DYNAMICS AND STRUCTURES OF
ALLIANCES AND CONFLICTS:
THE CASE OF GECEKONDU RESISTANCE
IN ISTANBUL BAŞIBÜYÜK
(2009-2010)

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis analyzes dynamics and structures of alliances and conflict between social actors in gecekondu resistance against urban transformation in Maltepe Başıbüyük between 2009 and 2010. It investigates how various social actors, who have been involved in this process and those who have been frequently referred to by the residents, approached to urban transformation as per their economic and immaterial interests and priorities, such as increasing their political power and being involved in conflict resolution process. According to research findings, the social actors needed to create coalition structures with some actors in order to benefit from their resources and power, to enhance their political and economic interests, and to demobilize their antagonists or they conflicted with others when their interests clashed with each other since authority and power were not equally distributed among the parties concerned. This study also sought to respond divergences in habitant's ownership status, reliability and legitimacy of gecekondu resistance and politicized presence of

TOKİ as a partner in urban transformation process. This study had been carried out in order to find out the 'the ideal urban transformation project' and 'envisage of the future city' of various social actors as per their economic other immaterial interests. It reveals that ideal urban transformation project and envisage of the future city can be evolved when all social actors are integrated into policymaking/ consensus building process and it is backed up with social policies that inhibit social exclusion and variable vulnerabilities and put all social actors in the same footing.

ÖZ

İTTİFAK VE İTİLAFLARIN
DİNAMİK VE YAPILARI:
İSTANBUL BAŞIBÜYÜK
GECEKONDU DİRENİŞİ VAKASI
(2009-2010)

Yalçınkaya Akdağ, Özlem Gonca

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyal Politika Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar Akgüner

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Bu tez, 2009 ve 2010 yılları arasında, Maltepe Başıbüyük'teki kentsel dönüşüme karşı olan gecekondu direnişinde yer almış aktörler arasındaki ittifak ve itilafların dinamik ve yapılarını analiz etmektedir. Bu süreçte yer almış ve gecekondu sakinleri tarafından sıklıkla söz edilmiş olan çeşitli toplumsal aktörlerin, ekonomik ve siyasi gücünü arttırmak ve itilaf çözüm sürecinde yer almak gibi manevi ilgi ve öncelikleri kapsamında kentsel dönüşüme nasıl yaklaştıklarını araştırır. Bunun yanında, bu çalışma farklı toplumsal aktörlerin yaklaşım ve stratejileri arkasındaki dinamiklerin ne olduğunu ve onların perspektifi ile politika önerilerinin ne olduğunu ortaya koymayı amaçlar. Araştırma sonuçlarına göre, toplumsal aktörler diğerlerinin kaynakları ve güçlerinden faydalanmak, politik ve ekonomik çıkarlarını arttırmak ve düşmanlarını hareketsiz hale getirmek için bazı aktörlerle koalisyon kurma ihtiyacı duymuş ya da otorite ve güç bahsedilen taraflar arasında eşit olarak dağılmadığı için,

bazıları ile, ilgi ve çıkarları çıkarları çatıştığında, itilaf içine düşmüşlerdir. Bu çalışma ayrıca mahalle sakinlerinin mülkiyet durumundaki farklılıklarına, gecekondu direnişinin güvenilirlik ve meşruluğuna ve TOKİ'nin, kentsel dönüşüm sürecindeki bir partner olarak, politikleşmiş varlığına bir yanıt vermeyi tasarlamıştır. Böylece, bu çalışma toplumsal aktörlerin ekonomik ve politik ya da diğer manevi ilgilerine göre, onların ideal kentsel dönüşüm projesi ve geleceğin kentinin tasavvurunu ortaya çıkarmak için yapılmıştır. Çalışma ortaya koymaktadır ki, tüm toplumsal aktörler politika yapma ve itilaf çözme sürecine dahil edildiği ve toplumsal dışlanmayı ve her türlü savunmasızlıkları önleyecek ve tüm toplumsal aktörleri, süreçte söz sahibi olmak için, aynı seviyeye getirecek sosyal politikalarla desteklendiği müddetçe, ideal kentsel dönüşüm projesi olduğu gibi geleceğin şehrinin tasavvuru geliştirilebilir.

Anahtar kelimeler: gecekondu direnişi, ittifak, itilaf yapıları, Başıbüyük.

I dedicate my thesis to Derin Ada Akdağ and to all children who go out to buy a bread for their families…

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Main objective

Due to its peculiar nature, urban transformation in Turkey is a very noteworthy process. Such peculiarity arises out of the fact that urbanization process and people's reactions as well as the organizations opposing to this process have their own way of dynamics. For this reason, recently we have been witnessing a series of social upheavals in urban areas.[1] Motivations and rationale of city-dwellers are mainly directed towards rising people's awareness on the restrictions of freedom rights in Turkey. Social movements such as environmental movements, women's movements, gecekondu (the name given to squatter house in Turkey) resistances etc. have emerged as a result of inequality, unemployment, discrimination, pressure and violence encountered in daily urban life. These showed us that the city has become an area of daily existence and consumption and people try to defend their 'right to live' in cities and their desire to participate in a democratic urban planning process as against to repressive political authoritarianism. Therefore, those social upheavals and demonstrations are oriented towards social emancipation and civic engagement.

Hence, as an example to these urban social upheavals people show reactions against urban transformation practices that are diversified throughout the world even though methods of urban policymaking are different in Western and Non- Western Countries. As an example for policymaking methods employed in Western Countries, researchers such as Brenner (1998) and Duru (2005) remark local

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[1] Taksim Gezi Park Incidents and Protests began on 27th of May in 2013 in Beyoğlu, Istanbul, and they continued till mid- June. These reactions were mainly against top-down urban policymaking strategies and they have showed us how the Turkish governments are producing top-down urban policies; how citizens perceive these policies as imminence for their civic rights; and how they show their reactions against these policies. These incidents are bringing together people with different socio- economic and political backgrounds, who do believe in having ''Gezi spirit'', made us aware of how people can get organized spontaneously around a common project: people's democratic control over urban space.

democracy and respect for human rights are core policies of European Union local governments. The projects are consulted to public: they are provided by considering local peculiarities and by applying to appropriate knowledge. As well, residential rights of people with limited economic and social resources are *partially* left to market mechanisms. Nevertheless, though participation, transparency, accountability etc. are mentioned in the EU documents, it has become soundless because of the mechanisms of the Common Market.

The situation is quite different in Non- Western Countries. As Foweraker (2001) and Davis (2006) point out urban transformation projects are very harsh in Non- Western Countries and they are applied in much more undemocratic ways. For instance, as Davis (2006) summarizes poor people in Uttar Pradesh region of India are forced to move to the edges of city for the sake of local elites. As another example, people living in slum settlements of Mexico City were faced with mass demolishment in favor of urban middle class (Ibid.). People living in the slums of Bangkok or Calcutta are forced to leave their own districts though they would face with more worsening conditions (Ibid.).

USMs that have emerged as a reaction against 'unjust urban transformation projects' are widespread across the world. As an example, Rothman& Oliver (1999) made a research on the anti-dam movement regarding the construction of alliances of social actors, contributions of external social actors- such as church and left intellectuals, and the link between the local, national, and global politics in Southern Brazil between 1979 and 1992. Roth (2005) characterizes the poor people's movement, specifically in France and Western Europe, nourishing doubts about the general picture of successful movement politics that relies on 'professional resource mobilization', 'stable movement organizations' and 'a sophisticated strategy of conflict and cooperation with opponents and the state'. In this manner, he points out the dissolution of 'the clear distinction between 'post- materialistic' new social movements and 'materialistic' poor people's movements' (p.34).

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Urban transformation efforts in Turkey have gained speed ever since 1999 Marmara Earthquake. The main discourse has been based on providing houses- that are available, accessible, and affordable- for low and middle income citizens in a livable and planned environment. İslam (2010, p.60) argues that the policy rhetoric is based on solutions to city's ill. In this manner, it is claimed that the urban transformation will help to avoid earthquakes, reduce crime, decrease segregation, remove stigma, increase poor living conditions, and combat terrorism (Ibid.) However, Çavuşoğlu et. al. (2011, p. 12) put forth that the hegemonic discourse is based upon illegality of the residents as of being occupants, rentier etc. In this way, while local politicians provide various benefits to the residents; they also legitimize the demolishment by referring to the supremacy of the laws and state policy (Ibid.). Hence, as Çaçtaş Ceylan et. al. (2007) indicated assessment studies made to choose urban areas/spaces that will be subject to urban transformation and creation as well as the execution of legal arrangements do not function properly in Turkey. That's why the projects end up in inequality and disparity. Besides, the authority confusion encountered during the preparation process results in insufficient and improper projects.

Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanliği (TOKİ- Housing Development Administration) has become the main actor for urban transformation in Turkey since 2000. It has monopoly on urbanization policies and its authority has been supported by legal adjustments. As Gough & Gündoğdu (2009) remark, urban transformation projects in Turkey are led by TOKİ which is supposed to encourage and undertake the construction of the housing projects backed by large scale state funding. Geray (2007) argues that TOKİ has lost its socially oriented tendencies within the context of credit and land provision since it is directly connected to Prime Ministry and Justice and Development Party (JDP- Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi AKP). Again Gough & Gündoğdu (2009) provides that TOKİ projects are implemented for the purpose to raise high rentals in contrary to provide affordable housing for lower and middle income classes. According to the new law that was enacted in 2008, urban transformation projects do not have to conform to city plans and public authorities, who have strong power to expropriate the existing buildings. In this line, TOKİ has been revitalized and expanded its power and scope. In relation to that, TOKİ has

started a comprehensive attack on gecekondu areas and Istanbul, due to its geostrategic and global importance, has become the most important and primary area being subject to this aggressive strategy.

Istanbul has been ranked first in new urban social movement literature against urban transformation. Istanbul is a global city where the international capital inflow is invited to and different cultures can live together. Bedrettin Dalan, the Mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi IBB) between the years 1984-1989, was the initiator of the massive infrastructural investment and development projects that aim at ''turning Istanbul into 'a world city' (Kuyucu& Ünsal, 2010, p.6). İslam (2010, p. 60) argue that 2000s have been a new era with rapid transformations taking place on an unprecedented scale for Istanbul. Massive investments were developed in Istanbul's transportation infrastructure between the years 2004 and 2009. Construction of miles of underground tunnels for new metro lines, including the Marmaray project that connects the Asian and European sides of Istanbul with an undersea tunnel passing through the Bosporus are among the large scale investments policy makers have focused on. Further, increased levels of new construction by big capital on the city's vacant plots, for either commercial or residential uses such as big shopping malls and centers, are among the reflections of changes in the city's economic base (Ibid.)

Turkish politicians 'market' Istanbul to make it a global power base for the economic development of Turkey (Keyder, 2006). Therefore, Türkün (2011) conveys that Istanbul attracts 'national and international capital for real estate development due to its high rent generating potential' (p.62). İslam (2010, p.60) says that the most remarkable development at the residential level is the 'intensification and diversification of the construction of gated communities at different scales for different social groups on the city's remaining vacant land'. In addition, another residential development is the new housing on state- owned land undertaken by TOKİ that is the biggest real estate developer in Istanbul (Ibid.).

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Concerning these arguments, Istanbul Metropolitan Planning has been established for the purpose to produce urban transformation projects specifically in Istanbul. Gough & Gündoğdu (2009) maintain that Istanbul is a center of squatter settlement and it has become a space of conflicting benefits of capital and lower income population and a space of mass resistances against the eviction of poor. The reason why gecekondus and inner city slums are attractive for urban developers is the fact that there are legal ambiguities in their property regimes and their status perceived as centers of crime, blight and decay (Kuyucu& Ünsal, 2010, p.6). In addition, Aksoy (2012) points out civic actors' challenge in Istanbul aiming to negotiate for the public city to survive. Therefore, it is obvious that urban transformation and mass resistances are on the agenda of Istanbul as well as that of the whole world.

Urban transformation seems to maintain its topicality for many years ahead. Researchers such as Kütük İnce (2006), Ergin (2006), Yılmaz & Bozkurt (2007), Çaçtaş Ceylan & Kutlu (2007), Torunoğlu (2007), Şen (2008),Şengül (2009), Deniz (2010), Kuyucu& Ünsal (2010), Karaman (2010), İslam (2010), Ergun (2011), Çavuşoğlu et. al. (2011) and Şen& Türkmen (2014) indicate that urban transformation is perceived as a neutral action plan that ensures the realization of projects. These projects are supervised by participation and partnership of local people, NGOs, private and public sectors- available for rehabilitation of urban spaces in the context of policies of real estate and arrangement of private property, redevelopment of a lost economic activity, making a nonworking social function functional, provision of social integration of spaces etc. These developments and policies are not always very well received by the residents of the squatter in question. However, the governments compensate the damages of urban transformation through clientelistic relations and buffer like mechanisms and reassure the residents of being affected by the minimal damages of urban transformation (Çavuşoğlu et.al., 2011, p. 11). In this way, the governments reduce the residents' expectations from the social state (Ibid.). Hence, this study aims at discussing the urban transformation experience in Başıbüyük by taking into account different actors' positions with regards to social policy studies.

1.2. Research Question

The purpose of this study is to reveal the dynamics of alliance and conflict structures between the various groups engaged in urban transformation project and to understand these dynamics and structures. In this respect, I mainly interrogate 'How do various social actors, who have been involved in urban transformation process in Maltepe Başıbüyük between 2009 and 2010 and those who have been frequently reffered by the residents, approach to urban transformation as per their economic and immaterial interests and priorities, such as increasing their political power and being involved in conflict resolution process?'.

This study is important since it touches upon dynamics and structures of alliances and conflicts created around urban transformation projects. Its difference lies behind the fact that this study aims to reveal (1) What are the dynamics behind the approaches and strategies of different social actors? (2) What are the dynamics and structures of alliances and conflicts among these social actors? and (3) What are the policy suggestions from the social actors' perspectives?

Various social actors have involved in the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük. These actors have somehow an impact on the urban transformation process or the organization of the gecekondu resistance. I included the approaches of social actors that the residents of Başıbüyük referred to frequently within the context of their organization and gecekondu resistance urban transformation process. In this manner, I did not mention on the approaches and strategies of social actors such as Dayanışmacı Atölye (Solidarity Workshop of Urban Planning), İMECE Toplumun Şehircilik Hareketi (COLLECTIVE WORK- Urban Movement of Society) etc. These actors are also very important urban activists or civil initiatives that consist of academicians, students, professionals etc. who are opposed to neoliberal urban policies and who adopt human- centered and participatory urban transformation implementations.[2]

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[2] For further information, See Yalçıntan, M.C. & Çavuşoğlu, E. (2009). *Kentsel Dönüşümü ve Kentsel Muhalefeti Kent Hakkı Üzerinden Düşünmek*. Retrieved on September, 18, 2014, from

For the purpose of my research, I conducted interviews with 42 informants. However, I included the responses of 29 informants into the study. This is because some of the information given during the interviews began to repeat itself and some of the responses were irrelevant to the main question. The informants, whose opinions were implicated, were the residents of Başıbüyük, the officials at Maltepe Municipality, who were responsible from the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük, a journalist at Evrensel newspaper, two officials at TOKİ, and an official at Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IBB). I also integrated the opinions and suggestions of 3 academicians at Istanbul Bilgi University (IBU), who had knowledge on Başıbüyük, close relationships with the leaders of the Neighborhood Association and who issued Başıbüyük case within the scope of Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture and developed an alternative urban transformation project to TOKİ by referring to more democratic and participatory urban transformation projects, and one academician and two officials from Holland that visited Başıbüyük within the scope of Open City Istanbul International Conference carried out at IBU on 8th of May, 2010.Besides, I e- mailed with the Head of City Council, since there was not enough time to arrange a meeting, and I also included the information given. Hence, the diversity of actors involved in my study enriches my understanding on the structures and dynamics of alliances and conflicts in the case of Başıbüyük.

1.3. Arguments

This study argues that the aforesaid social actors, who take part in urban transformation project in Başıbüyük, had variable approaches to urban transformation in respect of their economic and immaterial interests such as increasing their political power and being involved in conflict resolution.

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http://yalcintanmc.blogspot.com.tr/2009/12/kentsel-donusumu-ve-kentsel-muhalefeti.html

Regarding the basic argument, the social actors needed to create coalition structures with some actors in order to benefit from their alliances' resources and power, to enhance their political and economic interests, and to demobilize their antagonists or they conflicted with others when their interests and benefits clashed with each other since authority and power were not equally distributed among the parties concerned. Apart from these, some social actors might engage into the process concerning their immaterial interests such as being involved in conflict resolution. I argue that there is a complex relationship among the social actors' approaches to urban transformation issues and their coalitions/ alliances and conflict structures they have formed that were based on social actors' economic interests and immaterial interests such as their political interests and their altruistic interests such as being involved in conflict resolution. That's why their coalition and collaboration mainly depended on their profit – loss calculation. According to this basic argument, the social actors who built the maximal coalitions with and took the consent of other social actors in emergent matrix of alliance and conflict structures based on social actors' material and immaterial interests in order to take the *biggest share in the pie*.

Briefly, the alliance and conflict structures based on social actors' interests and priorities determined their approach to urban transformation. Going behind the urban transformation process, gentrification efforts, the ownership structures and the gecekondu resistance itself, analyzing the fluid relationships between the social actors and their positioning themselves against undesirable situations, and presenting their suggestions on urban social policies indicate why this study is significant and what it puts forth new.

1.4. Theoretical framework

I place my study within the scope of Urban Social Movements Literature. This is because I especially focus on the alliance and conflict structures of social actors who play a role in the process of urban transformation in Başıbüyük in line with their economic, political and conflict resolution.

To begin with, as a reaction to undemocratic urban transformation projects, *urban social movements* (USMs), in general, have become a platform for people to demonstrate their reactions against repressive and undemocratic urban policymaking process. Various studies have been carried out on this subject. Castells says that the definition of the urban meaning connotes to the urban social change (1983, p. 304). In this manner, urban social change is expected to occur because of the interaction between the dominant class, the dominated class, a social movement developing its own meaning over a given space, and a social mobilization imposing a new urban meaning in contradiction to the institutionalized urban meaning and against the interest of the dominant class (Ibid., pp.304-305). This is because the city is accepted as a 'social product resulting from conflicting social interests and values' (Ibid. 291).

In addition, Lefebvre mentions on the 'Right to the City' of urban citizens (1996, p. 158). He remarks that the right to the city cannot be perceived of 'a simple visiting right or as a return to traditional city'. Rather, it can only be conceived of 'a transformed and renewed right to urban life'. It connotes to 'an integrated theory of the city and urban society, using the resources of science and art' (Ibid.). In addition, he underlines the role of the working class in social emancipation (in De Souza, 2006) and says that 'only the working class can become the agent, the social carrier or support of this realization' (Ibid.). Furthermore, Harvey (2008, p.1) argues that right to the city does not mean to the right of an individual access to the resources that the city embodies. On the contrary, it means to change ourselves by changing the city in accordance with our wish and to 'claim some kind of shaping power over the process of urbanization' as a working slogan and a political ideal (Ibid. pp.1-2, 14). As well, Harvey points out that the right to the city is developed by 'establishing democratic control over the deployment of the surpluses through urbanization' (Ibid., p. 13).

De Souza (2006) relates USMs to activists and grassroots that have a bottom up organization style claim for autonomy, which implies to living according to one's own law and utilization of local knowledge. Further, Putnam (1995) also refers to grassroots movements as important for consolidation of democracy and an active

independent civic engagement in order policies to be more successful. Besides, Oakley& Verity (2003) underlie the identity-building process in USMs through collective action. Gillan (2008) addresses the development of a collective identity and a sense of group solidarity through the process of defining existing conditions as unjust, attributing problems to a culpable source, providing solutions to identified problems, and legitimizing political action to achieve change. In this respect, Arapkirlioğlu (2007) approaches to USMs through an understanding of organized and collective reactions and claims put in the words by institutions representing various sections such as chambers, associations, foundations etc. Moreover, Oliver and Myers (1998) aim at emphasizing the strategic interactions among protestors, their opponents, movement organizations, electoral politics, police, etc.

Rucht (Meyer, 2004) identifies USMs within the context of "alliance structure" and "conflict structure". Kitschelt (in Kriesi, 2004, p. 69) argues that the choice of protest strategies and the impact of social movements are influenced by the political opportunity structures. As well, Kriesi (Ibid., p.70) characterizes the political context as a matrix of international context, political institutions, cultural models, cleavage structures, configuration of political actors (alliance and conflict structures), strategies of public authorities, opportunities (repression, facilitation, reform, threat), and strategies of collective political actors. According to his classification of configuration of political actors, he refers to protagonists (allies such as policymakers, public authorities, political parties, interests groups, media, related movements), antagonists (the adversaries such as public authorities, repressive agents, counter- movements) and bystanders (not directly involved actors, but attentive audiences) (Ibid., p. 74). In this manner, their configuration is important to us in order to understand their 'capabilities, perceptions and evaluations of the outcomes obtainable', and 'the degree to which their interests are compatible or incompatible with each other' (Ibid.). Processes of actors and coalition formation (the formation/ destruction of groups' identities and categories), alliances and their infrastructures (such as their organizations and networks) result in configuration of the political actors.

Hence, this configuration of the political actors is the 'starting point of a given episode of strategic interaction between a social movement, its allies and its adversaries', in other words the interaction context (Ibid.). Nevertheless, Kriesi underlines that the configuration of the political actors is not stable depending on the political context (Ibid. p.75). In addition, Rucht (2004, n.p.) tells that 'alliance' is related to partnership, closeness, and a spirit of mutual support whereas it is likely to become limited in its purpose and time frame. Further, alliances are not 'uncomplicated unifications or fusions'. Rather, they can show the features of competition and conflict in some respects and in some periods within the organizations and with external actors.

USMs aim at forcing governments to favor democratic ways of urban policymaking in different countries. In parallel with this, Hamel (2005) issues USMs in Montreal and their capacity to force governments for 'more open and inclusive processes of decision making, and asking for a redefinition of the public framework of policymaking' (p.163). Moreover, Mayer (2005) remarks that opposition movements range from 'defensive and pragmatic efforts to save existing quality of life or privileges… to highly politicized and militant struggles over whose city it is supposed to be…' in USA and Berlin (p. 143). Those case studies show us that groups can become easily skilled in 'a variety of tactics and repertoires such as petition drives, political lobbying, street confrontations and legal proceedings' (p. 143).

USMs are very common and have various forms of organizations in Non- Western Countries, as well. As an example, Foweraker (2001) mentions on the grassroots mobilizations in Latin America within the context of organizations of squatter dwellers in Brazil around the neighborhood associations to defend their right to housing. Favelas in Rio de Janeiro oppose to the evictions by showing their rejection through demonstrations: 'Upgrading yes, Eviction no!' Within this context, USMs have complicated the predominance of class- based movements in respective countries.

USMs have risen in our country since 1990s though they are ineffectual and only a few in number. Nevermore, European Union process has provided USMs to develop in our country just to an extent. Arapkirlioğlu (2007) argues that organized and collective reactions and claims are procured through NGOs as well as local governments in Turkey. In this respect, Gough and Gündoğdu (2009) argue that grassroots movements aiming at collective attempts and community movements such as not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) demand allowance of residents' participation in both preparation and implementation of urban transformation projects. In this respect, USMs, which target at attainment of right to housing and the provision of Housing and Urban services, have showed themselves under the name of Squatter Beautification Associations. These associations go against urban transformation projects, demolishment, urban renewal and commercial redevelopment projects and they go to law and plan marches to save their citizens' rights, as Özdemir & Şengül (1990) remarks.

1.5. Significance and Contribution of this Study

This study aims to make a significant contribution to the knowledge on various social actors' approaches to the urban transformation projects and the dynamics and structures of alliances and conflicts prevailing among them. This study is significant since findings are expected to give some tips about the new ways of making politics in the urban settings. The approaches of various social actors to urban transformation and their reactions according those perceptions and approaches are expected to portray the basic structure of USMs against urban transformation. Hence, urban transformation is a very new process for contemporary Turkey. For this reason, legal framework is very poor and housing policies are partial and inadequate. I paid *special attention to put various social actors into the research*. I also made content analysis in order to include other actors whom I could not interview or take their views at first hand. Therefore, such diversification of social actors is one of the contributions that I had intended to attain. In this way, I achieved not to conduct a one-sided research.

Secondly, I examined the approaches of various social actors to urban transformation and to each other by giving voice to each of them. Their approaches revealed to me the points at which they made coalitions or they contradicted and conflicted with each other as well as the unequal power relations among them. The main drive was to expand the room for maneuver and get the biggest piece of the cake of authority and power. Thus, I put forward the 'alliance structure' and 'conflict structure' formed by the social actors. The opponents of urban transformation built alliance structures with other social actors as they opposed to urban transformation and applications of ruling party. Again, the opponents constructed conflict structure, as they believed that the actions of related social actors would victimize them in terms of their material interest. There is a gap in USMs' literature in our country considering the alliance and conflict structures and power relations among them and the arguments of this study is its novelty.

Thirdly, I ascertained the interests of each social actor by referring to their struggles and the structures they created with other social actors. I tried to study which interests were dominant and loomed large compared to other interests. USM in Başıbüyük was fragmented, it did not lead to a political opposition, and urban transformation process was left hanging in the air and did not result in a democratic urban transformation process. Accordingly, improved knowledge on material and immaterial interests, such as increasing their political power and being involved in conflict resolution, of key social actors will provide researchers a better understanding of why USMs cannot achieve their purposes and contribute to the USMs regarding social policy literature on urban transformation. The present thesis aims to contribute to the study on more democratic and participant ways of urban policymaking.

Fourthly, data triangulation enabled me to compare and verify the information given by different social actors. This fact will improve the reliability of the field research. There are various social actors, who involve in urban transformation, and each of them is a piece of a big picture. Thus, researchers should make data triangulation

employing different sampling strategies and using different data collection methods to see the big picture.

1.6. Plan of the Thesis:

First chapter of the thesis covers the introduction section. In this part, I mention my main objective, research question, arguments and theoretical framework on urban transformation, new social movements and gecekondu resistances as grassroots social movements. The literature review depends to a great extent on the relationships between various actors who take part in urban transformation process. In the second chapter, I give place to methodology of this master study. Therefore, I refer to conceptualization and research design. I pay special attention to mention on *how I access to respondents* and *ethics*. In addition, I remark the significance and contribution of my study to the literature. In the third chapter, I elaborate on those who are involved in urban transformation and gecekondu resistance process, in other words, who are the social actors. In this part, I also analyze the interests and priorities of each social actor, strategies they adopt during urban transformation process in Başıbüyük and their perceptions of each other. Hence, I reveal the dynamics behind the approaches and strategies of different social actors. In the fourth chapter, I provide brief background information on squatter Başıbüyük. This summary includes both social, demographic and spatial information and the history of urban transformation process in squatter Başıbüyük. Besides, information on TOKİ is put forward in this chapter. In the fifth chapter, I analyze the dynamics behind the alliance and conflict structures of social actors. The potentials and weaknesses of alliance and conflict structures are issued as well. In addition, I elaborate on why gecekondu resistance did not result in success. In the sixth chapter, I mention on literature framework about urban transformation, new social movements and gecekondu resistances as grassroots social movements. In this way, the lack in literature on gecekondu resistances will reveal itself. Lastly, I provide how these approaches of different social actors to urban transformation back up social policy makers to develop better urban social policies.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

In this part, I introduce the methodology that I used during information gathering phase for my thesis subject and for conducting field research. To begin with, I will refer to operationalization and research design, respectively.

2.1. Operationalization of Key Concepts

This study aims to analyze dynamics and structures of alliances and conflicts among social actors that emerged as a reaction against urban transformation implementations in Maltepe Başıbüyük, Istanbul, between 2009 and 2010. I investigate on a limited period since arguments around the urban transformation and the gecekondu resistance was alive and heated. Hence, my core concepts are 'urban transformation', 'gentrification', 'social network theory', 'alliance and conflict structures', 'social actor', 'grassroots movements', economic interests, political interests and conflict resolution and betterment of the society interests. I intend to describe the concepts I refer to, the way I attribute meaning to those concepts and the reason for choosing them in this thesis.

2.1.1. Urban transformation

Initially, urban transformation is preferred instead of urban renewal in this study. As Şengül (2009) maintains, there is a conceptual confusion in the usage of urban transformation, urban renewal, urban renaissance and similar. While urban transformation is used as an umbrella concept, urban renewal is specific to some regions and areas having historical fabric. Though urban renewal has been widely used; its use is not appropriate regarding the context of Başıbüyük, since this zone cannot be included in the historical fabric of Istanbul. Rather, urban transformation is used by policy makers for this particular region in order to signify the eradication of

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gecekondus therein for so called 'rehabilitation of living conditions of Başıbüyük people, eradication of poverty and crime prevailing in the region' and 'sanitation' etc.

2.1.2.Gentrification

Gentrification, which is relevant in Başıbüyük case due to probable displacement of local people and attraction of upper- middle and upper classes through TOKİ projects, is treated as a consequence of urban transformation in this study. Zukin (1987, p.129) indicates that gentrification is 'the conversion of socially marginal and working class areas of the central city to middle class residential use'. Besides, gentrification is described as 'a movement that began in the 1960s, of private market investment capital into downtown squatters of major urban centers'. Further, Bridge (1995, p. 237) mentions on the most common usage of gentrification which is 'the rehabilitation of working class or derelict housing and consequent transformation of an area into a middle- class neighborhood' (Ibid. 238). As well, Davidson (2007, p.493) argues that gentrification consists of 'development of large, luxurious apartment complexes by corporate developers and their consumption by the professional middles class (Ibid. p.494). In this sense, analysis on urban transformation efforts and the discourses of policy makers point to the displacement of social marginally and working class people and reconstruction of Başıbüyük through TOKİ projects in favor of upper class people. In addition, the proponents of the gecekondu resistance do not hesitate to reflect their anxiety for being forced to migrate from Başıbüyük after a project. That's why I refer to gentrification as a core concept in this study.

2.1.3.New social movements

New social movements (NSMs), which aim at changing the city, are another concept that support the arguments of my study. However, I prefer a limited usage of NSMs since this study heavily concentrates on the alliance and conflict structures between the social actors. Castells defines the relationship between people and urbanization

becomes more evident as people take an action to change the city (Castells, 1983, p.xvi). Hence, their main demand is to have a command over living spaces, a right to determine the future of city or the quality of life in urban spaces. Emergence of social movements is also related to *opportunity structures* in a definite space. In this respect, Tarrow assumes that structures of *political opportunities* as 'consistent- but not necessarily formal or permanent- dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure' (Meyer& Minkoff, 2004, p.1459). In addition, Rucht mentions on political opportunity by disaggregating cultural, political, and social elements of what he depicts as *the context structure*. He regards mainly 'a challenger's access to the party system, the state's policy implantation capacity, **'alliance structure'** and **'conflict structure'** ' (1996). In this respect, I refer to NSMs that possess the above-attributed features, such as identification of a problem and a political reaction taken, in order to achieve desired change and alliance and conflict structures that define maneuver room of social actors.

2.1.4.Alliance structures and conflict structures

Alliance structures and conflict structures are also among the core concepts that are mentioned in this thesis. Curtis& Zurcher (1973, p. 53) implicitly approach alliance and conflict structures within the framework of 'multi- organizational field' at organizational and individual level. In this sense, Rucht (2004, p.197) argues that 'social movements are complex social entities with vague and shifting boundaries'. In this manner, 'challenging an opponent' or 'appealing to potential constituents and allies' are basic tasks for social movements. Rucht (Ibid. p.203) describes alliance with partnership, closeness and a spirit of mutual support. In addition, alliance can be limited in time and space like as they are not complicated unifications and fusions (Ibid.). Alliance can be in the form of 'internal bridging and bonding', cooperation with external groups such as other movements, interests groups, political parties etc. (Ibid.). Kriesi (2004, p.74) refers to protagonists (allies such as policymakers, public authorities, political parties, interests groups, media, related movements), antagonists (the adversaries such as public authorities, repressive agents, counter- movements)

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and bystanders (not directly involved actors, but attentive audiences) as political actors. Related to these, social actors who are contained in this study made new alliances in order to increase their net benefits and to achieve the expected outcome as a strategy against their antagonists who had distinct benefits and interests. In opposition to that, social actors antagonized with each other in order to get the results they desire. The antagonism arose between them whose interests and priorities are totally a threat to outcome anticipated by the opposition group. As well, the aim of this study is to analyze the dynamics behind the alliance and conflict structures.

2.1.5. Social network

Social network is the centerpiece in this study since social networks or social ties affect alliance and conflict structures. In this respect, Diani (2003 p.4) says that 'referring to networks' presents 'a clue to assess the social location of specific actors as well as to identify general structural patterns from a relational perspective'. He provides that 'social movement activists… are linked through both 'private' and 'public' ties well before collective action develops' (Ibid. p.7). As well, individual decisions to become involved in a movement are affected by friends, relatives, colleagues, and neighborhoods or by their previous or current participation in other movements, political or social organizations etc. Further, network of organizations facilitates mechanisms like 'the mobilization and allocation of resources across an organizational field, the negotiation of agreed goals, the production and circulation of information' etc. (Ibid, p.10). Moreover, Passy (2003, p.2) indicates that social networks matter in the process of individual participation. This happens as social networks influence the process, 'by building or reinforcing individual identities that create potential for participation' at the beginning, and 'when individual preferences and perceptions (e.g. individual costs of action, chances of success, the risk involved)' mobilize people 'to take action' (Ibid. p.4). Hence, in this study, social network theory is used in order to analyze the alliance and conflict structures and their potential success and failures.

2.1.6. Social actor

As Rose (1997, p.248) specifies, a social actor means an individual who develops a collective identity and a sense of group solidarity with other social actors by 'defining existing conditions as unjust and attributing problems to a culpable source', who builds 'structures of belief that critique the status quo' and who proposes 'solutions to identified problems'. Then, a social actor is a political actor who legitimizes 'political action to achieve change' (Ibid.). Social actors can enhance their powers through networks by producing strategies and building coalitions as well as they can overcome the constraints of their position. In this study, each social actor is supposed to possess the qualities implied above.

2.2. Research Design

Data collection method should enable the researcher to make *qualitative analysis* as the main focus of this study is the analysis of dynamics and structures of alliances and conflicts. Hence, I adopted an *interpretive method* that employs an *inductive approach* starting with data and deriving a theory from the observed data. In this manner, *case research*, *interpretive research*, *focus group research* and *phenomenology* were diffused within each other since a qualitative analysis was aimed at in the research reporting process.

For this research, I used various methods and sources of information to collect data. On the one hand, this variety of methods increased the variety in thoughts and information and on the other, this variety enabled me to apply *data triangulation* to verify the information given by variable sources and to find out whether the results are similar. By using several kinds of methods and data, I was able to judge the validity and reliability of the assumptions conjectured. In this manner, interviews and recordings were performed in order to reach more valid, reliable and diverse construction of realities and improve the validity of this study.

Mainly, I have referred to social actors at local, national and international levels. Since there are too many social actors who involved in urban transformation process at Maltepe Başıbüyük, I conducted a field research. The group of local social actors consists of gecekondu dwellers and the officials of Maltepe Municipality. Therefore, IBB, TOKİ, Maltepe Municipality, academicians working at IBU, EMEP and AKP refer to the actors at national level whereas academicians and officials from Holland, who visited Başıbüyük within the scope of Open City Istanbul International Conference, refer to social actors at international level. In addition to that, I used the identification of external actors in order to integrate the national and international interests.

The field research of this study was carried out between October 2009 and November 2010 concerning the emergent alliance and conflict structures among social actors in this period. This is because the gecekondu resistance was intensified in this period and the residents tended from demonstrations and occupations towards consensus-building. Secondly, the political orientation of the gecekondu resistance against Municipality under AKP rule resulted in a decrease of AKP votes in Başıbüyük. As well, CHP won the local elections in Maltepe in 2009. The residents of Başıbüyük were analyzing the outcomes of this political development and wondering if so-called political struggle in Başıbüyük would bring results. Thirdly, Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture could be a turning point for the urban policymaking in Istanbul since the program executers aimed at transforming the urban policymaking tradition at the beginning of the process.

During the data collection phase, I made *case research* in order to gather the necessary information appropriately from various groups and explore relevant constructs. The Başıbüyük Association of Environmental Regulation and Beautification and Nature Protection is of quite complex and temporal nature and the experiences of participants and their actions are quite critical. Thus, through case research, I studied the perspectives of multiple participants, used multiple levels of analysis and multiple methods to collect data. In this manner, I carried out *face-to-face* and *in-depth interviews* with people living in Başıbüyük, the actors, who live

there and play a leading role in gecekondu resistance, the leading inhabitants who support urban transformation project, the leading figures from NGOs engaged in process, officials from Maltepe Municipality, IBB and TOKİ and journalists who experienced and supported the gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük. I tried to capture their subjective experiences, judgment, perceptions and actions. In this way, I asked open-ended/unstructured questions to the respondents and saved their responses on voice recorder. I carried out the interviews at their offices or homes. In addition, since I could not arrange a meeting with one of the responsible at Maltepe City Council, I used secondary data in the form of e- mail communications and interpreted the information written.

Further to *face-to-face interviews*, I made *participant and direct observations, documentatio*n and *content analysis of newspapers*. Within the context of *participant observations*, I attended public statements, panels, planning sessions/ round table meetings and visits made with universities, journalists, Maltepe Municipality, academicians and officials from abroad. Therefore, urban transformation phenomenon was studied in respondents' natural environment with respect to *interpretive research*. In addition, this understanding was adopted during the *interviews*. The respondents' perceptions of urban transformation were supposed to be captured without isolating the respondents or key informants from their social context.

In this context, I attended two round table meetings in Maltepe within the context of Urban Movements Forum held on 26th and 27th of June, 2010 and Open City Istanbul International Conference, Istanbul International Workshop at Istanbul Bilgi University on 8th of May, 2010. Within the context of these meetings and conferences, I took the opinions of social actors; such as academicians working at IBU, officials from the Maltepe Municipality, local actors and social actors from Holland that visited Başıbüyük within the scope of Open City International Conference in Istanbul. In this way, I got the opportunity to compare their thoughts and discourses and to verify the information given in private spaces.

Within the scope of *content analysis*, I made the systematic analysis of the contents of various texts such as newspapers and official documents. Since there were many texts to analyze, I selected a set of texts randomly that contained the information that I could not obtain at first hand during the interviews or meetings. Such information contained AKP, TOKİ and Maltepe Municipality's approaches to urban transformation and the experience gained in Başıbüyük. Related to that, I reviewed newspaper reports in order to reflect the approaches of TOKİ, AKP and IBB. Therefore, I randomly analyzed through the newspapers and internet resources and I made content analysis to obtain the necessary information. In addition to that, TOKİ officials recommended me to use some official papers published on their website in order to depict a holistic picture about the opinion of TOKİ as an institution. In this way, I was able to make a comparison between the opinions of opposite sides.

In addition, I conducted *focus group research*. I asked for women's meetings by organizing them in small groups and let them talk about urban transformation and resistance experiences they had in their for a period of approximately 2 or 3 hours. I chose to organize a meeting with women, who supported the resistance or who supported the urban transformation projects of TOKİ, since other respondents pointed out the relative importance of the role women played in gecekondu resistance. I paid special attention to invite women having different perspectives on the process. Furthermore, key respondents suggested me to invite those women from different political backgrounds. This is because they represented various political standings such as AKP, CHP (Republican People's Party- Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) and MHP (Nationalist Movement Party- Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi). The ages of women were between 34 and 55 years old. Most of them originated from the Black Sea region, the Central Anatolia region and the Eastern Anatolia region.

Women supporting the gecekondu resistance and opposing to AKP rule were the representatives of women who has a title assignation documents or who were tenants whereas women supporting the TOKİ projects as well as AKP rule did not have any official paper or some of them had title assignation documents and political proximity towards AKP. I carried out *focus group interviews* and recorded their

responses on voice recorder. In this way, I was able to acquire a holistic understanding and deeper examination of the complex issues pointed out by participants.

2.2.1.My access to the respondents

There are various social actors taking part in the case of gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük. Therefore, different strategies were adopted in order to access these various groups to introduce the diversity in perspectives.

Firstly, I decided to capture the most common perspectives on urban transformation. I had randomly visited the houses of people settled in the area covered under the urban transformation project. The questions I posed were about their hometowns, the period of their living in Başıbüyük, their occupations, their perspectives on urban transformation and gecekondu resistance. In this way, I could incorporate various perspectives on urban transformation in this study. In addition, I was able to ask questions to the leading figures about various interests and perspectives that I encountered.

Secondly, I conducted interviews through *key informants*. In this respect, I made interviews with the leading figures of gecekondu resistances, leading opponents of resistance, officials from Maltepe Municipality, IBB, TOKİ and HAYAT TV. Hence, I could comprehend what meaning do such various groups attach to urban transformation, how they perceive each other and what will be the best solution for each group. All these information allowed me to compare the paradigms and various solutions and evaluate what would be the best solution for people living in gecekondu areas and exposed to urban transformation projects.

Thirdly, I used *snowball method*. After I made interviews with leading social actors, I asked them to recommend others they knew who could provide me the necessary information I needed. In this way, the population I interviewed and the diversity of experiences increased considerably and I could access the key actors/ informants

whom I could not do otherwise. It was not very difficult for me to reach to key actors and persuade them to make interview. In addition, they wanted their opinions be included within the study in order to prove their rightfulness and honesty. However, local people were more eager to respond the interviews than officials, who worked at institutions such as TOKİ, IBB, etc., are. Further, access to the responsible officials was not very easy since there was confusion in authority. That's why it took time to reach them.

My questions varied according to the area of interests, priority and specialization of each social actor. In addition, the responsibility of each institution and the occupation of each official were factors affecting diversification of my questions from person to person. I asked frequently structured questions to officials whereas I structured my questions to residents according to course of interview. This is because residents gave in-depth information on the process while officials responded to technical questions and they had limited time. Residents demanded more background information on my study than officials did. However, officials assumed more interrogating attitudes to my questions compared to the residents.

While some actors' responses were based on their individual thoughts, some did not go beyond the limits of their positions. The respondents answered my questions wishfully. Officials refered to written documents when they could not answer the questions or when they hesitated to go behind their authority. They avoided providing their personal approaches. That's why they left some of the questions, such as questions on alternative urban transformation projects, involvement of NGOs and universities in process etc., unanswered.

2.2.2.Ethics

The information gathering process is the most difficult stage in a particular thesis. A researcher should be very careful and ethical during the information gathering process. Thus, I attached particular attention to the *ethical obligations* during the research and report analysis as well.

With reference to the principle of *disclosure*, I informed the respondents about who was conducting the study, for what purpose, what outcomes were expected, and who would benefit from the results, before I started interviewing them. The respondents *voluntarily* participated in my field research and I informed them on their participation to the project was *harmless*. I used a tape recorder during my interviews and paid special attention to take the *consent* of people for using tape recorder. During the analysis stage, I tried to be open and honest with the findings. I did not manipulate the data or carve it into different segments in order to prove or disprove the hypothesis. Rather, I tried to reflect what the respondents thought, said and did. Further, the identity of the respondents was protected with the purpose to protect their interest and future well- being. That's why I used *pseudonyms* for the *confidentiality* of my interviews.

2.2.3.Limitation

This study has presented an evaluative understanding on urban transformation and gecekondu resistance through providing the findings of field research, notes from round table meetings and an international conference. As a consequence of this methodology, my study has several limitations, which need to be considered.

There were too many social actors involved in the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük in Istanbul. Nevertheless, I had to decide on who should be included and who should be excluded since I needed more time to make interviews with them. While deciding on this issue, I decided on which social actors were more influential on the process within the context of research question than other actors were. Therefore, I chose to reflect the views of social actors that were more influential and related to my research question than the other ones to whom the residents frequently referred. In this regard, approaches and views of some actors, such as İMECE, Solidarity Workshop, TMMOB, etc. were not offered in this study. These social actors' integration into the study would have diversified the research findings. However, limitation to the number of social actors that would be included into this

study provided me to concentrate on specific issues and to present selected actors' approaches intensively in a limited time and space.

Moreover, I mentioned on social actors' approaches on urban transformation, gecekondu resistance, their interests, priorities, etc. and disregarded some issues in order to limit the scope of my analysis. For an instance, I did not ask their opinions on social services that provided by the state, especially for gecekondu dwellers and people affected by urban transformation, and their perception of social state since I concentrated on the relationship between the social actors and dynamic behind their alliance and conflict structures in order to unveil where the tension starts. But, data on their opinion on social services may give tips on how much state can cater the needs of those affected people, and what people expect from a social state.

The extent of this debate is also versatile and complex at the very basic level. To procreate effective and comprehensive urban social policies, there is still need for further case studies at the local level to let future evaluation of the issue. In this regard, following suggestions for future research can encourage researchers to make future research:

1. Increasing the number of respondents from various socio- economic and cultural positions in order to diversify the research findings,
2. Making a qualitative field research on perceptions of various social actors involved in urban transformation process of social state, and of social services that are provided and that actors expect from state to offer.
3. Making a qualitative research on perception of the people moving to TOKİ flats on urban transformation and the residents opposing to the project.

There are diversified theoretical and policy debates on urban transformation and its affectivity though policymakers insist on implementation of projects. Urban transformation project at Maltepe Başıbüyük has resulted in gecekondu resistance and reactions within the civil society. Social actors such as residents of Başıbüyük, Maltepe Municipality, EMEP, academicians at IBU, academicians and officials from Holland, TOKİ and IBB, who take part in urban transformation project at Maltepe

Başıbüyük , have variable approaches to urban transformation in respect of their material and immaterial interests such as increasing their political power and being involved in conflict resolution/ betterment of the society.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Resistance movements emerged as a reaction against urban transformation projects have become very common in Turkey. This is due to raising awareness of urban citizenship that demands full exercise of citizen rights, duties, and responsibilities. In addition, urban citizens claim taking an active role in urban decision-making process on issues directly affecting their lives and standards of living in urban spaces. Hence, this study reveals why gecekondu dwellers frame urban transformation as a threat against their living spaces and standard of living; which social actors involve in the process; which strategies they adopt; and what these strategies result it.

In this manner, I mention on urban social movements and their dynamics to a certain degree since the main focus of this study is the dynamics and structures of alliances and conflicts among social actors. In this part, I give reference to rational choice theory since each social actor is accepted to respond according to her/his cost and benefit calculation within the scope of their material and immaterial interests such as increasing their political interests. However, since I assume that social actors such as academicians working at IBU and academicians and officials from Holland tried to balance between their political interests and immaterial interests such as being involved in conflict resolution, I touch upon their buffer- like position in the matrix of alliance and conflicts structures and their underlying political preferences and interests. In this manner, I make mention of 'framing' process that reveals how people identify an issue as a threat or how they welcome it. After that, I talk over social network theory on the purpose of showing how people get organized against a threatening frame because of their cost and benefit calculations. As well, social network theory demonstrates how people develop relationship within or between organizations and network within the scope of opportunity structures such as alliance and conflict structures.

Next, I refer to urban transformation within the frame of different perspectives. These perspectives reveal us how gecekondu resistances emerge as a reaction. In this respect, I touch upon gecekondu resistance and defensive movements as USMs developed against urban transformation projects and urban policymaking. In this section, I include prior studies on USMs and gecekondu resistances in order to reveal the gap in the Social Policy literature that is related to USMs. Finally, I address effective and comprehensive urban social policies that will resolve the conflict in urban spaces within the scope of urban transformation and other underlying social concerns. In this part, I remark how USMs contribute to the development of sustainable development, consensus building, and participatory policymaking processes. In this regard, I advert to sustainable development, consensus building, and participatory policymaking processes that require an equal relationship between top- to- down and bottom- up. In this way, I believe mentioning on above-mentioned concepts and issue will contribute and make sense of the analysis on social actors' interests, preferences and strategies as well as their alliance and conflict structures.

3.1. Gecekondu Resistance Movements as a part of Urban Social Movements (USMs)

Gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük had emerged as a reaction against urban transformation project that was developed by TOKİ. The proponents of the resistance assumed that it was a threat against their citizenship rights. Further, they found this top- to- down urban policy unfair and undemocratic, they looked for more democratic, participatory urban policymaking process since these urban policies affected their life directly, and they became objects of the urban transformation process consequently. Their reaction against urban transformation revealed itself in the form of resistance, defense, and marches against the government and municipality. They also tried to win alliances in order to increase their resources and to get the support of different segments of society. Their reaction was not very well-received by external or other local social actors involved in urban transformation process in Başıbüyük and they created antagonists who developed conflict structures against them. In other words, both side tried to expand their maneuver room through

their networks and alliances; and the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük was determined by the complex relationship between these alliance and conflict structures. Hence, in this part, I provide the dynamics behind the USMs and the relationships between the various social actors in order to understand the dynamics behind the alliance and conflict structures in gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük.

To begin with, Pichardo indicates that *urban social struggles* are among the subjects that NSM researchers study (1997, p.413). Within the context of this study, o*rganized and collective reactions and claims* [which are represented within the urban social struggles] are put into words by institutions representing various sections such as chambers, associations, foundations etc. (Arapkirlioğlu, 2007, p.201). In this manner, *Resistance identity*[3] provides action 'where people act in 'communion' against some aspect of the prevailing order on the basis of a common identity (that is religion, race, locality, response to a local issue etc.)' (Oakley&Verity, 2003, p.192). These reactions and claims can be in the form of marches, applying to print media, going to law etc. (Arapkirlioğlu, 2007, p.201). They move and act through being backed by the trust and power of being organized. In this way, those collective organizations provide political participation against local governments and their decisions and their effects are very important for social change (Ibid.).

Elster remarks that 'the elementary unit of social life is the human action' (in Scott, 2000, p. 2). In this respect, Rational Choice Theory relies on the concept of 'purposive action', which is 'the idea that all action is intentional' and on the commitment to 'methodological individualism', which is 'the doctrine that all social phenomena are… explicable in terms of the action of individuals' (Friedman&Hechter, 1988, p. 201-202).

This theory is built around the idea that 'all action is fundamentally 'rational' in character'' and 'people calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before

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[3] For Further information See Sargın, G. A. (2002). Kamu, Kent ve Politika. In G.A. Sargın (edt.), *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan- Politik Tezler*, pp. 9- 40. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

deciding what to do' in accordance with their preferences (Scott, 2000, p. 1-2). Nevertheless, social scientists should also pay attention to the non- rational elements in human being's any course of action. In other words, 'traditional or habitual action', 'emotional and affectional action', and any forms of value- oriented action also lead people to take action. In this respect, I assume that the contemplated course of actions of social actors involved in the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük cannot be operationalized along with only Rational Choice Theory, concerning social actors' positioning themselves within the matrix of alliance and conflict structures. Then, though they make cost and benefit calculations before taking any action; they are also affected by their religious values, community norms, priorities, ideals etc. In this regard, even though most of the social actors involved in urban transformation process in Başıbüyük make rational choices according to their material interests or immaterial interests such as enhancing their political power; course of actions of social actors, such as academicians working at IBU, academicians and officials from Holland, did not directly address to their political or economic interests and preferences. Contrary to the basic assumption of Rational Choice Theory, they involved in the process also in line with their immaterial interests such as being involved in conflict resolution. In this direction, Bhaskaran (2003) provides that cooperation and conflict are two modes of [rational or non- rational] human behavior and both of them are necessary for the social change and development. However, people should learn deal with and respond to conflict in order not to cause low intensity peace and disruptions in normalcy and development (Ibid.).

The role of academicians is very important in NSMs since they contribute to knowledge and action in conflict resolution and intensive training by making academic research and experiments (Bhaskaran, 2003). In this manner, they develop conflict resolution process, skills training, lobby creation and advocacy, information sharing, dissemination etc. for the betterment of society (Ibid.)[4] Therefore, their role that is being involved in conflict resolution in NSMs cannot be reduced to Rational

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[4] Bhaskaran, M. W. (2003, February). *Role of Academics in Conflict Resolution.* Proceeding presented at International Seminar on Conflict Resolution on February 15-17, 2003. For further information, please See: http://www.mkgandhi.org/nonviolence/academics.htm

Choice Theory. That's why academicians and officials working at IBU and from Holland emphasized their role in being involved in conflict resolution and did not explicitly point to their political interests such as altering the hegemonic discourse and policymaking traditions on urban transformation.

As well, their existence within the social movement shows the ability of local residents to make alliance with external networks and integrate the civil society into their resistance. This is because they intend to benefit from their resources, such as knowledge and their influence on policymakers etc., to take their support and approval and to inhibit the success of counter- movements. In this sense, residents of Başıbüyük that support the gecekondu resistance intended to expand their social networks and to make new alliances as a rational choice in order to increase their net benefit. In this manner, Çavuşoğlu et. al. (2011, p. 23) emphasize that reaching scientific truth or presenting an academic study on researches fall short of gaining the confidence of the residents. These groups can produce studies that could serve for the residents or their studies could create awareness on the concerning issue (Ibid., p. 24). But, when the residents could perceive these efforts as of being only scientific studies having no emotional bond between the residents and the academics, these well- intentioned efforts do not come to fruition (Ibid.). Nevertheless, Çavuşoğlu et.al. argue that the roles and positions of members of profession, who make effort for opposition [against undemocratic implementations], are very crucial (Ibid., p. 22). Either they provide technical information to the residents or they act in solidarity with them. A very point that the professionals should not disregard is waiting for the development of self- initiative of the group that is supported since the political struggle is based on values that are peculiar to the locality (Ibid., p. 23).

Social network perspective has been utilized in order to study relationships between organizations (Stevenson& Greenberg, 2000, p. 651). In this respect, communities are supposed to take action through inter-organizational networks (Ibid.). In this sense, social actors can enhance their powers through networks by producing strategies to overcome the constraints of their position. In this manner, centrally located actors are supposed to get involved in more issues in policy networks

(Stevenson& Greenberg, 2000, p.652). Besides, they are provided with more information, authority and resources compared with peripheral social actors though central actors have additional obligations (Ibid.). However, theorists emphasize 'the actions of those actors with… relatively little power' who bring together in groups or organizations 'to increase their leverage… in order to engage in strategies to accomplish goals' (Ibid., p.654). Çavuşoğlu et.al. (2011, p. 18) argue that how much the opinion leaders, such as leaders of the Associations, ensure the real representation in the neighborhood is a matter of dispute. These leaders can reproduce the externalization or disintegration based on ethnicity, politics, religion, gender, etc. Moreover, these leaders can enhance their positions by coming to the forefront (Ibid.).

Further, within the scope of social network theory, some theorists give reference to 'resource mobilization' that focuses on 'the creation of formal organizations to mobilize actions in social movements' [such as the Neighborhood Association established by the local residents of Başıbüyük in order to resist urban transformation legally] (Stevenson& Greenberg, 2000, p. 654). The organization's goals are accomplished through social movement organization in order to force for the change by a social movement (Ibid.). However, Çavuşoğlu et. al. (2011, p. 16) dispute local organizations, which are established against urban transformation, strain after minimizing the risks since their strategies are based upon survival and ownership. For this reason, they miss the opportunity to elaborate on the problems and probable solutions (Ibid.). Stevenson and Greenberg (2000, p. 654) also refer to 'the political process model' which underlines 'the grassroots network of connections available in the neighborhood that enables social action to take place'.

Briefly, opposition movements build on existent networks or they spring up anew. They present defensive and pragmatic efforts to save existing quality of life (Mayer, 2005, p.143). Gillan explains that social movement activists build 'structures of belief that critique the status quo', propose 'solutions to identified problems' and legitimize 'political action to achieve change' along with 'activity and political protest' (Ibid., p.247). Chong and Druckman (2007, p.104) identify this process as

'framing' that refers to 'the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue'. Further, Ayres (2004, p.13) defines that framing connotes to 'meaning work', 'which is an active and contentious process where actors are engaged in producing and disseminating meanings that differ from and may in fact challenge existing socio-political conditions'. As well, when participants 'frame' a social condition, they are intended to 'mobilize potential adherents and constituencies' in order to 'garner bystander support and to demobilize antagonists' (Ibid. p.13-14).

Stevenson and Greenberg remark that social actors develop the generation of opposition [or alliance] by framing within the scope of political opportunity structures (2000, p. 657). In this sense, as I have mentioned in the introduction chapter, social actors develop alliance and conflict structures within the scope of this political opportunity structures. Tarrow assumes the structures of *political opportunities* as 'consistent- but not necessarily formal or permanent- dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure' (Meyer& Minkoff, 2004, p.1459). Further, Rucht mentions on political opportunity by disaggregating conceptually cultural, political, and social elements of what he depicts as *the context structure*. While evaluating political context, he regards mainly 'a challenger's access to the party system, the state's policy implantation capacity, ***'alliance structure'*** and ***'conflict structure'*** ' (Ibid. p.1461). Hence, development of a social movement can be affected by the organization of previous challengers; by the openness and ideological positions of political parties; by changes in public policy; by international alliances and the constraints on state policy; by state capacity; by the geographic scope and repressive capacity of governments; by the activities of countermovement opponents; by potential activists' perceptions of political opportunity; and by prospects for personal affiliations (Meyer, 2004, p. 135).

In this manner, as Stevenson and Greenberg indicate, formation of coalition among organizations becomes easier with the support of elite (2003, p.657). However, the existence of conflicting elites [such as elites from different political parties] may

result in the creation of opposition groups and the development of oppositional initiatives or counter-movements, which mean that not everyone in a network has to adopt the same goals (ibid). Further, alliances within and between the organizations can change and while actors support each other on a certain issue, they can oppose them on some other issues (Ibid.).

To sum up, there are various dynamics between the alliance and conflict structures of USMs. Social actors try to expand their network and to increase their social networks in order to increase their resources, to get the approval of other segments of the society and demobilize the antagonists. Hence, the gecekondu resistance that is a grassroots movement emerged against urban transformation implementations of TOKİ and AKP rule. This resistance that is based on the relationship between the alliance and conflict structures is a rallying cry for a more democratic and participatory urban policymaking process that also cater the socio- economic needs of people affected by urban transformation in squatter settlements as well as risk groups or disadvantaged groups. In the following chapter, I mention on urban transformation and its implementations in different social contexts; the gecekondu phenomenon in our country; grassroots movements emerge against urban transformation and dynamics behind them; and the prior studies related to this study.

3.2. Grassroots Social Movements in urban Turkey

 Urban social movements emerged as a reaction against capitalist urban policies, oppression of the state, etc. within the framework of 'Right to the City'. Hence, grassroots social movements in Turkey are among these social movements that are opposed to capitalist urban transformation policies and unfair treatments. *Grassroots organizations* are accepted as having a bottom up organization style 'rooted in their commitment to the active participation of local communities and other beneficiary groups in their activities' (Paul, 1989, p. 100). Some scholars argue that participation connotes to active participation in decision making whereas some activists argue that participation has no meaning 'unless the people involved have significant control over the decisions concerning the organization to which they belong'. Some

development economists suggest that participation is the equitable sharing of the benefits of projects while others provide that participation is 'an instrument to enhance the efficiency of projects' (Ibid.).

Rise of *USMs for the provision of Housing and Urban Services* in 1990s can be given as example of grassroots movements in Turkey (Özdemir Şengül, 1990, p. 63). In this respect, local people brought together around Squatter Beautification Associations (Gecekonduyu Güzelleştirme Dernekleri) in 1990s in order to exert pressure for the provision of basic services such as roads, electricity, and the sewage system (Ibid.). Recently emerging Grassroots movements in our country are the *Defensive Movements* or *squatter resistances* against urban transformation projects (Gough& Gündoğdu, 2009, p. 23). TOKİ, municipalities and real estate companies started their cooperation for urban transformation and redevelopment projects without involvement of residents. As a reaction to this undemocratic implementation, resistances began with collective attempts in order to understand what is being proposed. These resistances turned into neighborhood organizations in a short time. Gough and Gündoğdu define that their main demands are 'to halt the demolitions and evictions, and to allow residents' participation in both preparation and implementation of the projects' (Ibid.). Their resistance can be conceptualized within the context of not- in- my- backyard (NIMBY) community movements (Roth, 2005). The neighborhood associations look forward the support of political parties, left groups, and professional associations (Gough& Gündoğdu, 2009, p. 23). In this manner, Çavuşoğlu et. al (2011, p. 21) argue that the supports of organized leftist groups or parties are more common and solidaristic than the populist political parties which show a traditional interest due to their desire in continuity of hegemonic discourse or in partnering to urban rent. In this way, these leftist groups can update their political interests and this updating can be used for the benefit of residents (Ibid.).

The forms of resistances vary depending on their 'social structures', 'political traditions' and 'organizational capacities' (Ibid.). In this manner, as Mayer (2005, p.143) indicates, such groups adopt easily 'a variety of tactics and repertoires such as

petition drives, political lobbying, street confrontations and legal proceedings'. Concerning the agency and capabilities of social actors, Çavuşoğlu et.al. (2011, p. 1) underline that the social actors develop various strategies in order to express and legitimize themselves, reinforce or extend their position (Ibid.). For an instance, the success of the opposition groups is dependent upon the creativity of locality (Ibid., p. 18). This creativity determines the form of struggle of local people. When some local resistors build barricades and coincide, some other resistors may focus on negotiation and production of alternative plans or they may endeavor to be designated a representative in city council (Ibid.).

In addition, Erder indicates that gecekondu movements emerge as spontaneous movements against demolishes (Akman, 2009, p. 124). Neither leftists nor rightists were able to articulate these movements to their struggles. Being spontaneous and independent, gecekondu movements can be classified as social movements. They do not have clear cut and consistent boundaries and the participants change regularly (Ibid.). However, Boer and Vries' (2009) provided case of Barcelona is an example of how leftist local leaders and their social networks initiate the grassroots social movements in Barcelona. They mention on the local leader, Julian Garcia, who is very influential on the neighborhood and has connections with socialists (Ibid., p. 1325). Nevertheless, grassroots' basic demands are indicated as articulating to city center, being legitimized and becoming settled (Akman, 2009, p. 124).

Though they are perceived as being prone to conflict; they want to integrate to the areas under city planning law. Depending on these two qualities, the main question is the production of housing area and they develop social reaction against of comprinting housing rights. That's why they are reconciliatory. Therefore, being or not being within the city law is the main area of social tension (Ibid.). In this respect, Çavuşoğlu et. al. (2011, p. 17) indicate that reducing the solution to the matter of official title restricts the struggle practices [or strategies] and weaken their capacity of appropriation of the struggle. That's why based on the main arguments of Çavuşoğlu et. al (Ibid.), it is likely to say that the struggles should be canalized by means of integrating organization in the workplace, enjoyment of services such as

education, health, transportation, access to welfare state supports, increase in standards of living, social solidarity, etc. in order to order not to limit the scope of the struggle to a segmented perception on space (Ibid.). Moreover, since the struggle is restricted to the matter of official title, the representation of tenants falls short of [catering their needs such as access to affordable housing] (Ibid., p. 19). That's why the comprehensiveness and the ability in representation [of various groups having diversified positions against urban transformation] of the struggle are interrupted. Then, activists or resistors should not forget that there are many things that the tenants can lose after urban transformation since they choose to live in a particular concerning the existence of relatives, proximity to school or workplace, etc. (Ibid.). Further, social actors should ensure the struggle to be inclusive and democratic by re-fictionalizing the proportion and the relationship between the property owners and tenants over the property rights and use value (Ibid. p. 20).

E. Kütük İnce (2006) mentions on the motive behind the urban transformation projects, their socio- economic effects on the lives of residents and their failure in catering the needs of local people. She indicates that interference to urban has revealed itself in the form of reconstruction/ town planning movement (p.1). In this respect, partial urban transformation projects are produced by city administrations in order to gain a status in global world (p.1). Moreover, organization models that enable participation and coordination of actors are not provided by those administrations (p.5). That's way; urban transformation projects cannot cater the economic, physical and social needs of the region exposed to urban transformation (p.1). In addition to that, she mentions that there are several actors engaging in urban transformation process such as municipalities, local people, public and private sector, NGOs etc. (p.17). Besides, urban transformation projects are also realized by international connections and international fund providers, such as IMF and World Bank (p.18).

N. B. Ergin (2006) also mentions on urban renewal and gecekondu resistance in the case of Güzeltepe, Istanbul by scanning newspapers and conducting field research. She elaborates on gecekondu resistance as grassroots movements emerged against

gecekondu demolishes. Ergin mentions on three instances of urban transformation, such as Kartal and Zeytinburnu, techno city project of Istanbul Technical University and Bilgi University Project in Kuştepe, to find out the best way to materialize a just urban transformation process (p.79).[5]

In his master thesis, M.B. Deniz (2010) evaluates the differences between the organizations of grassroots movements against urban renewal at Istanbul Başıbüyük and Ankara Dikmen Valley by conducting field research at both regions. He remarks that the movement in Başıbüyük is more interested in its locality and gave attention to 'the individual property preservation motives of the people in the neighborhood rather than establishing ties with other class movements in Istanbul' whereas Ankara Dikmen Valley case resulted in 'formation of class identities by forming alliances with other class movements'.

In their study on neo- liberal urban transformation projects in Turkey, Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010) give a detailed analysis of urban transformation projects and the reactions of residents in Maltepe Başıbüyük and Tarlabaşı Beyoğlu. They provide an analysis of highly localized resistance strategies developed by the neighborhoods and of bargaining between residents, private developers and municipal authorities in order to fill the gap in empirical studies on how local dynamics, institutions and contestations shape neo- liberal urban processes (Ibid. p.13).

In his study, O. Karaman (2010) touches upon the urban transformation projects, clearance of gecekondu settlements on the outskirts of the city for re- development and the enforced gentrification of the inner- city slum in Istanbul. Moreover,

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[5] Moreover, she demands on Şükrü Aslan's (2004) study on 1st May which reveals the primary examples of neighborhood organizations defending housing right and criticizing unemployment emerged from a leftist social and political struggle and from a Marxist ideology (no man's land) (p.86). Ergin also mentions on other urban renewal projects such as Ayazma and Kurtköy in which local people have become vulnerable. These urban renewal projects are very important since they reflect the common perception of TOKİ on gecekondu settlements as 'tumor' of the city. In this respect, 'social rehabilitation' discourse has emerged in order to disguise capitalistic and rentier tendencies under urban renewal projects. However, their struggles are also other good examples for local organization and gecekondu resistance (p.80-81). For an instance, the association of Ayazma shows that organization formation and consciousness did not depend on education and income (p.105).

Karaman (2010, p. 117) mentions on the 'hygienic discourse used by policy makers that rests on the promise of cleaning away' the decay in squatter Başıbüyük.

In his article on current urban discourses within the context of urban transformation implementations in Istanbul, T. İslam (2010) mentions on neo- liberal urban transformation projects that have transformed Istanbul in accordance with the economic growth since mid- 2000s. Further, he refers to the complex structure of the property rights of squatters such as Başıbüyük (p. 61). He mentions on the process that transforms such squatters (e.g. Başıbüyük) as inner- city neighborhoods. Besides, he touches upon the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük and the emergence of gecekondu resistance as a local reaction against these projects by refusing to move to the TOKİ units. However, he points out to the ambiguity about the future of the neighborhood though a new political party rule is in management in Başıbüyük (Ibid.).

In their abstracts summited to 7th Congress for Urbanism in Turkey held in November 2011, Çavuşoğlu et. al (2011) discuss on the stories of different squatters in which diversified struggles spring up against urban transformation projects. They mention how and why the women and the youth remain behind in struggles against urban transformation (Ibid., p. 20). According to them, the position of woman in the history of society reflects on her position in local organization and struggle. According to them, the women's perceptions and limits of are restricted to street-scale as a consequence of inadequacies in women's use of public space free and intensively in [the shade of] a patriarchal culture.

In his dissertation thesis, Ergun (2011) discusses on urban regeneration projects carried out in Turkey, resulting in struggle of the residents in Gülsuyu and Başıbüyük communities by analyzing the data collected between the years 2009 and 2010. As well, a critical analysis of the process of segregation, exclusion and discrimination in these communities are also examined. He aims at determining the level of participation of citizens in the process of urban regeneration; the feelings, evaluations, expectations and suggestions of the settlers living in those squatters with

regards to urban regeneration. In addition, the question on how can a regeneration project could be formed with the involvement of the settlers is directed to respondents (Ibid. p. ıv). Further, Ergun carried out a research in Başıbüyük and interviewed with forty 3 women and 7 men in Başıbüyük (Ibid.). Ergun (Ibid., p. 288) conclude that urban transformation process should comprehend the needs, priorities, suggestions etc. of various segments of the society and social actors such as the residents, policy makers, professional chambers, etc. He also provides that the residents of Başıbüyük conceptualize the urban transformation as 'destruction/ demolish' and displacement (Ibid. p. 290). Policy makers treat urban transformation as if it is a solely physical problem (Ibid. p. 300). As he expresses, the main aim of the urban transformation should be forming healthy and livable cities (Ibid., p. 306). Finally, the projects should be implemented in a way that the participation and the common good should be ensured instead of displacement and social disintegration (Ibid.).

In their study on Başıbüyük, Şen and Türkmen (2014) focus on the group of residents in Başıbüyük that were/ would be affected by urban transformation project. They provide the socio- economic and spatial findings of the field. The research, which was one of the field researches carried out in Istanbul'da Eski Kent Merkezleri ve Gecekondu Mahallerinde Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Sosyo- Mekansal Değişim Araştırması (The Research on Urban Transformation and Socio- spatial Change in Old City Centers and Squatter in Istanbul) that was supported by TÜBİTAK (Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırmalar Kurulu- Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey), was conducted between the years 2008 and 2010 (Preface, 2014, p. xxv). Within the scope of this study, Şen& Türkmen (2014, p. 145) evaluate the dynamics of urban transformation through historical development, socio- economic peculiarities and experiences on urban transformation process of squatter Başıbüyük.

To sum up, urban transformation received reaction in gecekondu settlements and people brought together around their organizations, which developed spontaneously or intentionally. Depending on the socio- economic context of each society, the

dynamic behind and the direction of grassroots movement change. There are different studies on grassroots social movements in the literature. Further, there is too much labor and effort spent for these studies. However, there is a lack in literature on analysis of conflict and alliance structures of different social actors, the motive behind their course of actions, in-depth analysis of their preferences and interests, and their searches for conflict resolution within the scope of their interests. As well, there is not too much study on suggestion of urban social policies by integrating different actors into the study. Hence, since this is a Social Policy study, I aim at contributing to urban social policy literature regarding effective and comprehensive urban transformation projects.

3.3. Effective and Comprehensive Urban Social Policies

One of the main social policy issues of this study is 'state's housing policy'. In this sense, housing is conceptualized as an organized pattern of communication, interaction, space, time and meaning (Ören& Yüksel, 2013, p.48). It comprehends the characteristics, life style, behavior norms, environmental preferences, etc. of an ethnic group (Ibid.). It is a social reality and living space that makes people familiar to each other within the context of cultural and social characteristics (Ibid. p.50). Though state's intervention to housing phenomenon is limited in liberal economies; it is still evaluated within the scope of social rights (Ibid. p.51). However, Keleş indicates that it is very difficult to make mention of sufficient and quality housing in urban spaces [in especially less developed countries like Turkey] (Ibid., p. 53). Further, contemporary cities cannot cater the daily and social needs of people (Durguter, 2012, p.1053). They go out of date and cause conflict and chaos (Ibid.). Solution of housing question and urban management demand participation of multiple actors such as municipalities, private sector, NGOs, universities, local media, etc. (Ören& Yüksel, 2013, p. 53).

Within the scope of housing policies, state should concentrate on social housing projects that are developed with the purpose of making low- income and middle-income households homeowners (Yüksel& Özen, 2013, p. 79). Besides, Levy et. al

(2006, p. 77) indicate that production of affordable housing can mitigate exclusionary displacement resulted from gentrification. In this manner, 'nonprofit developers might partner with for- profit developers on mixed- income housing projects leveraging the demand for market- rate housing and retail and commercial businesses to help finance affordable units' (Ibid). Within this scope, while land availability is essential for affordable housing and displacement mitigation, the involvement of city government in addressing affordable housing, creating regulatory supports, removing barriers to housing development and providing project financing or technical support is very crucial (Ibid., p. 79). As well, state should regulate the housing market without suffering both consumer and supplier. Policy makers also should clarify the housing acquisition and social housing-rental. (Şehir Plancıları Odası, 2009, p.7).

In addition, right to housing and property rights should be disassociated from each other. Further, policy makers should respect the peculiarities, needs, and problems of each settlement within the context of social housing policy (KENTLEŞME ŞÛRASI…, 2009, p. 59). In this manner, governors can implement social housing policies by increasing the control over rents, generating low-rent housing, expropriating old housings for the benefit of low- income families, students, etc.; developing cooperative housings based on social security funds for the benefit of low- waged workers, etc. (Ibid.). Moreover, the actors that will involve into the process and their roles, power and responsibilities should be ascertained as it is mentioned within the context of consensus building process. Policy makers should adopt 5 basic steps of urban transformation that are pragmatist/ entrepreneur participation; consulting and informing; incentive giving to, organizing and deploying local potentials; housing acquisition programs; and social services (Şehir Plancıları Odası, 2009, p. 3). Social programs include the solutions of problems originated from local conditions; the services to increase welfare level, to carry social and cultural conditions a step further, and to cater the needs of people with special needs; and the aims to make solutions consistent etc. (Ibid.)

However, contemporary urban transformation results in failure since social dimension of transformation is disregarded (nutıları Odası, 2009, p.2). It is important to note that main aim of urban transformation is to increase standard of living and to sustain social integration in a region. In this sense, social state implementations is the total of social policy implementations that aim at empowering the socially disadvantaged groups by making them socially advantaged (Ören& Yüksel, 2013, p. 71). Within this context, social state understanding is a result of reconciliatory culture that provides solution to conflicts and a management mechanism that balances between different social segments (Ibid.).

An effective and social urban policy include social services and programs supporting education and capabilities, employment, health security, housing and environmental health, participation and empowerment of local people, social integration, social capital, welfare, etc. (Kızıldere& Özdemir Darby, 2013, p.5). In this sense, Adaman and Keyder (2006) make a research on the people living in gecekondus and urban decay areas. They provide that those people are exposed to social exclusion because of various reasons such as inefficient social services, new poverty, lack of human capabilities, etc. In this sense, they provide that social services should be based on human rights approach (Ibid. p.133). In this direction, those people should be provided with basic income. Furthermore, state should overcome the regional disparities, rehabilitate the educational and health services in those regions, create new employment opportunities, and provide the gecekondu dwellers with vocational education and other education with the aim of investing in human capabilities. Besides, state should increase the quality and quantity of social services and the residents that want to return back to their villages should be supported by aid in money and aid in kind (Ibid. p. 123- 140). Moreover, Bilen and Çetin (2012, p.28) assume that poverty among the gecekondu dwellers connotes to be in deprivation of financial resources. In this regard, they suggest that micro financing can be 'a solution for poverty that gecekondu's people suffer from (Ibid.).

Then, a series of social programs should be realized during urban transformation implementations. In this sense, urban transformation planning should be integrated

and sustainable, and it should be supported by measures that will increase the standard of living (Şehir Plancıları Odası, 2009, p.7). Urban transformation policies aim at rehabilitating social structure at the smallest unit of settlement, which is (Ibid., p. 2). In this regard, policymaker should make social investments concerning increase in the standards of a living; development of abilities of local people; development of local initiatives, community spirit and local entrepreneurship, etc. in a specific (Ibid.). In this sense, Hamel (2005, p. 163) indicates that local economic development is a complex and multidimensional process.

Briefly, policymakers should activate social programs by providing measures to sustain improvement in social terms. Increasing and developing local organization, benefiting from local potentials; and integrating local people into policymaking process by empowering them are important parts of sustainable development. The reflections of these global developments and Turkey's ability to adapt to and implement these developments within the context of Maltepe Başıbüyük will be issue in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 4

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON BAŞIBÜYÜK

Başıbüyük is one of the squatter settlements which are affected by urban transformation policies. Hence, I give place to the peculiarity of Başıbüyük neighborhood and brief summary on the urban transformation process and gecekondu resistance between 2009 and 2010. In the meantime, I refer to TOKİ and its authority in order to integrate the legal framework into the gecekondu resistance process in Başıbüyük.

3.1. Geographical and Social Characteristics of Başıbüyük

Firstly, Başıbüyük is one of 18 squatters of Maltepe District that is located at the southeast of Asian side of Istanbul. To being with, Maltepe is a well- known district located at the north part of Istanbul and the neighbor distrcits are Kadıköy, Sancaktepe, Kartal, etc.[6] Maltepe was severed from Kartal District in 1992 and became a Municipality because of Special Elections. It is the tenth biggest district of Istanbul city. The population of Maltepe District was 471.059 in 2013.[7] The Mayor the Municipality is Ali Kılıç who was elected as the candidate of CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi- Republican People's Party). The municipality was administered by right parties such as AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi- Justice and Development Party) until 2009 local elections and it has been governed by CHP since 2009. With nearly 8 km long seaside, it has the longest seaside in Istanbul. Gentle slopes are situated in the east and north of Maltepe and there are some hilly parts in east and in the center.

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[6] For further information See: Short history and location. (n.d.). In *Maltepe Univeristy International Office*. Retrieved on October 29, 2014, from:
http://llp-erasmus.maltepe.edu.tr/short-history-and-location

[7] İlçe yaş grubu ve cinsiyete göre nüfus- 2013. (2013). In *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi Sonuçları*. Retrieved on October 29, 2014, from:
http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/adnksdagitapp/adnks.zul

The coastal area lies between the Çamaşırcı stream in Bostancı in the north and the Bülbül stream in Dragos.[8]

Connecting Istanbul- Ankara highway and coast roads through its domestic route are Maltepe's significant locational advantages. Further, Istanbul main railway line pass over the downtown and Istanbul Sabiha Gokcen Airport (SAW) is located in a close proximity to downtown (27 km).[9] In addition, Maltepe's intersectional position enables an opportunity to inhabitants and visitors for quick road, railway, and sea and airline transportation. Kuyucu& Ünsal (2010, p.8) provides that Maltepe was one of the most important industrial zones of Istanbul's Asian Side until the mid-1990s. There are two bus lines and a minibus line for dailt transportation in Başıbüyük. Furthermore, there are 802 industrial concerns, 67 cooperatives, 78 branches of several banks and 99 agricultural enterprises (including meat and dairy products) in Maltepe district. Moreover, construction sector linked with the settlement development accelerated to economic growth by means of commercial enterprises, small-scale industry and cooperatives for years. Being between the two highways bring some. On account of ongoing social projects of Maltepe Municipality (e.g. Art Street and Beşçeşmeler Square), it has begun to be attraction center for touristic activities. As well, scientists for the archeological excavations have been attracted by Küçükyalı archaeological site and such contribute to the touristic features of the town.[10]

Maltepe is cut through the E5 highway cuts and the poorer area of Başıbüyük is the north of highway.[11] Hence, Başıbüyük is one of the oldest settlements in Maltepe

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[8] Short history and Location. (n.d.). Ibid.

[9] For further information See: *ISTANBUL ON THE PATH TO EU TOWN TWINNING FORM. THE TOWN OF MALTEPE*. (n.d.). Retrieved on October 29, 2014, from:
http://www.cites-unies-france.org/IMG/pdf/FactSheet_Maltepe.pdf

[10] *ISTANBUL ON THE PATH TO EU TOWN TWINNING FORM. THE TOWN OF MALTEPE*. (n.d.). Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

district.[12] It is located in the south of squatters Fındıklı (Maltepe district) and İnönü (Ataşehir district), in the west of Büyükbakkalköy (Maltepe district), in the east of squatters of Aydınevler (in Maltepe district) and İçerenköy (in Ataşehir district) and in the north of squatters Zümrütevler and Girne (in Maltepe district). Its population was 20.311 and the population above 18 years was 14.155 in 2013.[13] Başıbüyük is a village that has an Ottoman historical and cultural background.[14] It is a tree- covered hill with a hospital (former Istanbul's tuberculosis isolation hospital, Süreyya Paşa Göğüs, Kalp ve Damar Cerrahi Hastanesi- Süreyya Paşa Thoracic Diseases and Thoracic Surgery Training and Research Hospital) and there is a cemetery in Başıbüyük. It is the second highest hill of Istanbul with approximately 275 m height. There are important underground water basis in the squatter.[15] Başıbüyük has also a great view of the coastline and the Princes' Islands.[16] In addition, there are two private universities, which are Yeditepe and Maltepe, located on the skirts of Başıbüyük. Moreover, there are 3 primary schools and a high school in Başıbüyük. [17] The residents of Başıbüyük has been provided with municipal services and infrastructure since 1970s though they could not acquire formal land titles and building permits and the buildings in Başıbüyük are illegal (Kuyucu& Ünsal, 2010, p.8).

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[12] BAŞIBÜYÜK MAHALLESİ TARİHÇESİ. (2009, March 18,). Retrieved on October 29, 2014, from:
http://basibuyukmahallesi.blogspot.com.tr/2009/03/basibuyuk-mahallesi-tarihcesi.html

[13] *İllere göre mahalle nüfusları- 2013*. 2013 Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi Sonuçları. Retrieved on October 29, 2014, from:
http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/adnksdagitapp/adnks.zul

[14] *BAŞIBÜYÜK MAHALLESİ TARİHÇESİ*. (2009, March 18,). Retrieved on October 29, 2014, from:
http://basibuyukmahallesi.blogspot.com.tr/2009/03/basibuyuk-mahallesi-tarihcesi.html

[15] *BAŞIBÜYÜK MAHALLESİ TARİHÇESİ*. (2009, March 18,). Ibid.

[16] *ISTANBUL ON THE PATH TO EU TOWN TWINNING FORM. THE TOWN OF MALTEPE*. (n.d.). (Ibid.)

[17] Ibid.

Establishment of Süreyya Paşa Hospital is very crucial for the settlement history of Başıbüyük (Şen& Türkmen, 2014, p.147). This is because workforce needed to work at this hospital chose to settle in this in 1970s. Besides, its proximity to main highway axels and the existence of industrial areas in Maltepe, Tuzla, Ümraniye, Yakacık, Gebze and Kartal are also among the reasons why working people chose to settle and these reasons also got accelerated the squatting process in Başıbüyük (Şen& Türkmen, 2014, p.147, 149). In this respect, Kuyucu& Ünsal (2010, p.8) says that a migrant population from central and northeastern Turkey settled in Başıbüyük in 1960s. In a nutshell, they argue that the reason why Başıbüyük is a suitable settlement for migrants is the fact that there was 'the availability of vacant state-owned land and proximity to factories in the region' (Ibid.). Additionally, Şen& Türkmen assert that the development of gecekondu settlement dated back to 1970s (2014, p. 152). The critical transformation on gecekondu and urban land started in 1980s in Başıbüyük. The government under ANAP[18] rule gave title assignation documents (tapu tahsis belgesi) to the residents in 1984. This development accelerated the emergence of multi- story buildings in this squatter and also affected the changes in housings, population and relations of ownership (Ibid.).

The research findings of Şen& Türkmen put forward that the majority of the gecekondus or unlicensed constructions, 42 percent, are single- story buildings whereas 19 percent of them are two- story buildings and the other 19 percent are four or more story buildings. This variation is the outcome of the distribution of title assignation documents in 1980s (2014, p. 156). Moreover, approximately 89 percent of the homeowners expressed that they do not have any other housing while 10 percent have another building in other parts of Istanbul or in other cities. The majority of the second properties are inhibited by children of homeowners and 8 percent of them were rented by relatives while 35 percent are rented by foreigners.

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[18] ANAP (Anavatan Partisi- Motherland Party). It is a political party that was founded in 1983 by Turgut Özal [who was the 8th President of Turkish Republic]. It was accepted that ANAP was the continuation of the Democratic Party tradition of 1950s and a renewal of the conservative liberal legacy that synthesized market modernism and Muslim identity (Kalaycıoğlu, 2002, p. 45). For more information, please See: Kalaycıoğlu, E. (2002). The Motherland Party: the challenge of institutionalization in a charismatic leader party. In *Turkish Studies, Vol. 3 (1)*, pp. 40-61. Retrieved on March 29, 2015, from: http://research.sabanciuniv.edu/294/1/3011800000901.pdf

Besides, the monthly amount of the rent varies generally between 201 and 400 TL [revealing the low socio- economic status of the tenants]. Properties of the homeowners used for the purpose of catering the housing needs of the relatives ascertain that the solidarity networks still substitute for market relations (Ibid.).

As well, Kuyucu& Ünsal (2010, p.9) points out to a sizeable illiterate population and a sizeable population with primary school education. Likewise, Şen& Türkmen (2014, p. 159) set forth that the majority of the population compromises of first and second generation migrants and their children. Increasing number of victims of unemployment, women doing daily chores and men idling are also very common in this squatter (Ibid., p. 159). In addition, they express that the rate of illiteracy among women (15, 7 percent) and men (2, 5 percent) in Başıbüyük is above the rate of illiteracy in Istanbul (7, 5 percent and 1, 6 percent respectively) (Ibid., p. 160). Further, the rate of primary school (34,1 percent), secondary school (9,4 percent) and university graduates (3 percent) are lower than the average of Istanbul (34,1 percent and 22 percent respectively) according to the research findings carried out between 2008 and 2010 (Ibid., pp. 160- 161).

Kuyucu& Ünsal tells that the majority of the inhabitants work in construction and manufacturing (informal) sectors (2010, p.9). However, there is a growing population working in low- end service jobs and female workers have been predominant since 1990s, showing the feminization of low- end service jobs (Ibid. 9- 19). Şen& Türkmen (2014, p. 161) share that the rate of participation to workforce among men in Başıbüyük (which is 70, 7 percent) is close to the rates in Istanbul (70, 9 percent) and Turkey (70, 5 percent) whereas the rate of participation among women (17, 5 percent) is lower than the rates in Istanbul (22, 6 percent) and Turkey (26 percent). Besides, the rate of unemployment in Başıbüyük (15, 4 percent) is lower than the rate in Istanbul (16, 8 percent) and higher than the rate in Turkey (14 percent) (Ibid.). Similarly, the rate of households, in which there is not any employed person, is 14 percent (Ibid., p. 162). Moreover, 71, 8 percent of the working people are full time employee while 15 percent is part time employee or they work in temporary/ seasonal labor (Ibid., p. 165). Further, 10, 9 percent of working

population is self- employed (Ibid.). Depending on the rates of employment and unemployment in Başıbüyük, the rate of household income below 500 TL is 11 percent. While the rate of household income below 1000 TL is 55 percent, the rate of household income above 2000 TL is 10 percent (Ibid.).

The expansion of the city and the transformation of Başıbüyük's economy have resulted in development of 'a poor gecekondu area located in a thriving real estate zone that has been attracting major investments geared towards the upper classes' (Kuyucu& Ünsal, 2010, p.8). As well, Maltepe has become a potential development area in the master plan of Istanbul that makes it a prime site for up- market residential projects (Ibid.). Its proximity to Kartal, which is an old industrial zone that turned into a central business district with office buildings, luxurious housing, hotels and a marina by a renowned architect Zaha Hadid, is also influential in this process. Today, Başıbüyük is surrounded with the NarCity and KİPTAŞ housing blocks, developed for upper- middle class consumer groups, [two] private universitie[s], several major transport networks (Ibid.).

Kuyucu& Ünsal (2010, p.10) put forward that Başıbüyük is a 'conservative neighborhood with no tradition of political mobilization'. In the same manner, Şen& Türkmen (2014, p. 182) argue that Başıbüyük is the most right- leaning in Istanbul.[19] The majority of the residents located themselves in the center of the political spectrum. When examined the 2011 general elections, 6614 voters voted to AKP whereas 2452 voters voted to CHP and 1010 voters to MHP.

3.2. Urban Transformation Process in Başıbüyük

The government has made TOKİ the most powerful real estate developer and the most influential actor in constructing a neo- liberal regime in Turkey through the

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[19] Within the scope of findings carried out between 2008 and 2010 in Istanbul, Başıbüyük is the most right-leaning whereas Tozkoparan, which is located at the European side of Istanbul in Güngören district, is the most left- leaning one.

laws passed in 2002 and 2008 (Kuyucu& Ünsal, 2010, p.7). These regulations provided TOKİ with the authority to construct 'for profit' housing on state land either by its subsidiary firms or through public private partnerships with the aim of raising revenues for public housing construction (Ibid.). The concept of societal housing has evolved into concepts such as social housing, housing for low- incomers, housing for poor, and third sector housing etc. Related with this, the law passed in 2008 authorized TOKİ to expropriate buildings such as the ones in gecekondu zones (Gough& Gündoğdu, 2009, p. 22) (Kuyucu& Ünsal, 2010, p.7).

Fikri Köse, who was the AKP's mayoral candidate, won the local elections in Maltepe district in 2004. After Fikri Köse took the office, Maltepe Municipality, IBB and TOKİ[20] signed a joint protocol of North E-5 Land Use Plan in 1:5000 scales on July 16, 2004. In this way, TOKİ started to carry authority on the development rights on 400 acres of lands in Başıbüyük (Ergun& Gül, 2011, p. 162). However, Maltepe Municipality made an amendment, which provided the whole neighborhood, which means to 960 acres, to be given to TOKİ for development, on October 09, 2006 and it was approved by IBB on January 11, 2007. (İMECE, 2009, p. 20). According to this project, 1800 new residences would be built in Keçiyatağı and in a small part of Küçükbakkalköy and the existing 1760 residents would be relocated there.

This project aimed at demolishing gecekondus and transferring the rightful owners to apartment blocks built by TOKİ within the squatter (Kuyucu& Ünsal, 2010, p. 9). According to this development, Başıbüyük was declared as an area of Urban Renewal (Squatter/ Gecekondu Transformation). AK İnşaat (AK Construction Company) got the tender and started works to the accompaniment of 500 police

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[20] Main actor in urban transformation implementations in our country remains TOKİ (Toplu Konut İdaresi- Mass Housing Authority). According to the law no. 57 concerning the right to housing, state takes the necessary measures that cater housing needs within the context of planning that regards with the characteristics of cities and environmental conditions (Keleş, 2004, p. 440). In this respect, TOKİ was established in 1984 as 'the central state institution entrusted with encouraging and undertaking the construction of housing projects backed by large scale state funding' (Gough& Gündoğdu, 2009, p.17). TOKİ declares that its main aim is to making adequate shelter available, accessible and affordable to meet the housing need for the ever-increasing populations of urban settlements. For further information, please See: AN OVERVIEW OF THE MAIN PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING HOUSING POLICY IN TURKEY. (n.d.). In *T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı*. Retrieved on August 21, 2014, from:
http://www.toki.gov.tr/english/overview.asp

without being in need for construction certificate (Ibid., p. 21). However, nearly 5000 residents objected to this plan. 5th Administrative Court of Istanbul granted a motion for stay of execution of the trilateral protocol (Ibid.). Notwithstanding, 6 of these blocks [which were called as monsters of TOKİ by the residents] were built on a 35 hectare site which had been used as a park by the residents (Kuyucu& Ünsal, 2010, p. 9). It was the beginning of the gecekondu resistance against all enforcements, brute force, humiliation etc.

The urban transformation project in Başıbüyük rested upon the ownership of right *(hak sahipliği).* The option of purchase of the TOKİ flats were given to rightful owners, who excluded the tenants, with state subsidized credit to be paid in 15 years (Kuyucu& Ünsal, 2010, p. 9). These rightful owners were given an offer on a demolish value, which was determined by the Ministry of Reconstruction for their existing units, rather than the full values of the land and the building, since their homes were supposed to be illegal. To put it bluntly, the demolish value was equal to the one of the value of the new apartments (Ibid.). This meant that the residents would be indebted to commercial banks or TOKİ inevitably. Moreover, the first stage of the urban transformation project included the demolishment of gecekondus, the majority of which were registered with neither official titles nor title assignation documents. The skeptical residents about urban transformation project tried to elucidate the other residents of Başıbüyük on the fact that this disintegration of Başıbüyük lands was a strategy of American imperialism which is based upon *divide et impera (divide and rule policy).* Additionally, the residents of Başıbüyük learned about the appointed urban transformation project in Başıbüyük through an acquaintance working at municipal department of technical services at Maltepe Municipality. Consequently, the residents become disenchanted with both the Municipality and the village headman and lost their trust in their reliability.

After a while, the residents of Başıbüyük organized a meeting under the leadership of prior village headman with attendance of over 500 people. They assigned a commission, in which there would be 12 people, and an executive council. The vanguard group was pro-CHP residents. As well, MHP members were incorporated into this process. This group organized 3 neighborhood meetings. But, since their

commission did not have any official validity, they would not have the right to bringing an action. Therefore, they decided to establish an association under the leadership of village headman. Nevertheless, village headman resiled from the commission suddenly. Thereupon, the commission arranged a meeting with Fikri Köse; but they were disappointed since they were assaulted by the Mayor. They were accused of being provocative and of forming an opponent front. Further, they were accused of forming an Alevi organization which works against Islam.

The encounter between the residents of Başıbüyük and Maltepe Municipality changed dimension and the state resorted to the use of force against the residents, whose neighborhood was conservative in the public eye. The opposing group made a public statement in front of the main building of Maltepe Municipality on June 10, 2006, and they notified that they were against urban transformation project, which they postulated as of being an unfair treatment and which was expanded to 930 acres in 2006. Suddenly, the police attacked on demonstrators and three of them were taken into custody. After getting informed about the urban transformation project and beginning to encounter with the Municipality, the residents discrediting the project formed the Başıbüyük Mahallesi Çevreyi Düzenleme ve Güzelleştirme ve Tabiatı Koruma Derneği- *Başıbüyük Association of Environmental Regulation and Beautification and Nature Protection* in 2006. Their initial claim was to acquisition of official titles and development rights. First of all, they adopted 3 principles:

1. People from different political parties or ideologies would be included into the Association decision- making and all of them would be represented equally.
2. All of the decisions would be taken democratically.
3. No other identities would surpass their supra- identity, which was 'being a resident of Başıbüyük' (Başıbüyüklü), and nobody would reflect its own political identity to other residents and impose it on them as well.

According to the Association, the reason why Başıbüyük was chosen as an area of urban transformation was the fact that Başıbüyük is situated on a very important location in Istanbul. As well, it is located on a very important hill, which is also a

very important aerial corridor and a greenbelt, lies from north to south. Furthermore, as the Association asserted, Kemal Unakıtan[21], who was called as 'Kanakıtan' (the person shedding blood) among the residents, came to Maltepe University and he was fascinated with the beauty of Başıbüyük that local people had not realized before. Right after his visit, Abdüllatif Şener[22], Kemal Unakıtan and Fikri Köse drew a project of Başıbüyük at a hotel in Uludağ, Bursa, and they decided to broaden the scope of urban transformation project that is larger than 400 acres, as the Association asserted. They planned to realize the first draft of a project including approximately 150 villas with two and a half storey and a value of nearly two and a half trillion. According to this shadow project, the executers would relocate the people without having any documents since they were the occupants and criminals. In this way, as the Association put forth, the executers gave a very clear message to the residents having title assignation documents: Nothing will happen to you… This group of people would be given flats somewhere else and they would not be mistreated.

Each neighborhood, which is exposed to urban transformation, develops its own strategies, in order for resisting against the demolishment and dispossession, depending on its socio-economic and cultural inheritances and priorities. Hence, when Başıbüyük faced with the reality of urban transformation, the residents opposing to urban transformation developed their own strategies in order to overcome this unwanted situation and to inhibit the construction facilities. When the decree, which was sent to Metropolitan Municipality with the aim of making the whole neighborhood an area of urban transformation, was approved in 2007, the Association decided to confront this unfair treatment in such a way that would be compatible with the priorities and values of the neighborhood. The majority of the women I encountered with were wearing headscarves. They frequently referred to their obedience to five pillars of Islam and they themselves underlined their conservative nature and their dependence to state. Hence, since for the majority of

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[21] Kemal Unakıtan was a member of Parliament for Istanbul of AKP and he run the Ministery of Finance between the years 2002 and 2009.

[22] Abdüllatif Şener is also one of the members of Parliament for Sivas of AKP and he was the Deputy Prime Minister. After 2007 elections, he left AKP and established his party, Türkiye Partisi (Turkish Party) on 2009.

the population the religion has a central role in their life, the best place to be organized and to attract the attention of other residents would be the mosque.

5 days after the decree of Metropolitan Municipality, local association distributed leaflets in the mosque and most of the residents supported the facilities of the Association. This support resulted in some kind of a movement among the neighborhood. On the one hand, as they distributed leaflets in the mosque, rightist media began to be interested in Başıbüyük. Especially, Haydar Baş's[23] Meltem TV arranged a program with local people. The attention of rightist media toward the facilities against urban transformation in Başıbüyük made the Association's work easier in getting the support of local people. On the other, Evrensel newspaper and HAYAT TV, which were the media organs of EMEP, paid attention to the gecekondu resistance in the Başıbüyük neighborhood that was known as conservative and obedient to status quo. Their news had a broad repercussion in leftist groups such as EMEP. The neighborhood started to follow the news of Evrensel, and HAYAT TV, which the residents opposing to urban transformation reckoned as of making objective news. As well, the newspaper was distributed in the mosques by the residents who prayed.

Additionally, the Association tried to get the attention and support of other segments of the society, as well as the political parties, and to carry the case of Başıbüyük into a national level when the project that would transform a park in Başıbüyük into housing zone was accepted in the city council of Metropolitan Municipality. In this manner, the commission went to National Assembly, to Ankara, to get the attention of political parties in December 2007. Firstly, they visited the Member of Parliaments (MPs) of CHP and consulted with Deniz Baykal[24] and asked about his

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[23] He is the Chairman of the Bağımsız Türkiye Partisi (Independent Turkey Party), which is known as a nationalist and Islamic political party founded in 2001. For further information, please See: Biyografi. Haydar Baş. (n.d.). In *Bağımsız Türkiye Partisi Official Website*. Retrieved on March 20, 2015, from: http://www.btp.org.tr/user/biography/1/prof-dr-haydar-bas

[24] Deniz Baykal is one of the CHP MPs from Antalya Province. He was the leader of CHP from 1992 till 2010.

point of view on urban transformation during CHP's group meeting. Furthermore, they visited ANAP's group meeting. Süleyman Sarıbaş[25], who was a lawyer, told inhabitants that their struggle against the unfair treatments of TOKİ was a rightful one and he also promised to support them. But, when they visited to AKP's group, they were refused.

While the commission was visiting the political parties and MPs, nearly 1500 rapid deployment forces occupied Başıbüyük in order AK İnşaat to start its facilities. This incident was a turning point for the women of Başıbüyük since their role against urban transformation set forth before the roles of men and it added a new dimension to their perception of state. The women and children confronted with the police forces and they defended their neighborhood by not letting the probing. Since women and children resisted against construction works, they were exposed to nightstick and pepper gas. Till that moment, Başıbüyük inhabitants had not encountered with the police.

The role of women in Başıbüyük resistance is very crucial. The majority of these women have not been engaged in any political or oppositional activity against state and the municipality before. Even though they were inexperienced; they pertinaciously guarded their homes and they supported resistance movement. For an instance, they organized a protest in their against urban transformation. They wore shrouds that were symbolizing their exhaustion and TOKİ's seizure to their living spaces and their lives as well. Meanwhile, they were also holding Turkish flags, posters of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and two symbolic coffins supposed to belong to the Mayor and village headman. This protest took place in a free space that of which the protestors called as Tilki Köse[26] Meydanı/ Fox Köse Square. I argue that their

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[25] Süleyman Sarışbaş was one of the ANAP MPs from Malatya Province.

[26] The residents of Başıbüyük supporting the resistance call Fikri Köse, the prior mayor from AKP (2004-2009), as Tilki Köse, due to the similarity in pronunciation between the words 'Fikri' and 'Tilki' (the fox), in order to divulgate their belief in malevolence, fraud, sly and vigilant character of Fikri Köse. As well, the fox is known with its sly, fraud and vigilant character colloquially.

ability to organize innovative, symbolic and demonstrative protests is a clue how they were affected by leftist political groups and how they desired to increase the visibility of their local resistance by national social actors. Within this context, Stevenson and Greenberg (2000, pp. 651- 652) mention on inter- organizational networks built by means of opportunity structures in order to influence policy makers' decisions. As well, they propose that 'the possibility of agency' and 'the capability of actors' are highly related to innovation upon received cultural categories and conditions of action in accordance with their personal and collective ideals, interests and commitments.

Based upon this assumption, I argue that their choice on methods of protesting the policy makers reflects their received cultural categories and conditions of action depending on their collective ideals, interests and commitments. For an instance, even though women manifested themselves in public sphere through protests and resistance; their identification with their homes or private sphere[27] still bears the elements of conservative ideology. Similarly, Çavuşoğlu et. al. (2011, p.20) argue that woman's position in the society reflects on her position in local organization and struggle. Though Başıbüyük is a conservative society; women's role in the gecekondu resistance cannot be disregarded. However, they remark that their outstanding roles in the resistance are too specific to be generalized. Nevertheless, women's perceptions of this neighborhood are restricted to a street- scale as a result of inadequacies in women's free use of public space in a patriarchal culture (Ibid.).

The symbolic meaning attributed to the coffins that belonged to the Mayor and prior village headman still evokes Islamic elements such as the Day of Judgment and

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[27] As Thornton (1991, p. 449) asserts Western liberal tradition associates men with the public sphere in the character of government whereas women have been associated with private sphere in the character of family. As well, rationality and abstract thought are included into the public sphere while irrationality and affectivity are associated with private sphere (Ibid., p. 452). That's why public/ private dichotomy is favored by men to maintain social power by retaining their positions of influence in the public sphere (Ibid., p. 459). In this way, this thesis adsorbs the asymmetrical nature of the symbiotic relationship between public and private sphere (Ibid.). Furthermore, Pateman (1983, p. 157) proposes that the separation and the opposition of public and private spheres is an unequal opposition between women and men. She also argues that the separation of the private domestic life of women from the public world of men has been creator of patriarchal liberalism and the economic dependence of women has been presented as the ideal for all respectable classes of society. In addition, women are included as long as the ground is based on patriarchal beliefs and practices. Sexual division of labour in the family and in the workplace still highlights the continuity of patriarchal continuity (Ibid.).

giving an account concerning their sins to God. Friedman and Hechter (1988, p. 202) postulate that individual actors are restricted by constraints deriving from independent sources. That's why social actors do not always put a particular course of action, which satisfies their most valued ends, before attainment of other alternatives. This is because actors should consider the opportunity cost to get maximum benefit even though the costs lower the net benefit of an agreed action. In other words, social institutions such as family, mosques [religion] etc. limit the course of action of individuals to take the contemplated course of action. Hence, individual actor's preferences are sensitive to institutional constraints, opportunity costs or cost and benefit calculation.

Moreover, successfully supporting Oakley& Verity's (2003, p. 192) assumptions on Resistance identity, which emerges on the basis of a common identity such as religion, race, etc., of a specific group, local residents hardly went behind their ordinary routines and traditions. Therefore, they reflected their perceptions and choices, their conservative and Resistance identity, into their struggle and strategies as I observed during the interviews. I argue that this was a strategic choice of the residents supporting the gecekondu resistance in order to receive support of their allies or win new allies by demonstrating their innocence and purity. As they brought their religious nature in the foreground, they distinguished themselves from other squatters that were really political and resisted to urban transformation projects through setting barricades, colliding with police forces, etc. Since they knew that being against urban transformation project and resisting to oppression of state would carry the leftist groups or parties, they made very little effort to call leftist groups' attention and to build/ to win alliances with them. Accordingly, they chose to convince other segments of the society such as that already supported AKP government and that was right- leaning. Nonetheless, as Çavuşoğlu et. al. (2011, p. 18) puts forward, this is a reflection of the creativity of Başıbüyük neighborhood.

After the attacks by police forces, inhabitants would have learned that 70 flats of TOKİ's *monsters* were reserved to Istanbul Emniyet Müdürlüğü (*Directorate of Security in Istanbul)*. While the residents were trying to defend their homes, police

were trying to keep their homes, too. When the commission heard about the occupation, they applied to Deniz Baykal. Thereupon, Baykal called the existing Minister of Internal Affairs, Abdülkadir Aksu, and asked for the police to retreat from Başıbüyük. After this phone call, police retreated from Başıbüyük immediately; but, 3 residents got injured heavily because of the attack of police. This incident reinforced the support of inhabitants of Başıbüyük to CHP and this support would have brought results in 2009 local elections.

Thereupon, the Association invited non- governmental organizations, trade unions, academicians, etc. such as TMMOB (Türk Mimarlar Mühendisler Odası Birliği- Union Chamber of Turkish Engineers and Architects), İMECE, Şehir Plancıları Odası (Chamber of Urban Planners), Çağdaş Hukukçular Derneği (Progressive Lawyers Association), etc. on the purpose of preparing a document as of being the report of the commission. However, since the Association found the Municipality insincere about the consensus and they were exposed to state violence and exclusion from the decision- making process, they decided to continue to *resist* and attacked on caterpillars and construction trucks. This decision of the commission and the residents' efforts toward resistance against the urban transformation proved the influence of the Association over the local people. Hence, the Association secured its position as a social partner in the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük. While the Association was opposed to the urban transformation at the beginning, it came to agree upon a project that would not burden the residents with debt (Karaman, 2010, p. 94). Further, this ambivalence left the Association in an awkward position. While it mobilized the residents against the project, it did not want take it off the table completely (Ibid., p. 95).

The title deeds of TOKİ housings were distributed on March 12, 2009 one week before municipal elections. The Mayor Köse proclaimed that they would keep their promises in Başıbüyük. However, the result of 2009 local elections fell short of Köse's and his team's expectation. Mustafa Zengin, the CHP candidate, won the municipal elections in Maltepe on March 29, 2010. The Head of the Neighborhood Association, Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant), was also elected as a CHP member

of city council. This was supposed to be the political success of the Association and this success leaded to an expectation from the new administration's approach to urban transformation. As Çavuşoğlu et.al (2011, p.1) develop, various the social actors develop various strategies in order to express and legitimize themselves and reinforce or extend their position. Accordingly, the success of the opposition groups depends upon the creativity of locality (Ibid., p. 18). This creativity is highly determinative on the form of struggle of local people. For an instance, some resistors may focus on negotiation and production of alternative plans or they may endeavor to be designated a representative in city council. Both of these assumptions summarize the tendencies of the residents of Başıbüyük and the Association. Meanwhile, 324 flats in completed TOKİ apartments were distributed and 70 out of these flats were sold to police with social housing status (Şen& Türkmen, 2014, p. 185). These apartments are under the risk of subsidence of ground. That's why a primary school with 1500 students and 15 houses are under the risk of landslide (Ibid., pp. 185- 186).

However, 251 more residents claimed to realization of urban transformation project (Şen&Türkmen, 2014, p 186). Thereupon, new administration under CHP rule organized meetings and informed the residents about the process at the beginning. However, the administrators could not preserve the continuity of the meetings and nothing changed in Başıbüyük. But, the Municipality embarked on quest for different urban transformation projects and analyzed the foreign examples (Ibid., p.186). Nonetheless, these efforts remained inconclusive. This was because new administration could not develop an alternative urban transformation project that would be consistent and determined (Ibid.).

The Neighborhood Association resorted to transformation in its organization. Since its maneuver room against administrators narrowed as the time went by, the need to quick adoption of a course of action and mobilization in accordance with changing conditions became essential. For this reason, the Başıbüyük Association of Environmental Regulation and Beautification and Nature Protection was closed

down in 2014 and a new Neighborhood Association was founded: The Başıbüyük Association for Culture, Solidarity and Assistance.

The number of members was reduced, to approximately 70 people, in order to adapt itself to the changing situation and to adopt a course of action quickly. The recent facility of the new Association is to inhibit the identification of the owners of the buildings that were built before 2000. This is because owners of the buildings constructed after 2000 will not be accepted as rightful owners and will not be incorporated into the scope of urban transformation project.[28] A team from Maltepe Municipality is carrying out a study to identify the buildings constructed before 2000 and the owners of these constructions. The owners of the buildings, who have their official titles or title assignation documents or who have a registered bill on his/her name, are expected to submit these documents to the Municipality. After this step, the right holders are reported to TOKİ and these people are offered to make a deal with. But, the reaction of the Association is manifested in this stage of the process. The members of the Association do not let the officials to enter the neighborhood and identify the real owners.

4.2.1. Recent developments in Başıbüyük

Local elections were held on March 29, 2014. CHP administration had assigned Ali Kılıç as the new mayoral candidate and he won the local elections. As well, the prior village headman- İsmail (54, Real Estate Developer-, who was in office under AKP rule, was re- elected as if people wanted to show their reaction against the Association and an anxious suspense for an indefinite period of time for urban

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[28] The law number 6306 on Restructuring of Areas under the Risk of Natural Disaster puts forward the principles and procedures of restructuring or urban areas at risk of natural disasters. In addition, this law presents principles and procedures of risk assessment, determination of areas at risk, evacuation, demolition of buildings and regulates provisions concerning the implementation of restructuring of these areas. For further information, please See: Turkey: Law no. 6306 on restructuring areas under risk of natural disasters. (2012, May 16). In *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*. Retrieved on November 20, 2014, from:
http://faolex.fao.org/cgi-bin/faolex.exe?rec_id=120713&database=faolex&search_type=link&table=result&lang=eng&format_name=@E RALL

transformation to be successfully realized. However, the votes of CHP did not decrease. New Mayor Ali Kılıç has organized neighborhood meetings, which he founded participatory and democratic[29], since he took the office. Başıbüyük, which had the lowest percentage of votes for Kılıç[30], was the first that he conducted meeting in. This meeting was organized by the new village headman. Mayor Kılıç gave a clear message on his ambition about solving the problems of Başıbüyük and he declared that Maltepe Municipality would never take part in a project that is not approved by the residents and they would overcome the problems in cooperation.[31] Additionally, he announced a future project of a Fair and a Convention Center (M'Expo) which was planned to be built in Başıbüyük. This center would take an area of 400 acres and approximately 15.000 or 20.000 people, who are the residents of Maltepe district, would be employed.[32] Moreover, he heralded a coming project about a community center for elderly people, which was planned to be built on the land that was granted by Süreyya Paşa.[33]

The approach of Ali Kılıç toward urban transformation excludes the displacement and victimization of the residents of Başıbüyük as he says.[34] Furthermore, he expresses that the Municipality is well aware of the fact that the residents went through a rough phase while constructing their buildings and this is the time when they would reach a state of comfort and harmony. As well, he underlines the

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[29] Mayor Kiliç met with his colleagues. (2014, June 25). In *Maltepe Municipality Official Website*. Retrieved on November 20, 2014, from:
http://maltepemunicipality.com/haber/mayor-kilic-met-his-colleagues/1/11222

[30] (Ibid.).

[31] For further information, please See: Kiliç, Mayor of Maltepe Municipality, met with Başıbüyük residents. (June 15, 2014). In *Maltepe Municipality Official Website*. Retrieved on November 20, 2014, from:
http://maltepemunicipality.com/haber/maltepe-belediye-baskani-kilic-basibuyuklulerle-bulustu/1/11192

[32] Mayor Kiliç met with his colleagues. (Ibid.).

[33] Mayor Kiliç met with his colleagues. (Ibid.).

[34] İşeri, G. (July 25, 2014). Halkla TOKİ arasında köprüyüm. *BİRGÜN*. Retrieved on November 20, 2014, from:
http://www.birgun.net/news/view/halkla-toki-arasinda-kopruyum/2565

necessity in rehabilitation of standards of living of the residents, which are incompatible with the human dignity. Considering being organized against urban transformation in a neighborhood, he asserts that keeping company with an organized structure makes things easier. However, the complex structure in Başıbüyük obstructs the urban transformation process. He argues that the residents do not want to have a deal with TOKİ while Maltepe Municipality is acts as a go-between TOKİ and Başıbüyük neighborhood. Depending on this fact, he emphasizes that both TOKİ and the residents should reach an agreement with the Municipality. Otherwise, the process would be terminated. He also indicates that they plan to implement a transformation project with low- rise buildings, which was preliminarily accepted by the Minister [of Environment and Urbanism, İdris Güllüce]. As well, he remarks that this project will be human- centered and participatory. That's why he advises the residents not to sell their properties and become partners with the Municipality.

When applied to the Maltepe Municipality on the purpose of getting information about their approach to urban transformation, I made an interview with Tolga (46) who is an Urban Planner and a Deputy Mayor of Maltepe responsible from urban transformation on November 25, 2014. Besides, I attended a meeting conducted between the representatives of the Association and Tolga (46- Urban Planner and Designer) on the same day. Tolga (46- Urban Planner and Designer) expressed that the local people would not be victimized and the project would be revised according to the needs and claims of local people. Real right holders would be integrated into the project. Additionally, he informed about their expectations about Advisory Committee development from neighborhood in attempt to participate in meetings on concerning urban transformation and solutions to probable problems. This meeting would be held with the involvement of the Mayor.

Moreover, Tolga (46- Urban Planner and Designer) said that it was not certain whether the Municipality would proceed with TOKİ, as of being the third partner in the project, or not. However, he argued that determining third partner was the concern of the Maltepe Municipality, not the residents. When he was asked whether

tenants or the residents without any paper would be incorporated into the process, he responded that they would not since there were not right holders before the laws. As well, there was not any social housing project on the agenda. This was because, according to him, the only concern of the residents was to become a homeowner and they did not regard the social aspects of the urban transformation. In addition, he expressed that urban transformation project would not be supported by any social project. But, new administration developed partial projects such as Fair and Convention Center in which local people would be able to be employed.

I also consulted to a CHP member of Maltepe Municipal council, Berna (32- Sociologist), who was a Sociologist specializing in Urban Planning, Urban Transformation and Urban Sociology. As well, she was the President of Maltepe City Council. Due to lack of time, Berna (32- Sociologist) provided me with information via e- mail. Initially, as she indicated, the main principle concerning the urban transformation of the new administration was to act upon the needs and claims of the residents. In this respect, council would be established, which were leaded by the village headman. As well, the Advisory Committee, which was expressed by Tolga (46- Urban Planner and Designer), would be assigned by these councils. The initial aims in establishing these councils were to inhibit information pollution in the sense of urban transformation that misled the local people; to reduce the anxiety about urban transformation, which was originated from lack of knowledge and lack of information. Another principle of the administration was to prevent displacement of local people from their living spaces. Furthermore, their block based (ada bazlı) approach would allow for social equipment areas as she noted. Concerning new administration's approach to social policies, she underlined Municipality's understanding on 'right to housing'. According to this understanding, everyone deserves to live in a secure house which is compatible with human dignity and everyone has the right to decent housing.

The residents of Başıbüyük have already encountered with 3 administrations and 2 local elections since they were first met with urban transformation phenomenon. However, the urban transformation question still remains in suspense. Though

several attempts and efforts towards participation and local democracy have been taken, there is still no change in Başıbüyük and the residents are waiting. In this next part, I elaborate on the social actors and the dynamics in urban transformation process in Başıbüyük.

CHAPTER 5

THE SOCIAL ACTORS' INTERESTS, PRIORITIES, PERCEPTIONS AND STRATEGIES

Gecekondu resistances are not limited within the boundaries of transformation areas. In contrast, other parts of civil society and state, as well, engage in this process. On the one hand, people exposed to urban transformation projects are able to build coalitions and alliances with other social actors; while on the other, they may concurrently contradict with some other social actors. Various social actors make sense of gecekondu resistance and urban transformation in different ways. Such variety in consideration affects the direction and content of resistance and struggles. Therefore, all these coalitions, alliances, or contradictions affect the direction, composition, strength, and homogeneity of gecekondu resistance against or in spite of executers of urban transformation projects. Likewise, all the said factors can affect the direction, composition etc. of gecekondu resistance against the will of resisting social actors.

Hence, in this part of my thesis, I mainly elaborate on (1) supporters of the gecekondu resistance in two groups such as (1a) the Association and (1b) external supporters, and (2) opponents of the resistance in three groups such as (2a) residents opposing to gecekondu resistance, (2b) IBB and (2c) TOKİ. National actors were the residents of Başıbüyük, Maltepe Municipality, IBB, EMEP, some academicians working at IBU and TOKİ whereas international social actors were academicians and officials from Holland, who engaged in the process through Open City Istanbul Conference.

5.1. Supporters of Gecekondu Resistance in Başıbüyük

Grassroots social movements are locally based and specific to a certain region or area. Therefore, from my point of view, a researcher should start its study from the

very basic level, which is the 'local', in order to comprehend the underlying dynamics and structures of the specified society, human relations, resistance, alliances, conflicts, etc. Hence, in this section, I make mention of Başıbüyük Association of Environmental Regulation and Beautification and Nature Protection. The members of the Association were the proponents of the resistance, who were opposed to urban transformation project of TOKİ, Maltepe Municipality and Metropolitan Municipality. Hence, they founded the Association in order to prove the legal validity of their resistance and to become a legal entity when necessary.

Most of the residents of Başıbüyük, who were opposed to the resistance, remarked that they were not the objects of urban transformation, but they were the subjects. Therefore, I decided to make interviews with them in order to get their opinions about themselves and other social actors, the urban transformation process, gecekondu resistance, etc. Since they were the social actors exposed to urban transformation, their needs, demands, and opinions on the process had priority over the opinions of other social actors according to my point of view. In order to propose better social policy objectives or programs to design better and fair urban policies, for the sake of both citizens and the environment, I believe that we should integrate their views into our studies. First and foremost, when I visited the neighborhood on the purpose of collecting information for my study, this group of people was more eager to share their experiences than the other group that supported the urban transformation.

The existence of the Association in this study is essential since it reflects the opinions of the residents of Başıbüyük that were against urban transformation and supported the gecekondu resistance. This Association was not a homogenous entity; rather it featured different political positions within its structure. It was the 'melting pot' of political interests, preferences, approaches, and strategies of CHP[35]

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[35] CHP, The Republican People's Party party was founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the father of the Turkish Republic, in 1923, the year of the proclamation of the Republic. Prior establishment of multipartism in 1946, the Republican People's Party was the only authorized party in Turkey. For further information, please See Republican People's Party (Turkey). (2015, July 14, 2014). In *CRW Flags*. Retrieved on March 30, 2015, from:
http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/tr%7Dchp.html

(Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi- Republican People's Party), MHP[36] (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi- Nationalist Movement Party) and SP[37] (Saadet Partisi- Felicity Party). Such a political diversity was important since above mentioned political parties have already been opposed to the policies of AKP[38] (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi- Justice and Development Party). Hence, I refer to the outstanding figures of the resistance, who were also the representatives of these political parties. While analyzing the approaches of local social actors, approaches of those political parties to urban transformation experience in Başıbüyük revealed themselves ipso facto within the analysis. After presenting the approaches of leading figures, which were the driving force behind the resistance, I touch upon the approaches of local supporters.

5.1.1. The Başıbüyük Association of Environmental Regulation and Beautification and Nature Protection and their common and different approaches

5.1.1.1. The leading figures

Başıbüyük is known to embody a very conservative community/ society. As opposed to its leftist standing before *1980 coup d'état*, fundamentalist Islamic elements are very widespread among the residents of Başıbüyük at the present and the majority thereof acts as the proponents of conservative status quo rather than providing an

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[36] MHP is an ultra-nationalist - conservative political party in Turkey. For further information, please See Nationalist Movement Party (MHP Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi). (n.d.). In *Globalsecurity.org*. Retrieved on March 30, 2015, from:
http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/tu-political-party-mhp.htm

[37] SP is a Turkish political party founded in 2001. The party was based on 'religious ideology, and has made radical religious declarations and undertaken sucsh actions in violation of the secular Republic'. For further information, please See: Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi SP). (n.d.). In *Globalsecurity.org*. Retrieved on March 30, 2015, from:
http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/tu-political-party-fp.htm

[38] AKP is the leading party in Turkey. It entered the Turkish political scene on 14 August 2001 under the leadership of Recep Tayyip ERDOGAN. As well, the AKP started out as an Islamist party. For further information, please See: Justice and Development Party (AKP) Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP). (n.d.). In *Globalsecurity.org*. Retrieved on March 30, 2015, from:
http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/tu-political-party-akp.htm

alternative to and challenging this situation. When they were exposed to urban transformation, it was hard for them to become organized against 'unfair treatments'. Already politicized personalities or the leading figures of the society played the leading roles during the organization process. Though the leading figures exhibited different political backgrounds; all of them contributed to the resistance to the extent of their capacity and knowledge.

These figures met on a common discourse which was 'Together we stand, divided we fall'. Therefore, they established the Başıbüyük Association of Environmental Regulation and Beautification and Nature Protection. Hence, these leading figures are given reference in this study. I opt for introducing 3 of such leading figures, who were more active compared to others and had a legal authority. Moreover, they did not give up supporting the resistance though some of the leading figures did so. In the following section, I mention on interests, priorities, strategies, and perceptions of leading figures.

The opinions and suggestions of the leading figures are discussed according to their common and different approaches. Their discord on the resistance's position before working class struugle; the consensus on being a resident of Başıbüyük, which was a common identity; their stress on the property rights and ownership; the state's discrimination between rich and poor; the gentrification efforts behind urban transformation as a source of discrimination, displacement and unequal power relations; and the lack of civil society participation in Turkish urban transformation experiences are among the subjects that are mentioned in this section.

Hence, the first leading figure in the Association was Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant). As being the most political figure in the gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük, his thoughts were mainly based on his political standing and principles. He represented the political position of CHP within the Association. The position of CHP became prominent in the resistance since CHP won the local elections in Maltepe in 2009. During the interview with him, he did not hesitate to show his proud of success of CHP in Başıbüyük as he was telling the efforts of the Association

that were taken toward convincing people about the disadvantages of urban transformation and the malevolence. In addition, as Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) indicated that:

> 2861 residents of Başıbüyük voted for CHP in 2009 local elections as a reaction against urban transformation implementations of AKP, which means a significant increase in CHP's vote over 152 votes it received in 2004 local elections. This is the success of the Association, which has 1297 members (means to at least one person from each house affected by urban transformation), in organizing people around a common goal. [39]

Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) was a member of *İlerici Gençlik Derneği* (İGD-the Progressive Youth Association) and a member of CHP. As well, he was one of the charter members of the Beautification Association that declared a legal fight against TOKİ, urban transformation in general. He became a *council member-responsible for Gecekondu-* representing CHP in the Maltepe Municipal Council after 2009 local elections, but he was not reelected in 2014 elections. As a radical figure, he took an active role in organizing and awakening of Başıbüyük residents. He attended the round table meetings comprising a series of meetings held with universities, NGOs, Maltepe Municipality, foreign policy makers, officials, etc. Besides, he travelled to Amsterdam and Berlin within the context of these round table meetings. In addition, he visited other neighborhood organizations, which also resisted against urban transformation, in order to learn from their organization and strategies. Furthermore, his social networks provided the Association with necessary legal and formal information that would have supported the residents of Başıbüyük through their resistance and legal struggle. According to my point of view, his already politicized identity enabled their reaction against urban transformation to channel into a political reaction to a certain degree and his political standing was quite different from majority of the residents opposing to the gecekondu resistance.

The second figure in the Association was Ufuk (49- Grocer). He was a member of *Millliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (MHP- Nationalist Movement Party) and he was the *Head*

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[39] AKP'nin kentsel dönüşüm uygulamalarına bir tepki olarak 2861 Başıbüyüklü 2009 yerel seçimlerinde CHP'ye oy verdi. Bu 2004 seçimlerinde CHP'nin aldığı 152 oya göre oldukça önemli bir artış. Bu derneğin insanları ortak hedef etrafında organiza etmesindeki başarısı. Derneğin tam 1297 tane üyesi var. Bu şu anlama geliyor. Kentsel dönüşümden etkilenen her evden en az 1 kişi derneğe üye.

of Başıbüyük Association of Environmental Regulation and Beautification and Nature Protection. As opposed to Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant), he was right leaning and he was far from being political before. Like Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant), he was very active in organizing the residents of Başıbüyük and he attended round table meetings, as well. According to him, political interests were functional as long as politics supported their economic interests.

The last leading figure in the Association was Ada (57- Ironmonger). He was the *mukhtar* (muhtar- the village headman who was officially responsible from Başıbüyük. He attributed to round table meetings and travelled to Amsterdam and Berlin. He made statements to the press and gave speeches during the protests. During the interview, he hesitated to be perceived as if a radical person who was struggling against the political system and he repeated his religious identity once or twice. He identified himself as 'a conservative and religious person fulfilling the obligations of being a Muslim'. As he said, he had voted for AKP in 2004 local elections. As well, he specified that he was elected as 'a reaction to the unjust treatments of ex- village headman' 'to demonstrate how *the residents of Başıbüyük* could get together and show their reactions against injustice and displacement'. Nevertheless, he prioritized economic interests over political interests and expressed that:

> Politics and political strategies are just means for the residents of Başıbüyük in order for reaching their economic interests-based goals. Religion is an indispensable part of Başıbüyük's daily life and we obey to the laws and respect to our state.[40]

The leaders proposed that right to housing is the basic right of all people even though they had different views on the political dimension of this right. Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) and Ufuk (49- Grocer/ Village Headman), supposed that 'gecekondu resistance and struggle for right to housing are as political as working class struggle'[41] whereas Ada (57- Ironmonger) remarked that 'There is not any

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[40]Siyaset ve siyasi stratejiler Başıbüyüklülerin ekonomik amaçlarına ulaşabilmesi için sadece bir araç. Din Başıbüyük'teki gündelik hayatın olmazsa olmaz bir parçası. Biz kanunlara uyarız ve devlete saygımız vardır.

[41] Gecekondu direnişi ve barınma hakkı mücadelesi işçi sınıfı mücadelesi kadar siyasi.

relationship between the urban transformation and the working class struggle'[42]. On the one hand, Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) said that 'urban transformation is one of the oppression areas of state'[43]. Briefly, local people and other social actors, such as TOKİ, state etc., were not equal partners and other forces had more authority and power compared to local people as they argued. Due to this fact, Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) underlined his role in Municipal Council and told that:

> Taking a role in the Municipality as a member of city council and attending to the political decision making mechanisms will support our resistance. In this way, we will be able to sit to table with municipality and TOKİ as equal partners. Political power is very important for the success of our resistance.[44]

On the other, Ada (57- Ironmonger) assumed that their struggle was necessary as long as they stood up against unfair urban transformation projects. That's why he did not support the politicization of the resistance. Therefore, he said that:

> It should not turn into a radical political one. That's why we try to avoid the interference of radical groups from other squatters with our struggle. Our struggle is a rightful struggle and we demand solely to get our property rights, nothing else[45].

Besides, according to Ada (57- Ironmonger), this was not a political movement, but this was a movement that they developed in order to defend their economic rights as he underlined. His approach resulted from his conservative political position. In this regard, he told that 'The religion is at the center of the lives of the residents of

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[42] Kentsel dönüşüm ve işçi sınıfı mücadelesi arasında herhangi bir bağlantı yoktur.

[43] Kentsel dönüşüm devletin baskı alanlarından birini oluşturur.

[44] Belediyede bir meclis üyesi olarak rol almak ve siyasi karar mekanizmalarına katılmak bizim direnişimizi destekleyecek. Böylece, belediye ve TOKİ ile masaya eşit partnerler olarak oturma şansımız olacak. Siyasi güç direnişimizin başarısı için çok önemli.

[45] Mücadelemiz siyasi açıdan radikal bir mücadeleye dönmemeli. Bu yüzden, diğer mahallelerden gelen radikal grupların bizim mücadelemize karışmasına engel olmaya çalışıyoruz. Bizim mücadelemiz haklı bir mücadele ve biz sadece özel mülkiyet hakkımızı talep ediyoruz. Başka birşey değil.

Başıbüyük and they are reconciled with the state'[46]. That's why he said, that being a deviant went against the grain of them.

In the midst of all of these facts, I argue that prioritizing the economic interest over political interest and denying the latter is still a way of implicitly reflecting one's political interest. Since Ada (57- Ironmonger) referred to left- leaning political interests such as resisting against state and the capitalist system, supporting the struggle of working class etc. when he said 'political interest'; he came to believe that his demands were apolitical and 'innocent'. Nevertheless, his denial of leftist political interests and his reference to their religious community was the reflection of his political interest that was based on conservatism[47]. That's why I argue that Ada's (57- Ironmonger) political interest was as influential as his economic interest in determining his approach to urban transformation project and his standing in the gecekondu resistance.

The confusion in goal and strategy adoption arose within the Association itself and I argue that this phenomenon weakened the strength of the collective action mentioned above. Furthermore, there sprang confusion in conceptualization of 'right to housing'. Though leaders seemed defending their right to housing, they implicitly addressed their property rights and ownership which would be attained through acquisition of official titles. Due to this reason, their discourse was quite far from comprising left- leaning political benefits such as regarding the rights of workers and

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[46] Din Başıbüyüklünün hayatının merkezindedir ve onlar devletle barışık…

[47] Hakan Yılmaz (2008) provides that social conservatism of an Islamic variety is based on conserving the religious regulatory mechanisms in the area of sexuality, gender relations, and family values. As well, religious conservatism relies on religious norms and values in making individual's personal, social and political decisions. In addition, Heywood (2007, p. 89) indicates that political movements have emerged that aimed at resisting change and preserve traditional ways of life in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Conservatism generally refers to tradition, human imperfection, organic society, hierarchy and authority and property (Ibid., p. 58). Besides, some conservatives underline the role of religions faith (Ibid., p 59). As well, conservatives believe that 'society is naturally hierarchical, characterized by fixed or established social gradations' (Ibid., p. 65). Therefore, social equality is not accepted as desirable and achievable and power, status and property are not equally distributed (Ibid.). Furthermore, Özbey (2011, p.60) argues that the direction of the social change develops from up to bottom in a holistic manner like as Islamic political ideology. Moreover, religion is an indispensable part of operability of political system. In other words, religion is the legitimization of social system. The Islamization of the society substantiates through organic society and hierarchical political structuring in conservatism (Ibid.). We can say that conservatism emphasizes social order and sustainability in order for rendering the sustainability of existing social values and the social institutions that convey these values (Ibid., p. 152).

their struggles, abolishment of capitalist system, etc. While leaders such as Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant), whose political background was based on working class struggle, tried to articulate this struggle into the resistance, other leaders such as Ada (57- Ironmonger) and Ufuk (49- Grocer/ Village headman) hesitated to engage in political arena.

Nevermore, both of the leaders assumed that being *a Başıbüyük resident* was an common identity and they organized around this identity by leaving others aside. Coming together around the Association was essential in order to stay uniform and strong against the opponents of the resistance. They provided that people getting organized under this common identity perceived the urban transformation as an unfair treatment to local residents. As Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) brought forward, they gathered under the Association and he said that 'Resisting to urban transformation project are our primary duty in order to succeed in action'[48]. As Oakley and Verity (2003) put forward that the identity- building process in USMs occurs through collective action. Gillan (2008) argues that development of collective identity and a sense of group solidarity emerge as a result of a process of defining existing conditions as unjust and legitimizing political action to achieve change. As well, Chong and Druckman (2007, p. 104) provide that social actors develop a framing process that comprehends a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue. As the leaders took the initiative in resisting to urban transformation project of TOKİ, they had framed the urban transformation within an 'unjust treatment' framework and within a shared understanding of problematic condition as also Ayres (2004) argues.

Afterwards, the leaders intended to mobilize potential adherents in order to garner bystander support and demobilize antagonists just as Ayres (2004, p.13) puts forward while working on meaning work. In respect to this; the leaders started a collective reaction in Başıbüyük and became organized against a common enemy. Stevenson and Greenberg (2000, p.654) describe this process within the scope of resource mobilization process that focuses on the creation of formal organizations to mobilize

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[48] Başarılı olabilmek için kentsel dönüşüme karşı direnmek bizim en birincil görevimizdir.

actions in social movements. Besides, they remark that the social movement organization accomplishes the goals in order to force the change. In this case, the primary goal of the organization was based upon resisting against the realization of urban transformation process and succeeding the acquisition of official titles.

The leaders also indicated that government discriminated between the rich and the poor and they were like- minded on this subject. In this respect, governors did not associate Başıbüyük with the residents since they supposed that the local residents were marginal. Further, they pointed to the close relationship between the AKP government and TOKİ. That's why they supposed that TOKİ was not a socially responsible institution. Rather, it sought for rent. In addition, they argued that:

> The main motive of TOKİ is to sterilize and clear Istanbul from gecekondus and the working class. Urban transformation is just a reason. They are selling Istanbul to rich people.[49]

They pointed out that politicians just pursued their political ambitions such as 'guaranteeing to get the votes of people' or people supporting AKP and TOKİ's projects brought about economic or political gains. That's why they would continue to resist 'as long as TOKİ makes poor people homeowners with low prices'[50]. Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) and Ufuk (49- Grocer/ Village headman) called TOKİ as '**To**plu **K**ıyım **İ**daresi' (Mass Massacre Authority), which had a power over people against the benefit of the society. Similarly, Geray (2007, p. 283) proposes that TOKİ has been alienated from its socially oriented tendencies within the context of credit and land provision since it is directly dependent on Prime Ministry and AKP government. Moreover, Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010, p.7) argue that TOKİ has been the most powerful real estate developer and the most influential actor in constructing a neo - liberal regime in Turkey through the laws passed in 2002 and 2008. TOKİ has gained authority to construct 'for profit' housing on state land either by its subsidiary firms or through public private partnerships with the aim of raising revenues for

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[49] TOKİ'nin ana amacı Istanbul'u gecekondulardan ve işçi sınıfından sterilize etmek ve temizlemek. Kentsel dönüşüm sadece bir gerekçe. Istanbul'u zenginlere satacaklar.

[50] TOKİ düşük fiyatlarla insanları ev sahip yapıncaya kadar.

public housing construction (Ibid.). As if they affirm the propositions of these leaders, Gough and Gündoğdu (2009, p.22) assert that prior Head of TOKİ, Erdoğan Bayraktar, declared a comprehensive attack on gecekondu areas of Istanbul.

According to these leaders, TOKİ's project was not an effective and preferable housing project for the residents of Başıbüyük. The officials disregarded 'the economic impossibilities of gecekondu dwellers' as they indebted the residents to TOKİ for an unaffordable amount. Since the property structure was highly complex and a complicated in Başıbüyük, they did not assume that TOKİ projects could provide solution to anyone inhibiting in this neighborhood. In this respect, Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) said that:

> It is very difficult to live in Istanbul when a person does not have a stable income and job. Imagine the struggle for survival of a tenant in Başıbüyük. His conditions are much worse than other people. When he cannot pay the rent, he and his family will be given the gate. What can you say when TOKİ project does not provide solutions for tenants?[51]

As Ufuk (49- Grocer/ Village headman) said, 'TOKİ housings are not appropriate for the economic and social fabric of the residents of Başıbüyük'[52]. As well, since there had close relationships with nature, it was not for the Başıbüyük residents to be 'stuck in boxy flats' as Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) put forward. Moreover, since a considerable number of people were working in informal sector, living in TOKİ's housings would terminate their source of living. This was because this group of the residents earned their lives as garbage collectors or they raised animals or fruits and vegetables to sell, as a source of living. Due to this fact, they needed to live in detached houses that had gardens or free spaces to do aforesaid facilities. Therefore, both of them were emphasizing 'the importance of social research on Başıbüyük' and 'development of alternative urban transformation projects'.

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[51] Bir insanın düzenli bir işi ve geliri olmadığında Istanbul'da yaşaması çok zor. Başıbüyük'teki bir kiracının yaşam mücadelesini düşün. Onun şartları diğerlerininkinden daha kötü. Kirayı ödeyemediğinde, ailesi ile kapının önüne konuluyor. TOKİ'nin projesi kiracılar için çözüm üretmediğinde ne söyleyebilirsin ki?

[52] TOKİ evleri Başıbüyüklünün sosyal ve ekonomik yapısına uygun değil.

Thereupon, urban transformation efforts inherit the characteristics of gentrification in Başıbüyük. That's why some degree of discrimination, displacement and unequal power relations are likely to occur. Some leaders of the Association fell short of making projection about the future consequences of urban transformation and this fact limited the perspective and paradigm of the collective action. For Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) and Ufuk (49- Grocer/ Village headman) pointed to the gentrification motive behind the urban transformation projects; their calls for a humane living for lower classes paled beside their claims for private property and ownership.

Therefore, rising temporary economic benefits, such as property rights, that are provided by opportunity structures and being alienated from working class struggle misled the Association. Like as the Association was mistaken, Çavuşuğlu et. al (2011, p.16) propose that local organizations endeavor to minimize their risks owing to their strategies based on survival and ownership. That's why they say that the residents miss the opportunity to concentrate on problems and probable solution. They reduce the solution to the matter of official titles, restrict their struggle and weaken their capacity of appropriation of the struggle. Another, pitfall in framing the gecekondu resistance on the basis of property rights and ownership was falling behind the promises of resistance such as comprehensiveness and the ability in representation of various groups, such as tenants, and limiting the scope of struggle to a segmented (Ibid.). This assumption is valid for this Başıbüyük case since the leaders rarely adverted to the vulnerable and risky conditions of tenants in urban transformation process.

Finally, Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) underlined the lack of the civil society involvement in Turkish case. He remarked that 'When a project will be implemented in developed countries, local municipality, the federal state, and international capital transfer to the cooperatives'[53]. They also consult to NGOs each time. However, he

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[53] Gelişmiş ülkelerde bir proje yapılacağı zaman, yerel belediye, federal devlet ve uluslararası sermaye kooperatiflere para aktarır.

told that 'NGOs are dependent upon state and the international capital in countries such as Germany and Holland'[54]. Besides, according to him, there were unjust treatments displayed to people living in slums and peripheries. In this regard, he said that Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture was a threat on the working class. Briefly, he remarked that 'European cases cannot be guide for Turkey since they have different social, economic, and political structures'[55].

In this context, Duru (2005, p.64) argues that local democracy and respect for human rights are among the core policies of local governments in European Union. The participation of citizens to public policymaking process is encouraged, residential rights of people with limited economic and social resources is not left to the market mechanisms and some social policy measures are taken in order to sustain the welfare of all citizens (Ibid., p.66) whereas participation, transparency and accountability remain sometimes soundless in this region. Regarding Taylan's (55-Retired) assumption on the discrepancies between the implementations of First and Non- Western Countries, Davis (2006, p. 72) illustrates on the harsh urban transformation projects experienced in Non- Western Countries such as India and Latin America, which are similar to the experiences in our country.

Nonetheless, these leaders specified that being in contact with universities and NGOs would support their struggle by linking it with other parts of the society and not isolating it from other social realities. In this way, universities or NGOs would be able to provide an alternative project to stand up to TOKİ after conducting an objective research on social fabric of Başıbüyük and to make the people visible. As well, links and cooperation between universities, NGOs and municipalities would enable the residents of Başıbüyük to compare the differences between Turkish and foreign cases and to force policy makers to develop alternative urban transformation

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[54] Hollanda ve Almanya gibi ülkelerde sivil toplum örgütleri devlete ve uluslararası sermayeye bağımlıdır.

[55] Avrupa'daki örnekler Türkiye için rehber olamaz. Çünkü, onların farklı sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasal yapıları var.

projects. Then, visits and round table meetings were other strategies that should be adopted synchronized with the resistance.

They concentrated on consensus building and policymaking process as a strategy in order to eliminate the tension in Başıbüyük. According to them, there was a 'cooperation-based understanding' in Holland, which was absent in TOKİ's understanding. Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) told that policy makers organized round table meetings and adopted some principles in order to cater the needs of each social actor. Specialists, such as urban planners, architectures, etc., collected data on needs and demands of people before initiating any planning and implementation process. Notwithstanding, he said that 'This is the lack in our policymaking tradition'[56]. According to him, policy specialists in our country planned and designed each policy without asking local people's opinions. Then, common sense and tolerance were main qualities, which should been adopted for a consensus building process, what our governors and policy makers did not possess according to the critiques of them.

Briefly, leading figures' suggestions on elimination of the tension in Başıbüyük, their approach to other social actors and their perception of the residents of Başıbüyük resembled with each other whereas their approaches to urban transformation varied. This was because their respective economic interests overlapped with each other whereas their political interests conflicted due to their political proximity to the ruling party, AKP. However, their common economic interests surpassed their distinct political interests. In this way, they built an alliance structure among themselves in order to resist their common enemy, *the urban transformation led by TOKİ.*

5.1.1.2.Supporters of gecekondu resistance

Apart from leaders of gecekondu resistance, there were also people who were opposing to urban transformation project executed in Başıbüyük and gave support to

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[56] Bu bizim politika üretme geleneğimizdeki eksiklik.

the resistance. They attended the demonstrations and meetings, deliver leaflets, and supported the legal struggle of the Association. In addition, they joined round table meetings. Most of them stated that they were apolitical persons before urban transformation project was declared. Though they had various political standings; they acted as a unified entity under the umbrella of the Beatification Association.

As being both a Sociologist and a Social Worker, I pay special attention to the standards of living of the residents. The living conditions give a hint about the socio-economic and cultural conditions of people and a specialist can render a decision on what needs to be done and where to start to scope out. Since this group of people was living in worse socio-economic conditions than the residents opposing to resistance in respect of my field observations. For an instance, extended families (with more than 5 households) were generally living in two- room gecekondus. Conditions of the most of the gecekondu were not suitable for a healthy living when conditions of living rooms, kitchens and toilets were considered. Some families had divided their gecekondu in order their married children to live in. Their education level was low. Most of the people were either primary school graduates or they are literate and illiterate. A majority of people working in informal sector, such as cleaning ladies, paper garbage collectors, construction workers, street vendors etc. There were people who were insured under the coverage of General Health Insurance (Yeşil Kart-Green Card)[57]. Most of them were tenants or they lived in the gecekondus of their families.

There were also people who were homeowners that had title assignation documents. Some of them were tradesmen where as some others were retired from state

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[57] Turkey began to implement a new free health service scheme named the Green Card Program for people with one third of minimum wage income level in a household, who were not being covered by other social security institutions, in 1992. The scheme was financed by taxes. This program continued till 2012 when the implementation of of the Green Card was transferred to Social Security and Assistance Funds. General Health Insurance Scheme was extended to all population in 2012 and green card scheme was abolished. When the personal income is above the one third of monthly minimum wage, State finances the health insurance contribution. For further information, please See: Karadeniz, O. (2012). Extension of Health Services Coverage for Needy in Turkey: From Social Assistance to General Health Insurance. In *Sosyal Güvenlik Dergisi, 2012 (2),* pp. 103- 123. Retrieved on November 20, 2014, from:
http://www.sgk.gov.tr/wps/wcm/connect/54684c2c-4fd8-4d5a-b07d-
b36fd7cd383d/makale5.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=54684c2c-4fd8-4d5a-b07d-b36fd7cd383d

institutions or private sector. There were people migrated from Eastern or South Eastern Anatolia as well as from Black Sea Region. Some of the respondents, who especially had migrated to Başıbüyük since 1990s, expressed that they were not a part of social networks supporting them economically and psychologically. In other words, the majority of people could be described as living in 'new poverty'.[58]

Another important detail about local people is the fact that their loyalty to the resistance and the Association was based mainly on their fellow townsman associations or political affiliations. Most of them were AKP sympathizers, but they began to support CHP or other parties after the failure of transformation project. While people supporting the struggle of gecekondu resistance had the similar discourse against urban transformation, their priorities and interests varied because of above mentioned socio- economic diversifications. In this section, I give place to common views adopted by them generally and shared frequently. In this manner, the dominance of the residents' economic interest over political one; the primary importance of acquisition of title deeds; their approach to urban transformation; TOKİ's influence over their physical and psychological well- being; unsuitability of TOKİ's project for Başıbüyük neighborhood; disparities between the residents having title deeds and tenants; the importance of their dwellings for their existence and economic survival; their demand for social policies; their approach to the resistance; and the importance of their neighborhood and solidaristic feelings for their well- being are the issues I elaborate on in this part.

Initially, for the majority of the residents supporting the gecekondu resistance, their economic interests were more dominant than their political interests were. They did not want the resistance to turn into a political one. Therefore, the motive of their strategies was based on their property rights and ownership. Mainly, these people supported the idea that claiming official titles was their civil right just like the leading figures. In addition, they provided that their ability, or inability, to adapt to

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[58] Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001, p.71) explain new poverty within the context of transition from 'scarcity poverty' to 'risk poverty' that are not only related to living under the absolute poverty line. It is also related to people losing their capabilities needed to rehabilitate their standards of living in the future (Ibid. p.72).

new shelters engaged their attention and their economic interests took priority over their political interests. Parallel to the opinions of Ufuk (49- Grocer/ Village headman), some of the residents supporting the resistance did not associate the resistance of Başıbüyük with the resistance or struggle of political groups. In other words, these residents were opposed to the politicization of the gecekondu resistance. In this manner, Oğuz (50- Retired Worker), who was a member of Erzurum- Kars Association for Social Assistance and Solidarity, said that:

> We always tried to avoid the interference of radical groups living in other squatters [such as Gülsuyu- Gülensu] with our resistance and struggles. We organized and acknowledged the youth since we know that their political reaction could be exploited in the expense of our struggle and Başıbüyük people would be reflected as if there were terrorists and radical groups among us.[59]

In accordance with that, when Sultan (30- Cleaning lady) was asked whether she was a member of a political party or an association, she answered that:

> No, I am not. I do not attend to any illegal organizations. Gecekondu problem is just a housing problem for me.[60]

The residents supporting the resistance assumed also that acquisition of title deeds was of primary importance before any kind of urban transformation project. For them, as being the most affected people from the urban transformation project, the final decision maker should have been the residents of Başıbüyük. That's why their resistance was a rightful struggle since they demanded justice. This was also because they asserted that they were not invaders since they paid for their gecekondus, to intermediaries, municipality, or the state. For an instance, Musa (50- Retired Worker) revealed that:

> I asked old village headman to buy his gecekondu. I paid for it and bought the land from the village headman. If it is not legal, how could I pay for an illegal gecekondu?[61]

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[59] Her zaman başka mahallelerde yaşayan radikal grupların direniş ve mücadelemizi etkilemesinden kaçındık. Gençleri organize ettik ve onları bilgilendirdik. Çünkü onların siyasi tepkileri bizim mücadelemizin aleyhine kullanılabilirdi ve sanki Başıbüyüklülerin arasında terörist ve radikal gruplar varmış gibi gösterilebilirdi.

[60] Hayır, değilim. Ben yasadışı örgütlere asla katılmam. Gecekondu sorunu benim için sadece bir konut sorunu.

Similarly, İbrahim (52- Construction Worker) provided that:

Civil servants of municipalities sold lands to us. So, they got unearned income through the lands of state. Then, people newly migrated to cities bought those lands and they paid police officers off. In this way, they built their gecekondus. [62]

Urban transformation in its own was not something very harmful to proponents of gecekondu resistance, according to the information given during the interviews. However, the conditions should have been fair according to these local informants involved in the transformation process. Accordingly, since there were variable ownership statuses (tenants, owners etc.), each type should have been regarded respectively as they proposed. Nevertheless, even though the proponents seemed like a homogenous group, there was a disparity between the priorities of people who had a temporary deed and the priorities of people who were tenants. While people having title assignation documents supported the acquisition of official titles, tenants demanded social housings in which they could shelter and afford economically. That's why their economic interests influenced their approach to ownership question. Nevertheless, the residents having title assignation documents were mistaken as they reduced their struggle to the matter of official title. Çavuşoğlu et. al. (2011, p.17) argue that this fallacy weakens their capacity. That's why they should have harmonized their struggle with issues on access to welfare supports, social solidarity, standards of living in order not to restrict the scope of the struggle to a segmented perception on space.

The residents supporting the resistance also argued that TOKİ's implementations influenced the residents of Başıbüyük both physically and psychologically. Officials adopted a strategy, which was not based on consensus. Rather, their policies were ruthless. They remarked that their discourse relied upon a smear campaign against

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[61] Eski muhtardan bana gecekondusunu satmasını istedim. Bunun için ona para verdim ve muhtarın arsasını satın aldım. Eğer ki yasal değilse, ben yasadışı bir gecekondu için nasıl para ödedim?

[62] Belediyedeki memurlar sattı bize bu arsaları. O zaman onlar devletin arsaları üzerinden haksız kazanç elde ettiler. Sonra, şehirlere yeni göç edenler bu arsaları aldılar ve zabıtalara para ödediler. Böylelikle, gecekondularını yaptılar.

the residents. In this context, they complained about the disproportionate force of the police. Müjgan (47- Retired Worker) told that

> No matter whether police is male or female, they are both ruthless. They do not care about children going to school or journalists doing their jobs. We try to do anything in order the police to aware of the injustice. We have been imposed to gases and some of us injured during the resistances. Some of us had heart attacks and some of us were struck with paralysis. Children were afraid of cops wearing antipathetic cloths. Besides, children were afraid to go to school because of the bombs.[63]

Furthermore, as Müjgan (47- Retired Worker) mentioned they were also verbally abused. Most of the habitants began to use medicines. A boy was injured from his head during the resistances when he was sitting on a terrace. In addition, Musa (50- Retired Worker) indicated that he was harassed and insulted by police and his glasses were broken off. They were also taken into custody. Nobody knew what was happening in Başıbüyük and journalists who tried to unveil the truth were restricted since they were supporting the resistance as he said.

The comments of the respondents contained very important messages on their perception of policy makers and police. In other words, they shared how they developed a particular conceptualization of policy makers and police. Druckman (2007, p. 104) identifies this process as framing. As well, Ayres (2004, p.13) suggests that framing signifies 'meaning work' that is active and contentious process. Hence, their experiences generated a framing of policy makers and this frame embraced 'corruption', 'trick' and animosity towards the residents. In addition, the frame on police was based upon 'smear campaign' and 'brutality'. In the last instance, this framing prompted a reaction from the neighborhood. This reaction manifested in the form of resistance and in building new alliances against antagonists in effort to bring change.

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[63] Polis erkek ya da kadın fark etmez çok acımasız. Okula giden çocukları ya da işlerini yapan gazetecileri bile umursamıyorlar. Polis bu adaletsizliğin farkına varsın diye her şeyi yapmaya çalışıyoruz. Gazlara maruz kaldık, bazılarımız direniş sırasında yaralandı. Bazılarımız kalp krizi geçirdi ve bazılarımız felç geçirdi. Korkunç kıyafetler giyen polislerden korktu çocuklarımız. Hatta, çocuklarımız bombalar yüzünden okula gitmekten bile korktular.

Framing Zaman newspaper, the residents argues that it was one of the media organs, which served as a propaganda tool of the government. They illustrated how Zaman misstated the facts, angled the news and presented the residents as if they were delinquent and criminal. In this respect, İbrahim (52- Construction Worker) defined that:

> Some newspapers issued how white slavery and heroin trade are supported in Başıbüyük. For an instance, Zaman stresses upon the functions of urban transformation project in elimination of the deviant facilities such as prevention of terror in Başıbüyük. Başıbüyük is portrayed as a nest of terrorism. In this way, state is able to inhibit any kind of reaction from public against urban transformation project.[64]

Moreover, proponents of the resistance asserted that TOKİ projects did not provide suitable houses for them, but TOKİ sought for rising rent and creating an environment that would attract prestigious people. TOKİ did not aim at catering the needs of people having variable forms of home ownership according to them. In addition, they treated of policies that were based on the motive expressed as 'fine feathers make fine birds'. Therefore, they argued that the officials supposed Başıbüyük residents as milestones around the neck of the state. In this manner, they specified how TOKİ, Metropolitan Municipality and the government disregarded the vulnerable groups while developing projects. In addition to that, proponents of the resistance assumed that opponents of the resistance support urban transformation projects of TOKİ because they derived personal gain from AKP.

The proponents of the resistance mentioned that since they had lost their trust in Turkish state, they wanted to guarantee their rights, the future of their children and their prosperity. For this reason, they assumed that TOKİ blocks were not economically, socially, and culturally suitable for people of Başıbüyük. As well, they frequently articulated the importance of their neighborhood and solidarity feelings among them. I observed that their emphasis on solidaristic values were sincere since most of them knew their neighbors' family history and put into words during focus

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[64] Bazı gazeteler beyaz kadın ve uyuşturucu ticaretinin Başıbüyük'te desteklendiğini yazdılar. Mesela, Zaman gazetesi kentsel dönüşümün terör gibi sapkın faaliyetlerin ortadan kaldırılmasındaki rolünü vurguladı. Başıbüyük terör yuvasıymış gibi gösterildi. Böylelikle devlet kamuoyundan gelecek kentsel dönüşüme karşı her türlü reaksiyonu durdurabiliyor.

group interviews. According to the proponents of resistance, eviction should not have been inevitable in any kind of urban transformation project and the solution was at the root of a clear decision making process. However, they mentioned that consensus building was not desired by policymakers since their aim was to attract other people to Başıbüyük on the purpose of 'lining their own pockets'. In this sense, Leyla (38- Housewife) said that:

> Başıbüyük is our home. We cannot give up our home! Look at the scene! Rich people pay high amounts of money in order to have a flat in Başıbüyük and to see this scene. Then, TOKİ will sell this scene and displace us from here. Would you move from Başıbüyük if you were in my shoes?[65]

Likewise, the residents mentioned on the solidarity among the neighbors and the importance of being resettled in their own neighborhood in any form of urban transformation project. Saliha (41- Cleaning Lady) said that:

> We do not want to live in those dwellings. Policy makers do not provide comfortable and suitable houses for us. They only search for rent... The relationships among neighbors are very strong and lovely in Başıbüyük. We feel ourselves strong in our neighborhood. So, we are afraid of losing this relationship when they we move to apartment flats.[66]

Furthermore, their homes were indispensable for their existence since a considerable number of them worked in informal sector, such as garbage collectors, construction workers, street vendors, cleaning lady etc. or earn very low wages. I encountered with tenants whose handcarts (çek çek) were waiting in front of their gecekondus. For this reason, need in comprehensive social policies became apparent during the interviews. In this manner, Hatun (42- Housewife) said that:

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[65] Başıbüyük bizim evimiz. Evimizden vazgeçemeyiz! Şu manzaraya bak! Zengin insanlar Başıbüyük'te bir ev almak ve bu manzarayı görmek için bir sürü para veriyorlar. Demek ki, TOKİ bu manzarayı satacak ve bizi buradan sürecek. Sen benim yerimde olsan Başıbüyük'ten taşınır mıydın?

[66] Biz o evlerde yaşamak istemiyoruz. Politika yapıcılar bizim için rahat ve uygun ev sunmuyorlar. Sadece rant peşindeler! Komşuların arasındaki ilişkiler çok kuvvetli ve sıcak Başıbüyük'te. Kendi mahallemizde kendimizi güçlü hissediyoruz. Dolayısıyla, apartman dairesine geçince bu ilişkiyi kaybetmekten korkuyoruz.

State does not care about social welfare and rights of workers or retired people. It is supposed by policy makers as if you have wage, you can survive and move to TOKİ houses. However, most of us are already indebted to banks.[67]

Concerning social services, this group of people demanded provision of effective social policies that would compensate the unintended consequences of urban transformation process. Müjgan (47- Retired Worker), who was a member of both local association and CHP and a responsible in women's committee in Başıbüyük, shared her demand of effective social policies and criticized of AKP's mentality on social services. I observed that her interest in politics and her economic independence provided her with self- esteem and assertiveness. She did not hesitate to underlie her trust in CHP rule within the context of urban transformation and social services. She highlighted the importance of the political goals of the resistance in order the resistance to lead to success:

> Social welfare is not an arbitrary service of any municipality. Rather, this is the state's duty to its citizens. AKP tried to create a mass that would not oppose to the rule and would be faithful to their understanding from welfare services. Since a social democratic party or CHP has not ruled Maltepe Municipality for so long, it is very hard to apply social democratic policies suddenly or interrupt the polices of former administration. New administration needs much more time to adapt itself and apply its own policies. However, nobody cares how AKP ridiculed upon the residents of Başıbüyük! They only blame the failure of the urban transformation on CHP and the resistors! Tilki Köse[68] called us as handful of 'freebooters' and he did not take any notice of our needs. Further, prior village headman (muhtar) did not inform us to turn our temporary titled into official ones. Is not everything blindingly obvious?! Local people are insensible and they do not know how we have resisted to the invidious treatments of AKP rule. We have tried to inform them about the citizenship rights.[69]

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[67] Devlet işçilerin ya da emeklilerin sosyal refahını ya da haklarını umursamıyor. Yöneticiler zannediyor ki, senin maaşın varsa sen hayatta kalabilirsin ve TOKİ'nin evlerine yerleşebilirsin. Ama, bizim çoğumuz zaten bankaya borçluyuz ki…

[68] The residents of Başıbüyük supporting the resistance call Fikri Köse, the prior mayor from AKP (2004-2009), as Tilki Köse, due to the similarity in pronunciation between the words 'Fikri' and 'Tilki' (the fox), in order to divulgate their belief in malevolence, fraud, sly and vigilant character of Fikri Köse. As well, the fox is known with its sly, fraud and vigilant character colloquially.

[69] Sosyal yardım hiçbir belediyenin keyfi hizmeti değildir. Tersine, bu devletin vatandaşına karşı görevidir. AKP kendisine karşı çıkmayacak ve kendisinin sosyal yardım anlayışına boyun eğecek bir kitle yarattı. Uzun

The residents supporting the resistance also pointed to the women's role in the gecekondu resistance. One of the leaders, Ufuk (49- Grocer/ Village headman), had provided that police chose to visit Başıbüyük when men were at work or somewhere else. That's why men were not the objects of police in most of the demonstrations and demolishment. In this respect, Saliha (41- Cleaning Lady) told that:

> Police treated more harshly when men resisted. So, we decided to take an active role in resistance in order to protect our husbands, friends, brothers etc. But, it is not just that. My gecekondu is my honor. Women keep their purity *intra muros*. So, this resistance is the struggle of women and we do not want to give their homes to someone else. [70]

In a few words, economic interests of local residents that supported the gecekondu resistance had strong influence over their perceptions of other social actors and approaches to urban transformation. Politicization of their resistance was essential as long as it provided the residents of Başıbüyük with official title and economic benefits at the end as most of them indicated. Though there were people who were active in politics and political organization, they were in minority. In this sense, Ada's (57- Ironmonger) approach, which was not based on political interests, was similar to the local residents' approach whereas they dissented with Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) and Ufuk (49- Grocer/ Village headman) in politicization of the resistance and the Association. As a finding of the field research, though there were political elements in their resistance, such as organizing meetings, delivering leaflets, protesting the government and attending to meetings against privatization of public institutions, people kept those political elements in the background as a

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zamandan beri bir sosyal demokrat parti ya da CHP yönetimde olmadığı için, sosyal demokrat politikaları bir anda uygulamak ya da önceki yönetimin uygulamalarını bir anda kesmek çok zor. Yeni yönetimin alışması ve kendini politikalarını uygulayabilmesi için az biraz daha zamana ihtiyacı var. Ama kimse AKP'nin nasıl Başıbüyük halkı ile dalga geçtiğini umursamıyor! Herkes kentsel dönüşümün başarısızlığından CHP'yi ve direnişçileri sorumlu tutuyor. Tilki Köse bize bir avuç çapulcu dedi ve bizim ihtiyaçlarımızı umursamadı bile! Dahası, önceki muhtar tapu tahsis belgelerimizi resmi tapulara çevirmemiz hakkında bize bilgi vermedi. Her şey apaçık ortada değil mi? Yerel halk umursamaz ve onlar bilmiyorlar ki biz nasıl mücadele ettik AKP yönetiminin acımasız davranışlarına karşı…

[70] Erkekler direndiğinde polisler daha acımasız davrandılar. O nedenle, biz de bir karar aldık, direnişte aktif rol almak ve eşlerimizi, arkadaşlarımızı, kardeşlerimizi korumak için. Ama, sadece bu değil. Benim gecekondum benim namusumdur. Kadınlar namuslarını duvarlar arasında korurlar. Bu yüzden, direniş kadın mücadelesi ve biz evlerimizi başkalarına vermek istemiyoruz.

strategic choice in order not to be divided into separate political groups. Their main motive was the acquisition of title deeds and provision of their property rights.

5.1.2. External Supporters of the gecekondu resistance

Gecekondu resistance is not limited by locality and space. Since it is a social phenomenon, which surpasses time and space, it has social connections with other social realities, relations and structures such as public and private sector, civil society and the social relations developed within these structures. In other words, existence of external actors is essential for gecekondu resistance or for a particular social movement as is the existence of internal social actors. The external actors being involved in the urban transformation process affect the organization, content, and direction of the resistance. Change occurs 'within a network of social influences' as Cole, Rios & Holtgrave (2008) indicate. As well, Cole, Rios & Holtgrave (2008) say that social factors can aid, retard or undermine the efforts of personal change. In this respect, social support, as a source of social factor, 'may… have considerable influence on cost- benefit assessments and self- efficacy beliefs'. In other words, the support of external actors provides the resisters to trust in their success and their organization. Hence, their determination is affected by this support.

The neighborhood activism is interpreted through the network of social scientists, social workers and architects etc. (Assies, 1999, p. 12). While both external and internal actors can share the same discourse, their long term perspectives or strategies may change, as it is the case in Brazil. As Assies (1999, p. 12) remarks, the support of middle class affects the achievements of grassroots activism. Such a relationship is supposed to provide 'a transfer of cultural discursive resources or symbolic capital' and empower the resistance whereas 'practical pursuits and strategic interests' of middle/professional class should be taken into consideration within the context of a specific political conjuncture. The role of professionals in new social movements may shift from mobilization and consciousness-raising to 'training' that underlines a shift in knowledge interests (Ibid.).

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In this manner, I elaborate on the content of support by social actors who were external to the neighborhood. In addition, I provide interests and priorities, perceptions and strategies of external social actors; such as Maltepe Municipality, EMEP (EMEK Partisi- Labour Party), some academicians and officials, who visited Başıbüyük within the context of Open City Istanbul International Conference at IBU and from Holland I aim at revealing how their support affects the organization, content and direction of the resistance.

5.1.2.1.Maltepe Municipality

The Maltepe Municipality was one of the social actors engaged in urban transformation experience in Maltepe Başıbüyük. The municipality formed various coalitions with various social actors as well as coincided with some social actors on urban transformation. However, it is very difficult to provide a holistic data on the approaches, interests, priorities, etc. of the municipality due to several reasons. First, the municipal administration changed hand from AKP to CHP after 2009 local elections. I made the interviews after 2010 and this study contains the opinions of administration under CHP rule. Second, though I convey herein the opinions of 3 officials serving at the Maltepe Municipality, it is not appropriate to adopt a common perspective for the Municipality, since such officials were furnished with different ideologies, technical knowledge and approaches to urban transformation. Those opinions will only give hint for general and legal framework.

Within this context, I made interviews with two people from the Maltepe Municipality, namely with Ahmet (51- Civil Engineer) and Tuğçe (41- Urban Planner and Designer). In addition, I recorded the opinions of Yusuf (58- Survey and Cadastre Engineer) - during a meeting held within the framework of round table meetings- and Tuğçe (41- Urban Planner and Designer) - during the Open City Istanbul International Conference. The reason why I chose to interview these officials was the fact that they had technical knowledge on urban transformation and they were responsible from urban transformation in Başıbüyük.

Ahmet (51- Civil Engineer) was a Civil Engineer, who was a council member representing CHP. Besides, he served as a member of CHP in the council during the AKP administration. That's why he was acquainted with whole process of urban transformation in Başıbüyük. Second, Yusuf (58) was a Survey and Cadaster Engineer and a council member representing CHP[71]. His opinions were quite different from those of other two officials since he was prone to socialist paradigm to a certain degree and he served as the Head of a Chamber[72] that is opposed to 'neo-liberalist', 'rent oriented' and 'top- down urban transformation'[73]. In addition, he considered the ownership issue as the core of the subject in contrast to other officials. Third, Tuğçe (41- Urban Planner and Designer) was an Urban Planner and Designer serving at the Municipality and she is responsible for Başıbüyük. In addition, she was transferred from the Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Department. The approaches of these social actors are categorized according to the conflicting opinions between the urban transformation as a technical issue and as a social issue.

To begin with, Ahmet (51- Civil Engineer) remarked that the main stress should be 'the welfare of the residents of Başıbüyük'. In other words, he prioritized the social aspects of the issue. He proposed that providing shelter to people in the framework of right to housing was their mission. Related to this issue, Yusuf (58- Survey and Cadaster Engineer) told that his priority was to serving to public as a social responsibility. Similar to what Ahmet (51- Civil Engineer) said, Yusuf (58- Survey and Cadaster Engineer) provided that when officials disregarded the right of citizens, public good was hard to be realized. That's why before implementation of any transformation project, the problems about ownership and rent should have been

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[71] This part is cited from the speech of Yusuf (58) at a roundtable meeting held in Başıbüyük on May 18, 2010.

[72] Türkiye Mimarlar ve Mühendisler Odası Birliği/ Harita ve Kadastro Müh. Odası Istanbul Şubesi Yönetim Kurulu Başkanlığı- Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects/ Head of Chamber of Survey and Cadastre Engineers.

[73] TMMOB 43. Dönem Çalışma Programı. (n.d.). In *Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği*. Retrieved on August 17, 2014, from
http://www.tmmob.org.tr/belgeler/calisma-programi

resolved. Then, Yusuf's (58- Survey and Cadaster Engineer) policy priority was solving 'the ownership question in Başıbüyük'.

Contrarily, Tuğçe (41- Urban Planner and Designer) underlined the importance of technical knowledge and technical concerns in urban transformation implementation in Başıbüyük. She supported that urban transformation in Başıbüyük was essential since it was for maintaining legality in housing market and offering a planned urbanization for city dwellers. However, according to her, proponents of resistance and other political actors did not accept this reality and set the consensus building process back. On the other hand, Ahmet (51- Civil Engineer) provided that he was in a reconciliatory manner with the resistance. According to him, the resistance emerged in Başıbüyük was a rightful grassroots social movement. However, though the resistance and struggle emerged as 'a social reaction for defending residents' rights to housing', it turned into 'a struggle for rent' as he remarked. He stated that each social actor had an eye over the rent in Başıbüyük regardless of her/his political or economic interests. In addition, he provided that since the residents of Başıbüyük were criticizing and protesting the Municipality, it was very difficult to take an action and develop a consensus building process in Başıbüyük. In other words, he also pointed to the technical concerns within the framework of urban transformation:

Başıbüyük is not a gecekondu settlement anymore. Some people enclosed lands when they came to Başıbüyük. Now, they make a claim on those lands. There are 1700 dwellings in Başıbüyük and only 20 percent of them are real gecekondus. So our primary mission is to provide sheltering to those people in the framework of right to housing. There are such dwellings on the hill that were built on the rocks. Those are the real gecekondus. The important thing is to resolve their problem. The other ones are not gecekondu since there are multiplex buildings among them.[74]

For this reason, Ahmet (51- Civil Engineer) assumed that the development plan produced by the Municipality would never overlap with the one existing in the residents' minds since planning connotes to different things for the Municipality and

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[74] Başıbüyük artık bir gecekondu yerleşimi değil. Bazıları Başıbüyük'e geldiğinde arsaları çevirmişler. Şimdi bu arsaları istiyorlar. Başıbüyük'te 1700 tane konut var ve bunların sadece yüzde yirmisi gerçekten gecekondu. Dolayısıyla, bizim başlıca görevimiz, barınma hakkı kapsamında bu insanlara konut sunmak. Tepede öyle evler var ki, kayaların üzerine kurulmuşlar. Onlar gerçekten gecekondu. Önemli olan onların problemini çözmek. Diğerlerinin arasında çok katlı binalar olduğu için onlar gerçekten gecekondu değiller.

the residents. However, as he specified, he tried to keep the balance between the residents' demands and needs and the restrictions of TOKİ. In this manner, Yusuf (58- Survey and Cadaster Engineer) provided that the residents began to defend their economic benefit and he argued that:

> Local people do not accept that right to ownership cannot be acquired easily because of legal limitations and sanctions. The resistance results in seeking material benefit rather than being a rightful movement. There is a 100 percent victimhood in TOKİ's projects, it is true. That's why the solution comes after a consensus building process in which social actors smooth their cupidity. [75]

Yusuf (58- Survey and Cadaster Engineer) addressed to the alternative urban projects to TOKİ's while Ahmet (51- Civil Engineer) indicated that a joint protocol singed with TOKİ constrained the maneuver room for Maltepe Municipality because of technical concerns. Therefore, law-abiding was a priority for him as an official and a technical person. He supported the idea that TOKİ project was not suitable for the social fabric in Başıbüyük and TOKİ had economic benefits from this project. Çavuşoğlu (2011, p.12) mentions that the hegemonic discourse is based upon the illegality of the residents as of being occupants, rentier, etc. Due to this reason, local politicians legitimize the demolishment in the neighborhood by referring to the supremacy of the laws and state policy whereas they tender various profits to the residents. This ambivalence stems from a traditional interest of populist political parties with the aim of partnering to urban rent (Ibid., p. 21).

Furthermore, Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010, p. 13) argue that the urban transformation projects are the consequences of the strategies of municipalities in order to boost the urban rent and redefine property structures. This inconsistency of Maltepe Municipality arises from what Çavuşuğlu et. al (2011, p. 21) state as traditional interests of populist political parties or Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010, p. 13) propose as strategies of municipalities to boost the urban rent and redefine property structures. The Municipality implicitly was in the search of increasing its rent. On the other, a

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[75] Yerel halk mülkiyet hakkının yasal sınırlılıklar nedeniyle kolay edinilemeyeceğini kabul etmiyorlar. Direniş haklı bir mücadele yerine maddi çıkar peşinden koşmaya neden oldu. TOKİ projesinde yüzde yüz mağduriyet var, doğru. Bu nedenle, çözüm sosyal aktörlerin açgözlülüklerini törpülediği bir mutabakat sürecinden sonra gelecek …

decrease in its vote and political support would have threatened its re- election for the next term.

Yusuf (58- Survey and Cadaster Engineer) addressed to also the consensus building process where universities and NGOs could balance the needs of various social actors. In other words, he paid special attention to the social aspects of the urban transformation. However, Tuğçe (41- Urban Planner and Designer) specified that her perspective on urban transformation was influenced by her background and referred to technical aspects of the issue. For this reason, being impartial and professional was very important for her. In this manner, she says that TOKİ became a prerequisite social actor for the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük of Maltepe district after the protocol had been signed between Maltepe Municipality (under AKP rule), IBB and TOKİ. She acknowledged that TOKİ projects were one-sided and far from being comprehensive. However, she suggested that NGOs, international actors and universities had the ability to overcome the deficiencies. So, their involvement is of primary importance.

Representative Officials at Maltepe Municipality concentrated on 'policymaking' and 'consensus building' processes. As well, while Ahmet (51- Civil Engineer) and Yusuf (58- Survey and Cadaster Engineer) concentrated on social aspects, Tuğçe (41- Urban Planner and Designer) spoke heavily on technical issues. Ahmet (51- Civil Engineer) said that coming to the table with NGOs and universities should be a strategy in order to enrich the policymaking process. Yusuf (58- Survey and Cadaster Engineer) suggested the development of cooperatives as a solution to housing problem. He also underlined the importance of meetings in order to inform people about the process and understand their needs and demands. In line with him, Tuğçe (41- Urban Planner and Designer) emphasized the problems arising out of the implementation of urban transformation project and realization of a strategic planning/ consensus building process in Başıbüyük. Respectively, ownership questions, economic conditions, the type of planning and legal framework were main problems that the policy makers could not go beyond easily. She also referred to a consensus building process into which various stakeholders would integrate their

interests, priorities, and 'future strategies' in order to come up with a common sense in a holistic framework. In this way, social actors would not to be stuck in the past. She adopted Amsterdam Principles through round table meetings in order to verify the validity of 'strategic planning'[76] which concentrated on urban transformation only as an area of specialization:

1. People should be open to agreement and disagreement.

   There can be controversies. As well, everybody has different interests and priorities

2. One person should do what s/he has promised.

3. Everybody should be transparent because good communication is very crucial.

4. One person should not stigmatize anyone and leave his/ her biases aside.

According to her, all of the partners having different interests should have been integrated into the urban transformation process in order for implanting an integrated and an effective strategic planning for the issue under question within the framework of a technical improvement. First of all, these partners or actors should have been agreed upon the goal of this aggregation: Consensus building at the end of the process. Then, the rules should have been set up and have been brief and to the point as everyone would understand. That's why all kind agreements and disagreements were acceptable as long as the consensus building process did not go wrong and the confrontations did not transform into personal gain or attrition campaign. Becoming partners, good communication and consensus building process would ease the tension in the neighborhood and the process would become more productive than before. Hence, the dialogue between the social actors or partners would guide them in order to develop the best project, which was statutory, for Başıbüyük. Still, she could not set a course for Maltepe Municipality and could not give any example of what Maltepe Municipality did concerning the fulfillment of these objectives.

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[76] A strategy is a structured set of actions designed to achieve a particular goal. It is effectively a meta project that includes a collection of projects. A strategy is expected to provide a realistic guidance to the effective allocation of municipal resources such as human, physical or financial resources. As well, an integrated approach of strategy should regard the coordination and cooperation of all sectors and related institutions, departments, and other relevant organizations. In this respect, partnership building is related to creation of effective networks and trust among different interest groups within the municipality and it is necessary to overcome the complex challenges that local governments face. For further information, please See: Municipal Development Strategy Process. A toolkit for practitioners. (2010). In *VNG INTERNATIONAL*. Retrieved on November 30, 2014, from:
http://www.vng-
international.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/downloads/publicationsAndTools/Toolkit_Municipal_Development_Strat
egy_Process_ENG.pdf

Likewise, Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010, p. 12) argue that Maltepe Municipality could not accomplish in organizing and carrying out 'comprehensive surveys about the urgent needs of... vulnerable groups' in order to improve the residents' living conditions in terms of education, health care and employment. Just because of this, the objectives provided by her did not stand on their own feet.

To summarize, the social network and alliance between the Association and the Municipality dated back to the preparation period for 2009 local elections. Social networks and the area of influence of CHP eased the period for residents. The support of the Association and social networks of some of the residents and community leaders increased the votes of CHP in return. However, as CHP came to power in Maltepe, the administration was abhorrent to its own promises and the vicious circle stayed on. Şen and Türkmen (2014, p. 186) argue that nothing has changed since CHP came to power since it could not provide an alternative solution for gridlock of urban transformation. Briefly, officials at Maltepe Municipality concentrated on ownership structure, consensus building and policymaking process. They supported long-term solutions to urban transformation issue whereas the residents of Başıbüyük, who supported the resistance, sought for immediate solutions. Nevertheless, both groups supported the consensus building process at the end. In addition, Maltepe Municipality could not disregard the existence of TOKİ because of technical and legal concerns while the residents looked for alternative projects to replace TOKİ's. Proponents of the resistance defended their rightfulness against to common views of officials, which was described as transformation of a right seeking resistance into a material benefit oriented movement. This revealed that both groups had lost their trust in each other. For this reason, I believe that a new trust-building process was necessary for social actors who had interdependent benefits.

5.1.2.2. EMEP (EMEK Partisi- Labour Party)

Media played a significant role for the development and recognition of grassroots movements and gecekondu resistance against urban transformation in Başıbüyük. Some media organs criticized the movement and reflected local inhabitants as if they were involved in illegal works and activities whereas some others supported their struggle and helped them to be organized and to become popular. Hence, the newspaper Evrensel and HAYAT TV were the best examples for media organs supporting struggles of Başıbüyük people. Another reason for their being as the best example for this study is the fact that they were the media organs of a political party, EMEP (EMEK Partisi- Labour Party)[77] that was different from AKP and CHP as of not being a populist political party.

I made an interview with Salih (33- Journalist), who was a journalist at Evrensel and Hayat TV. As a journalist and a political activist, he had experienced the whole period in Başıbüyük until 2008. Salih (33- Journalist), as a highly political identity, reflected the opinions of EMEP on gecekondu resistance and urban transformation. Besides, the leaders of the resistance addressed him when I asked them to name a contact at EMEP. That's why I chose to interview with Salih (33- Journalist). EMEP's articulation into the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük started from the fact that EMEP was very interested in resistance movements and Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) had close social network with leftist political groups such as EMEP. His sayings are classified according to the role of EMEP in organization of the gecekondu resistance; the relationship between working class struggle, democratization efforts and the urban transformation; and the role of NGOs in policymaking process.

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[77] EMEP identifies itself as a Marxist- Leninist political party which is opposed to the exploitation of working class by capitalist system. EMEP is also opposed to dependency on the USA, European Union and IMF. In addition, it objects to nationalism (especially the dominance of Turkish identity) and welcomes the support of other identities, especially the Kurdish identity. For further information, please visit the official website of EMEK Partisi. *EMEK Partisi*. (2015). Retrieved on March, 29, 2015, from:
http://emep.org/

Initially, Salih (33- Journalist) remarked that the residents of Başıbüyük stood shoulder to shoulder even though there were people from various cultural and social identities in the neighborhood. Nevertheless, according to him, they were weak in getting organized, resisting against a common enemy and coming together around working class struggle. As opposed to other social actors such as Maltepe Municipality and CHP, Salih (33- Journalist) as well as EMEP concentrated heavily on getting organized, referring to working class struggle and making the struggle being politicized. Hence he said:

> Başıbüyük is a conservative community. Thus, the political culture and history of Başıbüyük residents are not suitable for radical politics. However, the residents of Başıbüyük are very creative when showing their anger. That is why they require opportunities for awareness-raising to improve their skills.[78]

Besides, Salih (33- Journalist) emphasized its role of EMEP, Evrensel Newspaper and HAYAT TV in organization of grassroots movement in Başıbüyük and public's awareness in the Başıbüyük case. In this respect, Kriesi (2004, p. 70) sees the media and the interest groups as one of the protagonists of social movements. In addition, Çavuşoğlu et. al. (2011, p.12) observe that some media organs consider the lives of the residents or their victimhood as materials of news. Moreover, Salih's (33- Journalist) stress on EMEP's influence of gecekondu resistance collides with Erder's (Akman, 2009) proposition on the spontaneity of resistance movements that are not interfered with any rightest or leftist groups. That's why Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) refused Salih's (33- Journalist) assumption since he anticipated that gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük had emerged spontaneously as a reaction to unjust urban transformation implementations without being affected by any political ideology. The actuality of Salih's (33- Journalist) and Taylan's (58- Retired) different political positions should not have been given up and this dissention was a reflection of different political interests.

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[78] Başıbüyük muhafazakâr bir cemaat. Bu nedenle, Başıbüyüklülerin siyasi kültürü ve geçmişi radikal siyasete müsait değil. Ama, Başıbüyüklüler kızgınlıklarını gösterirken çok yaratıcı oluyorlar. Bu nedenle, yeteneklerini geliştirmek için farkındalık yaratmak için fırsatlara ihtiyaçları var.

The other disparity of EMEP was based upon its reconcilement of the gecekondu resistance with other oppression areas within the society as EMEP concentrated on awareness rising facilities. Salih (33- Journalist) asserted that EMEP played a very crucial role in organizing the resistance and awareness raising activities for the residents of Başıbüyük. In this respect, EMEP sympathizers arranged street meetings. They got in touch with influential community leaders such as the heads of fellow countrymen associations and the Imam (Muslim religious leader in a mosque) in order to persuade him on the necessity of resistance and they attended religious meetings since Başıbüyük community was a conservative one. As well, they tried to integrate the Kurdish problem and oppression on workers in general. As Salih (33- Journalist) remarked unless other people had a thorough knowledge of the gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük, their struggle would have remained as a space-limited social movement. Therefore, they tried to make themselves popular to get the attention of public. He pointed out that they covered the experiences of residents of Başıbüyük and shared this information via Evrensel newspaper and Hayat TV in order to make their struggle visible.

According to Salih (33- Journalist), the main problem in Başıbüyük was about working class struggle against capitalist repressive state. According to him, this struggle of Başıbüyük residents was highly related to the struggle of Tekel workers[79] or of Kurdish people. According to him, this was why EMEP took urban transformation seriously and regarded it in the political framework. They invited the local residents of Başıbüyük to attend the protests against General Health Insurance. In this respect, various oppression areas should have supported each other's struggle to open up new democratization areas according to the agenda of EMEP. Based upon

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[79] Thousands of workers were exposed to mass unemployment due to privatizations in public institutions such as Tekel enterprises that produce cigarette and alcohol initially in 2009. Moreover, these workers' rights of social security were reduced and these workers were shifted to different sectors within the state under poor conditions. Or their working conditions deteriorated which means that they were obliged to work until they would finish the tasks assigned to them and they would be paid no extra wage for this Thereupon, mass demonstrations and struggle against this ill- treatment and the police forces started to stage a sneaky attack agains the workers. For further information, please See: Turkey: Solidarity with Tekel workers' resistance against governments and unions!. (January 20, 2010). In *International Communist Current*. Retrieved on November 30, 2014, from: http://en.internationalism.org/icconline/2010/01/tekel-turkey

this, Çavuşoğlu et.al. (2011, pp. 21- 22) touch upon of the role of organized, left-leaning political groups, which are solidaristic and update their political benefits for the benefit of the residents. Accordingly, they consent to struggles against the demolishment of gecekondus by reason of being a political reaction against capitalist system (Ibid.). But, anti- demolishment discourses have pitfalls in the cause of not making a tremendous impact on the political mobilization of right- leaning groups (Ibid. p.22). Residents living in dominated by rightest ideology try to resolve their problems by the way of negotiation/ dialogue instead of developing a method based upon claiming their rights. Then these politically organized groups should act in solidarity with these right- leaning groups in order them to rely on struggle and achieve their rights and claims (Ibid.).

Urban transformation in Başıbüyük was an unjust treatment to the residents of Başıbüyük from Salih's (33- Journalist) point of view. The ownership question victimized people against any kind of project. He provided that EMEP members did not support any urban transformation project since it was one of the mechanisms of capitalist urban relations. Salih (33- Journalist) accused both state and municipalities for behaving malevolently. Their actual intent was to evict working class out of Istanbul in order to make room for elite people, according to him. However, this victimhood should have been eliminated preliminarily. Very first thing to be done before any urban transformation project was granting the residents their right to acquire title deeds. In this way, the residents of Başıbüyük would take part in the process as equal partners. The difference of EMEP from other social actors lies behind the fact that its members supported the right to private property since for the victimhood would abate as they acquire property ownership. In other words, they supported the acquisition of right to private property as long as the residents were put in the same footing with other social actors. Even though Maltepe Municipality, proponents of resistance and EMEP were like-minded as regards to an effective consensus and policymaking process, their priorities, especially the ownership questions, changed according to their political and economic interests.

Further, EMEP also referred to the importance of NGOs' roles in urban transformation. It invited non- governmental organizations such TMMOB (Türk Mimarlar Mühendisler Odası Birliği- Union of Chamber of Turkish Engineers and Architects) trade unions, and artists such as Sine- Sen (Sinema Emekçileri Sendikası- Cinema Workers' Union) with the purpose to develop public opinion on urban transformation in Başıbüyük. Moreover, since the struggle embodied the whole society, women constituted the indispensable part of this struggle, according to him. That's to say that organization of women was very important for any political activism in Başıbüyük since women were more determined, resistant and stoic than men. In this manner, they assigned a woman being responsible for each street and a committee of women was established.

While the arguments around independence and spontaneity of local resistance lengthening on, according to my point of view and my experiences in the field, the movement had already become politicized due to their common discourses; the way they demonstrated their reactions - despite it rested upon religious values-; and the problems they addressed to though the movement is based on economic concerns. Nonetheless, all that matters was that all actors pointed out the importance of consensus and a plural policymaking process.

5.2.1.3. Academicians at Istanbul Bilgi University (IBU)

Universities also kept abreast of the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük. As well, founders of the Association visited and consulted with universities in an effort to come by better alternatives to TOKİ's urban transformation project. The role of a few academicians at IBUwas one the most important cases on how the Association and universities acted in collaboration since information exchange was very profound and they frequently visited Başıbüyük within the framework of both round table meetings and the university projects they carried out with their students. University served as a bridge between NGOs (local association), private sector, and state (municipality) within the framework of Open City Istanbul International

Conference[80] which was organized with the contributions of DEPO Istanbul, Dutch Consulate General to Istanbul, International Rotterdam Architecture Biennial, City of Rotterdam Art and Culture, University of Stuttgart Germany and Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture. It was carried out in SantralIstanbul[81] on May 8, 2010. Moreover, visits were arranged to and from abroad and allowed people to benefit from experiences of foreign people and other cities such as Berlin, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam. In this context, members of local association, municipality, and university visited Rotterdam and Berlin. Likewise, academicians and officials from Rotterdam and Amsterdam, who came to Istanbul within the context of Open City Istanbul International Conference, visited Başıbüyük. This visit came around with the participation of the residents. In this way, people from different political and social cultures and cities generated a common ground that afforded academicians, officials, local residents etc. an opportunity for an exchange of knowledge and experience within the context of on urban transformation implementations.

I attended a round meeting and Open City Istanbul International Conference and the information I present herein below were recorded during these meetings and biennial. In this context, I give place to opinions of 3 academic members of the university. In addition, I met students who were preparing an alternative urban transformation project for Başıbüyük, which would be presented to Maltepe

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[80] This international conference was arranged paralled to Open City Istanbul Exhibition in 2010. It aimed at encouraging architects, planners, development specialists, municipalities and the representatives of squatters in presenting their opinions and visions on socially and ecologically sustainable urban transformation in Istanbul. The participants from Maltepe, Arnavutköy and Sarıyer districts shared their experiences and problems encountered during the urban transformation process. As well, the responsibilities shared the outcomes, alternative urban transformation scenarios, concepts and methods of workshops lasted for 3 days. Başıbüyük urban transformation project was one of the case studies that was integrated into the conference and a session was organized for Başıbüyük case. Moreover, international case studies, suggestions and researches were shared by foreign guests, For further information, please See: Sergi ve Tartışma: Açık Şehir Istanbul Uluslararası Konferansı. (2010). In *Depo, Istanbul*. Retrieved on November 20, 2014, from:
http://www.depoIstanbul.net/tr/activites_detail.asp?ac=28

[81] It is the Eyüp Campus of Istanbul Bilgi University. It is described as a state- of- the- art center in Istanbul. The building has been an old coal- operated thermal power plant, a relic from the Ottoman Empire. I was called Silahtarağa Power Plant before. After it was closed in 1983, Silahtarağa stayed idle till 2004 and this plant was consigned to Istanbul Bilgi University by the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources. It is now an art and education center under the name SantralIstanbul. For further information, please See: The 'information' plant: SantralIstanbul. (n.d.). In *istanbul.com*. Retrieved on November 20, 2014, from:
http://www.Istanbul.com/en/explore/places/the-information-plant-of-Istanbul-santralIstanbul

Municipality. I also try to diffuse main themes of their project within the views of some academicians at Bilgi University, who were very active in Başıbüyük case. I had better to state that these academicians do not represent the common view of Bilgi University on urban transformation and gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük. But, since these academicians were working at the same university and they initiated facilities on Başıbüyük by the support and involvement of İhsan Bilgin, who was the Dean of Faculty of Architecture, I chose to sum up under the heading of Bilgi University.

To mention of the outstanding figures from University, one of the actors at Istanbul Bilgi University was Yaşar (40), who was an academic member at Architectural Design Master Program. He generally expressed urban transformation issue in Başıbüyük as a technical problem. Another actor, Güzide (57), was an academic member at Faculty of Communication of IBU and a member of Advisory Committee of Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture. She specified that the suffering of Başıbüyük residents resulted from insufficiency of experience and knowledge in urban transformation. The last actor at Bilgi University, whose views I integrated into my thesis, was Mahir (45). He was a Studio Instructor at Faculty of Architecture of Bilgi University, who mentioned the importance of urban social movements, one of which was the grassroots movement emerged spontaneously in Başıbüyük. Their concentration on (1) lack in technical experience and an adequate knowledge on urban transformation, (2) ownership question in Başıbüyük and (3) lack of a consensus building process and a comprehensive urban transformation project are discussed in this part.

Before giving information on what academicians provided, it will be 'eye- opening' to mention on an alternative urban transformation project suggested by Bilgi University. At the beginning, Bilgi University approached the tension in Başıbüyük within the context of architectural concerns. The graduate students of Architectural Design engaged in Studios in which projects were performed, focusing on the transformation problematic on three different contexts, one of which was Başıbüyük in 2010. One of the Studio leaders was Mahir (45- Studio Instructor). The students

and the Studio leaders tried to find out whether a new perspective, which was distinct from TOKİ's, could be developed and whether right to the city could be concerned within the context of urban transformation. According to the information given by Studio students, the project team set several stages for the alternative urban transformation project. Each stage depended on a certain socio- economic group. The authenticity of the project lied at the roof of allowing the local residents stay in their own neighborhood and being an in- situ urban transformation project. This project was also improved later on. The University's cooperation with the Association and field research conducted in Başıbüyük prompted it to lean on social concerns in the neighborhood. After organizing a series of meetings with the residents of Başıbüyük and the Maltepe Municipality, the academicians developed an alternative urban transformation project, which included the social concerns and priorities as it covered also the economic ones.

This project was planned to be financed by World Bank and to offer a solution for ownership question. According to the principles of this project, the local residents of Başıbüyük would be provided with right to use social housing which could not be disentitled by the state or any other authority and the right would be handed down to one's child/ren. Tenants could benefit from same rights as the owners. However, the resident would not have the right to sell their flats as a private property since it would be accepted that the state would have the property rights. This would be a large scale housing project and it would include middle or upper class citizens who would like to own a property through purchase. The project was presented in February 2011 to Maltepe Municipality. Majority of the residents of Başıbüyük leaned towards this project. Though Maltepe Municipality looked on this project with favor, the project was rejected later on and again Municipality decided to proceed with TOKİ.

To begin with, Yaşar (40- Academician) heavily criticized TOKİ, which is dependent upon state and government. To put it briefly, these academicians regarded the urban transformation as a technical issue like some of the officials at Maltepe Municipality did. He remarked that TOKİ should not have assume itself as of being a 'contractor firm' or 'an individual'; rather was an institution, which had to have social and

technical concerns. He supported the idea that TOKİ had the necessary material and immaterial resources in order to realize its projects. According to him, the shortness originated from lack in experience and adequate knowledge. The TOKİ buildings in Başıbüyük were meaningless due to the socio- cultural context as far as he remarked. In this respect, the government, municipalities and TOKİ made a strategic mistake. Further, this was a failure of specialists, who engaged in this project as he said. As well, Güzide (57- Academician) remarked the shortness of experience and knowledge and pointed out that:

> The victimhood of the residents of Başıbüyük results from shortness of experience and knowledge of policy makers. Municipality under CHP rule does not have any 'spadework' or 'preparatory work' on urban transformation. [82]

Since the Municipality was responsible for resolving the development plan and title deed questions, the officials should have resolved the title deed question and realize the rehabilitation as Güzide (57- Academician) argued. On the other hand, she criticized the proponents of resistance or the leaders of the Association. This was because they insisted on property rights and ownership, which heightened the tension and caused people to be stuck in the same phase. She suggested local people not to disregard the possibility of right to use social housing or cooperatives for the establishment of a consensus building process. According to her, right to use social housing would give people the right to use the public lands or housings limitless while rent seeking attitudes that made people more vulnerable would be omitted.

Mahir (45- Studio Instructor) also highlighted the problems encountered in ownership structure, which is fragmented in land ownership. He said that there were lands of National Estate, Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs, Metropolitan Municipality, Maltepe Municipality and the residents. Further, he pointed to gecekondus, multi- story buildings, the tenants, people with title assignation documents and homeowners without any papers. However, according to him, the main problem in Başıbüyük did not stem from the uncertainty in ownership question. In fact, the real problem was the lack of a consensus building process and

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[82] Başıbüyüklülerin mağduriyeti politika yapıcıların deneyim ve bilgi eksikliğinden kaynaklanıyor. CHP yönetimindeki belediyenin herhangi bir ön çalışma ya da hazırlık çalışması yok.

development of other alternatives to projects implemented by social actors; such as TOKİ, government and municipalities. In this respect, the problem was highly complicated because of economic and social limitations and changing the ownership structure on its own would not give expected results within wider societal context as opposed to the common belief among the residents of Başıbüyük.

Yaşar (40- Academician) concentrated on making Istanbul a good example in the world in terms of urban transformation implementations. He provided a comprehensive urban transformation project that would include both necessary measures related to social policy and an efficient type of sheltering. He asserted that a department could be established in order to make rehabilitation plan. Therefore, Yaşar (40- Academician) and Güzide (57- Academician) concentrated on technical problems in urban transformation implementations.

Briefly, academicians struck in with a technical suggestion to ease the tension, placed emphasis on establishment of a department being responsible for urban transformation, rehabilitation of transformation projects and a consensus building process and establishment of a participatory consensus building process. They highlighted the roles of grassroots social movements, universities, local and international NGOs. In this respect, Mahir (45- Studio Instructor) supported the assumptions of Başıbüyük residents, and particularly of Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant), on the spontaneity of gecekondu resistance as opposed to what Salih (33- Journalist) said on the importance of EMEP for the development of grassroots movement in Başıbüyük. Apart from this, academicians also supported the right to use social housing like as officials at Maltepe Municipality provided. However, the residents were doubtful about the acquisition of right to use social housing since they lost their trust in state. Considering the existence of TOKİ, academicians remarked that both the existence and the projects of TOKİ were problematic just as the proponents of the resistance specified. Finally, academicians from Bilgi University agreed with above mentioned social actors on the necessity of a consensus building and a plural policymaking process.

The academicians' emphasis put on consensus building process and right to use social housing are tips that are implicitly signal their political preferences that was close to the left side of the political spectrum. To put it another way, the political interests of AKP government and TOKİ was not in accordance with the political interests of academicians. If that is so, Bhaskaran's (2003) explanation on its own cannot be sufficient for expanding the reason behind the involvement of these academicians in Başıbüyük case. Accordingly, I think it is possible to say that these academicians' political interest was also efficacious on their involvement. However, as of being the consequent of their political preference, right to use social housing was not something preferential according to the economic interests of residents of Başıbüyük since residents' economic interest was based on acquisition of property rights and ownership. Nevermore, the Association built alliances with these academicians working at Bilgi University and they presented it to Maltepe Municipality though it was not accepted.

5.2.1.4. International social actors

Urban transformation is not a social problem peculiar to Turkey. Rather, other countries also try to cope with tensions resulting from urban transformation. As I have mentioned in the introduction chapter, though they face with certain difficulties in urban transformation process, developed countries are good in evolving better projects and an effective consensus building process compared to those we develop. Başıbüyük experience went beyond the national boundaries and the leading figures of the gecekondu resistance got in contact with international social actors encountered with the same problems. Hence, I attended round table meetings and Open City Istanbul International Conference at IBU on 8th of May 2010 within this context. I believe that the arguments made in this regard and exchange of experiences will shape the urban social policies in Turkey in the future. This is the reason why it is worth to include experiences gained by and arguments of the developed countries. Hence, I refer to an academic member at Erasmus University Rotterdam and two officials from Rotterdam Municipality, who came to Istanbul and visited Başıbüyük within the framework of Open City Istanbul International

Conference, in this section in order to carry the gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük to a global context. Their contribution was important since they made recommendations to the residents of Başıbüyük and officials at Maltepe Municipality. Further, there was a flow of information between them within the scope of the field research, round table meetings, and visits (to Rotterdam, Berlin and Başıbüyük).

One of the international social actors was **Karl (70)**, who was an academic member at Erasmus University Rotterdam. In addition, he was the director as well as the urban and regional management and planning adviser at a private company. He argued that it was very important to feel the dynamic of whole city to initiate an efficient planning process. **Mary (50- Urban Planner and Designer)**, as another social actor, was an academician and she advised Rotterdam Municipality. According to her, the main problem in Başıbüyük case was the distrust and conflict of different interests. The last actor is **Jane (50- Urban Planner and Designer)**, who was also an official serving at the Rotterdam Municipality. Briefly, she supported 9 principles of round table that should have been adopted during the policymaking process. Their views are integrated with the framework of their similarities and disparities with other social actors. As well, their opinions on lack of technical experience and adequate knowledge in Turkey and need in establishment of an appropriate consensus building process are mentioned in this section. I provide that their suggestions and opinions are highly similar to above mentioned academicians at Bilgi University.

To begin with, Karl (70- Academician) assumed that the main problem was not gecekondu phenomenon, but the inappropriate consensus building process and lack of participation. He put emphasis on an efficient planning process. With regard to this, Mary (50- Urban Planner and Designer) put forward that the main problem in Başıbüyük case was the distrust and conflict of different interests. This distrust and conflict of different interests could be overcome through obtaining essential knowledge on both partners as well as on area and process as she argued. Due to this distrust, the residents of Başıbüyük were stuck in resisting for property rights and

ownership. However, as she provided, right to use social housing was a better option than property rights since it would satisfy both sides.

Karl (70- Academician) emphasized Amsterdam principles to be guidelines for a better policymaking process likewise aforesaid academicians at Bilgi University provided. Wihtin the framework, participation of related social actors into the policymaking process trust, and networking between the actors and a collaboration between civil society, public sector and private sector (stakeholder participation) were encouraged along with these principles. As he specified, a more creativity in planning, a good and efficient policymaking process and tools were needed and a win- win situation (revision of potential benefits, probable advantages and disadvantages and development of transparency and accountability) was very important for the resolution of the problem. Due to this reason, input workshops were necessitated in order for getting information on neighborhood, the demands and needs, etc. International experiences of process management and implementations of institutions such as World Bank or Habitat could have guided Turkish policy makers. But, it would be better if countries adapted the instructions in respect of their socio-economic and cultural peculiarities.

In addition, as they suggested, policy makers should have regarded the quality, quantity, and cost of the transformation projects to develop effective projects according to him. In other saying, social development should have been run together with economic management. As well, people should have been open to alternative solutions and political backing was needed for the continuity of the process. In this manner, when urban transformation project was implemented, people from upper classes would move in Başıbüyük as he indicated. Therefore, the quality of standards of living would improve and lifestyles would diversify. As well, the living in Başıbüyük might have become more expensive than before. As a result, he suggested that eviction could be probable, but other alternatives offered to Başıbüyük residents should have been attractive. According to Karl (70- Academician), there was a weak participation and a weak capacity to participate in Başıbüyük. Then, capacity building support given to local people and awareness rising became important since

partners in process needed to possess some level of consciousness and capacity to become a partner. This was essential since all of the social actors should have been put on the same footing. That's why dialogue building, awareness rising and stakeholder participation were essential for the success in planning as he suggested. In this manner, he proposed the following steps to be followed by the residents of Başıbüyük and policy makers to achieve an effective urban transformation.

Considering the suggestions of Karl (70- Academician), Mary (50- Urban Planner and Designer) also stipulated that the basic action should have been taken towards relaxing the tension. In this respect, she recommended that objective researches should have been conducted in order to reveal the tendencies, agreements, and disagreements within the area, which leaded to tension. In addition, she put the emphasis on the round table meetings and workshops, which would be carried out after mentioned expedition in Başıbüyük. Parallel to what Mary (50- Urban Planner and Designer) suggested, Jane (50- Urban Planner an Designer) underlined the principles of round table for development of an effective policymaking process. In this manner, relaxing the tension through convsersation and communication was the basis of these principles. Adoption of these principles would also encourage the participation of all social actors. Furthermore, she remarked that all actors, especially local residents and TOKİ, were dependent on each other. That's why they should have respected to each other's opinions and needs and a trust building process was inevitable. Besides, a comprehensive urban transformation process needed a professional and scientific approach to the subject matter.

To sum up, international social actors focused on consensus point, new alternatives, and creation of a win-win situation. For this reason, accountability, transparency, objective research on the area, awareness rising facilities and resolution of conflict of interests were indispensable tools of a consensus building process and round table meetings. As other supporters of the resistance, international actors also gave support to the development of consensus building process. However, while Maltepe Municipality, social actors from IBU and Holland were backing up the right to use social housing, local proponents of the resistance and EMEP were prioritizing

property rights and ownership. This was due to both immaterial and political interests of these international actors and the above mentioned academicians at Bilgi University, such as being involved in conflict resolution and betterment of the society, a different method of governance and human rights, since they put the emphasis on resolution of the tension, policymaking process and social supports, actors suggested that trust-building organizations need to be developed.

5.2. Opponents of the gecekondu resistance:

As there are some people who are supporting the gecekondu resistance, there are some others who are objecting to the resistance, too. This is due to the conflict of economic or political interests of social actors, such as increasing their political power or being involved in conflict resolution. The reactions of opponents are directing the social actors to adopt forming alliance structures as a strategy. As well, the existence of opponents has an influence over the organization, content, and direction of the resistance. Besides, opponents' reactions set back or undermine the expected strategies, outcomes of those strategies or social change. In addition, they force proponents as well as the resisters to re-calculate their costs and benefits. As well as there are external social actors who oppose to the resistance, there are also internal actors who do not approve what supporters or resisters intend to do. I mention on the approaches of residents opposing to the gecekondu resistance, IBB and TOKİ respectively.

5.2.1. Residents opposing to the gecekondu resistance

During my field study, I paid special attention to get the opinions of opponents of the gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük. There were people who were objecting to the resistance since the very beginning of urban transformation process. Besides, some people supported the resistance at initial stages, but later changed their mind due to political reasons or having lost their trust in the struggle. As Stevenson and Greenberg put forward (2003, p.657), the existence of conflicting elites [such as elites from different political parties] results in the creation of opposition groups and

the development of oppositional initiatives or counter-movements having different goals. It is possible that every course of action has some risk of development of opposition (Ibid.). In this sense, actors may form coalition with others who are sympathetic to their cause (Ibid. p.659). One way or another, the group of opponents comprised ordinary residents opposing to resistance and accepting the conditions of project as well as people who took the lead for the activities against gecekondu resistance.

The group of opponents of the resistance was more homogenous than the group of proponents since their political and economic interests were much more similar than the other group's interests were. Mostly, they were the sympathizers of AKP. In this respect, they came to believe that only AKP rule and TOKİ could actualize their material benefits. Shortly, their economic status was better than the other group's was. The majority of people were self- employed and tradesmen. In terms of their loyalty to the AKP rule, some of them had close bonds with AKP or they had relationship with the ex-Mayor, Fikri Köse. Even though some of them had supported the resistance at the beginning; they veered away since they supposed that they were deceived by CHP and the Association.

The arguments of local residents in opposition can be summarized in 3 points. First of all, they supported that the residents of Başıbüyük were instigated by political groups. Second, AKP government developed social policies that would enhance the standards of living of the residents of Başıbüyük. Finally, this group of people put forth that the projects of TOKİ would result in positive outcomes for the residents.

Their main priority was based on the problematic of how people could get out of a poor life. Therefore, their priority was their standards of living. Since they were not against the policies of AKP or TOKİ, they were satisfied with TOKİ's project. They proposed that they were not right holders since they did not have official titles. However, they did not support right to use social housing as a solution since there was no regularity and continuity in administration of Turkish state and people would become more vulnerable against economic conditions. However, tenants or people

without any papers that supported TOKİ projects expected to take shelter as a result of the project while property rights were among the priorities of residents having official titles or having no paper as it was so for residents supporting the resistance. The other priority was their loyalty to the state, specifically to the AKP rule. They were against any kind of illegal activity such as PKK[83], Hezbollah[84], İBDA-C[85], DHKP- C[86] etc. as commonly stated by them. In this manner, they compared themselves with other squatters such as Gülsuyu Gülensu, Armutlu, etc. in terms of their obedience to status quo.

Stevenson and Greenberg (2010, pp. 651- 652) discuss on the possibility of agency and the capability of actors to innovate upon cultural categories and conditions of action in accordance with their personal and collective ideals, interests and commitments'. Similarly, Ayres (2004, pp.13-14) speaks of framing process that participants develop on a social condition to mobilize adherents and demobilize antagonists. In this case, the Association failed in developing such a shared framing of urban transformation as a problematic and urging other residents to affect change since the leaders could not innovate upon cultural categories, collective ideals,

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[83] PKK (The Kurdistan Workers' Party) is rotted from a Marxist Leninist ideology. It was formed in late 1970s and started an armed struggle against the Turkish government in 1984, calling for an independent Kurdish state within Turkey. For further information, please See: *Profile:* The PKK. (2013, March 21). In *BBC News*. Retrieved on November 30, 2014, from:
http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-20971100

[84] Hezbollah (Party of God) is a militia group and political party that emerged as a faction in Lebanon following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Its main goal is to drive Israel from Lebanon and establish an Islamic state. Hezbollah engaged in terrorist attacks including kidnappings and car bombings. For further information See: Hezbollah. (2014). In *ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITTANICA*. Retrieved on November, 11, 2014, from:
http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/264741/Hezbollah

[85] İBDA- C (İslami Büyük Doğu Akıncıları Cephesi- Great Eastern Islamic Raiders Front) is a Sunni Salafist Group that supports Islamic rule in Turkey and assumes that Turkey's present secular leadership is illegal. For further information See: Great Eastern Islamic Raiders Front (IBDA-C). (2015). In *Trackingterrorism.org*. Retrieved on March 30, 2014, from:
http://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/great-eastern-islamic-raiders-front-ibda-c

[86] DHKP-C (Devrimci Halk Kurtuluş Partisi Cephesi- Revolutionary People's Liberation Party- Front) is a Marxist Leninist Party in Turkey, which was founded in 1978. Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP-C) Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left) Dev Sol. (2014, May 21). In *Federation of American Scientists*. Retrieved on March 30, 2015, from:
http://fas.org/irp/world/para/dev_sol.htm

interests and commitments. perceptions of opponents of gecekondu resistance on social actors were in contradiction with those of proponents of gecekondu resistance. In this context, the opponents of the resistance criticized the resistance leaders for being inconsistent and unreliable since there was no change occurring. Koray (60-Worker) asserted that:

> The leaders exploit innocent people whereas they profit from the situation and pave the way for their political ambition. Besides, the proponents keep a foot in both camps in order to come out better off all conditions. [87]

Besides, Stevenson and Greenberg (2000, p. 652) treat of the power relations between the centrally located and the peripheral social actors. According to them, centrally located actors get involve in more issues and they are provided with more information, authority and resources compared with peripheral actors (Ibid.). Likewise, Çavuşoğlu et. al (2011, p. 18) argue how much the opinion leaders obtain the real representation in the neighborhood. These leaders may reproduce exclusion or disintegration based on ethnicity, politics, religion, gender, etc. Moreover, these leaders can enhance their positions by coming to the forefront (Ibid.). Considering these arguments, I argue that the Association could not embrace people who did not have any paper or who were tenants. In addition, according to my point of view, the Association failed in disseminating the information gathered during the meetings, conferences, etc. The relationship between the Association and the residents turned into a hierarchical and top- to- down manner. Hence, Şadiye (55- Housewife), who was a tenant, remarked the Association's rent seeking attitudes and said that:

> Proponents bring together in order to benefit from emerging political/ economic rent after rising anxiety against urban transformation. If I knew what I know now, I would not decline the contract provided by TOKİ when AKP was in power. Our primary problem is to escape from a poor quality of life. Nobody cares about people having no paper! We do not have any papers in order to defend our right to housing. It may be true that we will be homeless when urban transformation is implemented. However, it is the most viable alternative for me and people like me… [88]

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[87] Liderler masum insanları sömürürken, kendilerine durumdan kar elde ediyorlar ve siyasi hırslarının önünü açıyorlar. Ayrıca, destekçiler bütün durumlardan karlı çıkmak için her iki tarafa da oynuyor.

[88] Direnişi destekleyenler kentsel dönüşüme karşı endişe yarattıktan sonra ortaya çıkan siyasi ve ekonomik ranttan faydalanmak için bir araya geliyorlar. Şimdi bildiğimi eğer biliyor olsaydım, AKP yönetimi zamanında sunulan TOKİ anlaşmasını geri çevirmezdim. Asıl sorunumuz kötü yaşam koşullarından kaçmak. Hiç kimse

Moreover, Çiğdem (40- Housewife) specified that there was a hierarchy in the Association and ordinary people were the victims of the leaders. In this direction she told that:

> There is a hierarchy among the residents of Başıbüyük and the leaders do not integrate AKP sympathizers into the process because of the political differences among them. These people, particularly the leaders, EMEP and CHP, support the resistance in order to raise their political gains by exploiting both the Association and innocent feelings of residents. As a result, the proponents of the resistance mislead the residents and they seek after their political and economic ambitions.[89]

The opponents expressed that there was not any big difference between AKP and CHP. On the contrary, they believed that Municipality under AKP rule was visiting Başıbüyük more than CHP rule did. They complained that existing governors did not inform people on the process and did not provide social welfare to the residents of Başıbüyük. They claimed that Recep Tayyip Erdoğan regarded the wellbeing of gecekondu dwellers more than the other political groups did. Besides, some opponents argued that previous governors were religious that motivated them to serve for needy people whereas existing governors were not. Moreover, they provided that the resistance emerged not because of a reaction against unfair urban transformation, but it emerged because of CHP's jealousy of AKP's success. As Sinem (55- Housewife) indicated that:

> Some people provoked the residents of Başıbüyük against AKP in order to withdraw the support from AKP and divert it to CHP. People supporting the resistance blame the opponents as they cast a cloud over their rightful struggle against urban transformation and

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belgesi olmayan insanları umursamıyor! Barınma hakkımızı savunmak için elimizde herhangi bir belge yok. Kentsel dönüşüm gerçekleştikten sonra evsiz kalacağımız belki de doğrudur. Ama bu ben ve benim gibi insanlar için en iyi alternatif…

[89] Başıbüyüklüler arasında bir hiyerarşi var ve liderler AKPlileri aralarındaki siyasi farklılıklar nedeniyle sürece dâhil etmiyorlar. Bu insanlar, özellikle liderler, CHP ve EMEP, derneği ve halkın masum duygularını sömürerek kendilerine siyasi çıkar sağlamak için direnişi destekliyorlar. Sonuç olarak direnişi destekleyenler halkı yanlış yönlendiriyorlar ve kendi siyasi ve ekonomik çıkarlarının peşinden koşuyorlar.

AKP policies. This is not true. Both the leaders of the resistance and Maltepe Municipality are in a sham- fight and both of them seek for economic gain only. [90]

As well, Asuman (32- Housewife), who has migrated from Eastern Anatolia because of unemployment and terror, compared the AKP and CHP rule in Maltepe as such:

> Mustafa Zengin, does not visit the district and inform people about the process. He wanted us to vote for CHP and we accepted. However, he did not stand by his word. Also, AKP provided inhabitants social welfare and services whereas CHP does not. I want everything to become clarified and to make plans on future.[91]

Further, İsmail (54- Real Estate Developer), who was the older village headman, argued why TOKİ project would improve the standards of living in Başıbüyük as such:

> There is no victimhood resulting from acceptance of the conditions offered by TOKİ. TOKİ is fair in urban transformation in Başıbüyük when one comes to assume that the residents of Başıbüyük do not have the right to claim more than state provides. State does not have to please all of us. I believe that TOKİ project will increase the quality of life in Başıbüyük. However, some people resist against TOKİ. They will not get anything in this way. Resisting to this fact will result in loss of social prosperity for the local residents of Başıbüyük.[92]

Parallel with this, Şadiye (55- Housewife) explained why TOKİ project would rejuvenate the residents in Başıbüyük:

> This is because there is no social equipment for women and children in Başıbüyük. But, if TOKİ can implement its project, both women and children will have social equipment to socialize and to bring together... Also, shopping malls are very limited in Başıbüyük and there are not enough shops

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[90] Bazı insanlar insanların AKP'ye olan desteğini çekmek ve CHP'ye çevirmek için Başıbüyüklüleri AKP'ye karşı kışkırtıyorlar.

[91] Mustafa Zengin mahalleyi ziyaret etmiyor ve halkı süreç hakkında bilgilendirmiyor. Bizden CHP'ye oy vermemizi istedi ve biz de kabul ettik. Ancak, o sözünde durmadı. Dahası, AKP yaşayanlara sosyal refah ve hizmet sundu, CHP sunmazken… Artık her şeyin kesinleşmesini ve geleceğe dönük plan yapmayı istiyorum.

[92] TOKİ tarafından sunulan şartları kabul etmekte bir mağduriyet olmaz. TOKİ Başıbüyük'teki kentsel dönüşümde adil davranıyor, Başıbüyüklülerin devletin sunduğundan daha fazlasını talep etmeye hakkı olmadığını düşününce… Devlet hepimizi memnun etmek zorunda değil ki! Ben inanıyorum ki, TOKİ projesi Başıbüyük'teki yaşam kalitesini yükseltecek. Ancak, bazı kişiler TOKİ'ye direniyor. Bu şekilde hiç bir şey elde edemezler. Bu gerçeğe direnmek tüm Başıbüyüklüler için sosyal refahta zararla sonuçlanacak…

to go shopping. Due to this reason, we have to go to the center of Başıbüyük. We want better neighbors.[93]

The residents opposing to the gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük did not have common points with supporters of the resistance apart from their demand on property rights and ownership. As like residents supporting the resistance claimed that they were right holders, opponents also claimed property rights. As opposed to common approach of the external social actors supporting the resistance, on validity of right to use social housing for resolution of the tension, both local opponents and proponents found the solution in acquisition of property rights. However, while supporters wanted to exercise this right within the scope of an alternative project, opponents believed that TOKİ's project was the best option to do so. In this manner, it was possible to say that even though their economic interests overlapped, their political interests or priorities prevented them to build alliance structures as a strategy to achieve the expected outcome. But, economic interests of tenants opposing to the resistance disaccorded with the economic interests of the resistors having official titles. I focus on this disaccordance in detail in the next part of the study. The other point at which opponents clashed with supporters is the fact that opponents did not address to a consensus building or a plural policymaking process whereas supporters converged on a consensus building process. This was because they needed no alternative project to the one that was provided by TOKİ.

5.2.2. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi- IBB)

The other opposing social actor engaged in urban transformation process and somehow affected the gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük is IBB. Though IBB did not directly sit at the table and hold discussion with the residents of Başıbüyük, it was one of the initiators of the urban transformation process. In this study, IBB was among the social actors reflecting the paradigm of ruling party, AKP. As well, IBB

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[93] Başıbüyük'te kadınlar ve çocuklar için sosyal donatı alanı yok. Ama, eğer TOKİ kendi projesini uygulayabilirse, hem kadınlar hem de çocuklar sosyalleşmek ve bir araya gelmek için sosyal donatı alanına sahip olacak. Ayrıca, alışveriş merkezleri çok Başıbüyük'te sınırlı ve alışverişe gitmek için yeterince dükkan da yok… Bundan dolayı, Başıbüyük'ün merkezine kadar gitmemiz gerekiyor… Daha iyi komşular istiyoruz.

involved into the process within the scope of signed protocol on urban transformation project in Başıbüyük. That's why I have included Metropolitan Municipality into my thesis. In this context, I made a semi-structured interview with **Gürsel (45, Urban Planner and Designer)**, serving at the Urban Planning Department, who was responsible for urban transformation projects to be realized at Maltepe.

To begin with, Gürsel (45- Urban Planner and Designer) indicated that IBB was responsible for the announcement of urban transformation areas in general framework while district municipalities, such as the Maltepe Municipality, were responsible for defining the squatter in which urban transformation projects were to be applied. He approached urban transformation from a legal and technical point of view and referred mainly to 73rd Article of Municipality Law. According to this Law, municipalities can adopt urbanization and development projects on the purpose of creating housing areas and re-construct the ruined parts of the city. Within the scope of this Article, municipalities are responsible for the urban transformation process. In this respect, they are obliged to take the consent of owners before demolishment and expropriation of the buildings. In this way, he addressed to the Maltepe Municipality as the interlocutor of the urban transformation experience in Başıbüyük. As far as he specified, Maltepe Municipality was responsible from the steps to be taken during the urban transformation process and development of partnerships. That's why the shortcomings in policymaking process were originating from inability of Maltepe Municipality to suggest a concrete and immediate solution.

Çavuşoğlu et. al. (2011, p. 12) argue that the hegemonic discourse rests upon illegality of the residents as of being occupants, rentier etc. Correspondingly, Gürsel (45- Urban Planner and Designer) emphasized on the residents' misconception of urban transformation and the spurious attitudes of the Association and said that:

> There are legal concerns and limitations. The proponents of resistance fall into error as they treat urban transformation project as an unfair treatment. This is because they are mistaken about demanding title deeds since it is impossible due to abolishment of development plans

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following the enactment of 1983 Gecekondu Law. This is because people who have political benefits are misguiding the residents of Başıbüyük.[94]

Besides, Gürsel (45- Urban Planner and Designer) also supported the attendance of NGOs and universities as long as their demands are feasible and he stated:

> We support the consensus building and a democratic policymaking process. In this respect, the attendance of NGOs and universities into the transformation process is preferable for us. However, they can participate in the process as a partner as long as their solutions, suggestions, and studies are reasonable within the legal framework and constraints.[95]

Briefly, IBB prioritized legal obligations and development of urban transformation project immediately. According to this point of view, urban transformation can provide a high quality life in a sustainable environment; revitalization of economy of regions in which there is economic and physical decay; and attainment of social peace and rehabilitation. However, different social actors decode the meaning of the urban transformation distinctively in respect of their political and economic interests. On the one hand, IBB, Maltepe Municipality and residents opposing to resistance supported the urban transformation project of TOKİ for Başıbüyük to acquire official titles legitimately. On the other, residents supporting the resistance, EMEP, some academicians at IBU and international social actors that came to Istanbul within the context of Open City Istanbul sought for alternative urban transformation projects since they did not approve TOKİ's.

Maltepe Municipality looked for other social partners and alliance structures in order to solve this problem. On the other, I suggest that since IBB did not want to invite criticism, it 'passed the buck' to Maltepe Municipality. Failing in management of urban transformation would result in a loss in votes for both sides since the economic

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[94] Yasal meseleler ve sınırlılıklar var. Direnişi destekleyenler kentsel dönüşüme haksız bir uygulama olarak yaklaştıklarında, yanlışa düşüyorlar. Bunun nedeni şu, 1983 Gecekondu Kanunu'nun kabulü takiben imar planlarının kaldırılmasına bağlı olarak, tapu belgesi talep etmeleri hatalı. Bu da şundan kaynaklı, siyasi çıkarı olan insanlar Başıbüyüklüleri yanlış yönlendiriyorlar…

[95] Mutabakat yapma ve demokratik politika yapma sürecini destekliyoruz biz de. Bu doğrultuda, STK ve üniversitelerin dönüşüm sürecine katılması bizim için tercih edilebilir durumda. Ancak, bunlar, çözümleri, önerileri, çalışmaları, yasal çerçeve ve kısıtlıklar dahilinde, makul olduğu müddetçe sürece bir ortak olarak katılabilirler.

interests of local supporters were not compatible with the economic and political interests of IBB. However, Gürsel (45, Urban Planner and Designer) never said it explicitly. In this respect, political interests and other immaterial interests, such as being involved in conflict resolution, of above mentioned academicians and officials at Bilgi University and from Holland, compromised with economic interests of supporters to the extent that other alternatives could be evaluated and they developed alliance structure. With regard to this, IBB approved the attendance of NGOs and universities as long as their solutions, suggestions, and studies were reasonable within the legal framework. This was the starting point where conflicts arose among social actors since there was no consensus on the scope of policymaking and urban transformation process.

5.2.3. TOKİ (Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi-Prime Ministry Housing Development Administration of Turkey)

TOKİ is the highest authority in Turkey within the context of development and implementation of urban transformation policies. It is the main external social actor that has a determinative influence over the process and the strategies of other social actors in variable social contexts. Since it is directly reporting to the Prime Ministry, it acts autonomously and reflects the point of view of the ruling party, AKP. It is much more homogenous in approach compared to other social actors depending on their political roots and affiliations. Hence, I made two face-to-face interviews with officials from TOKİ Istanbul Department of Implementation. Nevruz (45- Urban Planner and Designer), who was a responsible for Department of Urban Transformation; and Veli (45), an architect, were my respondents. I refer to the information given by these officials in order to reflect the interests and priorities, perceptions and strategies of TOKİ. In addition, I quote from official documents of TOKİ since officials recommended me to read them in order to understand the TOKİ's approach to the subject matter. Besides, I integrate the newspaper reports to reflect the views of TOKİ that I could not get during the interviews. This is because the residents supporting the gecekondu resistance frequently addressed to those views. Their views are categorized according to their assumptions on (1) the

emergence of gecekondu resistance as a political reaction; (2) the sufficiently service provision of the institution; and (3) the suitability of TOKİ projects to the necessities and characteristics of urban areas such as Istanbul.

Initially, I argue that TOKİ is organized according to the political objectives of the government and the analysis on TOKİ, as of being a social actor in urban transformation, cannot be scoped out without having knowledge on their political interest and giving reference to it. Likewise, Nevruz (45- Urban Planner and Designer) underlined the function of urban transformation in preventing illegal housing and the damages of a probable earthquake, and enabling poor people to become homeowners, who could not acquire title deed otherwise. She said that:

> Since TOKİ has a function and responsibility towards society, TOKİ does not intend to make people suffer because of urban transformation projects. [96]

Nevruz (45- Urban Planner and Designer) also argued that the Başıbüyük residents were occupant since they had invaded the lands owned by the Turkish Treasury. That's why the residents did not have the right to demand official titles since this did not have a legal basis. Further, as she conceptualized, the residents of Başıbüyük were action- oriented and their life styles were quite distinct from the popular life style in a metropolis. According to her:

> The residents of Başıbüyük are more conscious and action oriented- than other *gecekondulu*. As well, they live closer to the nature than other city dwellers. However, this is not in accord with the reality of Istanbul. There is a different city culture and the culture of being a native of Istanbul requires a different life style and understanding from that of the residents of Başıbüyük. That's why urban transformation is inevitable for the welfare of gecekondu residents. We aim at providing good quality urban services. If TOKİ flats are not suitable for their life styles, this is not TOKİ's fault. Expanded families are not suitable for a metropolis anymore. Nuclear family is much more suitable for Istanbul. In this respect, it is very hard to satisfy the demands of people with expanded families. Therefore, the residents themselves

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[96] TOKİ'nin bir işlevi ve topluma karşı sorumluluğu olduğu için, kentsel dönüşüm projeleri yüzünden insanları mağdur etmek istemez.

should adapt themselves to modern life style in Istanbul. So, moving to a flat can be a beginning. [97]

Likewise, Veli (45, Architect) remarked that the residents of Başıbüyük assumed the land was their own property. Thus, they were against the urban transformation and their expectations were very high. However, this attitude did not match with the reality, according to him. TOKİ's project offered what the residents needed in terms of economic and social conditions. In other words, TOKİ was the best institution that provides housing to gecekondu dwellers as he implied.

Moreover, Nevruz (45- Urban Planner) supposed that reactions and resistance were based on political ambitions or concerns of Başıbüyük people. To give an example, she told that:

> CHP supported the resistance before 2009 local elections and declared that they are opposed to urban transformation in Başıbüyük. Contrary to that, CHP administration does not seem to object to urban transformation now.

In accordance with that, Veli (45, Architect) mentioned the political and economic ambitions of other social actors and their prevarication of people against urban transformation. He summarized the strategies of the residents supporting the resistance as such:

> Some of the residents of Başıbüyük are aware of the success of urban transformation whereas some other people, who are protagonist (*elebaşı*), are against the urban transformation in Başıbüyük and undermine the efforts. This latter group seeks after their own political and economic ambitions. In addition, since there is a neighborhood pressure in Başıbüyük, most of the people hesitate to go to information office of the municipality[98] or inform other

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[97] Başıbüyüklüler diğer gecekondululardan daha bilinçli ve daha eylem odaklı. Aynı zamanda, diğer şehir sakinlerinden daha doğaya yakın yaşıyorlar. Ama, bu Istanbul'un gerçeği ile uyuşmuyor. Farklı bir kent kültürü var ve Istanbul'un bir yerlisi olmak Başıbüyüklüler'inkinden daha farklı bir yaşam tarzı ve anlayış gerektiriyor. Bu nedenle, gecekondu yerleşimcilerinin refahı için kentsel dönüşüm kaçınılmaz. Biz kaliteli kent hizmeti sunmayı amaçlıyoruz. Eğer ki, TOKİ daireleri onların yaşam şekillerine uymuyorsa, bu TOKİ'nin hatası değil ki… Geniş aileler artık büyükşehirler için uygun değil. Çekirdek aile Istanbul için daha uygun. Bu anlamda, geniş aile insanları memnun etmek zor. Bu sebepten, yerleşimciler kendilerini Istanbul'daki modern yaşam tarzına uydurmalılar. Bu yüzden, bir daireye taşınmak bir başlangıç olabilir…

[98] Prior Mayor of Maltepe Municipality, Fikri Köse (2004-2009), founded an Information Desk at the Municipality in order to answer the questions of gecekondu dwellers and enlighten them. For more information See:

neighbors because of this neighborhood pressure. When people apply to the contact office of TOKİ, proponents of the resistance abuse them in order to withdraw or dissuade them from their decision. Over and above, the proponents of the resistance hinder the urban transformation process and people have doubts on urban transformation. Moreover, the resisters exploit women and children during the protests. Leftists groups support these protests and the resistance in order to benefit from political opportunities. Due to these facts, the resistance is not a rightful struggle. Nonetheless, there is no consensus though among the supporters of the resistance as far as I understand.[99]

Accordingly, Veli (45- Architect) supported the continuation of the project in Başıbüyük since he asserted that making an agreement with TOKİ was the best way to become a homeowner for the residents of Başıbüyük. He said that:

> People who made a contract with TOKİ are very satisfied with their dwellings and they can easily repay their debts... They do not face with economic difficulties since their gecekondus were valued in favor of the residents in Başıbüyük and only the costs of the flats were demanded from them. Then, why should not Başıbüyük continue the process with TOKİ?[100]

Veli's (45- Architect) argument majored on the property rights and ownership since he stressed upon 'best way to become a homeowner'. According to my point of view, this argument verified Geray's argument on TOKİ (2007, p. 283). He provides that TOKİ has lost its socially oriented tendencies within the context of credit and land provision (Ibid.). Further, Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010, p. 7) remark that TOKİ headed towards for profit housing on state land as it was provided with power and authority. In other words, right to housing has evolved into property rights as rightful owners have fallen within the agenda of TOKİ.

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http://www.maltepeekspres.com/haber.php?haber_id=433

[99] Bazı Başıbüyüklüler kentsel dönüşümün başarısının farkındayken, elebaşı olan bazılarıysa, Başıyüyük'teki kentsel dönüşüme karşı ve çabaları baltalıyorlar. Bu ikinci grup kendi siyasi ve ekonomik hırslarının peşinde koşuyorlar. Ayrıca, Başıbüyük'te mahalle baskısı olduğu için, insanların çoğu belediyenin bilgilendirme masasına gitmeye çekiniyor ya da komşularını bilgilendirmeye çekiniyorlar. İnsanlar TOKİ'nin iletişim ofisine başvurduklarında, direnişi destekleyenler bunları kararlarından geri çekilmek ya da akıllarını çelmek için taciz ediyorlar. Her şeyden önemlisi, direnişi destekleyenler kentsel dönüşüm sürecini geciktiriyorlar ve insanların kentsel dönüşüme karşı şüphe duymasını sağlıyorlar. Hatta, direnişçiler protestolar sırasında kadınları ve çocukları sömürüyorlar. Solcu gruplar siyasi fırsatlardan faydalanmak için bu protestoları ve direnişi destekliyorlar. Bütün bunlara bağlı olarak, direniş haklı bir mücadele değildir. Ne yazık ki, anladığım kadarıyla, direnişçi destekleyenler arasında bile mutabakat yok…

[100] TOKİ ile anlaşma yapanlar konutlarından çok memnun ve borçlarını rahatça geri ödüyorlar. Gecekonduları Başıbüyüklüler lehine değerlendirildiği için ekonomik zorluklarla karşılaşmıyorlar ve sadece dairelerin masrafı talep ediliyor onlardan. O zaman, neden Başıbüyüklüler sürece TOKİ ile devam etmesinler?

As well, Nevruz (45- Urban Planner and Designer) asserted that most of the municipalities preferred working with TOKİ because of its scope of power and authority in legal infrastructure, land confiscation, etc. pursuant to Gecekondu Law no 735 and the Mass Housing Law no 2985. However, she remarked that the success of a particular urban transformation project depended on success of the municipalities. Therefore, when the municipality failed to convince people about the urban transformation and the process, urban transformation would become impossible to realize. For an instance, she shared that:

> Since AKP administration could not persuade people about the necessity and advantages of urban transformation in Başıbüyük, officials are faced with resistance and opposition as a result.

At this point, officials ventured as if district municipalities were doomed to agree with TOKİ and both TOKİ project and urban transformation were inevitable. Due to this, they blocked the development of other alternatives. However, like Metropolitan Municipality passed the buck to Maltepe Municipality, officials also abdicated the responsibility. As a result, when the project crashed, the responsibility was put to Maltepe Municipality's shoulders. In this way, they distracted the attention and the Municipality assumed the status of the focus of criticism, hostility and reaction. Though this strategy leaded to conflict, I suggest that TOKİ aimed at framing a new order out of chaos.

Further, Nevruz (45, Urban Planner) underlined the importance of consensus process. According to her, TOKİ could come to table with local people in order to enlighten them about the process and persuade them on TOKİ projects. In any case, she supported the implementation of urban transformation project in Başıbüyük. Parallel to this, Veli (45, Architect) provided that main motive behind their effort was to convince the residents of Başıbüyük to accept the TOKİ projects and abandon the resistance. In this manner, he promoted consultation services, which would be held in the contact office at the Municipality building. In this way, the policy makers would

be able to question objectively why people were against urban transformation or why people supported urban transformation, as he remarked.

I provide that even though officials tried to reflect themselves as if they were impartial; their discourse put the finger on themselves. Their criticism on CHP and the leftist groups, I argue, revealed their political interest that was in accordance with Metropolitan Municipality's and AKP government. When they mentioned on the failure of prior Mayor and his team or the contradiction between themselves and Municipality, they touched upon the technical concerns. On the contrary, when they discussed the contradiction between themselves and Municipality under CHP rule, they meant divergences between their political interests. Stevenson and Greenberg (2003, p. 657) explain this contradiction as existence of conflicting elites. Moreover, they debate that this conflict between the elites can result in creation of opposition groups and development of oppositional initiatives or counter movements. Within the context of Başıbüyük case, I suggest that the political divergences among the residents were a reflection of the conflict between the elites. The information given by the residents on the political interest of the opposite group expressed this reflection. Hence, I argue that alliance and conflict structures were affected the contradiction between the political interests.

Briefly, urban transformation is necessary in eradicating unplanned urbanization and shelters of crime and terror in gecekondu settlements as far as Bayraktar specifies. Though TOKİ documents are reconciliatory; the prior Head of TOKİ assumes that gecekondu settlements are socially risky areas. This understanding conflicts with the self- perception of Başıbüyüklü that is 'respectful to state'. Officials that I interviewed with did not seek for alternatives to TOKİ project since they proposed that this project was the most suitable one as regards to gecekondu conditions in Turkey. Furthermore, they suggested that these projects would provide guidelines for other development projects.

CHAPTER 6

THE DYNAMICS BETWEEN ALLIANCE AND CONFLICT STRUCTURES AMONG SOCIAL ACTORS

The analysis of the dynamics between alliance and conflict structures formed among social actors, which concerned main issues of urban transformation that social actors referred to frequently. This analysis of dynamic is substantial since it provides with the allied points between the antagonists or the antagonized points between the allies. According to my point of view, both weakness and strength of the gecekondu struggle lie at the roof of these points. Stevenson and Greenberg (2003, p.657) argue that alliances within and between the organizations can change and while actors support each other on a certain issue, they can oppose them on some other issues. Hence, I analyze following issues within this context. Firstly, social actors' approach to ownership status, before implementation of an urban transformation process, was one of the factors that affect these structures. Some actors defended property rights whereas some others asserted that giving the residents of Başıbüyük right to use social housing would solve the tension in Başıbüyük. Secondly, there was a clash of ideas on whether policy makers and the residents of Başıbüyük should have kept up the urban transformation process with TOKİ or not. Thirdly, social actors could not reconcile on the reliability and legitimacy of gecekondu resistance. Thus, I plan to make an in-depth analysis of the mentioned problematic in order to reveal the dynamics between alliance and conflict.

6.1. Inhabitants' ownership status

There are variable subjects of urban transformation that people position themselves against urban transformation accordingly. Thus, divergence in ownership status before a potential urban transformation project is one of these variable subjects. A group of social actors defended the property rights for the residents of Başıbüyük whereas another group was of the point that the right to use social housing could

solve the tension in the area. However, this does not mean that people in the same group always supported the opinions of each other. This was related to their economic or political interests, and benefits as of being involved in conflict resolution, for this assumed problematic. Even though some actors antagonized with each other on other points, they made coalition, or at least they had a common view on ownership question. The other way around, they antagonized with each other on ownership question as they assented each other on one of the above-mentioned questions. In this respect, I give a brief summary of how social actors diverged or were in accordance with each other on ownership question.

To begin with, the residents of Başıbüyük and EMEP supported the granting of property rights whereas TOKİ, IBB, Maltepe Municipality, aforesaid academicians at IBU and academicians and official from Holland did not accredit that property rights would solve the tension in Başıbüyük. However, the second group was not a homogenous group, which totally supported right to use social housing as a solution. TOKİ, IBB, and partially Maltepe Municipality remarked that making a local resident a homeowner within the context of TOKİ project was the most suitable probability for Başıbüyük in terms of legal framework and socio-economic conditions. At this point, opponents of the resistance agreed with the said 3 social actors and they confirmed becoming a homeowner and right holder through application of a TOKİ project. On the contrary, academicians at IBU and guests from Holland had the point of view that right to use social housing would be the best solution for Başıbüyük since this was the most valid point of reconciliation for both partners as well as for tenants and homeowners, etc. Officials at Maltepe Municipality supported this suggestion to the extent that an alternative to TOKİ project should have been based on right to use social housing.

The proponents of gecekondu resistance and EMEP built an alliance structure within the context of ownership question. The proponents of the resistance argued that since they had paid for their gecekondus to intermediaries, to the municipality, to the state etc.; it was their natural right to acquire ownership. For an instance, Musa (50-

Retired Worker) indicated how state discriminated between rich and the poor in terms of ownership problem:

> If governors want to make Istanbul the European Capital of Culture, first of all, they have to respect to the rights of people. Otherwise, who pays the piper calls the tune. Acarlar is also an illegal project. Then, state should demolish it, too. But, state has declared a war against only working class which is associated with inferiority.[101]

Further, both of the partners envisaged unless policy makers bestowed the residents of Başıbüyük with property rights, policy makers and people that were affected from these policies could not become equal partners. In this regard, EMEP specified that the resistance for property rights was one of the areas that citizens could force state to adopt a more democratic understanding of governance. This approach of EMEP to property rights seems that it prioritized the political interests before material ones. On the contrary, the proponents of the resistance handled this situation in more economic interest- based manner that gave precedence to economic rights of citizens. However, since they had a common enemy, i.e. the state and AKP rule, they could compromise.

Contrarily, TOKİ, IBB and Maltepe Municipality signed a protocol and approved the implementation of TOKİ project in Başıbüyük. Hence, their alliance structure was mainly based on legal framework and the necessity of urban transformation for technical concerns. Further, the opponents of the resistance joined this group because of their political preferences and their distrust to the Association and the leaders of the resistance. However, Maltepe Municipality abstained due to its political and ideological priorities, its political contest with the ruling party and its responsibilities and duties towards Başıbüyük. That's why officials from Maltepe Municipality questioned the effectiveness of right to use social housing and the indispensability of TOKİ.

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[101] Yöneticiler eğer Istanbul'u Avrupa Kültür Başkenti yapmak istiyorlarsa, önce insanların haklarına saygı duymalılar. Diğer türlü, parayı veren düdüğü çalıyor. Acarlar da yasadışı bir proje. O zaman devlet onu da yıksın. Ama devlet bayağı olarak gördüğü işçi sınıfına karşı bir savaş ilan etti.

Concerning the strategies of these institutions, Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010, p. 14) argue that the ambiguous property regime in Başıbüyük, where there were people having temporary land titles [title assignation documents] as well as there were people having no titles, exist as a strong obstacle before sustained collective resistance against the project. Thus; the residents with no titles had an incline to accept the offers of municipality and municipality took the advantage of people's legal vulnerability and tenure insecurity. However, I provide that the residents' political tendencies and social networks were as influential as their tenure structure according to the information given during the interviews. The Associations for Solidarity, kinship relations and their trust to the Association were also influential in the stance of the residents against ownership question and in their relationship with other allies or antagonists. Similarly, Karaman (2010) suggests that 'residents' perceptions of and their abilities to withstand or avert urban renewal projects' is dependent upon 'tenure relations, employment status, existence of networks of solidarity, the level of participation and trust in the neighborhood association, and on the availability of exploitable personal or community connections with the ruling' AKP in both neighborhoods. Besides, Şen and Türkmen (2014, p. 169) put forth that 'right of ownership' was at the center of urban transformation debates and categorized the residents in order to manage the process. Additionally, gecekondu resistance dealt out this categorization and resulted in conflict and diversities between people having official titles, title assignation documents and having no titles, etc. (Ibid. 170).

Academicians at IBU and academicians and officials from Holland, who visited Başıbüyük within the context of Open City Istanbul International Conference, addressed the validity of right to use social housing, and cooperatives as well, for Başıbüyük case. They referred to both the legal obligations and impossibilities of policy makers and the needs of the Başıbüyük residents in terms of effective sheltering. Since consensus building had a priority over the process, they provided another option, which could cater the needs of both groups. Moreover, they assumed that tenants could benefit from right to use social housing and could assemble under the same roof with homeowners. In this way, the unity and collective ambitions of the Association as well as the gecekondu resistance would not have been shaded.

Maltepe Municipality leaned toward this alternative project and brought together with NGOs, Universities etc. within the context of polder table meetings. This suggestion became a second option for the Association though they had questions about the credibility and stability of state on legal rights of people within the framework of right to use social housing. IBU developed an alternative urban transformation project for the residents of Başıbüyük that would be financed by World Bank. The Association supported this project provided that their all rights- apart from the right to sell the social housing- were reserved; but Maltepe Municipality declined the project since they preferred TOKİ to stay as a social actor.

I argue that immaterial interests of these academicians and officials, such as their political interest that was based on democratization of policymaking process and provision of social service and supports to the affected groups and being involved in conflict resolution and betterment of the society, and both political and economic interests of some of the residents of Başıbüyük complemented each other. Nonetheless, some of the residents supporting the resistance still were prejudiced against the right to use social housing and its consequences such as abolishment of right to use social housing, etc. However, this nonconformity did not obstruct the solidarity between the residents and aforesaid academicians and officials. According to my point of view, this attitude depended upon the profit- loss calculation of the residents since getting support of the academicians and officials would extend the scope of their social networks. Nevertheless, their collective accomplishments, solidarity and efficacy were impeded on account of conflict among the residents over ownership status.

Likewise, Baki (2010) put forth 'the individual property preservation motives of the people in the neighborhood rather than establishing ties with other class movements in Istanbul' weakened the strength of the gecekondu resistance (2010) since, as Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010, p. 13) suggest, collective movement formed against TOKİ project has developed in order to in order to boost the urban rent and redefine property structures, have transformed into bargaining processes for personal gain.

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The divergences in inhabitants' ownership status in Başıbüyük mainly derived from economic and immaterial interests of social actors, for example increasing their political power and being involved in conflict resolution. EMEP and the proponents of the resistance accused of TOKİ and IBB for being authoritarian, politically oppressive and treating Başıbüyük as a source of rent whereas TOKİ and IBB regarded EMEP and the proponents of resistance as politically radical and illegal activists who took advantage of innocent people in order to cater their economic and political interests. However, both of them accused each other of treating urban transformation as an economic resource within the context of ownership status. Hence, their material and immaterial interests, such as increasing their political power or being involved in conflict resolution, coincided with each other at this point. Further, Maltepe Municipality signified that the struggle in Başıbüyük has turned into a struggle for rent. In other words, the officials denounced the resistance as a struggle seeking economic benefits since they insisted on supporting property rights. Contrary to this, the proponents specified that Maltepe Municipality did not provide them with property rights because of its economic benefits from urban transformation and its refrainment from TOKİ due to its political and legal power.

6.2. The Reliability and legitimacy of gecekondu resistance

Gecekondu resistances emerge as local people assume urban transformation as a threat to their citizenship rights and as an unfair implementation to the residents of a specific area. Hence, the Association in Başıbüyük took the lead of gecekondu resistance and endeavored to bring people together against urban transformation project in Başıbüyük. Social actors' feeling close to or keeping distance from the resistance of the Association varied depending on their perception of urban transformation as well as the perception of interests and intentions of other social actors experience in this neighborhood. Thus, I elaborate on the reliability, which connotes to the existence of the resistance as of being a struggle for protecting the rights of the residents, and legitimacy of gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük with respect to the opinions of social actors.

Proponents of the resistance, EMEP, academicians working at IBU and academicians and officials from Holland, who involved in urban transformation process within the scope of Open City Istanbul International Conference and an alternative urban transformation project to TOKİ's, provided that the struggle in Başıbüyük was a grassroots movement since it had emerged spontaneously. Furthermore, it was argued that the Association should have been one of the social actors who would involve in roundtable meetings and workshop and have voice in urban transformation affairs. It does not hurt to say that main intention of the Association towards attending to roundtable meetings was to interest other social actors in right to property and ownership. Still, these social actors remarked organizing under the same roof, like other grassroots movements, was very important for the endurance and continuity of the movement. Moreover, since the governors did not inform the residents about the urban transformation process, the Association was the only source of information on the developments and the process. That's why their resignation of the Association was inevitable. To give an example, Musa (50- Retired Worker) provided that:

> We formed an association- Başıbüyük Association of Environmental Regulation and Beautification and Nature Protection (Başıbüyük Mahallesi Çevreyi Düzenleme Güzelleştirme ve Tabiatı Koruma Derneği) since we realized that we cannot succeed individually. When we are together, we feel that we can cope with TOKİ and others.[102]

In this respect, Salih (33- Journalist) explained how people from different socio-cultural background brought together under the umbrella of the Association and resisted against 'divide et impera' facilities of state and its police. He said that:

> When TOKİ and the officials from the Municipality realized that people became organized, they tried to make mischief. Kurdish people and people from Black Sea Region began to conflict with each other. However, we tried to smooth down the conflicts. Some of the people gave up and were defeated by games of Municipality. However, other people resisting under the umbrella of the Association did not yield. Youth of MHP began to distribute Evrensel in spite of blitz of police by exploiting people's nationalist feelings. Police were saying that every penny they paid to Evrensel was transferred to PKK in the form of weapon against

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[102] Biz Başıbüyük Mahallesi Çevreyi Düzenleme Geliştirme ve Tabiatı Koruma Derneği'ni kurduk, çünkü bireysel olarak başaramayacağımızı fark ettik. Bir arada olduğumuzda, TOKİ ve diğerleri ile baş edebileceğimizi hissediyoruz.

Turkish soldiers. However, gecekondu dwellers began to say that since Evrensel defended their rights, they gave their blessings to both communists and Evrensel. Thereupon, İhsan Çaralan from Evrensel wrote that: AKP'nin Başıbüyük dertte (AKP is in butch!)[103] Proponents of the resistance supported Kurds and Turks stood shoulder to shoulder against capitalist urban transformation and they are brothers and sisters.[104]

Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) also indicated that the local association consulted with Istanbul Technical University and TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects) and warned local people about illegal construction of TOKİ buildings in Başıbüyük. Additionally, the residents supporting the resistance specified that the resistance surpassed the identities based on nationality, hometown, politics, ideology, etc. However, the assumptions of proponents on gecekondu resistance were not homogenous. The variety revealed itself in their political interests. Some opponents, as in the same direction with EMEP, assumed that gecekondu resistance was one of the struggle areas of working class while others did not reconcile resistance with working class struggle. Moreover, like EMEP assumed, some of the proponents proposed their struggle would open up spaces for democratization of Turkey whereas other proponents did not associate the gecekondu resistance with other struggles for democratization, such as the Kurdish struggle for democracy. Nevertheless, as Ergun (2010, p. 264) puts forth, there were many people who told that the residents were afraid of coming together under the Association though they were willing to do so.

Nevertheless, the residents supporting the resistance, EMEP, academicians working at Bilgi University and academicians and officials from Holland consented to indispensable existence of women in gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük. This was

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[103] Çaralan, İ. (2008, April 4. AKP'nin Başıbüyük dertte! *Evrensel*.

[104] TOKİ ve belediyeden yetkililer insanların örgütlendiklerini fark ettiklerinde, ara bozmaya çalıştılar. Kürtler ve Karadenizliler birbiri ile çatışmaya başladı. Ama biz, çatışmayı yatıştırmaya çalıştık. Vazgeçti bazıları ve belediyenin oyunlarına yenildiler. Ancak, derneğin çatısı altında direnenler yan çizmedi. Polisin insanların milliyetçi duygularını sömürerek yaptığı yıldırma oyununa rağmen, MHP'nin gençliği Evrensel dağıtmaya başladı. Polis diyordu ki, Evrensel'e ödediğiniz her kuruş, Türk askerine karşı silah olarak PKK'ya dönüştürülüyor. Ancak, gecekondulular Evrensel haklarını savunduğu için sadakalarını hem komünist hem de Evrensel'e verdiklerini söylemeye başladılar. Bunun üzerine, Evrensel'den İhsan Çaralan AKP'nin Başıbüyük dertte diye yazdı. Direnişi savunanlar Kürtlerin ve Türklerin omuz omuza kapitalist kentsel dönüşüme karşı koyduğunu ve onların kardeş olduklarını desteklediler.

because women leaded the resistance and struggle for their homes in order not to lose their livelihood and neighborhood. Hence, these social actors provided integration of women into the resistance proved its rightfulness and strength since they only defended their homes and most of them were apolitical, who did not make a computation of long term economic benefits, but a computation of having a humane and decent living. Contrary to this, TOKİ, IBB and opponents suggested that women were victimized by the political ambition of proponents and the Association stringed them along.

Contrarily, social actors supporting TOKİ Project, including Maltepe Municipality, maintained that the Association sought after either its political or economic rent. Furthermore, they argued that the residents supporting the resistance turned into militants who strived for their economic rent or political rent. TOKİ, Metropolitan Municipality and the residents opposing to the resistance argued that the Association disturbed the social order and harmony within the neighborhood. Furthermore, the opponent residents put forth the Association brought protestors from politically radical s, such as Sarıgazi, Gülsuyu, Armutlu, etc., to integrate them into the demonstrations against TOKİ and Maltepe Municipality under AKP rule...

As well, as opposed to what Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) said about the spontaneity of the resistance, İsmail (54- Real Estate Developer) indicated that the resistance received the support of DHKP- C, PKK, Hizbollah and İBDA-C while resisting against AKP policies. Likewise, the residents opposing to gecekondu resistance accused the Association of being illegal, marginal and deviant since these illegal groups were invited to the demonstrations. As well, the relationship between the Association and CHP moved the opponent residents to think the Association had a tendency towards aspirations of leftist ideology which was very distant and unfamiliar with the neighborhood.

Besides, the neighborhood had no reported history of organized mobilization up until the urban transformation. That's why the local municipality was surprised at the residents' rejection to the urban transformation project (Ibid. p. 32). In this manner, it

is very difficult to make a generalization about the political affiliation of all members of the Association. Their very common point was the defense of their property rights under the roof of the Association. Nevertheless, the residents became aware of other social realities, such as exploitation of the working class, neo- liberal urban planning, consensus based urban policymaking, etc., in the meantime. That's to say that the confrontation between the residents and the police went over the scope of the encounter. Rather, the confrontation enabled 'new ways of co- existing that unleased formerly unactualized capacities and novel ways of connecting with other bodies' (Ibid.).

Karaman (Ibid. p. 113) postulates that the residents give precedence to *the individual right to ownership* at the expense of *the community's right to the city*. This phenomenon tarnishes 'the neighborhood's efforts to overturn their prevalent portrayal as illegal occupiers and garner support from the wider urban public' (Ibid.). While the Association was opposed to the urban transformation at the beginning, it came to agree upon a project that would not burden the residents with debt (Karaman, 2010, p. 94). Further, this ambivalence left the Association in an awkward position. While it mobilized the residents against the project, it did not want take it off the table completely (Ibid., p. 95). The Associations for Solidarity, kinship relations and their trust to the Association were also influential in the stance of the residents against ownership question and in their relationship with other allies or antagonists.

Likewise, Baki (2010) put forth 'the individual property preservation motives of the people in the neighborhood rather than establishing ties with other class movements in Istanbul' weakened the strength of the gecekondu resistance (2010) since, as Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010, p. 13) suggest, collective movement formed against TOKİ project has developed in order to in order to boost the urban rent and redefine property structures, have transformed into bargaining processes for personal gain. Furthermore, this struggle for personal gain leaded to a collective action problem and people started to pursue their short term interests at the expense of long- term collective goals (Ibid, pp. 16-17).

Correspondingly, Karaman (2010, p.99) indicates that the neighborhood association slowly moved towards implementation urban transformation. According to him, this was related to the fact that the leading figures were convinced that urban transformation was inevitable and bargaining with the state was the best way to achieve the most favorable conditions of resettlement (Ibid.). Consequently, the residents supporting the resistance at the beginning effaced themselves, abandoned their prior allies and engaged in new alliances in an effort not to be let down and to run the risk of losing everything.

Moreover, some of the opponents assumed that the resistance enforced hierarchy among the residents of Başıbüyük. According to them, the association supported the rights of people and considered their opinions to the extent that they disregarded the opinions and priorities of AKP sympathizers and opponent residents such as people having no paper. As well, TOKİ, Metropolitan Municipality and Maltepe Municipality conceived of the resistance as a call for local democracy. But, these social actors found the method and main demands of this call wrong and imperfect. In this sense, İsmail (54- Real Estate Developer) remarked that proponents of the gecekondu resistance brought together in order to benefit from emerging political and economic rent after they bred anxiety among the residents against urban transformation. He defined 4 main components of this group such as people from CHP, MHP, EMEP (the Evrensel newspaper and HAYAT TV) and a rant seeking group who had swept a large amount of land and now sought after implementation of a development plan. According to him, who was also a representative of AKP:

> Their main aim is to overthrow AKP administration and establish their own hegemony to sustain their rent. They provoke local people against the state and the Municipality. They get the support of PKK, the Hezbollah and İBDA-C that did not exist in Başıbüyük in the past. Since the rate of literacy in Başıbüyük is low, people are open to any kind of manipulation by people seeking economic and political rent. Proponents of the resistance spread rumors such as people would be evicted from Başıbüyük and rich people would be attracted instead. So, innocent people assumed that the residents of Başıbüyük should resist to urban

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transformation project as well as AKP in order to acquire their official titles and to make a deal with contractor. [105]

Moreover, these residents argued that the Association used them as a cat's- paw by exploiting innocent people in resistances and demonstrations. They proposed that the leaders, who were not as poor as the ordinary residents of Başıbüyük and were seeking for adventures, walked away without a scratch after demonstrations and clashes. In this manner, İlkay (50- Housewife), who indicated that she supported prior mayor, Fikri Köse, told that:

> If someone is far from the center of the activities, he/she is excluded from decision making process. Gecekondus in upper part of Başıbüyük were affected very severely by the attack of police during resistances whereas other parts were never intensively affected. The founders of association exploited innocent people whereas they profited from the situation and smoothed the way for their political ambitions.[106]

In addition, TOKİ and Metropolitan Municipality accused the leaders of the Association as being politically marginal and rant seeking. Officials from these institutions provided that the leaders of the Association were protagonists and they supported either leftist groups or CHP. According to them, these people asked for the political benefits of these political groups by inciting innocent residents to struggle against state. In the meantime, these leaders lined their own pockets and held an office after emerging chaotic situation as they said. Moreover, they accused the Association of applying neighborhood pressure and of excluding people who disagreed. In addition, for them, the Association misguided the residents as if it was legal to acquire property rights and official titles so as to proceed with contractor

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[105] Onların amacı, AKP yönetimini devirmek ve rantlarını sağlamak için kendi hegemonyalarını kurmak. Devlete ve belediyeye karşı insanları provoke ediyorlar. Daha önceden Başıbüyük'ye mevcut olmayan PKK, Hizbullah ve İbda-C'den destek alıyorlar. Başıbüyük'te okuma yazma oranı düşük olduğu için, insanlar siyasi ve ekonomik rant gözeten insanlar tarafından her türlü manipülasyona açıklar. İnsanlar Başıbüyük'tn sürülecek ve yerlerine zenginler çekilecek diye dedikodular yayıyorlar direnişi destekleyenler… Tapu belgesi alabilmek ve müteahhit ile anlaşma yapabilmek için Başıbüyüklüler kentsel dönüşüm projesine ve AKP'ye direnmeleri gerektiğini düşündüler.

[106] Bir kişi faaliyetlerin merkezinden uzaktaysa, karar verme sürecinden dışlanıyor. Başıbüyük'ün üst kısımlarındaki gecekondular polisin saldırısından ağır bir şekilde etkilenirken direnişler esnasında, diğer kısımdakiler hiçbir zaman yoğun bir biçimde etkilenmedi. Derneğin kurucuları masum insanları sömürdüler, aynı zamanda durumdan kendiler fayda sağlayıp, siyasi hırslarına yolu açarken…

firms and state put its foot down for this not to occur. Shortly, these social actors disapproved the Association since they asserted that the leaders abused the residents.

This assumption was both dependent upon political and economic interests of TOKİ, Metropolitan Municipality and the opponents residents. First of all, they assumed that the main motive of the Association was towards a political stance that was dissimilar with theirs. This dissimilarity gave cause of apprehension about their scope of power and authority being jeopardized by an awakening political opposition. I argue they were afraid of the fact that anxiety and reactions against urban transformation would yield to people call the state's policies, justness, liability, etc. into question and threaten the people's diffidence from state. That's why this ill-success would encourage other people to display their dissatisfaction towards other policy areas. Accordingly, these social actors should have taken the Association as well as its allies apart and inhibited their activities before it was too late to clear themselves of a calumny. Furthermore, failure of TOKİ's neo- liberal urban policies would let the side down. In addition, the triumph of the opposing group would disconcert the political base of AKP, which is both conservative and liberal.[107]

That's why TOKİ should have had the majority on its side through smear campaign and show of strength. It allied with groups, such as Metropolitan Municipality and opponent residents who had social networks close to AKP and common economic benefits. In addition, the alliance of this group tried to win people vacillating over to their sides by reflecting discredit upon the Association, making these residents nervous about the shortness or though the impossibility of other alternatives, paying tribute about TOKİ's project and exploiting people's religious beliefs and priorities. In this manner, people, who were conceived by these policies, were brought into interest of TOKİ, Metropolitan Municipality and the residents who had politic and

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[107] AKP is very well known as of being 'party with Islamic roots' or having 'an Islamist past'. It has also engaged with traditional and conservative networks that were highly politicized. Moreover, its interests overlap with the interests of Islamic- oriented middle class that is socially conservative, but economically liberal and incredibly successful. For further information, please See: Posch, W. (Juli, 30, 2007). *Root causes and consequences of the AKP's victory*. Retrieved on January, 31, 2015, from:
http://www.iss.europa.eu/de/publikationen/detail/article/root-causes-and-consequences-of-the-akps-victory/

economic interests similar to AKP's and a new alliance was confirmed among these social actors. Some of these allies endeavored nation- wide whereas some others penetrated through the residents in order to 'waste the antagonists'.

The stance of Maltepe Municipality against urban transformation was quite precarious since it was somewhere in between the antagonist groups. This was because on the one hand, the officials at Maltepe Municipality did not approve the implementations of both TOKİ and the state forces and they asserted the residents were aggrieved by TOKİ project. In this manner, the Association was right to try another cause and attended round table meetings. On the other, they urged the social reaction in Başıbüyük turned into a struggle for rent since proponents supported the struggle for property rights as of being their indispensable citizenship right. According to my point of view, this dilemma proceeded from the political and economic interests as well as the technical concerns of Municipality. The officials allied with academicians working at Bilgi University and academicians and officials from Holland within the context of technical concerns and better and comprehensive urban transformation projects. Besides, Municipality implicitly tried to refer to immaterial interests of these social actors, such as being involved in conflict resolution. In this way, the officials proved their technical knowledge and objectivity to the academic community as I argue.

In this line, both of these social actors were all of one mind on provision of right to use social housings or cooperatives. Furthermore, CHP increased its vote in Başıbüyük owing to its stance against urban transformation project of TOKİ. As well, the officials at Maltepe Municipality emphasized the existence of 100 percent victimhood in TOKİ project. That's why it was in charge of showing its liability and reliability towards the residents of Başıbüyük in order to secure its position for the following term. This was Maltepe Municipality's essential political interest. In this manner, it allied with the residents by accusing the government of victimizing the residents and nominated one of the leaders of the Association as a representative to the City Council, who was Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant). Municipality's technical concerns and essential political interests overlapped with each other since

these technical concerns emerged as a reaction towards political rule and its policymaking tradition.

Briefly, the reactions of the residents of Başıbüyük against gecekondu resistance varied according to their reaction against urban transformation. Though their economic interest, which was the acquisition of property rights and ownership, was similar, the distinction between their political interests leaded to disagreement among them. The proponents of CHP supported the gecekondu resistance for being a rightful reaction whereas the proponents of AKP criticized the resistance sharply for being a radical political movement that was disturbing the order and harmony. However, it should not be postulated that these two camps were static. Rather, they were fluid and the residents oscillated between these two camps or allies as these conflicting groups played their trump cards. As mentioned above, other social actors tried to win other social actors over as an ally according to their economic and political interests.

6.3. The politicized presence of TOKİ as a partner in the urban transformation in Başıbüyük

Another subject of urban transformation that leaded to emergence of alliance and conflict structures was the problematic presence of TOKİ as a social partner in urban transformation project in Başıbüyük. Even though TOKİ was the highest authority in mass housing; some of the social actors questioned its success, essentiality, and functionality in mass housing and urban transformation. In this respect, some of the actors brought together for TOKİ to remain as a partner whereas others antagonized with this group, as there could be better alternatives to TOKİ. Hence, I mention briefly on the divergences in remaining of TOKİ in urban transformation experience in Başıbüyük.

The proponents of resistance, officials from Maltepe Municipality, EMEP, mentioned academicians working at Bilgi University and academician and officials from Holland visiting Başıbüyük within the scope of Open City Istanbul

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International Conference adverted that TOKİ sought after economic ambitions and made people vulnerable. The residents argued that TOKİ project victimized neighborhood and gave priority to people with high or middle- high socio- economic profile. Besides, some of the residents associated the implementations of TOKİ with neo- liberal urban planning and capitalist system that also victimized the working class people. Furthermore, they 'framed' TOKİ as an institution that was associated with decay, demolish, victimization, vulnerability, violence and oppression. For an instance, Mutlu (46- Construction Worker), who was one of the proponents of the resistance, argued that:

> TOKİ's buildings are unhealthy, and state plans to sell them to 'miserable people'.

Moreover, *Saliha* (41- Cleaning Lady), who was a cleaning lady living in Başıbüyük, said that since they had no guarantee to maintain their living, they could not become indebted to TOKİ. Moreover, Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) spoke of unsuitability of TOKİ project for the residents of Başıbüyük by reason of being expensive and leaving the residents in a desperate situation. Also he exemplified of residents of other squatters and the decay in their lives as such:

> TOKİ has a power over people. Having an official title means nothing in Turkey since TOKİ can seize anyone's property and implement its own project despite everything. TOKİ is dependent on international capital. TOKİ is not a socially responsible institution. So, we do not want to work with TOKİ which means tears, nightstick and pepper spray to us. We saw what people moving to Bezirganbahçe and Kayabaşı Housings were exposed to. Since those people are not able to pay their debts, they are in a desperate situation and suicides among youth are increasing. So, if we move to TOKİ housings, we will have been buried alive.[108]

In this respect, the residents accused of TOKİ for being AKP's political propaganda instrument that oppressively implemented the economic ambitions of ruling party. That's why the presence of TOKİ in urban transformation was something economically and politically undesirable that aggravated the process. The residents

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[108] TOKİ'nin insanlar üzeri bir gücü var. Türkiye'de tapu belgesinin olması bir şey ifade etmiyor çünkü TOKİ herhangi birinin mülküne el koyabilir ve herşeye rağmen kendi projesini uygulayabilir. TOKİ uluslararası sermayeye bağlı. TOKİ sosyal açıdan sorumluluk sahibi bir kurum değildir. Bizim için gözyaşı, cop ve biber gazı anlamına gelen TOKİ ile çalışmak istemiyoruz. Bezirganbahçe ve Kayabaşı konutlarına taşınan insanların neye mazur kaldıklarını gördük. Borçlarını ödeyemedikleri için çaresiz bir durumdalar ve gençler arasında intihar artıyor. Bu nedenle, eğer TOKİ konutlarına taşınırsak, canlı canlı gömülmüş olacağız.

supporting the resistance argued that TOKİ aimed at selling Istanbul to rich people and displacing the residents of the squatter settlements to the blind corners of the city. In this way, they criticized TOKİ for implementing neo- liberal urban policies. Hence, İslam (2010) discusses on neo- liberal urban transformation projects that have transformed Istanbul in accordance with the economic growth since mid- 2000s. In this manner, economic and immaterial benefits, such as increasing their political power or being involved in conflict resolution, of these social actors provided them to keep together at this point. However, though Maltepe Municipality criticized TOKİ, officials were in agreement with TOKİ to the extent that TOKİ should be a social partner because of its scope of power and legal obligations.

On the contrary, TOKİ, IBB and opponents of resistance remarked that TOKİ was necessary for mass housing and urban transformation to be implemented effectively. They contended that the best way to become a homeowner was to make a deal with TOKİ. To give an example, according to İsmail (54- Real Estate Developer), who was a resident of Başıbüyük opposing to gecekondu resistance:

> TOKİ's urban transformation project is cut out for Başıbüyük since the majority of people hardly earn a living for their families. TOKİ is a chance for us to own a home through long run loan. Otherwise, being a homeowner is just an impossible dream for us. Though I am a real estate agent and a contractor; I support TOKİ. Yes, it is true that TOKİ takes my livelihood away. However, this project will increase the standards of living in Başıbüyük and the flats will become more valuable. Then, in this long run, this will be in the favor of Başıbüyük.[109]

In a similar way, Semra (29- Housewife), who defined she had been opposed to the Association since the beginning of the resistance; indicated that the Association, which was against TOKİ project, sought after political ambitions and they incited local people against TOKİ. She said:

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[109] TOKİ'nin kentsel dönüşüm projesi Başıbüyüklüler için biçilmiş kaftan; çünkü, insanların çoğu ailesini zar zor geçindiriyor. Uzun dönem borçlanmayoluyla TOKİ bizim için bir şans, ev sahibi olabilmek için. Aksi durumda, evsahibi olmak bizim için sadece imkansız bir rüya. Bir emlakçı ve müteahhit olmama rağmen, TOKİ'yi destekliyorum. Evet, TOKİ benim geçim kaynağımı elimden alıyor. Ancak, proje Başıbüyük'teki yaşam standartlarını yükseltecek ve daireler değerlenecek. O zaman, uzun dönemde, bu Başıbüyüklü'nün yararına olacak!

When we watch on TV people moving from Sulukule to their new flats, we pity our fate and fault in not accepting the conditions of AKP municipality. Everything is much more ambiguous now. There is no victimhood in accepting the conditions of TOKİ and moving to social housings of TOKİ.[110]

Moreover, the residents opposing to the urban transformation argued that TOKİ was the best option for them to become a homeowner since their gecekondus were low in value and they did not have official titles. In this respect, Ayceren (36- Housewife):

> The government, especially Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, regards the wellbeing of gecekondu dwellers more than other political groups. Though gecekondus are low in value and we do not have official titles; state proposes more for the sake of gecekondu dwellers. An owner of a gecekondu should not expect to be provided with 3 flats by TOKİ. It is very hard to please all of the people. [111]

Accordingly, Şadiye (55- Housewife) explained why TOKİ's project was suitable and preferable for the residents of Başıbüyük as such:

> State supports our living and if a person wants, s/he can live with a monthly income of 300 TL. People who moved from other squatters undergo urban transformation are satisfied with their housings and they live in sparkling flats which they can economically deal with. If a person says that s/he cannot afford TOKİ' conditions, either he lie or he is lazy. One should not expect everything from the state.

Aforesaid social actors' reaction against Maltepe Municipality under CHP rule and the Association improved their alliance structure since they proposed that both the Association and Maltepe Municipality attacked on government indirectly through resistance against urban transformation. Therefore, their common ground was being supporter of AKP.

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[110] Televizyonda Sulukulu'den yeni dairelerine taşınan insanları seyrettiğimde, kaderimize ve AKP belediyesinin şartlarını kabul etmeyişimizdeki hatamıza acıyorum. Her şey çok belirsiz şimdi…TOKİ'nin şartlarını kabul etmede ve TOKİ'nin sosyal konutlarına taşınmada herhangi bir mağduriyet yok!

[111] Hükümet, özellikle de Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, gecekonduluların iyiliğini diğer siyasi gruplardan daha çok dikkate alıyor. Gecekonduların değerinin düşük olmasına ve elimizde resmi belge olmamasına rağmen, devlet gecekonduluların iyiliği için fazlasını öneriyor. Bir gecekondu sahibi TOKİ'nin 3 daire vermesini beklememeli. Bütün insanları mutlu etmek çok zor.

Social actors from IBU and Holland, who engaged in the process within the context of Open City Istanbul International Conference and with an alternative project, supported each other's opinions on the subject as they generally completed each other on most of the points. I suggest that this was due to their objective standing as an outsider and their capability to approach the urban transformation as a technical problem that needed to be given special attention through common sense. They supported the idea that there should have been other alternatives to TOKİ. In other words, TOKİ should not have had to be a social partner in all projects as if it was a contractor firm that bore no social responsibility towards people. They assumed that there could be better urban transformation projects than TOKİ officials were designing. This was because TOKİ buildings were improper and the authority could not integrate civil society and private sector effectively as they pointed out during round table meetings. Though Maltepe Municipality, the proponents of resistance and EMEP also questioned the presence of TOKİ in urban transformation project in Başıbüyük; the approach of social actors from IBU and Holland differentiated themselves from this first group since they also addressed to the technical problems and immaterial interests, such as being involved in conflict resolution. However, as I argue, their political interests were the root of their discourses and preferential policy areas. For an instance, their stress on a democratic and participative urban policymaking process, the social support to and social responsibility towards the residents alluded to their political tendency towards a leftist ideology.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study was set to reveal how various social actors, who are involved in urban transformation process at Maltepe Başıbüyük, approached to urban transformation as per their economic and immaterial interests and priorities such as increasing their political power and being actively involved in conflict resolution and betterment of the society, and the dynamics underlying different social actors' approaches to urban transformation. The study has also sought to know who were the social actors involved in the process are; what were their interests and priorities; how they perceived of each other; what were the dynamics behind their approaches to urban transformation and strategies of different social actors; what were the dynamics of alliance and conflict structures among the social actors; and what were their policy suggestions from the social actors' perspectives. In this respect, this study sought to respond three of these issues within the context of Maltepe Başıbüyük with aim of understanding dynamics of alliance and conflict structures within the context of social actors' approaches to urban transformation and probable solutions:

1. Divergences in inhabitants' ownership status
2. The reliability and legitimacy of gecekondu resistance
3. The politicized presence of TOKİ as a partner in the urban transformation in Başıbüyük

As per their interests and priorities, social actors dealt with divergences in inhabitants' ownership status before implementation of a transformation project. In this manner, they made alliances with each other (1) when their approaches were similar, (2) when they trusted each other and (3) when they were against same suggestion/ strategy or policy provided by another social actor. Likewise, (1) when their approaches and benefits conflicted with each other and (2) when their close social networks were in conflict with each other, they antagonized. The central actors in the question were the Association and the residents of Başıbüyük that supported

the gecekondu resistance since they perceived the urban transformation as a problematic issue. On the one hand, they supported property rights before any project and they made alliance with EMEP for the obtainment of this right. However, since Maltepe Municipality, TOKİ and IBB did not approve property rights because of limitations in legal framework; supporters conflicted with and protested them and disturbed their implementations through street occupations. At this point, though the residents that were opposed to resistance claimed their property rights; they did not develop alliance structure with the resisters due to differentiation in their political interests and the loss of trust to the Association. One group preferred TOKİ projects as being a political and ideological reaction against the Association whereas the other group sought for other alternatives to TOKİ's. In this respect, Maltepe Municipality, academicians at Bilgi University and academicians and officials from Holland approved right to housing option that was supposed to be the resolution of the conflict in Başıbüyük. However, residents' distrust to judicial system and governments made them sit on the fence about supporting this alternative. Another reason why residents were hesitant to support right to use social housing was the fact that weakness of welfare system provisions in Turkey force people to secure their future and well- being through acquisition of property and becoming a homeowner.

Within the context of the reliability and legitimacy of gecekondu resistance, the leaders of the resistance argued that gecekondu resistance emerged as a spontaneous reaction against unfair implementations of TOKİ and the government. As well, they provided that since urban transformation project in Başıbüyük was not consulted to public, the emergence of resistance was inevitable. This was because the resistance held the local knowledge, demands and needs of the residents of Başıbüyük as they indicated. In this sense, EMEP, the supporters of the resistance, academicians working at Bilgi University and academicians and officials from Holland, who involved in the process within the context of Open City Istanbul International Conference and an alternative urban transformation project to TOKİ's, supported the struggle and the resistance of the Association. EMEP supported the resistance since this struggle was against one of the oppression areas of state and capitalist system and the resistance was a rightful struggle and it should have been associated with the

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other oppression areas of capitalist system, such oppression over Kurdish people, exploitation of working class, etc. In addition, aforesaid academicians at Bilgi University and academicians and officials from Holland promoted the resistance since the resisters addressed the inefficiencies of TOKİ projects and policymaking process. In this manner, the residents that supported the resistance pointed out that the Association defended their citizenship rights. Contrarily, the residents that were opposed to the resistance asserted that the resistance sabotaged the TOKİ project and inhibited the welfare- based implementations of state in order to attain political power against AKP rule. In this direction, TOKİ and IBB also propounded that their resistance arose from the leaders' and other political groups' political or economic interests. Moreover, this second group of actors indicated that pro- CHP residents prompted the innocent residents against state and TOKİ project. Hence, the resistance became politicized and some of the resistors pulled the rug from the resistance to show their reaction against CHP rule. That's why according to them, the resistance was not a rightful struggle. Rather, it postponed the prosperity of the residents of Başıbüyük. In addition, though Maltepe Municipality found the emergence of the resistance as a natural and rightful reaction against unfair implementations of TOKİ and the state; they put forward that the resistance turned into a profit seeking activity that inhibited the development of Başıbüyük and the consensus process.

The other divergence among the social actors stemmed from the political presence of TOKİ as a partner in the urban transformation in Başıbüyük. Some social actors supported the idea that TOKİ failed in producing effective urban transformation projects whereas others provided that TOKİ's projects catered the needs of gecekondu dwellers. The residents supporting the resistance assumed that TOKİ projects resulted in victimhood and they were far from being comprehensive urban transformation projects that addressed also the socio- economic and cultural peculiarities of each neighborhood. As well, they remarked that TOKİ's project was not based on principles of democratic and participatory urban policymaking. In this sense, they formed an alliance with EMEP, academicians working at Bilgi University and academicians and officials from Holland and partially Maltepe Municipality. On

the one hand, Maltepe Municipality criticized the implementations of TOKİ and AKP rule as well since they caused to victimhood and they were partial.

On the other, Maltepe Municipality supported the TOKİ project since it was supposed to be the most suitable housing project for Başıbüyük due to technical and legal concerns. I propose that Maltepe Municipality acted as a rational actor that wanted to increase its net benefit in the form of rising rents and incomes. That's why its position was ambiguous. This study's findings revealed that the divergence between the residents supporting TOKİ project and those opposing to TOKİ's derived from the political preferences of the residents and their political preferences and interests superseded their economic interests. The residents that supported TOKİ's project, TOKİ and IBB approved that urban transformation was applied in accordance with the main principles of TOKİ such as taking necessary measures in order to cater the housing needs in regard with characteristics of cities and environmental conditions. As opposed to the arguments of TOKİ antagonists, the residents that were opposed to gecekondu resistance, TOKİ and IBB supported TOKİ project since the reactions of the first group was supposed to be driven from their political and economic interests. According to them, TOKİ project was the most suitable project in terms of economic and social concerns. Nevertheless, this group was also driven as per its political and economic interests. Briefly, some actors started to search for a different project partner while the others insisted on the presence of TOKİ.

Considering the dynamics and structures of intra- neighborhood alliances and conflicts, I argue that the political interests of the residents of Başıbüyük were predominantly more determinative than their economic interests were. While a group of residents came together since they supported CHP and they believed that the Association would solve the problem, the other group of residence had common social networks with pro- AKP and the municipality under AKP rule and suggested that the resistance became politicized[112]. The residents supporting the resistance can

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[112] You may find the table including the divergences among the residents of Başıbüyük in the Appendices.

be summarized in three groups such as (1) the residents opposing to TOKİ project because of their distrust to state and TOKİ irrespective of their ownership status, (2) tenants who were anxious about TOKİ project since they believed that they would be displaced and would not benefit from their right to housing, and (3) the residents who had supported AKP and TOKİ project, but later withdrew their confidence from both AKP and TOKİ because of the failure and latency of the urban transformation project. The second group of residents were (1) pro- AKP residents irrespective of their ownership status, (2) tenants who expected to enjoy from the right to social housing and (3) the residents who supported the Association and CHP, but later lost their trust to both of them because of deadlock. Both of the groups tried to find out the best solution and their interests, priorities and demands are very important to raise the best urban transformation project and plural policymaking or consensus building process.

7.1. Social Policy suggestions

I aim at contributing to Social Policy literature with this study as a graduate student in the Social Policy Program as well as a social worker working at Directorate of Social Aid Affairs of a district municipality. Hence, I present a brief synthesis of policy implications of this field research and the theoretical framework on urban social policies. This study has used field research findings to reveal that existent urban social policies and policymaking methods fall short of catering the real needs of gecekondu residents and integrating different segments of society into policymaking process as equal partners. In this respect, I evaluate that (1) the project in Başıbüyük could not have accomplished these achievements such as being a comprehensive vision and action that maintains permanent solutions for physical, social, and environmental concerns of urban space that undergoes changes, (2) academicians at Bilgi University and academicians and officials from Holland and the leaders of the resistance assumed that the resistance would force the governments and municipalities to adopt democratic and participatory urban policymaking process and motivate them to endeavor for establishment of consensus building, (3) social actors involved in urban transformation process in Başıbüyük implied to

contemporary developments, such as social sustainability and sustainable development, (4) findings of this study revealed the approaches of social actors involved in the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük to existent housing policy of Turkish state and their provided solutions to housing problem, and (5) the findings of the field research indicated an urgent need of social policy programs to improve standards of living of gecekondu dwellers and the residents that are affected by urban transformation, and for preventing emergence of new gecekondu settlements.

Research findings revealed that the project in Başıbüyük could not have accomplished these objectives and it resulted in failure. Though TOKİ, IBB, and the residents of Başıbüyük that were opposed to the resistance blamed the social actors resisting to urban transformation project of TOKİ; the other social actors, such as the residents that support the resistance, Maltepe Municipality, academicians at IBU and academicians and officials from Holland provided it was the failure of existing inadequate urban transformation policies and ineffective policymaking processes. In this sense, the opinions of the leaders of the resistance, such as Taylan (58- Retired Civil Servant) and Ufuk (49- Grocer/ Village headman), some of the residents supporting the resistance, and EMEP were attempts to change spatial organization and social relations in city. In contrast, the approaches of Maltepe Municipality, academicians at Bilgi University and academicians and officials from Holland, TOKİ and IBB were similar to Thomas's approach to urban transformation that is a process includes rehabilitation of low standard of living, removal of deficiencies in physical and social infrastructure, systematic resolve of the problems, etc. However, since their interests and priorities were different, their methods to achieve these goals and their allies and antagonists varied.

Academicians at Bilgi University and academicians and officials from Holland and the leaders of the resistance believed that the resistance would force the governments and municipalities to adopt democratic and participatory urban policymaking process and motivate them to endeavor for establishment of consensus building. The meetings of Maltepe Municipality, round table meetings and information offices of

TOKİ were the evidences of the impacts of USMs on governors. In this sense, the leaders of the resistance got into contact with other segments of the society and formed alliances in order to get support and benefit from their knowledge, social networks, power etc. As well, those academicians and officials supported the implementation of round table meetings and adoption of Amsterdam principles for an effective consensus building and policymaking process. Besides, they had an important role in awareness rising and capacity building facilities for local residents. In addition, officials from Maltepe Municipality also seemed eager for establishment of consensus and participatory policymaking process at the beginning but they abandoned these principles later on as per their economic and political interests.

In this manner, research findings partially support that new understanding of city that will be produced by the relationship between dominant class, classes under domination, social movements, etc., and Lefebvre's (Brenner, Marcuse& Mayer, 2009) Right to City that connotes to the projects of democratic planning and formulation, control and management of social needs by people who have a stake in them. However, this gecekondu resistance has not yet ended up with such a success of people who have a stake in them. On the one hand, the residents opposing to the urban transformation framed of urban transformation as of being decay, demolish, oppression, displacement, dispossession, etc. In other words, the people that experienced the urban transformation (class under domination) became aware of the fact that the governors (dominant class) imposed their policies, which enhanced their scope of power and guaranteed their socio- economic hegemony, with an aim of limiting the living spaces of the victimized population and disseized their livelihood and right to city in favor of wealthier classes. On the other, these people, who have a stake in city, were excluded from the policymaking process itself though these policies would affect their own livelihood. Then, this hegemonic relationship constrained the maneuver room of the affected population and striped of their citizenship rights.

As a result, this relationship provided the residents with necessary knowledge as well as the experience on the unfair implementations of the governors and with necessary

temerity to get into conflict with these oppressive social actors through making alliances with other social actors who would support them by providing necessary legal and scientific information, political power, public support, etc. As well, these social actors illuminated them in reconciling the other oppression areas of capitalist and neo- liberal state, such as exploitation of the working class or oppression of Kurdish people's democratic rights, and would get them off to the collective ideal, goals and rights of the community consequently. In this way, this struggle would have oriented these social actors towards appropriation of capitalist city and establishment of a new city, in which there is 'a transformed and a renewed right to urban life' that is connoted to 'an integrated theory of the city and urban society, using the resources of science and art' (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158). Unfortunately, the gecekondu resistance in Başıbüyük fell short of this accomplishment and turned into a struggle for personal gain. The residents prioritized their economic interests over their political interests and the division among the residents as per their political interests and their proximity to the Association subjected one group of residents to other group of residents.

The concepts of social sustainability and sustainable development come into prominence in contemporary urban policies. The integration of social policy programs, necessity for increasing people's capacity and capabilities, respect to nature, and importance of local knowledge for development of sustainable cities within the framework of Rio Summit, Lisbon and Gothenbourg Strategy, and Local Agenda 21 have become inevitable. Though social actors involved in urban transformation process in Başıbüyük did not directly refer to these contemporary developments; but implied them. For an instance, academicians at Bilgi University and academicians and officials from Holland underlined the importance of civic participation, capacity building facilities for local residents, integration of local knowledge into the policymaking process, integration of social policy programs into urban transformation projects, trust building among social actors such as public sector, private sector and civil society, continuity and consistency in state policies, etc. That's why sustainable development and social sustainability are very integral to this study and they are important for policy suggestions.

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Findings of this study yielded up the approaches of social actors involved in the urban transformation process in Başıbüyük to current housing policy of Turkish state and their provided solutions to housing problem. Initially, the residents that supported the resistance provided that there was a characteristic and a peculiar life style in Başıbüyük In this manner, these actors supported that if they were evicted from Başıbüyük or if they moved on TOKİ flats, they would have difficulty in living in their new dwellings. There was another problem in Başıbüyük, which concentrated on the ownership question. In this regard, while policymakers did not accept provision of property rights to the residents of Başıbüyük, the residents supporting the resistance claimed their property rights since they had lost their trust to state policies and implementations. In other words, the residents aimed at guaranteeing their livelihood and prosperity by becoming homeowners in the absence of social state. In addition, the existence of the tenants complicated the consensus building and policymaking process.

I assume that there are several solutions to this conflict that both groups can evaluate. First step to be taken should be catering the housing needs of the residents of the neighborhood. In this manner, increasing the control over rents, generating low-rent housing, provision of social housing for tenants, expropriating old housings for the benefit of low- income families etc., developing cooperative housings based on social security funds for the benefit of low- waged workers, etc. can cater social housing needs of low- income families. Moreover, the housings should be appropriate for a good quality standards of living of large families which are very common in Başıbüyük. These options can be evaluated within the framework of urban transformation project in Başıbüyük. These suggestions are also valid since they are similar to the responses of officials at Maltepe Municipality, aforesaid academicians at Bilgi University and academicians and officials from Holland and since these implementations would prevent the displacement of socially marginal people and working class people though upper classes are invited to Başıbüyük.

The findings released that the majority of the residents of Başıbüyük that were affected by urban transformation were low- income families with low standards of

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living, low levels of education and income. Furthermore, most of them were under the scope of General Health Insurance (Green Card) and they earned their livelihood by working in informal sector. I assume that the findings of the field research pointed out the urgent social policy programs for increasing standards of living of gecekondu dwellers and the residents that are affected by urban transformation, for preventing emergence of new gecekondu settlements and social exclusion, for developing social integration and for doing social equipment areas for especially women and children. Therefore, Turkish cities are in need for comprehensive urban projects that regard the socio- economic and cultural peculiarities of people and address social investment.

In other words, urban transformation should be supported with a series of social programs in order to increase the standard of living at the smallest unit of settlement. In this sense, a human right approach should be adopted by the state and people should be provided with basic income. As such, vocational education to raise the capabilities and the employability of the local residents and to fight against especially youth unemployment; to launch community centers, which are appropriate to the socio- cultural peculiarities and needs of the local people, to raise the awareness of people on the neighborhood, local problems, etc., to provide social possibilities in an effort to develop social inclusion, to overcome the local problems, to increase the local participation, etc. As well, social exclusion should be prevented by implementing social policies to overcome inefficient social services.

When I go back to research question, research findings revealed that various social actors, who involved in urban transformation process in Maltepe Başıbüyük, approached to urban transformation as per their economic interests and immaterial interests and priorities such as increasing their political power and being actively involved in conflict resolution. As a result, they allied or antagonized with each other depending on their respective net benefit and opportunity cost calculations based upon these interests and priorities. Above mentioned questions provided with answers on how these social actors approached differently to urban transformation. Each social actor had 'an ideal urban transformation project' in her/ his mind according to aforesaid approaches. Hence, this study had been carried out in order to

find out the 'the ideal urban transformation project' and 'envisage of the future city'. Throughout this study, I aim at to reveal that ideal urban transformation project as well as envisage of the future city can be evolved as long as all social actors are integrated into the policymaking and consensus building process and it is backed up with social policies that inhibit social exclusion and varied forms of vulnerabilities and put all social actors in the same footing to have a say in this process.

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APPENDICES

A.   LIST OF SOCIAL ACTORS

Name	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Hometown	Education	Occupation	Ownership status
Taylan	58	Male	Married	Tokat	High School	Retired Civil Servant	Official title
Tolga	46	Male	Married	İstanbul	Master's degree	Urban Planner and Designer	Irrelevant
Berna	32	Female	Married	Tunceli	Doctor's degree	Sociologist	Irrelevant
Ufuk	59	Male	Married	Çankırı	Vocational Religious High School	Grocer/ Village Headman	Title assignation document
Ada	57	Male	Married	Kırıkkale	Secondary School	Ironmonger	Title assignation document
Oğuz	50	Male	Married	Kars	Primary School	Retired Worker	No paper
Sultan	30	Female	Married	Kastamonu	Primary School	Cleaning lady	Tenant
Musa	50	Male	Married	Sinop	Primary School	Retired Worker	Title assignation document
İbrahim	52	Male	Married	Gümüşhane	Primary School	Construction Worker	Title assignation document
Hatun	42	Female	Married	Sinop	Literate	Housewife	No paper
Müjgan	47	Female	Married	Tokat	Primary School	Retired Worker	Title assignation document
Leyla	38	Female	Married	Ordu	Secondary School	Housewife	Title assignation document
Saliha	41	Female	Married	Erzurum	Primary School	Cleaning Lady	No paper
Ahmet	51	Male	Married	Erzurum	Undergraduate	Civil Engineer	Irrelevant
Tuğçe	41	Female	Married	İstanbul	Master's degree	Urban Planner and Designer	Irrelevant
Yusuf	58	Male	Married	Trabzon	Undergraduate	Survey and Cadaster Engineer	Irrelevant
Salih	33	Male	Unknown	Tunceli	Undergraduate	Journalist	Irrelevant

Name	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Hometown	Education	Occupation	Ownership status
Yaşar	40	Male	Unknown	Ankara	Doctor's degree	Academician	Irrelevant
Güzide	57	Female	Unknown	Istanbul	Doctor's degree	Academician	Irrelevant
Mahir	45	Male	Unknown	Ankara	Master's degree	Studio Instructor	Irrelevant
Karl	App 70	Male	Unknown	Rotterdam	Graduate	Academician / Urban Planner	Irrelevant
Mary	App 50	Female	Unknown	Rotterdam	Graduate	Urban Planner and Designer	Irrelevant
Jane	App 50	Female	Unknown	Rotterdam	Undergraduate	Urban Planner and Designer	Irrelevant
Koray	60	Male	Married	Trabzon	Primary School	Worker	Title assignation document
Şadiye	55	Female	Married	Diyarbakır	Illiterate	Housewife	Tenant
Çiğdem	40	Female	Married	Trabzon	Primary School	Housewife	Title assignation document
Sinem	55	Female	Married	Sivas	Literate	Housewife	Title assignation document
Asuman	32	Female	Single	Diyarbakır	Primary School	Housewife	Tenant
İsmail	54	Male	Married	Trabzon	High School	Real Estate Developer	Official title
Gürsel	App. 45	Male	Unknown	Istanbul	Undergraduate	Urban Planner and Designer	Irrelevant
Nevruz	App. 45	Female	Unknown	Istanbul	Undergraduate	Urban Planner and Designer	Irrelevant
Veli	App. 45	Male	Unknown	Istanbul	Undergraduate	Architect	Irrelevant
Mutlu	46	Male	Married	Gümüşhane	Primary School	Construction Worker	Title assignation document
Semra	29	Female	Married	Trabzon	Secondary School	Housewife	Title assignation document
Ayceren	36	Female	Married	Sivas	Primary School	Housewife	No paper
İlkay	50	Female	Married	Trabzon	Primary School	Housewife	Title assignation document

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B. TABLE 1- DIVERGENCES AMONG THE RESIDENTS OF BAŞIBÜYÜK

The residents supporting the gecekondu resistance	The residents opposing to the gecekondu resistance
The residents opposing to TOKİ project because of their distrust to state and TOKİ	Pro- AKP residents
Tenants who were anxious about TOKİ project	Tenants who expected to enjoy from the right to social housing
The residents who had supported AKP and TOKİ project, but later withdrew their confidence	The residents who supported the Association and CHP, but later lost their trust

C. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party

ANAP: Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party)

CHP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)

EMEP: EMEK Partisi (Labour Party)

IBB: Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality)

IBU: Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi (Istanbul Bilgi University)

MHP: Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party)

SP: Saadet Partisi (Felicity Party)

TOKİ: Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı (Housıng Development Admınıstratıon)

D. TURKISH SUMMARY

Kendine özgü yapısından yola çıkarak, kentsel dönüşüm Türkiye'de üzerinde durulması ve dikkate alınması gereken bir süreçtir. Onun bu özgünlüğü sürecin kendisinden ve insanların bu sürece gösterdikleri karşı duruşun kendi dinamikleri ve yine özgünlüğünden kaynaklanmaktadır. Buna bağlı olarak, ülkemizde son zamanlarda, özellikle kentsel mekanlarda, birtakım toplumsal ayaklanma ve direnişlerle karşılaşmaktayız. Bu karşı duruşlar bize, insanların günlük varoluş ve tüketim üzerinde kentte yaşam hakkı talebi ve demokratik bir şekilde kentsel planlama süreçlerine katılım isteklerini ve baskıcı siyasi otoriteye karşı duruşlarını kanıtlamaktadır. İşte bu karşı duruş ve direnişler, toplumsal özgürleşme ve sivil katılım taleplerine odaklanmaktadır.

Ülkemizde kentsel dönüşüm sürecinin baş aktörünü TOKİ (Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı) oluşturmaktadır. 2008 yılında çıkan bir yasa ile beraber TOKİ, kentsel dönüşüm projeleri aracılığı ile, kent olanları ve kamusal otoriteleri göz önüne almadan, istediği yerde istediği planı uygulama ve istediği binayı yıkma hakkına ve gücüne ulaşmıştır. Böylece, TOKİ'nin yetkisi ve yetki alanı arttırılmıştır. Bunun sonucunda, yasal olmayan yapısının ön plana çıkarılması ve sahiplerinin birer işgalci olarak gösterilmesi yoluyla, TOKİ gecekondu bölgeleri üzerine hücum etmiş ve, küresel ve coğrafi önemi ve özellikleri ile beraber, İstanbul bu yıkım ve neo- liberal kentsel planlama politikalarının en ağır ve en çok yıkımla kendini gösterdiği bölge haline gelmiştir. Amaç, İstanbul'u bir dünya şehri haline getirmek ve onu tüm kamburlarından kurtarıp, 'satmaktır'.

İşte bu tez, 2009 ve 2010 yılları arasında, İstanbul Maltepe Başıbüyük mahallesi özelindeki kentsel dönüşüm projesine karşı olan gecekondu direnişinde yer almış çeşitli aktörler arasındaki ittifak ve itilafların dinamik ve yapılarını analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca çalışma, farklı aktörlerin yaklaşım ve stratejileri ardındaki dinamikleri de ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Bu kentsel dönüşüm projesinde yer almış ve gecekondu sakinleri tarafından sıklıkla söz edilmiş olan çeşitli toplumsal aktörlerin, ekonomik ve siyasi gücünü arttırmak ve itilaf çözüm sürecinde yer almak

gibi manevi ilgi ve öncelikleri kapsamında kentsel dönüşüme nasıl yaklaştıklarını araştırır. Bunun yanında, bu çalışma farklı toplumsal aktörlerin yaklaşım ve stratejileri arkasındaki dinamiklerin ne olduğunu ve onların perspektifi ile politika önerilerinin ne olduğunu ortaya koymayı amaçlar. Toplumsal aktörlerin çıkar ve öncelikleri temelinde ortaya çıkan itilaf ve ittifaklar, bu aktörlerin kentsel dönüşüm sürecine bakış açılarını odak noktaya almaktadır. Kentsel dönüşüm sürecinin kendisi dışında, soylulaştırma çalışmaları, mülkiyet yapısı ve gecekondu direnişinin kendisi, toplumsal aktörler arasında ortaya çıkan kaygan ilişkilerin, aktörler tarafından istenilmeyen durumlar karşısında duruşlarının ve sosyal politika önerilerinin incelenmesi bu çalışmanın yeniliğini ve önemini ortaya koymaktadır.

Araştırma sonuçlarına göre, toplumsal aktörler ittifaklarının kaynakları ve güçlerinden faydalanmak, politik ve ekonomik çıkarlarını arttırmak ve düşmanlarını hareketsiz hale getirmek için bazı aktörlerle koalisyon kurma ihtiyacı duymuş ya da otorite ve güç bahsedilen taraflar arasında eşit olarak dağılmadığı için, bazıları ile, ilgi ve çıkarları çıkarları çatıştığında, itilaf içine düşmüşlerdir. Tüm bunların dışında, bazı toplumsal aktörler, itilaf çözüm sürecinden yer almak gibi manevi ilgileri ya da çıkarları kapsamında, bu sürece dahil olmuşlardır. Değerlendirmeler göstermektedir ki; itilaf ve ittifaklar toplumsal aktörlerin kar- zarar hesaplamalarına derinden bağlıdır. Temel argümandan yola çıkarak, en çok ittifakı yapan ve en çok toplumsal aktörün rızasını alan toplumsal aktörler, ortaya çıkan ittifak ve itilaf tablosunda, pastadan en büyük payı almayı hedeflemektedir. Bu pay ise, kentsel dönüşüm sürecinin kendi yapısı ve dinamiklerine dayanmaktadır. Yani, ortaya çıkacak olan tablo, yukarıdan dayatılacak bir kentsel dönüşüm projesi ya da dönüşüm alanında önceden yapılacak bir sosyo- ekonomik ve kültürel araştırmadan yola çıkılarak, insanların ihtiyaçları ve sürdürülebilir kalkınma temelinde, katılımcı bir politika yapma ve konsensus odaklı bir kentsel dönüşüm projesi olacaktır. Bu yanıyla bu çalışma, sosyal politika alanında önem arz etmekte ve kentsel sosyal politikalara katkı yapması planlanmaktadır. Bu sürece, gecekondu direnişinde aktif olarak görev almış ve birebir devletin şiddetine maruz kalmış olan kadınlar ve onların beklentileri de dahil edilmiştir. Aynı zamanda, her seferinde, Başıbüyük sakinlerinin çoğu kentsel dönüşümün nesneleri değil, özneleri olduklarını belirtmişledir. Bu nedenle,

kentsel dönüşüme maruz sosyal aktörlerin ihtiyaçlarını, talepleri ve süreç hakkındaki görüşleri bu çalışma açısından önceliklidir. Daha iyi sosyal politika hedefleri veya programları, daha iyi ve adil kentsel ilkeleri, çevre tasarımı ve bütüncül sosyal politikaların üretilebilmesi için onların görüşlerinin önemli olduğu görüşü savunulmaktadır.

Bölge halkı ile yapılan görüşmeler sonucunda kendilerinden en çok bahsedilen toplumsal aktörler bu çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, gecekondu direnişine destek veren ve karşı çıkan olmak üzere, toplumsal aktörler iki gruba ayrılmıştır. Direnişi destekleyen grup dahilinde, Başıbüyük Mahallesi Çevreyi Düzenleme ve Güzelleştirme ve Tabiatı Koruma Derneği kapsamında süreçte liderlik eden figürler, derneği destekleyen yerel halk, Maltepe Belediyesi, EMEK Partisi, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi'nden bazı öğretim görevlileri ve Açık Şehir İstanbul Bienali ve 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Programı çerçevesinde Başıbüyük'ü ziyaret eden ve kentsel dönüşüm sürecini ele alıp önerilerde bulunan Hollandalı öğretim görevlileri ve belediyelerin ilgili bölümlerinde çalışan şehir plancılar ele alınmıştır. Direnişe karşı duran grup içerisinde ise, direnişi desteklemeyen yerel halk, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve TOKİ ele alınmaktadır. Belirtilen gruplardan 42 kişi ile yüz yüze derinlemesine görüşme yapılmış; ancak, değerlendirilmelerin aynılaşması ve konuya olan bağlılık kapsamında 29 görüşmecinin görüşlerine çalışmada yer verilmiştir. Bazı aktörlerin yaklaşımları Bieanal, yuvarlak masa toplantıları, mahalle toplantıları ve e- posta yolu ile alınmış ve dahil edilmiştir. Aynı zamanda kadınlar ile yapılan odak grup araştırması da dahil edilmiştir. Kentsel dönüşüm süreci ile yakında ilgilenen, neo- liberal politikalara karşı alternatif görüşleri ve insan odaklı, katılımcı kentsel dönüşüm talepleri ile birçok mahalleye çok önemli destek vermiş olan bazı sivil toplum örgütleri ise, sürecin dışında bırakılmıştır.

Belirtmek gerekir ki, Mahalle Derneği kendi içinde homojen bir varlık değildir; daha doğrusu kendi yapısı içinde farklı siyasi pozisyonları ihtiva etmektedir. Kentsel dönüşüme karşı bakış açıları, tercihleri, yaklaşımlar ve stratejileri, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi ve Saadet Partisi tarafından yoğunluklu olarak belirlenmektedir. Aynı zamanda, içinde eski Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi mensubu veya taraftarı üyeler de bulunmaktadır. Yine de, bu siyasi çeşitlilik AKP'nin kentsel dönüşüme bakış açısı ve TOKİ'nin içinde bulduğu ekonomik ve politik misyona karşıdır. Başıbüyük mahallesinin kendine özgü yapısı ve gecekondu direnişinin orjinalliği, Başıbüyük mahallesinin muhafazakar ve statükocu yapısından, kökten dinci İslami ögelerin baskınlığından ve mahalle halkının 1980 darbesinden beri herhangi bir politik başkaldırı ya da devlet politikalarına yönelik herhangi bir itirazının olmamasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Ancak, ne zaman ki, uygulanan kentsel dönüşüm politikalarının vatandaşlık haklarına bir saldırı olarak görmüşler, o zaman devletin politikalarına karşı gecekondu direnişi şeklinde memnuniyetsizliklerini göstermişler, gerek protesto biçimleri gerekse de düşüncelerini ortaya koyma biçimleri ile, topyekun ve dayanışmacı mücadeleleri ile muhafazakar olarak bilinin mahalle geleneklerine ters bir duruş sergilemişlerdir.

Ancak, dernek tarafından öncülük edilen mücadelenin işçi sınıfı ve sol ideolojinin devrimci nitelikleri ile bağdaşan bir gecekondu direnişi olmadığı gözlemlenmiş, yöre halkının ekonomik çıkarları politik çıkarlarının önüne geçmiştir. Diğer bir deyişle, gecekondu direnişi resmi tapuların alınması mücadelesine dönüşmüştür. Bu durum bazı direnişin bazı önderleri ve mahalleli arasında görüş ayrılığına neden olmuş, ancak özel mülkiyet hakkı üzerinden yürütülen mücadele ve yöre halkının sistematik ve düzenli olarak direniş sergileme tecrübe ve isteği bulunmadığından, dönem dönem direniş sekteye uğramış ve siyasi bir dönüşüm sergileyecek bir tabandan gelen özellik niteliği gösterememiştir. Bunun yanında, gerek dernek yöneticileri gerekse de mahalleli 'Başıbüyüklü olma'nın bir üst kimlik olduğu, devletin zengin ve fakir arasında ayrım yaptığı, soylulaştırma çabalarını merkezine alan kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin bir ayrımcılık, yerinden etme ve eşitsiz güç ilişkilerine neden olduğu, Türkiye'deki kentsel dönüşüm sürecinde sivil toplumun sürece dahil edilmediği görüşleri hakkında yöre halkı kenetlenmiştir.

Başıbüyük mahallesi sakinlerinin sosyo- ekonomik ve kültürel özellikleri kentsel dönüşümün neden hayal kırıklığına neden olduğu ve neden kapsamlı sosyal politikalar ile desteklenmesi gerektiği hakkında bilgi vermektedir. Görüşme yapılan mahalle sakinlerinin çoğu alt sosyo- ekonomik gelir grubuna dahil olmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, eğitim seviyesi yoğunluklu olarak ilk okul düzeyinde ve Yeşil Kart (Genel Sağlık Sigortası)'ın ağırlıklı olduğu gözlemlenmektedir. Çalışanların arasında düzenli bir işte çalışmayanların ve düzenli gelirleri olmayanların sayısı dikkat çeker düzeydedir. Ayrıca, aileler TOKİ konutlarında yaşayamayacak kadar fazla sayıda hanehalkından oluşmakta ve hayatlarını devam ettirmek için yaptıkları işler de bu konutlar ile uyuşmamaktadır. Örneğin, mahalle sakinleri arasında çek- çek ile kağıt vs. toplayanların, meyve- sebze satanların ve hayvan yetiştirenlerin olduğu görülmektedir. Aynı şekilde, yaşam şekilleri göz önüne alındığı, yaşam alanlarının iyi kalitede bir yaşam sürdürmek için yetersiz kaldığı, sağlıksız yaşam koşullarının ne yazık ki mevcut olduğu görülmektedir. Doğu ve Güneydoğu'dan zorunlu göçle ya da işsizlik nedeniyle gelen kişilerin varlığı, mahalle halkını kentsel dönüşüme karşı birçok savunmasızlığa maruz bırakmakta, sosyal ağlarının yetersiz olması, yeni yoksulluk, sosyal politikalara gereken ihtiyacını açık bir biçimde ortaya koymaktadır. Aynı zamanda bu durum, gecekondu sahipleri ve kiracıları arasındaki farkları ve bu iki grubun farklı şekilde ele alınması gerektiğini göstermiştir. Ortak görüş ise, gecekondu direnişini destekleyen mahalle sakinlerinin TOKİ'nin kendi yaşam alanları, psikolojik ve fiziksel iyilik durumlarına olan olumsuz etkisi, yaşadıkları konutların varlıklarını devam ettirebilmeleri için ne kadar önemli olduğu, Başıbüyük mahallesindeki dayanışmanın önemi, sosyal politikalara olan talepleri ve direnişe karşı olumlu bakış açılarıdır.

Gecekondu direnişi destekleyen diğer bir aktör olarak Maltepe Belediyesi de tezde yer almaktadır. 2009 yerel seçimlerinde belediye yönetiminin AKP'den CHP'ye geçisi, ideolojik anlamda farklılık yaratsa bile, her ne kadar mahalle halkı CHP'yi desteklemiş olsa bile, somut kazanımlar ne yazık ki elle tutulur düzeyde olmamaktadır. Benzer şekilde, belediye görevlileri her ne kadar gecekondu direnişinin barınma hakkı ve meşru bir yaşam hakkı direnişinden yola çıkılmış olsa

bile, zamanla tamamen ekonomik çıkar odaklı ve rantçı bir yapıya dönüştüğü görüşünü benimsemekte, belediyenin politikaları ile yerel halkın talepleri bu nedenle uyuşmamakta ve konsensusa varılamamaktadır. Ayrıca, Maltepe Belediyesi'nin temsilen, bu süreçte görev almış olan kişilerin görüşlerinin derlemesi ile elde edilen sonuç, kentsel dönüşümün teknik mi yoksa sosyal mi bir süreç olduğu ve hangi yönünün daha ağır bastığı şeklindeki ikilemler ile devam etmektedir. Bir grup, kentsel dönüşümün teknik bir süreç olduğunu ve bu şekilde ele alınması gerektiğini savunurken, diğer bir grup sosyal bir süreç olduğunu ve sosyal konuların ağır basması gerektiğini savunmaktadır. Belirtmek gerekir ki, katılımcı ve konsensus odaklı bir politika yapma süreci için, Maltepe Belediyesi üniversiteler tarafından yürütülen yuvarlak masa toplantılarına katılmış ve mahalle toplantıları düzenlemişledir. Yöre halkı hakkında gerekli bilgilerin alınması ve onların görüşlerinin de etrafında sürecin şekillendirilmesi yoluyla gelecekte önemli bir gelişmeler yaşanılacağına inanılmaktadır. Bu anlamı ile direniş, önemli gelişmelerin yolunu açmaktadır.

Süreçte etkin rol almış diğer bir toplumsal aktör ise EMEK Partisi'dir. Bu kapsamda, parti üyesi ve Evrensel Gazetesi gazetecilerinden birisi ile görüşme yapılmış ve gerek parti, gerekse de partinin yayın organları Evrensel Gazetesi ve HAYAT TV'nin katkıları üzerine değerlendirmeler yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, görüşmeci partinin gecekondu direnişi üzerinde önemli etki ve katkısı olduğu belirtmiş, mahalle sakinleri ise herhangi bir siyasi grubu dahil etmediklerini, Başıbüyüklü kimliği etrafında birleştiklerini söylemişlerdir. Ancak, mahalle sakinleri gerek gazete gerekse de televizyon kanalı aracılığı ile görünür hale geldiklerini ve Türkiye genelinde destek aldıklarını ifade etmişledir. Yine de, partinin ideolojisi ve mahalledeki yaygın siyasi görüş uyuşmamakta, EMEP bu sürecin toplumsal ve siyasi, insan hak ve özgürlükleri kapsamında, bir değişikliğe yol açacağını ileri sürerken, mahalleli ise bu sürecin sadece özel mülkiyet hakları kapsamında yürütülen bir mücadele olduğunu ve siyasileştirilmemesi gerektiğini belirtmektedir. Görüşmecinin paylaştıkları doğrultusunda, EMEP gecekondu direnişi üzerinde etkin, işçi sınıfı hareketi ve Kürt kökenli vatandaşların demokratik hak talepleri ile kentsel dönüşüm ilintili ve sivil toplum örgütleri farkındalık yaratma konusunda etkindir.

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Diğer bir destekleyici toplumsal aktör olarak, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi'nden süreçte çeşitli çalışmalar yapmış ve 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti çerçevesinde mahalle ziyaretleri ve alternatif projeler üreten akademisyenlere de bu çalışmada yer verilmiş ve onların değerlendirmelerinden faydalanılmıştır. TOKİ'nin projesine alternatif olarak ürettikleri, Dünya Bankası tarafından desteklenmesi planlanan ve farkı sosyo- ekonomik gelir gruplarını içeren, sosyal konut kullanım hakkı etrafında şekillenen projelerinin varlığı çalışmaya önemli katkılar sunmaktadır. Ne yazık ki, proje Maltepe Belediyesi tarafından kabul edilmemiştir. Bu kapsamda görüşlerine başvurulan akademisyenler, Türkiye'deki kentsel dönüşüm uygulamalarındaki yeterli deneyim ve bilgi eksikliği, Başıbüyük mahallesindeki mülkiyet sorunsalı ve kentsel dönüşüm politikalarının temelinde bir konsensus oluşturma sürecinin ve katılımcılığın olmaması, genil kapsamlı kentsel dönüşüm projeleri üretilmemesi üzerinde durmaktadırlar.

Gecekondu direnişini destekleyen diğer toplumsal aktörler ise, 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti çerçevesinde Başıbüyük'ü ziyaret eden ve Açık Şehir İstanbul Bienali esnasında Başıbüyük'de saha incelemesi ve değerlendirmelerde bulunan Hollandalı akademisyen ve kent plancılardır. Bu aktörler de, tıpkı yukarıda belirtilen akademisyenler gibi, yeterli teknik denetim ve bilgi bulunmadığı, konsensus oluşturma sürecinin olmadığı üzerinde durmakta ve sürecin tarafları olan toplumsal aktörlerle konu hakkında deneyim ve görüşlerini paylaşmaktadırlar. Bu aktörler de, sosyal konut kullanım hakkı ve konsensus sürecinin temek prensiplerini işaret etmektedirler.

Gecekondu direnişinin karşısında bulunan grup içerisinde yer alan toplumsal aktörlerden biri, TOKİ projelerini destekleyen yerel halkın oluşturduğu gruptur. Bu grubun temel özelliği AKP ve TOKİ'ye yakın duruşlarından oluşmaktadır. Göreceli olarak bu grubun ekonomik seviyesinin diğer gruba göre daha iyi olduğu, ancak mülkiyet edinme konusunda TOKİ'ye daha fazla güvenildiği fark edilmektedir. Bu grubun içerisinde, bir konut sahibi olacağına inanan kiracılar ve elinde tapu tahsis belgesi bile bulunmayan gecekondu ya da konut sahipleri bulunmaktadır. Görüşme yapılan kişiler temel olarak, derneğe güvenmediklerini ve derneğin siyasi çıkar

grupları tarafından yönetildiği, AKP'nin diğer partilere göre daha etkili sosyal politika ve kentsel dönüşüm politikaları üretttiği, ve TOKİ projelerinin mahalle sakinleri için olumlu sonuçları olacağı üzerinde durmaktadır.

Diğer direnişe karşı olan bir toplumsal aktör olarak, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi ön plana çıkmaktadır. Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nden süreçle sorumlu kişi ile yapılan görüşme neticesinde, bu sürecin teknik bir sorun olarak ele alındığı, ilçe belediyelerinin konu hakkında başarısızlık ve sakinleri ikna edememeleri nedeniyle, kentsel dönüşümün sekteye uğradığı ve gecekondu sakinlerinin farklı çıkarlar ile konuyu ele aldığı şeklinde bilgiler teze dahil edilmiştir. Yetkili kişi, siyasi görüşlerden ziyade, teknik sorunlara işaret etmiştir.

Direnişi desteklemeyen en son toplumsal aktör olarak TOKİ teze dahil edilmiştir. TOKİ bünyesinde konu ile görevlendirilmiş kişiler ile yapılan görüşmeler neticesinde, gecekondu direnişinin siyasi bir oluşum olduğu, TOKİ'nin bu konuda çözüm üretebilecek en iyi kurum olduğu ve TOKİ projesinin yöre halkının ihtiyaç ve karakteristiklerine en uygun proje olduğu yönünde bilgiler alınmıştır. Bu kişiler de katılımcı bir çözüm sürecinin gerekli olduğunu, ancak, sürece katılacak olan aktörlerin mantıklı ve elle tutulur, yasalar ile uyumlu, talep ve öneriler ile masaya oturmaları gerektiğini belirtmişlerdir.

Yerel halkın mülkiyet durumu üzerine ilerleyen tartışmalarda, yine toplumsal aktörlerin, ekonomik, siyasi ya da maddi temelli olmayan, çözüm sürecini oluşturma gibi ilgi ve çıkarlarının baskın olduğu görülmektedir. Bu kapsamda, toplumsal aktörler itilaf ya da ittifak oluşturmaktadır. Ancak, belirtmek gerekir ki, toplumsal aktörlerin bir konu üzerinde itilafa düşmesi, her konu üzerinde itilafa düşecekleri anlamına gelmemektedir. Bazı konularda hemfikir oldukları, bazı konularda görüş ayrılığı olduğu görülmektedir. Böylece, gecekondu direnişini destekleyen yerel halk ve direnişi desteklemeyen sakinler mülkiyet hakkı üzerinde ittifak oluşturmaktadır. Ancak, bu amaca ulaşırken kullanılan araçlar farklılaşmaktadır. Aynı şekilde, EMEP de yöre halkının diğer aktörlerle eşitlenebilmesi için özel mülkiyet hakkının verilmesi gerektiği görüşünü benimsemektedir. Buna karşın, Maltepe Belediyesi,

TOKİ ve Büyükşehir Belediyesi, özel mülkiyet hakkının, TOKİ projesi dışında verilmesinin mümkün olmadığını belirtmektedir. Bilgi Üniversitesi'nden akademisyenler ve Hollanda'dan gelen akademisyenler ve şehir plancılar, özel mülkiyet sorunsalının aradaki gerilimi arttırdığını, sosyal konut kullanım hakkının çözüm getireceğini benimsemektedir.

Diğer bir ele alınan ve tezin temel sorunsallarından birini oluşturan mahalle derneğinin güvenilirliği ve meşruluğu hakkında da toplumsal aktörler itilafa düşmekte ya da ittifak oluşturmaktadır. Bu sorunsal, derneğin doğal bir tepki olup olmadığı üzerinden yola çıkmaktadır. Dernek, TOKİ projesinin adil olmadığı, halka danışılmadığı ve bu nedenle gecekondu direnişinin kaçınılmaz olduğunu savunmaktadır. Direnişi destekleyen yerel halk, EMEP, Bilgi Üniversitesi'nden yukarıda bahsedilen akademisyenler ve Hollanda'dan gelen akademisyen ve plancılar, gecekondu direnişi ve derneği desteklemekte ve meşru bulmaktadır. Bunun nedeni, kentsel dönüşüme karşı bir tepkinin ortaya çıkmasının doğal olduğudur. EMEP özelinde, bu direniş devletin baskıcı politikalarına karşı ortaya çıkan ve diğer alanları da gelecekte kapsayacak bir hareketlenmedir. Ancak akademisyenler ve şehir plancılar, ve kısmen Maltepe Belediyesi, kentsel dönüşümün yetersizliklerine işaret ettiği ve politika yapma sürecinde aktif rol almaya yönelik bir talep olduğu gerekçesi ile direnişi haklı bulmaktadır. Bunun karşısında, direnişin karşısından bir pozisyon alan mahalle sakinleri, TOKİ ve Büyükşehir Belediyesi ise, direniş ve derneğin, TOKİ projelerini ve süreci sabote etmek için ortaya çıktığını, devletin refah odaklı uygulamaları ve AKP'nin siyasi gücünü etkisiz hale getirmek için var olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Aynı zamanda bu grup, direnişin bazı ekonomik ve politik çıkarlar nedeniyle yürütüldüğünü ifade etmekte, yerel halkın mağdur edildiğini söylemektedir. Bu son görüşe, Maltepe Belediyesi'nden görevliler de katılmakta, ancak konsensus odaklı politikaların geliştirilebilmesi için derneğin önemini kabul etmektedir.

Toplumsal aktörler arasındaki diğer bir görüş ayrılığı ise, kentsel dönüşüm sürecinde yer alan bir partner olarak TOKİ'nin varlığının siyasi olup olmadığı üzerinedir. Gecekondu direnişini destekleyen toplumsal aktörler, EMEP, kısmen Maltepe

Belediyesi, Bilgi Üniversite'sinden sözü edilen akademisyenler ve Hollanda'dan Açık Şehir İstanbul kapsamında Başıbüyük'ü ziyaret eden akademisyen ve plancılar, TOKİ'nin siyasi bir yapı gibi hareket ettiğini, bu nedenle gecekonduluları mağdur ettiğini ve geniş kapsamlı sosyal politikalar ve kent politikaları üretmediğini ileri sürmektedir. Aynı şekilde, üretilen projelerin bölge halkının sosyo- ekonomik ve kültürel özellikleri ile bağdaşmadığına dikkati çekmektedir. Dahası, TOKİ'nin politika üretme sürecinin demokratik ve katılımcı olmadığının altı çizilmektedir. Ancak, Maltepe Belediyesi yasal zorunlulular nedeniyle en uygun projeleri TOKİ'nin üreteceğini de salık vermektedir. Bu ikilem belediyenin somut bir ilerleme kaydedememesine neden olmaktadır. Öte yandan, direnişe karşı olan mahalle sakinleri, TOKİ ve Büyükşehir Belediyesi, TOKİ projesinin mahallenin yapısına en uygun proje olduğunu ve buna karşı çıkmanın farklı ekonomik ve siyasi çıkarlardan kaynaklandığını savunmaktadır.

Temel olarak, mahalle halkı arasındaki görüş ayrılıkları ele alındığında, gecekondu direnişini destekleyenler ve karşı çıkanlar gerekçelerine göre sınıflandırılabilir. Bu anlamda, ekonomik belirleyicilikten ziyade, politik çıkar ve önceliklerinin daha ön planda olduğu inceleme neticesinde ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bir grup mahalle sakini, (1) mülkiyet durumu göz önüne alınmadan, devlete ve TOKİ'ye olan inanç kaybı nedeniyle direnişi destekleyenler, (2) yerinden edinme ve herhangi bir olanaktan faydalanamayacağı endişesi yaşıyan kiracılar ve (3) önce AKP ve TOKİ'yi destekleyen, ancak daha sonra projenin başarısızlığı ve güven kaybı nedeniyle bu gruba geçen mahalle sakinleri olarak sınıflandırılabilir. Bu grup, TOKİ'ye karşı çıkmakta ve direnişi desteklemektedir. Diğer grup ise, (1) AKP destekçileri, (2) sosyal konut hakkından faydalanmak amacıyla TOKİ'yi destekleyen kiracılar ve (3) başlangıçta CHP ve derneği destekleyip, daha sonrasında, sürecin kısırlaşması nedeniyle desteğini çeken mahalle sakinleri olarak sınıflandırılabilir. Ancak, her iki grup da, mahalle sakinleri için en iyisini bulmaya çalışmış, kendi inanç ve öncelikleri doğrultusunda, talep, öneri ve görüşlerini ortaya koymuşlardır

Bu çalışma mahalle sakinlerinin mülkiyet durumundaki farklılıklarına, gecekondu direnişinin güvenirlilik ve meşruluğuna ve TOKİ'nin, kentsel dönüşüm sürecindeki bir partner olarak, politikleşmiş varlığına bir yanıt vermeyi tasarlamıştır. Böylece, bu çalışma toplumsal aktörlerin ekonomik ve politik ya da diğer manevi ilgilerine göre, onların ideal kentsel dönüşüm projesi ve geleceğin kentinin tasavvurunu ortaya çıkarmak için yapılmıştır. Çalışma ortaya koymaktadır ki, tüm toplumsal aktörler politika yapma ve itilaf çözme sürecine dahil edildiği ve toplumsal dışlanmayı ve her türlü savunmasızlıkları önleyecek ve tüm toplumsal aktörleri, süreçte söz sahibi olmak için, aynı seviyeye getirecek sosyal politikalarla desteklendiği müddetçe, ideal kentsel dönüşüm projesi olduğu gibi geleceğin şehrinin tasavvuru geliştirilebilir.

E. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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