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TOWARDS

TRANSFORMATIVE CHANGE

THE RIGHT TO THE CITY ~ ISTANBUL

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SONUÇ RAPORLARI

İstanbul günümüzde kentteki yoksul kadın ve erkeklerin geçimini tehdit eden yoğun ve devlet tarafından yönlendirilen bir kentsel dönüşüm döneminden geçmektedir. Kent 20. Yüzyılda endüstriyelleşme ve ekonomik büyüme dönemleriyle yoğunlaşmış hızlı kentleşme sürecini deneyimlemeye devam etmektedir. Göçmenler barınma ihtiyaçlarını boş devlet arazilerinde gecekondu kelime anlamıyla gece inşa edilen yerleşimler yaparak gidermişlerdir. Devlet ve diğer büyük paydaşlar bu el koyma biçimini kabul etmiş olsalar da, şu anda var olan görüş bu yerleşimleri “bozuk kentleşme” olarak sınıflandırmış ve TOKİ gibi güçlü devlet kuruluşlarının kentsel dönüşüm çabalarında hedef haline getirmiştir.

Kente erişim hakkı, kente müdahalenin nasıl yoksul kadın ve erkeklerin kent yaşamındaki olumlu dönüşümsel değişime katkıda bulunabileceğini anlamak için kullanılmaktadır. Alan çalışmasına göre üç problem potansiyel kentsel müdahaleler için öncelik olarak tespit edilmiştir. İlki mekânsal üretimin uluslararası politik ekonomiyi hedefleyen ulusal gündem tarafından yönlendirildiğini iddia etmektedir. İkincisi İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi master planının kent kadın ve erkeklerinin hepsinin ihtiyaçlarını yansıtmayan kentsel dönüşüm projeleri önerdiğini anlatmaktadır. Son olarak, kent için alternatif bir vizyon sunan birleşik, güçlü bir hareketin eksikliği temel bir problem olarak anlaşılmaktadır.

Kente erişim hakkı ve dönüşümsel değişimi teşvik etmek için stratejiler önerilmiştir. Bunlar: katılım hakkını müdafaayı koordine edecek ortak bir platform geliştirmek ve kurmak; tarihi yenileme ve deprem etkisini hafifletme konulu “yeni gelişen ekonomiler” için kentsel dönüşüm öncelikleri oluşturmak için alternatif bir vizyon olarak kent mekanının kullanım değerini ön plana çıkarmak ve bunun temini için kapasite geliştirme. Kente erişim hakkı İstanbul için alternatif bir vizyona odaklanan bir eylemi teşvike yönelik potansiyel etkisi sebebiyle değerlendirilmektedir.

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Istanbul is currently undergoing a period of intense, state-led urban transformation that has threatened the livelihoods of poor urban women and men. The city continues to experience rapid urbanisation, intensified by periods of industrialisation and economic growth in the 20th century. Migrants addressed their own housing needs through the construction of *gecekondu* - literally built overnight settlements - which were located on empty state lands. Though the state and other major stakeholders accepted this form of appropriation, current discourse has categorised these settlements as “distorted urbanisation” leaving them targets for urban transformation efforts by powerful state agencies such as the Mass Housing Administration.

The right to the city is used to understand how urban interventions can contribute to the positive transformative change in the urban life of poor women and men. Based on field research three problems are identified as priorities for potential urban interventions. The first contends that the production of space is being driven by a national agenda aimed towards the international political economy. The second explains that the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality master plan proposes urban transformation projects that do not reflect the needs of urban women and men in all their diversity. Finally, the absence of a unified, strong movement with an alternative vision for city is understood as a principle problem.

Strategies are proposed to promote the right to the city and transformative change. They are: *to establish and develop a shared platform that coordinates advocacy towards the right to participation*; and *to develop capacity for the reassertion and exercise of the right to appropriation as an alternative vision in attaining urban transformation priorities in “emerging economies” of historical restoration and earthquake impact mitigation*. The right to the city is evaluated for its potential efficacy in encouraging a movement centred on an alternative vision for Istanbul.

2. INTRODUCTION

2.1. Context

This year has seen Istanbul chosen as a European Capital of Culture city. The prestige and opportunities associated with this title have been considered catalysts towards cultural and socio-economic transformation. Yet in a city already perceived as the bridge between East and West, tradition and modernity, developing and developed, this promise seems paradoxical and misinformed given the recent transformation projects that have threatened the livelihoods of the city's urban poor and the socio-cultural fabric of the city (OECD Observer 2008).

Historically Istanbul has always been a political, economic and social centre, attracting migrants in promise of a better life. Figure 2.1 outlines the main events in the development of Istanbul from the 1960s to the present, concentrating on how these related to the establishment of gecekondu settlements. The first wave of “pull” migration, resulting from rural-urban migration for industrial jobs, lasted from the 1950s until the mid-1980s. These migrants formed gecekondu settlements (Figure 2.2), through occupying available public lands in the inner city or at the peripheries of the industrial areas (Kormaz and Ünlü-Yücesoy 2009, 2). Though technically illegal, this appropriation of space was accepted and, in fact, encouraged as it provided a convenient solution to the shortage of housing for workers. As a result, amnesties were enacted to legalize gecekondu settlements between 1949 and 1983. Despite integrating into the urban fabric of Istanbul, these settlements were labelled as “distorted urbanization” by architects and planners from the early 1970s (Appendix C, Bus Tour 2).

Law 2981¹, passed in 1984, gave owners of

gecekondu the right to develop their houses into apartment buildings; however, it also controlled the rights to get title of the properties (Advisory Group on Forced Evictions June 2009). During this time Istanbul experienced a second wave of migration, due to the influx of Kurdish populations fleeing political persecution from the South-east and East Turkey. This resulted in deepening cleavages within Istanbul society (Erman 2000). High-income groups retreated from these conflicts and promoted the construction of gated communities from the mid-1980s (Kormaz and Ünlü-Yücesoy 2009).

Currently a third wave of migration, attributed to transformation projects aimed at developing Istanbul into a “global city”, has begun to take form. These projects endorse the removal of gecekondu settlements to the periphery in order to redevelop high value land in the city. This trend has prompted and sustained a negative perception of gecekondu settlements, as well as the beginnings of their association with varos - the Turkish derogative term for slums - (Erman 2000).

The Mass Housing Administration, TOKI, is a government institution at the national level established in 1984 to regulate housing. Many of its projects benefited the middle and upper classes though they were designed for the urban poor. In 2002 TOKI was given permission to become a for-profit entity, which has effectively propelled it into a dominate actor of real-estate markets and the construction sector (Advisory Group on Forced Evictions June 2009). Future legislation, such as Laws 5393² and 5366³ in 2005, increased TOKI's mandate without incorporating effective mechanisms for public participation. While landowners were given the

1 Law 2981: the landowners of gecekondu have the right to build up to 4 storey buildings on their plots and were subsequently transformed to apartment buildings. However, the owners of gecekondu were only given pre-title deeds of their buildings unless the municipality had development and improvement plans of the area. Many owners were unable to receive title, despite paying initial fees in the promise of receiving it.

2 The Municipality Law 5393 enabled the municipality form the partnership with TOKI which gives the municipality the right to demolish the gecekondu people in those historic areas in the name of earthquake (AGFE, 2009).

3 Law 5366 has no public participation and voices of property owners involved in face of the development authorities or companies (AGFE, 2009).

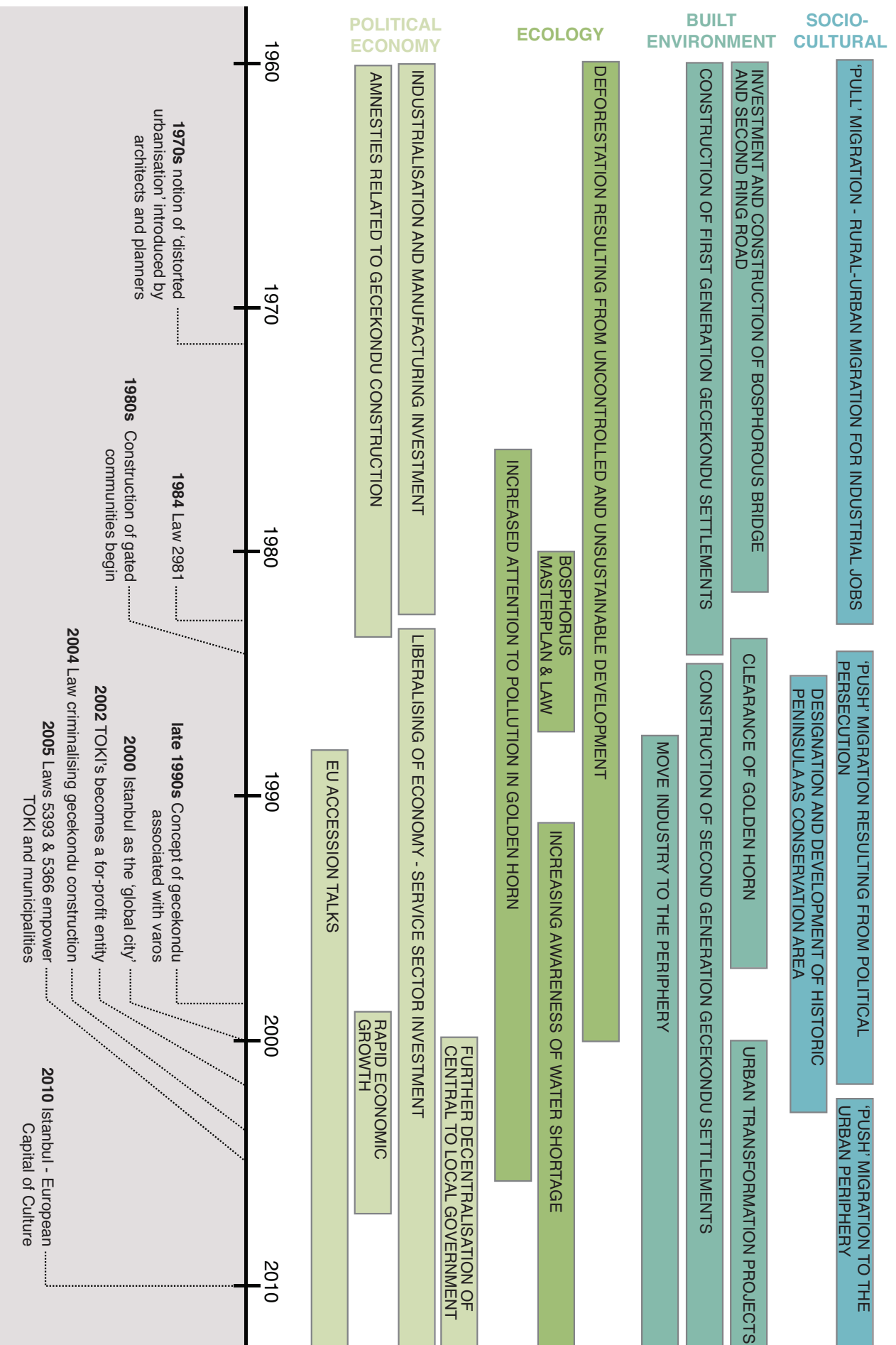


Figure 2.1 - Transformative Change in the perception of gecekondu



Figure 2.2 - First generation gecekondu, Zeytin Burnu

some preliminary proposals to be used by a range of actors in order to “contribute to and amplify the positive transformation of the living conditions at scale of poor urban women and men in the city” (UCL - DPU 2010, 5).

opportunities to access new development after their original homes had been demolished, this, in practice, was unaffordable.

Currently Istanbul has many urban transformation projects underway that threaten the existing social and spatial systems in the city (Figure 2.3). According to Turkish State Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Ali Babacan, “The slum areas in Istanbul are being turned into modern cities with the urban transformation projects. Illegal housing brings about distorted social structure. Therefore, the urban transformation projects have to be implemented in all of our cities” (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality 2009)

2.2. Main Interests and Aims

This report is undertaken as part of a Masters course in Urban Development Planning at the University College London under the title “Bridging Space, Place and People”. We have been asked to “develop a diagnosis of the situation of informal settlements in Istanbul, including where possible, the perceptions...and the strategies each set of actors has pursued” (UCL - DPU 2010, 4). Based on this diagnosis we were tasked with developing

3. THEORETICAL APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Key Concepts

The theoretical approach will be underpinned by the following concepts:

Urban life

Urban life is understood as interdependent, dynamic and overlapping systems that operate in urban space at scale.

Systems

Systems have been defined as “all elements in interaction” (Bertalanffy 1968). Conceptually, systems are understood as a set of interrelated components reacting to one another within an environment. It is the mutual interactions of these components, which effectively “glue” them together and create a hierarchy of systems and sub-systems (Heylighen 1998).

Systems in an urban environment are understood to operate in a context of social processes. These processes involve actors exercising agency to influence and shape the generation of these systems. In this sense the city is not a machine, an inevitable organism, but rather the process and outcome of complex systems in constant negotiation (Batty 2007).

Systems operating in urban space are analysed through four broad categories – political economy, socio-cultural, built environment, and ecology (Figure 3.1). These systems overlap and interact with each other both horizontally and vertically. Governance is located within the political economy system and is where different planning approaches are employed. Social, spatial and environmental planning occurs where the political economy system overlaps with the socio-cultural, built environment and ecology systems respectively (Figure 3.2). Urban development planning operates at the intersection of these three planning types (Figure 3.3).

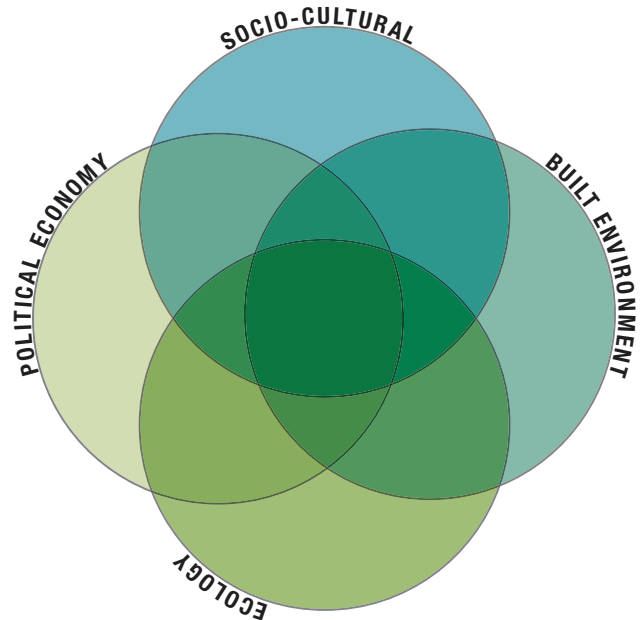


Figure 3.1 - Systems in urban space

Urban Space

Urban space is understood as the platform for the production and reproduction of social and power relations. It is here that the opportunity to recognise, negotiate and challenge these relations manifests. Urban space is both the political, civic space and the space for sociability (Weintraub 1997), interrelating social and spatial relations. Diversity is most apparent in the urban realm and is where it can be shunned, ignored or embraced. As such, urban space should reflect a “civic cosmopolitanism” (Safier 2005, 31), providing for both the exercising of political and social rights (Dikeç y Gilbert 2002).

Scale

Scale is understood as operating both territorially and socially. Neighbourhood, city, regional, national and international comprise the territorial scales (Figure 3.4). The negotiation of social relations operates at three levels, the interpersonal, institutional and socio-cultural, as proposed and analysed in gender studies (Hirman in Larsson, 2001).

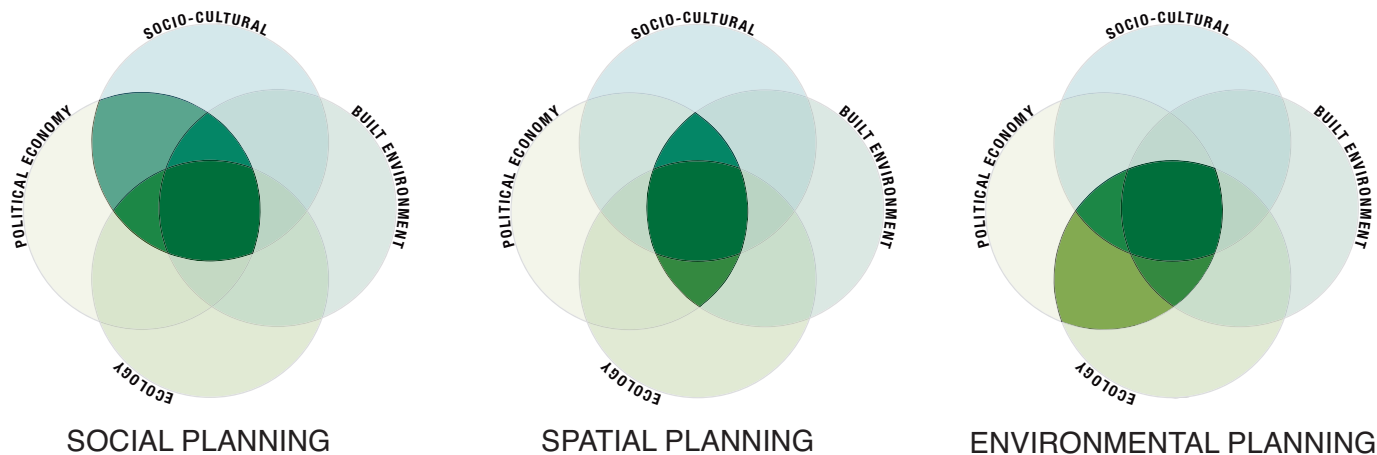


Figure 3.2 - Planning approaches within systems

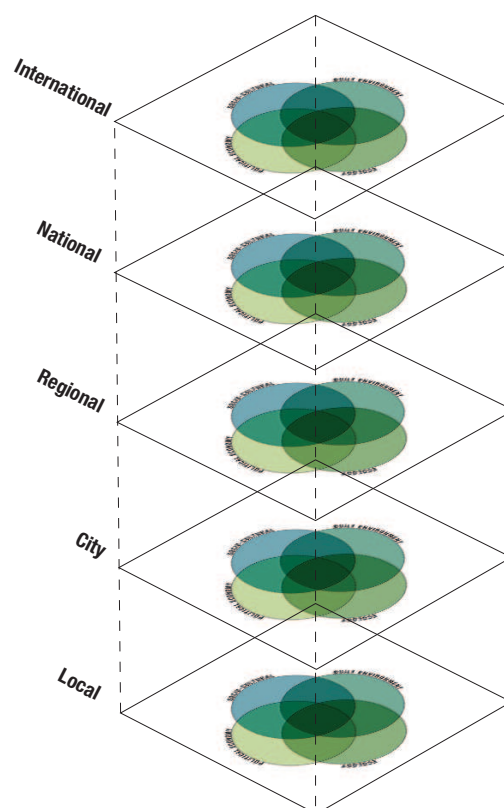


Figure 3.4 - Systems at territorial scales

Systems experience tension both within and across these scales. Pressure can be exerted from the top while resistance can be applied from below. These competing forces can be most apparent at the city scale, triggering conflict and competition for the control of systems.

Understanding urban life through the lens of systems, urban space and scales offers an analysis that recognizes its inherent interactivity as derived from the relationships, dependency and hierarchies between systems and sub-systems.

This synergy implies an organized complexity derived from the bottom-up as a generated, in contradistinction to a fabricated, structure (Batty 2007). A systems approach widens the scope for problem structuring, through recognizing overlapping processes and identifying weak links. This directs possible entry points for interventions that can move beyond social, spatial, and environmental planning towards urban development planning.

3.2. Conceptual Framework

Given the context of this research and our main interests and aims, the following guiding principle was employed to direct the research:

Urban interventions should enable a transformative change that empowers women and men in all their diversity to exercise their right to the city through the active use and production of urban space.

Towards Transformative Change: the Right to the City

Transformative change is defined (Figure 3.5) as follows:

The consolidated process and outcome of the destabilization and restructuration of a (urban) system.

Destabilisation and restructuration necessitate the exercise of consciousness and agency to facilitate an understanding of the power relations that control systems. These iterative processes involve the questioning and constructing of routines, practices, and systems of meaning, which comprise frames of reference, ideologies, rationalities, and discourses (Healey, 2007). We further understand structure and agency as a recursive relationship, representing a “duality” (Giddens 1984, 25). As Healey (2006, 49) offers,

“Conscious reflexivity on our assumptions and modes of thinking, on our cultural referents, thus carries transformative power. The micro-practices of everyday life are thus key sites for the mobilisation of transformative power.”

When a process and outcome are consolidated, they progress towards the institutionalisation of practice, whereby they “are regularly and continuously repeated, are sanctioned and maintained by social norms, and have a major significance in the social structure” (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner cited in Levy, 1996, 1). This must be sustained over time, suggesting the presence of cooperative conflict and/or periodic consensus that enable both the establishment and viability of new routines and norms (Healey 2006). Yet transformative change is not an end in itself. It produces a feedback, which can integrate into the system and again instigate a process of destabilisation, restructuration and consolidation towards another transformative change.

Based on the understandings of urban life and transformative change, the concept of the ‘right to the city’ (Lefebvre 1996) is utilized as an approach to promote the positive transformative change of the urban life of poor women and men in all their diversity (Figure 3.6).

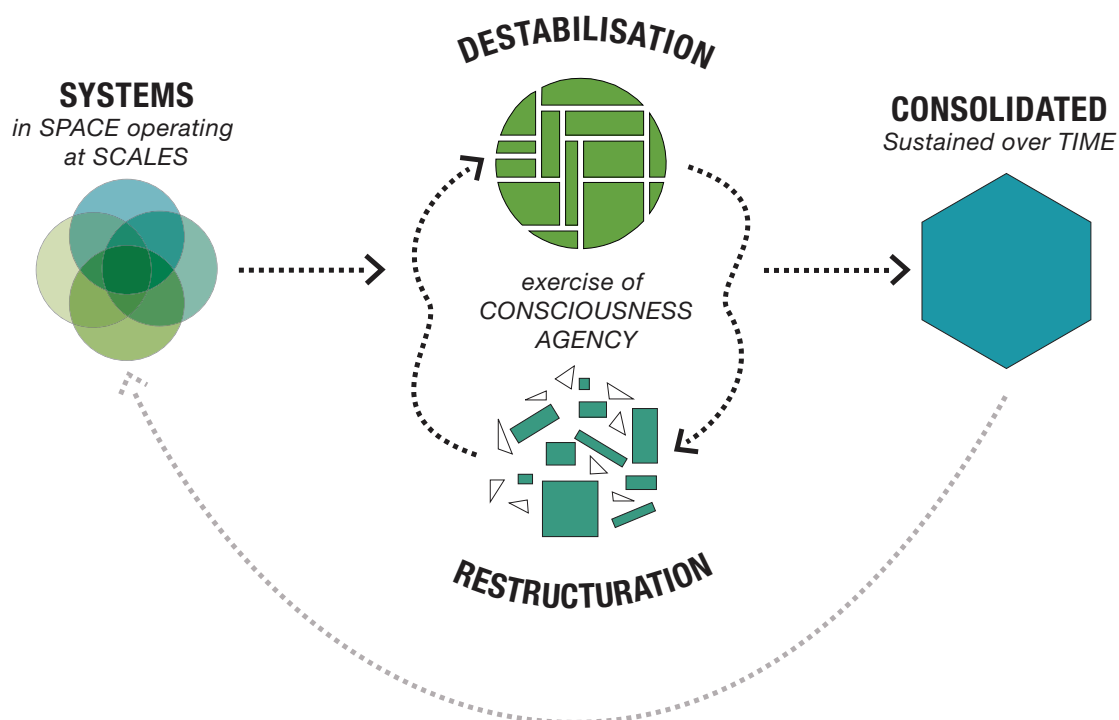


Figure 3.5 - Transformative Change

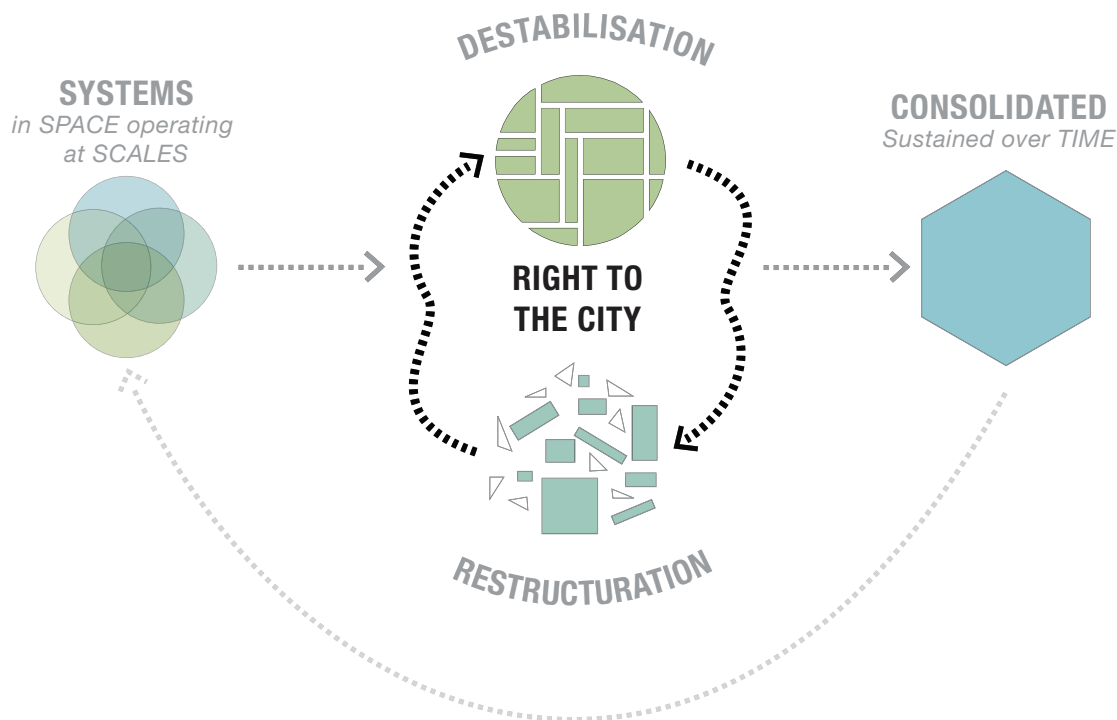


Figure 3.6 - The right to the city within transformative change

The ‘right to the city’ encompasses two principle rights (Purcell 2002):

The right to participation comprises of the right to play a direct role in any decisions that involve the production of urban space. This promotes a form of direct democracy that aims to enhance the accountability and transparency of decision-making systems, which operate at both territorial and social scales.

The right to appropriation includes the right to physically access, occupy, and use urban spaces that already exist; the right to produce urban space that reflects the needs of urban women and men and the right to access the natural environment and resources in a responsible manner. Effectively this right advocates for the transformation of social and spatial relations (Purcell 2002).

“The right to the city” is used as a proactive approach in response to a neo-liberal, globalising urban context whereby powerful forces shape the production of urban space within, and across, varying systems and scales, presenting both opportunity and constraint. Its focus on agency and direct participation, coupled with a broadened scope of the citizen to include all women and men affected by the production of space, offer the potential to promote empowerment. The exercise

of consciousness and agency are fundamental to this end and can arise through the mobilisation of networks (Dikeç & Gilbert, 2002; Brown & Kristiansen, 2009). Utilising the right to the city as an approach also suggests possible entry points to inform innovative urban interventions that can spur the destabilisation and restructuration of systems. This allows the rethinking, interaction and even challenging of power relations and calls for transformative change in the structural dynamics that produce urban space (Purcell 2002).

3.3. Criteria

Criteria developed in this section correlate with the aims of enhancing the rights to participation and appropriation and promoting consciousness and agency among citizens. The developed participation criteria directly relate to processes of learning, dialogue and advocacy and individual and collective rights and freedoms. The right to appropriation criteria are more closely associated with exercising agency and having access and control of resources.

The criteria are as follows:

Right to Participation Criteria

- ✦ Right to access and produce knowledge - directly relating to processes of public learning and increasing capabilities to reframe the diagnosis
- ✦ Right to access and contribute to public discourses - dialogue and advocacy related to citizen's relation with the decisions that affect their built environment
- ✦ Right to diverse collective and individual identities – diversity and right to difference

Right to Appropriation Criteria

- ✦ Right to access, appropriate and produce the built environment:
 - * Right to access and preserve cultural and historical heritage
 - * Right to access and produce public space
 - * Right to access and contribute to the market
- ✦ Right to access and preserve the natural resources and the environment

The criteria are later used (Chapter 5) to develop operational indicators by which each of the entry strategies presented are to be monitored.

3.4. Methodology

This section discusses methodologies adopted in obtaining and analysing data and information. The data collection took place during a visit to Istanbul between the 9th and 21st of May 2010 (Appendix A1. Fieldwork Schedule)

Fieldwork

Site visits, for logistic considerations, had a pre-set schedule which managed to optimize time and number of visits, but gave no flexibility for the team members to decide on where, when or who. The main activities realized are presented in the table below.

Interviews constitute the single activity in which primary data was obtained. A list of questions (Appendix D contains the question structure, interview main findings and respondent information.) for a semi-structured interview was prepared beforehand with the following in mind:

- Interviews took place on Sunday, May 16th, from 10:00 to 15:00 at different sites
- Interviews were done with the help of both native and non-native translators
- Interview questions were designed taking into consideration research groups comprised of 5

FIELD VISIT ACTIVITIES		
Listening to People, Understanding physical spaces matters Gathering of testimonies and documenting surroundings		
Qualification of surroundings	Recording of oral information	Documenting gathered information
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• location within the city• use of land• public space characteristics• housing characteristics• use of spaces by people• photographic record• written notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• listening to explanations from experts• listening to testimonies from local people• asking questions• taking notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• uploading of photographs• transcription of notes• writing on the blog

Table 3.1 - Field visit activities

PRIORITIES	SUB - COMPONENTS			COMPONENTS	
<p>The production of urban space is driven by a national agenda aimed towards the international political economy, attracting international markets and systems of production, while neglecting the needs of urban women and men in all their diversity.</p> <p>The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality's Master Plan proposes urban transformation projects based on methodologies and theories that do not reflect the needs of urban women and men in all their diversity.</p> <p>There is no unified, strong movement that resists the production of urban space by the international political economy through advocating for an alternative vision for Istanbul.</p>	<p>The shift from an industrial to service economy, based largely on tourism and finance, dislocates urban workers by fracturing the socio-economic conditions through unemployment.</p>	<p>New jobs in the service industry cater to those with certain skills and education, excluding women and men without formal qualifications and discounting their potential contributions to the economy.</p>	<p>The new approach towards a service economy, actively pushed at the national and city scales, negates the importance of small industrial businesses within the local economy.</p>	<p>The tourism strategy, centred on historical and cultural assets, has excluded communities rather than building on their existing resources and capabilities.</p>	
	<p>The deindustrialization of the urban centre has encouraged blue-collar workers to relocate to the periphery, exacerbating socio-spatial segregation.</p>	<p>Once relocated to the periphery workers have little opportunity to diversify their employment prospects as transportation costs and commuting time preclude workers from employment in the centre.</p>	<p>The urban planning strategy of moving workers to the periphery does not take into account their socio-cultural systems and networks.</p>	<p>Workers that remain in the centre find it difficult to commute to the periphery for employment due to high transportation costs.</p>	<p>Decentralization of industry has promoted private vehicular transportation and urban sprawl, thus creating ecological problems and encouraging infrastructure projects that have the potential to fracture communities.</p>
	<p>Land commodification, through development based on exchange value, has pressured homeowners to sell and move to the periphery, as they are unable to cope with increasing land prices and high living costs.</p>	<p>Home renters are not considered in regeneration developments and therefore disproportionately feel the burdens of land commodification and are continually pushed to the periphery due to increasing rental costs.</p>	<p>Existing urban public spaces, in a context where residents already have little access to green space, are increasingly becoming privatised.</p>	<p>Plans for urban transformation do not consider the impact of relocation on social systems, and therefore risk fragmenting communities and encouraging social problems.</p>	<p>The process of rehabilitation has jeopardised both defects and formal land tenure, thereby rescinding the right to appropriation and denying the key role of gecekondu communities in the production of urban space.</p>
	<p>Rapid urbanisation and urban sprawl pose constant challenges to the institutional capacity of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and increasingly pressure the built environment and ecology systems of the city.</p>	<p>Fast, inexpensive mass housing blocks, despite lifestyle-incompatible spatial environments, are considered solutions to the shortage of building stock to house the urban poor.</p>	<p>Rapid urbanisation, in the face of planning practices that have failed to preserve green areas, has dramatically reduced the availability of and access to green spaces for poor urban women and men.</p>	<p>The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality's planning response to rapid urbanization promotes a negative vision of gecekondu developments and does not incorporate the present demographic and spatial reality Istanbul.</p>	
	<p>Centralized, top-down national legislation directs the planning priorities at the local level, leaving little space for participatory planning involving both local government and urban women and men.</p> <p>The approach to social planning and democratisation in urban plans is effectively superseded by economic, technical and environmental considerations.</p>	<p>Ambiguous policies have benefited powerful state actors, such as TOKI, through tolerating development on natural reserves and allowing urban regeneration projects that encourage evictions.</p> <p>Current master plans largely provide for specific types of workers in the city - typically educated, high-income, and male - and thus exclude other women and men in all their diversity from benefiting from development plans.</p>	<p>The muhtars, as first instances in the representative government structure, are given little scope to influence wider development plans, focusing instead on basic assistance and need provision within the mahalle.</p> <p>Earthquake safety concerns have labelled gecekondu settlements, in contrast to high-income areas, as particularly susceptible yet do not offer mitigation strategies that correlate with the available resources and capacities of these communities.</p>	<p>Past efforts at participation have been ineffectual, discouraging the engagement in the participatory channels that do exist, eroding the social contract between the state and residents and encouraging apathy towards the actions of the municipality.</p> <p>Technological, scientific and modern applications and tools are considered advanced methods for deriving plans, effectively divorcing development from the political and social realities of urban women and men.</p>	
	<p>Increasing social diversity prevents social groups from coalescing around a unified vision of the city, whilst embracing the right to difference.</p>	<p>Immigration trends (temporary, transitional, diverse) have impacted the structure of existing communities, causing potential conflicts and a lack of unity related to the city scale.</p>	<p>Discourse barriers weaken the potential alliance between universities and professionals with neighbourhood associations and social movements.</p>	<p>Middle class communities hold some hostility towards those gecekondu communities that were able to use the amnesty laws to enter the lower middle class.</p>	
	<p>The strategic vision of Istanbul as a 'global city' appeals to middle and high-income social groups whilst rejecting the organic development of gecekondu communities.</p>	<p>Globalisation forces encourage a consciousness, which associates an idea of modernity collapsed with a neo-liberal and Western vision.</p>	<p>The conversation concerning gecekondu, aided by media outlets and mass advertisement campaigns, has made prevalent the concept of a 'distorted urbanisation', by communities taking advantage of the state.</p>	<p>Gated communities spatially segregate socio-economic groups and encourage a building typology that is foreign to Istanbul.</p>	
	<p>There is a weak culture of widespread debate and effective democratic participation across scales in the Turkish political system.</p>	<p>Strong resistance movements largely emerge from areas associated with radical leftist political organisations and have yet to incorporate potential allies based on other ideological and social identifications.</p>	<p>Urban women and men tend to concentrate on basic needs within the mahalle boundaries, not relating to potential common interests they might share at the city scale.</p> <p>The state actively seeks to divide and repress resistance movements that have the potential capability to form mass opposition movements.</p>	<p>Neighbourhood associations and mahalle structures do not necessarily represent weaker voices in the community and are thereby vulnerable to reproducing existing power and social relations.</p>	

Figure 3.7- Problem Matrix

persons from 4 different research teams

- Interviewers addressed people in public spaces, taking turns to ask prepared questions in a conversational flow.

Analytical Methodologies

The conceptual framework directed the identification and prioritisation of problems. A problem matrix (Figure 3.7) was then constructed to organise three priority problems, their components and respective sub-components. Each priority, component and sub-component problem were then mapped on the systems diagram to understand their main relations with the identified system categories. These relationships were also mapped on the diagram of systems operating at scale.

The strategizing methodology sought to develop a set of practical entry strategies that translate into specific actions to be carried out by existing - and potential - actors. Attempts at institutional destabilization and restructuration via social change are likely to result in varied resistance within the systems. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that developing a strategy-based proposal for change is “unlikely to be a once and for all stage, as promoted in traditional planning approaches” (Levy 2007, 3).

The strategizing process developed draws on Levy’s reflection on the “three related conditions (required) to support a process of social change: synergy, a multiplier effect and the expansion of room for manoeuvre” (Levy 2007, 10) ⁴.

The strategic aim constitutes a desired path to obtain a specific, framework-based change in the existing systems structure. Working objectives articulate intermediate goals as a means of achieving the strategic aim. Assets and constraints of each working objective, based on specific precedents or on-going conditions, are identified to illustrate the actual and potential room for manoeuvre. Entry strategies are then proposed to direct initial actions to materialize the working objective.

Limitations and weaknesses

Research limitations are often the result of time constraints, ethical considerations and language barriers. Here we comment on several issues that we consider imperative for further research opportunities.

Our research did not yield sufficient information related to organisations and civic leaders involved in the functional integration of earthquake mitigation and adaptation. This prevented the full development of strategies concerned with this issue. Additionally, in order to promote the economic sustainability of the strategic aims, further research (both quantitative and qualitative) is required to ascertain existing institutional and financial assets. Finally, we were unable to meet representatives of TOKI which prevented an understanding of the nuances and diversity within the organisation. This would be crucial for a more complete diagnosis and understanding of the existing room for manoeuvre.

⁴ See Levy, 2007 for further discussion on these three components.

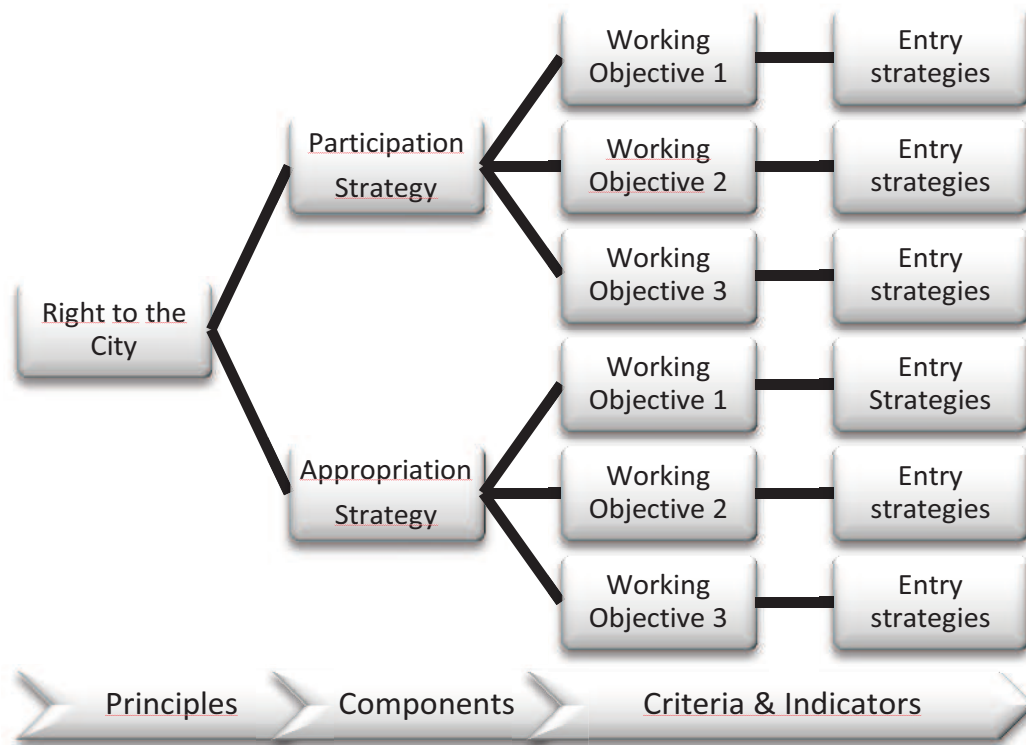


Figure 3.8 - Strategy structure

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Our findings are analysed below according to the priority problems and their respective components as identified in Figure 3.7.

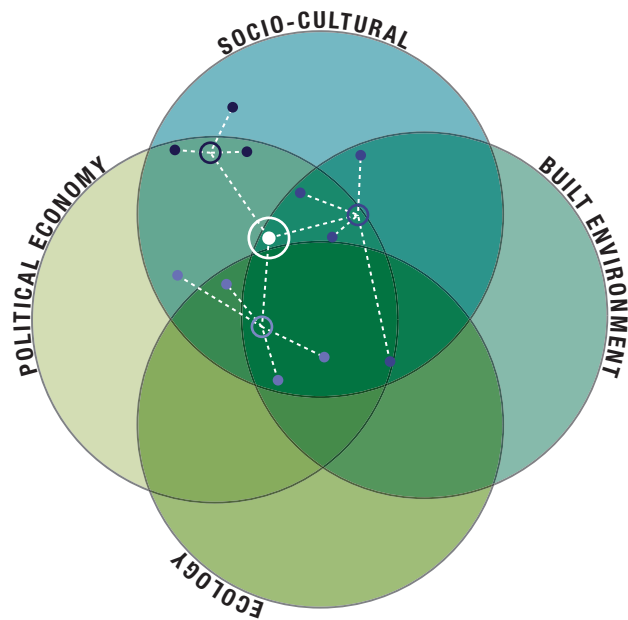
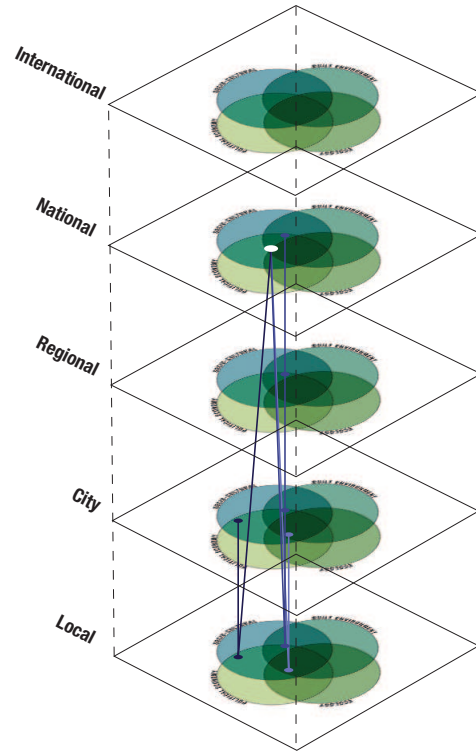


Figure 4.1 - Problem one systems analysis



4.1. Problem One: Whose Space?

The production of urban space is driven by a national agenda aimed towards the international political economy, attracting international markets and systems of production, while neglecting the needs of urban women and men in all their diversity.

a) The shift from an industrial to service economy, based largely on tourism and finance, dislocates urban workers by fracturing the socio-economic conditions through unemployment.

Current development in Istanbul, in which 20% of the industrial labour force in Turkey is located, is driven with an aim of creating a “regional service centre” (Zeyhan, 2010). New jobs created in this emerging service industry favour workers with existing formal education, skills and qualifications. As a result, workers not only lose their industrial-based jobs, but also are unable to gain new forms

of employment. In Kartal, a majority of workers in the area are in the construction industry whereby wages are inconsistent, paid daily and dependent on project cycles; meanwhile the new generation finds difficulty in accessing job opportunities with their current qualifications. Historically a centre for industry, unemployment is high and there are little signs that the development of a new central business district will create employment opportunities for local residents.

This new approach towards a service economy, actively pushed at the national and city scales, negates the importance of small industrial businesses effectively excluding them from participating and benefiting from investments in urban development. In Kartal the municipality has expressed the desire to retain light industry as a means to stimulate local economy and cater to local needs both through production and consumption.



Figure 4.2 - Suleymaniye

The concentration on tourism, centred on promoting historical and cultural assets, has been employed in a way in which current residents are excluded from the process of preservation and rehabilitation. Efforts are focused on catering conservation strategies towards tourism and subsequent economic growth and ignore the existing resources and capabilities of local communities. This results in the production of space towards the “comfort” of foreigners, while neglecting the socio-spatial concerns and sense of local identity of residents. In Suleymaniye, large scale urban transformations projects are planned in a bid to regain the nostalgia of the Ottoman city. Designated historical monuments will be preserved while the 19th century wooden houses

(Figure 4.2) will be demolished and rebuilt using modern construction methods masked by a fake façade.

b) The deindustrialization of the urban centre has encouraged blue-collar workers to relocate to the periphery, exacerbating socio-spatial segregation.

Workers have relocated to the periphery, following industrial work, in order to retain their livelihoods. However, residing in the periphery leaves little opportunity for them to diversify future employment prospects as transportation costs and long commuting times act as obstacles to work in the centre. Further, the move to the periphery disrupts existing socio-cultural systems and networks, placing workers in an increased vulnerable situation. Those workers capable and desiring to remain in the centre find it difficult to access jobs that match their skill set, resulting in high un-employment as experienced in areas such as Tarlabasi. Again, commuting to the periphery for industrial work is unfavourable due to high transportation costs and long commuting times.

The decentralization of industry has also promoted the use of private vehicular transportation and urban sprawl. These have created and exacerbated existing ecological problems as well as encouraging large scale infrastructure projects that have the potential to fracture communities. In Armutlu, Sariyer a bridge crossing the Bosphorus linked to a motorway (Figure 4.3) was built, dividing the community from Hisarustu. Plans are underway to build a third bridge across the Bosphorus, also linking Sariyer to the Asian side which has been met with scepticism from some residents who believe that these large scale infrastructure projects, based on vehicular use, only increase the transportation problems of



Figure 4.3 - Road dividing Hisarustu community, Armutlu



Figure 4.4 - Bollards at Tomtom Suites

Istanbul.

c) Land commodification, through development based on exchange value, has pressured homeowners to sell and move to the periphery, as they are unable to cope with increasing land prices and high living costs.

Both inner-city districts and peripheral gecekondu settlements are experiencing the repercussions of a burgeoning real estate market. In areas such as Tarlabasi, regeneration plans neglect the needs of home renters, focusing solely on homeowners. Renters then disproportionately feel the burdens of land commodification and are pushed to the periphery due to increasing rental costs.

Urban space in the centre has also been privatised as witnessed in Galata. Projects such as the Tomtom Suites, an upscale hotel, and the development of Algeria Street have effectively

transformed public roads into spaces for private use. The street leading to the Tomtom Suites has been closed off with bollards and is screened by a security guard (Figure 4.4). As residents in Istanbul already face a shortage of public space, particularly green space, these types of transformation are particularly problematic.

The process of rehabilitation has jeopardised both defacto and formal land tenure, thereby rescinding the right to appropriation and denying the key role of gecekondu communities in the production of urban space. These settlements, once considered peripheral, have ironically found themselves coveted areas for development. With the growth of Istanbul they are now perceived as part of the city and their location at high elevations and near waterfronts affords them desirable panoramic views (Figure 4.5). Proponents of urban transformation projects have maintained that they target poverty-stricken areas with low building quality, yet the ardent focus on settlements sharing these qualities of high exchange value is apparent. One resident in Armutlu observed that this commodification of space is intensified due to the increasing interest of foreign buyers in the Istanbul land and housing markets.



Figure 4.5 - View from Hurriyet

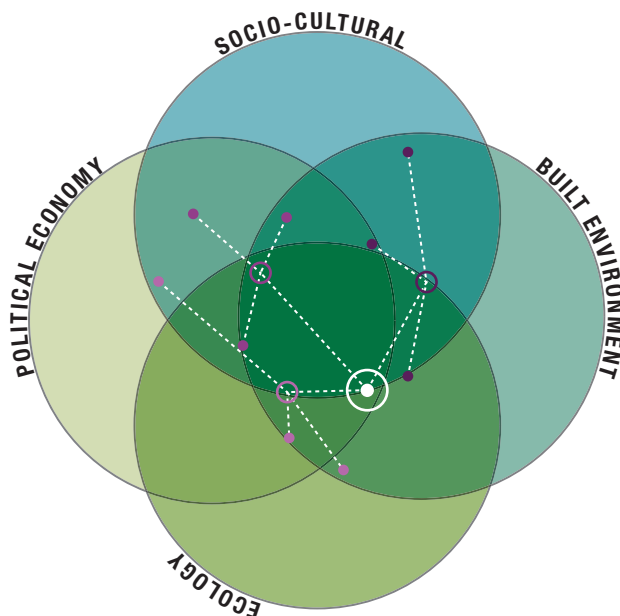


Figure 4.6 - Problem two systems analysis

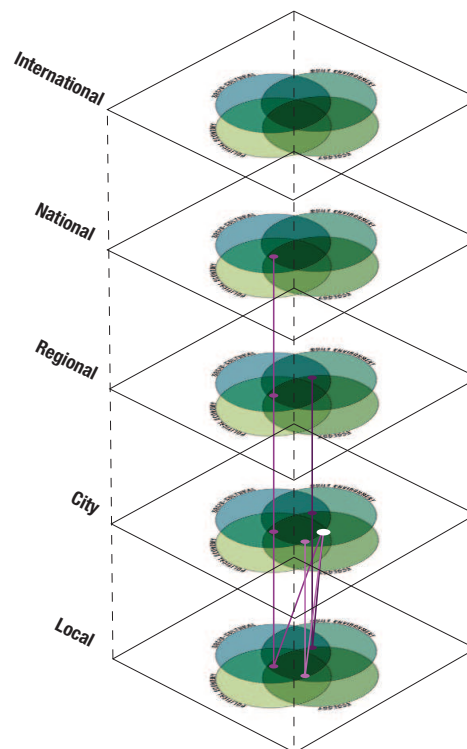
4.2. Problem Two: Whose Plan?

The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality's Master Plan proposes urban transformation projects based on methodologies and theories that do not reflect the needs of urban women and men in all their diversity.

a) Rapid urbanisation and urban sprawl pose constant challenges to the institutional capacity of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and increasingly pressure the built environment and ecology systems of the city.

The Master Plan was undertaken with “the basic philosophy...to remove and resolve the conflicts between the natural environment and the man-made environment systems” (IMP 2007). Figure 4.7 illustrates the rapid expansion of Istanbul in the last century, which has served to support the waves of migration into the city. Population figures are difficult to keep accurate in this changing context. This has, in effect, disadvantaged the IBB as their revenue from central government is based on population size. Further the Izmit earthquake in 1999 increased the importance of seismic mitigation strategies, which are now feature prominently within normal discourse regarding urban plans. In a city with a range of building stock differing in age, materiality, structural integrity and quality, upgrading endeavours pose both challenges and opportunities.

In response to this influx of migrants, the IBB,



together with TOKI, has promoted the construction of mass housing blocks as a solution. These tend to be built quickly, cheaply and are located at the periphery of the city. The typology of these high-rise structures, comprised of stacked apartments, is considered incompatible with both the remnants of village life present in the peripheral gecekondu settlements and the bustling urban environment found in the inner city ones.

Further, the spatial reality of Istanbul, because it constantly evolves and is considered temporal, is not always present in the physical plans used for development. As explained by representatives of the Sariyer Municipality current plans under the jurisdiction of the municipality (prepared by the last government) do not include gecekondu settlements, inevitably leading to their omission in any planning decisions. Regardless if this exclusion was intentional it leaves urban planners blind to the reality they aim to develop.

b) Centralized, top-down national legislation directs the planning priorities at the local level, leaving little space for participatory planning involving both local government and urban women and men.

Government in Turkey operates in a top-down manner, leaving local governments little room to manoeuvre and assert their own needs (Figure 4.8). The muhtars, as first instances in the representative government structure and

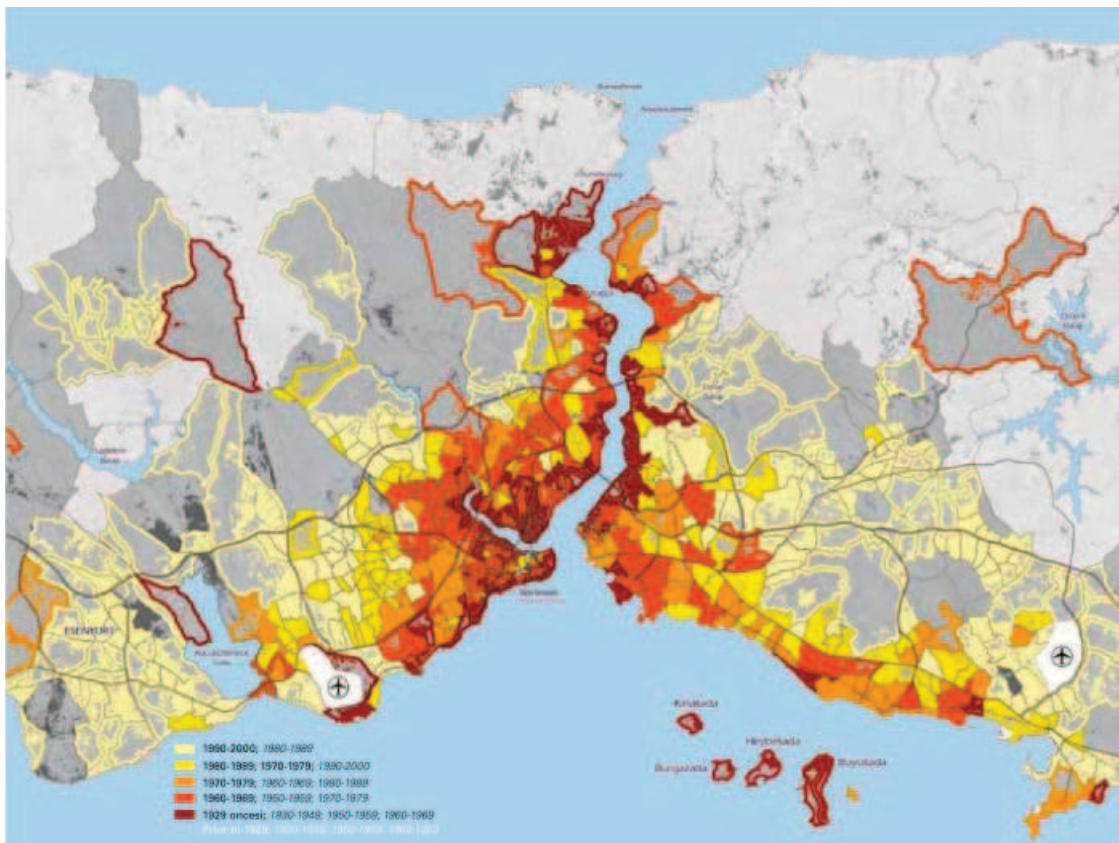


Figure 4.7 - Building stock according to age (Urban Age Istanbul, 2010)

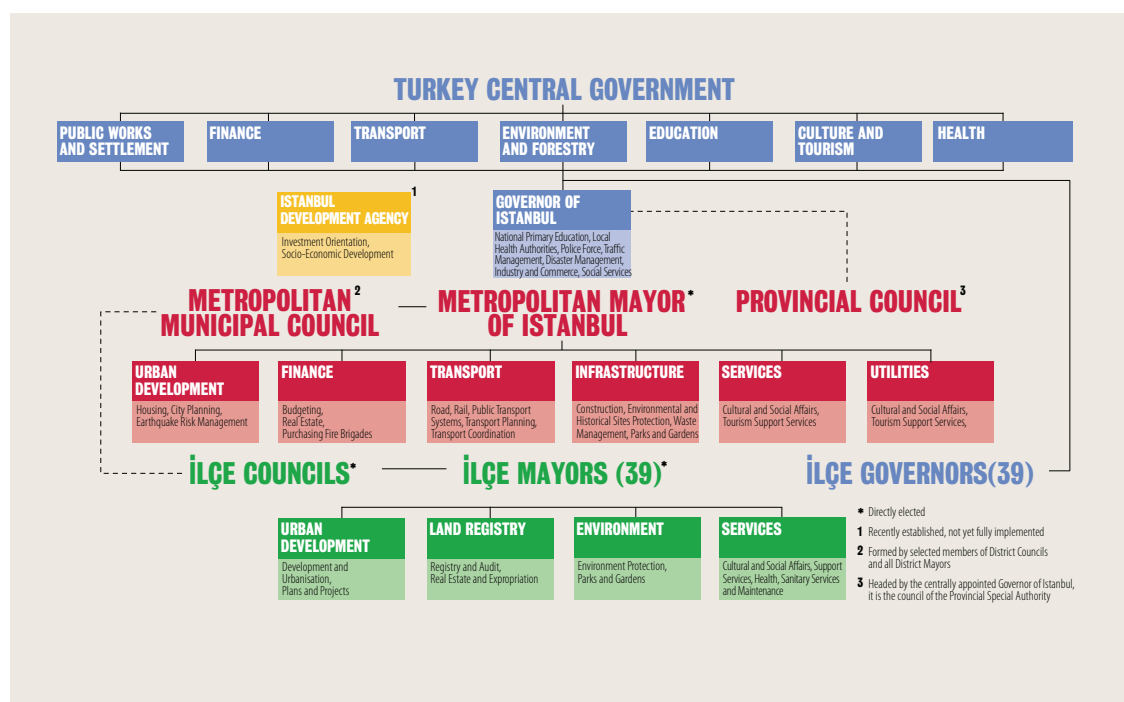


Figure 4.8 - Turkish government structure (Urban Age Istanbul, 2010)

operating below the district level, are given little scope to influence wider development plans, focusing instead on basic assistance and needs provision within the mahalle. Participatory channels are limited both inwards, between scales of government, and outwards towards citizens. Some participatory mechanisms do exist including the requirement that municipalities organise a 30-day consultation period for plans as well as offering public opinion days. However, in practice, these efforts have been ineffectual and have actually discouraged engagement in future participation channels.

Ambiguous policies have also been utilised for the benefit of powerful state actors, such as TOKI, through tolerating development on natural reserves and allowing urban regeneration projects that encourage evictions. In Basibüyük, TOKI high-rise housing (Figure 4.9) was built on a public green space that included functioning water wells and 9 homes. The development forced the eviction of these homes and was the catalyst for the mobilisation of the community to oppose the Maltepe district plans. Tensions between the two parties reached such extremes that the district municipality sued some residents of the mahalle for previously planting trees on the space.

c) The approach to social planning and democratisation in urban plans is effectively superseded by economic, technical and environmental considerations.

Current master plans largely provide for specific types of workers in the city - typically educated, high-income, and male - and thus exclude other women and men in all their diversity from benefiting from development plans. Particularly, proposed central business districts, such as in Kartal, are the focus of development plans and mainly provide employment for these types of workers.

International competitions are another mechanism for urban planning (Akin, 2010) and while they are able to generate attention and excitement for projects at the international level, they are vulnerable to neglecting local concerns. In Kartal, the urban planning scheme, referred by locals as the “Zaha Hadid project”, was criticised for its complete dissociation and lack of integration into the existing urban fabric. These competitions, coupled with large scale urban design plans developed locally, encourage developments that have the tendency to act as ‘objects in the landscape’ and alienate adjacent residents (Figure 4.10).

Earthquake safety concerns have labelled gecekondu settlements, in contrast to high-income areas, as particularly susceptible yet do not offer mitigation strategies that correlate with the available resources and capacities of these communities. This is problematic as it leaves poorer communities increasingly vulnerable to urban development projects that use building construction safety as an excuse for eviction.

Technological, scientific and modern applications and tools are considered advanced methods for deriving plans (Akin, 2010), effectively divorcing development from the political and social realities of urban women and men. When asked how their plans related to the alleviation of urban poverty, the response from IBB and IMP representatives was that other departments in the municipality were responsible for the design of programmes and projects related to such aims. This suggests that their urban plans respond to a limited scope of social issues.



Figure 4. 9 -Basibüyük



Figure 4. 10 - Gulsuyu

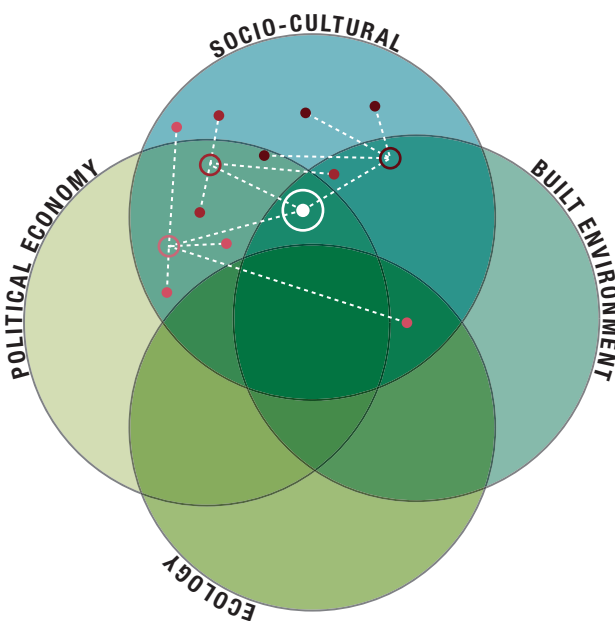
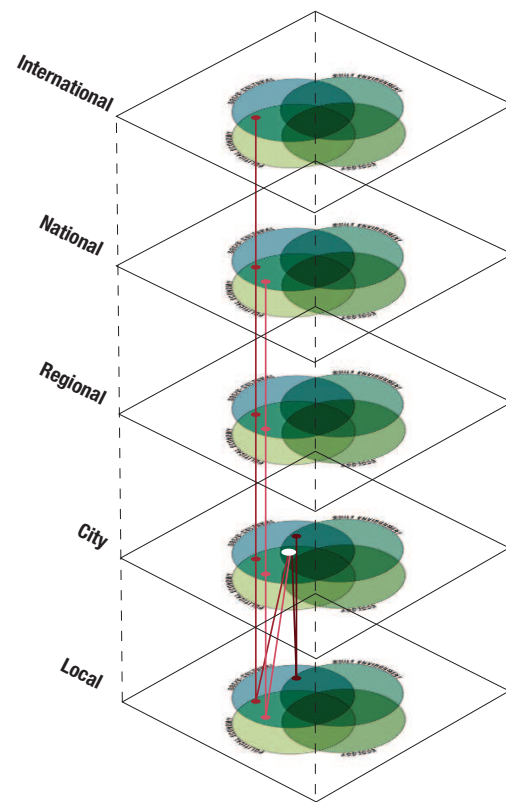


Figure 4.11 - Problem three systems analysis



4.3. Problem Three: Whose Vision?

There is no unified, strong movement that resists the production of urban space by the international political economy through advocating for an alternative vision for Istanbul.

a) Increasing social diversity prevents social groups from coalescing around a unified vision of the city, whilst embracing the right to difference.

Immigration trends (temporary, transitional, diverse) have impacted the structure of existing

communities, causing potential conflicts and a lack of unity related to the city scale. In the interviews undertaken many respondents described their villages of origin as their territorial identification. If there is no widespread, conscious identification with Istanbul as a space to be claimed, appropriated and shaped, it is to be expected that establishing a movement centred on a vision at the city scale would be a challenge. Further, the contrast between village life and urban life has created differing expectations of what the city should offer. Some residents expressed a desire



Figure 4. 12 - Maltepe

to retain their traditional lifestyles, to remain as a “nostalgic village.”

Further, discourse barriers hinder the existing alliances between universities and professionals with neighbourhood associations and social movements. The creation of a vision for the city scale will need to be articulated and formulated in a language that appeals and relates to a range of stakeholders, or as one community leader suggested the movement must be articulated in the “language of the poor”. The involvement of middle and upper class communities in this movement is also unlikely, given there is some hostility towards those *gecekondu* communities that were able to use the amnesty laws to enter the lower middle class. These feelings of cynicism prevent a movement emerging across classes.

b) The strategic vision of Istanbul as a ‘global city’ appeals to middle and high-income social groups whilst rejecting the organic development of gecekondu communities.

Globalisation forces encourage a consciousness, which associates an idea of modernity collapsed with a neo-liberal and Western vision and the emergence of a transnational capital class. Places of residence, work and recreation are duplicated across “global cities” to cater to the needs of this social group (Figure 4.12). Further, the construction

and popularity of gated communities serve to spatially segregate socio-economic groups while encouraging a building typology that is foreign to Istanbul. This separation reinforces notions of the “other” and feeds the paranoia of middle and high income social groups concerning urban crime and violence.

The conversation concerning *gecekondu*s, aided by media outlets and mass advertisement campaigns, has made prevalent the concept of a ‘distorted urbanisation’ undertaken by communities taking advantage of the state. This discourse has further distanced middle and high-income groups from associating with *gecekondu* communities. Rather, there is an increasing trend to label these residents as “invaders” and “occupiers”.

c) There is a weak culture of widespread debate and effective democratic participation across scales in the Turkish political system.

Strong resistance movements largely emerge from areas associated with radical leftist political organisations (Figure 4.13) and have yet to incorporate potential allies based on other ideological and social identifications. These organisations tend to be closed in nature and therefore do not integrate with other groups easily. Yet, it was explained that it was the



Figure 4. 13 - Maltepe

common leftist nature of communities, regardless of ethnicity, which brought groups together. By the same token, it was also observed that the common goal of housing rights could serve to unify the community. This suggests that some broad aspirations can, and do, exist and could therefore be utilised as an umbrella for social groups to organise under.

The state has actively sought to divide and repress the resistance movements that do exist. This has impeded their potential ability to form mass opposition movements. In Maltepe the offer by TOKI to provide apartments to evicted residents was viewed with scepticism and understood as a form of placation to divide the growing resistance movement. Meanwhile in Armutlu the state has used violence to confront and weaken political movements.

A discourse based on rights and citizenship is still in its infancy within widespread debate. Urban women and men tend to concentrate on basic needs within the mahalle boundaries, not relating to potential common interests they might share at the city scale. Their involvement in informal production also reduces their opportunities to join and form trade unions which could serve as a movement at the city scale.

While the democratic election of muhtars (Figure 4.14) is a common, accepted component of the political system, their ability to engage with wider concerns beyond the mahalle is doubtful. Though muhtars were generally described in a favourable light, being both accessible and representative of the mahalle, there is no indication that they have



Figure 4. 14 - Hurriyet

the resources to reach weak social groups. In Armutlu one respondent answered with surprise that she would even speak with her muhtar. This suggests that, although muhtars are respected leaders of their communities, they are vulnerable to reproducing existing power and social relations.

5. STRATEGIES AND MONITORING

Two strategies which are directly linked with the two components of the right to the city are proposed: (i) Participation Strategy and (ii) Appropriation Strategy, outlined respectively below. These two strategies were illustrated in Figure 3.8.

5.1. Participation Strategy: Istanbul, OUR Capital of Culture

STRATEGIC AIM ONE: Establish and develop the “Istanbul, OUR Capital of Culture” shared platform that coordinates advocacy towards the right to participation.

The first strategic aim explores how a collaborative coordinating platform can maximize and bridge the work of neighbourhood based initiatives with that of existing organizations concerned with urban issues. The first working objective (Table 5.1) aims at operationalizing the mentioned

platform to generate collective intent. The second (Table 5.2) working objective seeks to build local capacity by coordinating processes that increase consciousness and agency at the neighbourhood level through public learning. The third working objective (Table 5.3) aims to build capacity, through dialogue and advocacy, by expanding and reinforcing contacts with relevant NGOs and CBOs which are willing to look for alternative visions for Istanbul's planned development. This strategic aim will bridge revamped neighbourhood initiatives with organizational know-how and lobbying power to enable for citizens to effectively participate in the construction of an alternative vision for Istanbul. This widens the window of opportunity to increase the democratization of Istanbul's decision-making processes (Boano 2010) and thereby address the right to the city.

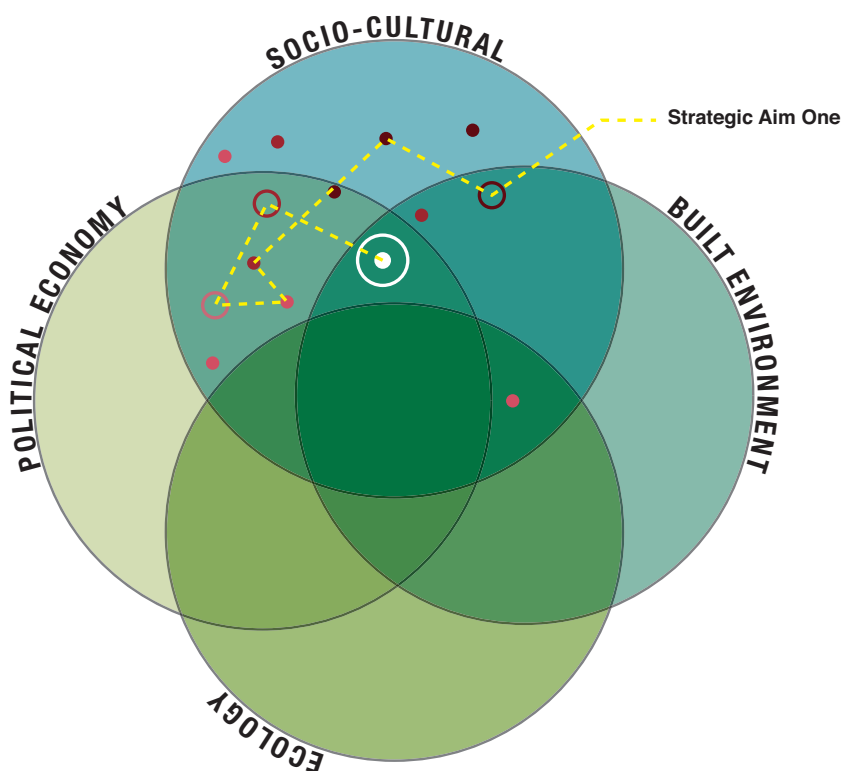


Figure 5.1 - Strategic aim one within systems

WORKING OBJECTIVE 1A	
Strengthening and consolidating existing civil-based collective initiatives which share common interests regarding urban matters	
CONSTRAINTS	ASSETS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • legislation does not provide a direct channel of participation for neighbourhood based movements • Previous efforts to sustain the Istanbul's Neighbourhood Associations Platform unsuccessful • different discourses appear as a barrier to build a common agenda based on neighbourhood initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active networks like INURA and the Solidarity Studio have existing contacts with organizations and neighbourhood movements • Previous existence of the Istanbul's Neighbourhood Associations Platform, existence of Sariyer Neighbourhood Assoc. • Turkish Social Forum is holding its first housing meeting on July 2010 • Gulsuyu civic leaders built connections with other CBOs in other European cities
ENTRY STRATEGIES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish a democratic coordinating body to operationalize the "Istanbul, OUR Capital of Culture" sharing platform • Plan and coordinate a forum/neighbourhood rotating space to activate a common platform for citizens, NGOs and CBOs to engage in sharing, discussion, advocacy and lobbying • Incentivise leaders of all sort (professional, civic, political) connected to the Forum to create and promote working focus groups 	

Table 5.1 - Working objective 1A

WORKING OBJECTIVE 1B	
Use the forum to increase consciousness and agency at the neighbourhood level on a city-wide scale	
CONSTRAINTS	ASSETS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of the capacity and knowledge of current local groups produce and disseminate knowledge • Urban women and men concentrate mainly on mahala-level issues • Complicated logistics to bring to each neighbourhood area the programme 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The community of Basibuyuk mobilised to counteract relocations to TOKI housing • Gulsuyu civic leaders claim for spaces of participation from a rights based approach discourse, and have organised an Istanbul wide symposium on housing evictions.
ENTRY STRATEGIES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitate Civic Leaders previously linked with the Istanbul Neighbourhood Associations Platform to work with a new common agenda aiming at promoting “upgraders against evictions” to build local capacity • Propose to chamber of architects, planners, universities working on housing issues, members of INURA and the DEPO exhibit to prepare multimedia material (Map of Evictions, videos sharing testimonies, independent newspapers) with the help of focus groups at the neighbourhood level according to citizen’s interests to take advantage of division of labour working together to learn, produce and divulgate information, events and actions • Have active neighbourhood leaders prepare for the Forum to illustrate the possibilities of action –room for manoeuvre- by explaining their past successful precedents: winning legal cases against the municipality –Galataport Project, Kartal Project, Dubai towers- and rejecting TOKI promoted relocations –Gulsuyu, Basibuyuk. 	

Table 5.2 - Working objective 1B

WORKING OBJECTIVE 1C	
Strengthen or establish links with international CBOs and NGOs interested in supporting the advocacy/lobbying movement	
CONSTRAINTS	ASSETS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Official authorities dislike outsider pressure/interference on internal city issues • Past government repressions aimed at minorities might make them reluctant to speak and collaborate with the initiative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gulsuyu civic leaders have built connections with other CBOs in other European cities, • The forthcoming European social forum in Istanbul (July 2010) provides a particular pluralist arena for CBOs and NGOs to revitalize connections and working agendas • The unions and organizations of the Turkish Social Forum have created links with members of the European Social Forum • UN-HABITAT, UN-AGFE, the IABR, the Stuttgart U., Prince Claud Fund for culture and Development, the DPU, MSU, YTU, Bilgi University currently involved
ENTRY STRATEGIES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiate contact with international organizations under the umbrella of UN-AGFE to get them committed with the movement • Invite Turkish partners working at the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) to actively establish links with the proposed local platform and international to increase lobbying power • Use the possible links with existing organizations that attend(ed) the European Social Forum to keep agreements on petition signing and pressure activities 	

Table 5.3 - Working objective 1C

5.2. Appropriation Strategy: Appropriating Emerging Economies

STRATEGIC AIM TWO: Develop capacity for the reassertion and exercise of the right to appropriation as an alternative vision to attain the urban transformation priorities of “emerging economies” in the areas of historical restoration and earthquake impact mitigation.

This strategic aim builds on the collaborative platform conceived previously, through exploring how it can engage with processes of urban restoration and renewal. Marcuse (2009) paraphrases from Lefebvre that “it is not the right to the existing city that is demanded, but the right to a future city”. This directly implies that poor women and men should not only have the right to participate on current issues but also the right to appropriate space to preserve their livelihoods: “Not only is appropriation the right to occupy already-produced urban space, it is also the right to produce urban space so that it meets the needs

of inhabitants” (Purcell 2002, 103).

The rationale behind the appropriation strategy developed from the recognition that current processes of large-scale public and private developments, related to restoration of historical areas and renewal areas identified as vulnerable to future earthquakes, were negatively impacting current residents. New developments, occurring in the context of a shift from an industry to service-based economy, threaten urban women and men’s right to appropriate housing and livelihood-related space. These tensions create pressures, particularly in culturally significant neighbourhoods experiencing gentrification, manifested in large-scale unemployment, mass evictions and the denial to access and use public space. This strategy attempts to respond to these pressures through developing the socio-economic capacity of residents and further encouraging owners of local and small-scale businesses to access new economic opportunities emerging around restoration and earthquake mitigation.

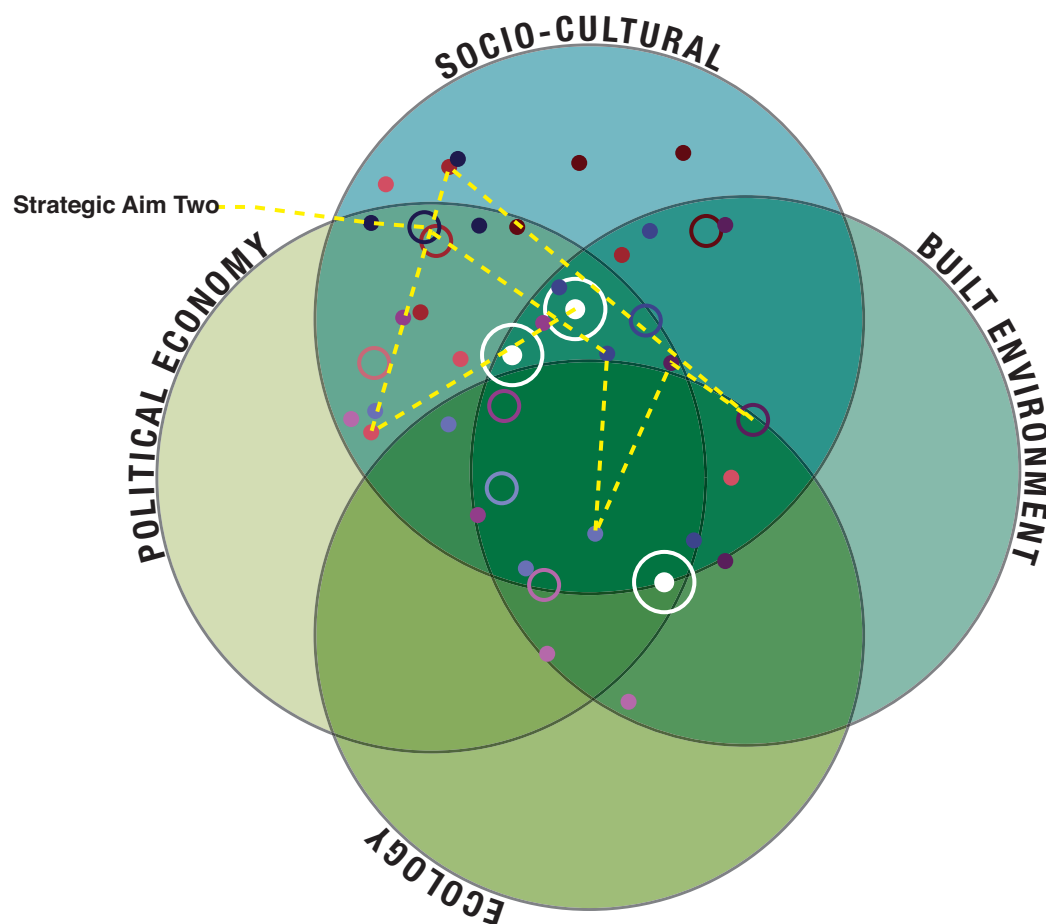


Figure 5.2 - Strategic aim two within systems

WORKING OBJECTIVE 2A	
Integrate the strategic alliances of the strategic aim 1, which specialize in methods of historical restoration and disaster mitigation to advocate for and mobilize around their “emerging economic” opportunities.	
CONSTRAINTS	ASSETS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative vision of gecekondü: “distorted urbanization” • Discourse barriers weakening potential alliances between universities and professionals with neighbourhood associations and social movements. • Earthquake law supporting an agenda against informal urbanization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are many universities (Bogazici University, Istanbul Technical University, Middle East Technical University, YILDIZ Technical University) that specialize in disaster mitigation. • Strategic aim number 1 will develop a strong knowledge platform, and allow for the cross-fertilization of professional skills. • International forums in Istanbul (International Planning History Society, European Social Forum) gives high levels of exposure to the topics of restoration and disaster mitigation.
ENTRY STRATEGIES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use skilled networking alliance to challenge the notions of “distorted urbanization” and establish unified movements around alternative visions in appropriation of urban public spaces. • Locate specialists of historical restoration and earthquake mitigation within communities to discuss the potential benefits of strategic partnerships with small/medium size private enterprises and neighbourhood associations. • Use collective intent and strategic alliances to pressure District Municipalities to adapt restoration and earthquake mitigation plans and frameworks of Law 5393. 	

Table 5.4 - Working objective 2A

WORKING OBJECTIVE 2B	
Increase diverse “emerging economic” opportunities and skill sets of citizens within restoration and earthquake mitigation areas to allow for appropriation of public space.	
CONSTRAINTS	ASSETS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The shift from an industrial to service economy dislocating urban workers. • New jobs in the service industry cater to those with certain skills and education, excluding women and men without the new demanded working capabilities • The international tourism strategy pushes traditional communities from their places of heritage • The new approach towards a globalised service economy makes small industrial businesses within the local economy more vulnerable. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International institutions such as Aga Kahn have showed precedents of provide people with the training to restore historical building themselves (Azhar Park, Egypt) • AKOM, a pre/during/ and post-disaster coordinating body for IBB and related agencies, has provided citizen training sessions and produce educational booklets and graphics • Gecekondur communities have diverse economic skill sets in construction, services and industry • Under article 3 of law 5366, full conservation of the plot/structure may be carried out by landowner, in abidance with integrity/use/purpose set forth by the municipality project • Traditional artisan work is highly valued in tourism areas
ENTRY STRATEGIES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Train local neighbourhood association and local small & medium size businesses with the skills for “emerging economic” opportunities in historic restoration and earthquake mitigation • Use precedents of successful restoration and disaster mitigation to highlight localized capacities and establish work partnerships/co-operative with small and medium size businesses • Create an association of workers, skilled in the processes of the “emerging economy” of historic restoration and earthquake mitigation, to promote newly established socio-economic skills and initiate mixed-use employment and citywide mitigation/restoration programs. 	

Table 5.5 - Working objective 2B

WORKING OBJECTIVE 2C	
Locate financial opportunities that will access resources for short and long-term projects and small and medium business establishment.	
CONSTRAINTS	ASSETS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing land prices and high living costs threatening people's capability to cope with living costs in the city Gated communities have already segregated and fragmented socio-economic groups Social planning is effectively superseded by economic, technical and environmental considerations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bi-lateral donor agencies, such as World Bank and European Development Bank, have issued substantial loans for disaster mitigation. Aga Kahn also provides small micro-financing loans for communities looking to improve the living conditions. Mayor of Istanbul, an architect himself, has been steadily losing ground to the Republic Peoples Party (CHP) due to arguments that people are losing and the government is taking everything. Possible government shift within a context of healthy metropolitan finances might open financial avenues for community led development.
ENTRY STRATEGIES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Survey and review the current financial models of small and medium business, seed capital funds, work cooperatives, NGOs, and neighbourhood associations. Identify international cases of good practice and study their financial models and processes of socio-economic development. Utilizes precedents of successful restoration and earthquake mitigation projects to pressure the Istanbul Project Coordinating Unit and the Municipality to release fund for alternative project approaches. Use network alliances and precedent of successful projects to attract international partners. 	

Table 5.6 - Working objective 2C

5.3. Indicators and Monitoring

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 illustrate indicators for both the participation and appropriation strategies. Indicators are proposed that correlate working objectives to criteria. These selected indicators can be used to monitor the implementation, development and impact of the proposed entry strategies.

Impact monitoring

Impact monitoring is to be further designed and executed by an organization independent from the proposed sharing platform. Such an organization must have the capacity and financial resources to carry out the process of evaluation aimed at reviewing the performance of the proposed sharing platform. It will verify that the underlying assumptions framed in the selected strategic aims are operating in time and space to help construct the proposed alternative vision.

The monitoring process should set an initial timeframe which stipulates when the working objectives should be operationalised. Monitoring should be implemented from the onset of the implementation of the working objectives to both track the progress of the platform and detect initial “teething problems”. Within four months an initial monitoring report should be presented to those involved in the platform. After eight months a second report should be produced.

The strategic aims should be evaluated at the end of the first year. This will enable a conscious and deliberate assessment of their efficacy and direct if they should be continued or modified. This ensures a dynamic process of feedback and adaptation of strategic actions.

CRITERIA		PARTICIPATION STRATEGY INDICATORS		
		Working Objective 1A	Working Objective 1B	Working Objective 1C
RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE	Right to access and produce knowledge	The sharing platform has designated members to conform and maintain knowledge production focus groups	There are focus groups conformed by diverse women and men gathering, producing and divulgating information	the platform has established channels for information sharing with organizations
	Right to access and contribute to public discourses	the sharing platform plans to hold the “Istanbul WE want” forum on most municipalities	there is efficient channels of bilateral communication from neighbourhood leaders with the platform	national and international CBOs and NGOs are trusted by local initiatives to contribute and access
	Right to diverse collective and individual identities	the platform has designated ways to encourage and monitor the participation of poor women and men in all their diversity	citizens know of the permanent, secure communication channels they have to express during or outside the forum spaces	
RIGHT TO APPROPRIATION	Right to access, appropriate and produce the built environment	the platform is committed to promote the appropriation strategy within the 2010 forum	focus groups aiming promoting public education within the appropriation strategy's working objectives are being conformed	the platform has articulated the appropriation strategy as part of their common agenda with national and international NGOs and CBOs
	Right to access and protect cultural and historical heritage			
	Right to access and produce public space			
	Right to access and contribute to the market	the platform has members actively seeking to guarantee funding for the forum		dialogue with additional national and international NGOs and CBOs to agree on financial support for the platform exist
	Right to access and preserve the natural resources and the environment			the platform has created links with NGOs and CBOs promoting brown and green agendas

Table 5.7 - Participation strategy indicators

CRITERIA	APPROPRIATION STRATEGY INDICATORS		
	Working Objective 2A	Working Objective 2B	Working Objective 2C
RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE	Right to access and produce knowledge	Evidence of localised knowledge and the social mobilization of communities around the issues of restoration and earthquake mitigation	Signs of increase localized skill and knowledge about restoration and disaster mitigation procedures.
	Right to access and contribute to public discourses	Procedural adjustments to incorporate the community in the processes of development	The establishment of frameworks to incorporate community lead projects.
	Right to diverse collective and individual identities	Establishment of movements that incorporate all social diversity, Integration of community development initiatives into municipal procedures.	Projects that highlight the diverse skills and needs of citizens in their production.
RIGHT TO APPROPRIATION	Right to access, appropriate and produce the built environment	Evidence of localised knowledge and the social mobilization of communities around the issues of restoration and earthquake mitigation	Increased of socio-economic opportunities and the establishment of diverse mixed use employment.
	Right to access and protect cultural and historical heritage	The integration of community development initiative into municipal procedures.	Increase in personal home improvement mortgages for building in earthquake zoned areas
	Right to access and produce public space	Positive precedents of advocacy and socially mobilized pressure that has resistance demolition and eviction	Precedents of localized building restoration and disaster mitigation.
	Right to access and contribute to the market	Signs of collective intents around the appropriation of space.	Precedents of restoration projects that maintain their original inhabitants.
	Right to access and preserve the natural resources and the environment	The adoption of sustainable approaches of restoration over demolition, reducing waste and energy	Acceptance of community lead development by municipalities.
		Investments towards localized economic development.	Signs of financial opportunity to make decisions of how their community will be developed or preserved.
		Instances of financial loans or contributions which have allowed owners to lead development	Investments towards localized Increase of the available resources for the appropriation of public space.
		Establishment of financial opportunities for individual to restore their own household.	Signs of financial opportunity to make decisions of how their community will be developed or preserved.

Table 5.8 - Appropriation strategy indicators

6. FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

6.1. The Potential of the Right to the City

The right to the city approach is not sufficient in itself to build a new structure in which the rights to participation and appropriation are operatively democratized. As Purcell (2002, 106) offers,

“Because it is not a completed political architecture but a door to a new and contingent urban politics, the right to the city cannot be evaluated a priori. Rather its effect on the social and spatial structure of cities will be determined through a complex and contingent politics, what could best be termed an urban politics of the inhabitant.”

Such limitations need to be considered when assessing the feasibility of achieving a positive transformative change via destabilizing and restructuring current systems through promoting strategies centred on the rights to participation and appropriation. However, the right to the city approach has been promoted in other cities of the world, advancing tremendously towards the legitimization of poor women and men’s right to centrally influence the decisions that produce urban space (Purcell 2002).

6.2. Conclusions

Istanbul has entered a new era of urban transformations, employed at an unprecedented scale since 2000. This trend has correlated with a push to incorporate Turkey’s economy to the international scale and is part of a vision that sees Istanbul as a global, European city. The term ‘urban transformation’ has been at the centre of the public authorities’ urban discourse, as a tool to justify the control of the spatial sphere.

The rhetoric regarding this policy has proved persuasive, claiming to be a solution to many aspects of the city’s problems including earthquake mitigation, reducing crime, decreasing segregation, removing stigma and improving poor living conditions. This discourse has been successful in

formulating a growing national consensus around its aims. However, these urban transformation projects have ironically deprived urban women and men their previous rights of participation and appropriation within the production of urban space. As such, they are excluded from the design of urban interventions in which they directly bear the most consequences.

A rights-based movement centred on the right to the city could be an appropriate, timely and proactive response to the neo-liberal context in Istanbul whereby market forces are shaping this production of urban space and creating cleavages between social and spatial relations. Given the institutional and structural constraints acting on urban systems, the capacity to exercise consciousness and agency is considered to be fundamental in attaining the right to the city, resisting these neo-liberal market forces and enfranchising urban women and men towards positive transformative change. Therefore, civil initiatives should focus on building internal capacities, including the ability to interact and challenge power relations, and mobilising social networks to better pressure and actively engage in the production of urban space, involving varying systems operating at scale.

It is clear that the state has a strong image of what it perceives as a progressive future for Istanbul. The question is whether civil society will be capable of constructing its own competing, alternative vision.

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8. APPENDICES*

A. Fieldwork Schedule	49
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*NOTE: ALL PHOTOGRAPHS, FIGURES AND TABLES WERE ELABORATED BY THE AUTHORS.

A. FIELDWORK SCHEDULE

A1. SUMMARY OF FIELDWORK ACTIVITIES

DATE	ACTIVITY
Sunday 9 th May	Arrived at Istanbul Airport
Monday 10 th May	Group A: BUS TOUR with Orhan Esen: Western loop - Eminonu, Zeytinburnu towards Havaalani, Suleymaniye
	Group B: Small group walking tours in central area.
	Talk by Yasar Adanali, DPU Alumni
Tuesday 11 th May	Group B: BUS TOUR with Orhan Esen: Northern Loop – Halic, Kagithane, New CBD
	Group A: Small group walking tours in central area.
Wednesday 12 th May	Group A: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB) City Planning Unit, Altunizade, Meeting with Ugur Inan, Director
	Group B: Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Unit (İMP) meeting with ULAS AKIN
	Group reflection and exchange
Thursday 13 th May	ALL GROUP: Union of Municipalities of the Marmara Region, meeting with Mustafa Ozkul and Iskender Gunes, Staff of EU-relations Centre
	Group A (Tarlabasi Group): Meeting with Mete Goktug, Community architect and long-time Tarlabasi resident
	Group B: Group Works
	Visit to neighborhoods
Friday 14 th May	Group A (Tarlabasi Group): Tarlabasi Rehabilitation Project prepared to the Greater Municipality of Istanbul in 2001, talk by Zehra Tonbul, architectural expert for the project
	Guided walk in Tarlabasi
	Beyoglu Municipality, Tarlabasi Project Office,
	Meeting with Nilgun Kivircik, General Coordinator
	Field work in neighborhood
	Group B (Sariyer Group): Breakfast and meeting with neighbourhood leaders in Sariyer
	Walk through the area with neighbourhood leaders
	Question session
Saturday 15 th May	Meeting with Erdogan Yildiz at Gulsuyu Bridge, Maltepe
	Visit in Gulsuyu/Gulensu neighborhoods
	Meet with Yilmaz Yasak, Muhtar of Basibuyuk
Sunday 16 th May	Visit in Basibuyuk neighborhood
	Fieldwork in Armutlu and Tarlabasi
Monday 17 th May	ALL GROUP: Union of Municipalities of the Marmara Region, meeting with Meeting with Nese Erdilek, Bilgi University Community Center of Tarlabasi, Director
	Field work in Tarlabasi
	Group B
	Visit to Kartal
Tuesday 18 th May	Talk by Prof. Alper Unlu, ITU, Consultant to Kartal District Municipality
	Murat Vefkioglu, İMP, to talk about Zaha Hadid Project of Kartal
Wednesday 19 th May	Dr. Tuna Kuyucu, Sociology Department, Bogazici University, to about TOKİ
	Group works to consolidate data, experiences and information in preparation for presentation
Thursday 20 th May	Group works to consolidate data, experiences and information in preparation for presentation
Friday 21 st May	Presentation to local partners and stakeholders
	Flight back to London

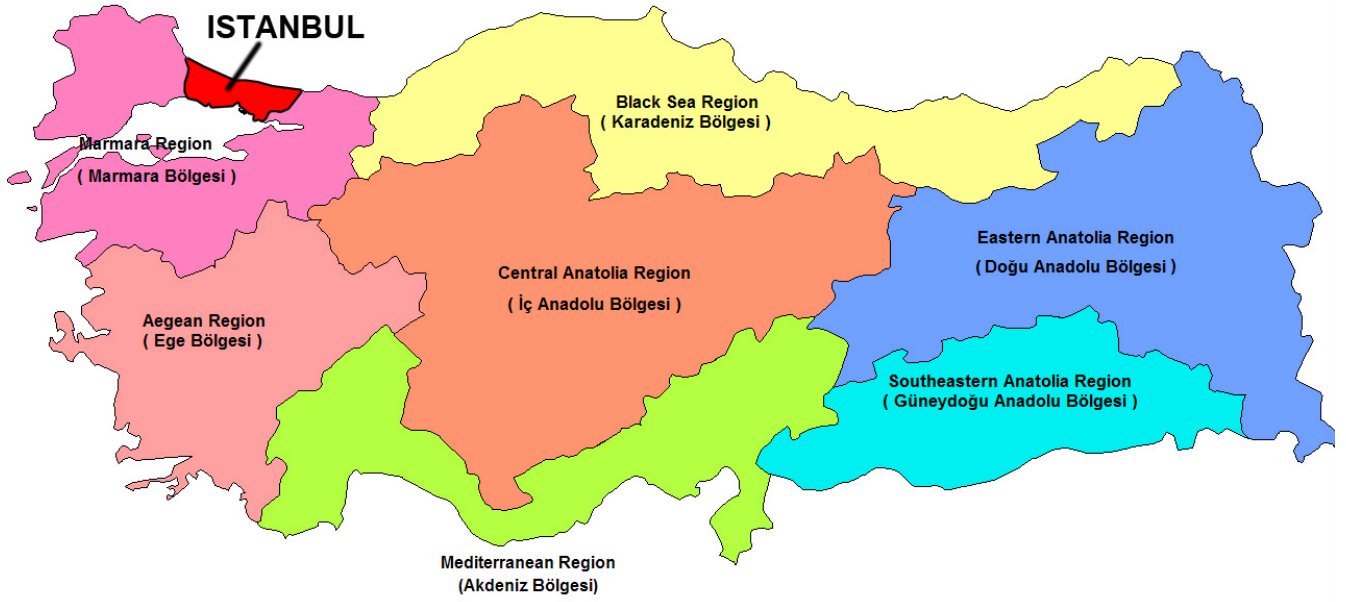
B. GENERAL MAPS



Map of the Republic of Turkey

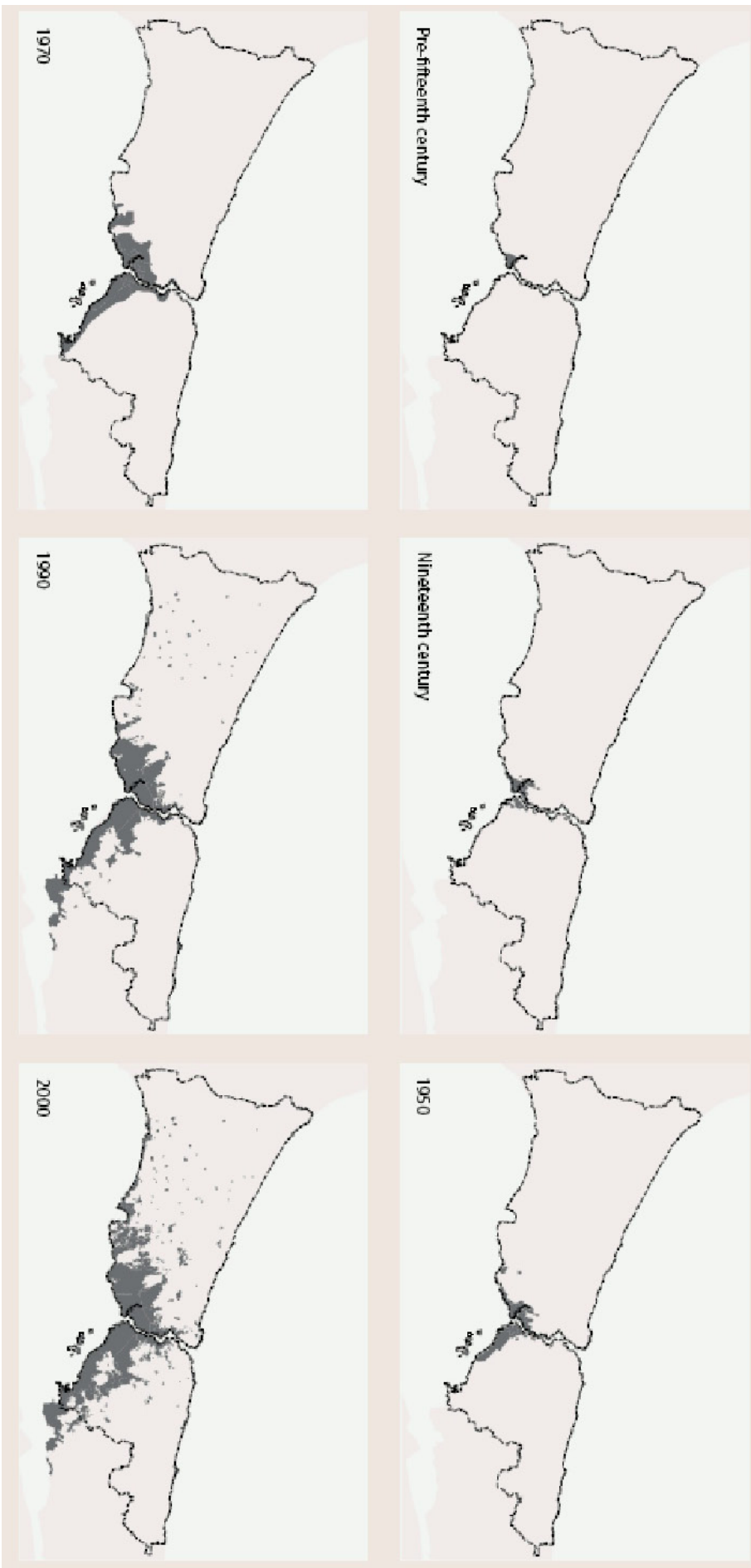
From Wikipedia. 'Map of the Republic of Turkey'.

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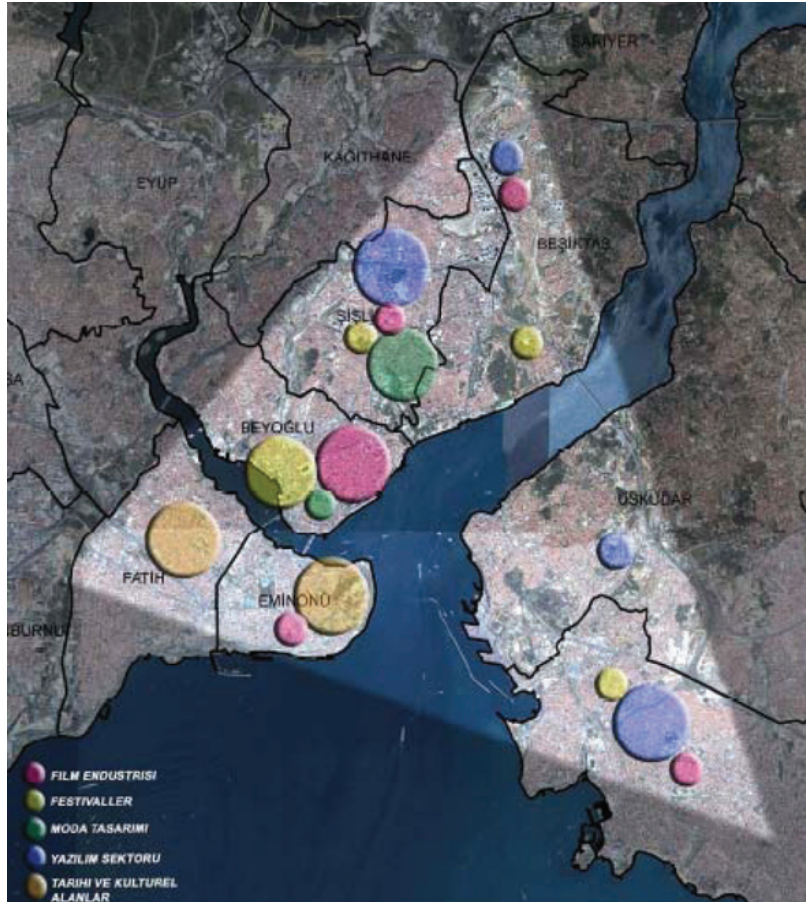


Turkey Regions Map
Vespasianustour. 'Turkey Regions Map'.
<http://www.vespasianustour.com/index.php?sf=haritalar>

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF ISTANBUL'S URBAN FOOTPRINT

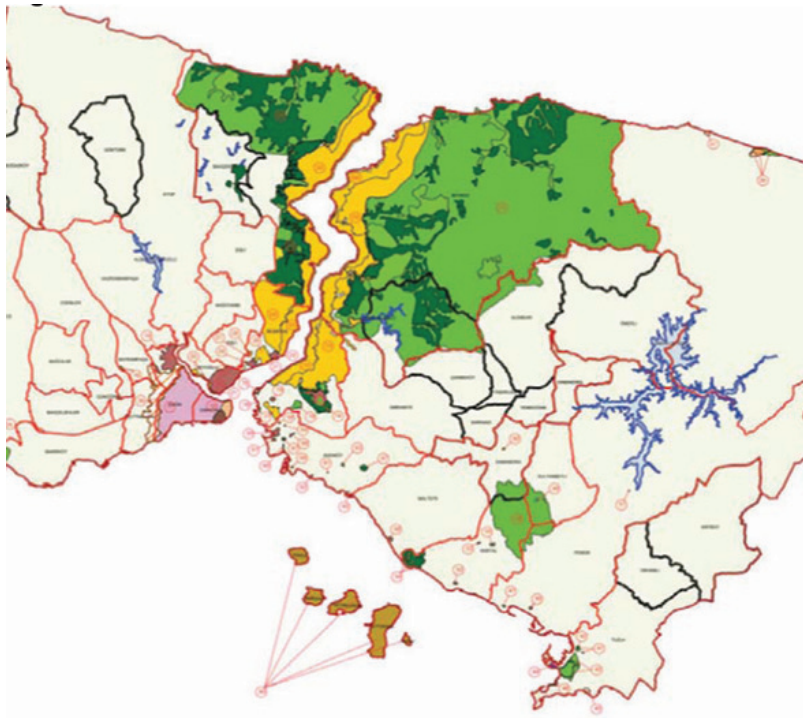


Footprint
Urban Age City Data-Istanbul. (2009). Urban Footprint.
Source from: <http://www.urban-age.net/cities/istanbul/data/2009/>



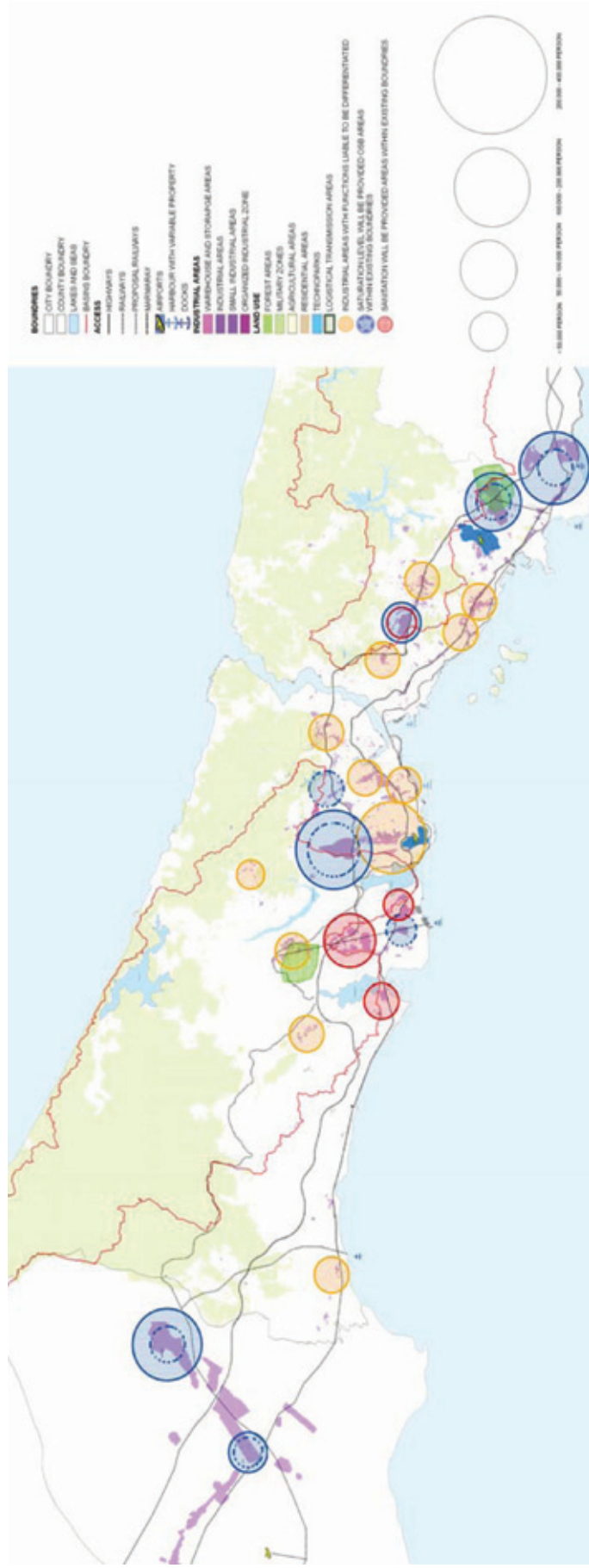
Cultural Triangle

Istanbul Metropolitan Planlama. (2007). The Istanbul Master Plan Summary. P33.

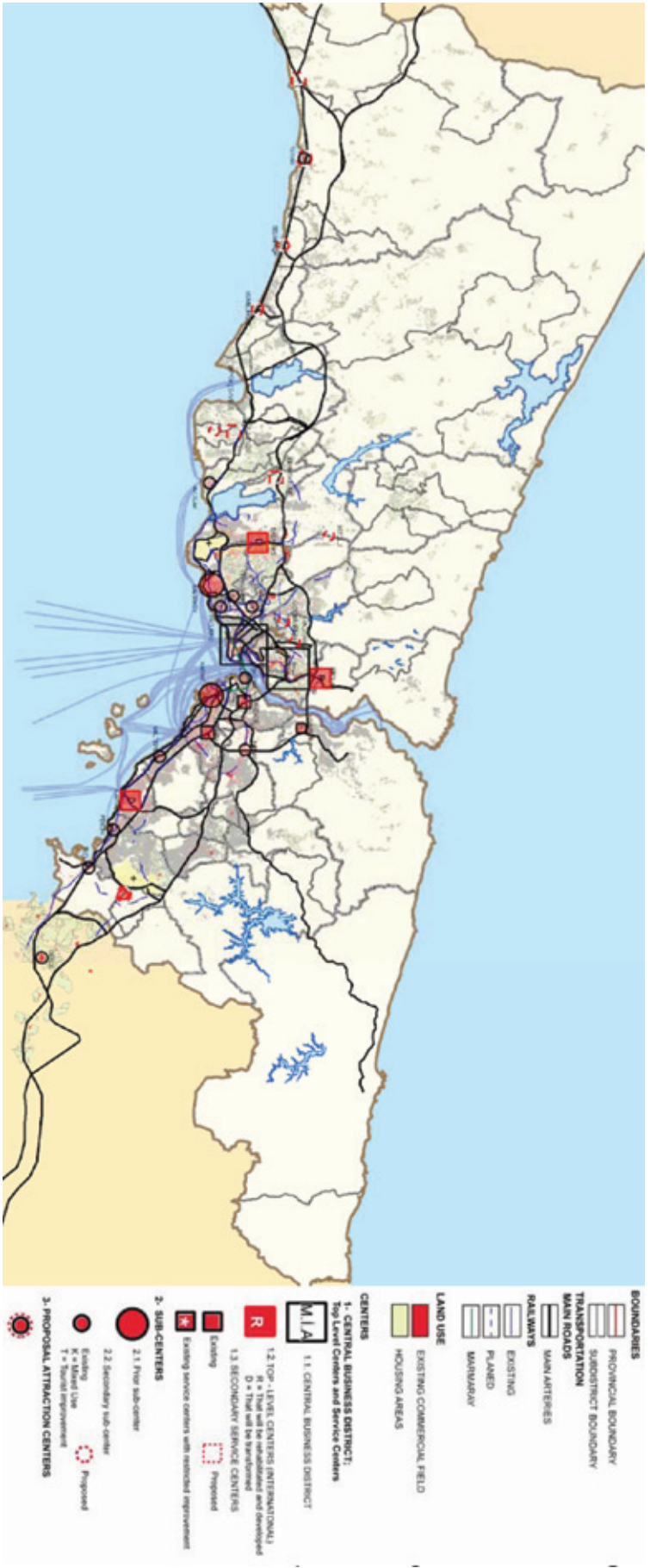


Conservation Areas

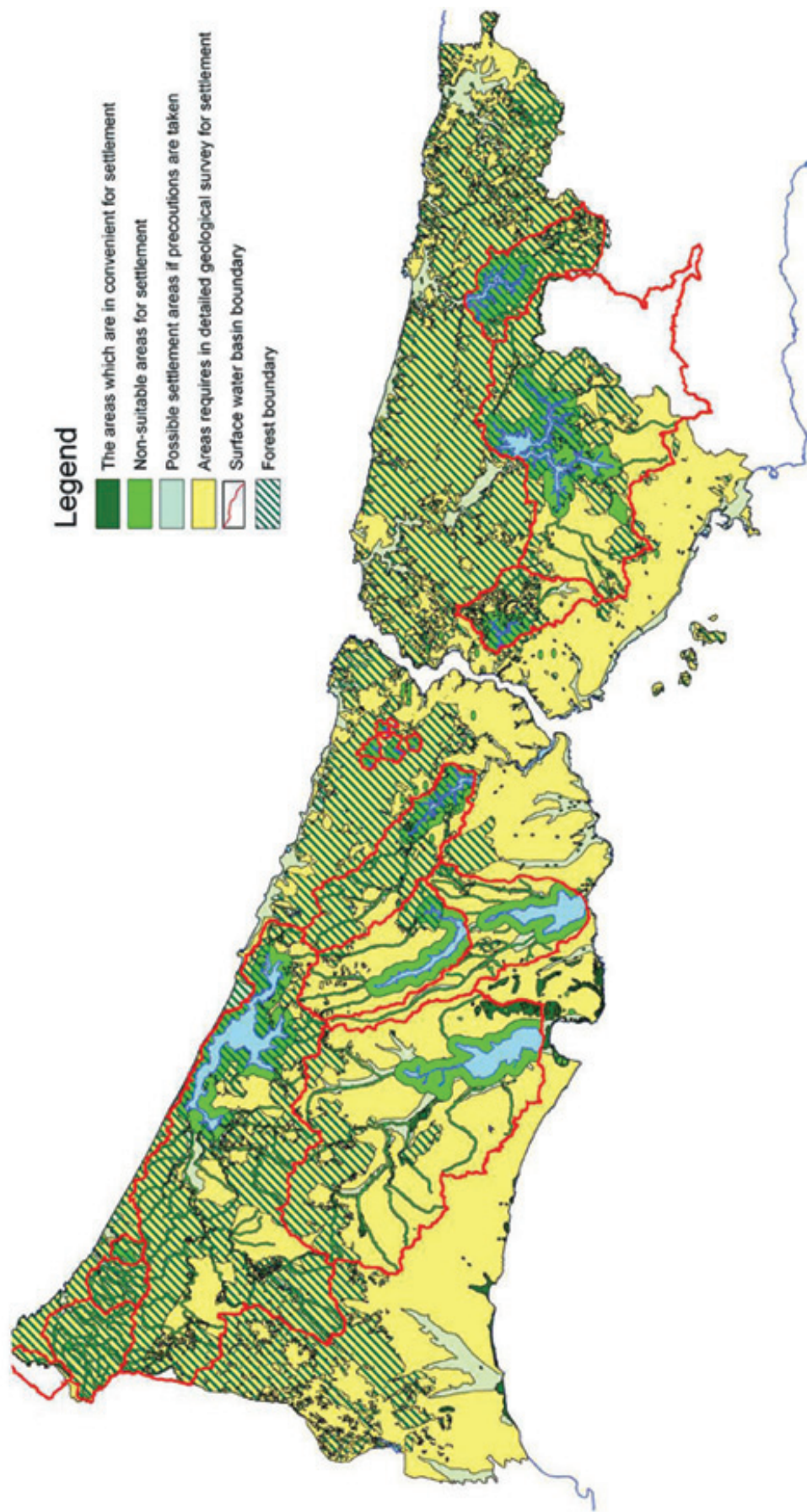
Istanbul Metropolitan Planlama. (2007). The Istanbul Master Plan Summary. P36.



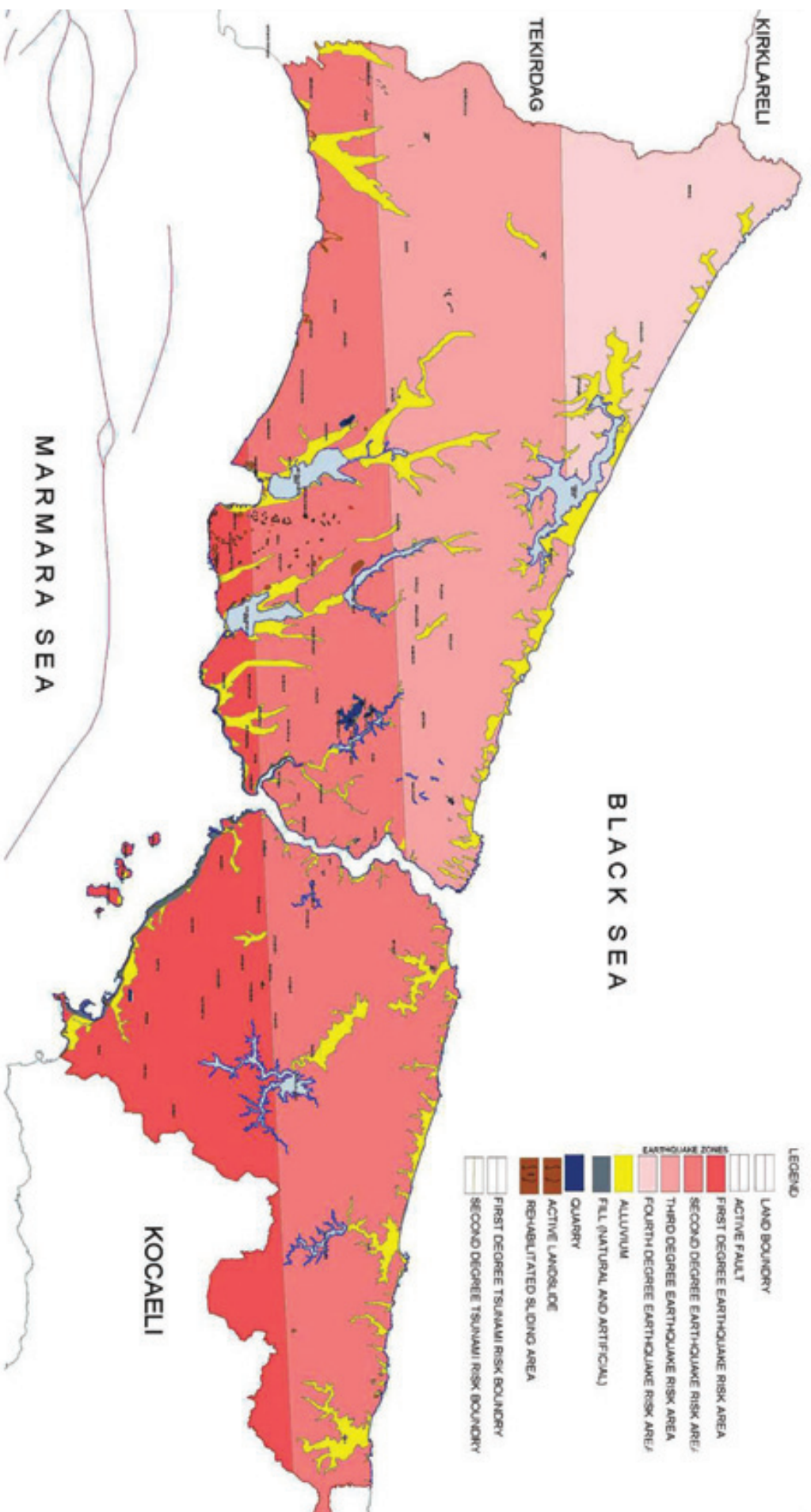
Industrial and Spatial Development
Istanbul Metropolitan Planlama. (2007). The Istanbul Master Plan Summary. P21.



Existing and Proposed Business Districts
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Synthesis of Earth Science and the Geological Suitability of the Settlement Area in the Province of Istanbul
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Seismic Risk Map
Istanbul Metropolitan Planlama. (2007). The Istanbul Master Plan Summary. P65.

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Imre Balanli. (2008). 'Interview With Wakui Tetsuo'. Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion. P13.

map H—GATED COMMUNITIES

map H—GATED COMMUNITIES

- VERTICAL GATED DEVELOPMENTS, APARTMENT BLOCKS, 2004
- VERTICAL GATED DEVELOPMENTS, APARTMENT BLOCKS, 2009
- HORIZONTAL GATED DEVELOPMENTS, VILLA TOWNS, 2004
- HORIZONTAL GATED DEVELOPMENTS, VILLA TOWNS, 2008

Tuna Kuyucu. (2008). 'The Paradox of Turkey's New Low-Income Housing Policy'. Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion. P17-18.

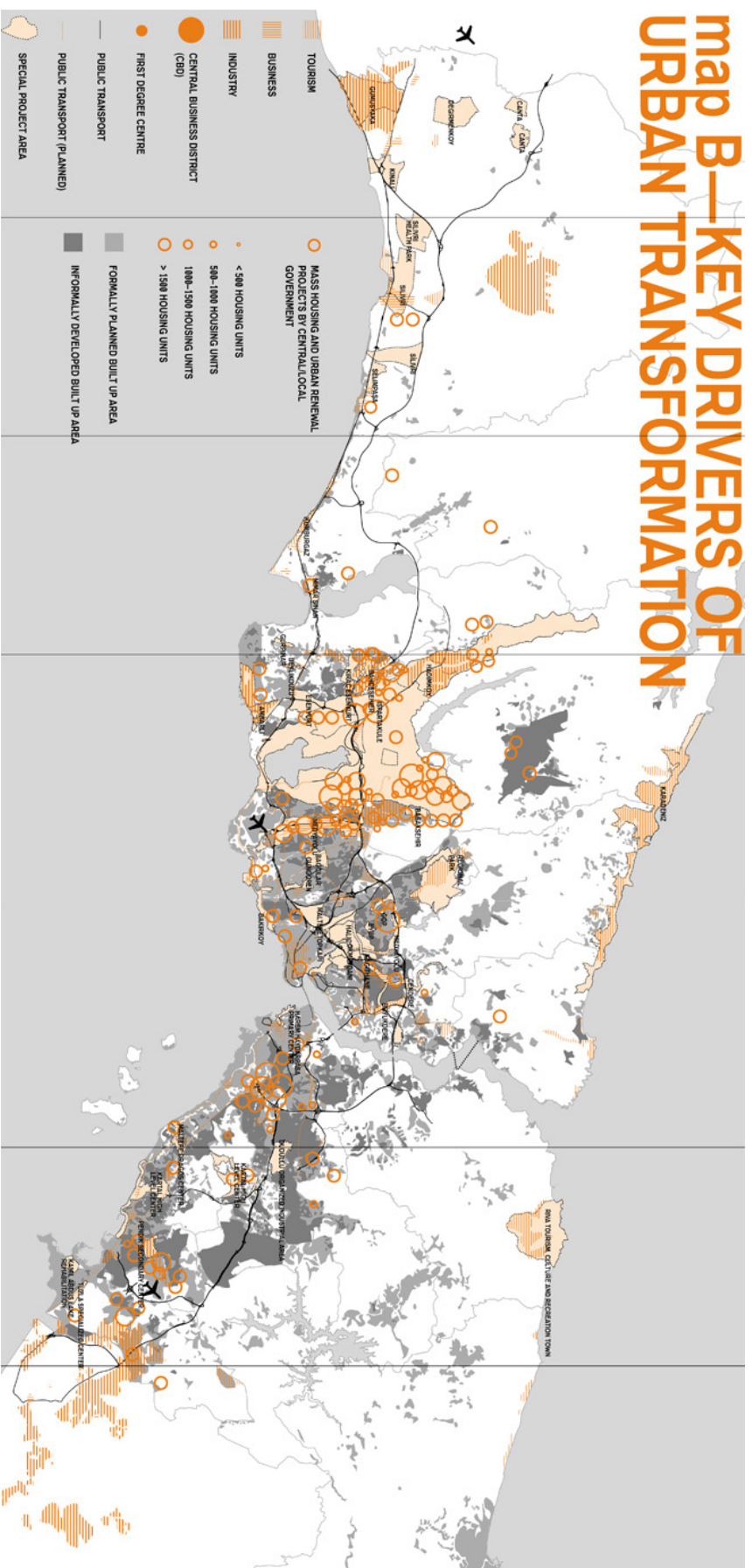


Proposed Sub Regions for Istanbul
Istanbul Metropolitan Planlama. (2007). The Istanbul Master Plan Summary. P97

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Forced Eviction

map B—KEY DRIVERS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION



Key Drivers of Urban Transformation
 Imre Balanli. (2008). 'Interview With Huseyin Kaptan'. Tansel Korkmaz, Eda Ünü-Yücesoy and Yaşar Adanalı, Can Altay, Philipp Misselwitz (Eds) Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion. Pg-10

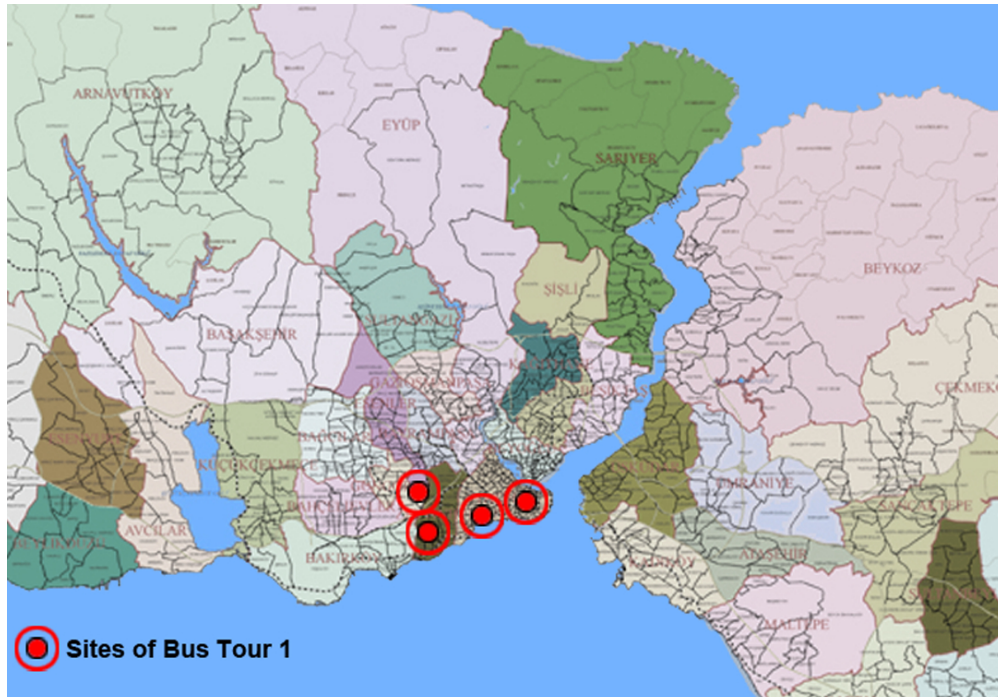
C. SITES

C.1. BUS TRIP 1:

10 May 2010

Bus Tour with Mr. Orhan Esen

Location: Samatya, Süleymaniye, Tozkoşaran and Zeytin Burnu.



This tour provided an overview of the development of Istanbul from a typological, economical, spatial and political perspective. It was based in the historical peninsula in which we visited several neighbourhoods. The three major axis of development of Istanbul were identified - labour, state and capital. The historical peninsula encompasses the geographical centre of poverty but at the same time is site to the majority of the city's cultural and historical assets.

The first area visited was Samatya where the layers of urban development, from the organic roads of the Ottoman times to the regularised street blocks introduced

in the 19th century, were clearly visible. This prompted the evolution and shades of private and public space into the city. The current clear distinction of private and public space in the city was historically not present, whereby there was a gradation of private to public space – house + garden, threshold of the house, the cul-de-sac, the main road, the market road. In this sense nothing was ever really fully private or public.

The next site was in Zeytin Burnu, a second-generation gecekondu neighbourhood. This site represents the typical evolution from the first generation to second-gener-



ation gecekondu settlements, including the transformation of the built form, the introduction of small-scale production, the shift from land based on exchange to use value and the emergence of a new lower middle class.

The next visit was to Tozkoparan, a social housing block developed by the state. It was a stark contrast to the 'distorted urbanisation' of the gecekondu settlements we had seen previously. While Zeytin Burnu was developed completely informally it did not have the feel of a varos (or slum) found in Tozkoparan where the buildings were visibly in need of maintenance and repair.

At the end the group visited Süleymaniye, an area slated as a transformation zone. It is slowly being bought by the state in order to be re-developed into high-income housing based on nostalgia for 19th century wooden housing structures prevalent in the Ottoman times. The irony is they will destroy the original structures and rebuild concrete houses with wooden facades in their place. Existing residents are being bought out and forced to move to the periphery to make way for this new tourist area, which aims to be a 'Museum City'.

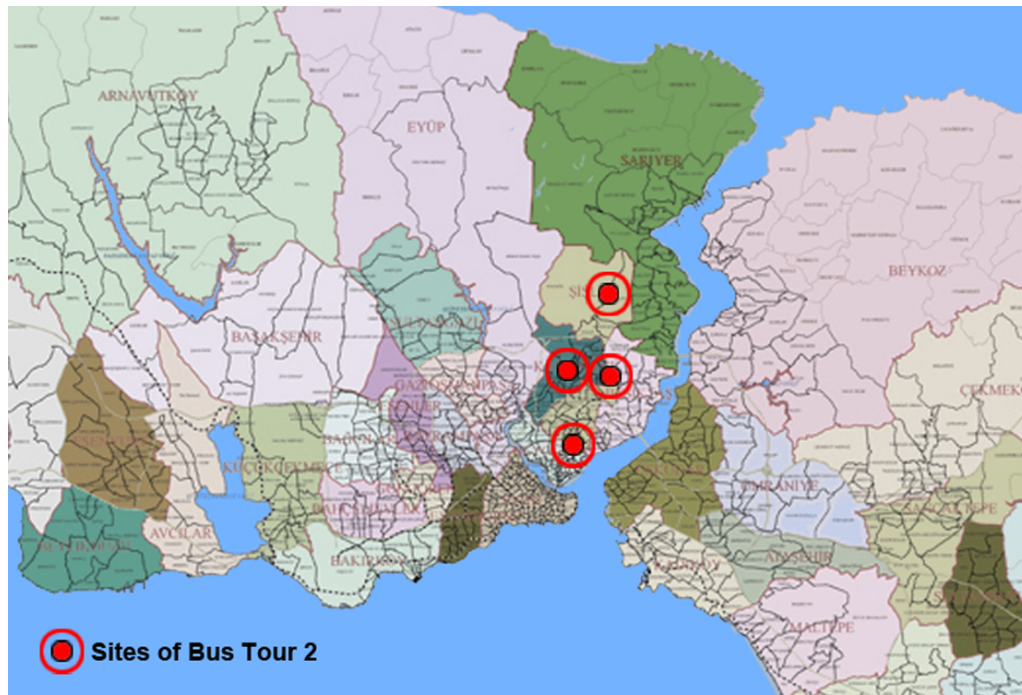


C.2. BUS TRIP 2:

11 May 2010

Bus Tour with Mr. Orhan Esen

Location: Norther Loop (Halic, Kagithane, New CBD)



The characteristics, symbolism and spatial configuration of Taksim square and its surroundings were identified in the area of Beyoğlu and Beşiktaş.

The spatial configuration that evidences Istanbul as a post-second world war Industrial city is part of the landscape in the area. The development of transport links is evident with the London Road, Ankara Road and the Ridge (in 1973).

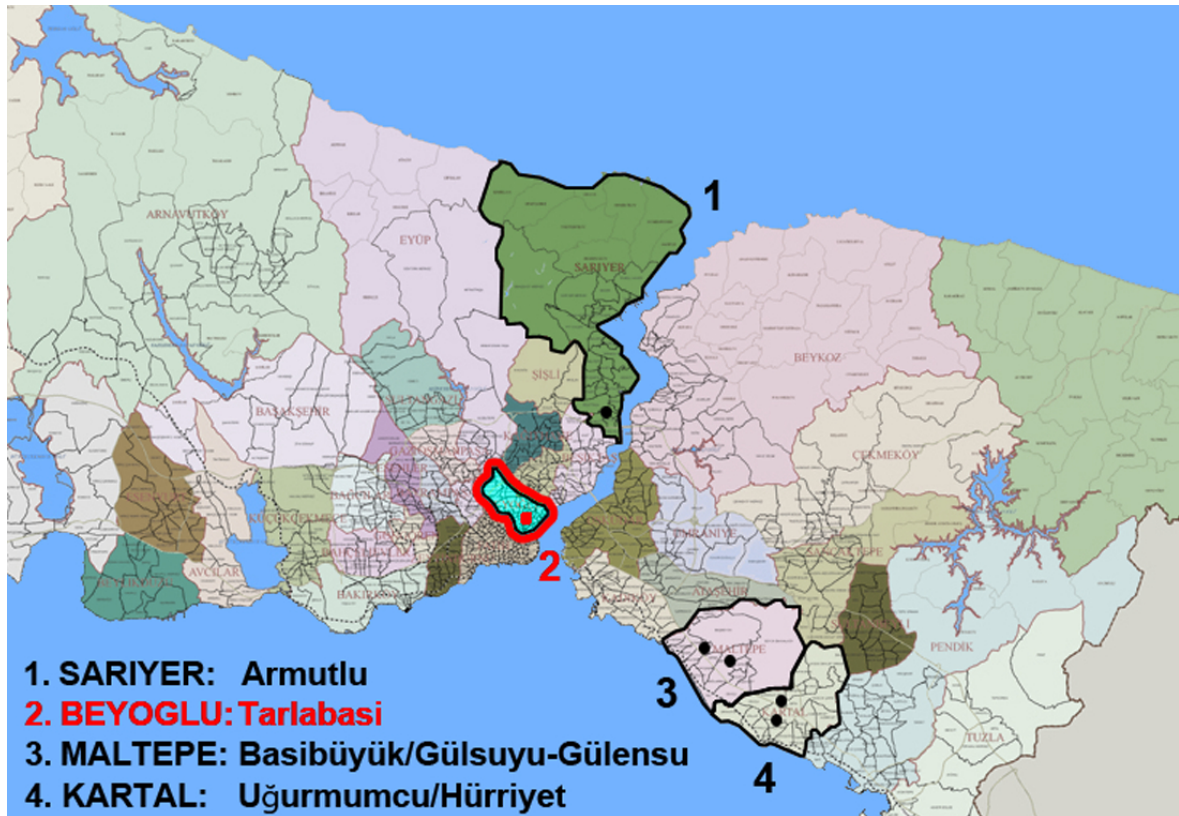
Gecekondu are emerging from 1950s where workers got the free land as a charity from the state. Workers here settled, do urban agriculture, struggling for getting civic services and thereby worked in the industries with a low wage.

The tour went through the Levent business centre which once was an informally developed area, but now boasts refinement and style.



C.3.

TARLABASI:



The area of our analysis started from Cukur Mahalle, then Bulbul Mahalle, and finished with Sehit Muhtar Mahalle. The buildings in these three mahalles are mainly used for living, but there are large sections in the Bulbul, which are mix-used for both living and commerce (warehouse or furniture shop); and the warehouse area, which is almost purely manufactory area, without any residential houses. The manufactory area is mainly doing the production and selling of furniture. Some buildings in Senit Muhtar, which are especially in the south of the block, are historical building and need preservation.

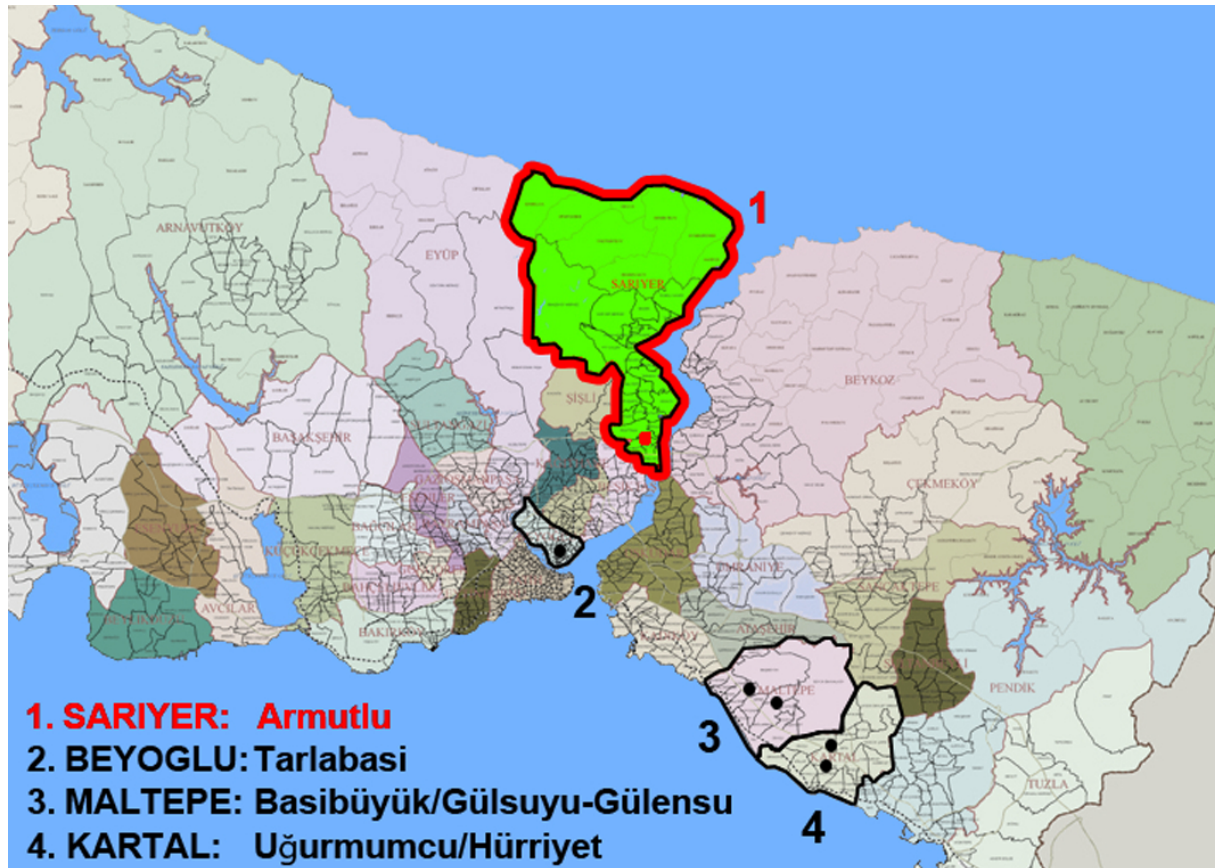
The general area was very dirty and poorly maintained, but main streets seemed to be cleaned more frequently. There were a lot of historical buildings in the area but many

appear abandoned and in bad condition. There was no appropriate drainage system and all the water include household washing wastewater were flowing down slope towards water beds. There is a newly constructed mosque in the north east of Bulbul, which is along the street named Seroar Omer Pasa Caddesi. Close to this area, there is a university. In certain area there were thriving industries and business. Along a main street called Turan Caddesi, there are many shops selling foods, mobiles, and other household stuffs. During our walking, we encountered some “recycle stations” which collected plastic and paper from around the city, and a place the made stuffed mussels that you could find throughout the surrounding neighbourhoods.





C.4. SARIYER:



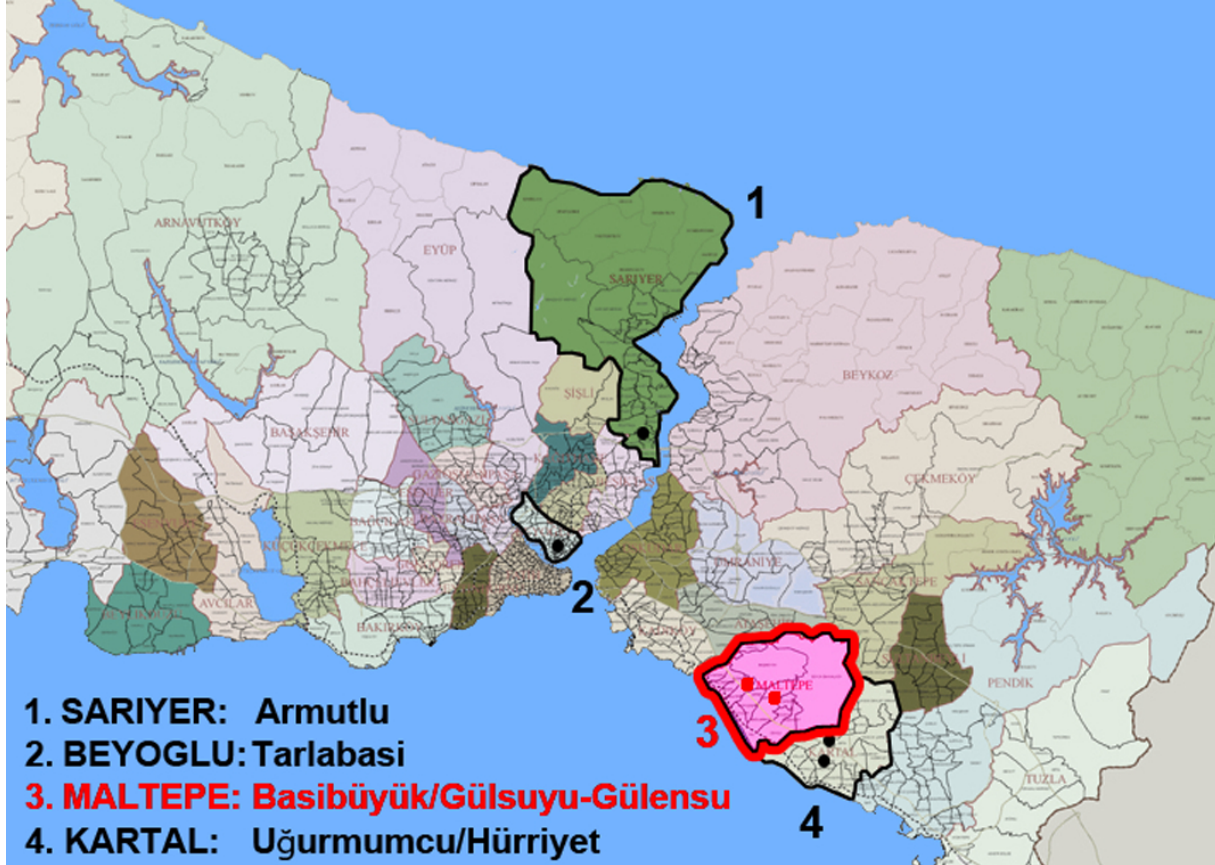
Sarıyer is one of the 32 districts of Istanbul on the northern tip of the European side of the city. Sarıyer serves as a bridge, connecting the Black Sea and the Bosphorus and is consisting of various Bosphorus villages on that side. The beautiful sceneries of the coastline and forests attracted

tourism every year and have become parts of the wealth of the city. The Küçük Armutlu neighbourhood we visited as a typical gecekondu, had showed people a different picture of the Bosphorus -a dilapidated hilly area with no pedestrians.



C.5.

MALTEPE:



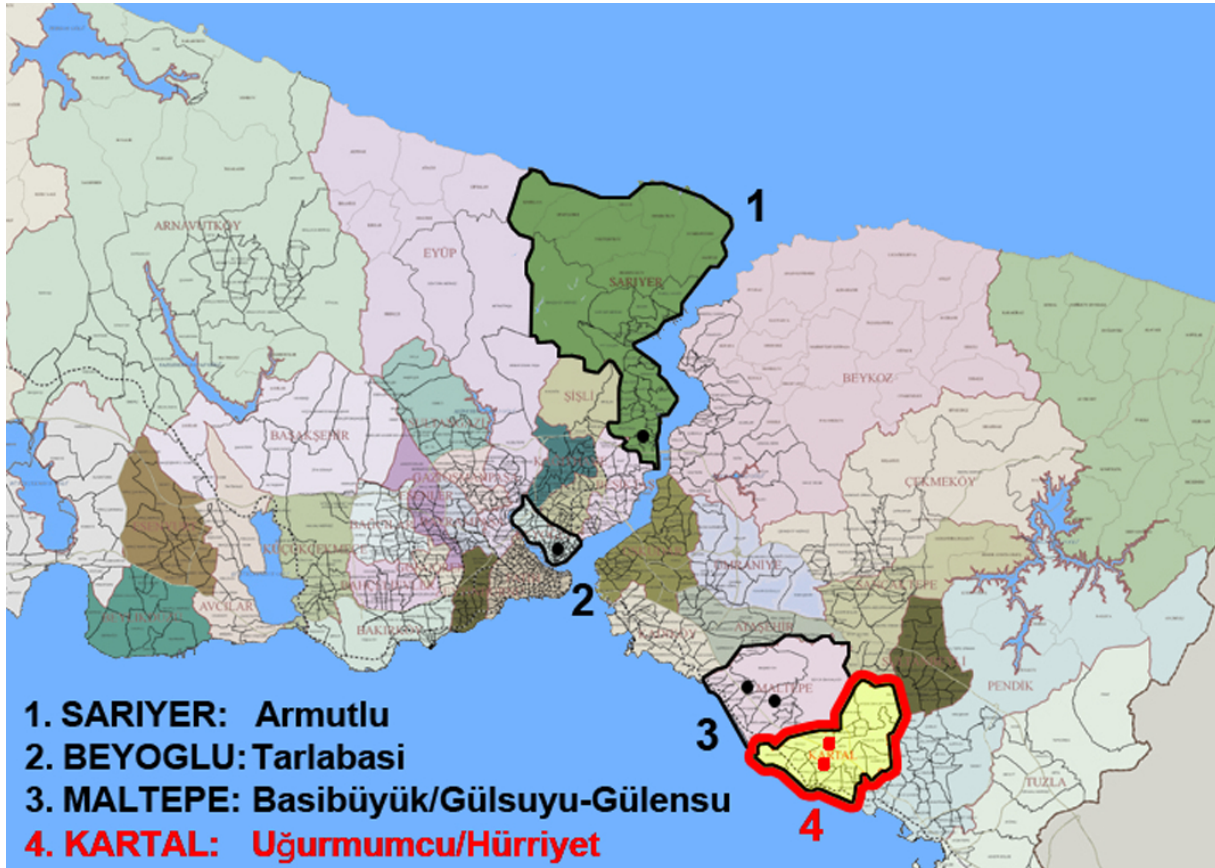
A district of Asian part (of Istanbul) and neighbouring to Kartal to the east and Kadikoy to the west. By being adjacent to the Marmara sea, the district commands wonderful panoramic views of the Princess Islands. Like Kartal, E5 highway also went through Maltepe. We went three proposed

transformation areas namely Gülsuyu, Gülsuyu and Başibüyük and meet the people. In Başibüyük (north of E5), we saw 6 TOKI high rise blocks which built by demolishing 9 gecekondu homes. We also went to a hike to a part of Gülsuyu to observe some Kiptas buildings for the elite people.





C.6. KARTAL:



Kartal as a district in Istanbul, is located on the Asian side of the city and on the shore of the Marmara Sea between Maltepe and Pendik. The population density in Kartal is quite high although it is not in the centre area of Istanbul. From 1947, Kartal had become a very important industrial area in Istanbul but now more and more facto-

ries have been shut down and a lot of the houses are built near to the seashore. The district mainly has 23 mahalles and we had paid visits to Uğurmumcu mahalle which is currently not included in the urban transformation projects and Hürriyet mahalle which can be considered as one of the biggest mahalle in Kartal.





D. INTERVIEWS ~ PRIMARY RESEARCH

D1. INTERVIEWS — PRIMARY RESEARCH: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Basic Questions

Introduction, basic noting on age, gender, and any other cultural characteristics that the interviewee may share.

2. Migration

The large amount of migrants that get to the city every year, understood in terms of size and migration trends (temporary, transitional, culturally diverse) affect the configuration of existing communities and puts unbearable stress to the city's housing shortage problem.

2.0.1. When did you move here? (If applicable): How many generations living here?

2.0.2. In your opinion, what makes Istanbul a unique city?

3. Markets And Land Value:

Main Problem: The production of the built environment is being driven by market forces which obey to the international system of production.

3.0.1. Are there any local businesses that you visit regularly? Are any goods produced in the area? Including urban agriculture.

3.0.2. Where does the main income from the household come? (source)

3.0.3. How do you think increased tourism in Istanbul will affect you?

3.0.4. For the shopkeepers are there any pressures to move out? Have rent increased?

4. Governance:

Main Problem: Government's top-down structure, centralized decision making –in the light of EU acceptance- do not reflect the reality and aspirations of the communities at the local level.

4.0.1. What do you know about the plans on Turkey joining the EU? ?

4.0.2. How do you think the government is developing this area? Should they?

5. Citizen's Vision

Power relations are a huge issue for people who want to actively take part on the decisions that involve their surroundings, livelihoods and related urban matters.

5.0.1. How has the neighbourhood been improved over the years?

5.0.2. What do you think your house/neighbourhood lacks

6. Master Planning

The historical centre of Istanbul is widely differentiating from the newer districts in the periphery of the city, exposing a possible fracture between the historic city and the "modern" city, and putting at risk the livelihoods of vulnerable communities which are not accurately represented in the diagnosis of the plan.

6.0.1. Have you seen that the government is developing this area? (If yes: How?) (If no: Should they?)

7. Environmental Issues

The rate of urbanization is deteriorating available land. There are no green spaces in the city, and state led development uses green land to redevelop.

7.0.1. What is your main supply of fuel?

7.0.2. Are there any green spaces that you visit regularly?

8. Social Mobilization

Lower classes all over the city are in potential risk of eviction as a consequence of the city's urban renovation plan. Lack of mobilization, debate culture and organization within fragmented communities affects their ability to propose alternatives to the eviction plans.

8.0.1. Are you involved in any neighbourhood associations?

8.0.2. (If so): How often are you in contact with them and-or meet? Do you meet with the muhtar regularly?

8.0.3. Do you more identify yourself with the muhala, Istanbul or Turkey?

8.0.4. Has your community done any surveys in the area?

8.0.5. do you finance community projects? How?

8.0.5.1. (if applicable) How are these projects designed and implemented. How are these decisions made?)

D2. INTERVIEWS — SAMPLE COMPOSITION

ISTANBUL INTERVIEW EXERCISE – ARMUTLU, SARIYER, TARLABASI – GROUP 2

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS SURVEYED: 24

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE:

Sample includes 24 semi-structured interviews which took place over three different sites. The interview sample includes 7 females and 17 males within various age ranges from 18 to over 55 years old. Different economical activities compose the occupation of the interviewed women and men. The following tables show the composition of the sample by gender and age range, for the whole exercise, as well as detailed for each visited site. The last table relates occupation with gender for the whole sample. All tables were elaborated by the research team.

Location	(All)					
Respondents by Gender and Age Range	Age Range					
Gender	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	55+	Grand Total
F	1	3		2	1	7
M	5		7	1	4	17
Grand Total	6	3	7	3	5	24

Location	Sariyer					
Respondents by Gender and Age Range	Age Range					
Gender	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	55+	Grand Total
F		2		1		3
M	1		3	1	2	7
Grand Total	1	2	3	2	2	10

Location	Tarlabasi					
Respondents by Gender and Age Range	Age Range					
Gender	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	55+	Grand Total
F	1	1		1	1	4
M	4		4		2	10
Grand Total	5	1	4	1	3	14

Location	(All)		
Respondents by Gender and Occupation	Gender		
Occupation	F	M	Grand Total
EMPLOYED	1	5	6
HOME	4		4
MUHTAR		1	1
OWN BUSINESS	1	4	5
PENSIONER		3	3
STUDENT		2	2
STUDENT+WORK	1		1
UNEMPLOYED		2	2
Grand Total	7	17	24

Location	Sariyer		
Respondents by Gender and Occupation	Gender		
Occupation	F	M	Grand Total
EMPLOYED	1	2	3
HOME	2		2
MUHTAR		1	1
PENSIONER		2	2
UNEMPLOYED		2	2
Grand Total	3	7	10

Location	Tarlabaşı		
Respondents by Gender and Occupation	Gender		
Occupation	F	M	Grand Total
EMPLOYED		3	3
HOME	2		2
OWN BUSINESS	1	4	5
PENSIONER		1	1
STUDENT		2	2
STUDENT+WORK	1		1
Grand Total	4	10	14

D1. INTERVIEWS — PRIMARY RESEARCH: SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

APPROACH

The approach taken to interviews at Tarlabasi and Saryier was formulated as a means to cross triangulate our problem-based analysis of the transformative development in Istanbul, with localized perceptions of diverse men and women living and working within the selected communities. Questions were structured around issues of migration, markets and land value, governance, vision, master planning, environment, and social mobilization, cross-cutting processes through various spheres of the urban systems. Questions helped identify specific points of view regarding living conditions and their relation with people's most proximate built environment and the city. This was used as evidence to assess how transformative change is and can take place in Istanbul according to the rights based approach to the city by emphasizing on the active participation and appropriation of residents throughout the development process.

TARLABASI

In encounters with the residents of Tarlabasi both the positive and negative responses towards the system-based questions were received. In general most people like the area due to its centrality, transportation links and affordability, but had numerous complaints about its cleanliness, security and governance. These were often attributed to poor waste collection systems and the inability of the municipality to care for the residents needs. The area also receives a high rate of migration and it was mentioned that there was constant flow of people coming and leaving the community. This has created sense of social and physical fragmentation, which remains evident in the lack of united vision, community organization, and sporadic maintenance and restoration. Time and time again when researchers ask "Do you see yourself as being from Tarlabasi, Istanbul, or Turkey?" responses were linked towards their place of origin or Tarlabasi. This suggests a disconnection of the residents of Tarlabasi from the rest of Istanbul, and can be reflected in the lack of formal connections between the neighbourhood and local government.

There was generally a negative response towards the governance of the area. Most residents believe that their opinions had little impact on current development agendas. People were largely uninformed about planning initiatives in the area, and many respondents based there understanding of rumors and word of mouth. This has led to a negative connotation to any type of development. There was a realization of the economic potential of the Tarlabasi location, and this brought

a widespread acceptance that the motivation of the municipality and development projects would eventually force them to relocate. The financial pressure on the costs of living was expressed to be gradually increasing, making it difficult to stay in the area and find time for recreation as working long hours consumed most of the days. Space for recreation was also limited and most interviewees said they would have to leave Tarlabasi to find available green or recreational spaces.

SARIYER (ARMUTLU)

Dynamically the physical and social structures of Sariyer, particularly in Armutlu, were vastly different from that of Tarlabasi and can be reflected in the different types of response to similarly asked questions. In this context there was a great sense of social cohesion, which seems to be related to the consolidated migration patterns where many residents originated from similar places. This cohesion transpires into many different types of initiatives and collective movements around certain issues. The neighbourhood association is actively involved in the area and have contribute to the spreading of knowledge about development agendas, have organized the community to address issues of crime through neighbourhood watches, and initiated community events and bus trips. The community has collectively come together in cases of poor governance to change elected parties of local government and construct infrastructure where it was not provide. There was generally pessimistic attitude towards the future development in the area and some residents neglected to think about it. What was clear was they enjoyed living Armutlu and expressed the desire for future generations to grow up in the same area.

When it was asked about the forward vision of Istanbul and the drive of Turkey to enter the EU, we received mix responses of the affect it would have and a majority believed Turkey wouldn't be welcomed. Some residents questioned why the EU would want them, and how the clothing and housing of their community weren't of an acceptable level. While some residents saw the economic benefits in becoming a member of the EU, other greatly opposed it. They stated how it would increase foreign investments in urban land and would open their resources to exploitation.

