interest groups, apart from the most important demand to get more rights, the other featured demands may be listed as staying in their neighbourhood and participating in the planning process. In this picture, external participants focus on the right to housing and right to the city in a transparent and participatory planning process rather than the exceptionalities performed by the state. At this point, it should be noted that urban regeneration projects have entered into a new process due to decisions and announcement of “risky areas” since 2012. This turned the line of neighbourhood movements into passivization. Certain restrictions and implementation of Law no.6306 caused people to prefer legal instruments over street resistance. But in any case neighbourhood movements develop with the superiority of exchange value. Private property as a marketable asset leads to constitution of interest-based movements in this domain, rather than class struggles of the past occurring in these neighbourhoods.

4.2.3.2 Urban Movements in Public Space

Oppositional urban movements against *privatization of public space* largely became apparent after the 2000s. Privatization of public space as a traditional act of the state since the 1980s found a definite response in urban movements as of the 2000s. Despite the noticeable increase in these movements, the literature on this issue is very limited. The excessive concentration of scholars on neighbourhood movements is a consequence of how contemporary the intervention type is, the evolution trajectory of opposition, internal dynamics and confusion in this domain may also be considered as reasons. In addition to this, defence of public space has been mostly entrusted to specific groups because of perception of public property and publicness among the society. And urban movements in public space seem as homogeneous in terms of actors, demands and repertoires. However, for us, varied levels of social engagement and mobilization are conspicuous characteristics of these movements, though similar and even the same oppositional groups behave as a driving force for mobilization. Furthermore, public space, which means collectively utilized space in many diverse manners, directly engages with class praxis and everyday life praxis. In that sense, just as much as private space, it constitutes a vital research field.

The history of movements in the public domain can be traced back to recent history. Following privatization acts in the 1980s and 1990s, the chambers dealing with urban space started to display an oppositional stance against such implementations. Lawsuits the chambers filed against the 1st and 2nd Bridges were the first attempts to defend public interest in response to privatization acts. After that, movements for Park Hotel and Gök Kafes projects were delivered with the guidance of chambers and participation of citizens. This became the starting point of civil engagement in public space and its defense³¹. However, the movements in the public domain, subsequently developed and generally held by chambers, failed to establish a common base within the majority of society. Particularly, the earlier mentioned gap between the chambers and squatter neighbourhoods paved the way for separated trajectories of urban movements in private and public domains until the 2000s.

³¹ From the preliminary interview with Chamber of Architects on 02.09.2015.

The accelerated effects of prestigious projects over public space have caused relatively increased awareness of reclaiming public space since the 2000s. In this sense, urban movements in the public domain originate from a conflictual base that rests on loss of public property and public use through exceptional and imposing planning processes. Privatization of public space along with prestigious projects and ambition to get the maximum amount of rent have introduced dissolution of public interest, abolishment of productivity and corrosion of publicness. Parallel to the meaning and content of public space, which includes all society, expanding sociospatial problems stemming from the interventions should concern whole of society as well. Even though we still confront a nascent and weaker response than it should be, there is a relative expansion in social engagement.

Urban movements for reclaiming public space develop around the discourse of right to the city, even if it refers to a limited use of the concept in practice. Depending on the development trajectory of these movements, the actors leading them are mainly the chambers (i.e. primarily Chamber of Architects and Chamber of City Planners, secondarily other chambers supervised by UCTEA³²). In addition to the chambers, academicians, students and professionals are the most prominent supporters of the movements. The breaking point that came along with Haydarpaşa Port project and other concurrently emerging projects is worth mentioning in terms of the changing perception of society of reclaiming public space. In line with this, a new organizational model adopted by the chambers, called the solidarity model, came up with an innovative method for mobilization. Thus, the problem became socialized and penetrated into different parts of the society (i.e. including associations, artists, local residents and even squatter residents), and the level of mobilization was increased under a unitary structure. The consensus is that the Haydarpaşa Solidarity has raised citizen consciousness of the urban space and set up the existing geography of urban movements since 2005³³. Following that, the resistance to reclaim Emek Cinema reinforced the perception and social engagement to such processes. And the resistance for Gezi Park became first a citywide and then a nationwide movement in

³² Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects

³³ From the preliminary interview with Chamber of Architects on 02.09.2015.

the public domain by evolving into an occupation of urban space. But it should be noted that, although there are wide and strong examples of resistance for reclaiming public space, there are also a number of privatization projects causing similar spatial outcomes that have not generated the same response level. For us, it mostly depends on content of space, which refers to function of space and utilization type of the society from it.

The repertoire of the movements involves diverse instruments in regards to the level of mobilization. In any case, legal instruments become prominent due to the characteristic of the property. On the one hand, the presence of the chambers in all conditions (i.e. even in the absence of social engagement to the movement) inevitably requires the use of legal instruments. On the other hand, street demonstrations are good for getting the support of society while also getting increased visibility. Unlike private space, street demonstrations in these movements mostly exclude violence, instead, they include innovative events, petition campaigns, press statements and marches. Negotiation and bargaining are not the instruments used in these movements. This means that there is no communication between the opponents and the power.

Following these discussions, here, it is prominent to address to Gezi resistance since it was the most notable urban space-oriented movement after 2000s. The resistance, derived from public space, exhibited high level of social engagement and mobilization not only in citywide but also in nationwide. Particularly, the inclusiveness of the movement for different parts of the society produced a heterogeneous urban social movement with the wide range participation. The reasons of emergence such a unifier movement, which overcame cleavages among classes, identities and political stances, and the goals of the movement based on anti-systemic transformations generated a different formation of urban movement. In this sense, although Gezi resistance is not independent from the process of (re)production of urban space in line with our discussions, it also manifests multi-dimensional conflictual bases in regards to sociospatial and sociopolitical processes. At this point, even though it is not meaningful to put forth a comprehensive framework about the

process, the points that make Gezi resistance unifier and different from other urban movements should be clarified.

The project of Taksim Pedestrianization and Reconstruction of Topçu Kışlası over Taksim Square and Gezi Park was one of the projects that were presented by the government for the elections of 2011. The project, which offered transformation of the square and the park into a shopping mall through Ottoman military barracks and mosque, initiated the oppositional discussions. From the viewpoint of our claim grounded on the content of urban space, first and foremost, it should be noted that Taksim Square and Gezi Park have been one of the most prominent spatial representatives of republican ideology, and they have taken a significant place in everyday life praxis as an outstanding public space of the city. Based on these, origins of Gezi resistance rested on not only the privatization of public space, but also it exhibited an obvious antagonism to the government. Anti-capitalist stance of the movement referred to opposition in response to market-led process of (re)production of urban space, while anti-governmental stance indicated its political and ideological connotations against use of urban space as a hegemonic and ideological representative.

From the view point of market-led urban processes, the shopping mall project as a prevalent land use pattern for privatization of public space constituted the exposed face of the movement. Taksim Square and Gezi Park were the only open and green spaces of the city centre. The attempt for reappropriation and commodification of these public spaces with exceptionalities stimulated the chambers. Together with transformation of such public spaces into the consumption spaces, for environmentalists, to cut down all the trees in the park signified the elimination of the last green space in the city. In this sense, after a number of privatization projects on various public spaces (e.g. Haydarpaşa Port, Galata Port, Majik Cinema, Emek Cinema etc.), the one more privatization project through the image of military barracks caused a certain oppositional stance. However, it should be emphasized that the opposition against the project was not at a high level of social engagement right from the start of the process. Rather, the process started in a similar manner with the

processes of other urban movements. This means that the oppositional stance emerged with legal channels following the foundation of Taksim Solidarity. But, the opposition matured toward a definite resistance in parallel to the changing political atmosphere. Therefore, it is not possible to explain this social explosion with only market-led urban processes.

If we continue on the basis of urban space and its content, apart from its importance for capital accumulation in economic terms, its political significance for ideological representatives constitutes another spatial dimension. As Şengül (2015) stated, in addition to commodification of urban space since the beginning of 2000s , conservatism project of the government has been stigmatized itself over urban space through the Ottoman images and the mosques as a dominant form of publicness. At this point, Gezi was located on a conflictual base that this ideological imposition crashed with republican spatial representatives. The obvious effort for removing representatives of republican ideology revealed a certain revanchism and authoritarianism. In this sense, aside from privatization of urban space and exceptional power mechanisms throughout the process of (re)production of urban space, ideological imposition over public space in order to construct new patterns of publicness with symbolic representatives was the first and the most critical point that made Gezi resistance different from other urban movements.

Parallel to spatial representatives, another issue is timing of the movement. Through the new form of publicness, the government intensified its anti-republican and anti-secular discourses and interventions over spatial praxes and started to target private life styles³⁴ in order to embody conservatism project. Following this kind of attempts, imposition of the military barracks to remove republican ideology was perceived as a concrete intervention to the secular lifestyles with a definite authoritarianism.

³⁴ The restrictions for selling and using alcohol, the coercive discourses for women in regards to abortion, three children and equality of women and men, the homophobic discourses are some examples about interventions to private life.

The last critical point, which differs Gezi resistance from other urban movements in public space, is the government and police brutality against the opponents. After ten-year governmental power and increasing oppositional movements from day to day, the violence mechanisms of the state matured as well as action repertoire of the movements. Parallel to above-mentioned repertoire, the solidarity and the opponents occupied public space in order to make visible the resistance. However, the police brutality caused the social explosion, which spread to the whole country. Thus, the police intervention paved the way for construction of a new politics of space.

These distinctive points reveal that even though Gezi as an urban movement in public space reclaimed the public space, it largely reclaimed public sphere through democracy and freedom. As Göle (2013) highlighted, unifier characteristic of the square and the park achieved to gather different part of the society, and ever-narrowing publicness could be widened again.

After all, when we turn back urban movements in the public domain, they basically rest on reclaiming public space as a right to the city. Along with economic and social meanings of public space, direct and indirect effects of privatization (i.e. over class praxis and everyday life praxis) and excessive use of authority of the state, demands of the movements are shaped around the complete rejection of the projects. In this sense, unlike superiority of exchange value in private space, demands and focus of the movements in the public domain rely on the use value of urban space.

4.2.3.3 Urban Movements in Common Space

Urban movements in common space may be considered as environmental movements. Privatization of common space through over-scaled mega projects has accelerated since the 2000s. The natural environment surrounding İstanbul is at risk of transforming into urban space because of suggested and implemented projects by the state. Indeed, these kinds of environmentalist movements have spread all around the country in the last two decades. In parallel with the increase of energy, mining and infrastructure projects, the movements for conserving natural assets have also

arisen (See: Figure.4.1). However, pressure for urban development on commons gains a specific importance in the İstanbul context. With the aim of being a global city, along with enormous infrastructure projects, new settlement projects with serious environmental interventions have been put on the agenda by the state. Similar to urban movements in the public domain, the movements for commons aim to prevent realization of offered privatization projects.

Specifically in İstanbul, movements in common space have been formed as a part of the right to the city. As the natural resources in danger are essential for both the city and the production, the protection of nature becomes an inevitable necessity. In this sense, the conflictual base in this domain is destruction of natural assets along with violation of the right to environment and sustainability in order to insert them into the capital accumulation process.

The oppositional stance in this domain first appeared with the 3rd Bridge and North Marmara Highway projects which connects the two sides of the city and run across the North Forests of İstanbul. Together with declaration of other mega projects (e.g. 3rd Airport, Canal İstanbul and Canal Riva), environmentalists, activists, villagers and citizens have been organized through the platform of North Forests Defence. The platform is the only one that arranges demonstrations and events to make the resistance visible. On the other side of the struggle, chambers keep fighting legal battles to cancel the projects. The social engagement to the process is not strong, and also, the level of mobilization is weak. However, the most prominent characteristic of these movements in regard to actors is that they involve villagers from rural settlements in the resistance process.

As discussed, the geography of urban movements appears in different domains of urban space in İstanbul. Our discussions focused on the fact that intervention types and mechanisms of the state differ due to property relations. And, this generates specific dynamics for each domain with distinctive conflictual bases, actors and demands (Table.4.1). From this point of view, the most notable point is that movements in the private domain focus on exchange value of space, while movements in public space and common space prioritize use value. However, for us,

privatization of public space and its movements gain a special importance in urban processes. This means that public space is at the intersection of class and everyday life praxis. Despite the fact that private space is pivotal for relations of reproduction in class processes (i.e. for reproduction of labour force), public space has the potential of being the space of both production and also reproduction. Therefore, for us, conceptualizing urban movements in the public domain in relation to these processes becomes significant. Based on this, further chapters investigate privatization of public space and urban movements in selected cases.

Table.4.1 Dynamics for the Domains in Different Conflictual Bases

Conflictual Bases	Issue/Stake	Demands	Actor Composition	Repertoire	Private Space	Public Space	Common Space
Dispossession and Displacement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Loss of private property -Violation of housing and property rights -Non-participatory, exceptional decision-making and planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Priority of exchange value -Property-led Interest-based demands 	<p>Internal Actors: Neighbourhood residents and Association</p> <p>External Actors: Chambers, Professionals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Negotiation and bargaining -Legal instruments -Street demonstrations and fighting 			
Abolishment of Productivity, Public Interest and Publicness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Loss of public property and public use -Violation of right to the city -Non-participatory, exceptional decision-making and planning process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Priority of use value -Reclaiming public space 	<p>Chambers, professionals, associations and citizens</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Legal instruments -Street demonstrations 			
Destruction of Natural Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Loss of commons -Violation of right to environment and sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Priority of use value -Reclaiming commons 	<p>Environmentalist activists chambers and villagers</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Legal instruments -Street demonstrations 			

CHAPTER 5

PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC SPACE AND URBAN MOVEMENTS: TRAJECTORIES AND STORIES OF SELECTED CASES

The structural and sociospatial transformation of İstanbul is mainly put into practice with PSPs in varied domains of urban space. The privatization of public space is one of the most prominent acts of the state when it comes to (re)production of urban space. Parallel to deindustrialization and the global city vision, privatization of productive and operational public spaces, as one of the sub-categories designated in our earlier discussions, demonstrates the restructuring process of productive relations. Privatization of these spaces with a number of prestigious projects constitutes certain conflictual bases among the society by virtue of abolishment of productivity and replacement with spaces of consumption, loss of public property and exceptional power mechanisms. Manifestations of these conflicts in urban movements gains an importance in terms of reclaiming public space.

In line with these facts, prominent prestigious projects - Haydarpaşa Port, Galata Port and Haliç Port- are selected for case study. The cases are major productive and operational spaces for İstanbul. All three have been spaces of capitalist productive relations since the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, they are significant parts of class and everyday life praxis. The cases are subject to the projects which have similar contents in terms of the collaboration of the state and private investors³⁵. Parallel to that, the cases have also generated oppositional movements³⁶ in response to prestigious projects. All of them constitute the rationale for selection of these cases.

³⁵ Hereafter this collaboration is called as “the power”.

³⁶ Hereafter these movements are called as “the opposition”.

In this chapter, stories and trajectories of the cases are given through interrelation of the power and the opposition. The aim is to establish a ground for further investigations. The textual sources (i.e. reports, articles, news etc.) are compiled in a detailed manner. In this way, the trajectory of space until the 2000s (i.e. externalities coming along with macro policies, plans and projects etc.) and story of space after the 2000s (i.e. appearance of the project and the opposition) are narrated for each case.

5.1 Salıpazarı and Karaköy Port Toward “Cruise Port

Salıpazarı and Karaköy port form the oldest foreign maritime trade facility of İstanbul. The port kept its status of being the economic gateway to the city for many years. The location of the port is strategic and this makes the area highly crucial. In addition to the locational importance, the area is surrounded by significant historic value. The area has been available for foreign tourists and special visitors while it has been segregated and hidden from the citizens for years.

The history of Salıpazarı and Karaköy port dates back to the Byzantine era. After European traders had settled down in the Galata region, the port became active in foreign trade. At the end of 1800s, the need for a port arose and the Ottoman Empire gave the construction permission and operating privileges of the port to Frenchman M. Marlus Michael for 75 years. The Karaköy part of the port was built in 1895 (Yılmaz, 2015). Most of the buildings in this part, such as Merkez Rıhtım Han, Çinili Han, Galata Custom House, Passenger Hall House, were constructed in 1911. After the proclamation of the Republic, the operation right of the port was transferred to an incorporated company (İstanbul Liman İşleri İnhisarı T.A.Ş.) until 1933. Following that, step by step the port was expropriated and warehouses were added to the Karaköy part (ATN İmar Inc., 2009).

The enlargement of the port was mainly carried out in the 1950s. The region was proposed as a non-polluting industrial zone on the development plan and it was decided to extend the port. First of all, the operating authority was transferred to the

Maritime Bank Corporation in 1952. And then, Salıpaazarı as an extension of Karaköy port was designed by Sedat Hakkı Eldem. The design mostly included warehouses and was implemented in 1957. The port served freight and passengers on a national and international scale. In fact, the port was used as the customs zone where the goods were imported and exported up to around 1985s. After that, firstly, the name of the operator was renewed as the General Directorate of Turkish Maritime Organization with a law amendment. And then, the function of the port was changed and freight transportation was cut off. Due to closure of the port to the city center and high-density settlement district, the port was closed to freight transportation and has begun to serve only passengers from then on (ATN İmar Inc., 2009). The economic gateway of the country transformed into the gateway of foreign tourism by the sea.

Since then, Salıpaazarı and Karaköy port has been used as a passenger port, particularly for cruise tourism. After the freight port functions were left out from the district, the facilities such as warehouses remained partially in use. Some of the warehouses have been used as waiting rooms for the passengers, and rest of them served as offices, storages and fair halls. Historic buildings in Karaköy part were mostly out of use. There were some additional parts such as hookah cafes and American Bazaar that integrated the area weakly to its environment.

Even though the port is isolated from the city, its surroundings join into the everyday life of the city through a wide variety of facilities. The historic background of the region raises the diversity. There are a number of registered buildings and monuments that enrich the value of the region. Tophane-i Amire, Kılıç Ali Paşa Külliyesi, Nusretiye Mosque, Tophane Clock Tower and a number of mosques are some of them encompassing the surroundings of the port. Furthermore, the Karaköy part of the port is totally covered by historic buildings.

As mentioned before, the location of the area is also significant. It lies alongside the Bosphorous and is situated on the entrance of the Golden Horn. These bring a strategic importance to the area as a transfer point. And also, the area is at the lowest level of Beyoğlu and engages with the silhouette (Figure.5.1).

Despite being such a valuable place for the city, the area was mostly isolated from the usage of citizens since 1950s. It could played a limited role in everyday life through shops of exported goods. However, after the port was turned into a place for cruisers, it was completely left out of the daily life of the citizens. Through some facilities, such as an art gallery and hookah cafes, the citizens could only partially experience a small part of the area.



Figure.5.1 Salıpazarı and Karaköy Port
Source: www.arkitera.com, www.denizticaretgazetesi.org

Corresponding to the historical value of the region, Beyoğlu was announced as “Beyoğlu Urban Conservation Site” in 1993 and the port area lay within this conservation district. Besides, Salıpazarı and Karaköy port was declared a “tourism center” in 1994. And lastly, the area was taken into the scope of privatization. Since then, transformation of the area toward a prestigious cruise port has occupied the agenda of many professionals. The opposition to this project was mainly based on legal conflicts and disobedience of the power, and the planning processes in general. Tophane Salıpazarı Cruise Port Project, known as the “Galata Port” project, has been the subject of objections in terms of legal procedures and planning principles since 2002.

The aim of the plans were defined basically to create a prestigious area for global city İstanbul. Additionally, the site as the opening gate to the seas would serve both tourists and citizens, and enhance the employment opportunities with the functions assigned to the area.

Salıpazarı and Karaköy port has been used for cruise and passenger ships since the port was closed to freight. According to the justification of the plans, modernization of the site was a requirement for fulfilling mission and vision of the 2010 European Capital of Culture. The buildings in the area were not adequate to meet the needs of tourists, both visually and functionally. In this sense, the project would support economic and social structure and such an investment in international standards would make the site attractive for tourists and usable for citizens.

5.1.1 Externalities in the Process of Preparing Salıpazarı and Karaköy for Privatization

On the pathway to the privatization of Salıpazarı and Karaköy port, it is possible to discover some externalities relating to the aforesaid project. These externalities mainly consist of macro policies referring to legal and institutional rearrangements, plans and projects regarding the area. Even though the project is dated 2002, some legal and institutional rearrangements, developed plans and projects before and after that time gives us ideas about the process.

Macro Policies: New Laws for the Coasts

As the core issue, the opposition to the Salıpazarı and Karaköy project mostly depends on the legal processes. In this sense, discussion of legal amendments affecting the area and institutional restructuring come into prominence. It makes the main concerns of the opposition more obvious in this process.

Before referring to the legal changes, starting from the institutional rearrangements makes the process easier to follow. The ports has been interpreted as public services since the proclamation of the Republic. Due to their crucial function for trading, the ports were considered as monopolies that should be controlled and operated by the state (Toprak, 2005). In this regard, the authority for operating most of the maritime activities and the ports belonged to the Maritime Organization. The organizational

structure of the institution has been changed many times since 1952, and correspondingly, the limits of the duties and authorities have been redefined with each amendment (<http://www.tdi.gov.tr>). However, until the 1980s, the ports were under the control of the state itself.

After the 1980s, the institution responsible for the ports was included in the scope of state economic enterprise and its name was defined as the General Directorate of Turkish Maritime Enterprise in 1984. The institution behaved as a state enterprise in terms of aims, business model and management, however, it worked under the control of the Ministry of Transportation. In 1995, the institution has been subordinated to the Privatization Administration and named Maritime Enterprise Inc.(MEI) with differentiated duties and authorities (<http://www.tdi.gov.tr>). These institutional rearrangements opened the way for selling and renting of the estates through the control and the decision-making authority of the Privatization Administration.

Legal amendments are very critical for the coasts which are under a constitutional guarantee. The first attempt at changing the statute of the coasts was in 2004. A privileged “cruise port” definition was added into the Bylaw for Implementation of Coast Law. In the definition, aside from the port facilities, it was emphasized that cruise ports needed to provide other kind of amenities. The very definition for cruise ports was as follows:

Cruise Port: The place where the passenger ships transported by organized tours are anchored, the port services are ensured for the technological ships (electricity, generator, water, telephone, internet, etc.), the services for customs bonded area are provided, has the tourism facilities (restaurants, shopping malls, communication and transportation units, information services and banks, accommodation units, offices) to increase promotion and image of the country to the top level, is the port for dropping off the passengers (Resmi Gazete, 2004).

The critical point in the definition was to let the inconvenient facilities on the coasts and to justify it with the need “to increase promotion and image of the country to the top level”. Based on this definition, the implementation stated:

The coastal areas belonging to the official institutions and organizations, may or may not be in the scope of privatization, are not evaluated in partial construction. After

getting positive opinions of the related institutions, tourism buildings and facilities with other proposed can be constructed facilities for the purpose of utilizing for public use (Resmi Gazete, 2004).

According to that, it would be possible to build hotels, shopping malls, commercial properties, banks and many of urban facilities apart from residents on the coasts. The amendment caused discussions among the legal experts, planners, architects and other professional groups. Chambers commenced a lawsuit and the council of state cancelled the amendment as contrary to the constitution and coast law.

Due to pressure from cruise investors³⁷, the law amendment came up with similar content to the cancelled bylaw. Without adding the definition of “cruise port”, same definition and conditions for the coasts were repeated in the law 5398 on July 3, 2005. Moreover, the planning authority for the coastal areas in the scope of privatization was transferred to the Privatization Administration. The article was formulated as follows:

For the estates in the scope of privatization and subject to the coast law and the law for encouragement of tourism, the Privatization Administration is responsible for preparing and approving the plans by getting opinions of the related institutions. Related institutions cannot change the function of these estates for five years. They only pronounce their opinion within fifteen days (Resmi Gazete, 2005).

Another major attempt was a proposal of a Coast Law draft in 2010. The reason for such a proposal was shown as “implementation of the new investments in a rapid way”. The core of the amendment was in the 7th article. The amendment about filling and dewatering opens the way for construction on the coasts. The rearrangement is as follows:

The plan proposals for the areas gained by filling and dewatering on the waterfronts are approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement through getting the opinions of related institutions. The institutions inform their opinions in 30 days. If the institutions do not report their opinion, it is assumed as opinion in favour. The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement approves the plans. These areas are under the command and the decision authority of the state. The conservation plan commands of the Culture and Natural Heritage Conservation Law are not valid for these areas (İMO, 2012).

³⁷ One of the first investors on cruise tourism in Turkey declared that if the bylaw amendment was not enough for construction, then they could make the law.

The criticisms of the law draft were focused on the centralization of authority. The essence of the draft ensured a decrease in control and decision making capability of the local governments and the public. Furthermore, the amendment in the 7th article allowed construction of all kind of functions from car parks to shopping mall on gained areas. The amendment also made the statute of the areas in relation with the filled-in areas ambiguous. Mostly, existing coastal areas are the subject of commands of conservation. However, within this rearrangement it is unclear what happened to the rest of areas. The evaluation of the professionals about the amendment that it made possible grand privatization projects on the coast like Haydarpaşa Port, Galata Port and Haliç Port.

Plans and Projects: Alternatives for Public Use

The planning background of the region was mostly limited to environmental plans from the 1980s to 2000s. Developed projects are another issue for the area within the range of official projects and the alternatives produced in response. Until the 1990, there was no any attempt to develop an idea or the project for the area. After that time, there were a few attempts for enlarging the port area, however they did not reach the tender stage. The area retained its cruise function within an unplanned process. A number of self-initiated projects based on idea of development were prepared. However, the main breaking point for the area was the “Galata Port” project, which constitutes the discussion of this section. Turning back to the project later in a wider manner, other projects developed as an alternative in response to Galata Port will be addressed under this heading.

Starting from 1980, the 1/50.000 environment plan of İstanbul saw the area as a part of the city center and also mentioned it as one of the main historic parts of the city. At that time, Salıpazarı and Karaköy still served freight and passenger transportation. Following 1995 the 1/50.000 plan proposed totally different facilities depending on a functional shift to the cruise port. Moreover, the area was announced as an “urban conservation site” in 1993 by the İstanbul 1st Cultural and Natural Heritage

Conservation Committee. After a year, the same area was declared a “tourism center” with the council of ministers decision. Based on those decisions, the area was planned as metropolitan center under the port function (Yılmaz, 2015).

The decision about the area on the 1/100.000 environment plan, prepared in 2006, was in the direction of a central business district. However, the vision of the plan was based on deindustrialization and global city concepts and it gave the clues for the future of the area. After cancellation of the plan, another 1/100.000 plan was prepared in 2009 and the land use decision for the area was the same as the previous one. Moreover, Salıpazarı and Karaköy Port district was planned for cruise and cultural tourism.

The background of projects developed for Salıpazarı and Karaköy port went back beyond 2000. The first project was conducted by Muammer Onat in 1994 within Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. The port was considered in relation with the city center and historic assets around it. The approach of the project was based on integration to the city and refunctionalization within a mixed type of use (Figure.5.2) (Çimenlioğlu, 2011).

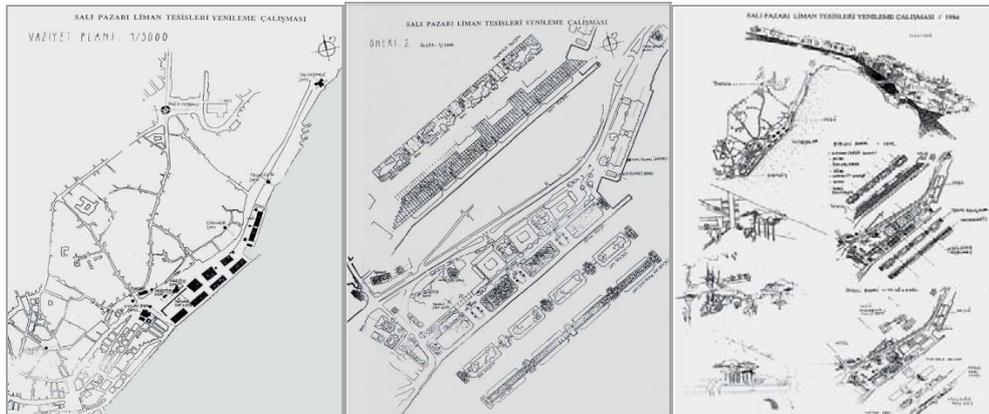


Figure.5.2 Sketches of Muammer Onat
Source: Çimenlioğlu, 2011

After deceleration of the Galata Port project, some conceptual projects were offered on a critical base. One of them was the study of Ersen Gürsel, which adopted a humorous approach in order to depict the wrongness of Galata Port. The main idea of the project was accessing to the coast at all hours of the day. In this sense, via some

analytical studies it aimed to show that the port did not have the capability for being a cruise port in technical terms. To be in relation with the sea and to sweep “the wall effect” of the buildings and cruise ships, the proposal of the project was to save historic assets and destroy the rest of the buildings. Gürsel chewed up the state and the investors in his studies (Figure.5.3) (Çimenlioğlu, 2011).



Figure.5.3 Studies of Ersen Gürsel
Source: Çimenlioğlu, 2011

Another one was a competition “2006 S.O.S İstanbul” for students organized by the Association of Architects in Private Practice (TSMD). The aim of the competition was announced as developing alternatives for Karaköy and Salıpaazarı in the process of transformation projects for the port regions of the city. The association defined their attitude completely in an oppositional manner and the manifesto was expressed as follows:

As a consequence of urban development of İstanbul, the ports and the train stations situated on important locations loses their reasons for existence. Among them, we know that there are some projects for Karaköy and Salıpaazarı port. Likewise, recently, there are discussions in the public for prepared projects for Haydarpaşa station and port. In the near future, it is likely to come up the same discussions for Sirkeci station, Haliç shipyards and Yenikapı.

The direction of those transformation operations for the most valuable areas of the city will be under the control of political decision-makers and investors. The other actors (citizens, chambers, non-governmental organizations etc.), who cannot participate in the decision-making process, show their rightful reaction to those projects. However,

in our opinion, only the objection to the projects is not sufficient and it is crucial to come up with “alternative projects” adopting the approach of contemporary city principles and public benefit (TSMD, 2006).

The main emphasis of the projects focused on considering the area in a strong relation with its environment. And also, all of the alternatives were designed within the approach of public interest by prioritizing public use.

5.1.2 “Galata Port” Between the Power and the Opposition

Galata Port project is the first large-scale privatization project of the state. The process started as a positive development for the city because of the existing use of the area. However, the legal arrangements toward high density built environment on the coast started the opposition.

The project, which covers 112.000 m² consisting of sea infill, aims to produce a modern cruise port for foreign tourists (Figure.5.4). Privatization of the area through illegal processes and by entirely closing the site to the citizens under the “opening to the public” discourses sparked the opposition. But, this opposition only existed at the professional level.



Figure.5.4 The Project Area of Galata Port

The narrative of the project held between the power and the opposition is subject to this section. The process of the project is dealt with in a broad sense to answer the further questions.

Overcoming Legal Obstacles vs. Increasing Objections to Procedures and Principles

When the Galata Port project was declared to the public in a newspaper in 2002, there were no legal rearrangements as yet. Maritime Enterprise Inc. (MEI) explained that they would build a contemporary cruise port at Salıpazarı and Karaköy in order to attract rich tourists.

The idea was started in 2001 by an announcement in the newspaper. Maritime Enterprise Inc. called for designers to develop a cruise port which consists of shopping, entertainment, culture and tourism facilities instead of old warehouses. The project of Murat Tabanlıoğlu was selected in the tender out of 11 projects and the design process was started (Tabanlıoğlu, 2006). After a few months, the project was introduced in the press as follows:

Maritime Enterprise Inc. is getting ready to carry out the Galata Port project, which has been worked on for ten years. MEI will constitute a touristic region by taking in Salıpazarı, Tophane and Beyoğlu. The project will go out to tender at the end of 2002 and the cost of it will be about 400-500 million dollars. Ending date of the project is 2005. Through the project historic assets will be conserved and huge shopping malls and restaurants will be built up. The main aim of MEI is to raise the number of tourists coming by the sea. The grand project will be presented to the ministries in following days and it will ensure a considerable surplus for the tourism sector (Sabah, 2002).

The executive of MEI promoted the project as enhancing the accessibility to the coast. The executive also indicated that they would not construct new buildings, rather they would change the functions of the existing ones. On the other hand, the news emphasized that the public buildings from Karaköy to Salıpazarı would be torn out in order to regenerate the area for cruise tourism (Cumhuriyet,2002).

The author of the project, Murat Tabanlıoğlu, explained their study on the official website within these words:

Located at a very crucial point in İstanbul, and having survived many centuries as the gate to the sea, the Galata Port reclaims various functions with the new project, and will complement an additional value to İstanbul as a center of culture, tourism and commerce. The project covers over 1.2 km zone with an open area of 100.000 m² and a construction area of 151.660 m², where the existing buildings will be harmoniously renovated respecting their authentic forms and acquire new functions. Being a customs zone, the shoreline is presently not open to the access of the people of İstanbul. With the realization of the project, both the tourists and the natives of İstanbul will benefit from the offered resources on a 24-hours basis throughout the year. An art museum, hotels, restaurants, bars, fast food joints, all kinds of souvenir shops, shopping centers, office spaces, exhibition and fair areas, car parks and various sales points will ensure an accountable return as a result of the project (Figure.5.5) (www.tabanlioglu.com).



Figure.5.5 The Galataport Project

Source: www.tabanlioglu.com

During the process of declaration and promotion, there was no significant response to the project. However, the added “cruise port” definition into the Bylaw for Implementation of Coast Law³⁸ caused reactions from professionals. The Chamber of Architects and Chamber of City Planners sought to stop the execution and cancel the articles. The Council of State cancelled the articles due to their inconsistency with the constitution and coast law. Even if there was still no specific objection to the Galata Port project, the following process constituted focus on it.

After the legal rearrangement, the Privatization Administration and Ministry of Tourism and Culture³⁹ prepared 1/5000 development plan and 1/1000 implementation plan for the area. For approval of the plans, these institutions applied to the İstanbul 1st Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Committee. However, the Committee rejected the plans stating that there was no integration with

³⁸ The amendment that let the construction of urban facilities on the coasts

³⁹ Aforementioned area was proclaimed as “urban conservation site” in 1993 and “tourism center” in 1994. The area was included in the scope of privatization in 2002. The overlapping statutes of the area constitute legal and authority conflicts.

Beyoğlu Conservation Plans⁴⁰ and there had to be the sensitivity to the continuity of the Bosphorus silhouette. A few months later, same plans were presented to the public at Beyoğlu Municipality despite the cancellation of bylaw amendment and rejection of the committee (Mimarlar Odası, 2006). The objection process against the Galata Port project has been going on ever since.

The Chamber of Architects prepared a petition of exception to the Ministry of Settlement and other related institutions in the legal objection to the plans. But the majority of the institutions did not give any response to the objection within the legal period, and only three of them responded to the objection a month later. The responses of the institutions were interesting and briefly as follows:

The conservation plans prepared by Beyoğlu Municipality is still in the process of examination of the Conservation Committee. Prepared plan for Salıpazarı and Karaköy port, which is situated in the administrative borders of Beyoğlu Municipality, are illegal in terms of procedure, however, the project is crucial for İstanbul and Turkey to ensure development of cruise tourism. The issue should be considered in this manner (Ministry of Culture and Tourism).

For an issue cancelled by the Council of State, the implications and procedures after the decision should be ignored and treated as if they never happened (Ministry of Public Works and Settlement).

A project that was prepared within aforementioned plans according to the 7th article of the Coast Law have been handed in to the committee and it has been approved with the same drawbacks as the previous one. However, all the drawbacks have been highlighted in order to be paid attention (The Conservation Committee).

This means that the objected plans were approved by the Conservation Committee despite all the discrepancies in legal procedures and planning principles. The Chamber of Architects and Chamber of City Planners moved to stop the execution of the plans and called for their cancellation. The İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality got also involved in the process. However, in time, the İMM made a press statement and explained that they withdrew from the lawsuit due to the correction of missing technical parts of the project (Mimarlar Odası, 2006).

While the lawsuit process was proceeding, the cancelled bylaw amendment reappeared in the law 5398 on July 3, 2005 within the same content and awarding

⁴⁰ In that time there was no plan prepared for Beyoğlu. The reason for rejection could be seen as consideration of the area as a singular plot and isolated from its environment.

planning authority to the Privatization Administration. Following that, the MEI made the tender for starting the implementation of the project, ignoring the lawsuit process. The consortium led by Royal Caribbean Cruises⁴¹ won the tender for 49 years within a “build-operate-transfer” model (Hürriyet, 2005).

The Chamber of Architects tried to cancel the tender. The main reasons for their objection were the ongoing lawsuit and the way in which the MEI exceeded its powers for the tender process. It is important to pause here for a while in order to understand what exceeding its power means. Depending on the Build-Operate-Transfer Law, tender of the project was illegal. According to that, MEI had been transformed into a firm by being included in the scope of privatization and only institutions that are “state institutions and state economic enterprises” have the authority to make projects and hold tenders. Another point about the tender was that the ports were able to be transferred for only 39 years under the Law 4046. However, Salıpazarı and Karaköy were transferred for 49 years and this made the tender illegal again (Toprak, 2005).

The Council of State decided to stop the execution of the plans by justifying that the Ministry of Culture and Tourism was not the planning authority for the area, rather the Privatization Administration was the authority for planning. And also, Council of State indicated that there was no need for another execution decision by referring the lawsuit for the tender (Mimarlar Odası, 2006). The Deputy Prime Minister of the time sent the tender folder to the Privatization Administrative and the tender was cancelled (Kıvanç, 2006).

The series of objections and cancellations made the process uncertain in terms of ending or starting with a new project. In this period, the objections were mainly based on legal procedures and inconsistency with planning principles.

⁴¹ One of the investor taking place in the consortium was the person who claimed that they could make law.

Resuming the Process through Pseudo Participation vs. Remaining Objections

Resumption of the project was decided by the power in 2006. The new process for the project was divided into three stages. The first stage was defined as the completion of the plans and the authority for preparing the plans was the Privatization Administration. This stage would be conducted by taking opinions of the related institutions. The second stage was the decision of how the project could be developed (i.e via competition) and the third one was the tender process passing through implementation (Radikal, 2006).

The Privatization Administration started to prepare a 1/5000 development plan and 1/1000 implementation plan within a short time. The authority organized a meeting with the participation of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Beyoğlu Municipality, Council of Monuments, some of the chambers and a number of institutions. The meeting was for getting the opinions of various stakeholders. The authority did not give any information about the plans, rather they informed the participants about the previous objections. While it was reflected in the press as if the plans were prepared and finalized, the Chamber of Architects declared that they did not have any information about the plans. In response to this pseudo participatory meeting, the Chamber of City Planners organized another meeting, at which all the key stakeholders attended. The previous process was discussed in terms of procedures and principles. However, the meeting did not produce any concrete output (Mimarlar Odası, 2008).

Privatization Administration finalized the plans and applied to the Conservation Committee for the confirmation, however, the committee rejected the plans again. The government had to pause the privatization projects because of the 2007 General Elections (Radikal, 2007). After that, the execution of 1/100.000 environmental plan of İstanbul was stopped, including the Galata Port project, and the validity of the project was also stopped in terms of planning hierarchy. In less than a year, the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality prepared a new 1/100.000 plan to make major privatization projects applicable (Radikal, 2009). The plan was approved by the

municipal council by a large majority. The process for the Galata Port project gained speed again after two years of stasis.

The Minister of Transportation made a statement claiming that the Galata Port project could not be implemented through the previous process due to the legal problems. And he also emphasized that the obstacles to the plans and legislations were overcome for Galata Port and they would initiate the tender process again in 2010 (Habertürk, 2009). Following that, the government came up with a proposal of the Coast Law Draft⁴² that made the commands of conservation plans inapplicable for fill-in areas on the waterfront.

Nearly one year after the statement of the ministry, a new tender was announced by the Privatization Administration. And also, prepared plans were approved by the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Committee. These confirmed plans were reported in the newspapers as containing tourism, commercial, cultural and terminal facilities on 100.000 m² of land. But the news about the destruction of İstanbul Modern within the aforesaid project started the discussions among the professionals again. In response to that, the President of the Committee stated that they asked for a more detailed 1/1000 implementation plan due to technical problems, rejecting the claims regarding the destruction of İstanbul Modern (Figure.5.6) (Erbil, 2012).

⁴² Also see “Macro Policies: New Legals for the Coasts” for more details about the law amendment.

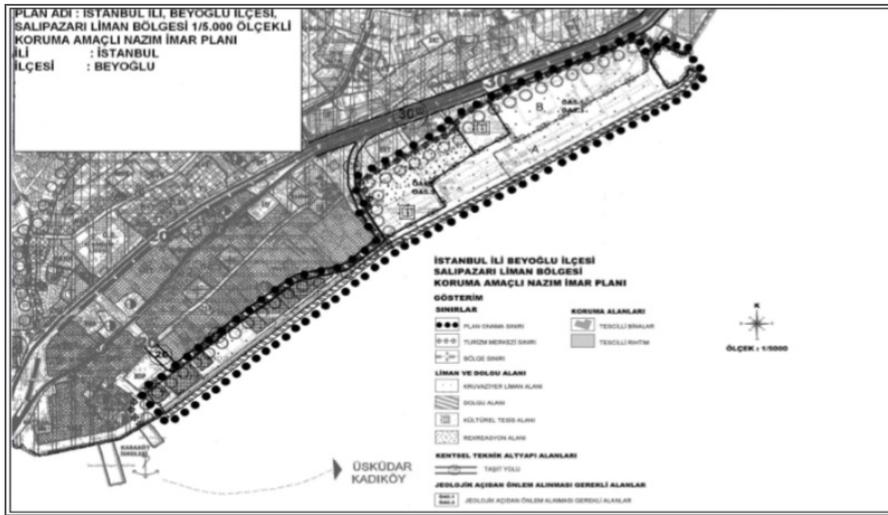
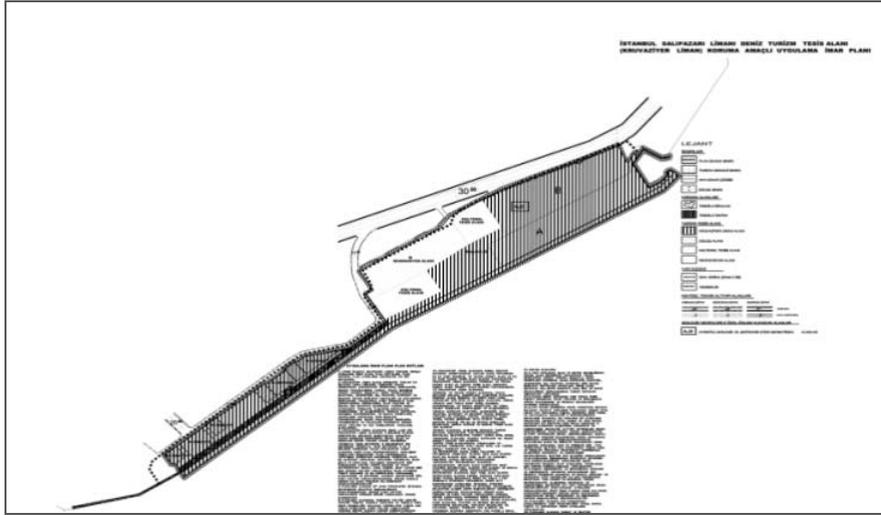
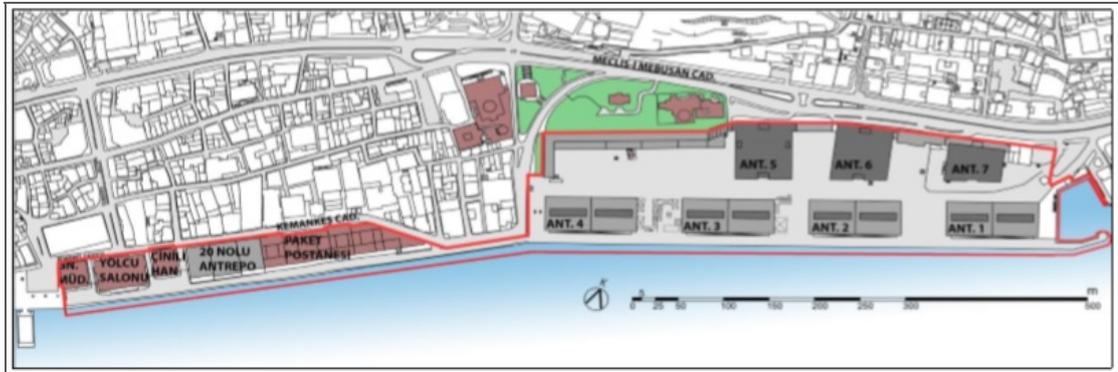


Figure.5.6 Salıpazarı and Karaköy 1/5000 Development Plan and 1/1000 Implementary Plan
Source: Beyoğlu Municipality, 2012

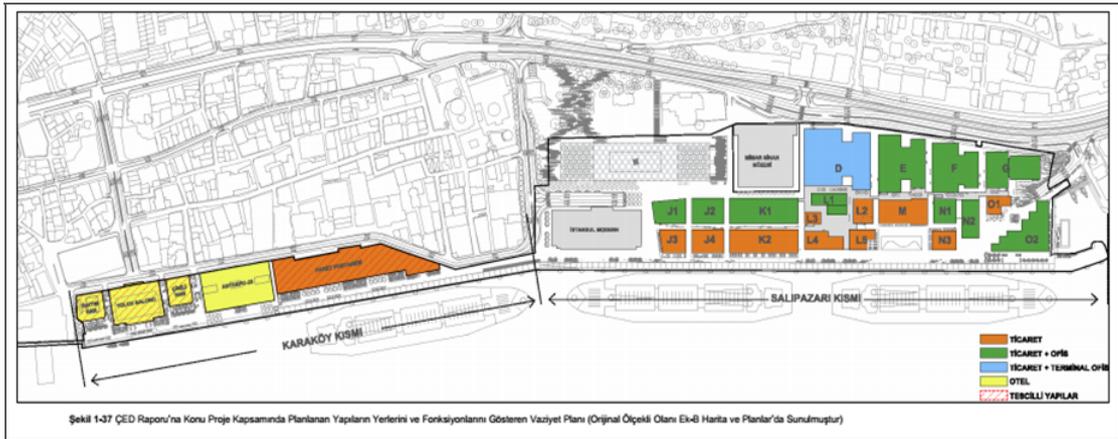
Details regarding the built environment were vague on the plans, but, after a while, the information clear thanks to the news. According to that, 100.000 m² land was increased to 112.000 m² by landfill of 1200 m length and 10 m width (Çaylak, 2013). The tender of the project was carried out and Doğuş Company won. The new tender was different from former one in terms of transference and duration. The former was transferred under the model of build-operate-transfer for 49 years, whereas the latter was transferred for only build and operation right for 30 years (Radikal, 2013).

Following the tender, the project was prepared. Due to the layout plan, the area was planned totally for commercial facilities and hotels. On the plan, there are various

diversed legends in regards to commercial uses. The cultural facilities are the existing ones. In addition to that, the building density is increased relative to the existing situation (Figure.5.7).



Şekil 1-35 Planlama Alanında Bulunan Mevcut Yapıların Konumları



Şekil 1-37 ÇED Raporu'na Konu Proje Kapsamında Planlanan Yapıların Yerlerini ve Fonksiyonlarını Gösteren Vaziyet Planı (Original Ölçekli Olanı Ek-8 Harita ve Planlar'da Sunulmuştur)

Figure.5.7 The Existing Situation and the Layout Plan of the Area
Source: Environmental Impact Assessment Report, 2015

The Chamber of Architects, City Planners and Civil Engineers commenced a lawsuit to stop the execution and cancel the plans. The reason of the objection was shown as inconsistency with Beyoğlu conservation site due to the new construction terms and the high proposed density. However, the objection of the chambers to the plans was rejected by the Council of State (Mimarlar Odası, 2016). Following that, Beyoğlu Conservation Plans were prepared in 2011, sparked a lawsuit for cancellation by neighbourhood associations such as the Cihangir Beautification Association and

Galata Association⁴³, and the plans were cancelled a court decision. The reason for the cancellation was as follows:

...Salıpazarı and Karaköy port region, situated in the planning area and required to be given consideration as an affected district, was ignored on the plans. Implemented projects in that region would greatly change in urban facilities, which is based on port facilities in Beyoğlu as the main function ...From this perspective, aforementioned plans do not offer any integrity for the district (İnce, 2013).

Due to the contradictory decisions, the chambers objected to the rejection on two main lines:

- Beyoğlu Conservation Plans were cancelled due to their incapability to ensure integration and inclusion of some projects, and the district was out of an official plan.
- Prepared plans offering privatization of waterfronts by inhibiting equal access to citizens and ensuring rent-based regeneration instead of human and life-based interventions (Figure.5.8) (t24.com.tr, 2014).

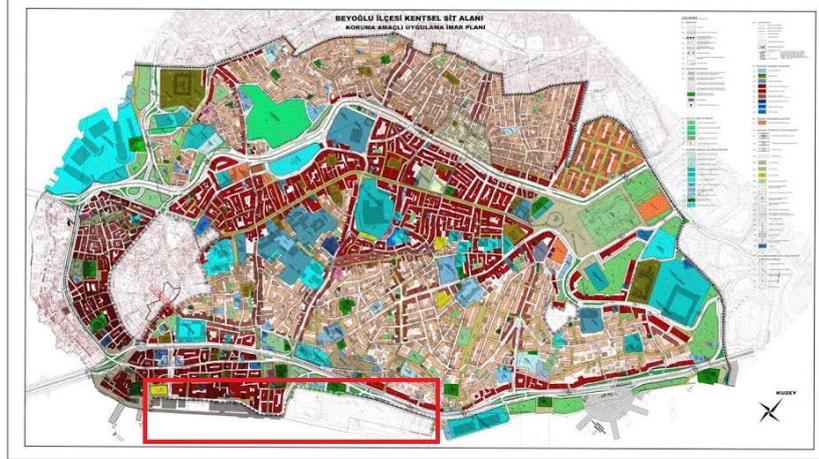


Figure.5.8 Beyoğlu Conservation Plan

Source: www.beyoglu.bel.tr

⁴³ The reasons for the engagement of the neighbourhood associations were as follows:

-Plan preparations were conducted without participation and required announcement were not carried out

- Tarlabası, Salıpazarı and Haliç shipyards were omitted from the plans by announcing “urban renewal”, “tourism” and “privatization” area

-Beyoğlu and İstiklal Avenue were transformed into tourism and commercial center through the plan decisions (İnce, 2013).

In response to the objection, the Council of State took the rejection back and requested an investigation and expert's report. After this decision, the execution of the plans stopped automatically. However, the Privatization Administration stated that the decision did not mean stopping the execution of the plans (Sol Haber, 2014). And also, the President made another statement and accused the adjudicators of treason and corruption with these words:

I am looking for justice, the law is not significant for me. I am looking for my rights and fair adjudicators. In the period of my Prime Ministry, we carried out the tender of the famous Galata Port. The tender was finalized. And now, two years later, the court is deciding to stop the execution. How does something like that happen? This investor prepared the projects and spent millions of dollars. How can this investor initiate another investment? (Diken, 2014).

After the demand for the expert report, it was necessary to wait for the report by admitting the stopped execution. However, the power carried on the process, ignoring that decision.

Implementation of “İstanbul Port” vs. One Step Further from Objection

The name of the project was changed from “Galata Port” to “İstanbul Port”. The court decision of stopping the execution and ongoing discussions about the project could not inhibit the start of the Environmental Impact Assessment process. And also the displacement process for the locals was started by the investor. With the effects of the Gezi uprising, the objections of the professionals could go beyond legal tools and could turn into a small protest.

With the move to the implementation stage of the project, the studies for the Environmental Impact Assessment were taken up and the details of the project got to come in sight. According to the project, registered buildings such as the head office of the MEI, passenger terminal and Çinili Han would be transformed into a hotel and the parcel post office into a shop and restaurant. Warehouses would be torn out down transformed into commercial properties (Güvemli, 2014). As a procedural requirement of the law, an Environmental Impact Assessment meeting was organized in order to provide participation of the citizens. However, İstanbul City Defence

prevented the opening of the meeting by protesting. The group demanded a report from the organizers stating that the meeting could not be started. Even though the authorities rejected this demand, the group took down their report by stressing that the meeting could not be conducted because of the reactions of the citizens. The report was signed by the protesters and a statement was made by the group as follows:

The project of privatizing and closing the major part of the coast to the access of the citizens should be reacted by all of Karaköy citizens and traders. It has been a nightmare for Beyoğlu since 2005 and it has been wanted to be carried out contradictorily to the laws, conservation and planning principles. We know very well that this project is not independent from Haliç Port, Okmeydanı transformation project, Tarlabası renewal project and transformation of İstiklal. The main point is privatization of Beyoğlu, changing its public identity through these projects. Until today the authority kept us away from the tender, plan and project processes, however, today they are trying to make us join a nonfunctional part of the process. This meeting is not legitimate for us. Because it is organized just for fulfilling procedural requirements (İnce, 2014).

In this process, notifications were sent to the owners of hookah cafes situated in the project area, ordering them to leave their shops before the demolition. The owners objected on the basis of the shortness of time (Can, 2014). But there was no concrete protest or struggle against the displacement. The owners accepted some payment and left their cafes.

After nearly a year, the second Environmental Impact Assessment report was published and a second meeting was carried out, the report was approved (Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2015). The expert report for the lawsuit brought by the chambers was finalized and the experts stated that there was not any legend regarding “urban site” on the plan. And as a consequence of privatization of the coast, it would be closed to the citizens (Doğan, 2015). A law officer also agreed with the experts regarding the inconsistency of planning techniques with regard to the laws and public interest (Diken, 2015).

The construction of the project began despite everything. At present, studies for filling the sea are carrying on and warehouses have been demolished. Additionally, some of the registered buildings have damaged during the constructions in the area (Figure.5.9).

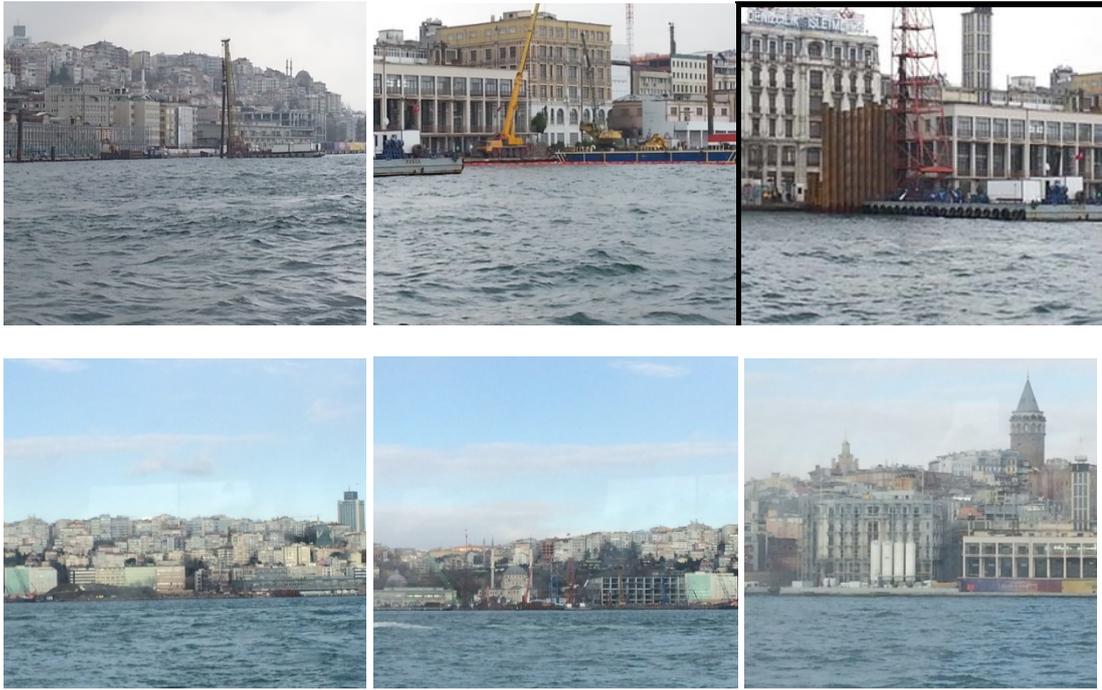


Figure.5.9 The Construction for İstanbul Port

Source: Author's own archive (2016)

The process between the power and the opposition has not ended, even though the project is being implemented. It can be seen as a failure in terms of intervening in the content of the project and the function of the area. But, the opponents are still engaged with the interventions of the power during the implementations.

5.2 Haydarpaşa Port and Train Station Toward “World Trade Center and Cruise Port”

Haydarpaşa port and train station have been central to İstanbul for a century. Even though the Haydarpaşa name mostly evokes the sculptural train station, the port and back side of the station work also serve integrated functions. On the other hand, Haydarpaşa is used as a region name unofficially due to its symbolic significance and public features. As emphasized by Erkan (2007), although there is no such an administrative region, the integrated territory around the Haydarpaşa port-train station and other public buildings constitutes Haydarpaşa region in İstanbul. The

historical background of these public facilities and relational consideration for developing the area are also other reasons to perceive the area as Haydarpaşa region.

The history of Haydarpaşa started in 1872. Before that year, the area, known as Haydarapaşa Meadow, was used for military ceremonies. In 1872, the first station building was constructed at the back of waterside. Even if the port was active at that time, the capacity and the size was not as large as at present. The first station building and the railway gave importance to the area. At first, the railway reached to Pendik and it was only for providing access to people living on the coastal part of the city. After that, the railway was extended to Gebze and İzmit in 1873, and at the end, the line arrived in Ankara and Baghdad in 1892 as a national and international transportation system (Atılğan, 2011; Erkan, 2012).

As mentioned above, the port was in service, but was deprived of convenient stevedore equipment. Even though the railway was extended from the station to the waterside, it was not enough for enhancing capacity. In 1888, the Ottoman Empire transferred the railway line to the Germans for construction and operation. Through the control of Germans and under the name of Anatolian Railway Company, the port was planned by filling in the sea. It was designed as a high capacity port to ensure trading activities. Therefore, Haydarpaşa port was put into service in 1903 (Erkan, 2012).

To mark the extended railway over Anatolia and enlarged port by increasing capacity, Abdülhamit II ordered a grand and sculptural station building. The station had to imply the terminus of the railway coming from Anatolia to the sea. In this aim, Haydarpaşa station was built in 1908 as a gateway opening up from Anatolia to Europe and a dock was added in 1915 for ferry lines (Atılğan, 2011). During World War I, Haydarpaşa station was the most vital supply and delivery point of the Ottoman army. However, the station and the railway line were invaded by England in 1919. Following the establishment of the Republic in 1923, Haydarpaşa station and port were bought by the state again. It was governed through a special administrative regime until 1927. After that time, the state transferred the administration of the station and the port to railway board belonging to the Ministry of Public Works.

Because of a lack of facilities, the Ministry of Public Works began to transfer station and port piece by piece to Turkish State Railways (TSR) in 1953 (İBB, 2009). After that, the administration and operation rights of Haydarpaşa station and port pertained to TSR whereas the ownership was with the Treasury.

The value of Haydarpaşa can be considered in different dimensions. Firstly, it refers to the historic region of Anatolian side of İstanbul. Haydarpaşa port and station is surrounded by Selimiye Barracks, Military Medical Academy (GATA), Haydarpaşa Numune Education and Research Hospital, and Haydarpaşa High School. Apart from these public buildings, natural and cultural assets such as the English Cemetery and Selimiye Mosque also enrich the value of the region. Thus, the historic fabric and dense publicness of the region throughout the coast make it a special and unique landscape on the Anatolian side as much as the Historic Peninsula on the European side. Both the Historic Peninsula and Haydarpaşa region represent the unprecedented silhouette of the city.

Haydarpaşa is the most important and efficient transportation hub in both the city and the country, as it connects the rail and sea transportation. On the national and international level, port and railway integration serves as a logistic center and its capacity to produce economic surplus is considerable. In this sense, Haydarpaşa port is the third largest port in Turkey and supplies half the foreign trade volume. At the city level, Haydarpaşa station is the oldest commuter exchange for the city between Gebze and Halkalı. The commuter train works as the spine of the city by extending along the Marmara Sea. It connects the coastal residential areas to the city. Its main stations are Haydarpaşa on the Anatolian side and Sirkeci on the European side. Transfer between Haydarpaşa and Sirkeci is supplied by ferry line.

The spatial value of Haydarpaşa is another dimension that needs to be addressed. Haydarpaşa station is emblematic for city in terms of architecture. The back side of the station consisting of tracks and service buildings covers a huge area. The port is also a living industrial heritage and it brings variety to the silhouette of the city (Figure.5.10).

The symbolic meaning of Haydarpaşa, especially of the station, is also worth mentioning. Haydarpaşa station is the point of welcome for immigrants from Anatolia to İstanbul. It is seen as a gateway for cultural change, a link between two continents, by trains and boats. Haydrapaşa is the heritage of the Ottoman Empire and the place where one finds the meaning of railway-based development. It takes a major place in the everyday life of the citizens and in their memory.

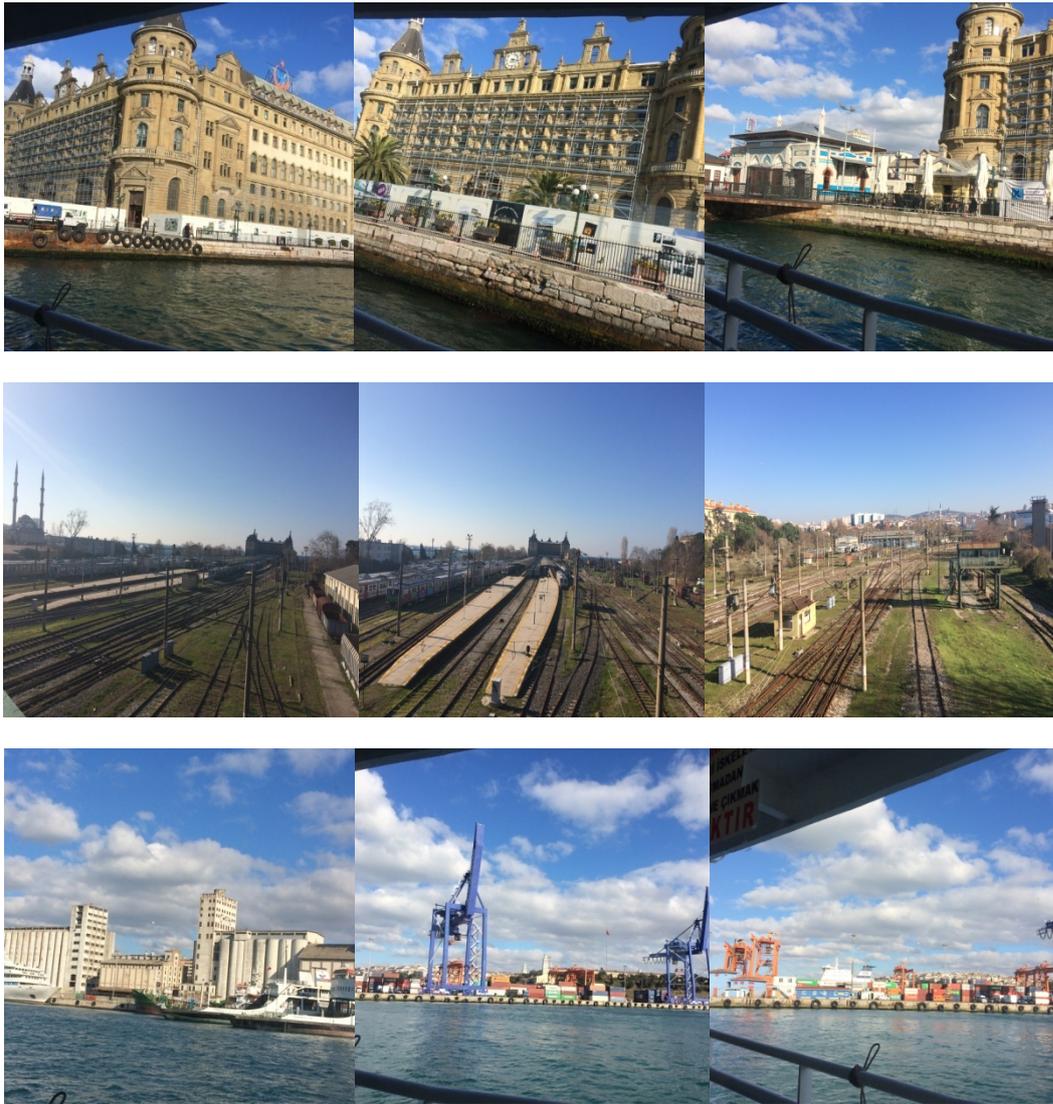


Figure.5.10 Haydarpaşa Station, Back Side of the Station and the Port
Source: Author's own archive (2016)

To sum up, Haydarpaşa port and station integrates with the urban space in terms of space of production, collective consumption, memory and cultural heritage. It offers

use value for the citizens with its spatial characteristics, while it also provides exchange value with its location and public ownership for investors. Parallel to that, the recent process has made Haydarpaşa subject of the urban transformation trend in İstanbul. The project offered as “Haydarpaşa World Trade Center and Cruise Port” and commonly known as “Haydarpaşa Port” has come up with a complex narrative between the power and the opponents. As the first constituted organization in terms of urban struggle, more than an opposition, and one of the first major project of the power, it represents a laboratory for the struggle between the power and the opponents.

5.2.2 Externalities in the Process of Preparing Haydarpaşa for Privatization

Widespread perception of the privatization story of Haydarpaşa starts mostly in 2004. However, it is possible to follow the traces back to the 1990s. The first seeds for structural and spatial transformation for Haydarpaşa, and in a broader sense for railways and ports, began in 1995 and carried on to the beginning of the 2000s.

Significant macro policies consisting of international directives, and national legal decisions have began to form the structural base of transformation since 1995. The past attempts at spatial transformation rooted in the 1980s only reached the conceptual stage but since 2000 there have been efforts to get the idea to implementation level via a series of projects. To justify the idea, other supportive projects have been activated ineffectively.

Up to 2004, taken steps by the power built the base of its transformation narrative. Even though these steps have been continued after 2004, they evolved through the tension between the power and the opponents since then. Therefore, before zooming in on the story of Haydarpaşa experienced since 2004, it makes sense to understand milestones constituting the background of Haydarpaşa.

Macro Policies: Directives- Laws and Decisions

As mentioned before, the TSR has the authority for administrating and operating Haydarpaşa station and port. However, from 2004 onwards property right of the area and estates were also transferred to TSR by central government through a number of legal amendments in order to start the transformation process of Haydarpaşa. To understand what this means, it is crucial to unveil international directives and national policies regarding privatization of railway and ports.

The background of the attempts for privatization of transportation systems dates back to 1995. The report of Booz-Allen&Hamilton Company entitled “The Rehabilitation, Restructuring and Finance of Turkish State Railways” directed the TSR to focus on freight transportation and use prestige trains for passenger transportation. The Canac Report (2002) ordered similar directives:

Close down the unprofitable lines, sell or tear down the stations and other railway buildings on these lines in order to opened for operation once again, give up passenger transportation apart from a few prestige trains, privatize these prestige trains, sell the buildings and the land in place of delayed freight, decrease the employment, privatize ports and factories (Makina Mühendisleri Odası, 2016, p.36-37).

Through the process of adaptation to the European Union and under these kinds of directions, Turkish government has adopted privatization policies for railways and ports. The first action was the legal amendment to close down the TSR Labour School in 1995. This opened the way for dissolution of TSR by cutting down the well-educated human capital. And it was followed by decreasing the number of employees gradually (Kartal, 2014). A number of attempts at legal rearrangements related to privatization had been experienced since the beginning of the 2000s. Yet, the main attempt for dissolution of TSR under the name of restructuring was in the year of 2008. A couple of law drafts called as “General Railway Law Draft” and “Law Draft for Restructuring of TSR and Establishment of Turkey Railway Transportation Inc.” were prepared and sent to the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA), but they were with drawn at the commission stage. Following one was in 2011 and restructuring gained a new dimension with decree law no 655. The aim of the law was justification of privatization in terms of elimination of barriers and

provision of profit. Last but not least, in 2013, approved law no 646, the “Privatization of Turkey Railway Transportation” contains all the rearrangements for discharge of TSR, so crucial to public supply (Makina Mühendisleri Odası, 2016).

The institutional decisions alongside the legal rearrangements are worth mentioning within the context of macro policies. First of all, the establishment aim of TSR was changed by the decision of the High Planning Council in 2004. The change in the bylaw of TSR was to "...build and operate marina, commercial, convention, fair, culture, shopping mall, hospital, hotel, residence, office, park, sport center etc. on the estate of itself." (Sönmez, 2005).

The Ministry of Transportation announced the new statute of TSR as follows:

TSR aims to collaborate with private sector in order to transform the station areas located in the city centers and used by thousands of people. From now on, these stations will not only be used for railway operations but also be used in social, cultural and commercial facilities.

Utilizing these estates like that will bring high income not only for the investors and TSR, but also it will provide economic, social and cultural development for the cities and the country (Sönmez, 2005).

At the beginning of 2005, the Tender Bylaw for Estate of TSR⁴⁴ was changed and it enabled the TSR to rent its estate by defining a new model independent from privatization law and public procurement legislation (Sönmez, 2005). Following that, TSR appealed to the investors on the official website⁴⁵ through the text heading as "TSR Desires to Regain 500 Stations and Their Site by Renting Them and Collaborating with Private Sector". The text invited investors with these words:

In the early years of the Republic, the railway system was extended with purpose of freight and passenger transportation. However, as a consequence of the changes in the transportation policies and railways that has been disregarded for years, technology and social infrastructure has been getting old and fallen behind the qualified supply. Because of limitations of the budget, the maintenance of stations and the buildings

⁴⁴ Liman-İş Union applied to State Council in order to cancel and stay of execution for the change that allows the privatization of station and port to by redefining the statute of State Railways. State Council found the change conflicting with basic law and conveyed the lawsuit to constitutional court, and the court stopped the execution.

⁴⁵ The announcement could not be found on the official website of TSR.

around them, including historic ones, is not carried out and they have begun to diverge from the city. The main aim of our institution is to improve the conditions of these stations as much as transform them into social and cultural facilities for serving citizens.

...Through utilizing from the stations, it is crucial to improve economic benefit for the institution, enhance quality of transportation, ensure economic and cultural contribution for the region and country by getting new investments (Erkan, 2007, p.167-168).

Parallel to the legal and institutional restructuring, national transportation policies within the development plans depict shifting policies for the railways. The railway policies in five-year development plans were in the direction of enhancing and improving railway transportation nation-wide until 1996. From the 7th Five-Year Development Plan (1996-2000) onwards, the statements giving clues for privatization of the railways have begun to take place in these plans. In the 7th Five-Year Development Plan, the aim was revealed as “Within the aim of solving the problems caused by insufficient and lacking organizational structure, restructuring program of TSR will be completed and implemented in a short time”.(Makine Mühendisleri Odası, 2016, p.18).

In the following development plans, the proposals related to models for privatization were expressed and the public-private partnership highlighted. However, the details about the implementation background and process were not given (Makine Mühendisleri Odası, 2016).

All of these macro policies empowering TSR as the main decision-maker for the estates within railway and port areas brings us to Haydarpaşa port and station. While we turn back to the main focus, all of these macro policies are directly in relation with Haydarpaşa port and station. Through those decisions and legal rearrangements, Haydarpaşa was the first place which was announced as transformation area for privatization in 2004.

Plans and Projects: Preparing Haydarpaşa for Transformation

Up to 2004, namely from the first appearance of spatial transformation ideas for Haydarpaşa, reviewing the planning decisions and developed projects for the area give some clues for clarifying the process experienced after that time. The transformation attempts for Haydarpaşa and its surroundings started in the 1980s within development plan decisions. Developed projects from the 2000s to 2004 constructed the basis of the present process as well as macro policies through the legislations and institutional decisions.

The main planning decisions for the Üsküdar-Kadıköy coastal band on the approved 1/50.000 Metropolitan Development Plan in 1980 were formed under the concepts of passenger port, tourism development area, historic and cultural tourism center. In another approved 1/50.000 plan in 1995, the main proposals for the area were to move the Haydarpaşa Port to Tekirdağ and use this area for recreational facilities, with the Bosphorus Tube Tunnel focusing on Yenikapı-Söğütluçeşme as main stations. Both of these decisions directly pointed to the future of Haydarpaşa station and port. Other planning decisions could be listed as moving Harem Bus Station and using this area for recreation, with the Kartal-Harem metro line and Kadıköy planned as center and Üsküdar subcenter (Erkan, 2007).

In the light of valid planning decisions, İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality announced an urban design competition at the end of 2000. The design boundary was determined as Harem Bus Station, Haydarpaşa Port and Train Station and Kadıköy Square. The main requirements of the municipality from developed designs were the continuity of recreation along the coast band from Kadıköy to Üsküdar and functional and aesthetic solutions for Kadıköy square. In 2001, the jury chose 5 projects out of 60 according to the criteria indicated as consistency with planning decisions, functional and physical harmony with the existing urban fabric, consideration of historical and cultural values, sensitive response to rail and water transport (Bowe, 2008). The design approach of the winning project was declared as follows (Figure.5.11):

The planned area has been divided into Public Project Areas in the aim of utilizing the advantages of location and function of public areas by considering existing metropolitan living areas. On Anatolian side, metropolitan working and living corridors and centers supported by active and passive recreation corridors have been foreseen. The urban fabric of the planning area is a whole with transportation infrastructure. Staging of Public Project Areas will be implemented concurrently with transportation infrastructure and transformation of public areas. It is necessary to work on lower scale implementations and property composition in affected environment. The core investments should be detected in order to boost transformation of public project areas. It is fundamental that defined areas as public and private project packages are prior in design and property transformation (Erkan, p.163, 2007).

In this project, on the one hand, there was no proposed high density building and the railway system was conserved. On the other hand, it was a privatization project and unintentionally led Haydarpaşa station to be seen as a potential for investment. Moreover, there were some indications of legal rearrangements that would come up in the future.



Figure.5.11 The 1st Project of Harem Bus Station, Haydarpaşa Port and Train Station, and Kadıköy Square

Source: <http://www.promim.com>, June 2017 (from the website of project owner)

Just after the competition awards were handed out, the mayor of İstanbul stated that they would be able to move the port to the Black Sea and Haydarpaşa Station could be able to serve as a semi-hotel, semi-museum. He remarked that they would have to expropriate the project area as it contained TSR, public and private property and if they could get a desirable result from the negotiations, they would start the implementation. He also told journalists that he did not support Haydarpaşa Station being a hotel and he rather preferred it to be a museum (Yıldız, 2001). However, none of those projects were implemented.

After the first privatization attempt of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the second one was revealed by TSR. Due to consensus between TSR and German BEOS Company, the company prepared a project in 2003. The project focused on Haydarpaşa train station and the rear side consisting of luxury residences, convention center, hotel, offices and commercial areas on 390.000 m² area (Figure.5.12). Erkan (2007) express that the project is not sensitive to the topography or consistent with cultural and historic values of the area. Besides, the contribution of the project to the city is very limited.



Figure.5.12 BEOS Plan and Project for Haydarpaşa Train Station
Source:Marmaray Sunum Haydarpaşa oyunlar

Actually, both of the projects depict the main intention for Haydarpaşa. In this sense, though the beginning of the process is 2004 onwards, the first talks go back to the 1980s and euphemistic attempts to the 2000s. The last project lighted the fuse of the process that will be experienced between the power and the opposition. Since it obviously shifted the focus on Haydarpaşa train station through an official attitude in order to transform it into a hotel.

The Marmaray Project for Justifying Transformation of Haydarpaşa

The idea of crossing the Bosphorus on a railway line under the sea first came up in 1860. The core idea was to connect Europe and Asia with uninterrupted transit. Due to technical deficiencies, another version of the project was raised again in 1902, which lay down a tunnel on the seabed. However, the project just stayed as an idea

related for technical and financial reasons, and there was no attempt at implementation until 1985.

To construct a mass transit railway connection in İstanbul, a feasibility report was prepared in 1985. The report said that this kind of an investment would be effective. In 1998 the feasibility report was updated and same conclusion was presented as providing many advantages for the people as a commuter system. The study was handled for the last time by updating the latest traffic data in 2004 and a number of agreements for funding were signed among the Turkish Government and the Japanese Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), European Investment Bank (EIB) and other private investors (Lykke and Belkaya, 2005).

The General Directorate of Railways, Harbors and Airports Construction (RHAC), as responsible from the Marmaray Project, defined it as follows:

The Marmaray Project, which is one of the most important projects in the world, is the one that ensures high capacity and nonpolluting transportation in order to supply a modern city life and transportation opportunity for the citizens, conserve natural and historical values of the city and ensure a livable city.

The project is based on improvement of existing commuter rail system and construction of Bosphorus Rail Tube Tunnel for uninterrupted, modern and high capacity commuter system connecting Gebze on Asian side and Halkalı on European side. The railway lines on the both side of the Bosphorus will connect through a tunnel by passing under the Bosphorus. The line will go underground in Kazlıçeşme, go on along new Yenikapı and Sirkeci underground stations, pass the Bosphorus, connect Üsküdar underground station and rise to the surface in Söğütluçeşme station. The rest of the line is similar with existing commuter railway. In other words, most of the stations between Halkalı-Kazlıçeşme and Söğütluçeşme-Gebze either revised and repaired or replaced completely with new stations... (Haydarpaşa Solidarity Report, 2008a, p.16).

According to the project, the length of the entire line is 76 km from Gebze to Halkalı by using existing commuter rail line. In this respect, two existing railway tracks would be increased to three and connect to each other with a two-track railway tunnel. The main interchange stations of the line were defined as Yenikapı and Söğütluçeşme. On the line there would be 3 underground station and 37 surface stations. Yet, 36 out of these surface stations would be constructed again, ignoring the existing ones (Erkan, 2016).

In the first introduction of the project, Haydarpaşa and Sirkeci stations were considered actively in the project. Accordingly, on the Asian side all trains would enter into Haydarpaşa station and carry on to Üsküdar within a triangle line. They sustained their main function for intercity railway transportation. On the European side, Sirkeci station would also continue to serve between Sirkeci and Yedikule for intercity rail. However, after a while due to negotiations with the government and the municipality the discourse of RHAC about the project shifted and the triangle line was cancelled for Haydarpaşa. Parallel to that, it was declared that Sirkeci and the surrounding area would be planned as museum and tourism center (Figure.5.13) (Haydarpaşa Solidarity Report, 2008a).

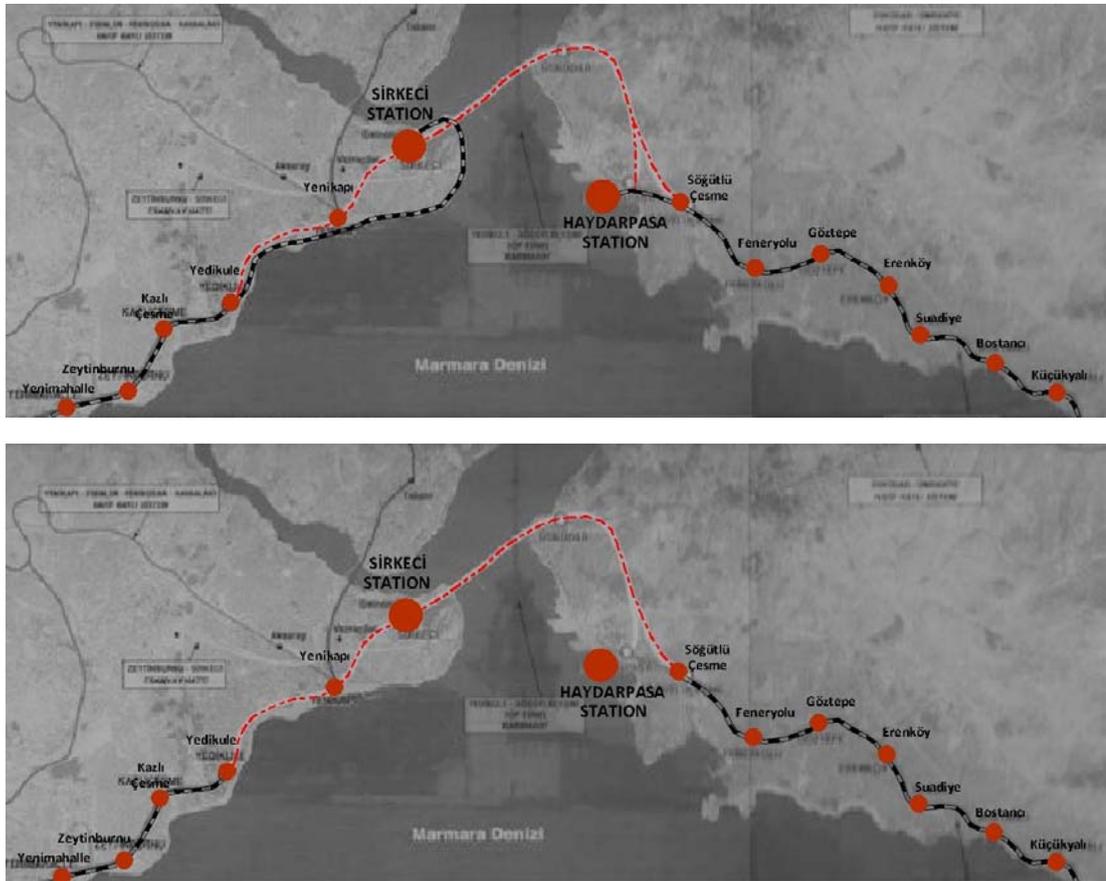


Figure.5.13 Shifted Route of the Marmaray Project and Effects on Haydarpaşa-Sirkeci Stations

The construction of the tube tunnel was started in 2004 and planned to finish in 2009. However, due to archeological excavations it was delayed and eventually launched in

2013. The phase of upgrading existing tracks has not been started yet, even though they have been torn out and the train services have been interrupted. In this process, the tube tunnel kept serving citizens through integration of metro system, although commuter system and intercity rails were out of service. There is an ambiguous future for both railway lines and the stations located on the route due to the lack of official announcement from the authorities.

The most crucial point that needs to be emphasized is that the essence of the project is connecting two continents through an uninterrupted transition. Therefore, it is more than a commuter system. However, the number of tracks, which is increased to three tracks on the existing lines and decreased to two in the tube, points to the main issue. This means that intercity lines still need to interchange and the Marmaray is out of use for passenger and freight transportation on a national scale. On the other hand, updated route bypasses Haydarpaşa and Sirkeci train stations. As the part of macro policies in sense of international directives, the stations would be left unfunctional.

From this perspective, it is a question what aim the Marmaray Project was prepared to serve. There are a number of critical points about the project. On behalf of Haydarpaşa Solidarity, prepared reports on the Marmaray Project by the Chamber of Architects and United Transportation Union unveil ignored matters. The economic and social aspects of the project have been evaluated in a wide manner. Yet, the focus of the project has been revealed as smoothing the way to regenerate land in valuable parts of the city for urban transformation projects. Particularly, the area of Haydarpaşa-Sirkeci stations (including Haydarpaşa port as the property of TSR) and residual lines are central parts of İstanbul and these areas have been tried to be opened for rent. On the 1/100.000 environment plan these areas have been planned as a central business district including tourism and convention centers. Moreover, the protocol signed between TSR and İMM in 2006 showed that the estates of TSR would be planned with other urban transformation projects including Haydarpaşa and Sirkeci (Table.5.1) (Haydarpaşa Solidarty Report, 2008a).

Table.5.1 Specified Estates for Urban Transformation

Estate	Area m ²	Estate	Area m ²
Haydarpaşa Station and Port	1.000.000	Sirkeci Station	120.000
Söğütluçeşme Viaduct and Station	55.000	Yedikule Railway Repair Shop	45.000
Erenköy Station and Lodging	25.000	Yenimahalle Planted Area	35.000
Fenerbahçe Education Amenities	20.000	Zeytinburnu Coast	17.000
Bostancı Station	15.000	Bakırköy Station	28.000
Maltepe Station	25.000	Yeşilköy Station	27.000
Yunus Signalization	27.000	Halkalı Station	150.000
Altunizade 75 Plot	22.000	Bahçeşehir Station	250.000

Source: Haydarpaşa Solidarity Report, 2008b

As is seen from the table, Haydarpaşa is the largest among listed estates corresponding to the size of area. Besides, locational aspects of the area offer great opportunity for high rent. From this perspective, it is understandable why the route of Marmaray has been shifted so as to bypass the main station of İstanbul.

5.2.2 "Haydarpaşa Port" Between the Power and the Opponents

After aforementioned attempts, the implicit attitude of the power began to come to light and the initial intention appeared exactly to be transforming Haydarpaşa through privatization. In response to that, a significant opposition front was constituted and this has been the first example of a well-organized urban struggle. Although it could not evolve into an urban social movement, it built up a structure for urban opposition approach in İstanbul.

The story of Haydarpaşa between the power and the opponents carrying on since 2004 is handled in this section. The declaration of “Haydarpaşa World Trade Center and Cruise Port”, which was covered 1.000.000 m², has been one of the biggest privatization projects of the state (Figure.5.14).



Figure.5.14 The Project Area of Haydarpaşa Port

To understand the internalities of the process, the story is presented in terms of significant breaking points.

Sending up a Trial Balloon vs. What Happens to Haydarpaşa? and How to Defend It?

The project prepared by BEOS firm according to the demands of TSR was still on the agenda, while the preparation of another project was being carried out in secret. This process was revealed by a local newspaper in 2004. The newspaper presented the news as “Haydarpaşa is Manhattanized” and the content of it said:

The studies for the project making Haydarpaşa similar to Manhattan, which is covered with skyscrapers in New York, have been begun. The cost of the project is 10 million dollar.

...AKP will open the way for making the project without tender. ... TSR will establish an incorporated company with national and international foundations. TSR will evaluate the project of foundation taking in partnership⁴⁶ (Presentation of Haliç Solidarity, 2008).

⁴⁶ The original source is not available (Üsküdar Gazetesi, 10. 08.2004)

The subsequent process will show that the aforesaid news was only measuring the reaction that was likely to come from some parts of the society. And, it is probable that the next stages would be designed related to the severity of the reactions. Hence, the news constituted an expected mobilization among some people.

After a month from the news, legislation commonly called the “Haydarpaşa Law” was approved. The provisional 5th article of the law 5234 ensured transferring all of estates on the area of Haydarpaşa port and station to TSR without charge. And also, planning authority for these estates was given to the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement with some other additional arrangements in the same article that were contradictory to the existing planning legislation. According to that, the ministry was the authority for preparing the plans at all scales independent from the participatory processes indicated in the law 3194 and other related ones. Furthermore, the ministry approved the plan. The finalized plan is sent to the municipality and it has to be implemented (Resmi Gazete, 2004). On the one hand, authority of disposition for the property and the estates was transferred from the Treasury to TSR. On the other hand, the ministry was empowered with the authority of planning, and of bypassing local government. Moreover, the entirety of planning legislations and processes were exceeded in an inconvenient manner.

Following these developments, the Chamber of Architects joined the meeting organized by İMM on “Future Scenarios for İstanbul Municipality” and asked the İMM about the Manhattan project. İMM responded to the question, claiming they did not have such an agenda and they should not believe all the news in the press. Following this reply, the chamber invited the head of İstanbul Metropolitan Strategic Planning Team to provide some information about the issue. He expressed his worry by emphasizing that there would be political and governmental pressure for this kind of project (Presentation of Haliç Solidarity, 2008).

Speculation concerning the project was still swirling when the İMM attended the Cannes Real Estate Expo despite all its denials about the project. The Mayor of İstanbul promoted “20 Vision Projects” including the Haydarpaşa Port and Station Transformation Project. The Mayor explained that this was the first time joining the

global real estate market and they expected to attract investment of around 20-25 billion dollars (Rapor, 38; Bianet, 2014). After the exhibition, another legislation for Haydarpaşa arose and TSR was empowered to sell, transfer, and obtain plans, projects, and consultancy services with 32nd article of the law 5335. And also, the article stated that the Ministry of Settlement is the authority able to approve without presenting the plans to the public (Resmi Gazete, 2005). The law gave some rights to the local governments in terms of only expressing their opinion. With this recent development local governments were swept out of process completely and the institutions of central government were entitled as the main governmental actors.

The obscurity about the project was ended by the exhibition and legal arrangements. A year after mainstream media could present the project officially. Different illustrations of the project were publicized showing seven skyscrapers. The articles gave the main details about this “prestige” project. According to that, the project covering 1.000.000 m² of land including Haydarapaşa port, train station and the buildings at the back side of the station would be transformed into a trade center with 5 billion dollars of investment (Koç, 2005) (Figure.5.15).



Figure.5.15 Manhattan Project for Haydarpaşa in Different Illustrations

Source: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr>, 12.07.2005; <http://www.hurriyet.com>, 14.07.2005

Parallel to that, the Chamber of Architects and United Transportation Union gathered some information and called for sensitive and concerned institutions, organizations and individuals to announce the solidarity and the intention to defend Haydarpaşa. On May 13 2005, Haydarpaşa Solidarity was founded for society, the city and environment. The solidarity supported by more than 70 civil-democratic organization

and 2000 citizens manifested their main aim to the press as protecting natural, historical and cultural values of İstanbul from the plunder of global companies. Apart from the manifesto, in the press conference the solidarity revealed the secret development plan and the project including seven skyscrapers, shopping mall and hotel (Mimarlar Odası, 2006; Bianet, 2014).

In the months after the establishment of the solidarity, to obtain a revision of the “Haydarpaşa Port and Station 1/5000 Development Plan and 1/1000 Implementation Plan”, TSR applied to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for an opinion with a prepared 1/3000 plan named as "yaklaşım planı" (Figure.5.16). İstanbul 3rd Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Committee was assigned to assess the application. The opinion of the Conservation Committee called for a plan revision. The explanation said that there was a need for planning for Haydarpaşa and its surrounding due to loss of function with the Marmaray project and the visual pollution of Haydarpaşa port. It was also added that a revised plan would enhance public benefit and enrich the silhouette. Even the application of Kadıköy City Council, which emphasized the illegality of proposed plans and negative effects of the plans on the area by opening to international rent domination, the Conservation Committee decided in favour of TSR by showing the law 5234 as the basis and demanding some corrections to the plan (Mimarlar Odası, 2006). And what is more, it was learnt that there was a background to the aforementioned project. The reality was that it had been prepared about a year earlier from the law of 5234 through a secret agreement with Çalık Group (Yapıcı, 2008). This is all to say, that the Conservation Committee accepted the adaptation of this contradictory project to the plans.



Figure.5.17 The Water Canal Project

Source:<http://www.atelier-art-urbain.com>

Depending on these developments the opposition began to widen and at the Congress of the Union of International Architects, Haydarpaşa took place in the declaration. According to that, they decided unanimously that “the architecture and urban planning projects affecting the city should be carried out through a democratic, transparent and participatory process that is grounded on legislation” (Bianet, 2014).

Following this declaration, the Prime Minister of the time stressed in a speech that they insisted on the project and they would enhance the prestige of İstanbul with the projects of Haydarpaşa Port and Galata Port. In another speech he also added that he was responsible for marketing his country. And, he would negotiate with all the investors through his ministers in order to attract investment (Birgün, 2005). Immediately after, the Minister of Transportation clarified that due to Marmaray, Haydarpaşa station would be closed in the following years and regenerated as world trade and tourism center. For those expressions, on behalf of the solidarity, the United Transportation Union handed out a leaflet entitled “You cannot get on this train any longer!” at the stations and commuter trains.

After everything, TSR started preparation for the tender, albeit the company that would build and operate the project had been chosen a year ago. The Chamber of Architects asked for some information regarding the process, but they could not obtain any. But as a positive development, the court decided to stop the execution of the amendment of the Tender Bylaw for Estate of TSR (Bianet, 2014).

In the period of reaction testing, the power encountered a well-constituted opposition. The power had some gains by using legal tools mainly and by delivering the process in an gradualist manner. In spite of nontransparent moves of the power, composing the solidarity with a considerable amount of participation was the main gain, which inspired many other oppositions in the city. Moreover, the judicial decisions ensured significant achievements for the opposition. This is important, because in the coming years objectivity of the legal order would disappear. And getting achievements not only for Haydarpaşa but also for all opposition terrains via applying to laws and courts would become much more difficult for the opponents.

Unexpected Conservation Decision vs. Intense Agenda and Intense Opposition

After all the gains of power, the decision of the İstanbul 5th Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Committee changed the direction of the story. The tools used by the power shifted into manipulations and became challenging relative to the previous period.

Following the acceptance of the İstanbul 3rd Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Committee⁴⁷ of the plan revisions, TSR applied to the İstanbul 5th Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Committee to remove the registration of the historic buildings. The Committee examined on-site and on April 26, 2006 the Committee decided to register Haydarpaşa station and its environment entirely as the “historic and urban conservation site”. The decision was grounded on defining the significance of the area for İstanbul within these words:

Haydarpaşa station and its environment are situated on a special region and constitute a unique silhouette reflecting the identity of İstanbul with the cultural and natural assets surrounding it such as Selimiye Barracks, Military Medical Academy (GATA), Haydarpaşa Numune Education and Research Hospital, Haydarpaşa High School, Karacaahmet Cemetary, and Selimiye Mosque. Besides, the area has an importance as a stage for historic events before and after proclamation of the Republic. In this

⁴⁷ The area of Haydarpaşa port and station locates on two administrative areas including Üsküdar Municipality and Kadıköy Municipality. Parallel to that, the area is the subject of two different conservation committees: İstanbul 3rd Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Committee and İstanbul 5th Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Committee. Because of this situation, there can be contradictory decisions about the area.

manner, designed buildings in a special architectural language have a place in military and industrial heritage. Furthermore, Haydarpaşa station with its special location on the sea and as the starting point of historic railway extending to Baghdad has a distinction. Because of these reasons, it has been decided that Haydarpaşa station and its environment are registered as the historic and urban conservation site (Mimarlar Odası, 2008).

The Ministry of Culture asked the Conservation Committee to negotiate the decision, however, the committee reported back that there was no need to change the decision. Representatives of the Chamber of Architects joining the committee meeting as observers reported that during the meeting there had been political pressure on the committee members. In spite of the pressure the committee took the decision to conserve Haydarpaşa, however, they could not send the decision to related institutions for six months. In addition to this, TSR filed a lawsuit to cancel the decision a few times in two years but their applications were rejected by the court (Mimarlar Odası, 2008).

On the 98th Anniversary of the station, a celebration was organized by Kadıköy Municipality and the solidarity made a press briefing to inform citizens about the developments and called on the conservation committee to do what was necessary. A month later, Haydarpaşa Solidarity organized a grand event spanning four days called “Haydarpaşa Meeting” with the purpose of questioning why the decision of the Committee had not been forwarded to the institutions. For this, a parliamentary question was prepared and it offered to be signed. All party members were invited to the event to give some information about the issue and deliver the question to the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The event included activities such as exhibitions, concerts and theatre plays in order to increase participation and raise the awareness of the citizens. After the event, the parliamentary question was declared in the Assembly by a member of the opposition party. As the result of all these efforts, the decision was notified to all it may concern. (Mimarlar Odası, 2008).

Another major win for the opposition was the decision of the court to stop the execution of the change regarding the Tender Bylaw for Estate of TSR⁴⁸. This decision hindered the authority of TSR in terms of selling or renting the estates to

⁴⁸ Also see footnote 1

the investors. Yet, despite the court and committee decisions, TSR constituted a project team and started to prepare for a project competition bypassing these adverse decisions. Directly after this attempt, on behalf of Haydarpaşa Solidarity, the Chamber of Architects made a statement to the press in front of the station expressing the main claims of the solidarity. To emphasize the solidarity's tenacity and TSR's disregard for procedure, signatures gathered from the citizens were sent to the Assembly and other related institutions (Bianet, 2014).

Pushing to the limits, TSR agreed with Drees&Sommer firm for conducting and organizing the project for six months. To rent the 3rd floor of the station to the project company, TSR started construction. Since the station was registered as a cultural asset by the Conservation Committee in 1997, any construction required a permission from the same committee. Yet, TSR carried out the construction without permission from the Conservation Committee. The Chamber of Architects and United Transportation Union informed the committee and made a denunciation to the court. Representatives of TSR expressed that the construction was for maintenance and repair to the station, however, according to expert investigation, it was confirmed that the construction exceeded the aim of maintenance and repair. (Bianet, 2014).

Despite everything, the construction in the station was nearly finished and the firm was quartered on the 3rd floor. TSR made an opening ceremony with a broad participation to appreciate the project. Conversely, Haydarpaşa Solidarity made a press briefing on the stairs of Haydarpaşa and the documents proving the illegality were presented to the press members. However, after a while the agreement between TSR and the firm was cancelled due to the necessity for preparing conservation plans.

The Conservation Committee's decision was a vital breaking point for the process in direction of making all of the legal amendments invalid. From then on, Haydarpaşa was the subject of conservation plans and 1/5000 and 1/1000 conservation plans needed to be prepared by the İMM. However, TSR negotiated with İMM and asked to sign a protocol. TSR also asserted that they owned Haydarpaşa and had the right to get involved in the planning process, otherwise, they would make the plans in a

different way. According to the protocol, obeying the opinions of TSR, getting suggestions of TSR for choosing designer and design, and getting approval of the Ministry of Settlement as required by the law of 5234 were the main items. Even though all of these were inconsistent with the process and the law of conservation planning and designing, the protocol was signed. Yapıcı (2008, p.34) sums up this attitude as TSR says “we do not need Haydarpaşa anymore”.

Meanwhile, the constitutional court stopped the execution of the 32nd article of the law 5335⁴⁹. The reason for the decision was justified by the court as inconsistency with the constitution because of the clause “...the Ministry of Settlement is the authority for approving without presenting the plans to the public...”. However, after a year another law amendment was made to replace the stopped 32nd article with the 43rd article of the law 5793 on July 24 2008. With the new amendment, the contents of the 32nd article were rearranged and the authority of TSR to sell the estates still remained in the article. But the authority for approval of the plans in all scales was transferred to the related municipality. And also, the estates decided for sale by TSR are included in the scope of the Privatization Administration (Resmi Gazete, 2008). This meant that for the estates planned by local governments, conservation committees and other institutions empowered for planning would stay out of the process and the Privatization Administration would conduct the selling and privatizing of places such as Haydarpaşa. All in all, this law amendment was aimed to overcome not only the cancellation of 5335 but also the conservation decision of the committee for Haydarpaşa.

İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality carried out a tender for the analysis of 1/5000 and 1/1000 conservation plans and 3D models of the project. Within the same day, the municipality invited the Solidarity with representatives of institutions, organizations, professionals and academicians to a research conference on “The Past, Present and Future of Haydarpaşa”. The aim of the conference was defined as “producing a common sense and experience for participatory planning method”. Yapıcı (2008) states ironically that the conference was well-organized, in fact, the

⁴⁹ The 32nd article of the law 5335 was cancelled by the Constitutional Court on January 13 2011.

participants could not make a record the decision of the Conservation Committee. Moreover, most of their questions were not answered properly. Even so, the participants could highlight the necessity of protecting and developing historic, cultural, strategic values and functions of Haydarpaşa. However, that municipality declared that BİMTAŞ⁵⁰ would prepare the plans and models of the project and they would come into force by approval of the Privatization Administration without concluding the conference process (Mimarlar Odası, 2010). The conference was evaluated by the participants as only procedural and aimed at obtaining support from the professional environment to justify the project. A year after the conference, İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality completed the 1/5000 conservation plan for Haydarpaşa Station and Port, and also Kadıköy Square. The plan was authorized by the municipal council by a large majority without presenting it to the Council of Monuments and the plan was not presented to the citizens for more than a year.

The efforts of the opposition in this process continued in an intense manner. In this process, on behalf of the solidarity, ICOMOS, the Chamber of Architects and United Transportation Union applied to the committee for certifying Haydarpaşa-Gebze and Sirkeci-Halkalı lines as “Railway Heritage” in order to show their answer to the attempts of TSR to cancel the conservation decision. Once more, the opposition commenced a lawsuit to cancel the law amendments. And also, the solidarity made press briefings to refresh the memory of the citizens and carried on their struggle in different ways.

Dubious Fire and Stopped Trains vs. New Dimension of the Opposition

The major victory of the opponents made the power quite defiant in this period. The intensity of the attempts of the power to carry out the privatization project increased and the tools they used evolved into manipulations.

The court decision for the denunciation of the solidarity about the construction on the 3rd floor of the station came four years later. The court decided on an expert

⁵⁰ The planning firm of the municipality

investigation, however, the investigation date was delayed, with weather conditions and a judge being on leave given as reasons. A few days after the decision on December 28 2010, a sudden fire on the roof of the station started for an unknown reason. The authorities declared that it was likely that the fire started because of the reconditioning work on the roof.

In response to the explanation of the authorities, on behalf of the solidarity Chamber of Architects demanded information and documentation from the İstanbul 5th Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Committee. The chamber mainly asked whether there was permission from the committee for reconditioning and whether there were any plans or projects for the Haydarpaşa Station. Then, the chamber denounced the persons who caused the fire and later asked for an investigation on whether the fire was intentional or not. And also the solidarity made a press statement questioning the dubious fire and organized a march with wide participation (Mimarlar Odası, 2012).

Interestingly, a couple of weeks before the fire, a protocol was signed between TSR and a firm from İstanbul Technical University for the restoration of the station roof. The project was defined in the protocol as “The Project for New Functionalization of the Roof and Arrangement for the Entrance of the Building and Environment of Historic Haydarpaşa”. After the fire, the protocol was revised to include damage analysis, reports for the relieve, restitution, restoration, and refunctionalization of the roof and implementation project, as well as alternatives for the entrance of the station to make an “attraction point”(Mimarlar Odası, 2012). Also, TSR demanded technical support from İstanbul Technical University and a consultative committee was established of academicians and professionals. The task of the committee was to lead, control and manage the relieve, restitution and restoration projects. In the process, the consultative committee emphasized the necessity of sustaining the current function and context of the station, and they reported their statement as the main principle of the restoration project. However, after a while the members left the committee (Koyuncu, 2011).

The fire brought accelerated transformation and the restoration project to make the station attractive fostered the debates again. Haydarpaşa Solidarity arranged a meeting at Haydarpaşa Station called “Let’s Decide the Future of Haydarpaşa All Together”. The aim of the meeting was offering proposals and sharing opinions with all those concerned. For the meeting, the Chamber of Architects demanded information and documents of the aforementioned projects and other studies from TSR. After the meeting, the solidarity declared their claims by referring to prepared conservation plan, which insists on a rent-based transformation. And also, they expressed their worries about the process of the restoration project (Mimarlar Odası, 2012).

It is important to pause here for a while in order to understand the planning process of the area in a compact manner from beginning to end. The content the 1/5000 conservation plan prepared and admitted by the municipal council in 2009 was hidden from the public for a long time. In the plan the aim was revealed as composing livable urban spaces by using natural and cultural values within sustainability principles in line with the need of reorganization of the site related to rapid changes in economy, space and demography. In this respect, the vision of the plan was specified as functionally attractive, historically and culturally emphasized new focal point in the city. Refunctioning for registered buildings without nostalgia, revitalizing the waterfront with an economically sustainable perspective instead of passive open and green spaces, making spatially attractive and increasing human density in the site were highlighted issues. For these, tourism potential would be developed and trade capacity would be increased in the district. In the plan, the rear area of the station was proposed as a trade zone and there would be offices, restaurants, shops, banks and some kind of cultural and social facilities. The station would be used for cultural activities and also accommodation. The rear area of the port would be transformed into tourism and trade zone and the port would serve national and international passenger transportation (Figure.5.18) (İBB,2009).

In this process, contradictory discourses and attempts of the authorities were remarkable. In a speech, the executive of TSR ironically claimed that they did not know what would happen to Haydarpaşa Station. Also, he added that it would be decided by applying to the views of citizens (Milliyet, 2012). However, after a while, TSR applied to the Privatization Administration for considering the station as property for profit making. The Mayor of Üsküdar Municipality⁵¹, after the reaction against the plan by the chambers and Kadıköy Municipality, explained it like this:

In any case we will implement Haydarpaşa Project. According to the project, Harem bus terminal, Haydarpaşa port and the rails behind the station will be torn out and the station will be used for cultural activities. Haydarpaşa Port project includes hotels, shopping malls and an opera house. A stadium and other facilities for 2020 Olympic Games is desired to be implemented as part of this project.

...There is not any inconsistency with the plan. Even though there is not a stadium on the plan and the project, exhibition and congress halls can be built due to the decision notes on the plan for these facilities. If the 2020 Olympic Games is finalized in our favour, required changes both on the plan and the project will need to be made (İnce, 2013).

Mayor of İMM in an interview expressed that contrary to what the Mayor of Üsküdar Municipality claimed, the station might become a hotel (Evrensel, 2012). Moreover, the Minister of Transportation indicated that Haydarpaşa would stay as a station (Akşam, 2012).

In response to the approved plan for Haydarpaşa Station and Port, and Kadıköy Square an objection petition was prepared and submitted to İMM. Common points of the objections were transformation of the station into a hotel, huge commercial areas and transformation of Kadıköy square into a fairground. The Mayor of Kadıköy Municipality expressed that in the process of plan preparation citizens and the municipality were at odds and if the objections were not taken into account, they would commence a lawsuit for the plan. But İMM ignored the Kadıköy Municipality and the municipality filed a lawsuit against the plan (Sol Haber, 2013).

In the lawsuit brought against the approved 1/5000 plan in 2012 by the chambers and the unions, the expert reported that Haydarpaşa should have been conserved with its

⁵¹ Üsküdar Municipality is the governmental party, whereas Kadıköy Municipality is from the oppositional party.

environment in a holistic approach. And also, the expert emphasized that there were some contradictory points in the plan by highlighting the lack of public interest (Uygun, 2014). Just after the report, İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality changed the plan notes and presented it to the public again. On the plan, the green place was turned into public transportation platform and the number of underground car parks were increased. On behalf of Haydarpaşa Solidarity, the Chamber of Architects commenced a lawsuit to stop the execution and cancellation of the new plan (www.kentvedemiryolu.com, 2014). The planning process of the area lasting since 2009 became stable for a while due to the court decision to stop the execution of the plan in 2014.

In this process, TSR capped off the main line train services, citing the Marmaray project and the high speed railway project between Gebze and Köseköy at the beginning of 2012 as the reasons. The last main line train left Haydarpaşa station to Ankara amid protests. Since then, the dimension of the opposition changed through continuity and reached the most visible phase. The solidarity made a call to “Occupy Haydarpaşa” and started “Haydarpaşa will never be alone” protests every Sunday on the stairs of the station. About one year later, it was decided to stop suburban train services in addition to main train services. The Chambers of Architects made a statement to the press and indicated that the aim of the power was to make the station dysfunctional and desolate. Haydarpaşa Solidarity and almost three thousand people gathered in front of the station in order to protest the project and cancellation of the commuter train services for two years. (www.kentvedemiryolu.com, 2013)

Three years after the fire, the lawsuit was resolved. The owner of the firm and two labourers who worked on the insulation works of the station were sentenced to prison for ten months (Bianet, 2013). Just after the court decision the drawn-out restoration project was reawakened at the beginning of 2014. The tender announcement was made for the restoration of the station, however, the tender date was delayed for a month and after this date any information about the result of the tender was not shared with the public (www.kentvedemiryolu.com, 2014).

The firm that won the tender was declared few months later and the restoration project for the station was approved by the Council of Monuments. The function of the station was presented as a high speed train station. A pro-government newspaper published the news and images about the project as follows (Figure.5.19):

...After the permission of Kadıköy Municipality restoration will be started. According to the restoration project the station will be neither a hotel nor a shopping mall. It will serve as high speed train station on the condition that it is conserved in its original form. Moreover, the unused roof floor will be restored and used as a museum, exhibition hall, library, meeting and conference hall and as other similar cultural facilities. In other words, Haydarpaşa is coming together with citizens in real terms. The station will not only be a center for transportation but also for cultural activities (Yenişafak, 2014) .

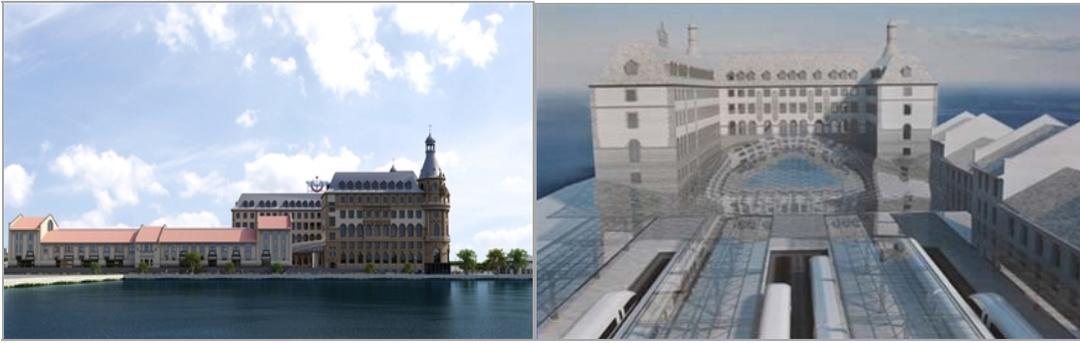


Figure.5.19 Haydarpaşa High Speed Train Station
Source: <http://www.arkitera.com>

However, Kadıköy Municipality did not give permission for the project. The municipality declared that it was a pleasure to hear that station was returning to its original function. Nevertheless, they also emphasized that in the details of the project new incompatible parts were added such as an underground mall, workshop area, and underground car parks (Doğan, 2014). And also, an elevator was added to the outside of the station for using the roof of the building in a different function. Kadıköy Municipality stated that it could not be possible to conserve the station originally in that case.

The conservation plan, for which the execution was stopped in 2014, was totally cancelled by the court in 2015. Additionally, the rejected restoration project was revised in accordance with the original characteristic of the station and Kadıköy Municipality gave permission for the project (Ocak, 2015). Haydarpaşa Solidarity

declared the cancellation of the plan to the citizens in front of the station. The solidarity called on the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and State Railways to obey the decision and renounce the capital-centered plans (Bianet, 2015).

The plan preparations for Haydarpaşa were restarted by the Minister of Transportation. It was declared that trains will return to the station again, majority of the commercial areas will be cancelled and dwelling-houses, hangars and trees will be conserved (Ocak, 2015). However, Haydarpaşa Solidarity made a statement indicating that “The Struggle for Haydarpaşa Goes On!” The solidarity stated that there was not any clue in the decision regarding saving the function of the station and it was possible to return to the plans. In this sense, the solidarity emphasized that the struggle for Haydarpaşa would have been carried on until the government renounced rent-based projects (www.kuzeyormanlari.org, 2016).

The long-lasting process for Haydarpaşa between the power and the opposition is still proceeding. Even though there is no current attempt from the power, the opposition continues its struggle in gentle steps through continuity and visibility.

5.3 Camialtı and Taşkızak Shipyards Toward Marina Complex

The Camialtı, Taşkızak and Haliç Shipyards are the second oldest in the world as an integrated complex. Called Tersane-i Amire or İstanbul Shipyards, they represent the naval history of the country. The shipyards date to the 15th century and reaching the present as evidence of developing naval industry. They are unique due to their location, function and accumulation of knowledge throughout history. These 561-years old shipyards are situated on the Haliç coast where the memory of the city has rooted for centuries. Until recently, they retained their productive function.

The history of the shipyards dates back to the conquest of İstanbul by the Ottoman Empire. After the conquest, the shipyards were established by Fatih Sultan Mehmet and they were mainly developed and extended by Yavuz Sultan Selim and Kanuni Sultan Süleyman. They were the biggest in all of Europe in the 16th century. The

other shipyards on the Aegean coasts and the Anatolian coasts were under the administrative control of Tersane-i Amire (Tural Planlama, 2015). The shipyards extend for 2 km along the Haliç shoreline. Thanks to the natural inner harbour feature of the Haliç, the location of the shipyards is special in the world. The location ensures a natural barrier in order to protect the navy from external threats. That is why locational uniqueness is the determinant for the naval progress of the Empire (Erkan, 2013; Köksal, 1996). And also, the shipyards, as the first productive activity on the Haliç coast, triggered other industrial productions and the region became the first industrial zone of the city (Şehir Plancıları Odası, 2016).

The entire area is one of the most important places as witness to technological and industrial development of the Ottoman Empire. Even though the function of the area seems limited to ship production, in fact, the social facilities such as education and health, and the other supportive productive activities took place within the same complex. Also, the first engineering school (Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Hümayun) of the country appeared in the same area. Such a comprehensive area maintained its original function for long years and the area was the place of extensive knowledge on account of information transfer (Erkan, 2013; Köksal, 1996; Yerliyurt, 2008). Therefore, knowledge accumulation about the shipyards that comes from the Ottoman era by including the knowledge of the modern times offers a living industrial library.

Tersane-i Amire served as a huge navy production complex during the Ottoman Empire. They were crucial in the naval domain until the last period of the Empire. The last period of the Ottoman Empire was not as active as the earlier times for the shipyards for political and economic reasons. In the collapse period, thanks to the international agreements and dominations over naval forces, the shipyards transformed into different sub-branches. The area began to serve different fields within divided parts. Division of labour among these shipyards for production, including production of ferries for city transportation and production of ships for navy, maintenance and operation activities were considered in a complementary manner. (Figure.5.20).



Figure.5.20 İstanbul Shipyards (Tersane-i Amire)
Source: Chamber of Architects Photo Archive

After the proclamation of the Republic, Camialtı began to be used as an atelier of city ferries and maintenance activities were carried out here from 1925 to 1932. From 1939 onwards, the shipyard sustained the maintenance and operation of vessels belonging to the Directorate of State Harbour Works. Until the establishment of Maritime Bank Corporation, Camialtı was enlarged with small scale additions and used for repairs and renewals. After that, it began to serve as the exponent of civil shipyards for ship production in 1952. It was also planned to be a design center for the shipyards of Maritime Bank Corporation (Mimarlar Odası, 2014).

Taşkızak shipyard was used for the production and repair of navy ships. Before World War I, the shipyard prepared the navy for the war and it entered under the control of Entente States with the Armistice of Mudros. After the Turkish War of Independence, according to the Treaty of Lausanne, the major part of the machines and equipments of the shipyard were forced to move to Gölcük. Afterwards, it began to serve merchant ships for their maintenance and repairs, but not the navy ships. In 1936 the control over the Bosphorous was regained through the Montreux Convention and Taşkızak shipyard was restructured since then. After the 1960s, development of the shipyard accelerated and new ateliers and working places were constructed and the old buildings were restored. However, after the earthquake in 1999, Gölcük military shipyard was damaged and Pendik shipyard was transferred to the Turkish Naval Forces Command. Following that, the staff and the equipments of the Taşkızak shipyard began to be transferred to the Pendik shipyard (Mimarlar Odası, 2014).

Until the recent past, Tersane-i Amire divided in three parts as Haliç, Camialtı and Taşkızak shipyards and each carried on their functions. Haliç and Camialtı served as civil shipyards while Taşkızak kept production of navy ships. The area was announced as conservation site and most of buildings registered by the Conservation Committee in 1995. However, the policies from the mid-1990s made the area unfunctional, and after 2000s a project was offered for the area. Nowadays, Haliç shipyard is used for cityline ferries by İMM, but, Camialtı and Taşkızak shipyards are out of use. Despite the active use of Haliç shipyards, it was projected as a museum a short time ago. Parallel to that, Camialtı and Taşkızak shipyards have been the subject of a project for a marina complex. After the announcement of the Camialtı and Taşkızak Marina Complex Project or in other words “Haliç Port” project, the proposal has been the agenda of another oppositional group. In response to the content of the project and illegal planning procedures of the process the opposition constituted a level of protest since 2013.

5.3.1 Externalities in the Process of Preparing Camialtı and Taskızak for Privatization

In this section the external factors that that affected the process before the Haliç Port project are depicted. In this respect, the institutional divisions of the project area regarding its different property owners and the authority changes over the time are investigated.

Haliç Port project is the latest one on the Haliç coast. There are a number of implemented earlier projects in the district and Haliç Port is complementary in this series. That is why earlier plans and projects in the region become another focus in this section.

Macro Policies: Institutional Changes

The project covering Camialtı and Taşkızak shipyards is different from the Salıpazarı and Haydarpaşa cases because of the contextual factors. First, it was offered by the power later than the other two cases. Many of the legal rearrangements were already in place, and there was no need for new amendments. Secondly, the long transformation process of industrial areas located on the Haliç into partial projects has constituted the base for further projects. Lastly, the project was started out of normal planning procedures and the process came up with an imposition. Because of these factors, macro policies related to the area are mainly based on institutional changes and their legal outcomes.

Before passing on to macro policies affecting the project area, the initial point that need to be clarified is the institutional statutes of the area. As mentioned, the project area consists of Camialtı and Taşkızak shipyards separated in two parts. Camialtı shipyard served as a civil shipyard for years, whereas Taşkızak was as a naval shipyard. This distinction brought with it property and authority differences depending on institutional statute. Thus, Camialtı shipyard was under the authority of the Maritime Organization and Taşkızak shipyard was under the Turkish Naval Forces Command.

The institutional rearrangement process for Camialtı shipyard with other civil shipyards mainly started in 1985. The authority for maintenance and operation of the civil shipyards was transferred from the General Directorate of Turkish Maritime Enterprise to Turkish Ship Industry Inc., which was included among the state economic enterprises. Turkish Ship Industry Inc. was decided to be included in the scope of privatization in 1993, however, legal entity of Turkish Ship Industry Inc. was ended in 2002 by the Privatization Administration and the shipyards came under the authority of Maritime Enterprise Inc. But the critical point about that is that Maritime Enterprise Inc. is subordinate to the Privatization Administration within the scope of privatization as well. As a footnote, Haliç shipyard, which serves cityline ferries, was transferred to İMM under a Privatization Administration decision in 2005 (<http://www.tdi.gov.tr>). Within the institutional restructuring, it is

obvious that the shipyards were being pushed into privatization regularly by subordinating them to the Privatization Administration since 1993.

Beyond the institutional rearrangements for the civil shipyards, their decline started in the 1980s. After the establishment of Tuzla shipyards, which carry on productive activities through private enterprises with state incentives, the deterioration of employment and resources of these shipyards was the main sign for the future. The first step was closing down the Naval Architecture Technical High School. Following that İstinye Shipyard, which carried on its function since 1912, was closed down in 1991 giving pollution as the reason. Then, as stated, Haliç and Camialtı shipyards were attempted to be privatized because because they were losing money (Odman, 2010). Through these crucial attempts the bases of current conditions were prepared.

The main break affecting the shipyards was the decision to close down Haliç, Camialtı and Alaybey shipyards on April 5, 1994. Corresponding to the economic crisis of 1994 and as part of economic stability, these civil shipyards faced the threat of closure. The reasons for this were listed in the reports of the Privatization Administration as debt, high cost of production, underdeveloped technology and over-employment. Another main reason was the location of the shipyards. Location in the middle of the city was repeated as a problem in terms of inconsistency with “planning principles” in the reports (Gemi Mühendisleri Odası, 1994). After a while, the government turned back from this decision and cancelled the order to close down the shipyards.

In the years between 1996 and 1998, ship construction proceeded in a dwindling manner. In addition to that, from 1998 onwards, authorities tried to decommission Camialtı and Haliç shipyards, citing technical reasons related to the Galata Bridge. At the end, the production in Camialtı and Haliç shipyards was stopped in 2000 by the government of the time. According to this decision, Camialtı would be transferred to the İstanbul Provincial Special Administration. The Administration declared that the area would be used as a police education center. Haliç shipyard would be transferred to the Treasury in order to be given to the İstanbul University

Marine Sciences Institute (Sener, 2000). After these decisions, a series of transfers also occurred. Camialtı shipyard was transferred to MEI by the council of minister's decision. Haliç shipyard was also assigned to MEI at first. And then, MEI passed the authority to İMM in 2005 (Mimarlar Odası, 2014).

The process of Taşkızak shipyard was different since it was a naval shipyard. After the earthquake of 1999, Gölcük Military Shipyard was badly damaged. In response to that, Pendik shipyard, as it was the largest one, was assigned to Turkish Naval Forces Command. Following that, the production in Taşkızak shipyard was also moved to Pendik shipyard. Thus, Taşkızak lost its function in this process. In 2005, Taşkızak was transferred to İMM through the Kasımpaşa Exchange Protocol on condition of some restoration and construction studies. The major restriction of the protocol for İMM was that the property would not be transferred to any third party, the historic fabric would be conserved and the facilities would be used for the public interest (Mimarlar Odası, 2014).

Even though the shipyards were used as an industrial area from the first day of its establishment, transition from industry to service sector and the enlargement of the central business district led to the appearance of a series of projects for the Haliç coasts. Thus, Haliç Port is one of these projects aiming to privatize Camialtı and Taskızak shipyards.

Plans and Projects

The aforementioned area is located on the Haliç coast. The Haliç is one of the most special districts in the city because it represents the memory and the identity of industrial development of İstanbul. However, the uniqueness of Haliç has been exposed to harsh interventions that started in the 1980s and accelerated in the 1990s and 2000s. Haliç Port project is one of these interventions, and the last link of the chain on the Haliç coast. Based on this, it makes sense stating the series of projects covering the Haliç coast.

The industrial core of the city has been the Haliç district from Ottoman to the recent past. However, a major destruction process began in the 1980s and the industrial landscape of the coast was transformed into non-functional grassy places. Even though there were still some parts with industrial function, the most part of the Haliç coast lost its main character with the aim of making green spaces. Since the mid-1990s, the entire Haliç coast has entered another change process and has been the main subject of partial transformation projects through a cultural bay vision. In this process, even if the traces of industrial heritage have been conserved relatively, they have lost their productive function and refunctionalized through some consumption facilities under the cultural discourse. As far as is known, there are about ten projects implemented on the Haliç with different functions and capabilities. But it is also known that there will be tens of projects for future implementations.

The first one of these widespread projects is the Koç Industry Museum. The museum consisting of two buildings and open spaces was revealed in 1996. In addition to this museum, Hasköy shipyard was bought by the foundation and integrated to the project. The later part of the museum entered service in 2001. The project was the first example of transformation of old industrial buildings. So it boosted this kind of projects, particularly in the direction of selecting the Haliç for new investments and adopting the model of transformation (Erbey, 2009).

Another project was the transformation of the Feshane. Many industrial sections were destroyed in 1986 in order to enlarge the open spaces, however, two of the buildings were conserved for use as a museum and art center in the future. In this manner, the buildings were functionalized as a Contemporary Handicraft Museum by the İMM in 1992. However, because of some technical problems the buildings became unusable. After that, restoration studies for the buildings started and this time Feshane was opened as a fair exhibition and convention center in 1998. In recent years, the area has been used for recreational activities during Ramadan (Yerliyurt, 2008; Erbey, 2009).

Transformation of the Sütlüce Slaughter House into a convention center located on the north coast of Haliç is another such project. The refunctionalization process was

started in 1998 under the restoration studies. However, the building was destroyed at first, and then it was constructed with a similar facade but four times larger. The Stlce Convention Center project was announced as the largest such center of the city (Yerliyurt, 2008; Erbey, 2009).

A different project from previous ones was the Cibali Tobacco Factory transformation. The building was abandoned in 1995 and after two years Kadir Has Foundation bought the building to restore as a private university. In 2002, the building was opened as Kadir Has University. It was the first example of refunctionalization of an old factory into a university. Following that, the Silahtaraęa Powerhouse was transformed into another private university (Yerliyurt, 2008; Erbey, 2009).

Apart from these projects transforming production facilities into cultural ones, a number of recreational projects and transportation projects such as Minia Turk and Hali Metro Bridge were carried out. Even though the discourses concentrated on cultural activities for Hali, implemented projects refer to tourism somehow. The 1/100.000 Environment Plan prepared in 2009 proves this idea in the plan report with these words:

“On the 1/100.000 İstanbul Environment Plan, historic and cultural fabric, landscape silhouette of Hali district will be conserved in an integrated and supportive manner to culture tourism in Historic Peninsula and Beyoęlu. The district will be featured as Hali Culture Spine. In this context, continuity of pedestrian and green spaces along the Hali coast defined as green spine should be provided and the use of coast consisting of parks and recreational spaces, museums, convention halls should be enhanced. By making Hali the culture spine, the district will be one of the most prominent place for culture tourism of İstanbul.” (Şehir Plancıları Odası, 2016, p.187).

Within this vision for the Hali coast, Camialtı and Taşkızak shipyards, including Hali shipyard, became the subjects of new projects. Taşkızak and Camialtı have been featured as a Marina Complex for the Hali Port project in 2013, while Hali

shipyard has been subjected to another project which came up with use as a museum in 2016. However, on the same 1/100.000 plan the shipyards were defined for the lower scale plans as follows:

Haliç, Camialtı and Taşkızak shipyards having historic, cultural and architectural values will carry on their shipyard functions by the works of maintenance and modernization of cityline ferries; other functions such as museums including teaching the techniques of ship construction and science-industry, culture centers that open to tourism can take place in these shipyards.

Even though the uses of the areas in contradiction with the plan decision and offered projects, the processes still go on. Especially, Haliç Port project has been confronted with an important opposition and the future of the project is not clear for now from the viewpoint of the citizens.

5.3.2 “Haliç Port” Between the Power and the Opposition

After a series of other projects on the Haliç coast as a complementary project, Haliç Port came to light in 2013. It is similar to other two state-led privatization projects in respect to outcomes. However, the process and the content of the project created the opposition.

The project offered marina and hotels on the 250.000 m² land on the Haliç coast (Figure.5.20). It came as an imposition and ignored the cultural-historical value of the industrial heritage. The opposition consisting of different parts of the society attempted to prevent the privatization of the area.



Figure.5.20. The Project Area of Haliç Port

Ultimately, the narrative of the Haliç Port project is dealt with in this section through the relation of the power and the opposition in order to understand the internal dynamics of the process.

The Tender Without a Plan and a Project vs. Raising Opposition

Haliç Port project was mentioned for the first time in December of 2010 through a different project content. İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality published the project on their official web page as "Taşkızak, Haliç and Camialtı Shipyards Preliminary Survey Project for Social and Cultural Use". About a year later, İMM prepared the project for submission to the Conservation Committee, however, the Committee asked for the conservation plans. After that, the main process of the Haliç Port project started (Şehir Plancıları Odası, 2016).

In the early days of 2013, Maritime Enterprise Inc. (MEI) announced that the shipyards had turned a loss and the board decided to close them down. A few months later, it was announced in the Official Gazette that the shipyards would be transferred in a build-operate-transfer model (Köksal, 2013; Şehir Plancıları Odası, 2016).

Following that, the Prime Minister of the time affirmed the project and the tender during the ground-breaking ceremony of the 3rd Bridge. According to his declaration, the content of the project would be based on "recreational uses" such as shopping malls, marinas, hotels, convention centers, cultural centers and mosques (Yurdakul, 2013).

In response, opponent groups raised both the content and the process of the project. After a while, the tender announcement was made by the Ministry of Transportation. According to that, details of the agreement could be seen from designated address freely, however, a sum of 50.000 TL was needed to join the tender. The Chamber of Architects applied in order to get information about the project. However, their application was turned down and the chamber was informed that only the companies joining the tender could get information. Moreover, the chamber was asked to pay the joining fee to get the information (Köksal, 2013). The tender was carried out and Sembol International Investment-Ekopark Tourism-Fine Hotels consortium gained the tender of project for 49 years with a build-operate and transfer model. The uses in the project were defined as two marinas each with capacity for 70 yachts, two 5-star hotels, shops and restaurants, a culture and convention center, an entertainment center, a mosque with capacity of 1000 people and car parks (Hürriyet, 2013). According to the protocol of the tender, responsibility for preparation of plans and projects for Camialtı and Taşkızak shipyards belonged to the company.

Even though the uses in the project were defined by the tender, the chairman of the consortium stated in an interview that there was no official project yet. The chairman explained:

We do not have a prepared project. But we have some drawings. We have prepared them consistent to the parameters of the government. After we sign the agreement, we will share the project in order to get opinions of the citizens.

...We should design a project which makes the world appreciate and also ensure making profit.

Questions about the decision of the Conservation Committee and confirmation of it were not answered by the chairman (Özgentürk, 2013).

The Chamber of Architects made a statement to the press about the illegal tender and the project inconsistent with the public interest by remarking that they would commence a lawsuit. The chamber said:

There is no plan or project approved by the Conservation Committee. Without the decision of the committee it is not possible to implement a project...

...This is a serious crime, however, it has become ordinary in recent years. We have got used to these kinds of illegal attempts. It is not legal to submit a tender without preparing the plan. How could the consortium get the tender without knowing what will be done? or How do they warrant that the committee will permit the project? (Kızılağaç, 2013).

After the statement, the Chamber of Architects commenced a lawsuit to stop the execution and cancel the tender. The chamber justified their claim on the basis that the area was an industrial conservation site and had been transferred to İMM on the condition that it was not transferred to third parties. For those reasons, the chamber emphasized that the project was illegal and it was not in the best interest of the public (Dağlar, 2013). The statement of the chamber said:

The site of the project is quite prominent and the shipyards over there are our industrial heritage. It is obvious that there is no proposal for the port project in the conservation plan. However, all our coasts are being opened up to such projects by the change in the Coast Law...

...Nobody knows anything about the project. A secret project is being proceeded in an important heritage area. Not just the people of Turkey, but, everyone in the world has the right to be informed and say something about the project that is being implemented in such an area ...

...Putting the project out to the tender in a secret manner is unacceptable. This project destroys the Haliç district. We are asking for an explanation of the project (Birgün, 2013).

After a while, Haliç Solidarity was founded by people who had dealt with the area for a long time. The solidarity gathered in front of Camialtı Shipyard in order to protest the project and made a statement to the press as follows:

The 558-year old, historic-cultural-industrial heritage and an important production and employment area faces eradication due to the Haliç Port project. As the only untouched area on the Haliç coast, the shipyards are tried to be taken out of public space. Moreover, when we consider the interaction of the project with Okmeydanı and Kasımpaşa it is the reality that the project was made with an agenda in order to boost a huge rent-based regeneration... (Bianet, 2013).

The solidarity including retired workers of the shipyards, unions, chambers, political parties, neighbourhood associations and other interested citizens declared a manifesto. According to that, the solidarity demanded the conservation of the industrial heritage, landscape, archaeological entities, historic buildings and fabric of the shipyards. And also, the solidarity emphasized that it was important to use public property for public interest, developing shipyards for production, conveying history to the future by discussing reusage of the area within open platforms (halicdayanismasi.blogspot.com.tr, 2013).

Despite the ongoing lawsuit against the illegal tender, the site delivery was made to the consortium. Afterwards, Camialtı shipyard went silent and the machines used to make ships were sold. The solidarity made a statement stating that the interventions were carried out without getting confirmation from the Conservation Committee and there were not any plans for the area. The solidarity announced that they would inform the Conservation Committee about the illegal interventions and condemn the related institutions (T24, 2013).

Following these oppositional attempts against the destructive and rent-based Haliç Port project, a parliamentarian of the opposition party prepared a parliamentary question which reflected the fear of citizens. The parliamentarian asked some questions to the Minister of Culture and Tourism, Minister of Environment and Urbanization, Minister of Transportation and Minister of Defence by emphasizing the following points:

- Plan decisions for Haliç Shipyards corresponding to use for culture and education activities in 1/100 000 Environment Plan have been ignored in this project.
- Proposed functions in the project (e.g. marina, hotel, shopping mall) threaten the historic fabric, function and uniqueness of the shipyards
- If the site is used for recreational activities, most of the data regarding naval history will disappear
- There are a great number of registered buildings in the site and harming, constructing or changing their functions is forbidden with regard to 2863 Conservation Law. This project is inconsistent with this law.

- The project is inconsistent with the protocol between the Ministry of Defence and İMM, which refers to transferring conditions of Taşkızak shipyards.
- It is possible to rehabilitate the shipyards for production activities. While the function of the shipyards can be kept, refunctioning for tourism is inadmissible.
- The conservation principles for ensuring sustainability of the registered buildings is not shared with the citizens.
- The project is also a threat to urban archeology
- Haliç Port is a hegemonic project like the other ones, which is imposed without getting the opinions of the citizens. (Kösebay Erkan, 2013).

After that, the issue faded and there was no attempt from the power for a while. The opposition did not stop their attempts and continued to follow the process, which was conducted in a hidden way by the power.

Procedural Planning vs. Ongoing Opposition

The area in question is a conservation site and it is the subject of conservation plans. Before proposing some uses for the area, it is necessary to prepare those plans in the light of required studies. However, there still was not any plan or project presented to the citizens at that time although the uses of the area were advertised. In this process, the project came to the fore and then fell off the agenda.

Rumours about the author of the project began to rise and it was suggested that Han Tümertekin would design the project. So, the solidarity called for Han Tümertekin to carry out a transparent and participatory design process. But, Han Tümertekin answered this call by indicating that he was not the author of the project, he was only one of the candidates who had negotiated as an investor (Bayhan, 2014a). After the explanation, the solidarity expressed their thanks and declared:

Our claim is that all of the issues about the shipyards from the new programme of reuse of the site to its relation with their surroundings should be discussed on an open platform and in a transparent process. At this point, we are calling on all institutions, unions, chambers, political parties and citizens who love their country, city, neighborhood and who care for protecting historic and cultural heritage and conveying them to the future ... (Bayhan, 2014b).

Despite the elapsed time, neither plans nor the project came to light and the shipyards were silent. Haliç Solidarity organized a meeting in order to share the latest news and state their opinions again. The solidarity emphasized that in spite of their calls for transparency, they had not seen the tender documents. They also stated that they knew the existence of ongoing planning studies for the projects. The solidarity invited the professionals to share their works with the citizens (www.yapi.com.tr, 2014).

After a while, plans would be prepared in a procedural manner. But before that, it was necessary to overcome some procedural obstacles. First, the Conservation Committee decided, because of a demand from the Ministry of Transportation, to demolish some of the buildings in the conservation site and rebuild them in a different place. They justified this by claiming that those buildings hindered the project (Doğan, 2015a). Secondly, the area was declared as a “Special Project Site” by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization with the purpose of empowering the company to prepare plans despite the ongoing lawsuit process (Cumhuriyet, 2015).

The conservation plans were prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization consistent with the project of the consortium. The plans were presented to the public for objections (Ocak, 2015). At first glance, the significant point about the plans was that they proposed filling the sea to gain new areas. Haliç Solidarity complained to the ministry about the plans by gathering in front of the provincial directorate and making a press statement. The solidarity stated that they had filed a lawsuit against the plans with the chambers. The reasons for the objection were listed as follows:

- The plans will cause the rent-based development by destroying Haliç landscape and Tersane-i Amire and erasing the identity of the area
- The plans do not take into account the historic, technical, technological, archeological and cultural values of the area
- The plans only propose and define a new built environment conditions with obscurity

- The plans are the first step for the destruction of the living industrial heritage through gaining high level rent (Doğan, 2015b).

The details of the 1/5000 Conservation Development Plan and 1/1000 Conservation Implementation Plan were explained in the plan reports in the direction of legitimizing the project. According to that, the aim of the project was to bring out the culture and tourism superiority of the city, increase the life quality within the economic and social sustainability principles, transform the economic structure into science and technology based trade and service sector economy by using historic, cultural and natural values of the area in order to meet the goal of making İstanbul a global center of attraction. Besides the economic benefits of this investment, cultural and historic values would be used actively within an ecologic and sustainable perspective. Shortly, the project was depicted as a requirement for İstanbul in order to develop its tourism sector and exhibit not only İstanbul but also the entire country to the world (Tural Planlama, 2015).

From that perspective, the goals of the 1/5000 development plan were to increase the benefits and use of the area for all citizens in İstanbul, raise the employment opportunities by shifting functions and uses responding the needs of Central Business District (CBD) developed through service sector, establish facilities for qualified services for the tourism sector by revitalizing historic identity of the site, provide the use opportunity for the citizens through waterfront arrangements, generate an urban attraction point by ensuring economic diversity and productivity and offer qualified service not only at the scale of the city but also at the national and international scales in order to make the vision of global city İstanbul a reality (Tural Planlama, 2015).

Additionally, the most crucial advantage was that the project would open up the unused Haliç coast to the citizens. The project would ensure the use of the coast by citizens in respect to social justice and equity, as well. Economically, the project would provide advantages in two ways. Firstly, due to transferring the area for 49 years, the company would pay rent and after that the company would transfer the area with all investments to the public again. Secondly, the area would bring in huge

investments and provide employment opportunities. Apart from all those benefits, the most important benefit of the project is that it would contribute to the brand value of İstanbul, and ensure the development of the tourism sector by raising the number of tourists in İstanbul. (Figure.5.21) (Armada Co. Ltd., 2016; Tural Planlama, 2015)

Alongside the development plan, the 1/1000 implementation plan report also highlighted the same points. The plan schematics did not give required details about further built environment of the area. It had almost the same level of detail as the development plan as it only covered the area as an urban block. According to the plan report, for the implementation process of the project the plan was the first phase. The preparation process of architectural projects was finished related to these plans, but the concept project was not shared with the citizens yet.

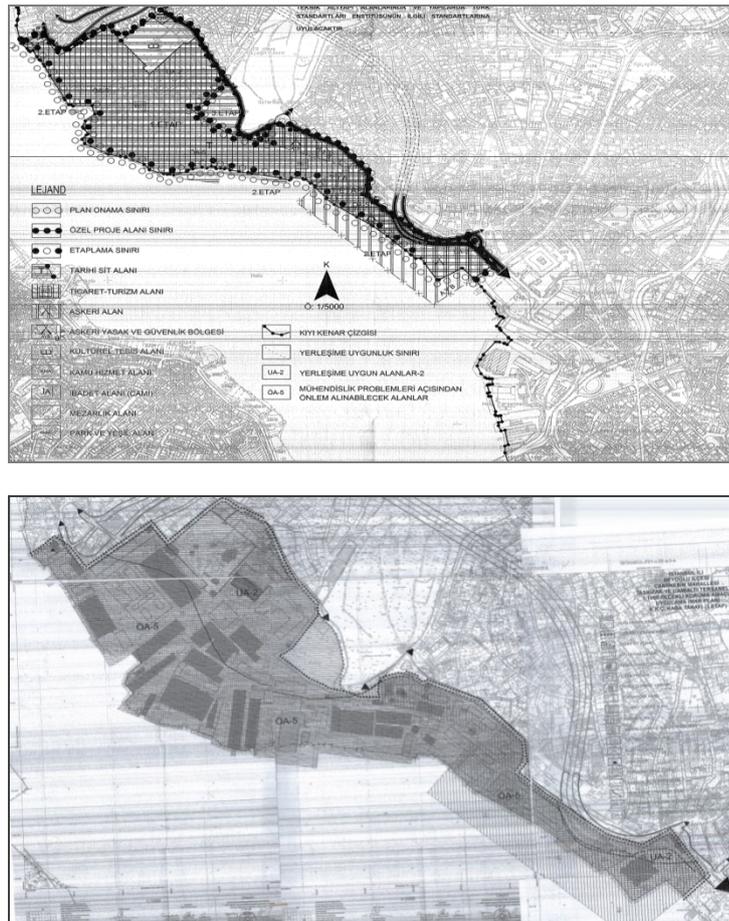


Figure.5.21 1/5000 and 1/1000 Plans
Source: Beyoğlu Municipality, 2015

Despite the objections to the plans and the lawsuit, the process for Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) was started. As it was a legal necessity, it was stated in the application that the opinions of the local people would be taken. After a while, an EIA meeting was organized, however, the solidarity protested the meeting and prevented it from being taking place and the committee cancelled the meeting. Then, the solidarity made a press statement pointing out the illegality of the process right from the start with these words:

As Haliç Solidarity we prevented that meeting. Because, since the tender process of the project, that began two and a half years ago, it has been obvious what they want to do. They are making the EIA an instrument for their illegal play. As citizens, we will not be a part of that play acted under the participation and transparency rhetoric (Diken, 2015).

As of now, the fate of the project is not clear. There is no evidence whether the project will be implemented or not. Nevertheless, the opposition still keeps its vigilance against any attempt from the power.

5.4 Summary for the Trajectories and Stories

Privatization of public spaces has come into vogue since the mid-1990s in the case of Turkey. The beginning of privatization trajectories for the cases in question coincided with the same years. Even though privatization of these public spaces was not accomplished in a direct way at that time, an insidious process followed. Despite spatio-temporal differentiations, the aim is similar for each of them.

All three cases were economically productive public services until a certain time. Each of them was a space of capitalism, and they took place in productive relations. The background of these spaces can be traced back to the Ottoman Empire. Salıpazarı and Haydarpaşa were the first spaces of imperial capitalism. Both of them were constructed and operated by imperial powers, and after the proclamation of the Republic, they were expropriated on condition of debt. In fact, this expropriation may be considered as the transformation from private to public and an effort to build a national economy. Camialtı and Taskızak shipyards have a different situation in

comparison with Salıpazarı and Haydarpaşa. The shipyards represented the naval force of the Ottoman state against imperial powers until the collapse period. In this period, the shipyards were exposed to the domination of the same powers through limitation of production and getting operational rights of maritime sector. The Republic increased the productive activity in the shipyards as part of the understanding of national economy. After all these attempts over these spaces to expropriate and rejoin the national economy, these spaces encounter privatization today.

The insidious privatization processes of these spaces turned into highly complex and intense processes after the 2000s in terms of their spatio-temporal dynamics, the attempts of the power and the responses of the oppositions (Table 5.2). The privatization process, which was in the mind of the power but could not be accomplished until the 2000s, has come to light by state-led large scale projects in a concrete manner.

After the 2000s, the privatization approach adopted by the state reveals distinctive stories specific to particular conditions. Contrary to the certain planning approach and well-defined processes, fragmented privatization projects came to exist with oppositional movements, which convert the process into dynamic and unique facts, rather than being linear processes. If we put aside these dynamics in order to examine them later, some common points may be articulated for the selected cases.

First of all, the projects have been offered by the state directly. The facilitator role of the state in market-led privatization processes has evolved into the state-led projects. The projects or the theme of them are prepared by the state institutions prioritizing private interests. The direct existence of the state in formation and execution of the projects imply a shifted dimension in comparison to pre-2000s. Secondly, the productive spaces are replaced with consumption spaces through shopping malls, hotels, offices and some cultural facilities in these state-led projects. The logic of the replacement is grounded on the fact that consumption spaces bring two times more rent income than production spaces. Land provision by privatizing, especially the lands of public property where huge economic enterprises have settled, provide a

high level rent. Besides, the endurance of the gains is prominent. The attractive consumption activities with high-yield warrant the continuance of extra-rent. At that point, as a critical footnote, the profit seeking with similar land uses all around the city brings irrationalities in the long term. From the capitalist rationale point of view, the predominant tendency carries solid risks and contradictions for the capitalist. However, because of the state's position as the compensator, the risks are taken by the state, that is to say, by the society. The social extensions of new land use patterns resulted in special target groups and exclusion of other parties. Thirdly, socio-economic risks taken, legislative interventions made and the abuse of power to implement the projects became notable. New land use definitions, empowering certain state institutions in the planning process and centralizing the authority through law amendments are pivotal implementations of the state. Lastly, contrary to the widespread opinion about the participatory decision-making process in large scale projects, which combines only the elite parts of society (i.e academicians, non-governmental actors, chambers etc.), our cases show that these actors are taken out of the process in decision-making and in policy-making. The process only incorporates the state and the capitalists in a non-transparent manner. All in all, the main lines of privatization in state-led projects generate oppositional responses within the society.

To sum up, the cases obviously reveal the main logic of privatization after the 2000s. The project-based space production toward commodifying productive public spaces has become a major trend. With similar spatial characteristics, they all focus on reproduction of urban space rather than production of space under the social needs. The destructive approach to already produced spaces is the result of aiming revalorization of the spaces toward getting higher rent. Out of the outstanding common features of the processes under the domination of the power, spatio-temporal dynamics and the responses of the oppositions constitute the uniqueness of each case. Thus, the further concern of the study focuses on the dynamic process of stories between the power and the opposition.

Table 5.2 Summary of the Trajectories and Stories

Spatio-Temporal Identity		Privatization Attempts of the Power				Responds of the Opposition		Last Status	
Size and Location	Function	Spatio-Temporal Breaks	The Previous Preparations for Privatization	Project of Privatization	Empowered Institutions	Legislative Interventions	Organization	Against	
<p>The area has 112.000 m² land. It is situated on the coast along the Bosphorous and in the city center of European side.</p>	<p>Salpazarı and Karaköy port was the space of sea trade. The exported trade goods were shipped and distributed to the market by passing through the customs. In addition to that, the port used for the national and international passenger ships.</p>	<p>In 1986, the function of the port was reduced to serve only passenger ships. Freight ships and export activities were left out. The passenger transportation has become for cruise tourists. The area has turned into a gateway for foreign tourists by putting aside the productive activities.</p>	<p>Maritime Enterprise Inc. was subordinated to Privatization Administration (PA) in 1995. The way for selling and renting out of the public property was opened.</p>	<p>The project saves the current use of the area. However, it increases the building ratio within commercials, offices, hotel and cultural facilities. There is sea embankment in the project.</p>	<p>PA is the authority for tendering and planning. However, in the process, subordinated MEI to PA exceed its power. The local governments IMM and Beyoğlu Municipality do not take place in the process. Also, there are the authority conflicts over the area.</p>	<p><u>The Law Amendment: "Cruise Port"</u> definition for increasing building rights on the coast and legalize the private uses on public coastal zones <u>The Law 5398:</u> Facilitates high construction ratio for the coasts serving as cruise port</p>	<p>There is not any well-defined organization against the project. The chambers have conducted oppositional process.</p>	<p>Privatization of public property Law amendments and inconsistent planning process Privatization of public service by replacing consumption space</p>	<p>The power has started to implement the project.</p>
Salpazarı and Karaköy Port									

Table 5.2 Continued

Spatio-Temporal Identity			Privatization Attempts of the Power				Responsions of the Opposition		Last Status
Size and Location	Function	Spatio-Temporal Breaks	The Previous Preparations for Privatization	Project of Privatization	Empowered Institutions	Legislative Interventions	Organization	Against	
<p>The area covers 1.000.000 m² land. It is located on the coast and in the city center. The high dense public property around the area and historic fabric enhance its use and exchange value.</p>	<p>Haydarpaşa serves as the intermodal transportati on node for both freight and passengers transport. The public service is important in the national and city scale.</p>	<p>The area substantially remains its original function in activeness. However, since 2012, the trains have not come to the station. The station and the rail lines have left out of use consciously. The productive activities are held on at the port, while the transportation service has been stopped.</p>	<p>The legal amendments for privatizing Turkish State Railways and institutional rearrangements by changing mechanisms (i.e close down labour schools and decrease the number of employees etc.)</p>	<p>The series of projects refunctionaliz e the area by replacing public services with tourism oriented uses. Through the cruise port definition, shopping malls, five-star hotels, luxury residents and cultural centers are proposed.</p>	<p>PA is the authority for tendering and planning. However, in the process, subordinated MEI to PA exceed its power. The local governments IMM and Beyoğlu Municipality do not take place in the process. Also, there are the authority conflicts over the area</p>	<p>The Law 5234 and the Law 5335: Transfer the property rights of Haydarpaşa to TSR and the planning authority centralized. The local governments are taken out of the process. The Law 5398: Facilitates high construction ratio for the coasts serving as cruise port The Law 5793: Empowers Privatization Administration for Haydarpaşa and disempowers the local governments, committees in the planning process. The law amendment is for overcoming the court decision and replacing to the law 5335</p>	<p>Haydarpaşa Solidarity consisting of chambers, unions, associations, initiatives etc.</p>	<p>Privatizati on of public property Law amendme nts and inconsiste nt planning process Privatizati on of public service by replacing consumpti on space</p>	<p>The project could not been implemented. The solidarity has achieved to inhibit. However, the station is still out of use. The restoration of the station is carried out right now. The planning process is delivered by IMM and TSR without transparency. The solidarity continue to keep the issue on the agenda and the power keeps its silence.</p>
Haydarpaşa Port and Station									

Table 5.2 Continued

Spatio-Temporal Identity		Privatization Attempts of the Power				Responds of the Opposition		Last Status	
Size and Location	Function	Spatio-Temporal Breaks	The Previous Preparations for Privatization	Project of Privatization	Empowered Institutions	Legislative Interventions	Organization	Against	
<p>The area is located on 250,000 m² land. It lies down on Haliç coast and near the city center of European side.</p>	<p>Camialtı and Taskızak shipyards were the oldest ship production space. Both civil and naval ships were produced since 15th century.</p>	<p>In 2000, the production was entirely stopped in Camialtı by decreasing the ship construction properly since the mid-1990s. Taskızak shipyard moved after the earthquake in 1999. So, the area has been out of production since the beginning of 2000s.</p>	<p>The process was started by closing down labour schools. Turkish Ship Industry Inc. was included in the scope of privatization in 1993. The decision for closing down Camialtı in 1994 and the ship construction was decreased. Maritime Enterprise Inc. was subordinated to Privatization Administration in 1995.</p>	<p>The project offers marina, five star hotel, shopping mall, cultural center in place of the productive space.</p>	<p>For tendering the authority is Ministry of Transportation. Planning authority delegated to Ministry of Environment and Urbanization.</p>	<p>There is not any special law amendment for the project. The process came up without prepared plans and projects.</p>	<p>Haliç Solidarity has been defined as the organization by including academicians, retired workers, chambers etc.</p>	<p>Privatization of public property Law amendments and inconsistent planning process Privatization of public service by replacing consumption space</p>	<p>The construction of the project has not been started yet.</p>
Camialtı and Taskızak Shipyards									

CHAPTER 6

PROCESS OF (RE)PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE AND FORMATION OF URBAN MOVEMENTS: COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION ON SELECTED CASES

This chapter introduces the process of (re)production of urban space with PSPs and formation of urban movements within selected cases. Throughout the study, structural and sociospatial transformations have been discussed in parallel to capitalist urban processes. The contours for (re)production of urban space and urban movements have been drawn both in theoretical discussions and in the İstanbul case. On the other hand, the case study research allows exploration of details regarding PSPs and oppositional movements in specific as they relate to public space. Together with the stories of selected cases and in-depth-interviews, the comparative elaboration gives common and distinctive features and enables further discussions. Following the comparative inquiries into the process of (re)production of urban space and formation of urban movements, the content of each space is discussed in order to designate some concepts which constitute different characteristics of these movements.

6.1 Process of (Re)production of Urban Space with PSPs

The investigation into the process of (re)production of urban space with PSPs aims to unveil the actions of power. Our earlier theoretical discussions gave major insights into the logic of PSPs. Although we know that there exist exceptionalities during the process, embodying and conceptualizing them through selected cases gains importance. It is also significant to question the attitude of the power, particularly

when there is an oppositional stance. Within the interrelation of the power and the opposition unfold common and distinctive aspects of the cases.

The information-based stories contain considerably complex descriptions of the stages of the processes. To clarify the stages followed by the power, the story of each case is represented as a layered timeline for decomposing the process (See: Appendix E, Appendix F, Appendix G). The timeline displays the horizontal concurrent flows in the temporal order. The layers are defined according to the tools used by the power and the opposition. The temporal order of each story is taken into account to illuminate mutual moves between the power and the opposition for further analysis. The stages are conceptualized in order to label the attitude of power in the process. Designated stages are discussed by means of the stories and the interviews. In this way, answers are sought for the questions of “What kind of stages and tools do the PSPs need?” and “Does the existence of oppositional movements affect the process?”

6.1.1 The Process of Salıpazarı and Karaköy Port

The process of Salıpazarı and Karaköy started as an ordinary spatial intervention. By the reason of both being the first and being out of public use spatially, it did not generate a oppositional response from the society in the beginning. After rising objections, the process has progressed within its own trajectory (See: Appendix E).

The first radical transformation for the area occurred when freight transportation was cut off a long time ago. After that, the area turned into a city gate for cruise tourism and the “*isolation*” stage started. The area had been closed to the access of citizens for years, and it was excluded from everyday life. Although it served cruises and arriving tourists, the capacity of the port was insufficient. Within these aspects, the area has subsisted as a lost space despite its value. The isolation of the area from everyday life led it to be forgotten by the citizens.

Under these circumstances the proposed project did not confront a reaction, and the main process for the project was launched. Because of the need for a project for the

area, the power began to promote their offer with the justification of opening public use. In the “*promotion*” stage, the content of the project was declared by highlighting the accessibility citizens would have to shopping malls, hotels, restaurants, office spaces, museum, exhibition and fair halls, and various sales points. The contradictory explanations about destruction of the existing buildings came to the fore. Even though the content of the project gave the ideas about high dense built environment in an inconsistent manner with the Coast Law, the oppositional reaction still did not emerge.

The law amendment concerning the definition of “cruise port” opened the stage for “*procedural adjustment*” that defines the basis for conveying the project to the implementation stage. The proposed built environment for Salıpazarı and Karaköy needed some legal rearrangements in terms of ensuring both new development rights and consumption functions making the coast out of public use. The possible outputs of the amendment caused reactions among professionals. Chambers commenced a lawsuit over the amendment and after a while it was cancelled. At that point, it should be noted, there was still no objection focusing on the project itself. It is obvious that the main reaction of the chambers was against the law and high development rights. The reason may be the need for a project that enabled integration with the surrounding. Access of the public to the shore and enhancing public interests appear as a necessity. However, the “cruise port” function means that the area would remain out of utilization for the society. This comes along with a number of irrationalities. First, although the area had been used with this aim for years, the capacity is very low and not suitable for upgrading. Second, the law amendment depicts the real intention of the direction of production toward a high and dense built environment. And finally, proposed uses through consumption facilities are out of the public interest. The interviewee from the Chamber of City Planners explains the matter in these words:

Indeed, the area has been used as a port since Genoese times and conserved its original characteristic. It should be also conserved in the future, as well. But, development history of the area shows that the area began to transform after the 1980s and depending on central business district (CBD) sprawl and turning into passenger port, it lost its importance. And now, the area is problematic for Beyoğlu, and it should be

solved. Because, this place is the coast where you cannot get in relation from Karaköy to Fındıklı. It is clear that the area should open to public use and there is a need for a project. Yet, the main problem is that the power offer a “cruise port” as a solution. İstanbul is a city that has high potential for tourism and there may be a cruise port. However, Salıpazarı and Karaköy is not suitable for being a cruise port in terms of area capacity. Right now, only two ship can concurrently come into the port. There is no chance for more than two. But, it shows that the aim is not propose cruise port and make a main port for tourism development. The aim is to extract more rent (S5).

Parallel to the legal amendment, the plans were prepared in specific for the project. By giving development rights through the cancelled law, prepared plans offered high construction densities and were unable to achieve association with the surrounding. The plans were totally inconsistent with the conditions of the coastal use. Aside from the envisaged built environment, the procedure of the preparations was not consistent with the legal order. The institution preparing the plans was not empowered and the issue was outside its authority. And also, the presentation of rejected plans constituted another illegality. Thus, new proposals for the area did not represent any social interests, moreover, the process was carried out in an illegal manner.

Despite rejection of the plans and cancellation of the law, organized tender and presented plans increased reactions of the opposition. The tender process represents another exceptionality in terms of an authority exceeding its remit. Maritime Enterprise Inc. (MEI) organized the tender by exceeding its authority. And also, the terms of the tender were illegal. In this process, the content of the project and planning principles could not be discussed by any of the opponents. Illegal procedural practices were the main issue given priority.

The new law that maintains the same “cruise port” definition resumed the project process, in spite of overlapped inconsistencies through a number of lawsuits, court decisions and rejections. A new beginning for the project started with plan preparations. Procedural adjustments took place in another dimension. The Privatization Administration organized a meeting to demonstrate that they would conduct the plan preparation in a participatory manner. However, the opinions of the participants, especially the chambers, were not taken into consideration. In response to the pseudo participatory meeting, the Chamber of City Planners carried out

another meeting. However, it could not provide any input. The opinions of the interviewee from the chamber were as follows:

To support and enhance participation within opinion sharing among stakeholders, we held a meeting. Earlier than that, we had also joined the meeting of the Privatization Administration. We had tried to highlight our sensitivities in professional terms and explained the necessities. But, we could not supply any input. We had made our case, however, it did not bring success (S5).

The plan preparations were finalized and the Conservation Committee did not approve them, once again. After a “*pause*” stage, the process made a new start. In the stage of “*imposition within procedures*” the new law draft offered to make the process stable and put into practice after all ups and downs. Newly prepared plans and the tender became apparent. Unlike the previous stage of procedural adjustment, this time the main debates concentrated on the content of the plans. Even though the procedures were fulfilled consistent with the legal order at some points, and some lawsuits still persist related to some of the laws and court decisions, the main focus dealt with the outcome of the plans. In addition to that, apart from the professionals, neighbourhood associations engaged with the issue indirectly.

New plans appeared and the envisaged built environment was still high and dense for the region. The main problems with the plans can be sorted as follows:

- The area was considered as an urban block, and its nearby relations were ignored.
- The details about the uses and the functions of the existing buildings were included in the plans. Only the overall function of the area was defined as “cruise port” and some facilities were listed (i.e commercial, office, hotel etc.).
- A land-fill area was added on the plans different from previous ones.
- They lacked the required details related to the building density. This was only defined in terms of maximum heights and this removes the construction limits.

- Proposed functions would cause over dense traffic for the region and ensure privatization of the coast.

The layout plan supported likely problems in details. The building density was increased on the plan. Even though the definition for maximum height limits was obeyed on the plans, underground facilities were proposed. The use of the buildings was labelled as different kinds of commercial properties. Thus, the initial result of the project was high and dense development.

To conclude, the power managed to launch an “*implementation*” stage by ignoring and rearranging all legal and planning procedures.

6.1.2 The Process of Haydarpaşa Station and Port

Haydarpaşa is a process that has been on the agenda for so long and has still not been finalized. Its complexity is due to the extensive reaction and illustrates a specific process (See: Appendix F).

Independent from the project, the process surrounding Haydarpaşa started from before the 2000s. The macro policies for privatization directly affected the area in terms of starting a soft transformation. Departing from that, the stage prior to the project process is defined as the “*devaluation*” stage. In this stage, closing down the vocational schools that educate qualified railway employees and ensuring limited financial resources for maintenance of the sites caused deterioration of active working mechanisms. Erkan (2013a) emphasizes that the attempts to reduce the value of the site and prepare it for privatization were assisted when information transfer was stopped by closing down the schools. The budgets are decreased in order to accelerate the ageing of the site. The devaluation stage constitutes the base of a smooth transition to a transformation process by reducing human and physical capacities. As stated, the stage is not directly aimed at Haydarpaşa, however, it was one of the initial consequences of those macro policies. Hence, such a broad intervention could not come up with an opposition, and the stage proceeded smoothly.

The main process for Haydarpaşa started with “*speculations*”. The project for Haydarpaşa Port was come up with just after the Galata Port project in terms of time. Both were offered as cruise ports and legal rearrangement in the Coast Law established a linkage between two projects. In this sense, considering the beginning of the process for Haydarpaşa independent from Salıpazarı and Karaköy would be missing an evaluation. After law amendment about the “cruise port” definition, which is an attempt to transform the coasts into high dense built environments, the Galata Port project got reaction from related chambers and the professionals. By extension, the power composed the beginning of the process with speculations in order to measure the reaction of the society and to ensure a reliable milieu for the investor. In this stage, on the one hand clues about the project were given to local media, on the other hand the institutions rejected the rumours about the project. Parallel to this non-transparent stage, the legal basis for implementing the project was arranged, plans and the projects were prepared. Even though these contradictions and uncertainties, the awareness among some opponents started to raise. The railways interviewee was the one of core opponents of the project and tells about the process of learning about it as follows:

When we first met the project, it was not the Manhattan project. It was the one prepared by BEOS covering 390.000 m² area. The back side of the area was designed for accommodation, commercial and office again, and there is no railway. We saw this project on the wall of the Real Estate and Construction Department. We asked what this was and they said there were such considerations for Haydarpaşa. We got the copies of images and began to search for what we could do. We made a meeting as the Union and a worker said that the main project was not this one. He told us there was another project at the municipality. He brought us the project that we knew as Manhattan. After that, we negotiated with the Chamber of Architects and looked for how to defend Haydarpaşa (H2).

The exhibition of the project at an international real estate event shifted the process from speculation stage to “*promotion*” by making the project certain. Since then, the power intensified its efforts. News on the mainstream media in order to justify the project, and new legal regulations constituting main grounds for implementation became apparent. In this sense, “*procedural adjustment*” together with promotion was carried out in parallel. Both the laws 5234 and 5335 are major shifts in terms of making the legal system unworkable. Within these laws, the entire movable and

immovable assets of Haydarpaşa port and station were transferred to Turkish State Railways (TSR) which was empowered to sell and transfer. Another amendment in the Tender Bylaw of TSR gave it the authority to rent the estates without being subject to the Privatization Law. This implied that the legal tools are able to be used according to the requirements of the process. The interviewee from the Chamber of Architects points out this as follows:

These legal arrangements showed that Haydarpaşa is taken out of control and discipline. This also means that there will not be implementation depending on the laws since right now, rather the laws will be regulated depending on the implementations (H1).

Additionally, the questionable point for the interviewee is why the power did not include the TSR in the scope of privatization in a direct manner. For her/him the answer is:

The Galata Port project, as the first experience for the power, was a failure at the first stage. It was in the scope of privatization, however, our objections against the legal amendments stopped the process. So, they may think that they could overcome us by privatizing indirectly (H1).

The “cruise port” opened the way for high density and mixed use in the project area. This law has the feature of removing the barriers. In a rational perspective, proposing a “cruise port” function for Salıpazarı is more acceptable, because the area had served cruises for years. Upgrading the capacity and the spatial conditions of the area may be considered as a need of planning. However, Haydarpaşa has a nuance in terms of being an active urban service carrying on its function effectively. The projects for high dense skyscrapers or shopping malls and finance centers prove the fact for Haydarpaşa. The interviewee from the Chamber of City Planners states this as follows:

In a city, it does not make sense proposing two or three cruise port. You can only offer one port for a city. However, the power has come up with almost five different port projects for İstanbul. Salıpazarı and Haydarpaşa are two of them. After new “cruise port” definition, the matter has become apparent. In İstanbul, we do not want to make a cruise port, but, we want to produce built environment on the coasts in a wide range mix use (S5).

As the major part of the entire process, detailing the *procedural adjustments* is vital. As stated, this stage consists of planning and law amendments. That is to say, this

part refers to legalization of the implementations in a procedural way. Departing from that, prepared plans and projects before the legal regulations are another point that should be remarked in the process. At first, plans are matched to the project, and then, the laws are adjusted to the plans in order to legalize the process. Another interviewee from Chamber of City Planners expresses this process in these words:

We face a reality that the planning is used as a document and a tool for only legitimizing the process. It is just a legal procedure that requires to be fulfilled. In the process, there is a project ordered by the investor. At that point, favourable plans making easier implementation of the project are prepared (H3).

After the exhibition, establishment of the solidarity turned the process into the interrelation of the power and the opposition. Every attack coming from one of them constituted a counter-attack and the kind of opposition came to be the main determinant for the process. In response to increasing attempts of the power within the promotion and the procedural adjustments, the solidarity enhanced its reaction, as well. With the enlargement of the opposition and the application of diverse tools in addition to legal tools, the solidarity achieved the first gain. The “conservation site” decision of the Committee was seen as achievement by the solidarity. As a counter attack, the power tried to *manipulate* the gain. First of all, transmitting of the decision to the related institutions was prevented for a while. Second, the TSR commenced a series of lawsuits against the decision. Above all, to reverse the perception of the society about the project, the 3rd floor of the Haydarpaşa station was rented out. The mission of the firm was to advertise the project. Regarding this issue, the interviewee from the Chamber of Architects said:

We had a grand achievement via Haydarpaşa Solidarity by reaching to the citizens. The struggle was justified seriously by the discourses and acts of the solidarity. There was oppression on the Committee members at that time as well. However, the achievement of the solidarity affected the court and the Committee decisions. When it is the case, a different method has appeared as necessity for the power. They saw that they could not do anything behind the secret doors by making laws. And they changed the tactic by renting the station to an organization firm. Because they need to tell their intention by hiding the realities in front of the society (H1).

The main result of the conservation decision was that prepared plans and projects were defused and the process was restarted with new plans. The differences between the later process and the former one in terms of planning were:

- New plans should be prepared according to conservation plan principles by considering conservation law.
- The authority to prepare the conservation plan is with the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Thus, the Ministry of Settlement and TSR stayed out of the plan preparing process.
- Unlimited utilization and decision rights of the TSR over Haydarpaşa were restricted.

To overcome these major outcomes, a protocol was signed between İMM and TSR, which ensures the existence and the voice of TSR in the process. Following the conservation decision, the decision of the court to stop the execution of the law 5335, which constituted the justification of the protocol, was overturned. The protocol and the progress for the plans carried on. Moreover, another secret protocol was signed for the restoration project, which functionalized the roof of the station for commercial activities. Just after the protocol, a fire that broke out in the roof of the station increased the reaction of the opposition further. The solidarity believed that the fire was designed to make the project acceptable and inevitable. According to them, the fire was another *manipulation* of the power to implement the project. As Erkan (2013b) stressed, many urban projects have been mentioned together with fires in recent years. To show deterioration of the building or the area as reason, such fires have become widespread.

The solidarity made the issue a hot topic in public within different forms of opposition. They made statements to the press and informed the citizens about the process, organized demonstrations and petition campaigns. However, regrowing opposition confronted another *manipulation* of the power. Under the justification of Marmaray construction, the power halted main line and commuter trains in order to put the station out of use. Thus, Haydarpaşa was excluded from everyday life and so began the “isolation” stage of the process.

After this attack, the scale of the opposition grew. Thousand of citizens gathered in front of the station in order to oppose the actions of the power. And also, the

solidarity announced the intention to occupy the station on every Sunday in order not to leave Haydarpaşa alone. The opposition evolved into a visible and continuous phase.

The process for the plans and restoration project was not progressive. The plans were cancelled in parallel to the cancellation of law 5335. And studies for plan preparation were started over. The restoration project, which offers refunctionalizing of the roof, was not approved by Kadıköy Municipality. A revised project conserving the function and structural aspects of the station has been approved and the implementation is still carrying on.

Despite resumed process for the plans, the solidarity maintains mistrust about new plans. Their previous experiences of euphemistic plan notes ensuring mixed use for the project area generate insecurity. The member of the Chamber of Architects states:

There are some tricks in the plans. The plan notes are contradictory and there are dual legends. Some of them imply the station is likely to serve for high speed train, some refer to a nostalgic train. Also, there are notes for using the building of the station partially for a train station and partially for accommodation. Of course we commenced a lawsuit for all these kinds of things. But, it is clear neither the power nor the opposition will not give up. The advantage for us is that the local government, Kadıköy Municipality, has accepted our claim entirely. The decisions and the support of the Municipality are quite important (i.e rejection of the restoration project). The struggle has not stepped back or decreased. We will go on with our claims (H1).

The present situation for Haydarpaşa is a wait. The power stopped its active and visible attempts and the opposition carries on its struggle. However, the solidarity emphasizes that they are aware of the aim of the power. The interviewee from the Chamber of Architects expressed this with the following words:

The policy of the power about the area is to put this area out of use and extend that over a period of time. They are trying to take out Haydarpaşa from urban life by leaving it to devalue, cutting services and making it lonely. The aim is creating a dark region by causing people to forget the actual use of Haydarpaşa in order to justify their project. They are waiting in a patient and persistent manner (H1).

Despite the silence of the power, the opposition remains its struggle by occupying Haydarpaşa on every Sunday. To show counter-persistence, the opposition support their occupation by press statements for calling the power to supply commuter and main train lines.

6.1.3 The Process of Camialtı and Taşkızak Shipyards

The Haliç Port project was very short in comparison to the Haydarpaşa Port and Galata Port projects. However, the project was confronted with the reaction of some parts of society. And that reaction affected the process (See: Appendix G).

The background of the process for Camialtı and Taşkızak dates back to the 1990s and the first stage was “*devaluation*”. In a similar way to Haydarpaşa, the labour schools of civil shipyards ensuring skilled labour were closed down. Following that, shipyards were included in the scope of privatization. So, the stage of devaluation for Camialtı was started by the policies of the Privatization Administration in the direction of decreasing the number of employees and introducing obligatory retirement. At this stage, the productive function of the area declined gradually until the 2000s. The devaluation for Taşkızak differs from Camialtı. The earthquake and decision to moving to the Pendik shipyard caused devaluation.

Together with closing down the shipyards, the area was isolated from the city entirely. In the “*isolation*” stage, the area was out of use and production. This transformed the area into an inactive space, and the decline persisted for years.

The project for Camialtı and Taşkızak shipyards came to the fore in 2013. It became apparent first as an “*imposition*” since the process moved in reverse. First, some news about the plans elicited an affirmation from the Prime Minister, and then, the tender announcement was made without plans or projects. The plans were eventually prepared. But before the plans, the investor quit the shipyards and sold the machines, and equipment while there were no legal documents apart from the tender protocol.

In response to this illegality, the reaction raised from the chambers. Following that, Haliç Solidarity was established, and then the process was carried out between the power and the opposition. What happened was unique and different from the experiences of other projects. The interviewee from Chamber of City Planners tells the experienced process as follows:

The process of the project is quite extreme in comparison to the other ones. I guess, this is the first project that was put out to tender before the plans and the project. We

learned about the project with its tender. We do not know what they have been doing for two years. They are developing a project and the institutions fulfil the required procedures. To sum up, they are privatizing public spaces of the city in an illegal way (C3).

(S)he adds these statements:

In the past, development plans were prepared at first and implementation plans followed. We could make main objections on the basis of the plans. Stopping the execution was easier. After the common opinion was ensured, the project for the area was designed. Our objections were taken into consideration. But now, the tender is held first. The details of the project are studied by the investor, and then, the plans become apparent. The process is organized in reverse (C3).

Inspired by Gezi and Haydarpaşa, the solidarity opposed to the project both using legal tools and also alternative tools. To keep the issue on the agenda, they tried to reach citizens through press statements and explain the illegality of the process. In response to these attempts by the opposition, the power passed on to the “*procedural adjustment*” stage.

In this stage, first the area was declared a “special project site” by the Ministry to fulfil the process procedures. After a while, the plans were prepared and presented to the public. However, similar to the previous experiences, the area was considered as an urban block without environment relations. And the shipyards were treated as a tabula rasa by ignoring the historic, cultural and physical landscape through filled sea and proposed use. One interviewee describes the process as follows:

In this process, the plans do not give any ideas about the details. You cannot catch the traces about the building uses, effects on the population movements and the construction area/ratio. The plans should give an idea about the effects of the project on its environment. But you cannot find the relations. And also, the area is not defined functionally. We do not know whether there will be a hotel or marina. The operation mechanisms are not defined. It is indefinite whether the marina is open to public use (C3).

Despite the complaints, the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) process was proceeded. The meeting of the EIS was protested by the solidarity and was cancelled. The Ministry revised the plans slightly to regained their legality. At present, the public have not seen the project. There is no layout plan or details about the project. Parallel to that, the implementation process has not been started yet. In shortly, nobody knows what will be done to the area in the near future.

6.1.4 Implications for Process of (Re)Production of Urban Space

Our extended theoretical discussions show that the role of the state in facilitating and legitimizing the process is significant for investors. As Swyngedouw (2002) pointed out, the contradictory nature of PSPs requires exceptional power mechanisms. A fragmented mode for (re)production of urban space with PSPs comes along with conditional regulations through institutional and legal rearrangements. Inasmuch as regulations of the state, the power needs additional tools in order to ensure social affirmation for preventing likely oppositional movements. Together with that, privatization of public space and exceptionalities generate inevitable oppositional stances. And in this case, the power applies to new ways for oppressing the opposition.

Investigations into the cases show that process of (re)production of urban space with PSPs have common and distinctive stages. Here, it should be noted that similarity of selected cases normalizes exploring commonalities in the processes. All three function in productive relations of the city, and content of the projects are also similar. However, the critical point is the distinctive stages in the processes. For us, these distinctions are directly associated with the oppositions and their level of mobilizations.

The process, at the outset, starts with the provision of *social affirmation*. Within the frame of earlier discussions, privatization which appears through property relations and spaces of consumption acts for private interests rather than public interests. So, to start any privatization process, it is necessary to persuade the society that the privatized public space is useless and/or inadequate for production of value. Parallel to deindustrialization and the global city project, the cases that are part of productive relations have been made the subjects of privatization. In such circumstances, abolishment of productivity is a common justification that the site is not profitable. Similar to that, the same method was used for these cases, and they entered into devaluation process. Here, the critical point is that it is a conscious devaluation. To get social consent, an artificial *devaluation process* was embarked upon. Along with that, although devaluation was started with institutional and budget rearrangements, it

directly influences the physical conditions of built environment. This means that budgetary cuts for maintenance lead to decay of the built environment. At that point, the argument of Harvey (1978, 1982 and 1989a) regarding devaluation is worth mentioning. The built environment functions for use value by fixing capital for long utilization duration, and exchange value is blocked in it. The devaluation of the built environment is useful for new investments. Departing from that, conscious devaluation of these spaces also constitutes another justification for privatization projects. Parallel to that, the cases include *isolation* stage, which is directly pertinent to devaluation. This stage works to place space out of use. That is, devalued spaces are completely abandoned or partially served for certain groups. In this way, space is excluded from active utilization. It is initially prominent to make space forgotten, and then, to justify the project under the discourse of enhancing public use. Here, it should be noted that all these are artificial in terms of preparing space to PSPs. Following these stages, *promotion* is also an important one. In this stage, social consent is provided in hegemonic ways. The projects are advertised and exhibited in order to put forward their necessity. Thus they receive social support and minimize oppositional stances.

Legal affirmation is as significant as social affirmation. The role of the state in both facilitation of capital accumulation and legitimation comes along with certain exceptionalities. In our earlier discussions, it was emphasized that planning is one of the pivotal means of the state in legitimation. To regulate and control property relations, planning is an institutionalized and legalized instrument (Günay, 1995). In this sense, it defines restrictions for (re)production of urban space by prioritizing public interest. However, superiority of the market and fragmented forms of production of built environment changed the framework of planning. The cases show that planning becomes quite critical in privatization of public space. Planning has turned into only a *procedural adjustment* for legal affirmation. Both the transfer of public property and excessive development rights through inconsistent land use decisions were legitimized with plans. Here, the critical point is that plans mostly followed the projects. The projects came first, and plans were adjusted to them. Privacy of prepared plans and exclusion of the society from planning processes were

also noticeable in the cases. Ignorance of planning processes (i.e. planning hierarchy, planning authority etc.) and planning principles (i.e public interests, transparency, participation etc.) produces conditional arrangements and exceptionalities. This framework of planning constituted a new basis of conflicts.

Similar to planning, another means of the state for legitimation is laws. Legislative regulations are inevitable instruments in order to underpin the planning framework and also institutional rearrangements. In this sense, new laws and amendments take place in the procedural adjustment stage, as well. In the cases, conditional adjustments to overcome legal obstacles came to exist with a series of laws. These exceptional legislative implementations also established conflictual bases in the processes.

Conceptualized stages for social and legal affirmations constitute common stages of the cases. As mentioned above, distinctive stages of the processes are oppositional movements and levels of mobilizations. For us, the higher level of mobilization is related to the more *speculations* and *manipulations*. This means that insistency and extensity of oppositional movements during the process provoke the power to apply alternative means. Accordingly, the power keeps the process to the forefront and misleads the opposition with speculations. Additionally, manipulations are used to turn the process into gain after losses. On the other hand, the lower level of mobilization comes along with impositions of the power. Like that, the power suppresses the effects of the opposition.

All in all, process of (re)production of urban space with PSPs is conducted through certain exceptionalities. Even though the investigated processes include common stages, it should not be forgotten that each of them reveals their own ad hoc arrangements. These are mostly pertinent to planning acts, and constitute conflictual bases. On the other hand, privatization of public space, particularly such productive spaces, generates oppositional movements because of the loss of public property and public use. Under these circumstances, existence of the opposition has influence on the process. However, it is observable from the cases that they arise in different level of mobilizations, although they rest on the same issues/stakes. Differences in level of

mobilization become a pivotal issue for the process. This forces the power to apply alternative ways for conducting the process. Although, in any case, the power is inevitably competent in (re)production of urban space, the opposition has potential to influence the process. At least, it achieves an impediment to a smooth process and realization of the project in a short time.

6.2 Formation of Urban Movements

Urban movements are manifestations of structural contradictions and conflicts. In our framework, urban movements deriving from process of (re)production of urban space constitute the main topic of the study. At the same time, when it is considered that urban movements have their own dynamic body, it appears as a necessity to investigate formation of the movement. Our theoretical discussions designated a framework for formation of urban movements (Figure.2.2). According to that, movements have external structures which are pertinent to structural conditions. Issues/stakes and demands of a movement are directly stimulated from structural conditions. Together with that, their internal structures comprise organizational form, actor composition and repertoire. Thus, formation of each oppositional movement becomes significant in order to designate their level of mobilization.

External structures of urban movements are extensions of economic and political structures. Issues/stakes and demands rely on contradictions and conflicts of structure. As Pickvance (1975) highlighted, these issues/stakes and demands shape the internal structure of movements. Actor composition, form of organization and repertoire associate with forcefulness of the issues/stakes and demands. A high level of social engagement and high level of mobilization associate with large effectiveness.

From the viewpoint of this relation, components of internal structure may be mentioned briefly. First, the form of organization matters since it is the contact point for people. Existence of an organization enables a unity of human and (im)material resources. There exist different forms for organization regarding to their relation

types. Tarrow (1998) defines three basic forms –formal organizations, coalitions of organizations or no one in particular. At the same time Snow et al. (2004) labels these forms single, multiple and networked. In addition to that, the degree of organization, whether united tightly or loosely, is another matter. Vertical, horizontal or integrated relation types become another consideration for movement organizations. Actor composition of urban movements is a determinant for the vitality of issue/stake. Increased heterogeneity of actors brings wider action in the society. Existence of diverse classes, identity groups and grassroots means more effectiveness and level of mobilization. Repertoire of movements refers to set of means for making visible. Since these kinds of oppositional movements are out of institutional channels, tools represent their voices and demands. Aside legal instruments, Tilly (2005) specifies additional tools which strengthen movements. In this sense, demonstrations, petitions, statements to the press, pamphleteering and invitation to other ensembles are some of the tools composing the repertoire of the movements.

Within these insights, specific to our case studies, external structures of the movements are defined within privatization of public space. Issues/stakes and demands of these movements mostly focus on common points. On the other hand, their internal structures differ from each other. Departing from that, formations of these oppositional movements are investigated with reference to interviews. Thus, the aim is to conceptualize their levels of mobilizations comparatively.

6.2.1 Formation of the Movement against Galata Port

The oppositional process against Galata Port did not begin by focusing on the project specifically. The inconsistent law amendment was the cause for the movement. However, this legal rearrangement attracted only the chambers' interest and they objected to the amendment. Following that, the objections of the chambers came to extend to the plans. In this process, the chambers, those dealing with urban space and urban processes, were the key actors delivering the opposition. Even though it is

possible to say that these chambers were the only actors caring about the project, the effort of neighbourhood associations for cancellation of Beyoğlu Conservation Plans made them indirectly part of the process. The appearance of solidarities and alternative organizational platforms after the Gezi uprising added to progress for the movement at some levels. However, as mentioned above, direct opponents to the project were the chambers (Table 6.1).

Table.6.1 Actor Composition against Galata Port

Chambers	Neighbourhood Associations	Solidarities
Chamber of Architects	Cihangir Beautification Association	İstanbul City Defence
Chamber of City Planners		
Chamber of Civil Engineers	Galata Association	

The oppositional culture of Beyoğlu neighbourhoods dated back to the 1980s by virtue of the Park Hotel project and Tarlabası demolitions. So, there was a background of rooted neighbourhood associations at that time. These very neighbourhoods were the most affected by the project. However, local people could not reach the coast for years because of the existing function of the area. Out of that, the area had not generated any value for these residents in both social and economic aspects. A member of the Galata Association explains the attitude of residents:

From the perspective of the residents, Salıpazarı and Karaköy port is an abandoned and secluded area. The concrete and the empty buildings stand between the city and the sea. That is it for both the old and middle income residents of the neighbourhoods and, for immigrant and low income residents. According to them, they may use the coast after the project, at least they can go to the cafes or shopping malls over there to spend time by the sea (S1).

In addition to that, economic expectations of residents from the project bring another issue. Parallel to increasing real estate values, most residents supported the project as an opportunity. The oppositional position of residents was only based on the gentrification process and changing rhythm of every day life, which had been

imposed by Beyoğlu Conservation Plans. So, the objection of neighbourhood associations to the plans made them an indirect part of the process.

Another group that may be directly influenced from the project is workers of the port and owners of hookah cafes. However, the number of workers had declined since the 1980s. And now, there are almost no workers at the port. The interviewee from the Liman-İş Union explains their position as follows:

As you know Maritime Enterprises has been privatized and we were union organization of the institution. Right now, there is nearly no worker at the area. Anyway, we had only 30-35 workers earlier. Because the number of workers have been decreased properly since the 1980s by virtue of functional change of space and privatization acts. Thus, we had no chance to organize and oppose the project (S6).

Moreover, owners of the hookah cafes did not object to the project in a certain manner. Rather, they mostly supported with the expectation of getting rent. They agreed to move to another location. The same interviewee says for them:

The cafe owners did not do anything. We said that we make a press statement and a demonstration all together, however, we could not find anybody. They thought that their property would get more value. The tenants may have opposed to the project, but, they also agreed to relocate (S6).

A street demonstration was organized by İstanbul City Defence⁵² to protest the EIA meeting. The chambers, the neighbourhood associations in Beyoğlu and the members of İstanbul City Defence prevented the meeting taking place. Therefore, they also attached to the process in an indirect manner.

The narrowness of the opposition against the Galata Port project came along with a primitive repertoire. It was almost entirely limited to legal instruments. Due to the procedural inconsistencies and impositions, legal tools were seen as an efficient tool. Issues/stakes of opponents relied on fundamentally exceptional planning and legal process. In addition to that, privatization of public property and offered spatial uses in consumption facilities constituted other conflictual issues. Thus, the opposition demanded use of the area in an active manner through prepared plans consistent with legal processes and enhanced public use.

⁵²A platform which was established after Gezi Uprising. It unites other organizations under a single roof. Chambers and neighbourhood associations are also a part of İstanbul City Defence.

6.2.2 Formation of the Movement against Haydarpaşa Port

Haydarpaşa is the first major opposition in respect to privatization of public space in İstanbul after the 2000s. It is outstanding in terms of organization, attained social engagement and repertoire.

The opposition united under “Haydarpaşa Solidarity”. The form of organization was first as a platform model. In this sense, it pioneered other following solidarity organizations. The birth of the solidarity was carried out by the leadership of the United Transportation Union and the Chamber of Architects. The leaders, who were aware of the project, decided to fire up a concrete movement after the exhibition of the project.

The adopted model was defined as a platform including many other organizations. The reason for opposing under a wide platform was to strengthen social engagement and to evolve into a real struggle. The railway interviewee explains the form of organization through these words:

Along with the appearance of the project and as a result of meetings between Chamber of Architects and United Transportation Union, it was decided to constitute a platform and struggle with a wide platform. Because we considered that there was a strong and efficient power against us. In another words, the state was owner of the project. And it was crucial to struggle together with unions, chambers and other organizations (H2).

The interviewee from the Chamber of Architects adds:

The issue is about transportation of all citizens. And we thought that all of them should engage and make an endeavour for Haydarpaşa. Just effort of the chamber or the union through commencing a law suit would not have been enough. It was inevitable to spread the problem among the citizens (H1).

After invitation of the chamber and the union, Haydarpaşa Solidarity was established together with participation of 70 organizations. The organizations became the signatories as components of the solidarity. Beyond these organizations, citizens and professionals also supported the solidarity to a large extent. The first meeting of the solidarity was put into practice with the participations of these organizations and about 2,000 citizens.

These kinds of multi-organizational platforms represent horizontal relations among varied actors. However, the existence level of sub-organizations is changeable in terms of their active and passive contributions. Only the core actors deliver the process. Despite the existence of a concrete organization, the platform model can blur borders of the solidarity. In a concrete sense, organization sometimes extends and sometimes shrinks. Even though the form of organization could touch and include a considerable part of the society by working as a connector in Haydarpaşa Solidarity, the active support of the components turned into the abstract manner over time.

The actor composition of the solidarity is able to be categorized under different titles. The main components are well-defined organizations within institutional and voluntary organizations. Ad hoc individuals from public and professionals/academicians are defined as the supporters of the solidarity (Table.6.2). Vertical organization form of institutions and horizontal organization form of voluntary organizations ensured integrity and provided various resource supplies from information to financial and human support with wide representation capability.

Table.6.2 Actor Composition of Haydarpaşa Solidarity

Components of the Solidarity		Supporters
Institutional Organizations	Voluntary Organizations	Ad Hoc Actors (Individuals)
Chambers	Neighbourhood Associations	Citizens
Unions	Other Associations	
Local Government	Foundations	Professionals&Academicians
Political Parties	Initiatives	

The heterogeneity of the actors provides different contributions of each type in terms of varied resources. Institutional organizations with vertical hierarchy have the capability to channel and use the energy in an efficient way. In this process, chambers mainly deliver technical information and legal support, while unions provide practical information. Unions are also vital for spreading the struggle among

workers and fostering class struggle. Local government, as the smallest and the closest political unit, acts in an active role in procedural issues and supplies technical equipment. Political parties and their members are carriers of the problem to the parliament or to the public.

In voluntary organizations, neighbourhood associations are prominent in order to integrate the private domain to the movement in public space. And also, similar to unions, they have the ability to transform the movement into a grassroots action. Other associations, foundations and initiatives are the representatives of different interest groups in society. They widen the issue to diverse groups. Ad hoc individuals from citizens and professionals/academicians are important for the energy of the movement and high levels of social engagement. In fact, the aim of both institutional and voluntary organizations is to reach citizens and increase the level of mobilization. As a result, ad hoc individuals constitute major supporters of the movements.

In the Haydarpaşa Solidarity, despite the varied actors and their capability to supply resources, their efficiency in the process is questionable. Conductors of the solidarity were the Chamber of Architects and United Transportation Union as core actors. Other organizations and ad hoc support of the citizens were loose grains. Support of the citizens was inconstant, but their participation in demonstrations and petitions was quite important for shifting the direction of the movement and increasing the number of participants. The railway interviewee from United Transportation Union defines the form of organization as follows:

Haydarpaşa Solidarity is a flexible organization. Contribution of the components in economic or political, and active or passive terms is very limited. But sometimes such a person joins us and we can achieve unexpected things. For example, a friend, who is member of European parliament, found us in an event. (S)he supported our demonstration in front of the parliament and read press statement concurrent to us over there. In another event, dancers came and supported us by performing. Despite flexibility, a certain group conducts the solidarity in a serious manner (H2).

Due to the flexibility of the solidarity, as mentioned above, the Chamber of Architects and United Transportation Union became active actors during the process. Even though there is no disengagement from the solidarity in signatory position,

other parts of the solidarity turned into passive actors. In addition to that, there were some active contributions of these organizations from time to time in the process. In this sense, the form of the solidarity is able to be outlined within the core in concrete and active manner, and loose grains in diverse activeness (Figure.6.4).

Active participation of the actors is also evaluated from the viewpoint of directly and indirectly affected groups. Haydarpaşa includes two divided productive services in railway transportation and port services. The scale of public service should be considered as city and country wide. In this sense, the scope of influenced groups is extensive. However, workers of the railway and the port are the ones who may be directly affected. As is seen, union of the railway became the only active one during the process. Liman-İş Union, which represents workers at the port, did not take active place in the solidarity. The port union made contributions at some points. They commenced a lawsuit for cancellation of bylaw amendment for privatization of the station and the port. Additionally, they had some trials at gaining free commuting rights within union contracts. However, they were not persistent during the process. The interviewee from Liman-İş Union told of their efforts as follows:

Most of the workers of the port came here from other privatized ports. But now, Haydarpaşa is also under privatization threat. We put up a fight regarding to privatization. And also, some of our friends tried to get additional wages for transportation in labour agreements. Because, after commuter trains had been stopped, the workers had much trouble. However, we could not have any favourable result. At first, the government would have transformed just Haydarpaşa station, and the port would have carried on its function. But then, they added the port area into the project (H8).

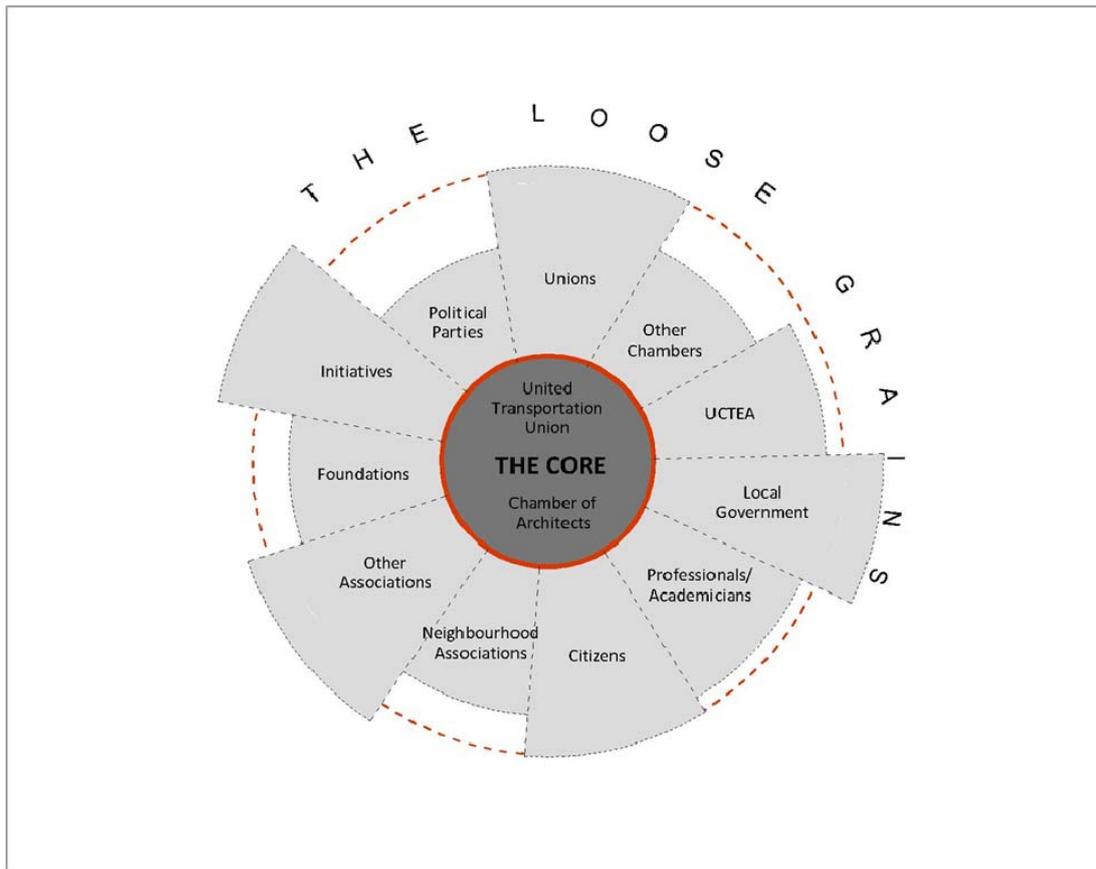


Figure.6.4 Form of Organization and Actor Composition of Haydarpaşa Solidarity

Actions of Liman-İş Union were limited to the port area, and their attitude was based on keeping some basic labour rights. They did not connect labour processes and urban process. In addition to that, differences between the two unions may be seen in their political stance (i.e. United Transportation Union is left wing, while Liman-İş is right wing). Another point about workers is that the oppositional efforts to the project mainly came from the executive teams of the unions. Participation of workers was very limited. However, railway workers were relatively more active than workers of the port. Thus, the opposition to the Haydarpaşa Port project has some aspects of class struggle. However, it is not possible to assign a pure meaning grounded on class struggle. The lack of links between urban space and working place resulted in a narrow participation of workers. So the struggle was delivered by the union and certain individuals from the executive teams. The member of the United Transportation Union recounts:

The working class is not aware of how interventions on urban space will affect it. If they were aware, they would take place in the opposition. Indeed, we can say this is true for executive teams of other unions. Political stance of most of the unions is very close to the government, and they accept any statement coming from the government. They do not teach class consciousness to their members. If a worker is unorganized, you cannot expect any objection either. They only raise their voice when they become damaged directly (H2).

Another group that may be affected directly by the project is the neighbourhood near Haydarpaşa. In fact, there are not many neighbourhood associations in the solidarity. The reason is that neighbourhood associations had only just become apparent in urban movements at that time. These associations mainly arose from movements concerned with the private domain. Reaction of neighbourhoods against privatization of public space did not become widespread until the Gezi uprising.

The response of the neighbourhood to the Haydarpaşa Port project and its level of participation in the movements were also critical. Residents of Yeldeğirmeni Neighbourhood did not take place in the solidarity in an organized manner. Only individuals supported the movement, and no mass reaction came from the residents. Even though the neighbourhood has entered into gentrification process recently, the residents are still unorganized and non-responsive to the project. On the other hand, efforts to organize in Kadıköy district became apparent after the Gezi uprising. Their support to Haydarpaşa Solidarity increased considerably.

The repertoire of Haydarpaşa Solidarity is quite extensive. The solidarity used legal tools fundamentally. To make concrete and visible the struggle, they also carried it to the street. According to the member of United Transportation Union:

If you do not support your legal attempts with the street, nobody knows about your struggle. On the other side, if you only use the street, you cannot make official your gains. So, you should integrate both of them. For example, we declare our legal gains on the street in order to make it known to the citizens (H2).

Outside legal instruments, the tools may be classified under five titles briefly. First, meetings and press statements were held frequently in order to inform the citizens about the latest news. In this way, the solidarity aimed to keep the issue on the public agenda. Second, petition campaigns were arranged to mobilise support of the citizens in the official processes. Third, events such as anniversary celebration or book fairs

organized to show the public nature of space and insert it into the everyday life. Fourth, demonstrations were held. And last, the occupation was started on every Sunday after train services ended. In response to the power, the solidarity occupied Haydarpaşa, and articulated their persistence with continuity and visibility.

The issues/stakes of the movement derived from loss of public use and public property along with exceptional legal arrangements and planning processes. They rejected any kind of project that would privatize space. Maintenance of public services and was their demand. Haydarpaşa Solidarity enabled broad social engagement. Even though it could not spread to the very grassroots, it was directly related to class processes in a wide sense.

6.2.3 Formation of the Movement against Haliç Port

The Haliç Port project came to the forefront just after Gezi uprising. The timing of the project shaped the form of the movement.

The opposition united under Haliç Solidarity. The fire of Gezi helped forge the constitution of the solidarity. Even though Haydarpaşa was the first instance of multi-component solidarities, new organizational forms emerged in more loose, flexible and blurred structures after the Gezi uprising. Haliç Solidarity was one such small and a hybrid organization.

Establishment of the solidarity was based on concurrent attempts of people who dealt professionally with the shipyards. These people came together from different channels, leading to the assembly of Haliç Solidarity. The marine engineer interviewee tells the story of Haliç Solidarity:

Forums emerged after Gezi uprising such as Beyoğlu forum, Kadıköy forum and so on. These appeared on the scale of neighbourhoods and professions. After the call of a friend of ours, a marine engineers forum was held independent from our chamber. Our political stance was not the same as the administration of the chamber. Our forum and Haliç Port project overlapped. As a representative of our forum, I took place in the establishment of Haliç Solidarity.

The core of the solidarity was constituted from 4-5 volunteer friends: an academician, a retired shipyard worker, the president of Bedrettin Neighbourhood Association, and me. We gathered immediately and Haliç Solidarity emerged (C1).

The retired shipyard worker says:

I read news about the project. And I thought that I earned money from here, got married and raised my children. Now, they are selling the shipyards without informing us. It is wrong. And I tried to find a way to do something. I went to the Chamber of Architects and they said that they could not lead the opposition, although they could support. The chamber directed me to an academician who had studied conservation of the shipyards. Then, we were acquainted with the academician, the marine engineer and the association president of Bedrettin Neighbourhood (C5).

These volunteers held a meeting and gathered people concerned with the issue. Under the guidance of the volunteers, the members of Taksim Solidarity, retired ship workers, neighbourhood associations, chambers, related other associations and political parties joined Haliç Solidarity. The form of the solidarity was similar to Haydarpaşa, but the actor composition is quite limited in comparison. There was no signatory list, and the range of institutional or voluntary organizations was not broad. In addition to that, citizen participation in the opposition was not considerable.

The actors in the solidarity were mostly the ones that had some attachments with the area or those sensitive to such interventions in the city. Chambers playing a part in the process were the Chamber of Architects, the Chamber of City Planners and the Chamber of Civil Engineers. These chambers have taken an active role against all such projects since the beginning of the 2000s. The Chamber of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers was crucial in this process due to their familiarity with the issue. The position of political parties was similar to other chambers. They took a stance against interventions of the power. Out of these institutional organizations, Deniz-Der, which is the association for connecting the shipyard and maritime members with retired shipyard workers, joined the solidarity through emotional bonds. Neighbourhood associations participating were the ones that may be affected directly by the project. In this sense, neighbourhood associations from the Bedrettin, Okmeydanı and Fener-Balat neighbourhoods attended in different levels of activity. As a result, there were three main groups of actors apart from the volunteers. The chambers were mainly concerned with the issue from the professional perspective.

The association and retired workers approached with a sense of belonging. And the neighbourhood associations were considered mostly by the negative effects of the project on their private living space. Nevertheless, most of these actors also focused on the productive value of the space for the city (Table6.3).

Table.6.3 Actor Composition of Haliç Solidarity

Volunteer Individuals	Chambers	Professional Association	Neighbourhood Associations
Member of Marine Engineers Forum	Chamber of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers	Deniz-Der and Retired Shipyard Workers	Association of Bedrettin Neighbourhood
The Academician	Chamber of Architects		Association of Okmeydanı Neighbourhood
The Retired Shipyard Worker	Chamber of City Planners		Association of Fener-Balat Neighbourhood
The President of Bedrettin Neighbourhood	Chamber of Civil Engineers		

The form of the organization was not institutional. It was condensed within a small and defined actor group. However, it was flexible in terms of openness to different actors. Within its small group from varied interests, the solidarity proceeded in a steady state. The volunteer individuals, who had varying attachments to the Camialtı and Taşkızak shipyards, constituted the core of the solidarity. They enabled connections among the others via e-mails and led the solidarity in an interactive manner. Other integrated parts provided steady support and their representatives mostly joined the meetings (Figure6.5). The academician interviewee, one of the core actors, describes their oppositional position and the solidarity as follows:

The shipyards are out of use, and they do not have anyone. The opposition to the project could have stayed limited to legal aspects. But the existence of the people who try to protect the area because of their personal history made the opposition stronger. We are a small group and maybe only 10-15 people are active. However, it is a steady solidarity and attendance to the meetings or events is quite homogeneous. We join any event all together (C2).

The interviewee from the Chamber of City Planners defines the solidarity as follows:

The solidarity comes together with certain agenda items. The solidarity gets into action when there is an attempt by the power. The organization is not institutive. However, there is an e-mail group and the members contribute to the process due to agenda or attack of the power (C3).

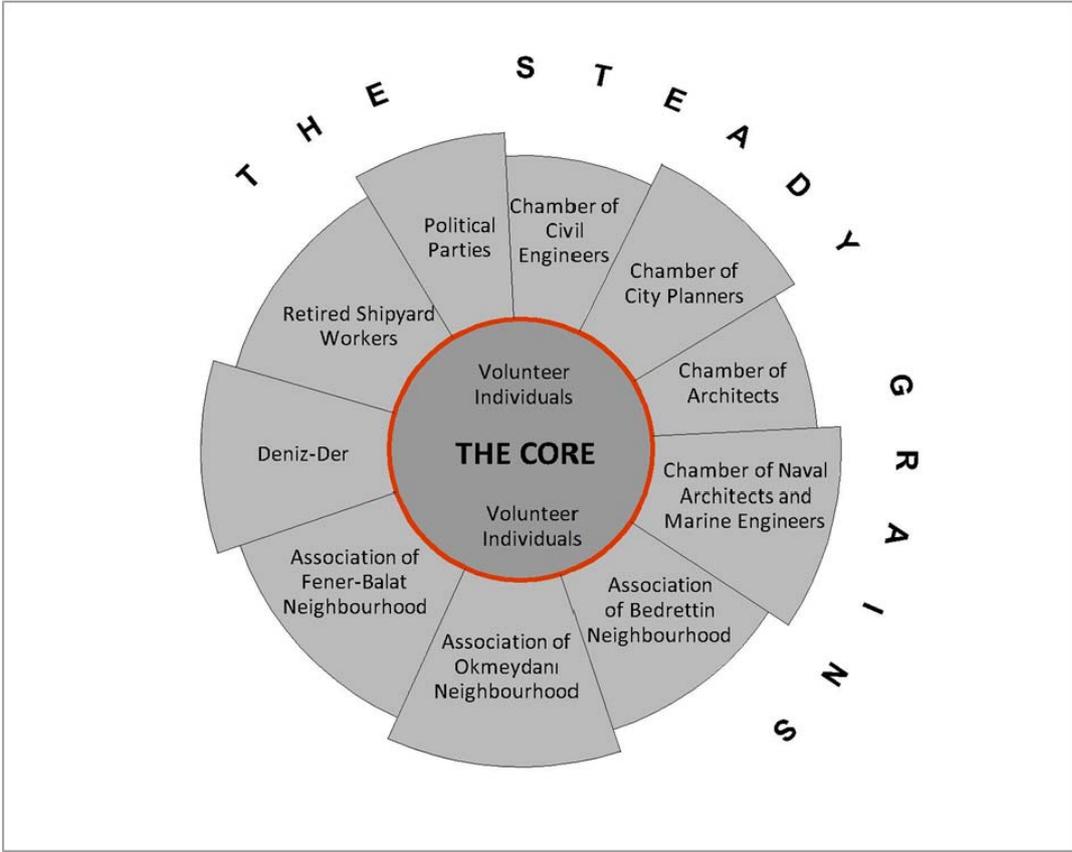


Figure.6.5 Organizational Form of Haliç Solidarity

The position of directly influenced groups, that is to say the neighbourhoods near the shipyards, is worth mentioning. Okmeydanı and Bedrettin neighbourhoods, which are situated behind the shipyards, and Fener-Balat neighbourhood on the opposite coast, are the subject of regeneration and renewal projects. The regeneration and renewal process has been a hot topic for these neighbourhoods for years. And, the power could not carry out any attempt. In this sense, Haliç Port seen as the project that may boost other projects related to these neighbourhoods. Haliç Solidarity, which involved presidents of the associations of these neighbourhoods, especially

stressed this point. The old president of the Association of Okmeydanı Neighbourhood emphasizes that:

We know that the Haliç Port project is to displace the people living in Okmeydanı. After the project was carried out, the power would not let the people live here due to increasing rent. According to the project, they want to construct five-star hotels and a marina. And also, another project for Okmeydanı proposes luxury residences and hotels. It is clear that they will remove us. Other neighbourhoods are also under the same risk as us (C6).

Engagement with the problem was quite limited at the grassroots level. Even though presidents of the associations provided a considerable contribution against the Haliç Port project, concern of the residents was scarcely seen. The president states that the residents did not realize the negative effects of the project, rather, they expected positive effects from the investment and increasing land values.

One determinant for the residents' position is their political stance. Their pro-government stance prevented the opposition from penetrating into the grassroots. All such projects were accepted by the residents, and no oppositional position emerged. They see the opponents as leftist or the anti-government. The academician volunteer articulates their effort and reaction of the residents:

We tried to make the residents join. However, there is a certain political resistance. It is not possible to spread homogeneously in these neighbourhoods. For example, Bedrettin (Kasımpaşa) neighbourhood is the hometown of the president and the prime minister worked over there for years. Okmeydanı is known as a leftist area, however, most of it supports the government. The residents have rigid frames in a political sense. So, they do not take part in these kinds of oppositional terrains (C2).

Another possible group that may be affected directly by the project is workers. However, the unions and active shipyard workers were removed because the site was out of use. Workers, who were working at other shipyards now, did not react to the project. Parallel to that, the union did not take a part in the solidarity. Only retired workers, who were union members in the past, supported and activated the process. Moreover, the political stance also gained importance regarding to position of workers. The reason for retired workers defending the area stemmed from their personal history and attachment to the space.

The repertoire of the solidarity was not as extensive as the repertoire of Haydarpaşa Solidarity. They used legal institutions, and supported it with some demonstrations and press statements. However, reactions of the solidarity depend on attacks of the power. Components of the solidarity come together when there was an agenda. Thus, visibility of the solidarity is quite local.

Issues/stakes of the movement were similar to other cases. Loss of public property and abolition of productive relations appeared as the main concerns. The exceptionalities of the process constituted another conflictual base. The demand of the opposition rests on conservation of production culture.

6.2.4 Implications for Formation of the Movements and Level of Mobilizations

Our discussions of formations of the movements unveil two major points. First, all three derive from same issues/stakes in parallel to similar demands. According to that, privatization of public space provoked conflicts which arise on the basis of exceptional power mechanisms, loss of public property and loss of public use. On the other hand, internal structures of the movements emphasize that each of them came along with different degrees of social engagements. This means that each movement has different level of mobilization.

Together with internal structures of urban movements, their effects are also another aspect to embody different levels of mobilizations. In this sense, gains and losses, continuity and discontinuity, ups and downs during the process unfold the effects of the movement. From this point of view, gains and losses of the cases are briefly discussed with reference to their stories. And the progress path of each one is represented on the graphics through interrelation of the power and the opposition.

The process of the opposition against the Galata Port project was performed without a defined organization and without social engagement. However, chambers achieved some gains by only using legal instruments. Conditional legal arrangements of the power were cancelled together with prepared plans and tenders by virtue of legal

objections. In that way, the chambers managed to restart the process. In second period of the process, there was no rise of the opposition until approval of the plans. Even though the chambers attained another legal gain with the court decision, the power ignored this decision and started implementation of the project. Thus, a major gain of the opposition is to have plans re-drafted on the basis of more public use. In addition to that, the opposition managed to postpone implementation of the project. The progress path of the movement was discontinuous, while the power carried on the process with steady steps. By this, the impact of the opposition on the process was minimal (Figure.6.6).

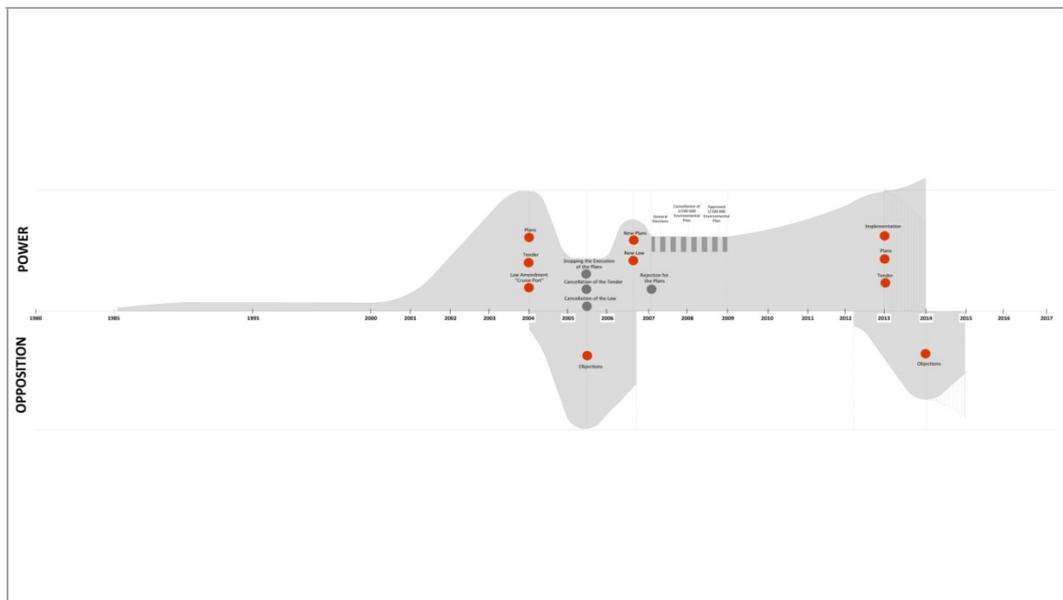


Figure.6.6 Progress Path in Galata Port Project

The movement process in the Haydarpaşa case is the one that attained considerable gains. The forceful and well-defined internal structure of the movement, along with high social engagement, enabled the spread of the issue. The most outstanding achievement was to prevent all offered privatization projects that would have transformed Haydarpaşa into a high rise building block. Together with that, the opposition enabled the declaration of Haydarpaşa as a conservation site. Even though the power manipulated the process, the opposition hindered many steps and managed to turn some into advantages. The opposition progressed on a continuous struggle path and enhanced its visibility. It did not wait for an attempt from the power. It

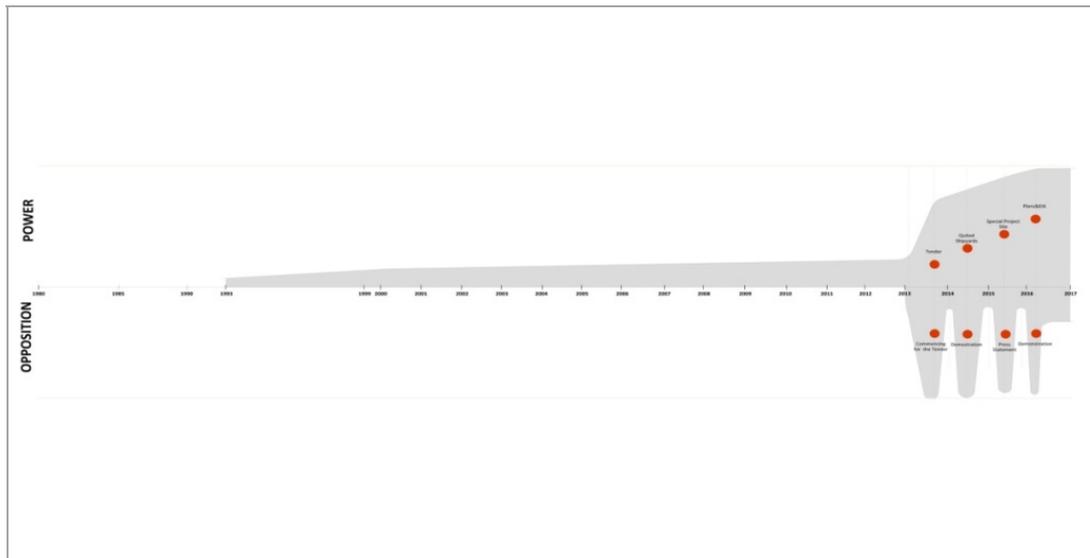


Figure. 6.8 Progress Path in Haliç Port Project

As is seen, the graphics show that each movement has different progress patterns. Our arguments related to internal structures and progress paths of the movements show that they rise in different levels of mobilizations. According to that, these levels of the movements may be labelled within concepts in order to point out their differences. By taking into consideration the whole process of the movements, for us, the opposition to the Galata Port project was only an *objection* through weak mobilization by certain groups. Similar to that, the opposition to Haliç Port project came up as a *protest* through a middle level of mobilization with small action types. On the other hand, the opposition to Haydarpaşa Port project presents a definite *struggle* through strong level of mobilization with a high degree of attachment and attainment (Figure.6.9).



Figure.6.9 Levels of Mobilizations

All in all, the critical point in our investigation into levels of mobilizations is their conflictual bases. Despite different mobilization levels, all three of the movements originate from same issues/stakes. As mentioned above, the main concerns of the oppositions gather around three major subjects. First, exceptional power mechanisms characterized by over-empowerment, power exceeding, conditional arrangements and unlawful actions constitute the primary concern for the movements. Second, privatization acts of the state to carry out the projects in terms of property transfer and abolishment of public property establish a base for conflicts. And last, land use offers of the projects, which (re)produce urban space in private and consumption uses by removing existing and/or potential public use, spark off another conflictual base. These issues/stakes are those most articulated by the opponents. Here, for us, the point which makes different levels of mobilizations along with different degrees of social engagement relates to what kind of value is produced by urban space. In another words, every space has a content and produces social relations in varied forms (i.e. productive and/or non-productive, economic and/or non-economic etc.). With such an insight, content of space arises as a matter that should be discussed and conceptualized in respect to urban movements. In this sense, our discussions which focus on urban space from the viewpoint of its exchange value in the process of (re)production, will now address the use value of it. In a broader sense, for us, developing an insight into urban movements in public space requires a conceptualization deriving from urban space and its content, which defines utilization forms of civil society. Such an approach questions what was removed from urban space. And it attempts to designate some basic concepts for urban movements against privatization of public space.

6.3 Urban Movements against Privatization of Public Space: Content of Urban Space

It is obvious that urban space has evolved in parallel to the historical development of capitalist social relations. Our historicist approach has proved that distinctive stages of capitalism come up with distinctive structural conditions and sociospatial

outcomes. Early capitalism and its productive relations were organized in the factory, and the city was only a spatial form and container of the working class, which was separated from the rural. Relations of production in advanced capitalism extended over urban space through corporations and large-scale industrial plants. And they directly associated with urban processes through the integrity of production and reproduction relations in widespread and multi-centered spatial forms and patterns. The last stage of capitalism, that is late capitalism, has grown through global productive relations, but mostly in over-production of the built environment as a consequence of deindustrialization. Sociospatial restructuring has come to exist in privatization and reappropriation by virtue of redundant forms of production and reproduction.

Coordination of structural and sociospatial transformations requires dealing with content of urban space, particularly in late capitalism and under the circumstances of its special interventions over urban space. As discussed earlier, (re)production of urban space with PSPs focuses on an abstract space of exchange value. Its organization restructures a new praxis over urban space by reappropriating use value of absolute space. Following reappropriation of use value through removing of existing praxes, new land use patterns with abandoned productivity and conversion into spaces of consumption, and gentrification with elimination of unqualified working class define a new class and everyday life praxis. Here, it should be highlighted that class and everyday life are not separated processes. They coexist in capitalist social relations in particular. Just as class praxis is stimulated from relations of production, everyday life praxis is shaped by relations of reproduction. In addition to that, the broad and comprehensive meaning of everyday life includes cultural and moral values, habitual patterns, and hegemonies imposed by capitalist ideology. However, from the viewpoint of urban space, our effort is to comprehend the relation between urban movements and use value of public space, which constitutes the fundamental driving force for oppositional mobilizations.

At the outset, some points regarding our analysis of urban movements should be clarified. Similar to Lefebvre and Castells, throughout the study, we have considered

urban movements in relation to structural transformations and their dominance over urban space. But at the same time, following Lefebvre, our perspective rests on sociospatial attributes of urban space. As is known, Lefebvre considers urban movements within anti-capitalist studies, even if he does not call them urban movements. From this point of view, the transformation of class and everyday life praxis is only possible with appropriation and transformation of urban space through claiming rights to the city. Unlike this approach, here, our aim is to put forth some concepts elaborated from the investigated case studies. In this sense, the study defines urban movements and their different levels of mobilization through existing use value of urban space, which was already produced within capitalist relations. In this sense, the effects of eliminated use value upon class and everyday life praxis underpin our discussion.

In such an approach, our questions may be formulated in terms of the main characteristics of the cases. Urban movements in the public domain reclaim public space, and they react to privatization of public property and (re)production of it in space of consumption. It is clear that these movements focus on use value of urban space in response to imposed exchange value. The selected cases are productive and operational public spaces, rather than a square or an open and green space that includes all citizens. In this sense, they are the working places of labour which become pertinent to production and reproduction processes in different levels. The case studies elaborated through stories and interviews unfold the processes for both (re)production of urban space and formation of the movements. But, specific to different levels of mobilizations and social engagements, interviewees pointed out contents of spaces as the main reason in selected cases. In other words, removed values from these public spaces in terms of utilization come to exist as an matter for inquiry for urban movements. Based on this, the critical points of these public spaces may be presented through certain concepts. Here, the questions should be posed: “What does such a fragmented intervention over a certain public space mean for the whole city?”, “To what extent does society utilize it?” and “What kind of use values are removed?” All these questions may help us to designate the attributes of these public spaces that mobilize citizens in different levels within urban movements.

The cases appear as a part of deindustrialization process through structural transformation. This ongoing transformation since the 1980s has put these public spaces in a process of sociospatial transformation as well. As mentioned earlier, class praxis is no longer constricted to the working place after the early stage of capitalism. Engagement of urban space and capitalist productive relations melds labour processes with urban processes. Although abolishment of production and operation generates unemployment and loss of social rights for the working class in the first place, removal of these kinds of functions paves the way for a chain reaction within urban processes. And effects on urban processes become pivotal to mobilize the society.

Place of each case in productive relations and its impacts arise as one of substantial matter when we put aside spatio-temporal breaks in their trajectories (i.e. functional change and stopping the production within devaluation and isolation processes). The place of a productive and operational space is initially designated with its significance in the urban economy. In other words, how much such a space shapes the urban economy, the greater effect comes to exist for urban processes. From this point of view, some productive and operational spaces may constitute the main source of income for a city, particularly for small and medium-scaled cities. Surely, it is not easy to say the same impact applies for a metropolis like İstanbul. More complex relations of production and division of labour minimize direct dependency to this kind of space. However, as is known, any productive and operational space organizes other sub-sectors in production and consumption activities. Expansion of this organization defines the *scale of impact* of this space over economic processes. And, it is pertinent that the level of mobilization shifts in parallel to scale of changing productive relations.

The scale of impact over relations of production appears a prominent determinant for the cases. The interviewees mostly indicate this in regards to different levels of mobilizations. In these terms, Salıpazarı port, which was a trade gate of the city and served to provide imported products, organized the trading relations in its bounded hinterland. Although it gained an importance for formation of local economic

relations, even formation of everyday life, it had limited impact for economic processes. Similarly, the shipyards had an influence over generations of productive relations. In this sense, they gave rise not only to an agglomeration of by-production but also an agglomeration of labour in a certain hinterland. Within production and reproduction relation, the shipyards could have a broader impact over economic processes. On the other hand, Haydarpaşa comes to the forefront since it has a large and extensive hinterland. It is a substantial logistic centre, which enables collection and distribution of products with an effective integration of different transportation modes. Thus, Haydarpaşa has the capability to organize relations of production on a national scale. It is an economic gate, which opens the productive geography of Anatolia to Europe and vice versa. In the case of Haydarpaşa, the scale of impact is beyond the urban economy. And this is a significant determinant for strong level of mobilization and social engagement for Haydarpaşa.

Changes in class praxis both in working place and in urban processes come up with *relocated labour*. In connection with working place, the number of affected workers who become unemployed and are force to look for new opportunities, is prominent in regard to the constitution of traditional class struggles. The larger groups of affected labour generate the broader response of working class. Although there are various factors such as unionization, political stance and class consciousness in regard to mobilization of working class, the amount of relocated workers fires up the process and catalyses these factors. From this point of view, the already relocated workers of Salıpazarı and the shipyards, and the lack of unionization meant the issues could not engender a considerable level of mobilization, unlike Haydarpaşa. However, here it should be noted that the shipyards were the space of labour since there existed a large number of unionized workers. Thus, this characteristic enabled a class struggle, and retired workers of the shipyards could organize the middle range protest. But still, because of the absence of active working class and union, the persistence of the movement was not assured. On the other hand, the case of Haydarpaşa arises as an active space of the working class. The interviewees underline that the existence of an active union, which struggles against relocation of a large number of workers,

becomes one of the most outstanding driving forces for the strong level of mobilization.

Beyond the workplace, *relocation of labour* over urban space is directly associated with urban processes and sociospatial transformation. New division of labour engenders new production and reproduction relations over the urban space (i.e. gentrification of current neighbourhoods, working class motion to the periphery and class cleansing at the end). This process may occur in the city and/or outside the city. But, mostly, any intervention to a productive and operational space fosters reorganization of land use patterns due to changing interrelation of working and living space. In selected cases, it is not possible to define an obvious relocation process of working class over urban space. The weak relations between working and living spaces in these cases by virtue of their historical and locational attributes did not lead to a relocation process. At that point, the shipyards may be specified in terms of this relation. Even though Okmeydanı and Bedrettin neighbourhoods were living spaces of the shipyards' workers, after the closing down of the shipyards, the workers had started to take place in informal sectors and did not move to other parts of the city. However, regeneration projects for these neighbourhoods, which will foster a definite gentrification process, would force the residents to displace and/or be replaced in the immediate future. And, as can be remembered, engagement of the local residents in the movements in all three cases was not strong since there was no certain relocation process and there was a lack of awareness about the future effects. Therefore, relocation of labour over urban space is not a clear determinant for the level of mobilization for these cases.

The extent of utilization from this kind of public spaces emerges as another issue. Particularly, the degree of social engagement to an urban movement is linked to this expansion. Any public space, no matter how it serves collective interests (i.e. direct or indirect economic interests in productive relations, collective consumption needs in reproduction process, non-economic and non-material socialization needs etc.), provides use value in different utilization forms. Productive and operational public spaces, in the strict sense, are closely related to labour processes. And, they are

primarily utilized by the working class in economic and social terms. But, in a broader sense, these spaces may settle into everyday life praxis through *publicness* depending on their functions. This means that such a productive space which takes place in everyday life goes beyond the limitation of mere utilization of working class and reaches a considerable scope of utilization of civil society. Thus, the more direct social utilization leads to greater publicness and greater social engagement during the mobilization process.

Publicness of selected productive and operational public spaces stands out as a signifier for distinctive levels of mobilizations. Functional characteristics of these spaces together with spatio-temporal trajectories offer different degrees of publicness. In the case of Salıpazarı, public space functioned for trading as a customs bounded area until a certain time, and then, it served for only foreign cruiser tourists. Even though it enabled a sight for everyday life and publicness close by until a certain time, it is isolated from society at present. Parallel to that, the interviewees largely emphasize that Salıpazarı is public space for a group of elites, and it excludes a major part of society in terms of utilization. In this sense, Salıpazarı introduces notably limited utilization and publicness. Similarly, the shipyards do not offer publicness in everyday life praxis. Like Salıpazarı, they also organized everyday life near around. However, this relation ruptured as well after they were closed down. Unlike these two cases, Haydarpaşa becomes prominent once again by taking place in the core of everyday life. Railway transportation at Haydarpaşa functions for both the city and on the national scale. The commuter system in the city in particular is directly link to class praxis by supplying collective consumption service in reproduction processes. The station also provides the most outstanding publicness in the wider city since it determines the rhythm of everyday life by acting as a nodal point. Related to this issue, the interviewees underline the strong relation between level of mobilization and publicness of Haydarpaşa. According to that, the inevitable place of it in everyday life as well as in social organization makes Haydarpaşa a space of memory for the society, and this enables a high degree of awareness and social engagement.

The *Meaning* of such a public space arises as a prominent issue, and it is mainly built explicitly through the extent of utilization and publicness, and implicitly the scale of the space over economic and labour processes. In a broader sense, the extent of utilization and share of history and culture support the constitution of anonymous meaning for any public space. Ascribed meaning for a public space with reference to its importance for the city and for the society becomes substantial in order to drive any mobilization for this space. From this point of view, within distinctive functions, the publicness and contents of selected cases, each of them is ascribed different meanings. Based on definitions of the interviewees, Salıpazarı is a public space which citizens cannot utilize directly. Although it was the oldest port and heart of trading culture of the city in the past, it is used by restricted groups at present. So the space is disconnected from the society, and it is also a barrier to reach the coast. As a result, Salıpazarı is not attributed with special meanings for the city. On the other hand, the shipyards and Haydarpaşa are defined with particular meanings. The shipyards were the space of labour in a well-defined professional field for centuries, even though they did not have extensive publicness. In this sense, meaning of the space is designated in this professional domain by the interviewees. Accordingly, the shipyards are the starting point of the naval industry in the country, and they demonstrate naval history within urban space. As an important example of industrial heritage, the shipyards enabled the transfer of knowledge and experience for centuries. And they still have the same potential to supply education and small scale production. Articulated meanings for Haydarpaşa are more impressive by virtue of the great extent of utilization and publicness. Based on this, Haydarpaşa is a greeting point to the city for the passengers who arrive in İstanbul from different parts of the country. So, it is the first place that people experience the city. For citizens, it is a meeting and sharing point in everyday life. The spectacular station building is one of the most remarkable landmarks for the city. And above all, Haydarpaşa is a heritage which connects the past to the future in terms of class and everyday life praxis. Thus, meanings of these spaces for the city and the society become prominent as a driving force in different levels of mobilizations and social engagements.

To sum up, our discussion to produce the main concepts defining the contents of these spaces is an effort to explain varied levels of mobilization. In other words, the different removed use values from these public spaces engendered different urban movements. The interviews steered us to designate some concepts which related to the class and everyday life praxis of these spaces. From this point of view, *scale of impact* in productive relations and amount of *relocated labour* are directly pertinent to class praxis in urban processes. Together with that, although there is no clear cut separations, the *publicness* of any space mainly refers its place in everyday life praxis. All of these built *meanings* of public space for the city and the society. Thus, these constitute the use value of public space and determine levels of mobilizations. The debates over case studies demonstrate that strong mobilization of Haydarpaşa originated in its substantial place in class and everyday life praxis while the middle level of mobilization for the shipyards was related to its inherent importance for class praxis. Unlike these, the weak mobilization for Salıpazarı was because of the disconnection of the space from class and everyday life praxis.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The concern of this study has rested on urban movements with reference to (re)production of urban space. The study has mainly aimed to put forth a comprehensive approach for analysis of urban movements in relation to urban space. Based on this, we have introduced a major argument which pioneers the constitution of theoretical and practical research agenda for our study. According to this, structural transformations accompany sociospatial transformations by redefining new contradictions and conflicts in urban processes. Urban movements as manifestations of urban conflicts evolve in parallel to the same transformations. Therefore, contemporary urban movements deriving from current urban conflicts require a reinterpretation through their main concepts.

In line with our major argument, combining (re)production of urban space and urban movements seems a pivotal task. Through critical discussions, the theoretical body of the study has been constructed in order to unveil their direct relations on the basis of urban conflicts. Within our historicist perspective, structural transformations through the regime of capital accumulation and role of the state and sociospatial transformations in urban processes have been outlined together with changing formations of urban movements. In this sense, the study has offered its peculiar framework. And an extensive insight has been constituted in order to tackle urban conflicts and urban movements. This kind of attempt is crucial to comprehend distinctions and conceptualize the contemporary urban movements of late capitalism.

As defined above, in our approach, urban movements are directly pertinent to the process of (re)production of urban space. Particularly, this process in capitalist

productive and social relations generates inevitable contradictions and conflicts by virtue of the interrelation of capitalism and urban space. Shifting stages of capitalism with new structural and sociospatial conditions lead to new means and modes for (re)production of urban space. Castells, who introduced the phrase of urban movements, considered these movements in a pure structuralist sense and confined his viewpoint to the politization of urban processes. On the other hand, even Castells' following study (i.e. *The City and the Grassroots*) focused on independent cases with an action-based, voluntarist consideration, the study could not allow for the extraction of the main concepts and general framework in regards to urban movements. Parallel to this, urban movements in Castells' analysis mainly covered urban processes which were shaped under Fordist productive relations and interventions of the welfare state in advanced capitalism. However, the late stage of capitalism under neoliberal ideology has opened the way for market-led urban processes. Unlike industrial productive relations of advanced capitalism, the current process has offered urban space as a profitable commodity. Production of built environment has emerged as a new regime of capital accumulation together with facilitation of the state. A fragmented mode for (re)production of urban space with state-led projects and privatization as its fundamental means has constituted the origins of contemporary urban movements. Under these circumstances, contemporary urban movements have appeared as a significant field which should be reconsidered. Although a number of studies into these movements exist in the recent literature, most of them deal with these collective actions in a scope of their internal formations in respect to organizations, actor compositions and repertoires. The interrelation of current urban processes and these movements are examined in a general frame without a historicist discussion.

Our approach to urban processes and also urban movements is grounded on context-dependency as well as their trajectory-based nature. In this sense, the context of Turkey in general and of İstanbul in specific has constituted the focus of the study. Changing structural and sociospatial conditions in parallel to evolution of urban conflicts came along with their own peculiarities in a country that integrated and engaged to capitalist relations later than developed countries. Furthermore,

articulations of these peculiarities were sensed beforehand in İstanbul. Particularly, emergent urban process after the 2000s had dramatically introduced market-led urban politics. As a consequence of the fragmented mode for (re)production of urban space, the current process has constituted a geography of privatization-oriented state-led projects and geography of urban movements. Based on this, empirical analyses in citywide and in selected cases considering the process of (re)production of urban space and oppositional urban movements have revealed their different dynamics within certain conceptualizations.

Within the general contours of our study, this chapter puts forward primary conclusions of this thesis. For this, in the first part, summary of latest urban process is given together with findings of the study for İstanbul and selected cases. Thus, the main concepts of contemporary urban movements are put forward. The second part aims to present an overall framework for urban movements with a critical discussion of theoretical considerations. And in the final section, concluding remarks of the thesis are offered in order to underline the essence of the study.

7.1 Debates on the Findings and Main Concepts for Contemporary Urban Movements

Throughout the study we have emphasized that (re)production of urban space is realized by giving priority to capital accumulation and rent extraction. The role of the state in facilitation and legitimation, and the dominance capital for rent allocation in urban processes make them primary agents for production of built environment. The changing mode of production and shift to a new regime of capital accumulation through market principles of neoliberal ideology and new division of labour fired up a new process for (re)production of urban space. According to this, dispersion of capital accumulation on a global scale under the demands of the market has led to branding and marketing of urban space in a competitive framework. Within such a competition-driven urban process, promotion of matured real estate market has necessitated new modes, means and mechanisms. Contrary to a controller planning

system, flexible administrative, legal and organizational restructuring requirements have highlighted the facilitator role of the state. And that facilitation has merged with legitimation toward an exceptional process of (re)production of urban space. In these terms, while the supplier role of the state is kept at some level as it was in Fordist productive relations, its primary role has become facilitating capital accumulation by attracting investments toward (re)production of urban space. In this sense, beyond its supplier role, more importantly, the state is facilitator of commodification of urban space for the purpose of profit making from the real estate sector.

Together with deindustrialization, the ambition for accelerated capital accumulation has discovered production of built environment with urban development projects (*i.e. privatization-oriented state-led projects in our conceptualization*). And they are designated in privatization of extracted surplus value with facilitation and legitimation of the state. These projects have become the most substantial mode for (re)production of urban space and the means for the sociospatial restructuring process. Their large-scale, high-profile and self-contained characteristics are manifested in a pure privatization. On the one hand, changing property relations through (re)privatization of property, and on the other hand, changing land use patterns through spaces of consumption constitute distinctive dimensions for privatization. Focusing on already produced built environment is one of characteristics of these projects. For us, it is a result of abolishment of productivity, and it steers capital to find new ways in seeking surplus value. Within this structural transformation, sociospatial restructuring puts built environment into the service of capital. Thus, the new process of (re)production of urban space is defined by commodification and reappropriation of space by the state and capital.

Under these recent structural conditions, as a developing country, Turkey was unable to complete its industrial development in the primary circuit and switched to secondary circuit without accurate urban politics, before entering the process of over-production of built environment since the 2000s. İstanbul has become the foremost city to deliver capital accumulation with over-production of built environment. In parallel, the city has become the major subject of oppositional urban movements.

Departing from that, our study is composed of a two-stage investigation. The first stage has portrayed process of (re)production of urban space and urban movements in the urban scale. And, the second stage has focused on selected cases within the same respects.

The first stage of our investigation into İstanbul on a citywide basis has presented a definite geography for both privatization-oriented state-led projects (PSPs) and urban movements. *Fragmented mode for (re)production of urban space with these projects has come along with fragmented urban movements.* The analysis has indicated that there are certain intervention domains of the power. These domains together with their specific interventions generate urban movements with different dynamics. According to this, the classification of these domains has rested on property relations. Three main domains have been designated as *public space*, *private living space* and *common space*. Prestigious projects to privatize *public spaces*, which include vacant public lands, productive and operational spaces, and open and green spaces, have been introduced with their own special legal and institutional arrangements in order to transfer and sell public properties together with ensured development rights. Renewal and regeneration projects of *private living spaces* for reprivatizing them, which particularly cover historic neighbourhoods and squatter neighbourhoods, have come to exist with their own justifications and legal-institutional arrangements. The aim to recapitalize by putting private property in capital accumulation process has fostered the sociospatial transformation of poor and deprived residential areas. Mega projects to privatize *common spaces*, which are carried out on forests, agricultural lands and other natural resources, have appeared in peculiar realization schemes (i.e. privatization in built-operate-transfer model). As a consequence of the unsaleable characteristics of common spaces, the arrangements for these over-scale projects have brought high social costs and risks in the long term. Exceptional rearrangements consisting of situation specific laws, centralized planning authority according to special urban sectors and excessively empowered institutions, together with the privileged development rights for the projects have been ensured in specific to these mentioned domains. Through its facilitation and legitimation function, the state has promoted the investment and construction boom.

Within the dimensions of privatization, aside from restructured property relations, changing land use patterns with spaces of consumption has led to the removal of use value from urban space and its replacement with exchange value. Thus, allocation of urban space between the state and capital has fostered sociospatial outcomes in new conflictual bases which are specified according to the designated domains.

The emergent geography of urban movements with an oppositional landscape has been classified in the same domains as the projects in our analysis. Because of the indicative nature of property relations in addition to different means of intervention and process management of the state, changing conflicts have generated urban movements in different formations, and these movements have offered their own peculiarities. Based on this, our analysis of urban movements has provided general ideas in regards to defined domains. According to this, *movements of private space* have mainly derived from dispossession and displacement effects of renewal and regeneration projects. However, economic returns to private property have shaped the development of movements. In this sense, movements of private space have been mostly based on property-led interests. On the other hand, the ambiguous tenure structure of these poor and deprived neighbourhoods has constituted certain cleavages among opponents. Property owners seek more property rights while the others demand the right to housing. Bargaining mechanisms of the state and capital to ensure the consent of property owners have made these movements fragile. At the same time, the vitality of the demand might turn the movements into street fights. Thus, the interest-based nature of this domain, mostly resting on exchange value of urban space, has built up urban movements on cleavages which run between the right to housing and property rights. Additionally, the attitudes of actors have characterized the dynamics and process of every single movement in private space. *Movements of public space* have rested on the abolishment of productivity, corrosion of public interest and publicness. The aim of prestigious projects to extract exchange value from public space has led to loss of public property and public use within exceptional power mechanisms. Contrary to movements related to private space, this domain has not been grounded upon individual interests. Rather, under collective interests, these movements reclaim public space and its use value. Thus, they have

developed around the discourse of the right to the city. Although there are no cleavages among opponents, nascent and weak response of the society against these projects has been limited to certain actor groups such as chambers, professionals, academicians etc. *Movements of common spaces* are similar to movements of public space. Within collective interests, the destruction of natural resources with mega projects has been their main concern. These movements reclaim the environment and its sustainability for future generations by focusing on the use value of nature. Social response against mega projects has been limited to definite actors as it was in movements of public space. So, these movements have been nascent and weak in terms of social engagement. All these discussions in urban scale point out some results according to designated domains. The primary findings are:

- The attribute of urban space regarding to property is the foremost determinant for the dynamics of urban movements. Private property involves well-defined individual ownership. On the other hand, public property and commons belong to all society and nobody at the same time. The unspecific ownership of these domains constitutes different origins and focuses from the movements of private space.
- Private property rests primarily on exchange value and then use value at some levels. Although the use value of a private living space is more vital than public and common spaces in the short term as it is directly related to the housing right, its exchange value mostly dominates dynamics of urban movements in this domain. Unlike private space, public and common space have pure use value for the society, but diversified utilization forms and their meanings influence dynamics of movements of public and common spaces.
- Movements of private space are shaped by individual interests, while the other two movements are steered by collective interests. This means that formation of urban movements in the private domain can be comprehended with reference to actors and their varied interests. Unlike the actor-based structure of private living space, formation of movements in public and common domains can be comprehended from urban space itself. In other

words, offered utilization forms and meanings, namely content of space, determine the main formation of these movements.

- Individual interests in private space generate contradictory and conflictual movements in itself. Parallel to the cleavages among actors, particularly among local actors, movements are both more persistent in getting what they demand and also more fragile because of varied interests. Collective interests over public and common spaces exhibit common goals without conflicts among their actors. However, limitation of social engagement to these movements may decrease the persistence and continuity of these movements.

The second stage of our research rested on case studies which were selected from urban movements of public space. The reason for such a selection was to understand the formations of these movements. In a broader sense, the most dramatic effects of structural transformation on sociospatial transformation emerged in public spaces. Although these effects could not be noticed in the short term by the majority of the society, an oppositional minority and their efforts concerning these ownerless spaces became substantial. As can be seen from the findings in different domains, urban movements of public space were looser than those for private space with limited social engagement, even if they demonstrated collective interests with common goals. In this sense, exploration of dynamics and formation of movements in the public domain arose as a pivotal matter in order to construct counter-transformation with these movements in the future through concrete steps. To carry out such a comparative investigation, three major prestigious projects (i.e. Haydarpaşa Port, Galata Port and Haliç Port projects) and emergent urban movements in response to them were analysed in order to explore details in the process of (re)production of urban space and the formation of the movements. Since all three were productive and operational spaces and subjected to similar kind of projects, similarities of the cases provided allowed the examination of both common and specific characteristics of each process.

Together with comparative analyses of cases, at the outset, the process of (re)production of urban space was investigated. As emphasized throughout the study,

(re)production of urban space with PSPs is realized by using exceptional power mechanisms. These exceptionalities were proved in certain stages, and effects of the oppositional movements on the process were revealed with this analysis. According to this, privatization of such productive and operational spaces required *social affirmation* as a preliminary stage for the projects. To get social affirmation, these public spaces were *devalued* with artificial interventions and *isolated* from the society by placing them out of use. Following these stages, the projects were *promoted* in hegemonic ways. Parallel to social affirmation, *legal affirmation* for realization of the projects came along with *procedural adjustments* to planning and legal processes. Transfer and sale of public property, excessive development rights and new patterns of land use decisions were ensured with situation-specific adjustments. It is observable that these stages were common for the cases. On the other hand, the strength of the movement regarding its level of mobilization led to the appearance of distinctive stages. In response to strong level of mobilization, the process was conducted with *manipulations* and *speculations*. Through these kinds of stages, the movements were oppressed, and attempts were made to reverse their gains. Haydarpaşa in particular came to the forefront in this respect. As a consequence of strong mobilization and social engagement, the power had to apply such methods. This demonstrated that the existence of an oppositional movement has some effects on the process of (re)production of urban space.

In our analysis, the most critical point is distinctive level of mobilization for each case. Although all three articulated the same issues/stakes for mobilization, they arose in different levels and degrees of social engagement. According to this, privatization of public space with prestigious projects stimulated the issues/stakes on the basis of exceptional power mechanisms, loss of public property and elimination of public use with spaces of consumption. However, each opposition came along with different internal structures (i.e. in terms of organization, actor composition and repertoire) which partially determined level of mobilization. In respect to internal structures of these movements, Salıpazarı appeared undefined, with limited social participation and action repertoire. The movement of the shipyards emerged in condensed organization with wider participation of volunteer groups and wider

action repertoire. Haydarpaşa was a well-defined and multi-component organization, with extensive participation of various groups and broad range of action repertoire. Parallel to internal structures, the progress path of these movements through gains and losses, continuity and discontinuity gave clues concerning the levels of mobilizations of the cases. In this sense, the progress path of Salıpazarı was discontinuous in response to steady steps of the power. The opposition to the shipyards displayed fluctuating attempts according to steps of the power. By contrast the progress path of Haydarpaşa demonstrated continuous, tenacious line. After all, the analyses revealed that oppositional movements of the cases arose in distinctive levels of mobilizations. Therefore, the cases were conceptualized in order to array their differences. In this sense, the opposition to Galata Port was an *objection* with *weak level of mobilization*, while the opposition to Haliç Port project was a *protest* with *middle level of mobilization*. However, the opposition to Haydarpaşa Port became prominent among the others. It demonstrated a *struggle* with *strong level of mobilization* together with an outstanding social engagement.

These different levels of mobilization, despite the same issues/stakes, steered us to investigate the reasons for such a result. Based on our theoretical framework, we attempted to explore the reasons through content of urban space. As it can be remembered, our framework for urban conflicts originates from confrontation of abstract and absolute space. This means that precedence of economic and political relations associated with the mode of capital accumulation and the state interventions highlight exchange value of space. On the other hand, social relations, even in capitalism, include non-economic and non-political relations as well as economic and political ones. Utilization of civil society of urban space is related to its use value. Thus, urban conflicts are comprehended in contradictions between abstract space of exchange value and absolute space of use value.

In line with this framework, privatization-oriented state-led projects (PSPs) enable reappropriation of public property and built environment by capital, and use value is transformed into exchange value. This is properly a reappropriation process. Because the industrial mode of production in advanced capitalism allowed production of use

value for reproduction of labour force, even if this was still to meet the needs of capital. Capital appropriated urban space and everyday life with the help of a supplier state. At present, as can be seen, there is no production of a real value, and social relations are constructed on relations of consumption more than production. In this process, it is an inevitable fact that capital needs to reappropriate already produced use value and convert into exchange value. In an era of reappropriation, the process of (re)production of urban space with PSPs dissolves existing social relations and praxes in urban space and designates new ones. And mostly, the use value of urban space is swept away, and its exchange value is imposed by the power. Based on these arguments, urban movements against privatization of public space are manifestations of this contradiction and conflict. And, for us, the level of mobilization and degree of social engagement to these movements are in relation with what is removed from public space. In another word, content of urban space regarding already produced use value is a substantial determinant for triggering mobilizations.

Together with these arguments, our investigation into content of selected public spaces guided us to identify some concepts. By considering place these public spaces in relation to class and everyday life praxis, utilization forms and extent of utilization of the spaces were conceptualized. According to this, for such productive and operational public spaces, *scale of impact* in productive relations appeared prominent. Expansion of organization over economic processes means more effects in changing relations of production and makes public space substantial for the city. In this sense, Haydarpaşa influenced productive relations on a national scale through its wide hinterland since it served as a logistic center. The amount of *relocated workers* in connection with working place and urban space was defined as another determinant in content of space, which was directly associated with class praxis. The shipyards and Haydarpaşa were primarily spaces of labour, and the relocation effect of the projects for class praxis fostered class struggles at some levels. However, Haydarpaşa came to the forefront since it had active workers and their union. From the viewpoint of everyday life praxis, *publicness* was designated as one determinant. The extent of direct utilization of a public space provides wider social engagement

by building up a social memory. In this sense, Haydarpaşa, once again, appeared as a space which enabled high publicness. Lastly, *meaning* of public space for the city and the society by virtue of its place in class and everyday life praxis was important for level of mobilization. While the shipyards represented meaning for certain groups, Haydarpaşa had an outstanding meaning for a wide range of citizens. Therefore, the investigation into the contents of these public spaces evidenced why the oppositional movement of Salıpaazarı came along with weak level of mobilization, the shipyards produced a middle level of mobilization, while Haydarpaşa emerged as a strong level of mobilization.

The analyses of the cases underline some points about urban movements of public space. The main findings are as follows:

- Social engagement and level of mobilization is the foremost matter for the movements of public space since they imply ownerless spaces. Even though the movements have the same issues/stakes in line with rejection of imposed prestigious projects, each movement comes along with its peculiar formation through distinctive levels. In this sense, they have common origins and focuses, however, they become specific in themselves.
- Content of urban space regarding use value of public space presents the most pivotal criteria for these movements. In economic, social and cultural respects, the offer of the space for utilization exhibits the place of the space for the city. If there is a relation with all these dimensions, removed use value with these projects become more noticeable.
- Direct and extended utilization of a public space ensures social awareness and social engagement to build up a wider oppositional stance. Thus, if a public space actively serves for only class praxis, it provides limited social engagement. However, if class praxis and everyday life praxis overlap, the level of mobilization reaches a strong level.

In summation, our attempt to put forth main concepts of contemporary urban movements in a comprehensive approach highlighted some of their features regarding their formations and dynamics. Parallel to the findings, a brief discussion

of contemporary urban movements with reference to theoretical insights reinforces our arguments. For this reason, in the following section, contemporary urban movements are presented in accordance with theoretical discussions in order to draw an overall framework.

7.2 Debates on the Theory and an Overall Framework for Contemporary Urban Movements

The major starting point of the study has been grounded on the evolution of urban movements in parallel to structural and sociospatial transformations. Through the acceptance of their trajectory-based and context-dependent nature, this study has tackled contemporary urban movements of late capitalism in relation to (re)production of urban space. In this sense, evaluation of these recent movements together with the fundamental theoretical arguments is important to give some ideas about their evolution and to portray an overall framework for contemporary urban movements.

The fundamental theoretical insights of urban movements originate from a Marxian point of view, and urban movements directly link with capitalism. However, as indicated throughout the study, different stages of capitalism generated different connections between capitalist relations and urban space. Parallel to that, the changing contradictions and conflicts fostered urban movements with different formations and characteristics. The trajectory of urban movements primarily outlined the general contours of this change. According to this, early capitalism engendered traditional class struggles that did not relate themselves to urban processes. As of advanced capitalism, the interrelation of capitalist productive relations and urban space inevitably brought about urban movements which explicitly derived from urban processes. Since urban space was capitalized and politicized, antagonistic class struggles meld with the process of (re)production of urban space. And this was the moment that the labour process went beyond the working place and penetrated into urban processes.

Castells was the first scholar to present urban movements as a counter-category for politization of urban space with dominant actors in the process of (re)production of urban space. He defined urban movements by considering structural conditions of advanced capitalism which originated from Fordist productive relations and the interventionist welfare state. To reveal differences, Castells' fundamental arguments over urban movements become the anchor for discussions of contemporary urban movements. In this sense, our discussion rests on critical elaboration of Castells' approach for urban movements in order to draw main framework of contemporary urban movements together with the discussions of the structural shift from advanced capitalism to late capitalism.

Castells tackled urban space as a pure structural outcome of advanced capitalism. From his point of view, urban processes took shape under the priority of reproduction of capital with well-organized industrial productive relations and reproduction of labour with consumption relations. The role of the state as a supplier ensuring the endurance of capitalist relations was located at the core of contradictions and conflicts. The need for equilibrium between mass production and consumption, capital and labour came along with over-politization of urban space. Here, the critical point is that supply of public services generated use value of urban space when compared to late capitalism. Even though the state prioritized reproduction of capital and its accumulation for preventing crisis of capitalism in this process, it also produced use value by enabling reproduction of the labour force and contributing to production of a real value. However, the organization of urban space within definitely segregated spatial zones, unequal and unqualified distribution of collective consumption goods, and ultimately an everyday life in accordance with capitalist relations were fundamental bases of urban conflicts.

Under these circumstances, Castells' formulation for urban movements mainly focused on collective consumption processes under the dominance of the state. Based on this, urban movements in response to imposed urban politics were mainly the alternative to urban planning instruments of the state. In this sense, urban movements were ascribed as radical and marginal collective actions since they separated

themselves from all formal institutional channels of the state and had the capability for realization of social change through anti-systemic and revolutionary goals. On the other hand, Castells' later study based on various cases under different structural conditions and in different contexts, dealt with the diversity of the actors and their demands for the analysis of urban movements that neglected structural changes. It failed to explain urban processes due to ignorance of the interrelation of structural conditions and urban space. Such an approach could not reveal a theoretical framework for the analysis of urban movements other than definition of main demand lines of these movements. Even though this kind of an attempt represented the shift from structuralist approach to voluntarist approach for urban movements, Castells' former structuralist position could suggest a definite theoretical framework.

Within this framework for urban movements, Castells' approach has some deficiencies with respect to dealing with urban space. At the outset, a pure structuralist approach to urban processes constitutes the first trap in comprehension of urban movements. In his structuralist stance, he prioritizes political sides by giving special attention to the role of the state and making capital secondary. Over-emphasis on urban politics, even if it is accepted that such politics are for the survival of capital, causes a comprehension of urban movements as the counter-category for urban planning. Since urban planning is considered as a functional and forcible instrument of the state, it imposes spatial organization of capitalist relations and restrains the generation of diverse autonomous identities over urban space. Together with this, organization of urban space for the needs of capital also means regulation of collective consumption activities for social organization in daily life. And this is inevitably related to class issues. However, the interpretation of Castells of this process is mostly limited to housing. Other urban sectors related to public space, which become pivotal for reproduction of labour in urban process as much as housing needs, are not considered adequately with reference to urban movements. With this narrow point of view, urban movements were confined with certain conflictual lines. According to this, they basically originate from dominance of political power, demand for collective consumption goods and additionally defense of cultural identity. For us, such a structuralist reductionism make it possible to

identify these main lines in urban processes, however, the sociospatial dimensions of structural problems are represented in a limited manner. This means that there is a lack of established mutual relation between urban movements and urban space. The concentration on structure leads to define abstract space in urban process and links urban movements to only economic and political relations of abstract space. In this sense, urban space and its dimensions in regards to class and everyday life praxis are neglected in the interpretation of urban movements. Although there is some ground for politicized and homogenized everyday life and cultural identity because of consumer unionism, distinctive use values offered by absolute space and their articulations in urban movements are put aside. All in all, the framework of Castells presents overall theoretical insights, however, it treats urban space as an object of economic and political structures and overlooks sociospatial dimensions deriving from non-economic and non-political relations in urban movements.

The structural shift from advanced capitalism to late capitalism has brought deindustrialization and commodification of urban space as a new regime of capital accumulation. Based on this, new urban process has grown from reappropriation of produced use value in previous capitalist relations. Industrial relations have been abandoned, and direct class struggles, which are traditionally associated with working place and then collective consumption goods, have embedded in the complex urban processes of late capitalism. The dominance of the state and capital has gained a different dimension in comparison to advanced capitalism. Instead of comprehensive urban planning, fragmented mode for (re)production of urban space through collaboration of the state and capital has become a major determinant for contemporary urban movements. The tendency toward privatizing urban space piece by piece and elimination of existing social relations have constituted the origins of these movements. As a result of these, contemporary urban movements have demonstrated a fragmented landscape within single events and their peculiar processes. Here, it should be noted that fragmentation of urban movements in parallel to structural transformation arises as a common idea among scholars. Particularly, Mayer emphasizes heterogeneous and fragmented characteristic of contemporary urban movements with a subject based classification contrary to

Castells' definition of massive and radical urban movements. According to this, contemporary movements are grounded on conserving quality of life in neighborhoods, opposing gentrification and displacement effects of large-scale projects, and poverty and housing needs. However, interpenetration of all these subjects in the process of (re)production of urban space, specifically under the conditions of over-production of built environment in the context of İstanbul, has brought a classification that derives from urban space in our approach. In this sense, these movements are no longer radical and transformative since their focus mainly rests on a particular part of urban space. Even though they are stimulated from structural conditions and their sociospatial outcomes, they do not aim to change economic or political relations. Rather, these movements have a defensive characteristic in response to process of (re)production of urban space. And therefore, unlike Castells' assertion, contemporary urban movements do not emerge as an alternative and a counter-category to urban planning, instead, they demand implementation of planning principles through public interests.

An overall framework for contemporary urban movements, which sums up our approach and discussions, can be summarized as follows:

- Contemporary urban movements are the manifestations of urban conflicts which derive from process of (re)production of urban space under the domination of economic and political structures. However, these movements cannot be tackled by considering only structural conditions nor by considering them only as an action on their own with a voluntarist manner. However, the interrelation of urban movements and urban space requires attention to sociospatial processes which consist of non-economic and non-political relations as well as economic and political ones. In this sense, the use value of absolute space comes to exist as a core issue together with the exchange value of abstract space.
- By definition of (re)production of urban space in capitalist relations, the dominance of the state and capital in different forms inevitably generates class and political struggles. Based on this, contemporary urban movements

are not independent from these issues. They may not refer to definitely traditional working class struggles since the articulation of class and political issues changes in the movements by virtue of restructured relations in complex urban processes. However, they express these inherited struggles.

- Contemporary urban movements can be seen as a supporter and a complement for urban planning. They mainly make an effort for the implementation of planning principles with their rationales. In this sense, urban movements do not oppose the control and decisiveness of urban planning in the process of (re)production of urban space. Rather, they adopt and demand rationality of planning for public interests in response to exceptional power mechanisms.
- Contemporary urban movements represent a fragmented landscape as a consequence of the mode of (re)production of urban space. In this fragmentation, formations of these movements are different from each other. And their distinctions primarily originate from the peculiar nature of property relations through private, public and common spaces. In addition to property relations, content of urban space in regards to use value of absolute space is another determinant for urban movements.

In the end, this overall framework of contemporary urban movements indicates that existing theoretical approaches and definitions have some deficiencies and traps in order to analyze urban movements and explain their current dynamics and formations.

7.3 Concluding Remarks

Practical and theoretical discussions point out the fact that contemporary urban movements manifest changing conflictual bases of urban processes which originate from market-led (re)production of urban space. Following the change of structure, despite common mobilization issues/stakes of urban movements, each movement has its own dynamics and formations under the same conditions. In this sense, there are two major points that should be emphasized in our study.

The first one is pertinent to the approach which is used for analysis of urban movements. In our approach, we have adopted interrelation of structure and actions of the agents through *the sociospatial perspective*. Consideration of structural conditions allowed us to find out trajectory-based transformations of urban movements in parallel to structural changes and their sociospatial outcomes. And the case studies underlined the significance of actions of the agents with reference to urban space. This kind of an approach has caused us to explore the importance of absolute urban space, which steers actions of the agents, as well as the importance of abstract urban space, which refers to the structure. Otherwise, if we adopted a mere structuralist perspective for the analysis of urban movements, we would only test their conflictual bases and common issues/stakes. Such a reductionism would lead to perceive all urban movements as one and the same. Similar to this, if we only focused on actions of the agents with a voluntarist approach, we would analyze actors, organizations and repertoires of the movements. This kind of an approach would put forth differences of each movement, however, it would not allow us to comprehend direct relations of urban movements with urban space.

The second point is related to urban movements themselves. Emergent urban movements in response to exceptional power mechanisms for over-production of built environment in favour of market demands and their social extensions appear as fundamental bases for the conflicts. The fragmented mode of (re)production of urban space with privatization-oriented state-led projects builds up its own process for each project. This also generates fragmented urban movements. Each of these movements has its own dynamics and formations deriving from urban space itself. The point to be emphasized is that the determinants of these distinctions derive from attributes of urban space on the bases of *property relations* including private, public and common spaces and *content of urban space* defining class and everyday life praxis in regards to use value of space. Ultimately, the effects of contemporary urban movements on urban space and its production are limited or non-existent by virtue of the insuperable and exceptional power of the state and capital, however, their efforts are significant to unveil the current problems of urban processes.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONS OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

1) Questions for Salıpazarı and Karaköy Port

Görüşmenin Amacı

Bu görüşmenin sonuçları Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Anabilim Dalı'nda yürütülmekte olan Doktora Tezi kapsamında değerlendirilecektir. Görüşme, Salıpazarı ve Karaköy Liman Bölgesi'nde gerçekleştirilmek istenen proje karşısında oluşan muhalif mücadele sürecini anlamayı ve çözümlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu kapsamda muhalif yapı içerisinde yer alan farklı aktör gruplarının (meslek odası, uzman/akademisyen, siyasi parti, işçi, esnaf ve mahalleli vb.) süreci yorumlama biçimlerini anlamak çalışmanın bir diğer amacıdır. Görüşme esnasında verdiğiniz kişisel bilgiler hiçbir şekilde çalışmada kullanılmayacaktır.

Görüşme Tarihi:

A) Kişisel bilgiler (Bu kısım gerekli durumlarda sizinle iletişime geçebilmek açısından önem taşımaktadır)

İsim-Soyisim :
Yaş :
Eğitim :
Meslek :
Telefon No :
E-mail Adresi :
Temsil Ettiği Grup:

B) Mücadeleyi oluşturan yapısal koşullar (Kent Bağlamı)

1) İstanbul'da 2000'lerin başından bu yana ivmelenerek yaşanan sanayisizleşme süreci hakkındaki düşünceleriniz nelerdir? Ekonomik açıdan ve devlet politikaları açısından düşüncelerinizi aktarabilir misiniz?

2) Bu süreç ile Salıpazarı ve Karaköy Liman Bölgesi'nde gerçekleştirilmek istenen proje arasında nasıl bir ilişki kurabiliriz?

C) Haydarpaşa Gar ve Liman Bölgesi-Haydarpaşa Port Projesi

3) Salıpazarı ve Karaköy Bölgesini nasıl tanımlarsınız? Kent bağlamında nasıl bir yeri var?

4) Burada gerçekleştirilmek istenen projeye yönelik düşünceleriniz nelerdir? Ekonomik ve politik açıdan, Haydarpaşa'ya öngördüğü işlevsel değişim açısından nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

5) Bu projede sizi en çok rahatsız eden ve muhalif tavır almanıza neden olan sebepler nelerdir?

6) Söz konusu proje ile birlikte gar ve liman bölgesinin yakın çevresinde ne tür sosyo-mekansal değişimler meydana geldi? (sosyal profilde değişim, emlak fiyatlarının artması, yerinden edilme, başka projeleri tetikleme vb.)

7) Galata Port projesi ile Haydarpaşa Port ve Haliç Port projeleri sizce birbiri ile ilişkili projeler mi? Bu ilişkiyi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

D)Aktörlerin Motivasyonları

8)Bu mücadeleyi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Sizce bu bir sınıf mücadelesi mi, siyasi bir mücadele mi, sol-ideolojik mücadele mi yoksa kent hakkı mücadelesi mi? Kent hakkı kavramını biraz açabilir misiniz?

9)Söz konusu muhalif yapıda yer almanızın gerekçeleri nelerdir? Hükümet karşıtlığı, sınıfsal konum, Haydarpaşa'nın kimliği, kente ya da mahallenize olan duyarlılık gibi nedenler ...

10) (İşçi Sendikası) Sınıf mücadelesi ve kent arasında nasıl bir ilişki kuruyorsunuz?

11)Bu mücadelede talepleriniz nelerdir? Bunların içerisinde sizin için en öncelikli olan hangisidir?

E)Muhalif Yapı (Örgüt)

12)Mücadelenin oluşum hikayesini kısaca anlatabilir misiniz?Bu mücadeleye kim/kimler öncülük etti? Nasıl bir araya geldiniz?

13)Diğer iki örnekte olduğu gibi Galata Port projesine karşı çok bileşenli bir örgüt yapısının oluşmadığını görüyoruz. Bunun sebepleri nelerdir? Muhalif yapınızı nasıl tanımlarsınız? Esnek, tanımlı, hiyerarşik, çok bileşenli, örgütsüz vb. nasıl tanımlarsınız?

14)Farklılaşan aktör grupları arasında talepler açısından, mücadele sürecinin formülasyonu açısından uyumsuzluklar yaşanıyor mu? Uyuşmazlıkların sebepleri nelerdir? Ne tür konularda uyumsuzluk meydana geliyor? Bu uyumsuzlukları uzlaşma sağlayarak aşabiliyor musunuz ya da kopuşlar mı yaşanıyor?

15)Bu tür muhalif yapılarda genelde süreç içerisinde belli grupların aktifliği azalıyor ve mücadeleyi yürüten belli gruplar oluyor. Bu yapı için de böyle bir durum söz konusu mu? Yapının enerjisinde bir düşme var mı?

16)Ne tür mücadele yöntemlerini kullanıyorsunuz? (hukuk, imza kampanyası, basın açıklaması, sokak direnişi, sokak etkinliği, toplantı/konferans vb.) En çok kullandıklarınız hangileri?

17) Bu mücadele bir Haydarpaşa mücadelesi kadar kamuoyu yaratabildi mi? Kentlilerin yoğun katılımı gerçekleşti mi? Gerçekleşmediyse buranın toplumun kullanımına kapalı bir çalışma mekanı olmasının bunda etkisi olabilir mi? Ya da tanımlanmış örgütlü bir yapının olmayışının bu konudaki etkisi sizce nedir?

18) (Mücadeleyi başlatan aktörler/Odalar) Galata Port projesi Haydarpaşa Port projesi ile zamansal ve içerik olarak denk düşen projeler. Ancak burada verilen mücadelenin daha kamuoyu oluşturduğunu söylemek mümkün. Bunun temel sebebi nedir? Galat Port projesine karşı oluşan mücadelede neden kamuoyu oluşturma çabası daha zayıf kaldı? Ya da Haydarpaşa ya da Haliç Dayanışması gibi bir dayanışma çatısı altında süreci örgütlediniz?

19) (Mahalle örgütleri) Mahalle örgütlerinin dayanışmanın bir bileşeni olarak desteğinin Gezi direnişi sonrasında olduğunu görüyoruz. Bunun temel sebebi nedir? Daha öncesinde de bu mücadeleye destek veriyor muydunuz? Vermiyorsanız bunun sebepleri nelerdir?

F)Mücadelenin Etkileri

20)Mücadeleniz süresince projenin karar alma merci olan devlet kurumları ile iletişim kurabildiniz mi? Bunun sonucunda pazarlık edebilme şansınız ve karar alma süreçlerinde etkiniz oldu mu?

21)Projenin yatırımcısı firma(lar) ile ilişki kurabildiniz mi? Projenin içeriğine dair etkiniz oldu mu?

22)Mücadelenizin kazanımları neler oldu kısaca anlatabilir misiniz? Yasal yönetsel değişikliklere, süreçlere ne kadar etki edebildiniz?

2)Questions for Haydarpaşa Port and Station

Görüşmenin Amacı

Bu görüşmenin sonuçları Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Anabilim Dalı'nda yürütülmekte olan Doktora Tezi kapsamında değerlendirilecektir. Görüşme, Haydarpaşa Gar ve Liman Bölgesi'nde gerçekleştirilmek istenen proje karşısında oluşan muhalif mücadele sürecini anlamayı ve çözümlenmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu kapsamda muhalif yapı içerisinde yer alan farklı aktör gruplarının (meslek odası, uzman/akademisyen, siyasi parti, işçi, esnaf ve mahalleli vb.) süreci yorumlama biçimlerini anlamak çalışmanın bir diğer amacıdır. Görüşme esnasında verdiğiniz kişisel bilgiler hiçbir şekilde çalışmada kullanılmayacaktır.

Görüşme Tarihi:

A)Kişisel bilgiler (Bu kısım gerekli durumlarda sizinle iletişime geçebilmek açısından önem taşımaktadır)

İsim-Soyisim :
Yaş :
Eğitim :
Meslek :
Telefon No :
E-mail Adresi :
Temsil Ettiği Grup:

B)Mücadeleyi oluşturan yapısal koşullar (Kent Bağlamı)

1)İstanbul'da 2000'lerin başından bu yana ivmelenecek yaşanan sanayisizleşme süreci hakkındaki düşünceleriniz nelerdir? Ekonomik açıdan ve devlet politikaları açısından düşüncelerinizi aktarabilir misiniz?

2)Bu süreç ile Haydarpaşa Gar ve Liman Bölgesi'nde gerçekleştirilmek istenen proje arasında nasıl bir ilişki kurabiliriz?

C)Haydarpaşa Gar ve Liman Bölgesi-Haydarpaşa Port Projesi

3)Haydarpaşa Gar ve Liman Bölgesini nasıl tanımlarsınız? Kent bağlamında nasıl bir yeri var?

4)Burada gerçekleştirilmek istenen projeye yönelik düşünceleriniz nelerdir? Ekonomik ve politik açıdan, Haydarpaşa'ya öngördüğü işlevsel değişim açısından nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

5)Bu projede sizi en çok rahatsız eden ve muhalif tavır almanıza neden olan sebepler nelerdir?

6)Söz konusu proje ile birlikte gar ve liman bölgesinin yakın çevresinde ne tür sosyo-mekansal değişimler meydana geldi? (sosyal profild değişim, emlak fiyatlarının artması, yerinden edilme, başka projeleri tetikleme vb.)

7)Haydarpaşa Port projesi ile Galata Port ve Haliç Port projeleri sizce birbiri ile işkili projeler mi? Bu ilişkiyi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

D)Aktörlerin Motivasyonları

8)Bu mücadeleyi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Sizce bu bir sınıf mücadelesi mi, siyasi bir mücadele mi, sol-ideolojik mücadele mi yoksa kent hakkı mücadelesi mi? Kent hakkı kavramını biraz açabilir misiniz?

9)Söz konusu muhalif yapıda yer almanızın gerekçeleri nelerdir? Hükümet karşıtlığı, sınıfsal konum, Haydarpaşa'nın kimliği, kente ya da mahallenize olan duyarlılık gibi nedenler ...

10) (İşçi Sendikası) Sınıf mücadelesi ve kent arasında nasıl bir ilişki kuruyorsunuz?

11)Bu mücadelede talepleriniz nelerdir? Bunların içerisinde sizin için en öncelikli olan hangisidir?

E)Muhafif Yapı (Örgüt)

12)Haydarpaşa Dayanışmasının oluşma hikayesini kısaca anlatabilir misiniz?Bu oluşuma kim/kimler öncülük etti? Nasıl bir araya geldiniz?

13)Nasıl bir örgüt yapınız var? Esnek, tanımlı, hiyerarşik, çok bileşenli, örgütsüz vb. nasıl tanımlarsınız?

14)Farklılaşan aktör grupları arasında talepler açısından, mücadele sürecinin formülasyonu açısından uyumsuzluklar yaşanıyor mu? Uyuşmazlıkların sebepleri nelerdir? Ne tür konularda uyumsuzluk meydana geliyor? Bu uyumsuzlukları uzlaşma sağlayarak aşabiliyor musunuz ya da kopuşlar mı yaşanıyor?

15)Bu tür örgütsel yapılarda genelde süreç içerisinde belli grupların aktifliği azalıyor ve mücadeleyi yürüten belli gruplar oluyor. Sizin dayanışmanız için de böyle bir durum söz konusu mu? Yapının enerjisinde bir düşme var mı?

16)Ne tür mücadele yöntemlerini kullanıyorsunuz? (hukuk, imza kampanyası, basın açıklaması, sokak direnişi, sokak etkinliği, toplantı/konferans vb.) En çok kullandıklarınız hangileri?

17)Kent genelindeki diğer mücadele yapıları ile ilişki kuruyor musunuz? Ne tür ilişkiler kuruyorsunuz? (mücadelelerine aktif/pasif destek)

18)Örgütsüz, dayanışma içerisinde yer almayan kentliler bu mücadeleye bireysel olarak destek veriyorlar mı? Ne tür bir destek veriyorlar? (aktif/pasif)

19)Haydarpaşa mücadelesinde kentlilerin yoğun katılımı gerçekleşmiştir. Bu katılımı sağlayan temel gerekçeler nelerdir? Buranın toplumun gündelik yaşamında yer alan bir hafıza mekanı olması ve işlevsel olarak kent içi toplu ulaşımın önemli merkezlerinden olmasının etkisi olabileceğini düşünüyor musunuz? Yoksa dayanışmanın teşvik edici çabalarını bu konuda daha etkili olmuştur? (Pazar günü düzenlenen oturma eylemleri vb.)

20) (Odalar) Galat Port ve Haliç Port projelerine oluşan mücadelede neden kamuoyu oluşturma çabası daha zayıf kaldı?

21) (Mahalle örgütleri) Mahalle örgütlerinin dayanışmanın bir bileşeni olarak desteğinin Gezi direnişi sonrasında olduğunu görüyoruz. Bunun temel sebebi nedir? Daha öncesinde de bu mücadeleye destek veriyor muydunuz? Vermiyorsanız bunun sebepleri nelerdir?

22) (Mücadeleyi başlatan aktörler) Haydarpaşa mücadelesi örgüt yapısı ve mücadele pratikleri açısından ilk İstanbul'daki ilk örnek. Bu açıdan kentin diğer bölgelerinde oluşan mücadele yapılarına ve Gezi Direnişini oluşturan sürece öncülük ettiği söylene bilir mi? Bu konudaki düşünceleriniz nelerdir?

F)Mücadelenin Etkileri

23)Mücadeleniz süresince projenin karar alma merci olan devlet kurumları ile iletişim kurabildiniz mi? Bunun sonucunda pazarlık edebilme şansınız ve karar alma süreçlerinde etkiniz oldu mu?

24)Projenin yatırımcısı firma(lar) ile ilişki kurabildiniz mi? Projenin içeriğine dair etkiniz oldu mu?

25)Mücadelenizin kazanımları neler oldu kısaca anlatabilir misiniz? Yasal yönetsel değişikliklere, süreçlere ne kadar etki edebildiniz?

3)Questions for Camialtı and Taşkızak Shipyards

Görüşmenin Amacı

Bu görüşmenin sonuçları Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Anabilim Dalı'nda yürütülmekte olan Doktora Tezi kapsamında değerlendirilecektir. Görüşme,Camialtı ve Taşkızak Tersaneleri'nde gerçekleştirilmek istenen proje karşısında oluşan muhalif mücadele sürecini anlamayı ve çözümlenmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu kapsamda muhalif yapı içerisinde yer alan farklı aktör gruplarının (meslek odası, uzman/akademisyen, siyasi parti, işçi, esnaf ve mahalleli vb.) süreci yorumlama biçimlerini anlamak çalışmanın bir diğer amacıdır. Görüşme esnasında verdiğiniz kişisel bilgiler hiçbir şekilde çalışmada kullanılmayacaktır.

Görüşme Tarihi:

A)Kişisel bilgiler (Bu kısım gerekli durumlarda sizinle iletişime geçebilmek açısından önem taşımaktadır)

İsim-Soyisim :
Yaş :
Eğitim :
Meslek :
Telefon No :
E-mail Adresi :
Temsil Ettiği Grup:

B)Mücadeleyi oluşturan yapısal koşullar (Kent Bağlamı)

1)İstanbul'da 2000'lerin başından bu yana ivmelenecek yaşanan sanayisizleşme süreci hakkındaki düşünceleriniz nelerdir? Ekonomik açıdan ve devlet politikaları açısından düşüncelerinizi aktarabilir misiniz?

2)Bu süreç ileCamialtı ve Taşkızak Tersaneleri'nde gerçekleştirilmek istenen proje arasında nasıl bir ilişki kurabiliriz?

C)Camialtı ve Taşkızak Tersaneleri -Haliç Port Projesi

- 3)Camialtı ve Taşkızak Tersanelerini nasıl tanımlarsınız? Kent bağlamında nasıl bir yeri var?
- 4)Burada gerçekleştirilmek istenen projeye yönelik düşünceleriniz nelerdir? Ekonomik ve politik açıdan, tersanelere öngördüğü işlevsel değişim açısından nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
- 5)Bu projede sizi en çok rahatsız eden ve muhalif tavır almanıza neden olan sebepler nelerdir?
- 6)Söz konusu proje ile birlikte tersane bölgesinin yakın çevresinde ne tür sosyo-mekansal değişimler meydana geldi? (sosyal profild değişim, emlak fiyatlarının artması, yerinden edilme, başka projeleri tetikleme vb.)
- 7)Haliç Port projesi ile Galata Port ve Haydarpaşa Port projeleri sizce birbiri ile işkili projeler mi? Bu ilişkiyi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

D)Aktörlerin Motivasyonları

- 8)Bu mücadeleyi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Sizce bu bir sınıf mücadelesi mi, siyasi bir mücadele mi, sol-ideolojik mücadele mi yoksa kent hakkı mücadelesi mi? Kent hakkı kavramını biraz açabilir misiniz?
- 9)Söz konusu muhalif yapıda yer almanızın gerekçeleri nelerdir? Hükümet karşıtlığı, sınıfsal konum, Tersanelerin tarihsel kimliği, kente ya da mahallenize olan duyarlılık gibi nedenler ...
- 10) (İşçi Sendikası) Sınıf mücadelesi ve kent arasında nasıl bir ilişki kuruyorsunuz?
- 11) (Mahalle örgütleri) Mahalleniz ve tersanler arasında nasıl bir bağ kurup bu mücadeleye katıldınız? Mahallede yaşayanlar genellikle tersanelerde çalışan işçiler miydi? Mahallelerin yoksulluğu...
- 12)Bu mücadelede talepleriniz nelerdir? Bunların içerisinde sizin için en öncelikli olan hangisidir?

E)Muhalif Yapı (Örgüt)

- 13)Haliç Dayanışmasının oluşma hikayesini kısaca anlatabilir misiniz?Bu oluşuma kim/kimler öncülük etti? Nasıl bir araya geldiniz?
- 14)Nasıl bir örgüt yapınız var? Esnek, tanımlı, hiyerarşik, çok bileşenli, örgütsüz vb. nasıl tanımlarsınız?
- 15)Farklılaşan aktör grupları arasında talepler açısından, mücadele sürecinin formülasyonu açısından uyuşmazlıklar yaşanıyor mu? Uyuşmazlıkların sebepleri nelerdir? Ne tür konularda uyuşmazlık meydana geliyor? Bu uyuşmazlıkları uzlaşa sağlayarak aşabiliyor musunuz ya da kopuşlar mı yaşanıyor?
- 16)Bu tür örgütsel yapılarda genelde süreç içerisinde belli grupların aktifliği azalıyor ve mücadeleyi yürüten belli gruplar oluyor. Sizin dayanışmanız için de böyle bir durum söz konusu mu? Yapının enerjisinde bir düşme var mı?
- 17)Ne tür mücadele yöntemlerini kullanıyorsunuz? (hukuk, imza kampanyası, basın açıklaması, sokak direnişi, sokak etkinliği, toplantı/konferans vb.) En çok kullandıklarınız hangileri?
- 18)Kent genelindeki diğer mücadele yapıları ile ilişki kuruyor musunuz? Ne tür ilişkiler kuruyorsunuz? (mücadelelerine aktif/pasif destek)

19)Örgütsüz, dayanışma içerisinde yer almayan kentliler bu mücadeleye bireysel olarak destek veriyorlar mı? Ne tür bir destek veriyorlar? (aktif/pasif)

20)Haliç Dayanışmasının mücadelesi bir Haydarpaşa mücadelesi kadar kamuyou yaratabildi mi? Kentlilerin yoğun katılımı gerçekleşti mi? Gerçekleşmediyse buranın toplumun kullanımına kapalı bir çalışma mekanı olmasının bunda etkisi olabilir mi?

21) (Mücadeleyi başlatan aktörler) Haliç mücadelesi Gezi direnişinin hemen ardından oluşmuş bir yapı. Bu açıdan örgüt yapısı ve mücadele pratikleri açısından Gezi Direnişi'nden bir etkilenme söz konusu mu? Bu konudaki düşünceleriniz nelerdir?

F)Mücadelenin Etkileri

22)Mücadeleniz süresince projenin karar alma merci olan devlet kurumları ile iletişim kurabildiniz mi? Bunun sonucunda pazarlık edebilme şansınız ve karar alma süreçlerinde etkiniz oldu mu?

23)Projenin yatırımcısı firma(lar) ile ilişki kurabildiniz mi? Projenin içeriğine dair etkiniz oldu mu?

24)Mücadelenizin kazanımları neler oldu kısaca anlatabilir misiniz? Yasal yönetsel değişikliklere, süreçlere ne kadar etki edebildiniz?

APPENDIX B
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

	Interviewee	Profession	Representative of
Haydarpaşa	H1	Architect	Chamber of Architects
	H2	Railroader	United Transportation Union
	H3	City Planner	Chamber of City Planners
	H4	Architect	Academician
	H5	Architect	Kadıköy Municipality
	H6	Mechanical Engineer	Local Office Owner (Activist in Validebağ)
	H7	Biologist	Local Resident
	H8	Port Worker	Liman-İs Union
Camialtı and Taşkızak	C1	Ship Engineer	Chamber of Ship Engineers
	C2	Architect	Academician/ Chamber of Architects
	C3	City Planner	Chamber of City Planners
	C4	Mechanical Engineer	Local Office Owner (Chamber of Mechanical Engineers)
	C5	Retired Shipyard Worker	Retired Shipyard Worker
	C6		Old President of Okmeydanı Association
	C7	Shipyard Worker	President of Gemi-Der
	C8		President of Bedrettin Association
Salıhapazarı and Karaköy	S1	Industrial Engineer	Local Resident (Old President of Ayazpaşa Association)
	S2	Architect	Local Resident
	S3	Architect	Local Resident (Old President of Cihangir Association)
	S4	Architect	İstanbul City Defence
	S5	City Planner	Chamber of City Planners
	S6	Port Worker	Liman-İs Union

APPENDIX C

LIST OF PSPs ON THE MAPS

REPRIVATIZATION OF PRIVATE SPACE		
	Project	New Spatial Use
Reprivatization of Squatters	Ayazma Kentsel Donüşüm (My World Europe)	Luxury Residence
	Tepüstü Kentsel Donüşüm (Mall of İstanbul)	Luxury Residence
	Maltepe-Gülsuyu-Gülsu KD	Luxury Residence
	Maltepe-Başbüyük KD	Luxury Residence
	Güngören-Tozkoparan Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Esenler-Havaalanı Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Beyoğlu- Sütlice-Ornektepe Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Beyoğlu-İstiklal Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Esenler-Oruçreis 1 Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Sultanazade-Cumhuriyet Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Barbaros Hayretin K Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Mevlana K Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Yenimahalle K Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Kazım Karabekir Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Sarıgöl-Merkez Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Merkez Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Karadeniz Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Karayolları Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Fevzi Çakmak Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Sarıyer- Armutlu Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Küçükçekmece-Fatih Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Küçükçekmece- Kanarya Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Bayrampaşa-Vatan Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Beşiktaş-Rumeli Hisarı Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Tuzla-İçmeler Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Pendik-Batı Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Pendik-Kaynarca Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Pendik-Dumlupınar Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Pendik-Orta Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Üsküdar-Burhaniye Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Zeytinburnu-Sümer Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Esenler-Atışalanı Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Kadıköy-Merdivenköy Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Ataşehir-İçerenköy Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Başakşehir-Ziya Gökalp Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Okmeydanı Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Eyüp-Alibeykoy Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Sarıyer-Çamlıtepe(Derbent) Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Kartal Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Kadıköy-Fikirtepe Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Yıldız Tabya Doğu Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Yıldız Tabya Batı Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Pazariçi Kuzey Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Pazariçi Güney Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
	Gaziosmanpaşa-Bağlarbaşı Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence
Okmeydanı Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence	
Gaziosmanpaşa-Sarıgöl-Yenidoğan Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence	
Bağcılar-Göztepe Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence	
Bağcılar-Kemalpaşa Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence	
Esenler-Çınar,İnönü, Sancaktepe Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence	
Piyalepaşa Regeneration Project	Luxury Residence	

	REPRIVATIZATION OF PRIVATE SPACE	
	Project	New Spatial Use
Reprivatization of Historic Neighbourhoods	Tarlabaşı Yenileme Renewal Project	Luxury Residence
	Sulukule Renewal Project	Luxury Residence
	Ayvansaray Renewal Project	Luxury Residence
	Fener-Balat Renewal Project	Luxury Residence
	Süleymaniye Renewal Project	Luxury Residence
	Bedrettin Renewal Project	Luxury Residence

	PRIVATIZATION of PUBLIC SPACE	
	Project	New Spatial Use
Privatization of Open and Green Space	Kuşdili Çayırı	Shopping Mall
	Çamlıca Mosque	Religious
	Atakoy Marina	Marina
	Tarabya Marina	Marina
	Sarıyer İstinye Marina	Marina
	Beşiktaş Bebek Marina	Marina
	Beykoz Keçilik Marina	Marina
	Beykoz Kanlıca Marina	Marina
	Beykoz Çubuklu Marina	Marina
	Beykoz Goksu Marina	Marina
	Beşiktaş Arnavutköy Marina	Marina
	Beykoz Marina	Marina
	TCDD Arazisi Marina	Marina
	Kalamış Marina	Marina
	Üsküdar Square Project	Square
	Yeni Kapı Square Project	Square
	Aksaray Square Project	Square
	Beyazıt Square Project	Square
	Kadıköy Square Project	Square
	Taksim and Topçu Kışlası Square Project	Square
	Sirkeci Station Square Project	Square
	Kabataş Martı Square Project	Square
	Şişhane Square Project	Square
	Maltepe Thematic Park Project	Thematic Park
	Yedikule Bostanı Thematic Park Project	Thematic Park
	Çırpı Veliefendi Thematic Park Project	Thematic Park
	Maltepe Ataşehir -Sancaktepe Thematic Park Project	Thematic Park
	Validebağ Thematic Park Project	Thematic Park
	Yenikapı Thematic Park Project	Thematic Park
	Atakoy Sea Pearl	Tourism
	Rumeli Hisarı İhyası	Tourism
	Sevda Tepesi	Tourism
	Kasımpaşa Hotel Project	Tourism
	Zeyport	Tourism
	Roma Bahçeleri	Thematic Park
	Harem	Thematic Park
	Fındıklı Parkı	Thematic Park

PRIVATIZATION of PUBLIC SPACE		
	Project	New Spatial Use
	Privatization of Public Land	Four Winds Bağdat Caddesi
Torun Center		Luxury Residence
Ataşehir Finance Center		Luxury Residence
Batışehir		Luxury Residence
Viaport Venezia		Luxury Residence
Vadi İstanbul		Luxury Residence
Maslak 1453		Luxury Residence
Bakirkoy 46		Luxury Residence
Pruva 34		Luxury Residence
Atakoy Blumar		Luxury Residence
Masshattan		Luxury Residence
Zorlu Center		Luxury Residence
Unikonut Ispartakule		Luxury Residence
Emlak Konut Ispartakule Evleri		Luxury Residence
Avrupa Konutları Ispartakule 1		Luxury Residence
Bahçekent Flora		Luxury Residence
Tual Bahçekent		Luxury Residence
Bahçekent Emlak Konutları		Luxury Residence
Gölpanorama Evleri		Luxury Residence
Avrupapark		Luxury Residence
My Town Ispartakule		Luxury Residence
1STANBUL		Luxury Residence
Bizimevler 4		Luxury Residence
Bizimevler 3		Luxury Residence
Bizimevler 2		Luxury Residence
Spradon Quartz		Luxury Residence
Evvel İstanbul-Adım İstanbul		Luxury Residence
Emlak Konut Başakşehir Evleri		Luxury Residence
Misistanbul Evleri		Luxury Residence
Merkez Kayaşehir		Luxury Residence
Bahçetepe İstanbul		Luxury Residence
Bulvar İstanbul		Luxury Residence
My World Europe		Luxury Residence
Dumankaya Miks		Luxury Residence
Elite City		Luxury Residence
Soyak Evostar		Luxury Residence
Avrupa Konutları Atakent 3		Luxury Residence
Avrupa Konutları Atakent 4		Luxury Residence
Karat 34		Luxury Residence
Batışehir		Luxury Residence
Avrupa Konutları TEM 2		Luxury Residence
Avrupa Konutları TEM		Luxury Residence
Esenler Emlak Konut		Luxury Residence
Maslak 1453		Luxury Residence
Kent Plus Mimar Sinan		Luxury Residence
Avrupa Konutları Ataköy		Luxury Residence
Novus Residence		Luxury Residence
Büyükyalı İstanbul		Luxury Residence
Akasya Acıbadem		Luxury Residence
Varyap Meridian		Luxury Residence
Uphill Court Ataşehir		Luxury Residence
My World Ataşehir		Luxury Residence
Bulvar 216		Luxury Residence
Metropol İstanbul		Luxury Residence
Ataşehir Residence		Luxury Residence
My Tower Land		Luxury Residence
Nidakule Ataşehir		Luxury Residence
Evora İstanbul Marmara		Luxury Residence
1st Marina		Luxury Residence
Tual Adalar		Luxury Residence
Tuzla Emlak Konutları 1		Luxury Residence
Tuzla Emlak Konutları 2		Luxury Residence
Sultanbeyli Emlak Konutları		Luxury Residence
Park Otel		Tourism

PRIVATIZATION of PUBLIC SPACE		
	Project	New Spatial Use
Privatization of Productive and Operational Space	Emek-Demiroren	Shopping Mall
	Tekel Likor Fabrikası	Luxury Residence
	Etiler Police School	Luxury Residence
	Vadi İstanbul (cendere vadisi)	Luxury Residence
	İç-Dış Kumsal Thematic Park Project	Thematic Park
	Tema İstanbul Thematic Park Project	Thematic Park
	Vialand AVM & Vialand Thematic Park Project	Thematic Park
	Cendere Vadisi Thematic Park Project	Thematic Park
	Paşabahçe Şişe Cam Factory	Tourism
	Majik Sineması (C'ercle De Orient	Tourism
	Haliç Port	Tourism
	Haydarpaşa Port	Tourism
	Galataport	Tourism
	Haliç Museum Project	Tourism

PRIVATIZATION of COMMONS		
	Project	New Spatial Use
Privatization of Commons	Avrasya Tüneli	Transportation
	Kanal İstanbul	Transportation
	Teleferik	Transportation
	Haliç tünel	Transportation
	3 Kahl Boğaz Geçişi	Transportation
	Üsküdar-Kabataş tünel yaya geçişi	Transportation
	3. Havalimanı	Transportation
	3.Koprü ve Kuzey Marmara Otoyolu	Transportation
	Marmaray	Transportation
	Yenişehir İstanbul	New Settlement
	Kanal Riva	New Settlement

APPENDIX D
PROJECTS AND PROCESSES

PROJECTS				POWER				OPPOSITION		
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand
Sulukule Urban Renewal Project	Hatice Sulhan and Neslihan Neighbourhoods	Residence		A Roman neighbourhood that comes till today from Ottomans	TOKI IMM Faith Municipality Ozkar Group	Low quality buildings and urban environment Increase quality of life Revitalize historical neighbourhood by restoration	Process of negotiations /promises Pressures Urgent expropriation	Solidarity and Development of Roman Culture, Chamber of Architects	Demonstrations Events Petition Campaigns Prosecutions	Residents claim for staying in their neighbourhood Chambers claim for cancellation of the project
		Luxury Residence								
<p>Historical Peninsula 1/5000 and 1/1000 conservation plans were approved by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) and Conservation Committee</p> <p>According to plans, Haticehan and Neslihan neighbourhoods were agreed as 3rd degree conservation area which legitimate to regenerate.</p> <p>A protocol was signed among IMM, Faith Municipality and TOKI to collaborate for renewal project.</p> <p>Sulukule declared as renewal area within the law 5366</p>										
2006										
<p>Association for Solidarity and Development of Roman Culture established</p> <p>Association protested the project</p> <p>Second protocol divided Romans as supporters and opponents for the project.</p> <p>Increased protests by opponents.</p>										
2007										
<p>By taking supports of NGOs Romans and Chamber of Architects complained for urgent expropriation</p> <p>Platform of Sulukule was founded and against to destruction decision "40 gitt 40 gece Sulukule" events was organized.</p> <p>After "mistakenly" destruction, a petition campaign was started</p>										
2008										
<p>Struggles carried on</p> <p>Property owners that moved social houses removed due to cost of these houses</p>										
2009										
<p>Fatih Municipality destroyed a building "mistakenly".</p> <p>Announce for destructions within 40 days.</p> <p>Renewal project was approved by renewal committee.</p> <p>Faith Municipality founded Association of Haticehan and Neslihan Neighbourhoods</p>										
2009										
<p>By taking supports of NGOs Romans and Chamber of Architects complained for urgent expropriation</p> <p>Platform of Sulukule was founded and against to destruction decision "40 gitt 40 gece Sulukule" events was organized.</p> <p>After "mistakenly" destruction, a petition campaign was started</p>										
2012										
<p>Council of municipalities decided "urgent expropriation".</p> <p>Fatih Municipality Municipality Çalk Group</p> <p>Low quality buildings and urban environment Increase quality of life Revitalize historical neighbourhood by restoration</p> <p>Process of negotiations /promises Pressures Urgent expropriation</p> <p>FEWAYDER</p> <p>Demonstrations Prosecutions</p> <p>Participatory planning is the claim</p>										
2013										
<p>Council of state cancelled decision of "urgent expropriation".</p> <p>FEWAYDER and residents presented the decision.</p> <p>1/5000 and 1/1000 conservation plans that contain Fezic-Balat-Ayamansay renewal projects were cancelled</p>										
2014										

**REPRIVATIZATION OF PRIVATE SPACE
HISTORIC NEIGHBOURHOODS**

		PROJECTS				POWER				OPPOSITION			
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand			
Ayvanasa Urban Renewal Project	Türk (Tokludede) Neighbourhood	Residence	 Luxury Residence	Old Rum and Jew neighbourhood that poor immigrants settled nowadays	Fatih Municipality Şener Group	Low quality buildings and urban environment Increase quality of life Revitalize historical neighbourhood by restoration	Process of negotiations /promises /pressures Urgent expropriation	FEBAYDIER	Demonstrations Prosecutions	Participatory planning is the claim			
<p>Ayvanasa were declared as renewal area</p> <p>Project for Fener-Bahçe-Ayvanasa was approved by Fatih Municipality</p> <p>Contractor firm started to collect deeds by declaring that the area was planned as park</p> <p>Destructions started Excavating in an archeological area without permission</p> <p>Two different projects that gave different rights for contractor and residents</p> <p>"Urgent expropriation" decision for Fener-Bahçe-Ayvanasa</p> <p>Destruction of registered buildings</p>													
2009													
2010													
<p>Association of the neighbourhood made an objection and protested with FEBAYDIER</p> <p>FEBAYDIER and residents protested the decision.</p> <p>Slay of execution decision for the project</p> <p>Council of state cancelled decision of "urgent expropriation".</p>													
2011													
<p>A website was established on the park of neighbourhood</p> <p>Association applied AIRM for expropriation attempts</p> <p>Expert that assigned by court affirmed the project</p> <p>Renewal started by destroying 4 registered buildings</p> <p>The firm increased the rent prices</p> <p>Association applied UNESCO in order to stopped destructions</p>													
2012													
<p>Slay of execution decision for the project</p> <p>Council of state cancelled decision of "urgent expropriation".</p> <p>Association of Solidarity and Development of Tarlabasi Property Owners and Tenants, Chamber of Architects</p> <p>Process of negotiations /promises /pressures Urgent expropriation</p> <p>Low quality buildings and urban environment Increase quality of life Revitalize historical neighbourhood by restoration</p> <p>Process of negotiations /promises /pressures Urgent expropriation</p>													
2013													
2014													
<p>1/5000 and 1/1000 construction plans that contain Fener-Bahçe-Ayvanasa renewal projects were cancelled.</p> <p>Residents claim for staying in their neighbourhood Chamber claim for the cancellation of project</p> <p>Prosecutions</p>													
2014													
2010													
<p>Attempts for expropriation</p> <p>All of the residents were discharged and destructions continued</p>													
2007													
<p>Çalık Group won tender</p> <p>Project was approved by renewal committee</p> <p>Residents were asked to sell their houses to the firm</p> <p>Association of Solidarity and Development of Tarlabasi Property Owners and Tenants was established</p> <p>Due to low bid price of the firm, property owners did not make arrangement</p> <p>Chamber of Architects commenced a lawsuit in order to make cancel project</p>													
2006													
<p>Declared as renewal area by decision of council of ministries</p> <p>Meetings were arranged with residents and explained the project that residents could restore their houses by low interests</p>													
2008													
<p>Association of Solidarity and Development of Tarlabasi Property Owners and Tenants was established</p> <p>Due to low bid price of the firm, property owners did not make arrangement</p> <p>Chamber of Architects commenced a lawsuit in order to make cancel project</p>													
2011													
<p>Council of state cancelled decision of "urgent expropriation".</p>													
2014													

**REPRIVATIZATION of PRIVATE SPACE
HISTORIC NEIGHBOURHOODS**

PROJECTS				POWER				OPPOSITION			
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/ Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand	
Süleymaniye Urban Renewal Project (2006)	Demiras, Hacıkadın, Yavuzsultan Hocagayasettin Neighbourhoods	Residence	 Luxury Residence	Commercial center from Ottoman era that Kurdish immigrants settled	Fatih Municipality KIPTAŞ TOKİ	Low quality buildings and urban environment. Increase quality of residential neighbourhood by restoration	Process of negotiations /promises Pressures	IMECE	Prosecutions	Residents have no claim, they only want to be given some time for quitting	
<p>Declared as renewal area by decision of council of ministries</p> <p>A protocol was signed between Fatih Municipality and DMM</p> <p>According to protocol, residents forced to sell their property to KIPTAŞ or get credit from TOKİ to restore their house or municipality decide to expropriation</p> <p>On behalf of KIPTAŞ an officer bought some properties by support of some residents.</p>											
2007											
<p>IMECE protested the way of destructions with tenants and they declared public statement in front of the municipality</p> <p>Mayor of IMM declared that the project was delayed due to more payment claims of residents</p>											
2012											
<p>IMECE protested the way of destructions with tenants and they declared public statement in front of the municipality</p> <p>Mayor of IMM declared that the project was delayed due to more payment claims of residents</p>											
2013											
<p>On behalf of KIPTAŞ an officer bought some properties by support of some residents.</p>											
2005											
Topelistan-Ayazma Squatter Regeneration Project	Ayazma and Tepekati Neighbourhoods	Residence	 Commercial+Luxury Residence	A squatter quarter which near the Olimpiad Park	TOKİ IMM Küçükköy Municipality Enlak Konut REIT	Low quality buildings and urban environment. Increase quality of life	Process of negotiations /promises Pressures	Support of Chambers, NGOs, other neighbourhood associations	Demonstrations	Tenants claim for houses without down payment that promised	
<p>IMM was approved the decision</p> <p>Municipality promised for that they give new houses for everybody included tenants</p> <p>Property owners were settled in TOKİ houses</p> <p>Küçükköy Municipality destroyed the tents and barracks</p> <p>IMM was approved the decision</p> <p>Municipality promised for that they give new houses for everybody included tenants</p> <p>The Mayor promised that they provide social houses these families with same conditions of property ownerson a TV programme</p> <p>These families were made right owner at Kayabaşı social houses, however, they were not informed about payment conditions</p> <p>Agioğlu won the tender</p>											
2007											
<p>Property owners were settled in TOKİ houses</p> <p>Küçükköy Municipality destroyed the tents and barracks</p> <p>Municipality destroyed the tents and barracks third times</p> <p>Municipality promised for that they give new houses for everybody included tenants</p> <p>Agioğlu won the tender</p>											
2009											
<p>Property owners that settled TOKİ houses began to move due to unaffordable charges</p> <p>Families protested every Sunday in front of Yılı municipality</p>											
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<p>Chambers, NGOs, other neighbourhood associations and academicians negotiated with the mayor</p>											
2012											
2004											
<p>18 tenant family set up tents and barrack on the site</p> <p>Families set up tent and barracks again on the same place</p>											
2006											
<p>18 tenant family set up tents and barrack on the site</p> <p>Families set up tent and barracks again on the same place</p>											
2007											
<p>Property owners were settled in TOKİ houses</p> <p>Küçükköy Municipality destroyed the tents and barracks</p> <p>Municipality destroyed the tents and barracks third times</p> <p>Municipality promised for that they give new houses for everybody included tenants</p> <p>Agioğlu won the tender</p>											
2009											
<p>Property owners that settled TOKİ houses began to move due to unaffordable charges</p> <p>Families protested every Sunday in front of Yılı municipality</p>											
2010											
<p>Chambers, NGOs, other neighbourhood associations and academicians negotiated with the mayor</p>											
2012											

PROJECTS				POWER			OPPOSITION			
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand
Başbüyük Squatter Regeneration Project	Başbüyük Neighbourhood Residence	 After objections 1/5000 plan was cancelled and new plan was approved by IMM. According to the new plan of E-5 highway was indicated Fındıklı and Ziraatçılar were left out urban regeneration areas by Maltepe Municipality. The project was called as Başbüyük Urban Regeneration	 IMM approved 1/1000 plan Mayor of Maltepe Municipality declared that residents could participate to the project by in debt within a meeting. The firm came to the neighbourhood for establishing worksite on the park	An old neighbourhood that locate on a hill surrounded forests near E-5 Highway	TOKI, IMM and Maltepe Municipality, Ak Group	Low quality buildings and urban environment increase quality of life	Process of negotiations /promises /pressures	Başbüyük Associations, Chambers of Architects, City Planners and Survey Engineers	Demonstrations Meetings Prosecutions	Differentiated claims Some of residents want to have double-borne owner some of them want to discuss an alternative proposal. Chambers claim for the cancellation of project
					TOKI sold residence to the police for setting up worksite Against to agreement destruction was started Despite court decision, construction continued			TOKI supplied houses to residents that admitted in debt	TOKI houses damaged landslide	2nd phase of regeneration project was started
2005										
2004										
Gülşuyu-Gülensu Squatter Regeneration Project	Gülşuyu-Gülensu Neighbourhood Residence	 After objections 1/5000 plan was cancelled and new plan was approved by IMM. According to the new plan Fındıklı and Ziraatçılar were left out urban regeneration areas and only Başbüyük and Gülşuyu-Gülensu were declared as regeneration areas	 Chambers of Architects, City Planners and Survey Engineers commenced a lawsuit Başbüyük Association was founded and they protested regeneration project	A neighbourhood that locate on a hill surrounded forests near E-5 Highway with Marmara Sea scenery	TOKI, IMM and Maltepe Municipality	Low quality buildings and urban environment increase quality of life	Process of negotiations /promises /pressures	Gülşuyu-Gülensu Associations (GÜLDAM), Chambers of Architects, City Planners and Survey Engineers	Demonstrations Workshops Prosecutions	Residents claim for participation to planning process and stay in their neighbourhood Chambers claim for the cancellation of project
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PROJECTS					POWER			OPPOSITION		
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/ Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand
Fikripe Squatter Regeneration Project	Dumlupınar, Eğin, Merdivenlihoods Residence			Labour quarter near E-5 Highway	Ministry of Environment and Urbanization IMM	Low quality buildings and urban environment Increase quality of life	Process of negotiations /promises /pressures expropriation Risky area decision	Fikripe Cooperation Association, Fikripe Urban Regeneration Association, Chambers of Architects, City Planners and Civil Engineers	Demonstrations Prosecutions	Residents claim for more property right from investors and to be started of regeneration Chambers claim forthe cancellation of project
P O W E R	Planned as "special project area" on 1/5000 plan changed as urban regeneration area. Mayor of DAM announced that they start an urban regeneration series by beginning from Fikripe Moyor of DAM announced that they approved by IMM and area was divided into different project zones. Project that gives ¼(0-40 reconstruction permission was cancelled with judicial application of Chambers of Architects, City Planners and Civil Engineers Firms started to contract with residents Some areas were left out of reconstruction permission because of locating on secological site and caused residents asked for permission on different areas Kakköy Municipality objected to 80 m limitation Reconstruction rights for residents that did not agree was decreased Ministry of Environment and Urbanization IMM Ministry declared that the project was stopped because of high reconstruction permission Site was declared as "risky area" according to the law 6306 Reconstruction permissions was decreased Distraction and groundbreaking ceremony "Urgent expropriation" for out of 23 residents that not agree with firms Ministry send judgements to 43 residents									
O P P O S I T O N	2007 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014									
Tozkoparan Squatter Regeneration Project	Tozkoparan Neighbourhood Residence			Social housing area	TOKI Güngören Municipality	Low quality buildings and urban environment Increase quality of life	Process of negotiations /promises /pressures Risky area decision	TOZDER	Demonstrations Meetings Prosecutions	Participation to planning process
P O W E R	A protocol was signed between Güngören Municipality and TOKI IMM was approved Tozkoparan was announced as urban regeneration area Mayor of Güngören Municipality give some information regarding regeneration within a meeting Site was declared as "risky area" according to the law 6306									
O P P O S I T O N	2008 2009 2010 2013 2014									
P O W E R	Residents who had information regarding the project organized a meeting in order to emphasize that they protect their neighbourhood. They called themselves "Tozkoparan Solidarity" to make regular their meetings TOZDER was founded and they stress that they are against to indolment and not to admit any project that they will not participate TOZDER against to expropriation decision complained and made a public statement Council of state cancelled decision of "risky area" TOZDER organized a panel in order to give some information and other neighbourhood associations, chambers supported them									

PROJECTS				POWER			OPPOSITION			
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand
Derbent Squatter Regeneration Project	Derbent Neighbourhood	 Residence	 Luxury Residence	Squatter neighbourhood that locates on Biyyikdere-Maslak development route with luxury residence areas	IMM Yorum Group Atatürk Oto Sanatkarları Cooperative	Low quality buildings and urban environment increase quality of life	Process of negotiations /promises Risky area decision	Cooperative and Association of Camlitepe Neighbourhood for Solidarity and Embellishment	Demonstrations Petition Campaign	Residents claim for having home in debtless
<p>Construction of MESA residence was completed that delivered by land owner cooperative</p> <p>Building of Association of Derbent for Solidarity and Embellishment was destroyed</p> <p>Cooperative send judgement to residents regarding with destruction</p> <p>Destruction of squatters</p> <p>1/5000 and 1/1000 conservation revision plans were approved by the ministry.</p> <p>Derbent was indicated as urban regeneration area and IMM involved into the process</p> <p>Neighbourhood was declared as "risky area" by council of ministers</p>										
<p>2006</p>										
<p>2010</p>										
<p>Residents send petitions to IMM and Saryer Municipality</p> <p>Residents protested the judgements by taking supports of other residents of neighbourhoods</p> <p>Residents resisted against to destructions</p> <p>Cooperative and Association of Camlitepe Neighbourhood for Solidarity and Embellishment was founded</p> <p>By getting support of NGOs, chambers, residents, academicians they prepared objection petitions</p> <p>Residents objected to decision with 1700 petitions</p>										
<p>2011</p>										
<p>2012</p>										
<p>2013</p>										
<p>2015</p>										
<p>Residents objected to decision with 1700 petitions</p> <p>Chamber of Architects, City Planners and Civil Engineers, NGOs, Parties</p> <p>Demonstrations Prosecutions</p> <p>Residents claim for starting of regeneration Chambers claim for cancellation of the project</p> <p>Chamber of Architects, City Planners and Civil Engineers, NGOs, Parties</p> <p>Process of negotiations /promises Pressures</p> <p>Low quality buildings and urban environment increase quality of life</p> <p>IMM Kartal Municipality</p> <p>Labour quarter with industrial areas until the dindustrialization period</p> <p>IMM Kartal Municipality</p> <p>Kartal Municipality organized a interesting meeting with the participation of residents, NGOs, chambers and associations</p> <p>Kartal Municipality organized a interesting meeting with the participation of residents, NGOs, chambers and associations</p> <p>New plan was prepared for the project and IMM was approved</p>										
<p>2010</p>										
<p>2011</p>										
<p>2015</p>										
<p>Court decided for stay of execution</p> <p>After that four times again project was completed by related chambers and court cancelled the project</p>										
<p>2015</p>										
<p>2005</p>										
<p>IMM and Kartal Municipality created and enter funds for preparing vision projects which contain regeneration of Kartal</p> <p>An international competition was organized for Kartal and the project of Zaha Hadid won competition</p> <p>Great number of NGOs presented the transformation decision and the projects at Kartal square</p> <p>IMM and Kartal Municipality created and enter funds for preparing vision projects which contain regeneration of Kartal</p> <p>An international competition was organized for Kartal and the project of Zaha Hadid won competition</p> <p>Great number of NGOs presented the transformation decision and the projects at Kartal square</p> <p>IMM and Kartal Municipality created and enter funds for preparing vision projects which contain regeneration of Kartal</p> <p>An international competition was organized for Kartal and the project of Zaha Hadid won competition</p> <p>Great number of NGOs presented the transformation decision and the projects at Kartal square</p>										
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REPRIVATIZATION of PRIVATE SPACE

PROJECTS				POWER				OPPOSITION			
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand	
Sarıgöl-Yenidöğün Squatter Regeneration Project	Residence			Squatter neighbourhood that Romans live near TEM highway	Gaziosmanpaşa Municipality KEYM Acar Group	Low quality buildings and urban environment Increase quality of life	Process of negotiations /promises Urgent expropriation Risky area decision	Sarıgöl Romans Association, Gaziosmanpaşa Council of Sheltering Right, Chambers of City Planner	Demonstrations Petition Campaign Prosecutions	Residents claim for staying in their neighbourhood and cancellation of "risky area" decision Chambers claim the cancellation of project	
<p>A protocol was signed between TOKİ and Gaziosmanpaşa Municipality for Sarıgöl-Yenidöğün urban regeneration project</p> <p>1/1000 plan changing was presented</p> <p>1/5000 revision plan and 1/1000 lot plan revision plan were presented</p> <p>Acar Group won the tender</p> <p>Numerous neighbourhood in Gaziosmanpaşa was indicated as "risky area"</p> <p>For 1st phase destruction were stated by Prime Minister</p> <p>Plan changings and increased reconstruction permissions</p> <p>Sarıgöl and Yenidöğün were declared as "risky area"</p> <p>Urgent expropriation decision for some areas as "risky area" again</p> <p>Council of ministers indicated the site as "risky area" again</p>											
<p>2010</p> <p>Residents and Sarıgöl Romans Association announced that they wanted to be informed regarding the project in front of the municipality and they gave petitions</p> <p>Chambers of City Planner objected to the plan and commenced a lawsuit</p> <p>Chambers of City Planner commenced another lawsuit for cancellation of the plans</p> <p>Gaziosmanpaşa Council of Sheltering Right protested the decision</p> <p>Council of state cannot the decision</p> <p>Residents applied to the court for cancellation of "risky area" decision</p> <p>Gaziosmanpaşa Council of Sheltering Right protested the decision</p> <p>Council of state cannot the decision</p>											
<p>2011</p> <p>Chambers of City Planner objected to the plan and commenced a lawsuit</p> <p>Chambers of City Planner commenced another lawsuit for cancellation of the plans</p> <p>Gaziosmanpaşa Council of Sheltering Right protested the decision</p> <p>Council of state cannot the decision</p> <p>Residents applied to the court for cancellation of "risky area" decision</p> <p>Gaziosmanpaşa Council of Sheltering Right protested the decision</p> <p>Council of state cannot the decision</p>											
<p>2012</p> <p>Municipality arranged urban regeneration meeting and mayor explained that they would give deeds of all residents</p> <p>Mayor declared implementations after local elections</p> <p>Municipality declared the site as "risky area" and send the decision for approval to the ministry</p> <p>New 1/5000 plan was approved by İMM</p>											
<p>2013</p> <p>Residents objected to the projects and gave petitions to the municipality by expressing that the plans did not include them</p> <p>A group of residents protested urban regeneration project and stressed that they wanted to residence in their houses</p> <p>Okmeydanı Association arranged a urban regeneration meeting</p>											
<p>2014</p> <p>1/5000 and 1/1000 plans were approved by İMM</p> <p>1/5000 and 1/1000 plans were cancelled by the court</p> <p>Residents protested the decision of "risky area"</p>											
<p>2015</p> <p>Okmeydanı Association commenced a lawsuit for the plan and plan was cancelled by the court</p>											

REPRIVATIZATION OF PRIVATE SPACE
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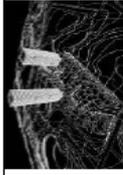
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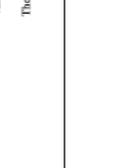
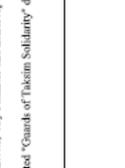
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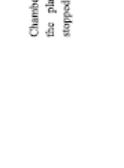
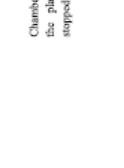
PROJECTS				POWER			OPPOSITION			
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/ Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand
Quasar Istanbul Project	Tekei Liqueur and Brandy Industry	 Industry	 LuxuryResidence+ Commercial	Industry building that constructed in republic period and industrial heritage	Emlak Konut REIT Viaran-Meydanbey Group	-	By imposition	Chamber of Architects, Parties	Demonstrations Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project
P O W E R	Head of TOKI declared that they took the old industry and planned as convention, office, shopping and cultural center	IMM approved plan changing TOKI tendered the project after two attempts			The project was presented to the media The permission was ensured for destruction of historical buildings Industry was destroyed			Continuation carried on despite of the court decision The court cancelled the decision of stop execution		
O P P O S I T I O N		2007 2008 2009	2009 2009	2009 2009						
Emek Shopping Mall Project	Emek Cinema	 Cinema	 commercial	Constructed in 1884	Beyoglu Municipality Kamer Group	-	By imposition	Emek is our Istanbul is Our Initiative Chamber of Architects	Demonstrations Events Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project
P O W E R	The urban block that Emek Cinema and CeraidOrien located was declared as renewal area by council of ministers	Kamer Group present the project to Beyoglu Municipality. According to that, buildings were transformed in shopping mall The project was approved by conservation committee			After the expert examining the decision for stop the execution was cancelled			Shops were quit by fence Destructions started		
O P P O S I T I O N		2006 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013	2010 2011 2012	2010 2011 2012						
		Chamber of Architects commenced a lawsuit for the project that ensure the destruction of Emek Cinema Demonstrations were organized at 30. Istanbul Film Festival Chamber of Architects hold a press conference Emek is our Istanbul is Our Initiative was founded A demonstration was hold during expert examining			A protest was organized at Taksim Square against to the decision Initiative protested and some members were arrested			Initiative struggled with police, however Emek Cinema was destroyed		

PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC SPACE
PRODUCTIVE AND OPERATIONAL SPACES

		PROJECTS				POWER			OPPOSITION		
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/ Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand	
Majik And Maksim Hotel Project	Majik Cinema and Maksim Club	 Cinema Club	 Hotel	20th century cultural and entertainment buildings	Tuna Group	-	By imposition	Chamber of Architects	Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project	
<p>State theatre was forced to leave from the building</p> <p>The shopping mall project that is constructed by merging Majik Cinema and Maksim Club was approved by conservation committee</p> <p>Construction started</p> <p>Despite of the court decision for cancellation of construction permission, construction carried on</p> <p>Construction lasted</p>											
2011											
<p>Chamber of Architects objected for the project</p>											
2012											
Etiler Police School Project	Etiler Police School	 School	 LuxRestidener Commercial	Locates on a high-value land	Ministry of Environment and Urbanization IMM General Directorate	-	By imposition	Chambers of Architects and City Planners, Parties	Demonstrations Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project	
<p>TOKI wanted to get the school in exchange for public housing, however security general directorate did not give the land</p> <p>The land was got by IMM and Ministry of Environment and Urbanization increased reconstruction permission within new plan and proposed shopping mall and hotel</p> <p>Ministry of Environment and Urbanization declared the land as "risky area"</p> <p>The school was closed by the decision of council ministers</p>											
2011											
<p>Chambers of Architects and City Planners complained for the plan</p>											
2012											
2013											
2014											
<p>CIP protested the decision</p>											
2014											

PRIVATIZATION of PUBLIC SPACE
PRODUCTIVE and OPERATIONAL SPACES

		PROJECTS				POWER			OPPOSITION		
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/ Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand	
PRIVATE and OPERATIONAL SPACES	Şehir University Project	Industry		Natural, archeological and industrial heritage	IMM Şehir University	-	By imposition	Cevzili Tekel Solidarity Chamber of Architects	Demonstrations Petition Campaign Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project	
		Education		Conservation committee approved the changed plan							
PRODUCTIVE and OPERATIONAL SPACES	Şehir University Project	Industry		IMM changed the decision and planned the area as training facility The Area was appropriated to Şehir University for 49 years							
		Commercial		Conservation committee approved the plan revision that includes the project Conservation Committee registered the incipient Topçu Kışlası The project was approved by council of monuments The tender for pedestrianization was taken by Kalyon Group Construction was started	Chamber of Architects commenced a lawsuit for decision, however, their application was rejected	Cevzili Tekel Solidarity was founded and they started for a petition					
PRIVATE and OPERATIONAL SPACES	Şehir University Project	Park and Square			IMM	-	By imposition	Platform for Taksim Solidarity, Chambers, NGOs, associations, Parties	Demonstrations Events Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project	
		Commercial		Conservation committee approved the plan revision that includes the project Conservation Committee registered the incipient Topçu Kışlası The project was approved by council of monuments The tender for pedestrianization was taken by Kalyon Group Construction was started							
PRODUCTIVE and OPERATIONAL SPACES	Şehir University Project	Park and Square									
		Commercial		Conservation committee approved the plan revision that includes the project Conservation Committee registered the incipient Topçu Kışlası The project was approved by council of monuments The tender for pedestrianization was taken by Kalyon Group Construction was started							
PRIVATE and OPERATIONAL SPACES	Şehir University Project	Park and Square									
		Commercial		Conservation committee approved the plan revision that includes the project Conservation Committee registered the incipient Topçu Kışlası The project was approved by council of monuments The tender for pedestrianization was taken by Kalyon Group Construction was started							
PRODUCTIVE and OPERATIONAL SPACES	Şehir University Project	Park and Square									
		Commercial		Conservation committee approved the plan revision that includes the project Conservation Committee registered the incipient Topçu Kışlası The project was approved by council of monuments The tender for pedestrianization was taken by Kalyon Group Construction was started							
PRIVATE and OPERATIONAL SPACES	Şehir University Project	Park and Square									
		Commercial		Conservation committee approved the plan revision that includes the project Conservation Committee registered the incipient Topçu Kışlası The project was approved by council of monuments The tender for pedestrianization was taken by Kalyon Group Construction was started							
PRODUCTIVE and OPERATIONAL SPACES	Şehir University Project	Park and Square									
		Commercial		Conservation committee approved the plan revision that includes the project Conservation Committee registered the incipient Topçu Kışlası The project was approved by council of monuments The tender for pedestrianization was taken by Kalyon Group Construction was started							

Project Name	PROJECTS				POWER				OPPOSITION		
	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/ Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand	
Galata Port Project	-			Public space	Beyoğlu Municipality Doğuş and Bilgili Group	-	By imposition	Chamber of Environmental Engineers, City Planners and Civil Engineers Istanbul City Defence	Demonstrations Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project	
				Public space	IMM approved new 1/10000 plan	Because of changing in coastal law provisions regarding conservation of cultural and natural assets were left out for filling areas	Plans for the project were approved by conservation committee	Tender process was started again	Judgements were sent to shop owners for leaving their shops Doğuş Group won the tender	Construction for the project was started despite of the court stop the execution decision	
Zeytin Port Project	-			Public space	Ataopt and Rönnesan- Erkan Group	-	By imposition	Chamber of Architects and City Planners	Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project	
				Public space	Building heights were reduced with revision of the plans	Chamber of Environmental Engineers commenced a lawsuit for cancellation of 1/100000 plan and the court stopped execution Calmnet Project became inapplicable	2012	Chamber of Architects, City Planners and Civil Engineers complained for cancellation of the plans.	Shop owners objected for the Judgements Istanbul City Defence protested Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) meeting	Expert assert that the plans were out of public benefit related to privatization of coastal.	
P O W E R	-			Public space	Ministry of Culture and Tourism approved 1/10000 and 1/5000 plans	Building heights were reduced with revision of the plans				Ministry of Environment and Urbanization approved plans again	
				Public space	Ministry of Culture and Tourism approved 1/10000 and 1/5000 plans	The objection appeal of Chamber of City Planners for plans was rejected by council of state			Chamber of City Planners objected the decision and applied upper council Plans were cancelled		
O P O S I T I O N	-			Public space	Chamber of Architects complained the plans and council of state stopped the execution of plans						
				Public space	Chamber of Architects complained the plans and council of state stopped the execution of plans						

PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC SPACE
OPEN and GREEN SPACES

PROJECTS				POWER			OPPOSITION			
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/ Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand
Kuşdili Meadow Shopping Mall Project	Kuşdili Meadow	Open Space	 Commercial	Natural protection area	IMM	-	By imposition	Kuşdili Platform	Signature Campaign Demonstrations Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project
<p>1/5000 and 1/10000 plans that consist of the project was approved by conservation committee</p> <p>Kaşdily Şah Bazaar was held for the last time and moved to Fikriyege</p> <p>The land that belonged to IMM was sold Tuzgözü Group</p> <p>1/5000 and 1/10000 plans were accepted by IMM and approved by Ministry of Environment and Urbanization</p>										
<p>2007</p> <p>2008</p> <p>2009</p> <p>2013</p> <p>2014</p>										
Yedikule Gardens Recreation Project	Yedikule Gardens	Gardens	 Park	Urban agricultural area since 1500 years and protected area	IMM Faith Municipality	-	By imposition	Initiative for Protecting of Yedikule Gardens	Demonstrations Events	Cancellation of the project
<p>Renewal committee approved the project</p> <p>Along the city wall that enter the world heritage list of UNESCO uncontrolled excavating was hold</p> <p>Three different plan appeared for the gardens and vacant areas within the plan proposed as residential area on the preliminary project</p> <p>With the destructions 60 decares cultivable area was decreased 30 decares</p> <p>Excavations for pool constructions was delivered without expert permission and central Mayor of Faith Municipality announced that they protect 800 m² of the gardens in the project because of reaction of the Initiative</p>										
<p>2013</p> <p>2014</p> <p>2015</p>										
<p>Initiative for Protecting of Yedikule Gardens started to organize events by establishing a library in the gardens</p> <p>The Initiative called for solidarity support</p> <p>The Initiative applied to conservation committee in order to make registered some water wells in 4 gardens</p> <p>The Initiative called for solidarity support</p> <p>The application of the Initiative was rejected</p>										

PRIVATIZATION of PUBLIC SPACE
OPEN and GREEN SPACES

PROJECTS				POWER			OPPOSITION			
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/ Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand
Yenikapı Filling and Meeting Square Project	Coastal		 Meeting Square	Public space	IMM Ministry of Environment and Urbanization	-	By imposition	Chambers of Architects, City Planners and Civil Engineers	Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project
<p>P O W E R</p> <p>The project was tendered</p> <p>Despite the conservation committee express negative opinion, Ministry of environment and Urbanization approved the project</p> <p>Construction for the filling was started</p> <p>Construction for the filling was completed and the form of historical peninsula was changed</p>										
<p>2011</p> <p>2012</p> <p>2013</p> <p>Chambers of Architects, City Planners and Civil Engineers commenced a lawsuit for the plans</p>										
<p>2014</p>										
Maltepe Filling and Meeting-Park Project	Coastal		 Park	Public space	IMM	-	By imposition	Maltepe Environment Platform, Chamber of Architects	Signature Campaign Demonstrations Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project
<p>P O W E R</p> <p>1/1000 plan proposition for the filling area was approved by IMM</p> <p>Report for Environmental Impact Assessment was found unnecessary</p> <p>The tender of the project was carried out</p> <p>Coastal was closed to the public</p> <p>Filling part of the project was completed and painting was started</p>										
<p>2011</p> <p>2012</p> <p>Maltepe Municipality inhibited the construction by justifying that IMM not obey the legal process</p> <p>Maltepe Environment Platform and residents prevented the project and collected thousands signatures</p>										
<p>2013</p> <p>2014</p> <p>Chamber of Architects complained for the project and the expert reveal that filling was started before than plan revision</p>										

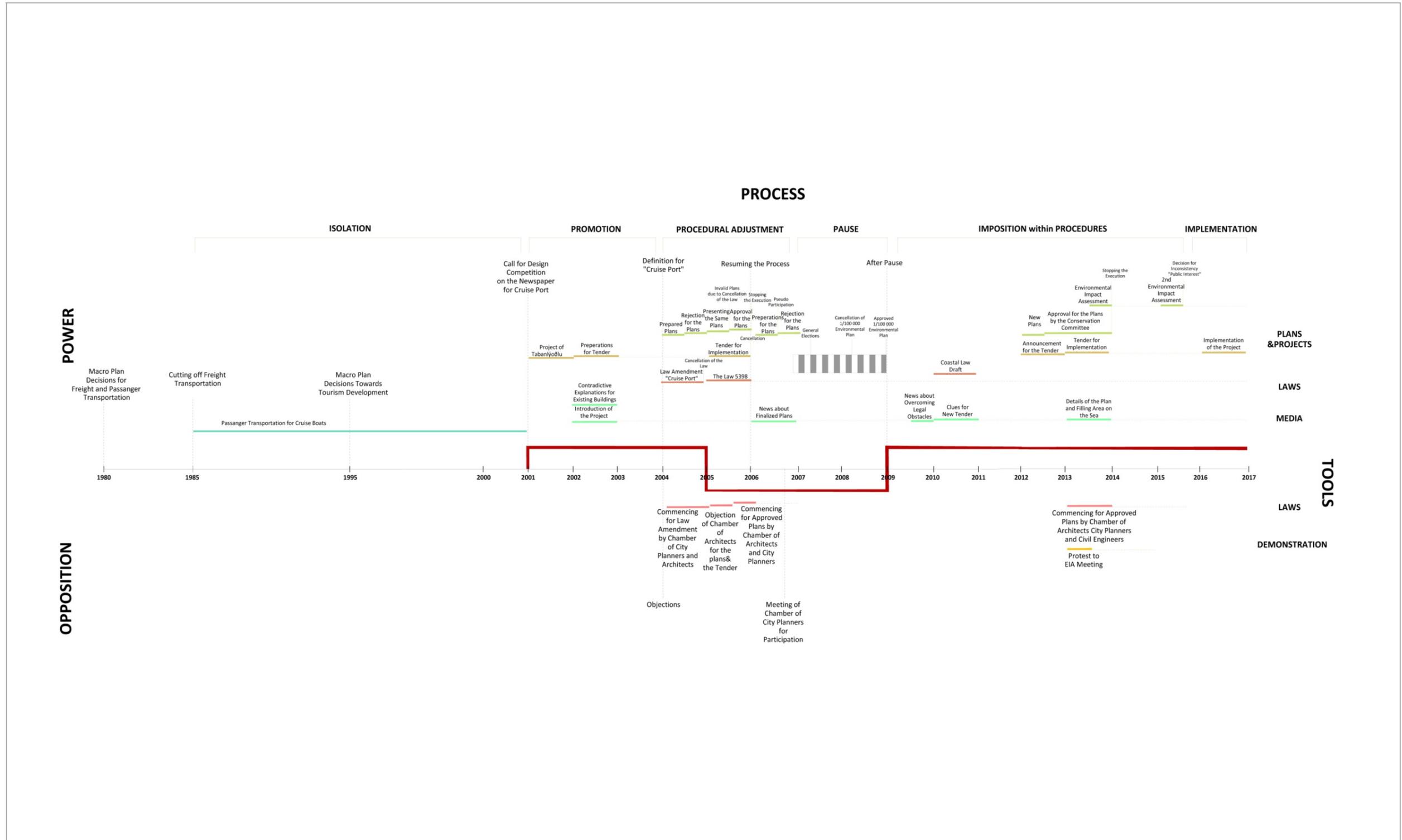
PRIVATIZATION of PUBLIC SPACE
OPEN and GREEN SPACES

		PROJECTS				POWER			OPPOSITION		
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/ Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand	
Kadıköy Square Project	Kadıköy Coastal	 Coastal	 Square	Public space	IMM	-	By imposition	Kadıköy Solidarity Haydarpaşa Solidarity, Chambers of Architects and City Planners	Petition Campaign Demonstrations Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project	
		1/5000 conservation plan for Haydarpaşa Station and surrounding of it was approved by IMM		Plan was exhibited			IMM changed the plan notes Mayor of IMM exhibit Kadıköy Square project				
		1/5000 conservation plan which transforms the area into a tourism and culture center approve									
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		PROJECTS				POWER			OPPOSITION		
Project Name	Project Site	Existing Function	Proposed	Site Characteristics	Institutions/ Firms	Justification	Intervention	Organizations	Repertoire	Prior Demand	
Kuzgunçuk Gardens School Project	Kuzgunçuk Gardens	 Garden	 School	Have a 700 -years past Protection area	Üsküdar Municipality	-	By imposition	Association of Kuzgunçukular	Demonstrations Prosecutions	Cancellation of the project	
<p>General Directorate for Foundations declared the school project</p> <p>The Garden was rented by Üsküdar Municipality Trees were cut down</p>											
2011											
<p>Conservation commission did not approve the project.</p> <p>Association of Kuzgunçukular and residents protested by delivering some events the decision and commenced for it.</p>											
2013											
<p>The association and residents protested the renting tender</p> <p>The association and residents negotiate with the mayor of Üsküdar municipality in order to protect the garden</p> <p>The association and residents protested to the felling trees</p>											
2014											
Validdebag Wood Mosque Project	Validdebag Wood	 Wood	 Mosque	Natural protection area with registered buildings	İMM Üsküdar Municipality	-	By imposition	Validdebag Volunteers Association	Demonstrations Events	Cancellation of the project	
<p>Validdebag Wood was given to Üsküdar Municipality for ten years</p> <p>Ministry of Health decided to close Hospital that locates in the wood</p> <p>The wood was given to İMM İMM declared the mosque project, however, the court stopped the execution Construction carried on despite the decision of stopping execution</p>											
2009											
<p>Public and NGOs protested that decision</p> <p>Reactions occurred against to the project and The Association and the residents started to stand against to illegal construction and organized a protest march, however, the police intervened Opponents organized planting, protest, after that they were removed by the police</p>											
2014											
2015											

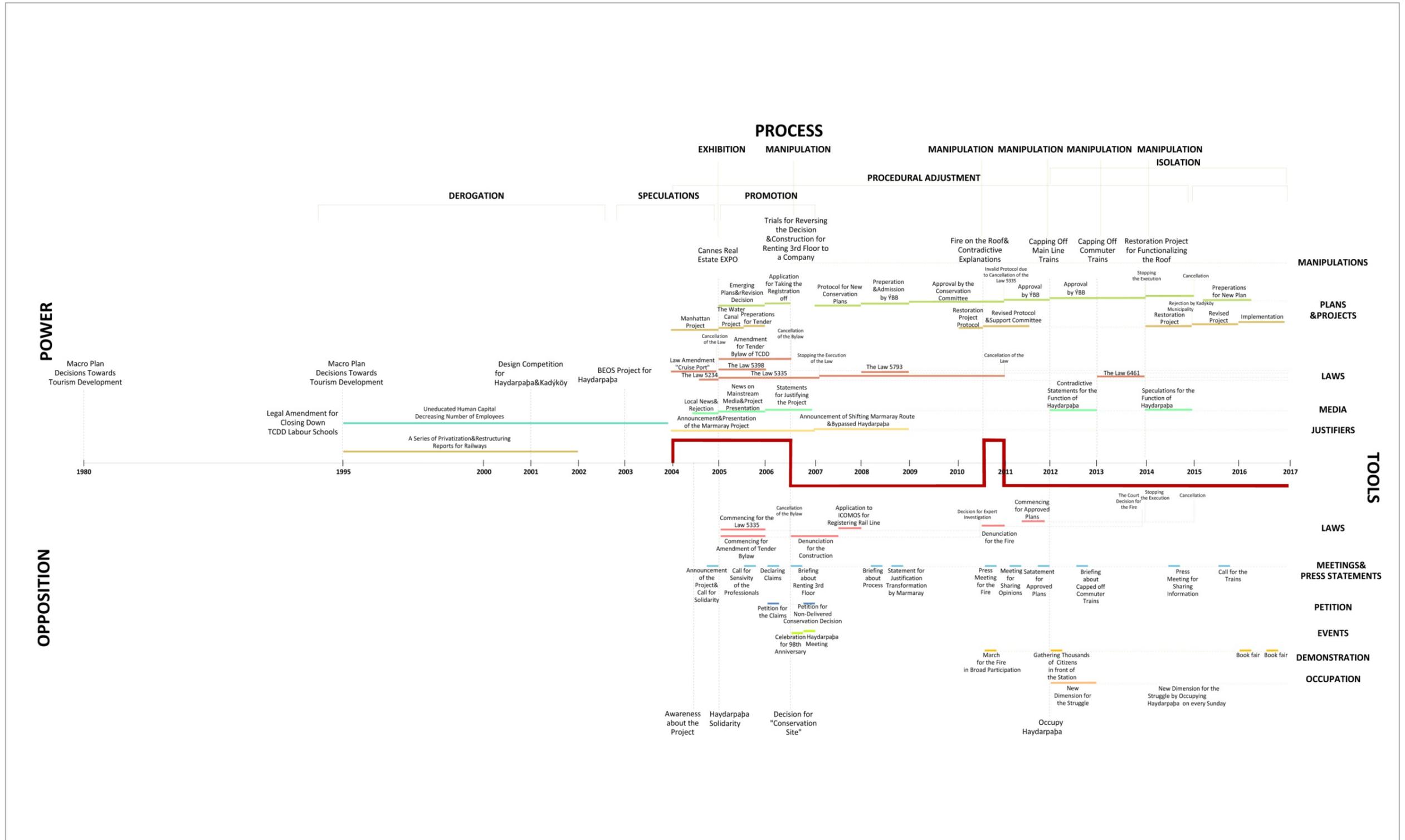
**PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC SPACE
OPEN and GREEN SPACES**

APPENDIX E PROCESS OF GALATAPORT PROJECT

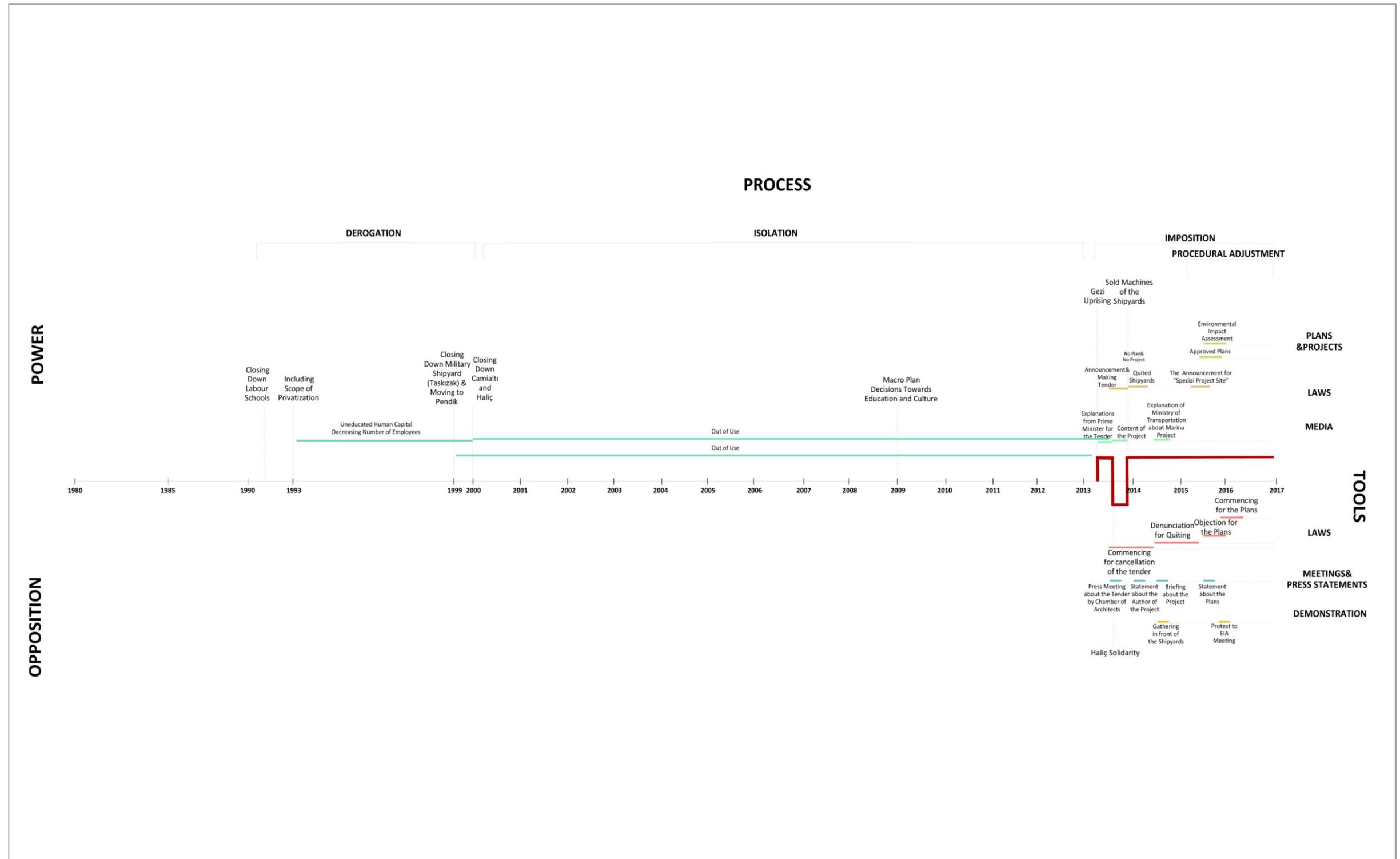


APPENDIX F

PROCESS OF HAYDARPASA PORT PROJECT



APPENDIX G PROCESS OF HALICPORT PROJECT



CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of
Graduation		
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BS	Gazi University, City & Regional Planning	2008
High School	Batıkent Foreign Language Intensive High School	2003

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2012-Present	METU, Dept. of City & Regional Planning	Research Assistant
2011-2012	Erciyes Uni., Dept. of City & Regional Planning	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

PUBLICATION

1. ÇOBANYILMAZ, P., YÜKSEL DUMAN, Ü. (2010). Adaptation Process to Climate Change and Turkey. International Sustainable Buildings Symposium (ISBS) Ankara, Turkey (In the Published Conference Book)
2. ÇOBANYILMAZ, P., YÜKSEL DUMAN, Ü. (2013). Kentlerin İklim Değişikliğinden Zarar Görebilirliğinin Belirlenmesi: Ankara Örneği. Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü Dergisi, 17 (3), pp.39-50
3. ÇOBANYILMAZ ÖZTÜRK, P. (2015). Seeking for a Method to Determine Vulnerability of Cities to Climate Change. 2nd International Conference on Changing Cities II: Spatial, Design, Landscape & Socio-Economic Dimensions Porto Heli, Greece (In the Digital Conference Book)
4. ÇOBANYILMAZ ÖZTÜRK, P. (2016). Power of Ideology on Identity in İstanbul. Journal of the Indian Science of Architecture & Allied Sciences
5. ÇOBANYILMAZ ÖZTÜRK, P. (2016). Muhalefet ve Mücadele Pratiğinde Şehirci ve Şehircilik: Plancının Toplumsallığı. 8. Türkiye Şehircilik Kongresi Ankara, Türkiye (In the Unpublished Conference Book)