
alternatif politika

Mayıs 2018 - ÖZEL SAYI

“CITIES: IDENTITIES, APPROPRIATION OF SPACE
AND RESISTANCE PRACTICES”

Editör: Gülçin ERDİ

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Women and Resistance in Urban Space, Gülçin ERDİ, 99-114.

When the Waste-pickers get out the Margin: Little Battles and Mobilization of Istanbul Waste-pickers (Turkey), Bénédicte FLORIN, 115-134.

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ARTICLES

The Transformation of Urbanization Policy in Turkey Under the Influence of Neoliberal Rescaling, Savaş Zafer ŞAHİN, 1-30.

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FROM THE EDITOR

“CITIES: IDENTITIES, APPROPRIATION OF SPACE AND RESISTANCE PRACTICES”

The idea of this special issue came from a discussion about the need to bring a collective analysis in the global making of cities which is rare in urban studies in Turkey. There are assuredly many precious high-quality research on the ongoing urbanization processes and policies in different metropolitan cities of the country and this research takes largely into account the specificities of Turkish urban policies, Turkish cities, the construction of “gecekondu” neighbourhoods and the everyday life inside them. However, few research place this examples in a more global debate: What is the genesis of the current development of cities and what are the political and economic rules behind their development and their spatial organization? Which place and role is attributed to the city dwellers in this process? Do the latter seek also to create their own spatial practices and how do they invest the city. The objective of this issue is to make a modest contribution to this global debate by proposing case studies from different countries. The issue does not have the objective to focus only on urban development and urban transformation but to show rather how different everyday practices both from public actors and city dwellers contribute to the spatial appropriation of city. By making this, it would like to analyze also if the inevitable interaction between different actors create some tensions, resistances and protest.

Cities are frequently characterized by concentration of inequality, insecurity, and exploitation. They have also long represented promises of opportunity and liberation. Public decision-making in contemporary cities is full of conflict, and principles of justice is rarely the explicit basis for the resolution of disputes (Marcuse et. al., 2009).

Cities are today confronting also a more competitive global environment, and local governments have taken to place-marketing, enterprise zones, tax abatements, public-private partnerships, and new forms of local boosterism but also have reached out for new strategies of social control and workfare policies (Mayer, 2007: 91). According to Mayer, the most important goal of urban policy has become to mobilize city space as an arena for market-oriented economic growth (ibid). However, the cities and city life cannot be resumed to an economic

resource. The city is also for citizens and their needs and desires. There are rights of the citizen as an urban dweller which could be called the right to the city drawing on Henri Lefebvre. This right to the city should be complemented by the right to difference and the right to information (Marcuse, 2009: 244). For Henri Lefebvre, the core elements of the right to the city are defined as the promotion of equal access for all to the potential benefits of the city, the democratic participation of all inhabitants by decision-making processes and the realization of inhabitants' fundamental rights and liberties. Lefebvre defines the right to the city as the right of citizens and city dwellers; groups aim (based on social relations) to appear on all networks and circuits of communication, information and exchange (Lefebvre, 1996: 194–195). In other words, it signifies the citizens' right not to be marginalised in decision-making and to exist inside the city on their own terms. Lefebvre's conception of the 'right to the city' is for dwellers to retain the ability to produce their spaces without conforming to the dominant modes of spatial production and to participate in re-shaping the existing norms and forces in which space is being produced within the capitalist order, rather than being themselves engulfed in its modes (Fawaz, 2009).

However, the current city making is at the opposite side of this Lefebvrian perception of city and we are observing clearly a struggle between the perceived urban space of dwellers and the conceived urban space of political and public actors. Indeed, in many cities in the world, the neoliberal ideology dominates the decision-making process according to which the city is shaped more by the logic of the market than by the needs of its inhabitants (Balaban, 2010; Enlil, 2011). The article of Savaş Zafer Şahin sheds lights on this process focusing on the example of Turkey's public policy orientation especially its tendency to the centralization which leaves any place to the public consultation. The author analyses the city and urban space's conception from the perspective of public policy and shows how the public actors tries often to appropriate the urban space for their own objectives with motivation dramatically different than city dwellers' desires and needs. The will of decentralization in local government has had actually the objective of spatial transformation of cities more than a democratization even if the political centralization finally dominated especially with the presidency of R.T. Erdoğan. Authors as Dryzek (1996) underline that neo-liberalism values individuals who myopically pursue their material self-interest in the marketplace, not citizens who cultivate their civic virtue in the public square. As democratic decision-making tends to involve political wrangling and debate, it could take time and become an obstacle in urban governance. Collective decision processes, therefore, are not desired. This can be observed in many urban projects in Istanbul where the inhabitants are the last ones to know public decisions concerning the future of their neighbourhood. Some researchers (MacLeod, 2002; Miller, 2007; Purcell, 2008) explain that neo-liberalisation narrows the options open to decision-makers and

because of the disciplining force of the perceived need to remain globally competitive, democratic decision-making is therefore seen as slow, messy, inefficient, and not likely to produce the kind of bold entrepreneurial decisions that attract and keep capital (Erdi Lelandais, 2014). Urban governing institutions are being, therefore, increasingly 'streamlined' so they can foreclose lengthy debate and more quickly respond to market opportunities (Purcell, 2008). As a consequence, urban governments adopt ready-made policy ensembles developed in other places rather than engage the city's public in generating policy through democratic debate (ibid).

According to Bayat, this process is characterized by greater privatisation, deregulation and commodification (Bayat, 2009). This new order requires that cities be reorganized in order to make them more attractive to potential investors. Social classes with low incomes occupying old and unhealthy neighbourhoods and the inner-city gecekondu are now considered undesirable. Neo-liberal urban regeneration policies use some tools in order to legitimise this process and to reduce potential resistance channels. One of these tools is a wide range of legal mechanisms, which the government adapts according to needs and conditions. The article of Nihal Durmaz focus on one of these important legal mechanisms which is the "Disaster Law" prepared by the government after two violent earthquakes in Turkey (1999 and 2001) under the pretext that they wanted to improve the building and make it resistant to future earthquakes. The author discusses the objectives and the real function of this law in Istanbul's urbanization process with two case studies: Sarıgöl and Tozkoparan neighbourhoods. The article shows that the disaster risk become a powerful tool for the implementation of urban policies desired by the authorities. Therefore, the low-income dwellers are discriminated, they are evicted from their neighbourhood and moved to the outskirts of the city while their places are left to high-income social classes.

While there is this massive and neoliberal urbanization process which could leave us to think that there is any place to citizens' initiatives, we are at the same time observing some vibrant initiatives and citizen campaigns as it was the case in Gezi Park or Indignados movement in Spain. The first view gives the impression that citizens lose all power they could have to participate in decision-making process and to invest urban space according to their own inspirations, we observe however many subjective initiatives in order to exist in the city and to express his identity. In other words, we observe many ways in many cities in the world that given legal and citizenship rules defined by the States are encountered and contested through the spatial practices of everyday life, through what Michel de Certeau calls the 'tactics' of making do, the "innumerable practices through which users reappropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production" (de Certeau, 1984: xiv). According to Anna Secor, "viewing citizenship as a technique of spatial organization (in de Certeau's terms, a

‘strategy’)), many different examples “show how the identities of ‘citizen’ and ‘stranger’ become markers, staking out positions in the contests over rights and belonging that take place through city spaces. Citizenship as a ‘strategy’ works to define and lay claim to a bounded space of belonging delimited against an exteriority” (2004: 353).

In this sense, Amanda Dias’s study in this issue provides elements about the spatial organization of Muslim communities in Brasil’s Rio de Janeiro. Her article shows how the Islam gained progressively visibility in public space by the construction of fifty mosques and over eighty Islamic institutions in the country. The article shed lights on the ways a new religious actor which does not traditionally have an important expression in a given society emerges in the religious urban landscape of the city. For example, some places in the city were invested by Arab cultural elements that characterized them as an ethnic space to the point that non-Arabs refereed to this area as ‘Little Turkey’ which is a clear example of what Secor defined above as a “bounded space of belonging”. Also, the Tijuca neighbourhood become a gathering place for all Muslims in Rio because of the proximity of the mosque. The religious sonic presence in the city becomes also a tool for the symbolic control of space in the city for this community.

Assaf Dahdah and Annika Dippel provide another perspective on the relationship between belonging and space from the case of newly arrived migrants especially Syrians in two European cities: Marseille and Berlin. Based on an ethnographic analysis, their article focuses on the settlement process of refugees. According to Dahdah and Dippel, the authorities use the formal and informal existing urban structures as an accommodation system like squats, furnished hostels and social housing in the central district and in the outskirts of the cities. The authors investigate if through different ways this situation generates a marginalization process and maintain the newly arrived migrants in a precarious relation to space and society. They show therefore different tactics of these migrants especially the use of social networks and charitable organizations in order to overcome system’s dysfunctions and to minimize social and administrative precariousness for strengthening their urban insertion.

Gülçin Erdi focuses on the women’s place in urban space with the case study of Dikmen Valley, an informal neighbourhood in Ankara. Her article underlines that while women are always a part of the construction of urban space, their presence in urban settlements has been made often invisible as women’s place is deemed to be in private home environment (caring for the children and running the household) according to gender-based division of labor. However, in many cases, women were able to organize themselves, to oppose to the current spatial organization of the city and especially their invisible space in everyday life. The

case of Dikmen Valley's women shows clearly that even several difficulties and obstacles women face, they are sometimes able to find ways of emancipation against these obstacles which was in their cases an urban transformation project threatening their neighbourhood and therefore their everyday life, social ties and networks. In their mobilisation process, the practical and daily needs of women are transformed into strategic needs such as defense of their home. This process ensures their survival strategies and resistance in a political sense. The fact that they perceive their homes and the neighbourhood as a common public space composed of informal networks of communication and solidarity leads to the conquest of the city and allows them to reclaim a place in public spaces.

Finally, in the last article, Bénédicte Florin explores ordinary survival tactics and resistance of a rarely studied social group which are waste pickers in Istanbul. She shows how they organize their work and develop solidarities in order to struggle against the privatization of waste system in this city in order to exist and to work freely in urban space. Their case shows another facet of neoliberal city which is the conditions of workers for which the urban space constitutes the place of work and how the neoliberal system attempts to make them invisible in everyday life. According to Florin, as in most other countries, the "informal" waste-pickers of Istanbul are characterized by a "social indignity" and plural stigma. But the examination of their everyday social and professional practices reveals small daily battles to earn a livelihood in a brutal context of political reforms. In order to adapt and get round the obstacles confronting them, these waste-pickers adopt all sorts of small tactics to defend themselves and legitimize their position in the city and in urban society.

Different articles in this issue scrutinize to some extent various neoliberal practices in the urban patterns they also help us to grasp what kind of space these practices are able to provide or not. Each article devoted also some time to understanding and picturing how individuals, social groups or organisations deal with their everyday life. Mayer et al. underline that homeless, the undocumented, the welfare-dependent, workers in informal economies and migrants have widely divergent experiences which therefore create different experiences of resistance and struggle, especially at the micro-level and are often invisible (Erdi and Şentürk, 2017: 5). The articles of this issue consist of cases illustrating different forms of individual or group expression which could be considered as a resistance aiming to create alternative ways of life and/or organization within the neoliberal development of the city.

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**NEOLİBERAL YENİDEN ÖLÇEKLENME ETKİSİ
ALTINDA TÜRKİYE’DE KENTLEŞME POLİTİKASININ
DÖNÜŞÜMÜ**

**THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBANIZATION POLICY
IN TURKEY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF NEOLIBERAL
RESCALING***

Savaş Zafer ŞAHİN**

ÖZ

Son yirmi yıldır küresel iklim değişikliğinden göç hareketlerine, iktisadi ve toplumsal dönüşüm süreçlerinden hızlı teknolojik gelişmeye kadar çeşitli unsurların etkisi altında tüm dünyada kentleşme sürecinin yeniden tanımlanması için farklı politika seçenekleri tartışılmaktadır. Bu seçenekler arasında neoliberal ideolojinin etkisi altındaki kentsel politikanın baskın bir şekilde öne çıktığı söylenebilir. Bu tür bir kentsel politika seçeneği devletin mekânsal ölçeğinin yeniden yapılandırılmasına, kentsel mekânın sermaye birikiminin doğrudan bir aracı haline getirilmesine ilişkin bir dizi uygulamanın meşrulaştırılması ile görünür hale gelmektedir. Türkiye’de de bu tür politikaların uygulanmasının ikili bir politika yapısı ortaya çıkardığı görülmektedir. Bir yandan yönetim kavramına uygun bir şekilde katılımcı ve geniş kapsamlı politika yapım süreçleri gerçekleştirilirken öte yandan da bu politika oluşturma süreçleriyle tutarsız pragmatik yaklaşımlar ve büyük kentsel

* Bu makalede sunulan kuramsal çerçevenin bir kısmı, daha önce aşağıda belirtilen bildiride kullanılan kuramsal çerçeveden yararlanılarak hazırlanmıştır. Bkz. Şahin, S. Z. ve Bostancı S. “Türkiye’de Yeniden Ölçekleme, Yetki Tekelleştirme ve Sınır Aynılaştırmasının Kent Planlama Sürecine Etkilerine Prototip Bir Örnek: İstanbul Örneği”, 3. Kentsel ve Bölgesel Araştırmalar Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı İçinde, 2012.

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projelerle kentsel mekânın sermaye birikim süreçlerine dahil edilmesi sağlanmaktadır. Bu karşılıklı Türkiye'nin kentleşme politikasının yapımına ilişkin Kentleşme Şurası, KENTGES ve Şehircilik Şurası gibi süreçlerde ve belgelerde açık bir şekilde izlenebilmektedir. Bu yazıda yeniden ölçeklenme süreçlerinin etkisi altındaki Türkiye'de kentleşme politikasına ilişkin çelişkiler ve dönüşüm bu örneklerden yola çıkılarak ortaya konacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Neoliberalizm, Yeniden Ölçekleme, Kentleşme Politikası, Türkiye.

ABSTRACT

In the last two decades, under the influence of various factors from global climate change to migration waves, economic and social transformation waves and to rapid technological advancement, different policy preferences are being discussed in the whole world to redefine urbanization process. It can be said that, among these options, urban policy affected by the neoliberal ideology came to fore as the dominant one. Such an option for urban policy became visible through legitimization of a series of applications related to make urban space a direct instrument of capital accumulation and restructuring of state's spatial scale. It is seen that implementation of these kind of policies in Turkey brought about a dual policy structure. While on the one hand side, participatory and comprehensive policy making schemes have been realized in line with the notion of governance, via pragmatic approaches and large urban projects that are incoherent with these policy-making processes, urban space is rendered a possible association with capital accumulation process. This contradiction can be clearly followed in processes and documents like "Urbanization Council", KENTGES and "Urbanism Council" related to making of urbanization policy of Turkey. In this paper, contradictions and transformation related to urbanization policy in Turkey which is under the influence of re-scaling will be addressed based on these examples.

Keywords: Neoliberalism, Re-scaling, Urbanization Policy, Turkey.

GİRİŞ

Tüm dünyada, büyük kentler, metropoliten alanlar ya da kent-bölgeler gibi farklı adlarla anılan mekânsal yapıların nasıl yönetileceği ve planlanacağı son on yıldır yaygın bir şekilde tartışılmaktadır. Meselenin bir tarafını kentsel yapılarda sermaye birikiminin farklı şekilde yığılması ve bu sebeple farklı mekânsal karşılıklar üretmesi oluştururken, diğer tarafını devletlerin bu süreci kolaylaştırmak ve yönlendirmek için devletin farklı ölçeklerini yeniden yapılandırması ve adlandırması oluşturmaktadır. Ancak, bu iki farklı sürecin birbiri ile uyum içerisinde gerçekleştirilmesinde ciddi sorunlar yaşanmaktadır. Devletin yeniden ölçeklenmesi ya da yapılandırılması olarak adlandırılabilir olan çabalara girişen kurumsal yapılarla aktörlerin algıladıkları mekânsal yapıların gerçekte çok daha farklı gelişim çizgileri izleyebildikleri görülmektedir. Şaşırtıcı bir biçimde geleneksel anlamda yerelleşme, adem-i merkezileşme gibi adlandırılan yaklaşımların çok hızlı bir şekilde beklenenden daha farklı mekânsallaşmış ya da tam tersi mekânın niteliklerini göz ardı eden standartlaştırıcı ve merkeziyetçi yaklaşımlara bırakabildikleri izlenmektedir. Zaten, devletin mekânla ilişkisini inceleyen pek çok yazarın (Brenner, Peck ve Theodore, 2010) hem farklı ülke deneyimlerinde hem de aynı ülkede çok kısa zamanda ortaya çıkan ve birbiriyle çelişkili gibi görünen bu durumları açıklamaya çalıştıkları ve yaşanan gelişmeleri neo-liberalizmin ruhunda yer alan esneklik ve deneysellik ile anlamlandırmaya çalıştıkları görülmektedir.

Bu anlamda Türkiye’de iki temel kırılma yaşandığı söylenebilir. Birinci kırılma, 2000’li yılların başında Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisinin iktidara gelmesinin ardından uygulamaya konan, temelde 1980’li yıllardan bu yana başta İçişleri Bakanlığı olmak üzere çeşitli devlet kurumlarının içerisinde tartışılan reform önerilerini radikal bir çerçevede bir araya getiren Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanunu Tasarısı ile yaşanmıştır. Bu tasarı yasalaşmamış olsa da, özellikle merkezi yönetimin önemli bazı yetkilerinin yerel yönetimlere devredilmesini, il özel idarelerinin geçmiştekinden farklı olarak kırsal kalkınma için gerekli altyapıyı kurmakla görevli bir kurum haline gelmesini ve yönetim olarak adlandırılan anlayışın ilkelerinin kamu yönetiminde telaffuz edilmesini sağlamıştır. Görünüşte bu girişimle birlikte merkezi hükümet düzeyinde stratejik planlama ve mali disiplin gibi kurumsal yönetim ilkeleriyle koşturulan bazı düzenlemeler pekiştirilirken, yerel yönetimler düzeyinde de yönetim kavramına uygun olarak yetkilerin yerel kamusal alanı dönüştürecek biçimde yeniden tanımlandığı anlaşılmaktadır.

İkinci kırılma Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanunu Tasarısından neredeyse yaklaşık olarak on yıl sonra Yeni Büyükşehir Belediyeleri Kanunu olarak adlandırılan 6360 Sayılı Kanun’un yürürlüğe girmesi ile gerçekleşmiştir. Bu değişiklikle Tanzimat Fermanı’ndan bugüne gelen il sisteminde işlevsel durum

değişmiş, 1985 yılından bu yana var olan büyükşehir sistemi de yeni bir boyuta taşınmıştır. Bu değişiklik Türkiye'deki tüm siyasal, sosyal ve iktisadi dengeleri yapısal olarak değiştirecek bir devrim niteliği taşımaktadır. Bu değişikliğin ardından 2017 yılında gerçekleştirilen referandum sonrasında da Türk tipi başkanlık sistemi olarak adlandırılan yeni ve daha merkeziyetçi bir sistem yürürlüğe girmiştir. Bu iki değişiklikte birlikte Türkiye'de devlet iki kademeli bir yapı ile merkezi hükümet ve il düzeyinde yeniden ölçeklenerek ikili bir merkeziyet içerisinde yeniden tanımlanmıştır. Bu değişikliğin yarattığı sorunlar, olanaklar ve sancılar bir arada yaşanmaktadır.

Kısacası, son on yıl içinde Türk kamu yönetimi yerelleşmeyi hedefleyen bir yaklaşımdan hem yerelde hem de merkezi devlet düzeyinde merkezileşmeyi getiren yeni bir yapıya geçmiştir. Kuşkusuz bu değişikliklerin en önemli ve başta gelen etkilerinden birisi Türkiye'de kent planlama ve şehircilikle ilgili süreçlere ilişkindir. Mülki idare sisteminde gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılan değişikliklerle birlikte Türkiye'deki nüfusun yaklaşık %75'inin yaşadığı büyükşehirlerin nasıl planlanacağı ve yönetileceği daha uzun yıllar boyunca tartışılmaya adaydır. Bu makalenin yazıldığı günlerde mevcut 30 büyükşehir dışında kalan illerin de bir şekilde büyükşehir ya da "bütünşehir"¹ ilan edileceğine ilişkin iddialar kamuoyuna yansımaya başlamıştır.

Yapılmaya çalışılan düzenlemelerin Türkiye'ye özgü yanları olmakla birlikte dünyada benzer değişikliklerin son otuz yıldır süregelmekte olduğu da bilinmektedir (Zimmermann, 2017; Zimmermann & Getimis, 2017a, 2017b). Kent planlama, kamu yönetimi, yerel yönetimler, bölgesel kalkınma ve devlet kuramlarına ilişkin olarak ortaya konan kuramsal birikim bu konuda çok farklı ülke örnekleri özelinde belirgin bir katkı oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmaların bir kısmı kent içi dinamikleri (Arboleda, 2016; Fricke, 2016), bir kısmı kentler arası bölgesel kalkınma dinamiklerini ele almakta (Fedeli, 2016), önemli bir kısmı devletin yeniden yapılandırılmasının ölçek ve mekân boyutuna ilişkin düzenlemeleri odağa almakta (Geppert, 2017) ve yine ciddi bir çalışma alanı da eleştirel bir tutumla küresel kapitalizmin içinde bulunduğu krizlere bir tepki olarak

¹ Türkiye'de 6360 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu ile yapılan değişiklik sürecinde ve sonrasında yapılan tartışmalarda sıklıkla atıfta bulunulan "bütünşehir" kavramı üslup ve kullanım açısından bu yazıda ortaya konmaya çalışılan çerçeveye bir örnek olarak düşünülebilir. Yapılan değişikliklerle Ankara, İstanbul ve İzmir gibi kentsel alanı çok belirgin ve metropoliten alanda önemli bir yer tutan kentler dışındaki "yeni" büyükşehirlerin mekânsal olarak farklılıklarını kapsayan bir kavram olarak büyükşehir yerine bütünşehir kavramı TBMM'de ve kamuoyunda tercih edilmiştir. Örneğin merkez ilçesi pek çok ilçesinden daha az nüfuslu ve küçük olan Muğla gibi illerde yapılan değişikliğin mekânsal durumun bir yansıması değil tamamen bir yönetsel tercih olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bu sebeple tüm illerin büyükşehir ilanı sürecinde sıklıkla "büyükşehir" ve "bütünşehir" kavramları farklı şekillerde kullanılmaktadır. Bunun yapılan yeniden ölçekleme uygulamasında yönetsel yaklaşımlarla mekânsal gerçeklik arasındaki uyumsuzluğun bir göstergesi olduğu düşünülebilir.

devletin farklı kademelerde nasıl yeniden düzenlendiğine dikkat çekmektedir (Tomàs et al., 2017). Bu farklı kuramsal çerçevelerin Türkiye’deki yerel yönetimler ve kent planlama alanlarına doğrudan ya da dolaylı katkıları olsa da, devletin yeniden yapılandırılmasındaki mekânsal ve ölçek unsurlarının bu anlamda bütünsel olarak ele alınabildiğini söyleyebilmek olası görünmemektedir. Oysaki, bu anlamda yapılacak değerlendirmeler hem Türkiye özelinde yapılmış gibi görünen mülki idare düzenlemelerinin küresel sistem içerisindeki konumlanışını hem de bu düzenlemelerin kentsel mekânla ilişkilenmesini daha doğru tanımlamada katkılarda bulunabilir.

Bu makalenin de temel amaçlarından birisi bu alandaki yazına atıfta bulunarak Türkiye’de son dönemde yapılan bazı düzenlemelerin kentleşme politikası üzerindeki etkilerini ele almaktır. Bunun için öncelikle “yeniden ölçekleme” ve “devletin yeniden mekânsal alanı keşfetmesi” olarak adlandırılan kuramsal tartışmalar ele alınacak, Türkiye’de bu anlamda son on yılda gerçekleştirilen kamu politikası yapım süreçleri değerlendirilecektir. Burada kentleşme politikası yapma girişimlerinin Türkiye’de genel olarak kentsel mekânın şekillendirilmesi pratikleriyle ilişkili bir süreç olduğu kabul edilerek hareket edilmektedir. Bu ilişkinin meşrulaştırma, bürokratik dönüşüm ve kısmen çözüm arama anlayışlarının bir karışımı olduğu düşünülerek değerlendirmelerde bulunulmuştur. Bu durum, benzer ülkelerdeki dönüşüm süreçlerinde de izlenen, neoliberal yeniden ölçekleme ve mekânsal dönüşüm süreçlerinin merkezi devlet düzeyindeki yansımaları açısından da anlamlı bir sorunsal olarak görülmektedir. Özellikle makalede değerlendirilen Kentleşme Şurası, KENTGES ve Şehircilik Şurası gibi süreçler bu çerçevede ele alınacaktır. Makalenin yazarı bu süreçlerin bir katılımcısı olarak yaptığı gözlemlerden hareketle bu analizi yapmaktadır.

1. MEKÂNSAL SİYASANIN YAPIMI VE YENİDEN ÖLÇEKLEME

Son yirmi yıldır; neoliberal kentsel politikaların etkisi altında metropoliten alanların gelişiminin yönlendirilme ve planlanmasında, birer yerel mekânsal birim olarak ortaya çıkan ‘kent-bölge’lerin yönetiminde, var olan idari sınırların ve yetkilerin düzenlenmesinde ve nihai olarak ülkelerin ulusal mekânsal dizgelerinin yapılandırılmasında son derece hızlı ve derinlemesine etkiler yaratan yapısal müdahalelerde bulunmaktadır. Gelişmiş kapitalist ülkelerde ve gelişmekte olan ülkelerde bu müdahalelerin boyutları ve biçimi farklılıklar göstermekle birlikte temelde müdahalenin amacının daralan ve sürekli kriz tehdidi altına giren piyasaların sorunlarını çözmek için yayılan, farklılaşan ve nitelik değiştiren metropoliten alanlarda yatırımların önündeki engellerin kaldırılması ve görece olarak neo-liberal siyasalarla beklenen başarının elde edilememesi olarak ifade edilebilir. Bu amaçla, devletin merkez-yerel yönetimler kademelenmesi içerisinde var olan ölçeklerin yerlerinin kaydığı, yeni ölçeklerin tanımlandığı ve devletin

mekânsal atıflı bir yeniden yapılanma sürecine tabi tutulduğu görülmektedir. Sonuçta, yetkilerin merkezi hükümet ya da yerel yönetimler düzeylerinde giderek tekelleşmekte olduğu, idari sınırların yalınlaşmakta ve aynılaştırılmakta olduğu görülmektedir.

Büchs (2009), yaşanan bu dönüşümün dikey ve yatay boyutları olduğunu ve dönüşümün tam olarak algılanabilmesi için kimi zaman çatışmalı ve çelişkili durumlar yaratma potansiyeline sahip olan her iki boyutun birlikte ele alınması gerektiğini vurgulamaktadır. Bir yandan devletin mekânsal hiyerarşisi içerisinde yetkiler merkezi hükümet, yerel yönetimler ve aradaki devlet kademeleri arasında yer değiştirirken bir yandan da devletin her kademesindeki yetkiler aynı düzeyde devlet olmayan kademelere aktarılabilir. Bu aktarımda teknolojik gelişmeler, küresel piyasaların kurlsızlaşması ve devletin rolüne ilişkin hâkim söylemler etkili olmaktadır. Yetki aktarımında bazen dikey bazen de yatay bir aktarım söz konusu olabilmektedir. Aktarılan yetkinin türü de önemlidir. Kimi zaman siyasa yapma, kimi zaman uygulama, kimi zaman da her ikisi yönetsel sınırlarla birlikte değiştirilebilmektedir. Burada esas unutulmaması gereken çoğunlukla bu tür değişimlerin arkasındaki temel sebeplerin kestirilmesinin zor olmasıdır. Çoğunlukla etkinlik, verimlilik, tasarruf gibi birçok sıfatla adlandırılan yönetsel yeniden yapılanmaların ardında yatay bir yetki aktarımı olduğu görülebilir. Ya da açık bir merkezileşme hareketinin siyasal süreçlerle yakından ilişkisi olabilir.

Bu anlamda öne çıkan ilk kavram “çok düzlemli yönetim” olarak görülmektedir. Esas olarak Avrupa Birliğinin bütünleşme sürecindeki yeniden yapılanmayı anlamlandırmak için ortaya atılan bu kavram yetkilerin yukarıdan aşağıya ya da aşağıdan yukarıya aktarılmasını ele almakla birlikte bu süreçlere ilişkin merkezileşme ya da adem-i merkezileşme süreçlerinin etkilerini ele almamaktadır. Özünde “yönetimden yönetime” bir dönüşümün (Rhodes, 1996) devletin farklı kademelerine nasıl yansımaları gerektiğine ilişkin bu çerçeve başta Avrupa Birliği olmak üzere Akdeniz ve Ortadoğu’daki birçok ulus-devleti derinden etkilemiş, yönetim kavramı devletin yeniden yapılandırılmasında etkin olmuştur. Rhodes (1996), Pierre ve Peters (2000) bu anlamda yönetimi devletteki geleneksel anlamda “hiyerarşi” kavramının yerini “ağ, eşgüdüm, kurumlar arası etkileşim” kavramlarının aldığını bir dönüşüm süreci olarak tanımlamaktadırlar. Yönetim kavramı dikkate alındığında aslında devletin mekânsal unsurlara daha fazla bağımlı olduğu söylenebilir. Çünkü hiyerarşi daha çok devletin gücüne vurgu yapan bir kavram iken; yönetim kavramı devletin farklı düzeylerde daha fazla etkileşime girmesi zorunluluğunu ifade etmektedir. Devlet dikey ve yatay yetki devri yapıp eşgüdümü gerçekleştirmek için tüm düzeylerde görünür olmakla birlikte, gerekli durumlarda yeni ölçeklere, yeni yönetsel düzeylere, devlet ve devlet dışı aktörlerin işbirliklerinin daha anlamlı olduğu yeni mekânsal sentezlere

göre yeniden kurgulanmalıdır. Bu bakış açısının doğrudan sonuçları gerçekleştirilmekte olan yönetsel değişikliklerin doğasıyla uyumludur. Devlet bir yandan hiyerarşi ile birlikte mekânsal varlık göstermekten vazgeçiyor gibi görünmekle birlikte bazen eskisinden çok daha fazla görünür hale gelmekte, mekânsal düzenlemelerde toplumsal süreçlerin odağına oturmaktadır. Bu anlamda yönetim ve çok düzlemli yönetim gibi yaklaşımlar esas itibariyle nihai olarak merkeziyetçi olmakla da eleştirilebilirler.

Devletin yeniden yapılanmasında anlamlı bulunan ikinci kavram, “siyasa ağları” kavramıdır. Bu yaklaşıma göre adem-i merkezileşme gibi süreçlerde aktörler arasında kurulan ağ yapılar etkilidir ve bu etki ulus içinde ve uluslararası düzlemde yayılma eğilimindedir. Önceleri daha çok yatay boyutta devlet dışı aktörlere yetki devri konusunda odaklanan bu yaklaşım zamanla, bölgesel gelişmede dikey yetki aktarımlarının da etkileri üzerinde durmaya başlamıştır (Ansel, 2000; Castells, 2000). Buna göre devletin mekânsal ölçeklere atıfla yeniden yapılandırılması girişimlerinin ardında yatay ve dikey düzeylerde aktörlerin bütünleşmesini sağlayan bazı siyasa ağları bulunabilir. Bu siyasa ağları sektörel olabildiği gibi, çıkar gruplarının eklemelendiği yere ya da soruna özgü bazı ağlar da olabilir. Siyasa ağlarının devletin işleyişini ya da yetkilerin devrini etkilemede kimi zaman enformel siyasal ilişkileri kullandığı da görülmektedir. Kent çalışmaları alanında bu ağların yapısı üzerine büyüme koalisyonları ve büyüme rejimleri kavramları üzerinde araştırmalar yapılmıştır. Bu yaklaşım, esas olarak görünürde devletin yetki dağılımının değişmesi sürecinde görünürde yönetim, neo-liberalizm gibi söylemler etkili olsalar da gerçekte bu tür siyasa ağlarının söylemden bağımsız olarak bu tür düzenlemeleri zorlayabildikleri konusuna vurgu yapmaktadır.

Üçüncü olarak yönetim ve siyasa ağları türü yaklaşımlara tepki olarak gelişen yeniden ölçekleme yaklaşımının bu alandaki en etkili kuramsal çerçeve olarak ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir. Bu yaklaşıma göre toplum ve iktisadi ilişkiler sadece yer, mekân ve sınır gibi kavramlarla şekillenmezler. Aynı zamanda herhangi bir yönetsel kademeyi açıklamak için kullanılan ve ilişkisel olarak toplumsal alanda tanımlanan bir “ölçek” tarafından da biçimlendirilirler (Jessop ve diğerleri, 2008; Howitt, 1998). Temelde 1990’lar sonrasında mekân, ölçek ve düzey kavramlarının ağırlığının ortadan kalktığını savlayan post-modern yaklaşımlara yeni-Marksist ve Düzenleme Okulu mensubu yazarların tepkisi olarak ortaya çıkan yeniden ölçekleme yaklaşımı, esasında gerçekleştirilenin bir yapı-yıkım değil bir yeniden örgütlenme süreci olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Bu yeniden örgütlenmenin temel unsurları küreselleşme sürecinde de etkili olan sermaye sahibi aktörlerdir. Ulus devletin yeniden ölçeklenmedeki rolü küresel aktörlerle yerel aktörlerin daha kolay etkileşmelerini sağlayacak düzenlemeleri gerçekleştirmektir. Buna göre ulus-devlet ölçeğinde anlamlı olan bazı sınırlar ve

ölçekler ortadan kaldırılabilir ya da yeniden tanımlanabilir. Yeniden ölçekleme süreci yukarıdan aşağıya olabileceği gibi aşağıdan yukarıya da gerçekleşebilir. Kimi zaman yeni ölçekler tanımlanabilir ve bu ölçeklerde siyasa yapma, uygulama yetkilerinin devlet dışı aktörlerle paylaşılması için yatayda düzenlemeler yapılabilir. Yeniden ölçekleme yaklaşımının getirdiği önemli bir bakış açısı bulunmakla birlikte, bu yapı içerisinde artan merkezîyetçilik eğilimi ve dolayısıyla ortaya çıkan iktidarın ulus-devlet merkezinde yoğunlaşması gibi durumlarda yaklaşımın açıklama gücü zayıflamaktadır. Devletin yeniden örgütlenmesinde ölçeğin önemli bir unsur olduğu açıktır. Ancak, yeniden ölçeklemenin sebep ve sonuçları her zaman öngörülmediği gibi olmayabilir.

Bu yaklaşımların tümü, devletin son dönem yeniden yapılandırılmasında etkili olan mekânsal, toplumsal ve söylemsel unsurları dikkate almakla birlikte, dönüşümün siyasal dinamikleri konusunda yeterli açıklayıcılığa erişememektedir. Her şeyden önce devletin son dönem yeniden yapılandırılma süreçlerinde geçmişteki refah devleti deneyimi gibi programatik yaklaşımların tersine daha çok el yordamıyla yürütülen, hâkim söylemler doğrultusunda bulunan çözümlerle şekillenen bir tarz göze çarpmaktadır. Düzenlemeler geçmiştekinden çok daha hızlı ve sık yapılmaktadır. Düzenlemelerin meşruiyetini sağlayan söylemler çoğunlukla uygulamaların sonuçlarıyla çelişmektedir. Ya da dönüşümün farklı adımları kendi içlerinde çelişmektedir. Çok kısa aralıklarla merkezîyetçi, adem-i merkezîyetçi ve kurlsızlaştırıcı düzenlemeler ve yeniden ölçeklemeler peşi sıra ortaya çıkabilmektedir. Bu içsel olarak çelişkili gibi görünen düzenlemeler aslında yapılan düzenlemelerin gerektirdiği beklentiler düşünüldüğünde tutarlılık kazanmaktadır. Her toplumda, neo-liberal söylemlerin yorumlanma biçimi, siyasaların başarısı konusunda üzerinde ittifak edilmiş muğlâk kavramlar ve başarı ölçütleri yaratmaktadır. Bu başarı ölçütleri çoğunlukla belli bir alanda hızlı, etkin ve görünür sonuçların elde edilmesi anlamına gelmektedir. Bu sonuçların elde edilemediği düşünüldüğünde, bu siyasaların savunucuları temelde aynı ölçütlerle birbiri ile çelişiyormuş gibi görünen yeni düzenlemeleri önerebilmektedirler. Bu sebeple devletin yeniden ölçeklenmesi ile ifade edilen düzenlemelerin meşrulaştırılma biçimlerine dikkat edilmesi önem taşımaktadır.

Son dönem düzenlemelerin bir diğer temel ortak noktası da devletin yeniden düzenlenmesinin odağına aldığı yönetsel ölçekle ilgilidir. Kent-bölge oluşumlarının da etkisiyle yapılan düzenlemelerin daha çok kent, metropoliten alan ve bölge düzeyinde yoğunlaştığı görülmektedir. Hatta bazı yazarlar yapılan düzenlemelerin metropoliten alan özelinde yeni bir merkezileşme hareketi olduğunu vurgulamaktadırlar (Andersen, 2008). Bu düzenlemelerin bazen yetkileri metropoliten alanda tekelleştirme hareketleri, bazen var olan tarihsel sınırların yalınlaştırılması, aynılaştırılması ve ortadan kaldırılması hareketleri olarak yeniden ölçeklemenin odağına oturduğu söylenebilir. Bu yeniden

ölçekleme hareketlerinin ardında ise yönetim kavramına ilişkin söylemi kullanan siyasa ağlarının etkili olduğu görülmektedir. Bu siyasa ağlarının çoğu zaman belli bazı sektörel yoğunlaşmaları temsil etmeleri de söz konusu olabilir. Siyaset sosyolojisi açısından, hakim iktidarı oluşturan ittifakların üzerine oturduğu siyasal mobilizasyon stratejilerinin bu siyasa ağlarının temel motivasyonlarını hedef aldığı, yapılan düzenlemelerin de esas olarak bu anlamda gerçekleştirildiği iddia edilebilir. Bu anlamda özellikle küreselleşen sermaye akımlarının mekânsal düzenlemeler yoluyla kentlerde ve metropoliten alanlarda biriken kentsel rantı hedefleyen siyasa ağları oluşturdıkları, bu ağların var olan hizmet sektörü yatırımlarıyla birlikte bir makroekonomik perspektifle birlikte ele alındıkları, bu perspektiften yola çıkılarak da devletin metropoliten düzeyde yeniden ölçeklendiği söylenebilir.

Bu durum Tomás (2012) tarafından “metropoliten tuzak” olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Tomás’a göre tüm bu tartışmaların aslında normatif bir yanı bulunmaktadır. Yeniden ölçekleme, bölgesel kalkınma, çok düzeyli yönetim, siyasa ağları, kamu seçimi okulları gibi yaklaşımlarda etkinlik, verimlilik, demokrasi, rekabet gibi ideallere erişilebilmesi için üstü örtülü de olsa ideal bir ölçek tanımlanmaktadır. Bu ideal ölçek tarifleri aslında dönüşümü gerçekleştirmeyi amaçlayan siyasetçilerin ve aktörlerin sembolik kaynaklarını oluşturmaktadır. Nasıl kamu politikası oluşturma süreci belli bir düzeyde bu tür sembolik kavram ve tanımlar üzerinden yapılmaktaysa, devletin yeniden örgütlenmesinde de bu tür ölçek tarifleri sorgulanmadan savunulmakta ve kabul edilmektedir. Bu anlamda farklı siyasi stratejilerin birbirleriyle rekabet eden farklı ideal ölçek tanımlarının olması da kaçınılmaz olarak kabul edilebilir. Tomás’ın Montreal’de 2000 ve 2006 yıllarında gerçekleştirilen yönetsel reformları örneklemesi bu anlamda Türkiye’de de “büyükşehir” kavramı etrafında gerçekleşen tartışmaları anlamak için ilginç paralellikler kurmaya olanak sağlamaktadır.

Oliveira ve Breda-Vázquez (2010) ise aslında her zaman devletin yeniden ölçeklenmesi ile mekânsal siyasaların getirdiği ölçeklenmenin paralel gitmeyebileceğini, aralarında farklı çatışmaların ortaya çıkabileceğini söylemektedir. Bu durumdan en fazla etkilenen alan, kent planlama sürecidir. Özellikle kentsel alandaki rantın daha yalın bir yönetsel yapı içerisinde kullanılabilirliğinin artırılması amacındaki mekânsal siyasalar ile yerel yönetimlere ilişkin olarak gerçekleştirilen yalınlaştırmalar beklenenin ya da varsayılanın tam tersi sonuçlar üretebilir. Kent planlaması adına yetki çatışmalarının önlenmesi, bütünsellik ve bütünleşme gibi ilkeler öne sürülerek gerçekleştirilen düzenlemeler tam tersi parçacı ve günü birlik unsurları öne çıkarak bir süreci tetikleyebilir. Paradoksal olan ise, bu tür sonuçların ortaya çıkmasının nihai olarak yeniden ölçekleme sürecini yeniden başlatabilmesidir. Bu tür bir kısır

döngü “metropoliten tuzak” ile birlikte aslında tam da son yıllarda Türkiye’de yaşanmakta olan süreci anlamlandırmakta gerekli olan kavramsal araçları sunma potansiyeline sahiptir.

2. YENİDEN ÖLÇEKLENEN TÜRKİYE’DE MEKÂNSAL PLANLAMANIN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

Türkiye’de, yeniden ölçeklenme ve mekânsal siyasaların dönüşümü arasındaki ilişki açısından son on yıldır yaşanan dönüşümün önceki bölümde aktarılan kavramsal araç ve yaklaşımlarla anlamlandırılabilirdiği düşünülmektedir. Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanun Tasarısı doğrultusunda yürürlüğe sokulan yerel yönetim kanunları, yerel seçimler öncesinde kapatılan ve birleştirilen yerel yönetim birimleri, giderek genişletilen büyükşehir belediye sınırları ve nihayetinde geline nokta yetkilerin süper bakanlıklar elinde toplanması gibi gelişmeler bu dönüşümün farklı bileşenleri, olarak değerlendirilebilir. Yeniden ölçeklenmenin aynı zamanda bir yönetsel süreç haline geldiği, bu sürecin de sınıfsal bir zemininin bulunduğu Türkiye üzerine yapılan araştırmalarda da ortaya konmaktadır (Ercan ve Oğuz, 2006). Türkiye’deki yeniden ölçeklenme sürecinin sınıfsal temelinde bir yandan kendini yerel girişimci sermaye birikimi üzerinden tanımlayan yerel burjuvazi (Bayırbağ, 2010), bir yandan da merkezi hükümet düzeyinde sermaye birikimi, kültür ve din ekseninde yaşanan çatışmalar yer almaktadır (Buğra ve Savaşkan, 2014). Bu iki farklı çatışma alanı arasında önemli mekânsal ölçek geçişkenliklerinin olduğu görülmektedir. Yeniden ölçekleme sonrasında, merkezi ve yerel aktörler bürokratik yapıların içerisinde çatışmalı bir süreçle yönetim dinamiklerini belirlemektedir (Ataöv ve Eraydın, 2011).

Bu aşamaların en önemlilerinden birisi olan 5216 Sayılı “Büyükşehir Belediye Kanunu” ile 2004 yılında büyükşehir belediyelerinin sınırları genişletilmiş ve yetkileri çok ciddi ölçüde arttırılarak tekelleştirilmiştir. Bu genişlemenin yanı sıra, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarihinde ilk defa İstanbul ve İzmit için büyükşehir belediye sınırları il mülki idare sınırları ile aynı hale getirilmiştir. 6360 sayılı Kanunla bu istisnai düzenleme tüm büyükşehir belediyelerine yaygınlaştırılmış ve büyükşehir belediyelerinin sayısı da arttırılmıştır. Ayrıca, her ne kadar yönetsel ayrıntıları belirsiz kalsa da ve dönüşüm yasaları hala çıkarılmamış olsa da, cumhurbaşkanlığı hükümet sistemi olarak adlandırılan merkezîyetçi düzenlemenin de Türkiye’nin mekânsal planlama sistemi üzerinde ciddi etkilerinin olacağı açıktır. Merkezi yürütme içerisinde yer alan Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı gibi süper bakanlıkların yetkilerinin Cumhurbaşkanlığı yürütme yapısı içerisinde nasıl ele alınacağı konusu belirsizliğini korumaktadır. Bu duruma, mekânsal planlamaya etkileri açısından Türkiye’de devletin yeniden ölçeklenmesi sürecinde temel olarak üç aşamadan geçilerek gelindiği söylenebilir.

Yeniden Ölçeklemede Birinci Aşama: Mekânsal Planlamada Yerelleşme

Birinci aşama Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisinin 2002 yılında iktidara gelmesinden hemen sonra hazırlıklarına başlanan “Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanunu Tasarısı” ile başlatılmıştır. Temelde Türkiye’de il yönetimini belediye ve il özel idarelerinden oluşan ikili bir yapı olarak ele alan ve merkezi yönetimin eğitim, sağlık gibi önemli işlevlerini aşamalı olarak bu yapıya devretmeyi amaçlayan bu düzenleme dönemin Cumhurbaşkanı Ahmet Necdet Sezer tarafından veto edilmiştir. Vetoya rağmen, 2004 yılında gerçekleştirilen 5216 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve 5302 Sayılı İl Özel İdaresi Kanun Değişiklikleriyle birlikte kapsamlı bir değişikliğin yolu açılmıştır. Öncelikle büyükşehir belediyelerinin sınırları 30-40-50 kilometreden oluşan bir çapı kapsayacak büyüklüğe çıkarılmış, büyükşehir belediyelerinin yetkileri ilçe belediyeleri karşısında arttırılmıştır ve hatta bazı hizmet alanlarında tekelleştirilmiştir. Ayrıca Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü’nün teşkilatı il özel idarelerine devredilerek özel idareler kırsal altyapı hizmet birimine dönüştürülmüştür. Yapılan düzenlemelerin en çarpıcı noktalarından birisi, Belediye Kanunu’nun 73. Maddesinde yapılan değişiklikle ile getirilen kentsel dönüşüm ilişkili düzenlemedir. Bu değişiklik ile belediyelere mevcut İmar Kanunundan bağımsız olarak kentin herhangi bir yerinde çeşitli amaçlarla kentsel dönüşüm ve gelişim alanı ilan etme yetkisi tanınmıştır. İlerleyen yıllarda bu yetki İmar Kanunu’na göre yapılaşmaya aykırı alanların yapılaşmaya açılması için kullanılmış, mekânsal planlama geri plana atılmıştır. Tek başına bu düzenleme bile aslında yapılan düzenlemelerin odağında mekânsal dönüşüm olduğunu göstermektedir.

Bu düzenlemelerin sonucunda yerel yönetimler düzeyinde büyükşehir belediyesi, ilçe belediyesi, ilk kademe belediyesi, il belediyesi ve belde belediyesi gibi çoklu bir yapı oluşmuştur. Ancak, bu çoklu yapı içinde görece olarak belediyelerin ve il özel idarelerinin planlama yetkilerinin artmış olduğu söylenebilir. Mekânsal planlama açısından bakıldığında, büyükşehir belediyelerinde mekânsal planlama yetkilerinin büyükşehir belediyelerinin lehine değiştiği görülmektedir. Öncelikle, pergel kanunu olarak adlandırılan düzenlemeyle büyükşehir belediye sınırlarının nüfusa göre 30-40-50 km. genişletilmesi fiili olarak büyükşehir belediyelerinin planlama yetki alanını da genişletmiştir. Ayrıca 2004 yılında yürürlüğe giren 5216 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanununda büyükşehir belediyelerinin yetkilerini daha da genişleten düzenlemelere yer verilmiştir. Bu düzenlemelerin birincisi, büyükşehir belediyelerine kendi yetkileri dahilinde olan konularda her tür ve ölçekte plan yapma yetkisinin verilmesidir. Daha önce 3030 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyeleri Kanununda ilçe belediyeleri ile büyükşehir belediyeleri arasında planlama yetkileri açısından söz konusu olan katı görev ayrımı bu şekilde değişmiştir. Ayrıca, yine 5216 Sayılı Kanun’la ilçe belediyelerinin yetkisi içinde bulunan

1/1000 ölçekli uygulama imar planlarının bir yıl içinde yapılmaması durumunda büyükşehir belediyeleri tarafından uygulama imar planlarının ilçe belediyelerinin yerine yapılabileceği hükme bağlanmıştır. Bu şekilde büyükşehir belediyelerinin planlama yetkileri açısından ilçe belediyeleri üzerinde belli bir idari vesayet yetkisi kazandığı söylenebilir.

Bu dönemde mekânsal planlamayla ve yeniden ölçeklenmeyle ilgili bir diğer önemli gelişme de üst ölçekli planların yapımına ilişkindir. Çünkü kent planlama söz konusu olduğunda idari sınırların ve yetkilerin en fazla tartışma konusu olduğu alan üst ölçekli planların yapımı ve uygulanmasıdır. 5216 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu'nun yürürlüğe girmesinden sonra büyükşehir belediyelerine kendi sınırları içerisinde 1/25000 ölçekli nazım imar planı yapma zorunluluğu getirilmiştir. Bu zorunluluk aslında büyükşehir belediyeleri açısından merkezi yönetime ve ilçe belediyelerine karşı planlama yetkileri açısından kazanılmış yeni bir mevzi anlamına gelmektedir. Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanunu Tasarısı öncesi dönemde 1990'lı yıllarda, özellikle İstanbul, Ankara ve İzmir gibi büyük kentlerde kentlerin gelişme akslarında yer alan bölgelerin gelişimi için yapılacak üst ölçekli planlara ilişkin yetki kullanımının dönemin Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, Çevre ve Orman Bakanlığı ve büyükşehir belediyeleri arasında dava konusu olduğu bilinmektedir. Büyük kentlerin üst ölçekli planlama kararlarının alınacağı çevre düzeni planlarının hangi bakanlık tarafından yapılacağı, bu planların bakanlıklar tarafından yapılmasının büyükşehir belediyeleri açısından bir sorun teşkil edip etmeyeceği önemli soru işaretleri oluşturmuştur. Ancak, 5216 Sayılı Kanun ile getirilen bu planlama yetkisi ile büyükşehir belediyeleri belli ölçüde kentin bütünü ile ilgili üst ölçek planlama kararlarını belirleme yetkisi vermiştir. Her ne kadar mevcut ya da yapılacak çevre düzeni planlarının bu 1/25000 ölçekli nazım imar planı ile ilişkisi belirsiz ise de, bu yetki ile büyükşehir belediyeleri sonraki dönemlerde pek çok alanda yapılaşma ile ilgili teknik ve yasal engelleri aşmıştır. Bu anlamda bir diğer önemli konu da planın ölçeğinin seçimi ile ilgilidir. İmar mevzuatına göre nazım imar planları 1/25000 ölçekli olarak yapılabilmektedir. Böylelikle büyükşehir belediyeleri hem çok daha geniş alanlarla ilgili nazım imar planı ölçeğinde karar getirme hakkı kazanmış, hem de ilçe belediyelerinin üreteceği plan kararlarını teknik açıdan kısıtlama olanağı bulmuştur. Yani, büyükşehir belediyeleri hem imar rantlarının örgütlenebileceği bütünlükte, hem de rant maksimizasyonunun gerçekleştirilebileceği ayrıntıda plan yapabilme olanağına kavuşmuşlardır.

Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanunu Tasarısı sonrasında planlama açısında ortaya çıkan bir diğer ilginç gelişme de belediye başkanlarının planlama yetkilerini arttırmak için yaptıkları girişimlerdir. Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Başkanı Melih Gökçek ve Adana Büyükşehir Belediyesi Başkanı Aytaç Durak gibi pek çok başka belediye başkanının 2000'li yılların ortalarında çeşitli alanlarda yetkilerini

arttırmak ve karşılaştıkları çeşitli yasal engelleri ortadan kaldırmak amacıyla merkezi hükümetle görüştükleri bilinmektedir. Bu konuda önemli bir örnek olarak tarihi alanların kentsel yenilemeye tabi tutulmasına ilişkin olarak çıkarılan 5366 Sayılı Kanun gösterilmektedir (Uysal, 2012). Taslağı İstanbul Beyoğlu ve Fatih Belediye başkanları tarafından hazırlanarak TBMM'ye getirilen bu Kanun ile birlikte kültür ve tabiat varlıklarının bulunduğu sit alanlarında, 2863 Sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu'nun getirdiği kısıtlamalar esnetilmiştir. Kanun, tarihi alanlarda yenileme alanı adı altında yeni bir statü getirmiştir. Yenileme alanlarında daha önce yapılması koşulu bulunan koruma amaçlı imar planları yapılmadan tarihi alanlara müdahalede bulunma olanağı belediyelere sağlanmıştır. Buna göre belediyeler, yenileme alanlarında avan proje adı verilen ayrıntılandırılmamış uygulama çizimleriyle projelerine başlayabileceklerdir. Bu projeler ise mevcut kültür ve tabiat varlıklarını koruma bölge kurulları tarafından değil, alana özgü olarak kurulacak yenileme kurulları tarafından denetlenecektir. Bu Kanun, mekânsal planlama ile ilgili konularda ana çerçeveyi temel kanunlarla değil, çeşitli aktörlerin öne sürdükleri parçacı ve kestirme çözümler getiren torba kanun ve kanun teklifleriyle belirleme yaklaşımının da ilk örneklerinden birisini oluşturmaktadır. Esasında bu tür yaklaşımların temel amacı, planlamanın gerektirdiği süre ve getirdiği kısıtlardan, belki de planlamadan kaçınarak doğrudan kentsel mekâna müdahale etmenin yollarını bulmaktır. Bu tür yaklaşımlar yeniden ölçeklemenin ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak gündeme gelmiştir.

2009 yılına kadar devam eden birinci aşamada, Türkiye'de yerel yönetimlerin önemli bir unsuru olan il özel idarelerinin de önemli planlama yetkileri kullandığı görülmektedir. Özellikle belediye sınırları dışında ve kentin çeperinde yer alan, ve belediye sınırları dışında kaldıkları için çeşitli yatırım teşviklerinden yararlanan tesislere ilişkin planlama kararlarının il özel idareleri tarafından alındığı görülmektedir. Benzin istasyonları, kırsal alanda kurulan sanayi tesisleri çoğunlukla mekânsal planlama kapasitesi yetersiz ya da henüz olgunlaşmamış bulunan il özel idareleri tarafından birer planlama süreci olarak değil de, birer idari işlem olarak mevcut imar planlarına işlenmiş ya da parçacı birer mevzi planla² yönetsel kararlara eklenmiştir. Burada önemli bir detay yine üst ölçekli planlama ile ilgilidir. 2004 yılında yürürlüğe giren 5302 Sayılı İl Özel İdaresi Kanunuyla il özel idarelerine tüm ilin üst ölçekli planı olarak "il çevre düzeni planı" yapma ve yaptırma yetkisi verilmiştir. Daha önce böyle bir yetkisi bulunmayan il özel idareleri böylelikle Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, Çevre ve Orman Bakanlığı gibi Bakanlıklar karşısında önemli bir mekânsal planlama yetkisi ile donatılmıştır. Bu yetkilerin önemli bir kısmı büyükşehir belediyeleri

² Mevzi planlar Türk mekânsal planlama sisteminin en sorunlu konularındandır. Herhangi bir yasal planın bulunmadığı alanlarda yapılacak tesisler ya da yatırımlar, o yatırıma özgü parçacı ve noktasal bir plan olarak yapılırlar. Bu yaklaşım istisnai bir sorun çözme aracı olarak ortaya çıkmış, ancak daha sonraları ayrıcalıklı durumlar yaratma yöntemi haline gelmiştir.

dışındaki il özel idareleri tarafından kullanılmış ve il çevre düzeni planları yaptırılmıştır. Ancak, planların çok azı il özel idarelerinin kendi personelleri aracılığıyla yapılabilmiş, çoğunlukla ihale yoluyla bu planlar elde edilmiştir. İl özel idarelerinin teknik kapasitelerinin o dönemde çok düşük olması sebebiyle yapılan planların ilin ihtiyaçlarına uygun olup olmadığı ve uygulamanın denetlenmesi konularında sorunlar yaşanmıştır. Büyükşehir belediyelerinin bulunduğu yerlerdeki il özel idarelerinin yapacakları il çevre düzeni planlarında ise hem ilgili il genel meclisinin hem de büyükşehir belediye meclisinin onayı şartı getirilmiştir. Bu durum belli yerlerde ortaklaşa çalışma getirmiş, belli yerlerde ise bu planların yapılamamasına sebep olmuştur. Özellikle Başkent Ankara'nın il çevre düzeni planının bu sebeple yapılamamış olması sıklıkla basına yansımış ve eleştiriye konu edilmiştir (<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara-odevini-yapmadi-21690633>).

Yeniden Ölçeklemede İkinci Aşama: Yerelde Hayal Kırıklığı ve Mekânsal Planlamada Artan Merkezileşme

Yerel yönetimlerin mekânsal planlama yetkilerinin artmasına rağmen, 2000'lerin sonlarına doğru iki sebeple bu yetkiler geri alınmaya başlanmış ya da merkezi yönetime de benzer planlama yetkilerinin verilme girişimlerinde bulunulmuştur. Bu sebeplerin birincisi yerel aktörlerle merkezi yönetim aktörleri arasında ortaya çıkan rekabet ve yer yer gerilimdir. Özellikle kentlerin gelişmelerine ilişkin temel kararların alınması konusunda ve çeşitli yasal düzenlemelerde belediye başkanlarının etkili olmaları merkezi yönetim aktörleri açısından bir tehdit algısı oluşturmıştır. Bu durum sıklıkla, yerel yönetimlerin verilen tüm yetkilere rağmen "bekleneni verememesi" olarak ifade edilmiştir. Kentsel dönüşüm, yerel hizmetlerin geliştirilmesi, konut üretimi, kentsel altyapı gibi pek çok konuda mevcut planlama yetkilerine rağmen hızlı bir gelişme görülmediği ifade edilmiştir. İkinci sebep ise, kentsel mekâna yerel yönetimler eliyle noktasal olarak değil daha doğrudan müdahale etmek için merkezi yönetim kurumlarını kullanma kaygısıdır. Burada özellikle Başbakanlık Özelleştirme İdaresi ve Toplu Konut İdaresi gibi kurumların önemli bir yeri olduğu görülmektedir. Merkezi yönetimin daha geniş kaynaklarını kullanma şansına sahip olan bu kurumlar, zamanla mekânsal planlama yetkileri de talep ederek bu kaynakları yerelde kullanmanın önündeki imar kanunundan kaynaklı engelleri de bertaraf edebilmiştir. Burada önemli bazı yaklaşımlar kentsel mekânın özelleştirilmesi ve kentsel hizmetlerde performans artışı olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu gelişmelerin etkisi altında mekânsal planlama yeniden ölçekleme ilişkisi açısından yapılan bazı önemli mevzuat değişiklikleri ile birlikte ikinci döneme girilmiştir.

İlk yeniden ölçekleme hareketinin sonucunda ortaya çıkan sorunlar 2009 yerel seçimleri öncesinde gerçekleştirilen ikinci yeniden ölçekleme aşamasını tetiklemiştir. 5747 Sayılı Kanun ile adrese dayalı nüfus kayıt sistemine göre nüfusu 2000'in altında olan belde belediyeleri kapatılmaya çalışılmış, büyükşehir belediyesi içinde bulunan bazı ilçe belediyeleri birleştirilmiş, yeni ilçeler kurulmuş ve büyükşehir belediye sınırları içerisinde bulunan ilçe belediyelerinin sınırları genişletilmiştir (Zengin, 2014). Daha sonra kapatılan bazı belde belediyeleri mahkeme kararlarıyla tekrar kurulsalar da, yapılan düzenlemeler ilk aşamada gerçekleştirilen düzenlemeleri tamamlar nitelikte olmuştur. Bu düzenlemelerle birlikte Türkiye bir "büyükşehir tuzağına" girmiştir. Yapılan tartışmaların temel ölçeği artık büyükşehir yönetimidir. Burada İstanbul'da Eminönü Belediyesinin kapatılarak Fatih Belediyesine bağlanması gibi örneklerde kent içerisinde yer alan merkezi iş alanlarının yönetimine ilişkin varsayımların ilçe belediyeleri özelinde merkezileşmeyi güçlendirdiği söylenebilir. Burada çok önemli bir tartışma alanı yerel demokrasi, katılım ve mekânsal planlama arasındaki ilişkidir. Sonraki yıllarda yapılan düzenlemelerde "planlamada bütünsellik/bütüncülük" olarak meşrulaştırılan bu tür değişikliklerin hiçbirinde, mekânsal planlama gibi süreçlerde halkın katılımının nasıl sağlanacağı, uygulamada izleme ve değerlendirme mekanizmaları konularına değinilmemektedir. Yapılan bu düzenlemenin önemli bir yansıması da yeniden ölçekleme sürecinin siyasi bir strateji olarak da görülmeye başlanmasıdır. 5747 Sayılı Kanun kapsamında daha önce muhalefet partilerinin oy deposu olarak görülen ancak henüz yönetsel sistem içerisinde tam olarak yer bulamamış kentsel gelişim alanlarının belli bir siyasi strateji ile farklı ilçelere bağlanması ya da tutarlı bir gerekçe olmaksızın kapatılması bu durumun bir göstergesi olarak görülebilir. 2009 yerel seçimlerinin hemen öncesinde yapılan bu düzenlemeler, güncel siyasi süreçlerde merkezi siyasal alanın yerel siyasal alan üzerindeki tahakkümünü güçlendirecek biçimde yeniden ölçeklemeyi araçsallaştırdığını göstermesi açısından önemlidir ve meselenin sınıfsal boyutlarına da işaret etmektedir.

Yeniden ölçeklenmenin önemli adımlarından bir diğeri de bu dönem içerisinde Bölge Kalkınma Ajanslarının kurulmasıdır. 5449 sayılı Kanunla kurulan kalkınma ajansları, Türkiye'de bu ölçekte ve yaygınlıkta kurulmuş ilk kurumsal yapılar olmaları açısından yeniden ölçeklenmenin önemli bir unsuru olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. "kamu kesimi, özel kesim ve sivil toplum kuruluşları arasındaki işbirliğini geliştirmek, kaynakların yerinde ve etkin kullanımını sağlamak ve yerel potansiyeli harekete geçirmek suretiyle, bölgesel gelişmeyi hızlandırmak, sürdürülebilirliğini sağlamak, bölgeler arası ve bölge içi gelişmişlik farklarını azaltmak" gibi amaçlarla kurulmuş kalkınma ajansları hem yatayda yeni bir örgütsel yapı getirmesi hem de "bölge" kavramına dayalı yönetsel unsurlar olmaları açısından önemli görülmüşlerdir. Kalkınma ajanslarının kuruluşunda esas alınan bölge tanımı AB'nin istatistiksel bölge sınıflandırması uyarınca

belirlenmiş ve zamanla 26 kalkınma ajansı kurulmuştur. Ancak, ilk başlarda esas olarak yerel kalkınma dinamikleriyle etkin bir etkileşim içerisinde çalışması beklenen Ajanslar ağırlıklı olarak valiliklerin ve nihai olarak da Kalkınma Bakanlığının etkisi altında beklenen düzeyde etkin olamadılar (Arslan, 2016). Mekânsal planlama açısından ajansların yapmaları beklenen bölgesel kalkınma planları imar kanununda belirtilen bölge planından farklı olduğu ve plan uygulama araçlarının zayıflığı sebebiyle mekânsal gelişimi yönlendirici bir nitelik kazanamadı. Böylelikle kalkınma ajanslarının yeniden ölçeklenme sürecinde tanımlanmış hibrit bir ölçek olarak bekleneni veremediği söylenebilir.

2000’li yılların sonunda görülen bir diğer önemli gelişme de mekânsal planlama açısından yetki karmaşasının artmasına sebep olacak düzenlemelerle, Türkiye’nin kentleşme politikasına yön verme çabalarının bir arada ortaya çıkmasıdır. 2009 yılında, yerel yönetim birleştirmelerinin gerçekleştiği dönemde, aynı zamanda, Özelleştirme İdaresi, Toplu Konut İdaresi, Devlet Hava Meydanları İşletmesi, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı gibi bazı merkezi yönetim kuruluşlarına hüküm ve tasarrufları altındaki kamu arazilerinin mekânsal planlama yetkilerinin verildiği görülmektedir. Bu yetkilerin bazıları o güne kadar benzeri görülmemiş derecede geniştir. Örneğin Özelleştirme İdaresine, özelleştirme kapsamına alınan kamu arazilerinde her tür ve ölçekte plan yapma yetkisinin verildiği, bu planların da askıya çıkarılarak kamuya duyurulma şartının kaldırıldığı görülmektedir. Bunlar olurken ilginç bir şekilde Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı ağırlıklı mekânsal planlama alanında yaşanan sorunlar ve Avrupa Birliği üyelik sürecinde öğrenilenlerden yola çıkarak Kentleşme Şurası olarak adlandırılan politika sürecini başlatmıştır. Türkiye’nin kentleşme sürecinin çok geniş bir uzman heyetle ve katılımcı yöntemlerle ele alındığı Şura sonucunda KENTGES adı verilen, 2023 yılına kadar Türkiye’nin kentleşme ve mekânsal planlama sürecini yönlendirecek olan strateji belgesi ortaya çıkmıştır. Belgede özellikle mekânsal planlamada yetki karmaşası, eşgüdüm ve işbirliği konularına özel bir önem atfedilmiştir. Ayrıca, 1990’lar ve 2000’lerde Avrupa’da yaygın olan “stratejik mekânsal planlama” yaklaşımının da Türkiye için olması gereken planlama yaklaşımı olduğu ifade edilmiştir. Ancak, söz konusu Şuranın ürettiği belgelerden Türkiye’nin mevcut koşullarında stratejik mekânsal planın ne olduğu ve nasıl uygulanacağı gibi konuların açık bir şekilde çıkarılması çok da mümkün görünmemektedir.

Sonuçta 2000’li yılların sonunda ortaya çıkan bu geçiş dönemi ile birlikte Türkiye’nin yeniden ölçekleme süreci rotasını yerelleşmeden çevirip merkezileşmeye doğru ilerlemeye başlamıştır. Bu rota değişikliğine eşlik eden planlama yetkilerindeki önemli değişiklikler bir yandan da kentleşme politikası açısından ikili bir çerçevenin ortaya çıkmasına sebep olmuştur. Bu ikili politikanın bir yanında merkezileşmiş devlet yapısının kentsel mekâna müdahalesi diğer

tarafında ise dünya örneklerinden beslenerek batılı anlamda bir politika yapma kaygısı yer almaktadır. Ancak, bir sonraki bölümde de görüleceği gibi, merkezileşme zaman içerisinde kentleşme politikasını da pragmatik tercihlere ve bu tercihlerin meşrulaştırılması çabalarına indirgeyecektir.

Yeniden Ölçeklemede Üçüncü Aşama: Toplumsal Çalkantılar Sonrasında Siyasi Merkezileşme Etkisinde Kentleşme Siyaseti

Üçüncü yeniden ölçekleme dalgası 2011 genel seçimlerinden hemen sonra başlamıştır. Önceki iki aşamada beklenen sonuçların elde edilememesi, yerel yönetimlerin birçok hizmeti (İstanbul'daki ulaşım yatırımlarının ve Ankara'da Metronun Ulaştırma Denizcilik ve Haberleşme Bakanlığı tarafından gerçekleştirilmesi ve Türkiye'nin pek çok yerinde konut üretiminde TOKİ'nin belediyeler yerine tol alması) merkezi hükümet kuruluşlarına devretme eğilimine girmeleri ve siyasi açıdan anayasal düzenlemelere ilişkin başkanlık sistemi gibi bazı tartışmalar belli konularda yetkilerin merkeze alınması sonucunu doğurmuştur. Özellikle yeni kurulan Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığının çıkarılan 644 ve 648 Sayılı Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerle kent planlama ve kentsel dönüşüm konularında tüm yetkileri üstlenmesi bunun en çarpıcı örneği olarak gösterilebilir. Yeni kurulan bu Bakanlık Türkiye'nin her yerinde re'sen her tür ve ölçekte mekânsal planlama yapma yetkisine kavuşmuştur. Ancak, daha sonra 17-25 Aralık 2013 yılında patlayan yolsuzluk iddialarında Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığının da aldığı planlama kararlarının ilgisi bulunduğu şeklindeki suçlamalar son yıllarda bu yetkilerin kullanımı konusunda fiilen bir duraksamaya sebep olmuştur. Güneydoğuda terör olayları sonrasında tahrip olan kentlerin yeniden yapılandırılması ve kentsel dönüşüm çalışmaları gibi faaliyetler dışında son yıllarda Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığının bu yetkileri kullanma konusunda çekingen davrandığı görülmektedir. Ancak yine de, 2004-2011 yılları arasında istisnai düzenlemelerle yavaş yavaş gerçekleşen yetkilerin merkezi hükümete alınması hareketinin 2011 genel seçimleri sonrasında zirveye ulaştığı söylenebilir.

2011 sonrası dönemde mekânsal planlama açısından ortaya çıkan önemli bir sorunun da merkezi yönetim kurumları arasındaki rekabet ve yetki paylaşımı olduğu söylenebilir. Daha önceleri çevre düzeni planı özelinde görülen tartışmaların bu kez bölge planı ve mekânsal strateji planı kavramları çerçevesinde ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir. Özellikle Türkiye'de farklı kamu kurumlarının yaptıkları altyapı ve ulaşım yatırımlarını yönlendirebilmek için üst ölçekli planları kullanma eğilimi bu rekabetin temel kaynağını oluşturmaktadır. Bu tartışmaların bir tarafında 2011 sonrasında bakanlığa dönüştürülen Başbakanlığa bağlı Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı yer almaktadır. Kalkınma Bakanlığı adını alan teşkilat, 2010'lar sonrasında yaygınlaşan bölge kalkınma ajansları aracılığıyla, çevre düzeni planının üstünde ve mekânsal kararları da içeren kalkınma amaçlı bir

planlama anlayışını savunmaktadır. Kalkınma ajanslarının hazırlayacakları bölgesel kalkınma planlarının yine merkezi hükümet tarafından onaylanacak Bölgesel Gelişme Ulusal Stratejisi (BGUS) ve kalkınma planları ile yönlendirilmesi öngörülmektedir. Ancak, bu tür bir yapı, üretilen planların mekânsal içeriğinin ve mekânsal örgütlenme kapasitesinin tartışılmasına sebep olmaktadır (Karasu, 2015).

Öte yandan bu tartışmalarla ilgili olarak Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığının kuruluş mevzuatında ve KENTGES strateji belgesinde yerini bulan “mekânsal strateji planı” kavramı önem kazanmaktadır. Bölge planlarının aksine ülke ölçeğinde ve bölge ölçeğinde hazırlanması beklenen bu planların hem yatırım kararlarını yönlendireceği hem de güçlü bir mekânsallığa sahip olacağı savunulmaktadır. Ancak, Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı bugüne kadar çeşitli projelerle bu planı tanımlamaya çalışmış olsa da, mekânsal strateji planının bir örneği henüz ortaya konamamıştır. Daha sonra 2013 yılında yapılan mevzuat değişiklikleriyle ve hazırlanan yönetmeliklerle Bakanlık mekânsal strateji planını tanımlamış, ayrıca hazırlanan her türlü plana da “mekânsal plan” adını vererek bu anlamda mevzi kazanmaya çalışmıştır. 2014 yılında yürürlüğe giren “Mekânsal Planlar Yapım Yönetmeliğinde mekânsal strateji planı şu şekilde tanımlanmaktadır:

“Ülke kalkınma politikaları ve bölgesel gelişme stratejilerini mekânsal düzeyde ilişkilendiren, bölge planlarının ekonomik ve sosyal potansiyel, hedef ve stratejileri ile ulaşım ilişkileri ve fiziksel eşiklerini de dikkate alarak değerlendiren, yer altı ve yer üstü kaynakların ekonomiye kazandırılmasına, doğal, tarihi ve kültürel değerlerin korunmasına ve geliştirilmesine, yerleşmeler, ulaşım sistemi ile kentsel, sosyal ve teknik altyapının yönlendirilmesine dair mekânsal stratejileri belirleyen, sektörlere ilişkin mekânsal politika ve stratejiler arasında ilişkiyi kuran, 1/250.000, 1/500.000 veya daha üst ölçek haritalar üzerinde şematik ve grafik dil kullanılarak hazırlanan, ülke bütününde ve gerekli görülen bölgelerde yapılabilen, sektörel ve tematik paftalar ve raporu ile bütün olan planı...”

Geçen zaman içerisinde bölge ölçeğinde mekânsal planlama konusundaki bu karışıklığı ve belirsizliği çözecek herhangi bir çaba ortaya çıkmamıştır. Her ne kadar 2016 yılında Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı bu kez “Şehircilik Şurası” adı altında yeni bir Şura düzenlemişse de bu tür üst ölçekli planlama sorunları yerine daha çok şehircilikte kimlik ve alt ölçeklerdeki uygulamalar tartışıldığı için herhangi bir gelişme sağlanamamıştır.

Yeniden ölçekleme sürecinin sonuçları açısından kentsel mekâna daha doğrudan ve merkezîyetçi müdahaleleri getirdiği bu üçüncü dönemde ciddi toplumsal sarsıntıların da yaşandığı görülmektedir. Bu toplumsal sarsıntıların bir

kısmı yerel düzeyde gerçekleştirilmek istenen müdahalelerden kaynaklanırken bir kısmı da yeniden ölçeklenme süreci sonrasında ortaya çıkan yeni sermaye birikimi sürecinde siyasal ittifakların çözülmesi sonucunda yaşanmıştır. Yaşanan her toplumsal süreç sonrasında hem yerel düzeyde hem de merkezi hükümet düzeyinde daha da merkezileşen bir politika çerçevesi ve yönetsel anlayış ortaya çıkmıştır. Nihai olarak geline nokta merkezileşme artık ağırlıklı olarak yönetsel değil siyasaldır. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı gibi süper yetkilere sahip olan merkezi yapılar dahi siyasal merkezileşmenin etkisi altında bu yetkilerini temkinli kullanır hale gelmiştir. 2017 yılında yapılan Anayasa referandumu ile Türk tipi başkanlık sistemine geçilmesi sonrasında uyum kanunlarının çıkarılmaması sebebiyle Cumhurbaşkanlığında oluşan yapı ile Bakanlıklar arasında çelişkili durumlar ortaya çıkabilmektedir. Yürütmeyi oluşturan Bakanlıkların ve Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisine mensup yerel yönetimlerin kararlarında bir şekilde Cumhurbaşkanlığı ile ilişkilenecek kaygısı hissedilmektedir. Özellikle kentleşme gibi konularda politika çerçevelerinin belirlenmesinde bu yaklaşımın izleri görülmektedir. 2017 yılı sonunda iktidar partisi mensubu belediye başkanlarının istifa ettirilmesi bu gelişmelerin bir işareti olarak ele alınabilir. Sonuç olarak, geline nokta yeniden ölçeklemenin siyasal merkezileşme ile sonuçlandığı, bu merkezileşme sürecinin de kentleşme politikasında günü birlik ve merkezi siyasetin dinamiklerine bağlı stratejilerin baskın hale gelmesine sebep olduğu söylenebilir. Özellikle kentleşme sürecine ilişkin Cumhurbaşkanlığı tarafından yapılan “yatay-dikey kentleşme” açıklamalarının bu tür bir müdahale/meşrulaştırma alanı açtığı söylenebilir (Şahin, 2017).

Bu üç yeniden ölçekleme dönemi, Türkiye’nin kentleşme politikasını belirleme süreçlerini de derinden etkilemiştir. Gerek Avrupa Birliği üyelik süreci gerekse Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma Hedefleri gibi uluslararası çerçevelere uyma ve kentleşme konusunda dünyayı takip etme güdüsü ile ulusal siyasal ve yönetsel tercihlerin arasındaki gerilimin etkisi altında gerçekleşen bu politika süreçleri, yeniden ölçekleme ile mekânsal gelişim politikaları arasındaki çatışmalı süreçleri de yansıtmaktadır. Bu sebeple bu makale kapsamında Türkiye’nin 2008 yılı sonrasında kentleşme politikasının belirlenmesi çabalarının örnekleri olan Kentleşme Şurası, KENTGES strateji belgesi ve Şehircilik Şurası deneyimlerinin mikro ölçekte bir değerlendirmesi yapılarak yeniden ölçekleme ve neoliberal politika süreçlerinin kentleşme politikası yapımını nasıl etkilediği ortaya konmaya çalışılacaktır. Makalenin yazarı her üç politika sürecine de katılmış ve katılımcı gözlemci olarak notlar almıştır. Alınan notlar bir sonraki kısımdaki değerlendirmelerin temelini oluşturmaktadır. Bu değerlendirmenin ışığı altında sonuç kısmında da yeniden ölçekleme etkisi altında Türkiye kentlerine ilişkin politikaların sürdürülebilirliği ve uygulanabilirliği tartışılmaya çalışılacaktır.

3. TÜRKİYE’NİN KENTLEŞME POLİTİKASI SÜREÇLERİNİN MİKRO PRATİKLERİ: KENTLEŞME ŞURASINDAN ŞEHİRCİLİK ŞURASINA

Yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi Türkiye’de neoliberal anlayış altında değişen kentleşme politikasının doğası konuya ilişkin kamu politikası yapım süreçlerinde görünür hale gelmektedir. Bu politika süreçlerinden birincisi Kentleşme Şurasıdır. 2000’li yılların başında Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanununu Tasarısı ile ortaya çıkan değişim sürecinde bazı önemli devlet kuruluşlarının bir kimlik bunalımı geçirdiği görülmektedir. Bu kurumların başında dönemin Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı gelmektedir. Kuruluş kanunu gereği ülkenin kentleşme ve yapılaşma süreçlerini yönlendirecek yasal çerçeveyi belirlemesi beklenen Bakanlık, yaşanan birinci yeniden ölçeklenme süreci sonucunda özellikle mekânsal planlama konusundaki yetkilerini bir yandan yerel yönetimlerle, diğer yandan da TOKİ gibi merkezi devlet kurumlarıyla paylaşmak zorunda kalmıştır. Oysaki, 1970’li yıllardan bu yana önemli bir planlama ve kamu yatırımlarını yönlendirme deneyimi bulunan Bakanlık açısından bu dönüşüm ciddi gerilimler oluşturmaktadır. Bakanlık bürokratlarının Avrupa Birliğine uyum için uluslararası belgelerde yer alan politikaları öğrenme süreçleri “Kentleşme Şurası” olarak adlandırılan önemli politika sürecinin yolunu döşemiş ve bir şekilde Bakanlığın bu gerilimler karşısında belli bir direnç oluşturmamasını sağlamıştır. Bu süreç neoliberal yeniden ölçeklenme süreci altındaki devletin kentleşme politikası yapımında farklı bürokratik ve siyasal elitlerin etkileşimi için de önemli bir platform oluşturmıştır.

2000’li yılların başından itibaren Bakanlığın teknokratları, özellikle de kentleşme mevzuatına ilişkin sorumluluğu bulunan Teknik Araştırma ve Uygulama Genel Müdürlüğünde çalışanlar Avrupa Birliğinin ve Uluslararası kuruluşların kentsel politikalarına ilişkin belgeleri ve süreçleri yakından takip etmeye başlamıştır. Bu çabalar kentleşme politikası açısından bir politika öğrenme sürecini tetiklemiştir. Bu kapsamda Birleşmiş Milletlerin Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma Belgeleri, Avrupa Konseyinin Kentsel Şartları ve Avrupa Birliğinin “Mekânsal Gelişim Perspektifi” gibi belgeler Bakanlığa taşınmış ve tartışılmaya başlanmıştır. Aynı dönemde UNDP Türkiye Ofisi de Bakanlıkla işbirliği içinde “Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma İlkelerinin Sektörel Politikalara Entegrasyonu” başlıklı bir proje ile kentsel politika alanındaki politika öğrenme sürecinin derinleşmesine katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu projenin de katkısıyla Bakanlık içerisinde kentleşme politikası yapımı konusunda bir farkındalık oluşmuştur. Zaten, o dönemde 9. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planında yer alan “Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma için bir Entegre Kentsel Gelişim Strateji Belgesi ve Eylem Planı” hazırlanması için çeşitli hazırlıklar yapmakta olan Bakanlık için bu politika öğrenme süreci önemli katkılarda bulunma potansiyeline sahip görünmektedir.

Bu öğrenme sürecinin de etkisiyle Bakanlık karar vericileri kentleşme politikasının belirlenmesi için katılımcı bir yöntemle hareket edilmesinin uygun olduğuna karar vermişlerdir. Bu amaçla daha önce de Bakanlık mevzuatında yer alan ancak işlerlik kazanmamış olan “Şura” kavramının kullanılmasına karar verilmiştir. Ancak Bakanlık, hem daha önce böyle bir Şura deneyimine sahip olmadığı hem de katılımcı yaklaşımların pratiği konusunda Türkiye’de kayda değer bir deneyim bulunmadığı için, Şuranın yöntemi konusunda çeşitli danışma toplantıları gerçekleştirilmiştir. Konusunun uzmanı bilim insanları ve uzmanların katılımıyla gerçekleştirilen bu toplantıların sonucunda Bakanlık, yapılacak Şuraya “Kentleşme Şurası” adı verilmesine ve mümkün olan en katılımcı yöntemle ilerlenmesine karar vermiştir. Katılımcı yaklaşımın ilk adımı olarak Bakanlık çalışanları tarafından Türkiye’deki kentleşme sürecine ilişkin olarak en önde gelen akademisyenlerin, özel sektör aktörlerinin, meslek odalarının, sivil toplum örgütlerinin ve kanaat önderlerinin isimleri ve temsilcileri belirlenerek bir isim havuzu oluşturulmuştur. Şura sürecinde bu havuzdaki isimlerin büyük bir çoğunluğu Türkiye kentleşmesinin farklı yönlerini tartışmak üzere on ayrı komisyona davet edilmişlerdir. Komisyonların ilgi alanları planlama sisteminden altyapı, konut, afet yönetimi, kültürel miras, ekoloji, yoksulluk, kimlik ve yerel yönetimlere kadar kentleşme sürecinin neredeyse tüm başlıklarını içermektedir. Çalışmalarda Bakanlığın yer yer üretilecek çıktılara ilişkin hatırlatmaları olsa da çoğunlukla Komisyonlar kendi çalışma yöntemlerini özgürce belirleyebilmişlerdir.

Kentleşme Şurasının resmi açılış toplantısından sonra Komisyonlar Kasım 2008 ve Mayıs 2009 tarihleri arasında yedi aylık sürede beş kez toplanmışlar, davet edilen paydaşların %75 gibi önemli bir kısmı düzenli olarak toplantılara katılmıştır. Bakanlık paydaşların dengeli ve eşit bir dağılımla çalışmalara katıldığını göstermek için sıklıkla o dönemde çalışmalara ilişkin verileri kamuoyuyla paylaşmıştır. Şuranın Genel Kurulu sonrasında da Komisyon raporları bir araya getirilerek bir kitap seti olarak bastırılmıştır. Şuranın sonuç ürünü çok ciddi hacimde bir çalışma olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Raporlar 1300 sayfa uzunluğundaki 11 kitaptan oluşmaktadır ve raporların içinde 437 sorun alanı, 607 strateji ve 1120 eylem tanımlanmıştır. Şura başka anlamlarda da bir gösteri niteliği taşımaktadır. Şura toplantılarının tamamına yakını törensel bir hava içerisinde gerçekleştirilmiş o dönemin bürokratları kendilerini göstermek için önemli fırsatlar yakalamışlardır. Yine o dönem için pek rastlanılmayan bir örnek olarak Şuraya ilişkin tüm belgeler ve raporlar bir internet sitesi aracılığıyla paylaşılmıştır.

Ancak, Şura katılımcılarının o günlerde hissettikleri duyguların oldukça karışık olduğunu ifade etmek gerekir. Şurada izlenen radikal katılımcı yaklaşıma karşın, aynı dönemde Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi iktidarının kentsel alanda gerçekleştirmeye başladığı projeler ve müdahaleler tartışılan kentleşme

politikasının unsurları ile önemli karşıtlıklar içermektedir. En başta özelleştirme ve her türlü kentsel mekânın kullanımının kolaylaştırılması için planlama yetkilerinin ciddi şekilde merkezileştirilmesi ve bunun da kentlerin planlanması ve yönetimi pratiklerini parçalaması, konut üretiminde, kültür ve tabiat varlıklarının kullanımında karşı karşıya kalınan müdahaleler Şura kararları ile ciddi çelişkiler içermektedir. Örneğin İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi tarafından yaptırılan ve kentin tüm metropoliten alanını planlayan çevre düzeni planının Hükümetin aldığı 3. Köprü, 3. Havalimanı, Kanal İstanbul gibi yatırım kararlarıyla kadük hale getirilmesi, yerel yönetimlerin kentte yaşayanların ve kentin farklı kesimlerinin görüş ve onayını almadan başladıkları kentsel dönüşüm projeleri Şura katılımcılarında ciddi hayal kırıklıkları yaratmıştır. Aslında Şura katılımcılarının önemli bir kısmının gözünde Şura kararları bu tür müdahalelerin yanlışlığını ortaya koymaktadır. Ancak, daha sonra kentleşme politikası alanında yaşananlar bu görüşün çok naif kaldığını göstermiştir.

Kentleşme Şurasının sonrasındaki gelişmeler ve Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisinin izlediği kentsel politikadaki yavaş ama dramatik dönüşüm Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığını ve kentleşme politikasını derinden etkilemiştir. En başından itibaren Şuranın düzenlenmesi sonuçta bir sürdürülebilir kentsel gelişme belgesi elde etmek olduğundan dolayı, Bakanlık Şuranın tamamlanmasının hemen ardından KENTGES olarak adlandırılan strateji belgesinin hazırlıklarına başlamıştır. Bu hazırlık süreci, kentleşme politikasının değişim sürecinin izlerinin açıkça izlenebildiği bir süreç olarak görülebilir. Hükümetin tutum değişikliğini hisseden Bakanlık yetkilileri hızlı bir şekilde strateji belgesinin hazırlıklarına girişmiştir. Bunun için en kestirme ve pratik yol olarak bir özel sektör firmasıyla çalışarak Şuranın çok ciddi hacimdeki ürününü bir strateji belgesine indirgemeye çalışmak yoluna gidilmiştir. 2000'li yıllar boyunca pek çok başka konuda Bakanlığın benzer deneyimleri olduğundan bu yöntemin seçilmesi şaşırtıcı değildir. Sonuçta Bakanlık bu iş için daha önce çalıştığı firmalardan oluşan bir konsorsiyumla anlaşarak çalışmaları başlatmıştır.

Bakanlık çalışanları ile çok yakın çalışan konsorsiyum Şura çıktıları üzerinde çalışarak dört temel aks üzerinde stratejiler tanımlamıştır: karar ve planlama sisteminin yeniden yapılandırılması, yerleşimlerin yaşam ve mekân kalitesinin artırılması, yerleşimlerin ekonomik yapılarının güçlendirilmesi ve yerleşimlerin sosyal yapılarının güçlendirilmesi. Konsorsiyumun yaptığı çalışmalar sonucunda Şuranın bazı stratejileri birleştirilmiş, bazıları elenmiş ve sonuçta 607 strateji 116'ya ve 1120 eylem 729'a indirilmiştir. Bu çalışma yapılırken Bakanlıkla mutabık kalınan bir yöntem kullanılmış ve sonuçlar yine Şura katılımcılarına sunulmuştur. Şura katılımcıları kullanılan yöntemin geçerliliği ve yöntemini anlamakta güçlük çekmiş, katılımcı bir yöntem sonrasında elde edilen sonuç katılımcıları beklenen düzeyde tatmin etmemiştir. Daha sonra Bakanlığın strateji

belgesini sonuçlandırırken müdahalesinin sürmesi sebebiyle bu tatminsizlik daha da artmıştır. Tüm bunlara rağmen 2010-2023 yıllarını kapsayacağı ifade edilen “Bütünleşik Kentsel Gelişme Stratejisi ve Eylem Planı” yani kısa adı KENTGES olan strateji belgesi Kasım 2010’da onaylanarak yürürlüğe girmiştir. Belgenin yürürlüğe girmesinden sonra bir izleme ve değerlendirme mekanizması da tanımlanmış, ancak bu mekanizma tamamen bürokratlardan oluştuğu için Şura katılımcıları giderek daha fazla dışlanmış hissetmişlerdir.

Esasen, Kentleşme Şurası sonrasında politika yapımı sürecindeki gelişmeler kentleşme politikası alanında gerçekleşecek bazı düzenlemelerin de habercisi niteliğindedir. 2011 Genel seçimlerinden hemen önce, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi Meclisten kanun hükmünde kararname çıkarma yetkisi alarak Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığını lağvetmiştir. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığının yerine Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı adında yeni bir bakanlık kurulmuştur. Aslında odak noktası şehircilik ve kentleşme konuları olan bir bakanlığın kurulması KENTGES içerisinde de bir öneri olarak yer almaktadır. Ancak, KENTGES’te önerilen bakanlık yapısı koordinasyon amaçlı bir teşkilattır. Oysa, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi’nin kurduğu bu yeni Bakanlığa her tür ve ölçekte planlamayı, kentsel dönüşümü ve konut üretimini içeren aşırı merkezîyetçi re’sen yetkiler verilmiştir. Şura ve KENTGES belgesinde getirilen önerilerle çelişkili uygulamalar bu Bakanlıkla da sınırlı kalmamıştır. Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi’nin 2011 genel seçim kampanyası bir başka örnek olarak alınabilir. Seçim kampanyası boyunca Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan ziyaret ettiği her şehirde oraya özel kentsel projeler açıklamış, kendi deyimiyle “cılğın projeleriyle” Erdoğan, Türkiye’nin kentleşme politikasının katılımcı yöntemlerle hazırlanmış bir belge yerine daha pragmatik proje ve tercihlerle oluşacağını ilan etmiştir. Bu projeler inşaat sektörü odaklı bir ekonomik büyüme politikasının Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı gibi süper kurumlar tarafından kolaylaştırılması ve yeni ortaya çıkan muhafazakâr elitlerin politika yapımına değil ama belki kentsel proje süreçlerine dahil edilmesi beklentisine işaret etmektedir.

Ancak, kentleşme politikasındaki bu radikal dönüşümün toplumsal karşılığı farklı biçimlerde ortaya çıkmıştır. Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi’nin pragmatik kentsel programı kentsel mekândan elde edilen kentsel rantı muhafazakâr elitlere aktarmak üzerine kurgulanmıştır. Bu program, gecekondu alanlarını ve kent merkezindeki değerli kamu alanlarını üst gelir gruplarına hitap eden konut alanlarına ve rezidanslara dönüştürmek, bu yeni yaşam alanlarını ağırlıklı olarak otomobil odaklı ulaşım yatırımlarıyla erişilebilir kılmak, tarihi kent merkezlerini ve kamusal alanları Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi’nin muhafazakâr tarih anlayışı çerçevesinde yeniden şekillendirmek, enerji ve madencilik projeleriyle kırsal alanda değer yaratmak gibi temel unsurlara dayanmaktadır. İlk başlarda Toplu Konut İdaresi’nin müdahalesiyle gerçekleşen bu unsurlar, 2011 yılı sonrasında,

Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı tarafından devralınmıştır. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı yürüttüğü projelerde katılımcılığı, kentte yaşayanların görüşlerini almayı tamamen bir kenara bırakmış, KENTGES unutulmuştur. Ancak, daha sonraki yıllarda da görüldüğü gibi bunun ciddi toplumsal bedelleri olmuştur.

Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin pragmatizminin sonucunda ülkenin farklı bölgelerinde kentsel alanlarda yükselen hoşnutsuzluk, Taksim Gezi Parkında yapılmak istenen bir proje ile zirve noktasına ulaşmış, Taksimde başlayan olaylar tüm ülkeyi kapsayan bir protesto hareketine dönüşmüştür. 2013 yazı başında gerçekleşen Gezi Parkı olayları daha sonraları pek çok yazar tarafından da Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin pragmatik, yukarıdan aşağıya yaklaşımının bir sonucu olarak yorumlanmıştır (Gül, Dee ve Nur Cünük 2014; Gürcan ve Peker 2014). Burada çok ilginç olan ayrıntılardan birisi, Kentleşme Şura'sında ve KENTGES sürecinde katkıda bulunan bazı meslek odası ve sivil toplum örgütü mensuplarının aynı zamanda "Taksim Platformu" olarak adlandırılan ve protesto hareketinde önemli bir rolü bulunan yapıyı oluşturmasıdır. Kentsel projelerin politika yapım ve uygulama süreçlerine katılım kanallarının yokluğunda karar verme sürecine katılma arzusu hızlı bir şekilde direnişe dönüşmüştür (Ökten, Kurtarıcı ve Çekiç 2013). Olağan dışı önlemlerin alınmasıyla Gezi Parkı olaylarının kontrol altına alınabilmesi üç ayı aşkın bir zaman almıştır. Aynı yılın sonlarında yaygın bilinen adıyla 17-25 Aralık olayları ile de yolsuzluk iddialarıyla açılan bazı soruşturmalar Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığını ve İstanbul'da Fatih Belediyesi gibi önemli belediyeleri kapsayan operasyonlarla Türkiye'yi ikinci defa sarsmıştır. Bu olayla Türkiye'nin yönetiminde ve kentsel programın yürütülmesinde etkili olan muhafazakâr sermaye çevreleri arasındaki ittifak bozulmuş ve daha sonra 15 Temmuz 2016 darbesine kadar giden süreç başlamıştır.

17-25 Aralık operasyonlarının sonrasında geçen süre zarfında Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi inşaat sektöründe sürdürülebilir büyümeyi sağlama ve aynı zamanda kentsel alandaki başarısızlıkları ve hataları meşrulaştıracak yeni bir söylem geliştirme arasında hassas bir denge kurmaya çalışmıştır. Bu söylem ilk olarak Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'dan sonra başbakan olan Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun hükümet programında göze çarpmaktadır. Bu programda kısmi bir özeleştirilerek kentlerin sorunlarının çözümü için yegâne seçeneğin eski Osmanlı kent ve toplum yapısına dönüş olduğu ve geleneksel yaklaşımların önemi vurgulanmaktadır. Eski Türk mahallelerinin kadim güzellikleri ve kültürel gelenekler yeni milliyetçi ve yerli bir kentleşme politikasının temeli olarak kabul edilmeye başlanmıştır. Ancak, bu tür bir söylem, mevcut piyasa mekanizmasında işlerlik kazanmış bulunan sektörel süreçlerle tutarsızdır ve meşrulaştırılması için bir politika sürecine ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır (Şahin, 2016). Sonuçta, 2016 yılında göreve gelen Başbakan Binali Yıldırım iktidarında "Şehircilik Şurası" adlı yeni bir politika yapma süreci başlatılmıştır.

Şehircilik Şurası sürecinin başında, önemli bir kısmı Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığında çalışmış ve Kentleşme Şurası deneyimine sahip olan ve KENTGES ile birlikte yaşanan hayal kırıklığının farkında olan Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı teknokratları, Şehircilik Şurası sürecinde kentleşme sürecinde yapılan hataların telafi edileceği bir yaklaşımın benimsenmesi konusunda Bakanlığın üst düzey karar vericileri ikna etmeye çalışmışlardır. Ancak, bu yaklaşım benimsenmemiş, Şehircilik Şurası daha çok uygulamada geçerli olan kentsel projelerin ve müdahale biçimlerinin meşrulaştırılması için geliştirilen pragmatik ve muhafazakar söylemin etkisi altında başlamış ve sonuçlanmıştır. Gerçekten de Şuranın isim seçiminde dahi bu durum hissedilmektedir. Türkiye’de “kent” sözcüğü daha çok sol siyasi kesim ve akademik çevrelerde tercih edilirken, özellikle 1980 sonrası dönemde “şehir” sözcüğü buna karşıt olarak daha çok kültürel sürekliliğe atıfta bulunan muhafazakâr bir kavram olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu sebeple 2010’lu yıllarda Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisinin gerçekleştirdiği pek çok kentsel politikada “şehir” kavramının kullanıldığı görülmektedir. “Kadim medeniyet”, “şehir”, “mahalle” gibi bir dizi kavramın birbiri ile ilişkili olarak kullanıldığı ve yakın dönem kentsel politikanın yeniden şekillendirilmesinde araçsallaştırıldığı bilinmektedir. Ancak bu kavramların kullanıldığı söylem özellikle kültürel sürekliliği sonlandıran neoliberal bir kentleşme politikasının etkilerini açıklamakta ve nasıl geri döndürüleceğini ortaya koymakta yetersiz kalmaktadır. Tarihi yapıların restorasyonlarında, kent merkezlerinde ve çeperlerinde yapı yoğunluğunun inanılmaz artışında, alışveriş merkezlerinin hesapsızca çoğalmasında ve pek çok başka örnekte bu çelişkiler görülmektedir.

Bazı Bakanlık bürokratlarının Şehircilik Şurasının yeni bir politika yapma ve öğrenme süreci olarak anlaşılmasını arzu etmesine rağmen, Bakanlık üst yönetimi Şura katılımcılarını seçme ve dışarıdan katkı alma konusunda ciddi şekilde temkinli davranmıştır. Bunda Türkiye’nin Avrupa Birliği ve dış dünya ile olan uluslararası ilişkilerindeki değişim ve yaşanan darbe girişiminin etkili olduğu söylenebilir. Bakanlık üst düzey yetkililerinin “akıllı kentler” gibi bazı teknik konularda dış dünyanın birikimini öğrenmeye açık oldukları yaptıkları bazı açıklamalardan anlaşılabilir, bütünsel ve entegre bir politika sürecinin öğrenilmesi ve tartışılması açısından görüşlerinin belirsizliği dikkat çekmektedir. Bu sebeple daha önce Kentleşme Şurası ve KENTGES deneyimlerini yaşamış olan katılımcılar için Şehircilik Şurasında kullanılacak yöntem ve bu yönteme olan güven önemli bir mesele haline gelmiştir. Hatta daha önceki Şuraya katılmış olan bazı meslek odaları, açılış töreni bazı toplum kesimleri tarafından Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisinin kentsel mekâna otoriter müdahalesinin bir göstergesi olarak algılanan Cumhurbaşkanlığı Külliyesinde yapıldığı için Şehircilik Şurasını protesto ederek katılmama çağrısında bulunmuşlardır.

Şehircilik Şurasının başında Bakanlık bürokratları yine Kentleşme Şurasının başında yapıldığı gibi kentleşme konusundaki uzmanlardan ve akademisyenlerden oluşan geniş bir isim havuzu oluşturmuşlar, ancak bu isimlerin bir kısmı çeşitli sebeplerle Bakanlık tarafından uygun bulunmamıştır. Bu seçim süreci sonrasında 130 paydaş dört komisyonda çalışmak üzere davet edilmişlerdir. Bu katılımcılar arasında daha önce Kentleşme Şurası ve KENTGES süreçlerine katılmamış olan yeni katılımcılar da bulunmaktadır. Şehircilik Şurasının kapsamı ve ölçeği bu kez daha dar ve sorun temelli olarak tanımlanmıştır ve Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisinin son dönem sorunsallarından olan kentsel kimlik, kentsel dönüşüm projeleri göç ve yerel yönetimler odak olarak seçilmiştir. Komisyonlar farklı şehirlerde beş kez toplanmış, daha yapılandırılmış bir yöntem izlenerek Bakanlık görevlileri sıklıkla Komisyonlara aşırı geniş tartışmalara girmeksizin daha somut öneriler geliştirme tavsiyesinde bulunmuşlardır. Katılımcılar çoğu zaman yeni Şura sürecinde, Kentleşme Şurasının başarısızlığı sonrasında yeni bir şuranın toplanmasına neden ihtiyaç duyulduğu ve başarısızlığın engellenmesi için ne yapılacağı soruları konusunda yeterli açıklama bulamadıkları için çalışmalarını belli bir çerçeveye oturtmakta zorlanmışlardır. Yine de dört komisyon da raporlarını hazırlayarak beklenen tarihte Bakanlığa teslim etmişlerdir. Ancak, Bakanlık yetkilileri daha sonra Komisyon raporlarına ilişkin olarak çok uzun ve eklektik olmak, somut öneriler geliştirilememesi, gereksiz yere fazla kuram ve ilke tartışmasına girilmesi gibi sebeplerle hoşnutsuzluklarını dile getirmişlerdir. Öte yandan bazı komisyonların önerileri öylesine detaylı ve nokta atışı çözümler getirmektedir ki, komisyonlarda Bakanlığın etkisi altında önerilerin dile getirildiği endişesi ortaya çıkmıştır.

Şehircilik Şurası 2017 yılı sonunda tamamlanmış, Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanı Mehmet Özhaseki Şuraya verdiği önemi “Şura Kararlarını hemen yasalaştırmak” şeklindeki ifadesi ile ortaya koymuşsa da, Bakanlığın Şura devam ederken yaptığı bazı mevzuat düzenlemelerini yapmak için bile Şura sonucunu beklememesi Şura katılımcıları, sivil toplum örgütleri, meslek odaları, akademik çevreler ve muhalefet tarafından eleştirilmiştir. Açıkçası, buyurucu ve yapılandırılmış yaklaşımıyla Şehircilik Şurası Kentleşme Şurası ve KENTGES’ten daha farklı bir politika yapma süreci olarak ortaya çıkmış, anlamlı ve etkili politika seçenekleri oluşturamadan sona ermiştir. Neoliberal yeniden ölçeklenme etkisi altındaki Türkiye’nin kentleşme politikası yapım süreçlerinin temelde ulusal düzeyde etkili ve tutarlı bir politika çerçevesi oluşturamadığı, bunun yerine muhafazakâr söylemlerle meşrulaştırılmaya çalışılan pragmatik yaklaşımların egemen olduğu, bunun da güncel kentsel sorunları çözmede yetersiz kaldığı söylenebilir.

Nitekim, Şehircilik Şurası yanı sıra Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığının ve Cumhurbaşkanlığının başlattığı, daha çok halkla ilişkiler yönü ağır basan, bir politika süreci tanımlamaktan çok kültürel bir tercih belirtme odaklı yürütülen

bazı projeler bu durumu daha da güçlü bir şekilde vurgulamaktadır. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı “Şehir 2023” projesiyle bazı tip projeler ve yaklaşımlar oluşturma yoluna gitmeye çalışmaktadır. Bunun için pilot proje uygulamaları yapılmaktadır. Bu makalenin tamamlanmaya çalışıldığı günlerde kamuoyuna Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi Çevre Şehir ve Kültür Başkanlığı tarafından tanıtılan “Şehrim 2023” projesiyle de Türkiye’nin çeşitli illeri dolaşarak şehirlerin mevcut nitelikleri ve vizyonu konusunda çalışmalar yapılacağı duyurulmuştur. Her iki yaklaşımda da, bir politika seçeneği oluşturmak için geçmişte yürütülen süreçlerin birikimine dayanmayan, politika oluşturma sürecini açık bir şekilde ortaya koymadan sembolik bir sonuç elde etme çabasının izleri görülmektedir. Bu durum da mevcut koşullar altında Türkiye’de kentleşme politikasını tartışmanın olanağının kalıp kalmadığının sorgulanmasına sebep olmaktadır.

4. SONUÇ

Türkiye’nin kentleşme politikası sürecinin son yirmi yıllık macerası gözden geçirildiğinde önceleri dış dünyanın politika tercihlerini öğrenme ve siyasi meşruiyet arayışı ile başlayan katılımcı yaklaşımların zamanla yerini giderek daralan bir politika çerçevesine bıraktığı söylenebilir. Bu dönüşümün içerisinde devletin yeniden yapılandırılması ve yeniden ölçeklenmesi ile belirginleşen, neoliberal hegemonyayı oluşturan siyasal ve iktisadi elitlerin dönüşümü ve belli ittifaklara dahil edilmeleri ile sürdürülen mekânsal müdahalelerin görünür hale geldiği bir alan olarak kentler daha önceden hiç olmadığı kadar önem kazanmıştır. Bu bakımdan, kentsel alanda uygulama ve politika arasındaki makas giderek açılmış, katılımcı yaklaşımlarla belirlenen ancak hiçbir zaman tam olarak uygulanmayan kentleşme politikasından bağımsız olarak mekâna pragmatik ve otoriter müdahalelerin uyumsuzluğu toplumsal karışıklık ve direniş süreçlerine yol açmıştır. Bu karışıklık ve direniş süreçlerinin sonrası dönemde de, hem yönetsel hem de siyasi olarak merkezileşmenin uç noktalara vardığı, bunun kentleşme politikası açısından bir çıkmaza işaret ettiği söylenebilir.

Yaklaşık on yıllık süre zarfında gerçekleşen üç ayrı kentleşme politikası yapım sürecinde bu dönüşüm açık bir şekilde izlenebilmektedir. Geline aşamada, neoliberal kentleşme politikalarının açık çelişkileri sürdürülürken, bu çelişkilerin sonuçlarının yarattığı hoşnutsuzluklar nostaljik ve muhafazakâr bir söylemle meşrulaştırılmaya çalışılmakta, “yerli ve milli” bir kentleşme politika tercihi formüle edilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Ancak, mevcut kentlere yapılan müdahalelerin giderek merkezileşen, ölçeği ve kapsamı büyüyen projelerle yapılmaya devam ettiği, sermaye birikim modeli olarak gelecekte elde edilecek gelirlerin yaratacağı finansal dışsallıkların da kullanıldığı günümüzde, bu tür bir politika tercihinin oluşturmak imkânsız denecek kadar zor görünmektedir. Bir yandan küresel iklim değişikliği, Ortadoğu’daki istikrarsızlık gibi akut koşulların

etkisi altında kentlerin sorunları karmaşıklaşarak büyürken, bir yandan da neoliberal mekânsal müdahalelerin sınırlarına erişilmiş gibi görünmektedir. Yapılan tüm inşaat yatırımlarına rağmen kentsel yaşam kalitesinin beklenen düzeyde artmadığı, tersine, kentlilerin, özellikle de gençlerin ve kadınların yaşadıkları kentten hoşnutsuzluklarının arttığı bir döneme girilmektedir. Bu sebeple, Türkiye'nin uygulama ile politika arasındaki uçurumu kapatacak samimi ve gerçekçi kentleşme politikası yapma süreçlerini bir an önce tartışmaya başlaması yaşamsal görünmektedir.

Ancak, bunun gerçekleştirilebilmesi için kentleşme alanında politika yapma süreçlerinin biçiminin ve kentleşme politikası ile diğer politika alanları arasındaki ilişkinin sağlıklı bir süreçte ele alınabileceği bir politika yapma ortamının oluşabilmesi gerekmektedir. Kentleşme söz konusu olduğunda, bu alanda politika yapma sürecinin üç kez başarısızlıkla sonuçlanması ve her seferinde pragmatik tercihlerin bir politika olarak meşrulaştırılmaya çalışılması bu tür bir ortamın oluşturulmasının öncelikle uygulama süreçlerinin derinlemesine analizinden alınacak dersler ile mümkün kılınabileceğini göstermektedir. Öte yandan, kentleşme politikasının farklı bileşenlerini oluşturan yönetsel reform, mekânsal planlama politikası ve kentsel yatırımların işlevsel durumu arasındaki ilişkinin bütünsel bir politika çerçevesi içinde ele alınması gerekmektedir. Geçmişte çoğunlukla yeniden ölçeklemenin kendi kendini meşrulaştıran ideolojik altyapısı ile her tür kentsel ve mekânsal sorunun aşılabileceğinden bu tür bir bütünsellik tartışılamamıştır. Oysa ki, yeniden ölçeklenme aşamalarının her birinde ortaya çıkan sonuçlar –her ne kadar yönetsel, siyasi ya da kültürel söylemlerle meşrulaştırılmaya çalışılsalar da- mekânsal planlama ve kentsel yaşam açısından çok ciddi sorunlar yaratmıştır. Sağlık, eğitim, enerji, ulaştırma ve daha pek çok politika alanında belirlenen politikaların ve yapılan yatırımların kentleşme sürecine etkileri düşünüldüğünde bu tür tek boyutlu bir düşünme süreci, kentleşme politikasının çok boyutlu ve çok düzeyli doğasını göz ardı etmektedir. Bu sebeple bu makaleyi bitirirken, Türkiye'nin kentleşme politikası ya da yaklaşımı belirlemekten çok daha öncelikli olarak, kentleşme politikasının doğasını ve diğer politika alanlarıyla ilişkisini tartışmaya başlamasının öneminin vurgulanması önemli görünmektedir.

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THE REAL FUNCTION OF THE “DISASTER LAW” IN THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

After the “Disaster Law” came into force, urbanization of Istanbul entered in a new turn. This article discusses the real function of this law in Istanbul's urbanization process, based on data obtained from field studies conducted in two towns of İstanbul (Sarıgöl and Tozkoparan). By answering to the questions of how the concept of environmental risk manifests itself in the urban development and what the “Disaster Law” changed in the urban process, this text aims to show that the disaster risks become a powerful tool for the for the implementation of urban policies desired by the authorities. In this regard, the first part of the text speaks about the emergence of the "Disaster Law". And the second part, by analyzing the law and its application in two different areas, gives the characteristics of this law and its impacts on these places.

Keywords: World City, Urban Renewal, Disaster Risk, Prevention Policy, Disaster Law.

ÖZ

“Afet Yasasının” yürürlüğe girmesinin ardından İstanbul'un kentleşmesi yeni bir döneme girdi. Bu makale İstanbul'un iki ilçesinde (Sarıgöl ve Tozkoparan) yapılan saha çalışmalarından elde edilen verilere dayanarak İstanbul'un kentleşme sürecinde bu yasanın gerçek işlevini tartışıyor. Çevresel risk kavramının

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kentsel gelişmede nasıl kendini gösterdiğine ve "afet yasasının" kentsel süreci nasıl değiştirdiğine dair soruları yanıtlayarak, bu metin afet risklerinin arzulanan kentsel politikaların uygulanması için güçlü bir araç haline geldiğini göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, metnin ilk kısmı, "afet yasasının" ortaya çıkışı ile ilgilidir. İkinci kısım ise, yasayı ve iki farklı alanda nasıl uygulandığını analiz ederek, bu yasanın özelliklerini ve bu yerlere olan etkilerini içerir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dünya Kenti, Kentsel Dönüşüm, Afet Riski, Önleme Politikası, Afet Yasası.

INTRODUCTION

Under the pressure of the economic globalization, we are witnessing the transformation of the ways of producing and exchanging: the rise of new information technologies, the strong growth of the specialized services market, etc. Today, the urbanization manifests itself as an opportunity for a country to grow in this international context. According to Pierre Veltz (1996), these changes describe the relationship between the economy and the territories differently, causing the emergence of metropolises. These cities concentrate more and more wealth and power, international investment flows converge mainly to these major urban centers in the rich countries, pushing them to compete with each other. In developing countries, this process has resulted an accelerated urbanization, creating a macrocephalous urban system in these countries (Scott and Storper, 2006: 171). Turkey, like many other countries, has chosen to enter in this international competition, and the current redevelopment of Istanbul reveals a very authoritarian form of this choice. Innumerable efforts have done to create the material conditions to transform Istanbul into an attractive and competitive metropolis on the international stage. The urban changes that have occurred since the 1980s, are corresponding to an expansionist neo-liberal approach of the city, or to a new polycentric spatial structure (Lacour and Puissant, 1999), with touristic areas, residential neighborhoods, business districts, industrial districts located in every corner of Istanbul.

This process, accompanied by major urban and socio-economic transformations, is not without harmful consequences. Thus, many researchers explain that this process favored an "uneven urban development" by causing forced evictions, expropriations, gentrification and displacement (Pérouse, 2017; Morvan and Logie, 2014; Türkün et al., 2014; Keyder. 2013; Bazin, 2008; Candan and Kulluoglu, 2008; etc.). Jamie Peck, Nik Theodore et Neil Brenner interpreted this uneven development as the consequence of a market-driven socio-spatial

transformation (2009: 52-53). But with the awareness of the socio-spatial fragmentation, the urban interventions undertaken by the authorities became sources of new tensions in Istanbul. Then a second wave of urban renewal, whose motivation was this time announced as the desire to prevent losses related to the disasters risks, emerged. The introduction of the law n° 6306 (adopted on May 16, 2012 by the Council of Ministers), often called “*Afet Yasası*” (“*Disaster Law*” in english), which concerns the urban renewal of areas at environmental disaster risk, is the most significant measure of this new urban phase. However, the way in which the promotion of this law has been done and the way in which it has been applied have doubts about his real reasons of emergence.

This article discusses the real function of this law in Istanbul's urbanization process, based on data obtained from field studies conducted in two towns of Istanbul (Sarıgöl and Tozkoparan). By answering to the questions of how the concept of environmental risk manifests itself in the urban development and what the “*Disaster Law*” changed in the urban process, this text aims to show that the disaster risks become a powerful tool for the for the implementation of urban policies desired by the authorities. In this regard, the first part of the text speaks about the emergence of the “*Disaster Law*”. And the second part, by analyzing the law and its application in two different areas, gives the characteristics of this law and its impacts on these places.

We selected two areas that had been similarly affected by the “*Disaster Law*”, the districts of Sarıgöl and Tozkoparan. Both are centrally located, had been deemed to be at risk and are at similar stages in terms of the progress of the projects and collective resistance. But they are extremely different in terms of the type of buildings, the occupation of space (more homogeneous and spacious constructions in Tozkoparan, more disordered and dilapidated in Sarıgöl), the profile of the residents (mostly owners in Tozkoparan and squatters in Sarıgöl) and people and life stories (segregation, repeated displacements). The timing is also important; with the projects still at the implementation stage, they provide invaluable information about how urban projects are executed, how the authorities negotiate with different stakeholders and the response of locals. Given that the “*Disaster Law*” was only recently introduced, there are currently no completed projects. This qualitative research is based on fieldwork conducted in these two districts of Istanbul judged to be at risk of disaster, between January 2014 and July 2015. In both neighborhoods, we attended numerous community meetings and public demonstrations, interviewed the leaders and lawyers of neighborhood associations and conducted interviews with many residents of each neighborhood. Municipal officials _ including the director of administration of the urban renewal project in İstanbul, the mayors of the two districts and project managers, planners and engineers working on a number of projects _ were also

interviewed, as were members of the Turkish Union of Engineers and Architects' Chambers (TMMOB) and activists highly critical of current urban transformation projects. Additionally, to the interviews and observations made to understand the approaches of these disparate actors, we analyzed municipal data, other documentary material on projects, press articles, etc. Finally, the author followed mailing lists and social networks and observed the process of resistance as performed by neighborhood associations such as Bir Umut (One Hope) and Kent Hareketleri (City Movements).

1. THE EMERGENCY CONTEXT OF THE "*DISASTER LAW*":

Istanbul, the major historical city built on both sides of the Bosphorus, separating Asia from Europe and connecting the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara, characterized as the place of diversity and cultural plurality¹ and the economic center of the region because its control over the Bosphorus, experienced an unprecedented development following the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Its population increased from 689,000 inhabitants in 1927 (the first census of the population of the republican era), to more than 14 million inhabitants in 2016². This demographic growth has been accompanied by a considerable spatial expansion, under the effect of economic modernization through industrialization and globalization.

The Urban Changes in Istanbul:

The urban development of Istanbul can be separated into three separate periods. The period between 1923-1950 _the early years of the Turkish Republic_ was based on an agricultural economy and had a large rural population. Between 1950 and 1980, the pre-existing industrial infrastructures and transport networks, the density and the geographical characteristics of Istanbul (proximity of Thrace, Anatolia and the seas) favored the industrialization of the city (Doğan, 2013). On the urban level, the transformation of economic and industrial policies has provoked a rural exodus to Istanbul. Istanbul experienced rapid and uncontrolled urban development because of the housing shortage problem ("*çarlık kentleşme*"). A new form of land use was created by the emergence of "*gecekondu*"³. Finally came the period after 1980, when cities shaped by neoliberalism began to link

¹Stéphane Yerasimos reports on quantitative data testifying to this cosmopolitanism: "A count conducted by the police and completed in July 1922 gives 710 826 inhabitants, including 373 124 Muslims, 158 219 Greeks, 87 919 Armenians and 40 018 Jews" (Yerasimos, 1997: 191).

² According to official figures from the Turkish Statistical Center (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, TÜİK), Istanbul has 14,804,116 inhabitants in 2016.

³ The "*gecekondu*" corresponds to a spontaneous and illegal habitat, literally a house "set at night". It constitutes a social housing for people who do not have the means to access the legal market (rents, land prices). Jean-François Pérouse defines this type of habitat as an illegal self-construction operation (without authorization and without respect of technical regulations and standards), on land initially not owned by the builders (Pérouse, 2004).

economic growth with the urban growth of the city. Moreover, for Jean-François Pérouse, Istanbul is 95% a city created after 1985 (Pérouse, 2010: 233).

With the advent of economic globalization, creating a competitive and deregulated environment for goods and capital markets, the big cities were encouraged to identify and value their comparative advantages to attract investments and strategic social groups. Urban governments have become entrepreneurs (Harvey, 1989), and cities shaped by the neoliberal economic policies have become the most important places of the capitalist production. To promote Istanbul as one of this cities with global importance, it was necessary to attract and concentrate service activities (related to management, finance, corporate services, medias, etc.) and to develop the image of the city according to international standards. In other words, to reproduce the "global city" originally described by Saskia Sassen⁴. The interventions on the urban fabric, the relocation of industrial activities to the benefit of cultural, touristic and financial activities, the multiplication of prestigious projects, the organization of international events are part of the internationalization process of Istanbul. It's a transition from a strong focus on industrial economy to an economy based on activities with higher-value-added. According to the data from TÜİK (Statistical Center of Turkey), in 2013, Istanbul, concentrating 27% of the Gross Domestic Value Added (GVA), is the city producing the most wealth at the national level with 312 billion dollars. This share comes from 72.5% of the services sector and 24.7% of the industry.

The municipal governments of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (1994-1998), Ali Müfit Gürtuna (1998-2004) and in particular Kadir Topbaş (2004-2017), following the recommendations of the master plans proposed by the Metropolitan Planning Center of Istanbul in 1995 and 2006, and the "2023 Target" announced in 2011 (Morvan and Logie, 2014; Pérouse, 2017), followed by the Istanbul Regional Planning for the period between 2014 and 2023, have developed a new spatial configuration of Istanbul's metropolis. Urban development projects, at the neighborhood and city levels the most ambitious of which can be qualified as major urban projects, from the private sector, municipalities, national ministries and even public-private partnerships, have emerged all around the urban agglomeration of Istanbul. This rapid and brutal phase of urban renewal in many districts of Istanbul, generally refers to massive operations of housing destruction and reconstruction. The urban renewal process ("*kentsel dönüşüm*" in Turkish), generating speculative pressures, is shown as a solution to the problem of gecekondu and as a necessary action for the well-being of citizens and as a tool to improve the quality of life in these areas. The "*Disaster Law*", which is the latest

⁴ Major international cities are adopting a new form of economic organization based on a strong growth in the specialized services market, the rise of new information technologies and the globalization of economic activities (Sassen, 2009).

legislation in the context of urban renewal policies, is also shown as a solution to the disaster risk reduction by creating better physical environment and better housing (IPKB, 2014a, 2014b).

After taking office in 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) administration embarked on an ambitious renewal program with the goal of redeveloping substandard housing in Istanbul (Karaman, 2014). The concept of "urban renewal" was used for the first time in the "Municipal Law" n° 5393 (*"Belediye yasası"*), from 2005, and authorizing municipalities with more than 50,000 inhabitants to develop urban renewal projects. The second important step in this regard is the entry into force of the law n° 5366 about the renovation and conservation of worn historical and cultural immovable properties. This law permitted to initiate urban renewal projects even in the protected areas of cities. With the aim to correct the shortcomings from previous laws and overcome barriers to urban renewal projects, the authorities adopted the law n° 5793, which amends certain laws and decrees. By this law, the powers of TOKİ (Administration of Collective Housing) were expanded, the coastal areas and the spaces allocated to schools and other areas of public use were subjected to the process of urban renewal. In 2010, under the new "Municipal Law" n° 5998, following the decisions of the City Council, municipalities can implement transformation and urban development urban renewal projects to create residential areas, industrial zones, commercial zones, technology parks, the restoration and reconstruction of aging areas or historical and cultural parts of the city, etc. The "law about the renovation of urban areas considered at natural disaster risk" (n° 6306), also called the *"Disaster Law"*, published in the Official Journal on 31/05/2012, is the last step crossed by the process of urban renewal. This law came at a time when urban renewal policies seemed to be entering in a regulatory deadlock.

Today, according to the IPKB (Istanbul Project Coordination Unit), the urban involvement needs to be democratic, healthy, sustainable, participant, equitable and also financed. It should allow the preservation of historical and natural environments, the safety against natural and other disasters, to provide sufficient open space and also to keep the environmental pollution at a minimum level. This type of approach must support disadvantaged groups, provide adequate education and health services, create an environment conducive to the expression of the identity of the inhabitants and strengthen social relations (IPKB, 2014b: 45). In this sense, the *"Disaster Law"* may be interpreted as a tool of space change, developed by the government. It aims to change the occupation of an already constituted space. Although the official goals of this law are to raise living standards and increase Istanbul's earthquake resilience, they have generated controversy as a result of the rigid top-down approach adopted by the authorities. The discourses on emergency related to natural disasters play an important role in

the government's attempt to legitimize its urban policies called "prevention", to accelerate projects and to minimize the opposition (Saraçoğlu and Demirtaş-Milz, 2014).

The “Disaster Law”: A Need or a Tool?

From the perspective of vulnerability to environmental disasters, Turkey presents a worrying situation. In fact, Turkey is located in an active seismic zone and almost the entire country is at risk of destructive earthquakes. More than 90% of the population is occupying the cities and they are exposed to major environmental disasters. The rapid population growth, the accelerated and unplanned urbanization, the intensive damage caused by the rapid industrialization, the climate, the geology, the topography and the soils characteristics of this country, all have contributed to the increase of disasters in Turkey (Gökçe et al., 2008). In particular, earthquakes continue to threaten almost the whole country (JICA, 2004: 30). Assuming that buildings built before 2001 are not compatible with construction rules to ensure that buildings are earthquake resistant, the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning identified 14 million buildings at disaster risk in Turkey, and that 6.5 million of these need renovations. In particular, 1,106.25 hectares of İstanbul have been declared to be at disaster risk. According to the results of the territorial studies of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality (*İstanbul Büyük şehir Belediyesi*, IBB), in the case of devastating earthquake, the number of deaths will vary between 10,000 and 30,000, the number of seriously injured people will reach 60,000. Between 2,500 and 10,000 buildings will be heavily damaged, 13 000 to 34 000 others will be badly damaged, and between 80,000 and 150,000 will be moderately damaged. Emergency housing will have to be provided to 500,000 people. And as for the economic cost, the losses will reach between 80 and 100 billion Turkish Lira (IBB, 2009). Considering these data and the human and material losses from major earthquakes in 1999 (Marmara) and 2011 (Van), it was considered necessary to establish legal measures for the prevention and repair of damage that could be caused by such disasters.

In this direction, the Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD), created in 2009, changed its focus from crisis management to the reduction of major risks (IPKB, 2014/a: 44). All measures to be taken in case of and to prevent disasters were put into the hands of AFAD. This new model included the early detection of hazards and risks in order to restrict damages in the case of a disaster and efforts to minimize losses and maximize coordination, coherence and effectiveness in an emergency (AFAD, 2012; AFAD, 2013). The “*Disaster Law*” which is a necessary and an expected legislation in the field of risk management, refers to a new urban renewal process and also to a new resilient approach. Indeed, with this law, the authorities, who strongly emphasize their

determination to impose changes for the well-being and the general interest, consider that the prevention of a high magnitude earthquake can be interpreted as an important opportunity for the creation of planned, ordered and safe urban spaces. According to the policymakers, the use of the "*Disaster Law*" is in the public interest because the resulting urban projects aim at both reducing structural vulnerability, and making a modern and international city, which improve the prosperity of the whole society (IPKB, 2014/a: 43-47). In this country where disaster consciousness exists, and where disasters have caused significant losses, the development of such preventive policies allows the Turkish government to adopt a heroic posture. Soon after the Van earthquake, then-Prime Minister and current President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan declared in 2011 that to prevent increased casualties resulting from "unlicensed buildings," all cities and particularly Istanbul would be cleansed of inner-city slums: *"Our first wish was to eradicate the gecekondu (slums) surrounding our cities like tumors. Now, we are fulfilling this wish and we must achieve this objective throughout Turkey. [...] We will expropriate these kinds of buildings without asking the [contractors] who aren't changing or demolishing them, and we will tear them down ourselves, regardless of the cost. We won't consider whether people will vote for us or not. It is much more unfortunate to live with this same picture than to lose power"*.

In urban areas, the disaster risks require an increased vigilance because of urban density, which causes greater human, material and economic losses. International institutions have incorporated the criterion of urban resilience into existing competition between international cities (Rufat, 2012). The World Bank has developed the "*Climate Resilient Cities: A Primer on Reducing Vulnerabilities to Disasters*" program in 2009 and encouraged good practices. The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) launched the international "*Making Cities Resilient - My City Is Getting Ready!*" campaign, first developed for the period 2010-2015 and renewed for the period between 2015 and 2020, with the aim to push cities to become more resilient. This is why the resilience is a significant area of investment in the current context and is especially important in the production and promotion of safe and secure major cities. The new urban planning approach would be to develop projects with the objective of developing urban spaces that cannot be impacted by exceptional temporary conditions, such as natural, technological or climatic disturbances. The list of resilient cities includes major cities, especially Tokyo, New York, London and Paris (Rufat, 2012). In order to compete with these major world cities, Istanbul must be able to project an attractive image through the quality of life that it offers (Istanbul Kalkınma Ajansı, 2014: 195). So, the purpose of these involvements in the management of risky areas is not only to avoid loss of life and property during a disaster. According to the toughest critics made about risk management in Turkey, the government wants to prove its worth on the international scene by meeting international

standards at all levels, even in the field of preventive environmental policies (Ergünay, 2008; TMMOB, 2012; Genç, 2014). During the legislative campaign of 2011, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan announced the "2023 Target" ("*Hedef 2023*" in Turkish), which refers to the economic and social policies adopted by the government to integrate the country into the world's top ten economies up to the 100th Anniversary of the Turkish Republic (Morvan et Logie, 2014). The plans, programs and strategies developed by AFAD are also integrated into this logic. Indeed, the deadlines for AFAD's most ambitious strategies and plans reach 2023, such as the "*National climate change adaptation strategy and action plan (2011-2023)*", the "*National earthquake strategy and action plan (2012-2023)*", the "*Technological disasters roadmap (2014-2023)*". The objectives of international greatness, power and recognition of Turkey are also sought through the disaster risk management. We can say that the resilience is envisaged in continuity with the neoliberal evolution of the country. The resilience can be used as a tool to achieve various objectives, to justify or legitimize the practices of public actors, particularly in neoliberal urban policies, as Pierre Lascoumes and Patrick Le Galès (2007) have noticed.

Today, the law has multiple effects at many levels (political, economic, social, etc.) and can cause changes in the functions and social content of given spaces. Even if the authorities are defending this holistic approach⁵, the renewal of problematic areas means simply a renewal of the physical space. The economic, social and cultural dimensions of neighborhoods are rarely taken into account, and only one technique of urban renewal is applied, "destruction/reconstruction," which involves the demolition and redevelopment of a given space. NGOs comprised of scientists, professional chambers and district associations have claimed that the "*Disaster Law*" is an accelerated and brutal process of "urban renewal," conducted on a large scale for over 10 years in Turkey and newly legitimized by the supposed risk of disaster centralizing, a way of legalizing and legitimizing the neoliberal development of cities devoid of any scientific basis and clearly incompatible with the Constitution⁶. There is an immense body of academic literature in Turkey concerning spaces undergoing neoliberal restructuring, showing in particular the new forms of urban wealth and poverty in

⁵ Indeed, the urban renewal process must have a holistic planning approach, as defended by Francis Godard. For him, the urban renewal refers to a global vision and a set of actions providing permanent solutions to urban problems and changes in economic, physical, social and environmental conditions in a given space (Godard, 1973: 10-11).

⁶ According to Chamber of Urban Planners (SPO): "Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun'a Yönelik Ortak Deklarasyon", <http://www.spoist.org/basin-aciklamalari/afet-riski-altindaki-alanlarin-donusturulmesi-hakkindakanun-a-yonelik-ortakdeklarasyon>; And "Afet riski altındaki alanların dönüştürülmesi hakkında kanun tasarısı değerlendirme raporu": <http://www.spo.org.tr>.

Istanbul and exposing the neo-liberalization process and its effects on urban life⁷. The study conducted in the Tozkoparan and Sarıgöl neighborhoods allows us to join the critics bring to the process of urban renewal. In the following passage, we strive to explain the problems posed by the “*Disaster Law*” in these two neighborhoods.

2. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE "DISASTER LAW": THE DISTRICTS OF SARIĞÖL AND TOZKOPARAN.

The Progress of Urban Projects in Tozkoparan and Sarıgöl

Tozkoparan was originally conceived of as a slum prevention area. Following the demolitions carried out in various parts of the city of İstanbul at the time of then Prime Minister Adnan Menderes (the government of the Democratic Party, DP, 1950-1960), buildings consisting of five to six floors and 20 apartments were built to meet the need for housing for people whose homes had been destroyed. Known for its wide, open spaces and low population density, Tozkoparan has been subject to urban transformation projects since 2006. Under Law No. 775 (slum law) and because of the seismic risk and the age of the buildings, about 60 hectares of Tozkoparan have been declared "urban renewal area", in 2008. This project was also to be used for the construction of additional housing for the inhabitants of Güngören, in order to reduce the high population density of the other districts of the district. Faced with this project carried out in a context of uncertainty (the dialogue with the population of the district being absent), a group of inhabitants created the neighborhood association, "*Tozder*", in order to protect the neighborhood and its inhabitant's undesirable consequences of this type of urban planning policy, which can even go as far as expropriation. Using the help of professional actors outside the neighborhood⁸, members of this association, who developed a negative reading of this renovation process, filed a lawsuit seeking the cancellation of this project and achieved their goal. Then, in 2013, a large part of Tozkoparan was designated a “risk area” by the Council of Ministers, at the request of the municipality of Güngören _the district including Tozkoparan_ and was again the subject of an urban transformation project, resulting this time from the Disaster Law. After another lawsuit protesting the decision to declare the area at risk, the Supreme Court of Appeals annulled the decision by the Cabinet on June 4, 2014, declaring it “unscientific”; however, the project is still under way. The national authorities in charge of applying the

⁷ A selection of work from the field might include: Danis and Pérouse, 2005; Kurtuluş, 2005; Öktem, 2006; Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008; Candelier-Cabon and Montabone, 2009; Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010; Göksu and Bal, 2010; Türkün, 2014; Şahin, 2015; etc.

⁸ It must be said that the Istanbul Chamber of Architects and Engineers (TMMOB: Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği), lawyers and NGO activists are positioning themselves as defenders of the "right to the city" theorized by the sociologist Henri Lefèbvre (2009) and taken up by the post-Marxist theorist David Harvey (2011).

"disaster law" have lodged the decision of the court. But these steps ended once again in favor of the association Tozder (13/05/2015). It is important to note that residents' vigilance, which has become part of their daily lives, is not diminishing despite these consecutive victories.

Like the rest of the district of Gaziosmanpaşa⁹, Sarıgöl was first developed in 1952, with the construction of housing units for the accommodation of immigrants from the Balkan countries. The growth of the industrial sector in the nearby district of Eyüp in the 1960s caused a rapid growth in the population of Sarıgöl. Such rapid growth, fueled especially by an influx of migrants from rural areas, has led to unplanned urbanization and the emergence of many slums in the area, along with major infrastructural problems. Sarıgöl has considerable physical, economic, social and cultural heterogeneity, but there is a clear separation of the district into two parts: An area which is home to a Roma and Kurdish community, which is made up of largely informal structures, and another area consisting of more official residences. Şen Mahalle _the Roma neighborhood_ is a slum that represents about 30 percent of the area of Sarıgöl and houses a low-income population. Following our interviews with inhabitants of Sarıgöl, before being subjected to the "*Disaster Law*", a very geographical division was presenting the consciousness of inhabitants, who were using the terms "*aşağı mahalle*" (the district of the bottom) to designate the "*Şen mahalle*" and "*yukarı mahalle*" (the district of the top) for the other part. At this "bottom" and "top" was added the term "*Onlar*" ("them") referring to a differentiation of the built space and a social distancing, or even the segregation of the inhabitants of this Roma and Kurds neighborhood (the poor, often ethnic minorities living in the damaged part of the neighborhood), associating them to illegal practices such as theft and drug. However, this spatial and social division tends to fade with the "*Disaster Law*". Both parts are concerned by the same urban process and all the inhabitants are put face to a similar scenario. Some interviewed inhabitants draw attention to the growing feeling of insecurity and the physical deterioration (caused by the lack of public services) in the upper part of the neighborhood in recent years¹⁰. This depreciation related to the upper part of the neighborhood allows a reconciliation between the two parts. The inhabitants, with the conscientiousness made by the professionals actively involved in the resistance to imposed urban renewal projects, insist on the need for solidarity and unity among the inhabitants of the same neighborhood.

⁹ Today, Gaziosmanpaşa has become the largest and most populous district of Istanbul.

¹⁰ This same discourse on the deterioration of places and the growth of insecurity, was held by some respondents from the district of Tozkoparan. Çiğdem Şahin writes that there are basically two important strategies applied to legitimize the urban practices of the authorities. One of them is called the 'devaluation', 'discredification' of the fields to be intervened; the other is the praise and glorification of the projects (Şahin, 2015: 71).

In 2010, as part of the process to transform slums (Law n° 775), the Sarıgöl-Yenidoğan project¹¹ began with the signing of a protocol between the municipality of Gaziosmanpaşa and the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ). Local authorities evacuated and destroyed 350 buildings in Şen Mahalle in Sarıgöl in 2013. In December 2013, following a Cabinet decision, a large part of Sarıgöl and 10 other areas in Gaziosmanpaşa that were previously designated slum prevention areas were deemed to be at risk, and therefore subject to the law stipulating urban transformation for areas at risk of disaster. Although the first project is currently being finalized, the decision to declare the area to be at risk was cancelled by the Supreme Court of Appeals. The inhabitants of Sarıgöl, worry by the consequences of the authorities' interventions in the framework of the first project, begin collective action following the designation of "risk zone". Today, opposition to urban policies is achieved through the "*Gaziosmanpaşa Barışma Hakkı Meclisi* (GBHM)" collective (the Gaziosmanpaşa Housing Rights Council), which is in close collaboration with "*Kent hareketleri*" (KH), and the neighborhood association in Sarıgöl created following the recommendations of "*Bir Umut*" (BU)¹². These structures have made it possible to develop collective actions, such as legal proceedings, which have yielded their results by the annulment of the "risk zone" decision by the Court of Cassation on December 15, 2015.

Tozkoparan et Sarıgöl are two districts with significant differences in terms of type of building, occupation of space (more homogeneous and spacious in Tozkoparan, more disordered and dilapidated in Sarıgöl), profile of residents (mainly owners in Tozkoparan and a very complex property structure in Sarıgöl) and trajectories of people and life stories (the segregation of ethnic groups, repeated movements, etc.). Despite these differences, both are subject to a long-standing urban renewal process. The timing chosen for the very rapid introduction and implementation of the "*Disaster Law*" in both neighborhoods is indicative of a risk exploitation. The projects still in the implementation stage provide valuable information on how they are executed, how the authorities negotiate with the different stakeholders and the response of the local population. It would be a recourse to the "irrefutable" ground of the disaster risk because it cannot finalize the projects previously initiated because of the strong resident reactions.

¹¹Sarıgöl and Yenidoğan, two adjoining neighborhoods where urban renewals go hand in hand.

¹²"Kent Hareketleri" is an informal NGO that brings together many neighborhood mobilizations in the fight against urban renewal projects. The goal of this collective of neighborhood organizations is the creation of a common struggle for urban transformation towards human interests. "Bir Umut" is an organization known for a pragmatic approach providing empirical solutions, such as the cooperative housing system when it's possible (Durmaz, 2015).

The Identified Problems in These Two Neighborhoods

As mentioned earlier, the “*Disaster Law*” is used more as a powerful tool in the hands of the authorities and serves to overcome the obstacles encountered in the reorganization of the urban space programmed by the government. The implementation of the “*Disaster Law*” is not only concerning places with high risk of disasters. We can say that the choice related to the implementation of projects in urban spaces follows several logics. The urban renewal projects do not take place in Istanbul's most vulnerable areas. They become more prevalent in socially characterized spaces. 40 districts in Istanbul have been declared at risk and most of these areas are in central and strategic locations. In addition, risky areas in the first earthquake zones are minor. The superposition of the map of the zones declared at risk and the map of the seismic zones confirms the fact¹³. It is mainly the most disadvantaged and vulnerable residential areas that are affected by this process. There are several factors in the selection of areas deemed to be at risk: first, areas with high potential for economic exploitation; then, the areas in the center, with high rents; and thirdly, neighborhoods with buildings and populations that do not meet a desired standard and thus can be transformed by this new legislation (Türkün, 2014). In the case of Sarıgöl and Tozkoparan, the infrastructure around these places, such as shopping malls, highways, universities and amusement parks, would be factors that attract higher-income residents and can reinforce idea of “gentrification” (Smith, 2002) in Istanbul facilitated by this law. This law has been described as a law of transfer of capital and property (Demirkol and Bereket-Baş, 2013). The representative of an association fighting the Tozkoparan urban renewal project stressed the contestability of this project: “*Buildings containing 1,200 homes, 13 stories high and built 30 years ago, located in the creek bed, have been kept out of the areas at risk. But buildings five stories high built by the government and with wide green spaces have been placed in the disaster zone. This is nothing more than using the danger of earthquakes for other purposes*” (Interview with an inhabitant of Tozkoparan, member of the Tozder association, 03/19/2014). This shows that there is a little trust in the law. The inhabitants of this districts opened lawsuits against the decisions with the Constitutional Court. Following the case, the Council of State announced that the decisions to declare an area at risk are made using unscientific reports based on simplistic observations and annulled the entire process¹⁴. These legal investigations demonstrate that critical decisions

¹³ Distribution map of risky areas advertised in Istanbul: <http://istanbulakdm.csb.gov.tr/istanbul-da-ilan-edilen-riskli-alanlarin-dagilim-haritasi-i-3750>.

Istanbul Seismic Zone Distribution Map: <http://istanbulakdm.csb.gov.tr/istanbul-deprem-bolgeleri-dagilimi-haritasi-i-3712>.

¹⁴ Nilay Vardar, *Danıştay Tozkoparan'ın Riskli Alan Kararını da İptal Etti* [The Court of Cassation overruled risk zone decision for Tozkoparan], published in the daily Bianet, 04/06/2014.

The annulment of the decision of risk areas of the districts of Sarıgöl, Yenidoğan and Bağlarbaşı, by the court of cassation was published in the Official Journal on 14/12/2015.

about renovation projects are made quickly and clumsily, with high-risk areas being identified arbitrarily. There have also been criticisms that the law would be less concerned areas at real risk but would designate at risk some areas with localization advantages (close to the center) and would integrate earthquake-resistant buildings located in risk areas into urban transformation projects in order to harmonize the entire sector. In particular, it is interesting to note that Tozkoparan is a central area with a low population density and many green spaces, and the top of Sarıgöl has new earthquake-resistant buildings.

The Law n°6306 defines “high risk areas” that, in the event of a natural disaster, lead to a loss of life and property and describes “risky buildings” both inside and outside the above-mentioned areas as “reserve development areas” where new residential buildings will be constructed. The law is not explaining the methods to be used in the identification of such high-risk areas and structures, the evacuation and demolition processes and the development of projects after demolition. The identification of risky structures will be carried out by the institutions and organizations licensed by the Ministry¹⁵. With this law, almost all powers of decision related to the renewal of urban spaces are transferred to the Ministry of the Environment and Urban Planning and the TOKI (centralization of powers). The Ministry has been entrusted with very important tasks and powers to cover all phases of disaster risk management. Decisions about the future of neighborhoods are taken by a group made up of professionals, investors and local and national leaders, without any input from public opinion or affected residents. Disadvantaged social groups are completely excluded from the decision-making process¹⁶. The local authorities are not interested in public participation, aside from bearing its costs. Idris Atabay, the director of administration of urban renewal at the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, said in our interview¹⁷ that his group cannot promote a participatory approach _which he described as “unnecessary” _ when dealing with questions of seismic risk.

Local residents are typically poorly informed about what is being prepared for their neighborhoods. The lack of concrete information and the problem of authorities refusing to consider the views of residents in the process of developing urban renewal projects have resulted in the alienation of the local population.

¹⁵ During the first year of entry into force of the legislation, 443 ministries and institutions were licensed (IPKB, 2014: 48).

¹⁶ This situation is not unique to Turkey. In general, the cities destined to become world cities are pushed to improve their general infrastructure (transport, telecommunications ...), and to carry out large urbanistic interventions sometimes deprived of citizen / inhabitant participations. For example, in Rio de Janeiro, given the socio-territorial configuration of the city, there are processes of "elitization", "gentrification", in many areas of the city, where urban operations of "renovation", "requalification" or "revitalization" operate without necessarily consulting the inhabitants (Borius, 2010).

¹⁷ Interview conducted on 26th March 2014, in Istanbul.

Although the municipalities set up urban renewal offices ("*Kentsel Dönüşüm Bürosu*") in each neighborhood in order to establish a relationship with the inhabitants, the people living in the affected areas are informed of the urban projects either by the neighborhood associations or by friends, neighbors and family members¹⁸. The majority of residents surveyed said they ignored details of future projects and pointed to the contradictions revealed in official speeches by comparing the multiple exchanges taking place between residents and municipal officials. The offices in question would not fill the gap in the participatory approach. They have the mission to establish negotiations with the owners whose properties are within the renewal area. Although the authorities initially supported a bilateral agreement, they may proceed to the appropriation of private property by "urgent expropriation" ("*acele kamulaştırma*"). It is not an often-used implementation tool. Rather, it is a stick for the citizens to agree quickly. Thus, the emergency ignores certain rights guaranteed by national and international bodies, such as the right to property mentioned above. This lack of clear information on new projects, contradictions in the speeches of public officials, the absence of a formal agreement and the absence of guarantee conditions at the time of negotiations are all causes of the prevailing anxiety. By the way, the question of risk is central here and cannot be hidden from the public. Developing an urban policy intended to address the risks of environmental disaster without educating residents in at-risk areas is unjustifiable. This critique is based on the presence of more modalities about urban renewal than about environmental risk (Chamber of Construction Engineers (IMO), 2012).

In areas subjected to an urban renewal project, all resident populations must leave the neighborhood under renewal and only those who have the financial ability to live in the new housing are able to return. New buildings are valued according to prices fixed by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism and residents have the opportunity to stay in the newly built neighborhoods, providing they pay the difference in value between the old and new houses via a 15-year payment plan. They also have the opportunity to sell their property and leave, or even to buy, while incurring debt, and settle in new TOKİ buildings (often at some distance, tens of kilometers, from their old home) made available to lower-income households. Given the economic vulnerability of these populations, these three options fail to provide adequate alternatives. The "forced" displacement of these populations can cause significant social problems, such as the loss of the family home, impoverishment, the loss of social ties and difficulties in new places of living. The urban renewal process is in contradiction with some human rights, including the right to housing, the right to property, the right to live in a healthy environment (Uzunçarşılı-Baysal, 2010; Cin and Egercioglu, 2016). And the

¹⁸ It is important to point out that these offices were set up following the criticisms developed following the first urban renewal projects.

“*Disaster Law*” is seen as a means used by the authorities to justify the violation of fundamental human rights. It has been argued that the regulations established in Law n° 6306, are also contrary to the rules and principles set out in the Constitution (Demirkol and Bereket-Baş, 2013: 41). In fact, this law has led to the questioning of the "right to property" because of its power to define "risky areas" and "risky buildings", and to impose public interventions on private locations. For example, the possible demolition of non-risky structures in risky areas due to application integrity, or the temporary suspension of all kinds of zoning and construction during the urban renewal projects and their applications, are putting the right to property in danger or making it unusable. Just like the “2/3 majority decision” rule, which allows the realization of the urban project with the agreement of 2/3 of the inhabitants without paying attention to the right of property of the remaining minority. According to the law n°6306, the interruption of services such as electricity, water and natural gas due to the compulsory liquidation of the risky areas, could make life impossible in such structures and cause significant health and safety problems for those living in these regions. This regulation, which is incompatible with the social state principle, is at the same time a violation of the housing right.

Although the municipalities of Güngören and Gaziosmanpaşa have claimed that no population displacement is intended in their projects, residents seem worried. The choice of resettlement on the site causes social, cultural and economic issues. Based on their perceptions of other neighborhoods’ experiments and their observations, the inhabitants of these places say that the urban process will force them to move. The practice of forced evictions of residents, the obligation of the owner to comply with the projects and the emergency expropriations that are made possible by the “*Disaster Law*” violate the rights of the inhabitants of these neighborhoods, even if they have been legalized by alleged risks to the neighborhoods. In addition, the legal option to make cuts to electricity, water and natural gas at sites due for renovation cause a significant amount of trouble in the daily lives of these people. Because of these problems, some locals in Tozkoparan and Sarıgöl have developed a legal and social resistance movement against the way urban projects are conducted. Residents’ final strategy to deal with these difficulties is to move, although this option is fiercely opposed by activists. But we can already confirm the existence of an anticipated mobility of the inhabitants with financial capabilities of these districts. For example, the residents of Tozkoparan say that they see a change in the profile of the neighborhood's residents. In particular, in recent years, they note the departure of several neighbors and the arrival of a mass of Syrian refugees. They judge this change as the result of the process of urban renewal that would drive some away and allow the arrival of transient populations to limit resistance. In addition, we interviewed

former residents of Sarigöl who justified their departure by the uncertainty concerning the future of their neighborhood.

The spatial reorganization, disparities in terms of urban well-being, increasing inequality, transformation of lifestyles, the movement of people on the outskirts of the city and the emergence of new categories of people are just few of the changes resulting from these projects, which gained an increase awareness of the people on the need for legal mechanisms to resist the urban transformation projects. And the "*Disaster Law*" seems to have intensified the climate of conflict between those who support urban transformations and those who are opposed to these projects. The main criticisms made by opponents of the "*Disaster Law*" can be grouped as follows: The penalization of any objection to an imposed agreement on disaster prevention; non-risky buildings subject to the law because of "practical coherence"; projects developed without the participation of residents and civil society; the destruction of local culture; and the impoverishment of populations because of their inability to meet the costs of new constructions. The latter may include the obligation of the inhabitants to cover the costs related to the identification of the risk and the demolition of their housing. In Tozkoparan and Sarigöl, it is possible to distinguish three different types of behavior among the inhabitants. First, actors who have developed complete trust in public authorities (public sector employees, supporters of the ruling party) and those for whom urban renewal is synonymous with greater social recognition. Projects are seen as an opportunity for social climbing. Then the indifferent actors compose another category. Not having real influence on the projects leads to a lack of interest and a distrust of this category in relation to participatory and citizen approaches. Unlike the first, they manage to identify the injustices generated by urban renewal projects. And finally, there are actors who have developed a culture of participation (often inhabitants close to political sensitivities or associations). These actors will look for other bodies of participation such as neighborhood associations, NGOs (BU), collectives (KH, GBHM) and professional chambers (Durmaz, 2015). These inhabitants engaged in the resistance and activists agree with the need to transform these disadvantaged areas but criticize the reasons given and the way the projects are realized. Locals in Sarigöl and Tozkoparan generally expressed their desire to participate in the various stages of the projects (information, development, decision and implementation) or to be informed about the different stages. The inhabitants of these districts refuse to accept a loss of rights and displacement and/or debt caused by the projects. By refusing to live in apartments or skyscrapers and insisting on the right to green spaces and public services, they claim their right to produce the urban space to meet the needs of the inhabitants, to the right to urban life, transformed and renewed. They want to feel part of this urban process, to appropriate the urban space and to participate in its reorganization. These claims correspond to what Henri Lefebvre called the "right

to the city” (Lefebvre, 2009). The right to the city focuses on improving the quality of life of people, their homes and their neighborhoods, involving a right to participation and the right to types of relationships and social activities. It is a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends on the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization (Harvey, 2011).

Through the “Disaster Law”, we talk about a reorganization of the urban space, and we propose to fight against the vulnerable and dangerous buildings, against the bad use of the grounds, and for the revalorization of resilient and harmonious urban space. In order to obtain the support of all stakeholders for the urban renewal projects, these projects must be articulated in a logical way and adopt a meaning understood and accepted by all. This means, concretely, that it is necessary to establish coherence between the social content of urban renewal projects and the characteristics of the given space. The comparison between these two level can determine the adequacy of the operations carried out and the needs of the spaces.

3. CONCLUSION

Despite being considered the engine of the second wave of urban renewal, the “*Disaster Law*” is problematic both legally and scientifically and has caused many problems related to its implementation (Demirkol and Bereket Bas, 2013). Projects developed under this law have little positive effect on social problems. Even as an abstract principle of general interest, not all social categories are treated in the same way. Low-income groups are discriminated against and the renewed urban spaces are then reserved for the use of the most affluent parts of urban society, while the disadvantaged are moved. The phenomenon of urban transformation in Istanbul can be summarized as consisting of the creation of areas where urban poverty is excluded or made invisible. The “*Disaster Law*” has depicted Tozkoparan’s and Sarıgöl’s urban renewal projects as merely a technical intervention in areas exposed to the risk of natural disasters. These cases also give rise to discussions about the neoliberal logic in the projects and can be seen as small-scale illustrations of the wider strategy of urban governance in Turkey. If the process of urban transformation evolves in this direction, it would be better to speak of an “instrumentalization” of disaster risks following a speculative urban growth strategy, which will trigger an urban rent crisis and consequently aggravate urban and social issues. Those opposing such urban changes, however, are fighting to include all parties in the process. The field of disaster reduction seems set to become the arena for a conflict between a collective consciousness born of social urban problems and institutionalized socioeconomic interests. Thus, a more rational approach is needed in the urban renewal process of Turkey. The central and local authorities must establish resilient urban projects by taking into account

the social, psychological, administrative, legal and financial conditions involved in the problem.

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THE EMERGENCE OF RIO DE JANEIRO'S MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN THE CITY'S PUBLIC SPACE

Amanda DIAS*

ABSTRACT

Arab migrants –mostly Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian– compose the majority of Muslims in Brazil. Until the beginning of the 21st century, the Islamic institutions present in the country are mainly concerned with the transmission of Islam as a cultural heritage to their descendants. Rio de Janeiro's Muslim community presents a particularity since, in the beginning of the 1990s, it's Islamic Mutual-Aid Association discontinues the transmission of Islam as an Arab religion, separating religion and culture, thus making Islam accessible to the Brazilian public. This leads to an important increase in the number of Muslims in Rio, as well as the construction of the city's only operational mosque in 2007. Exemplary, this case sheds light on the ways a new religious actor emerges in the religious urban landscape of the city. This essay examines the emergence of Rio de Janeiro's Muslim community in the urban and public space of the city.

Keywords: Islam in Brazil, Rio de Janeiro's Muslim community, Religious Urban Anthropology.

INTRODUCTION

It is in the 18th century that Islam first arrives in Brazil, with the influx of slaves from Islamized regions of Western Africa, known as “Malês”¹. Between

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¹ Derived from the Nigerian-Congolese language iorubá, the term “malê” designates the Muslim.

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1807 and 1835, the Malês rebel several times for the liberation of African slaves. Amongst these insurgences, there is the most significant slaves rebellion in Brazil, the “Revolta dos Malês”, which takes place in Salvador da Bahia in 1835. Quickly repressed, this racial uprising was organized by hauçá and nagô ethnic groups of Muslim religion (Reis, 2003 [1986]).

During the following century, syncretism with Catholicism occurs, as well as with other African beliefs. This leads to the decline of those first Islamic communities, which disappear completely by the middle of the 20th century (Rodrigues, 2004 [1906]). Simultaneously, diverse migration waves from the Middle East disembark in Brazil². In the second half of the 20th century, the profile of the Arab migration in the country changes from being predominantly Christian (it was the case during the earlier period) to being primarily composed by Muslims, both Sunni and Shia, who leave their countries due to the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990), the continuous occupation of the Palestinian Territories (Pinto, 2010) and, more recently, the Syrian conflict³.

Arab migrants – mostly Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian - and their descendants thus compose the majority of Muslims in Brazil. This is the reason why, as far as Islam is concerned, there is confusion between religion, nationality and ethnicity in the country’s collective imaginary. Until the beginning of the 21st century, the Islamic institutions of the different Muslim communities in Brazil are mainly concerned with the transmission of cultural traditions to Arab descendants (Pinto, 2010), reinforcing this amalgam. That said, whereas most Muslim institutions still choose to focus their efforts towards those who bear Islam as a cultural heritage, *the growing number of non-Arab Brazilians who convert to Islam in the last decades contributes to the formation of a renewed Islamic community in the country*⁴.

Although Islam only represents a minor part of the Brazilian religious field, which is predominantly Christian, over the last years it is gaining visibility in the country. It is significant that, in 2010, the Brazilian government acknowledges the Muslim communities by including, for the first time, the term “Islamism” as

² There is a consensus in the immigration’s literature indicating that the first Arab migratory wave in Brazil occurs in 1860 (Hajjar, 1985). That said, this data can be questioned. Oswaldo Truzzi (1997), for instance, indicates that the first Syrian and Lebanese groups arrive in Brazil as early as during the decade of 1870. These divergences can be explained by the fact that, until 1908, Syrian and Lebanese immigrants were not discriminated by the migratory registers, being classified as “other nationalities” (Truzzi, 1997). Later on, they were identified as Turkish, Turkish-Arabic, Turkish-Asian, Lebanese and Syrian.

³ By October 2015, about 8,000 Syrians or Syrian-Palestinians had obtained a humanitarian visa to enter Brazil. For more information on Brazilian reception of Syrian refugees, see Baeza, 2017.

⁴ If it is hard to define their exact number, we know they participate in the 29% increase in the number of Muslims indicated by the 2010 demographic censuses in relation to the previous one (2000). The numbers of the Union of Islamic Institutions in Brazil (UNI) confirm this as, since 2004, the number of sheiks who speak Portuguese increased from 5 to 20.

a religious obedience in its demographic census⁵. This census indicates 35.167 adepts of Islam in Brazil, against 27.239 in 2000. Local Muslim religious authorities claim these numbers largely inferior to the reality. The Brazilian Islamic Federation (FAMBRAS, Portuguese acronym) vindicates about one and a half million Muslims in the country⁶.

Muslim communities in Brazil are predominantly urban (99,2%) with large concentrations in the states of São Paulo, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso do Sul⁷. Most of the Shia communities are located in São Paulo and the South Region of Brazil, notably Curitiba and Foz do Iguaçu. Sunni communities are located in a larger area of the national territory, being mainly concentrated in the states of São Paulo, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro and Distrito Federal. The Islamic institutions in Brazil receive the legal name of “Islamic Mutual-Aid Associations” (*Sociedades Benéficas Muçulmanas*). FAMBRAS indicates there are about fifty mosques and over eighty Islamic institutions in the country.

These Muslim institutions and communities structure themselves differently over time, presenting specific sociological and religious contours. Rio de Janeiro’s Muslim community has a particularity since, in the beginning of the 1990s, it’s Islamic Mutual-Aid Association (SBMRJ, Portuguese acronym) deliberately discontinues the transmission of Islam as an Arab religion, breaking with the ethnicization of Brazilian Muslim communities⁸. Described by anthropologists as “Islamization” (Montenegro, 2002b) or “objectivization” (Pinto 2005), this separation of religion and culture makes Islam accessible to the Brazilian public⁹. It has led to an impressive increase in the number of Muslims in Rio (SBMRJ estimates their community is composed of 85% converts) and the subsequent construction of the city’s only operational mosque in 2007.

This essay examines the emergence of Rio de Janeiro’s Muslim community in the urban and public space of city. Exemplary, this case allows us to shed light on the ways a new religious actor, which does not traditionally have an

⁵ In the previous demographic census, Islam is not differentiated; it is comprised in the group “other religions”.

⁶ These quarrels regarding the numbers are part of a larger demand concerning the question of the presence and the visibility of Islam as a minority in the Brazilian religious field (Pinto, 2013).

⁷ Source: Brazil’s 2010 demographic census (IBGE, Portuguese acronym).

⁸ SBMRJ’s attitude contrasts clearly with the position adopted by the Muslim leadership in São Paulo, for example, whose efforts remain directed to those who bear Islam as a cultural heritage (Peres, 2006).

⁹ As I have argued before, « beyond the national sphere, SBMRJ repositioning inscribes itself in a larger tendency observed by Olivier Roy (2002), in which ‘the new element brought about by the passage of Islam to the West is the disconnection of Islam as religion from a concrete culture’ (2002: 20). (...) the dynamics observed at this Association correspond to this movement of ‘globalization of Islam’, which is characterized by a double movement of individualization and deterritorialisation” (Dias, 2011: 495).

important expression in a given society, emerges in the religious urban landscape of the city¹⁰. We will start by approaching the construction of Rio de Janeiro's mosque, examining the choice of the neighbourhood, the process of conversion of the building into a mosque and the implications of the notion of "Islamic architecture" adopted by SBMRJ. We will then examine how the Society invests Rio's urban space and media vehicles, increasing Islam's visibility in the city and creating different dialogue channels with the larger society.

1. THE CONSTRUCTION OF RIO DE JANEIRO'S MOSQUE

The oldest Islamic institution in Brazil was created in São Paulo in 1929. It was also São Paulo's Islamic Mutual-Aid Association (SBMSP, Portuguese acronym) that built the first mosque in the country, the Mesquita Brasil (Brazil Mosque), inaugurated in 1952¹¹. For a long time, it remained the main institutional reference for both Sunni and Shia Muslims in Brazil. Between 1929 and 1969, Druses and Alaouites created their own institutions in the states of Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Other Islamic Mutual-Aid Associations were created in Rio de Janeiro and Paraná during the 1950s. But the construction of Islamic worship places in Brazil did not really start before the 1980s. From then, several mosques – mainly Sunni - were built in the states of Paraná, São Paulo, Mato Grosso, Goiás and Minas Gerais. Constructed with idealized Islamic architectural details, they were a response to the increase of the number of Arab migrants.

Rio de Janeiro's Islamic Mutual-Aid Association was created as early as in 1951, but the construction of its mosque only started in 2007, over 60 years after the construction of Brazil's first mosque in São Paulo and almost 20 years after Islamic worship places significantly started to be built in the country. In fact, from the 1980's several mosques were built in the states of Paraná, São Paulo, Mato Grosso, Goiás and Minas Gerais. They corresponded to the increase of the number of Muslim migrants in these regions. Since the 1980s, the main regions chosen by Arab migrants are São Paulo and Paraná, due to the economical opportunities these two states offered (Pinto, 2010b). Rio de Janeiro, on the other hand, did not constitute a privileged destination for Arab migrants, who did not see in it the same economical opportunities other states offered¹². The

¹⁰ This essay inscribes itself on the urban studies field. It is in continuity with the research I carried out for the collective project "Global Prayers: Contemporary Manifestations of the Religious in the City" (see Dias 2011).

¹¹ Built with donations from the Egyptian monarchy, Mesquita Brasil started to be constructed in the 1940s.

¹² In absolute terms, after the decade of 1950, the Arab migration in Brazil declines. Besides the diminution in a national scale, the percentage of immigrants who chose Rio de Janeiro as final destination also declines significantly. (Pinto, 2010b)

construction of an Islamic temple in the city of Rio de Janeiro responded, rather, to an increase in the number of Brazilians converting to Islam.

Indeed, the perception of the necessity of a mosque by SBMRJ's leadership was a result of its local history and own internal processes, notably a shift in its politics towards Brazilians with no Muslim ancestors. In 1993, the leadership of SBMRJ - a small group of Muslims with Arabic origins - put forward a project of making the Association an instrument for the diffusion of Islam. With the understanding that diffusing Islam is "a religious obligation" (*dawa*), they create a course of introduction to Islam and Arabic language, a first effort toward the Brazilian public¹³.

Until 2007, SBMRJ's activities took place in a prayer hall (*musalla*) located in a commercial building of central Rio. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the city's Centro, in particular Rua da Alfândega and surrounding areas, were invested by Arab cultural elements that characterized them as an ethnic space, to the point that, during the 1920s, non-Arabs referred to the region as "*Pequena Turquia*", Portuguese for "Little Turkey" (Pinto, 2010b). In effect, "the region was perceived by the migrants themselves and their descendants as a space of expression of cultural traditions that sent to the Middle East and allowed a constant 're-elaboration' of ethnical and national identity¹⁴" (Pinto, 2010b: 85). In 1962, a group of traders composed mainly by Arabs, but also by Jewish, Portuguese and other migrants, created the SAARA – Society of Friends of the Adjacencies of Rua da Alfândega¹⁵. Gradually, this term detached itself from the Association of traders to designate the urban space it administrated, the *Saara*.

The street Gomes Freire, where SBMRJ's *mussalla* was located, is relatively close to Rua da Alfândega. Although this street it is not situated within the fluid borders of the *Saara*, the *mussalla*'s emplacement in the Centro was in continuity with the perception of the larger area as an Arab ethnic space. As Marcelo¹⁶ - young Brazilian convert responsible for the mosque's communication area – explains, "the *mussalla* was essentially the gathering place of a group of Muslims of Arab origin. At that time, there wasn't a project of divulging Islam to non-Arab Brazilians"¹⁷. For a long time SBMRJ, just as the other Islamic institutions in Brazil, remained almost exclusively a space of congregation for the born Muslims, who gathered in the prayer hall for the Friday Prayers and *Eid*

¹³ Their efforts toward Brazilians make the mosque a welcoming structure, favourable to religious conversion. New Muslims receive, for example, a "convert kit" (*kit do revertido*), with the time of prayers and their translation, information and guidelines to practice the religion, as well as a CD with recordings of the prayers.

¹⁴ Our translation for *Sociedade de Amigos das Adjacências da Rua da Alfândega*.

¹⁵ Society of Friends of the Adjacencies of Rua da Alfândega. Our translation.

¹⁶ Fictitious name.

¹⁷ Interview with Marcelo, Mosque al-Nour, Rio de Janeiro, October, 2nd, 2010.

celebrations. The urban situation of the *mussalla* in the Centro was coherent with its social function.

Sami and Munzer, respectively the director of SBMRJ's educational department and the mosque's imam, are brothers of Syrian origin whose family traditionally owns clothing shops at the *Saara*. Sami shares the impressions of his childhood in the neighbourhood: "I could listen to the elderly talking Arabic in the streets, they talked to each other from the step of their shops. [...] Today it is not like that anymore, the Chinese are buying all the shops in here"¹⁸. In Sami's speech, the *Saara* appears as progressively deprived from its characterization as an ethnic Arab space. Currently, the mosque's leadership does not perceive Rio's central area mainly as the space of congregation of Arab descendants. Let us take, for instance, the answer Marcelo provided me with when questioned about the reasons for constructing the mosque elsewhere: "From 1951 to 2000 many changes took place in Rio's centre. It became a point of prostitution, a dangerous area"¹⁹. Lucas²⁰, another "carioca" converted to Islam, shares this view of the Centro, which he associates with his personal past of drug consumer: "it was easy to buy drugs in the Centro, you just had to go to Beco do Sardinha, the waiter would handle you the cocaine and offer the bathroom of the restaurant for you to use it". The new religious mapping of Rio carries moral valence: the public world of the centre city is characterized as the place of urban violence, dangerous people and illicit activities.

The change in the perception of Rio's centre is coherent with the shift that SBMRJ operated concerning the understanding of its own purpose. In the 1990s, SBMRJ called for a "desarabization" of Islam, focusing its efforts towards Brazilians. Over time, such efforts bore fruits: by the year 2000, Rio's Islamic community had grown to the point that the *mussalla*, composed by two commercial rooms with a total of 40m², was no longer sufficiently large. As Marcelo describes it, "on Fridays, we had to split in two different shifts for the prayers"²¹. Faced to the necessity of constructing a mosque, SBMRJ's leadership reached different Islamic institutions abroad.

The choice to break with the "Arabization" of the Muslim communities implied not aligning itself with a specific Arabic country. This meant that, differently from the mosques that proliferated in Brazil from the 1980s, SBMRJ did not count with financial funding from Saudi Arabia or Iran, whose "dispute for control over Islamic religious imagination passed by the establishment of influence channels within Muslim communities worldwide" (Pinto, 2010: 208).

¹⁸ Conversation with Sami, Rio de Janeiro, April 2010.

¹⁹ Interview with Marcelo, Mosque al-Nour, Rio de Janeiro, October 2010.

²⁰ Fictitious name.

²¹ Interview with Marcelo, Mosque al-Nour, Rio de Janeiro, October, 2nd 2010.

For a long time, SBMRJ was not inclined to accept foreign help. In 2006, however, the Association had re-established contact with the Arabic countries and started receiving financial help from Kuwait (Peres, 2006). This timeframe coincides with the augmentation of the community and the perception of the need of a mosque in Rio. Still, SBMRJ does not count with patronage of a specific country, receiving funding from Islamic institutions situated in different places²². This funding strategy allows the mosque to keep its ideological autonomy, contrary to Curitiba's mosque, for example, which became a mixed Sunni-Shia mosque after receiving donations from Iran²³. Rather than aligning itself with one of the self-determined Islamic States, Rio's Association constructs international loyalties around references that are more ideological than geographically situated.

In 2006, SBMRJ succeeded in buying a building for the future mosque, at the neighbourhood of Tijuca. The fact that several Muslims already resided in Tijuca played an important role in the choice of this specific neighbourhood²⁴. Though the *Saara* constitutes one of the few ethnic spaces broadly acknowledged as such in Rio de Janeiro, migrant communities possess their own "ethnic cartography" of the city, where they assign their regions of concentration (Pinto, 2010b: 148). In the case of the Arabs, in addition to the region of Rua da Alfândega, this cartography includes Tijuca²⁵. In addition to the Arab-descendant families established in this neighbourhood, some foreign Muslim students move there, guided by the proximity of the mosque. This way, Tijuca has intentionally become a gathering place for Muslims in Rio de Janeiro. The choice of this neighbourhood is also geographically consistent, as Tijuca is easily attained by bus and metro by those who live in Rio's other residential and

²² Resources donated by an Islamic institution in Kuwait allowed it to buy the land and build the mosque's first floor. Another Islamic institution which promotes education and which is situated in a different country financed the entire second floor. The 2008 international financial crisis, however, had direct effects on the mosque's building. When the funds ceased flowing, the building also stopped. The rain seeped through and badly damaged the second floor, which was almost entirely complete. In 2010, the SBMRJ leadership succeeded in reaching another foreign institution, which agreed to finance the construction of the third floor. Seizing this opportunity, they started the reconstruction of the mosque's second floor in October 2010.

²³ The community's mosque was constructed as a Sunni mosque in 1977 and remained so until 1986, when the government of Iran, in its politics of disputing with Saudi Arabia the funding and the control of international Islam, started giving important donations to the mosque and, soon, acquired the right of choosing its *shaykh* that became a Shia. The presence of Iran is immediately felt in the beautiful *mihrab* (niche that marks the direction of Mecca) of mosaic tiles in Persian style, with the inscription in Portuguese and in Arabic "Gift from the Islamic Republic of Iran, 1996" (Pinto, 2005: 235).

²⁴ According to Sami, up to one quarter of Rio's Islamic families live in the Great Tijuca area. Note that the space referred to as Grande Tijuca usually corresponds to an ensemble of neighbourhoods; also known as Zona Norte of the city of Rio de Janeiro (Melo, Leite & Franca, 2003).

²⁵ As well as other regions, notably Estácio, Copacaba, Inhaúma, Madureira, Santa Cruz and some regions of Baixada Fluminense (Paulo, 2010b: 148).

peripheral areas. Finally, the mosque's leaders attach importance to the fact that Tijuca is a residential area, in opposition to the Centro: as well as been accessible to the neighbourhood's residents, the Association intends to establish privileged links with its schools and libraries.

These considerations altogether make Tijuca correspond to the Islamizing posture the Association adopted in the past two decades. The street Gonzaga Bastos, where the mosque is situated, increases its accessibility, since this main urban artery binds Tijuca to Vila Isabel, another neighbourhood of the Great Tijuca area, providing easy access to inhabitants of the entire region. This street presents a particularity, notably the plurality of religious temples it hosts: adjacent to the mosque there is a catholic church, beside which is an evangelical church; in the other direction, crossing the street, there is a temple of afro-Brazilian religion *umbanda*. This does not seem to be a problem for the Muslim community, who leads what Marcelo describes as a "harmonious coexistence" with the other religions. When the Islamic community moved to Gonzaga Bastos, they followed what Sami calls "a good neighbouring policy": "we presented ourselves to the catholic as well as to the evangelic church". On a daily basis, the three religious communities do not entertain a relevant dialogue, although the construction works demand regular communication with the mosque's immediate neighbour, the catholic church: "Every construction is like this, it always creates disturbance for next-door neighbours... it [the construction] may break their tiles and all of that, but they [the catholic church members] are wonderful neighbours, they have never created any problem with us"²⁶. In what concerns the Evangelic church, the communication is unilateral: every now and then, the Pentecostals slide their religious folders under the mosque's front door, with the hope of converting their Muslim neighbours.

The building elected for the construction of the mosque used to be a one floor familial medicine factory, with a small space in its upper floor where father and son lived. In the Association, no importance is attached to this: no one seems aware of the construction's past, not even the engineer responsible for its conversion into a mosque. Clearly, there is the aspiration of a *tabla rasa*, where the construction's history starts with the foundation of the mosque. The chosen building had the advantage of offering a comfortable position for prayers, as its façade was already directed towards Mecca. In order to support the religious temple, though, significant changes had to be made in its structure:

There was the first floor and a small area constructed on the upper part of the roof, with about 60m2. This small area was demolished, to become the second floor. We had to make the structural reinforcement of the roof, so it could support the construction. [...] We also created that

²⁶ Interview with the engineer responsible for the mosque's construction, March 2011.

area for the toilets, it didn't exist before [...] We had to make changes in the walls, to put up walls, windows, all of that [...] All the columns were reinforced because otherwise they could not stand the construction²⁷.

Brazilian with no Arab origins, the engineer responsible for the mosque's construction was selected by means of a bit promoted by SBMRJ. This is his first mosque, although it is not his first religious temple - he has already built a Pentecostal church in the district of Xerém²⁸. According to the engineer, constructing a mosque is unlike all his previous works: "the arched windows, the positioning of the bricks, the fact that the mosque has to be directed towards the Mecca, all this is new to me". Before the beginning of the construction, the Association handled him a project, which had been previously approved by the city hall. The adaptation of the building into a mosque required further negotiations with Rio's municipality: the project conceived corridors for the toilets and ablutions area on both sides of the building (one for men and another for women), and this implied the occupation of a larger space of the field than the allowed. Yet, SBMRJ's leadership managed to come to terms with the city hall and the ablution areas are already in place and functioning.

The mosque functions as a diffusion instrument itself, attracting the attention of passers-by and neighbourhood residents. Crowned by a cupola and minarets, it is aesthetically at odds with its urban environment, unquestionably and intentionally standing out in the neighbourhood and the city. This concern was explicit in the speech of the engineer when the building was being constructed:

I feel they give a lot of importance to the finishing and the minarets. It so is that when I finish the fourth floor and the minarets, I will travel to São Paulo, and maybe Foz do Iguaçu²⁹, to study the materials, the projects, the finishing, to evaluate what fits better here [...] For the president [of SBMRJ], it is extremely important that the mosque has great visibility. Precisely, with the finishing, the façade of granite, the minarets, you'll see. They will have this system of illumination, there is the sound... [the adhan]. All this is because for him it is very important that it is very visible.

Rio's mosque counts four floors. Imposing, it is higher than the Catholic and the Evangelical church. Indeed, SBMRJ aims at constructing a mosque that will clearly detach itself from other religious temples in the street and beyond. Competition between the scale and potency of religious temples can be observed

²⁷ *Idem*

²⁸ District in the municipality of Duque de Caxias in the state of Rio de Janeiro, about 50 km from the city of Rio de Janeiro.

²⁹ Cities with large concentrations of Sunni and Shia Muslim communities.

in different countries and religious communities, as revealed by the work of Ara Wilson (2008) on the shrines of Bangkok's markets, or yet Joseph Rustom (2011)'s study of religious buildings in post-war downtown Beirut. Differently from these cases, here it is not exactly a matter of competition between religious denominations over the urban space. That said, we can understand the Association's resolve in constructing a mosque of such dimensions as a form of marking its presence in an urban landscape where churches are explicitly dominant. After all, this is the city's only operational mosque³⁰, in a context where new Pentecostal churches seem to flourish in the streets - between the years of 1990 and 1992, the state of Rio de Janeiro counted the emergence of five evangelical churches per week³¹. This explains, at least partially, why an Association whose amount of devotees regularly frequenting its Friday Prayer is not superior then one hundred constructs a building with the capacity of hosting fifteen times this number.

In addition to the buildings concrete presence, other less evident elements "create, occupy and compete for urban space" (Witte, 2008: 690), notably sound. In the urban space, sound and music create what Martijn Oosterbaan (2006: 81-117) calls "politics of presence". Recently, different authors have approached the religious sonic presence in the city as competition for symbolic control of spaces (Oosterbann, 2006; Hervieu-Léger 2002; Corbin, 2000). At the street *Gonzaga Bastos*, the religious "soundscape"³² is mostly composed by the loud chanting of Evangelicals, especially on Sundays, when it pierces the walls of the church to penetrate the mosque³³. As De Witte argues, architecture has a great impact on the soundscape. This is explicit in the case of mosques, whose call for prayers are emitted from the top of minarets. In Rio, as the building is still under construction, the call for prayers takes place inside the mosque. Once the minarets are functional, the entire area will be submerged by an alien sound that, by its high degree of extraneity, will occupy the urban space with more force than other familiar sounds. At the moment, the aural sacred space established by the call for prayers and the prayers themselves is contained within the physical boundaries of the mosque, where they generate a very specific environment, helping create a feeling of belonging to the Muslim community³⁴.

SBMRJ's mosque marks the Muslims visual presence in the city's imagescape. In what concerns the architecture of the building, the Association's

³⁰ The one built in the neighbourhood of Jacarepaguá in the 1980s is closed due to disputes between the leadership of the community and the builder of the mosque (Pinto, 2010c: 4)

³¹ CIN - Census of the Institute of Religion Studies (ISER).

³² See Schafer, 1994.

³³ This does not constitute a problem for the Islamic community, though, given that its main prayer day is Friday.

³⁴ As historians and social scientists have recently demonstrated, soundscapes created, by different ways, shared senses of space and communities (Garrioch, 2003).

leadership showed the engineer images of exemplary mosques abroad, remarkably the Grand Mosque of Mecca. Motivated by a recent family trip to Syria and Lebanon, Arab descendants of the community transmitted him their ideas as well. Inspired by both national and international references, the mosque is being built in what they consider to be “Islamic architecture”. On her study of Rio’s Muslim community, Montenegro describes how, in the beginning of the 2000s, a group of intellectuals from SBMRJ carried out research in written sources and photographic archives, looking for remainders of an Islamic presence in Rio de Janeiro. The last phases of this work consisted in an empirical study of certain buildings of the *Centro*, which could prove the former existence of architecture with clear Islamic influences in the city³⁵. As the author specifies, this study was looking for the elements of an “Islamic”, not “Arab”, architecture – operating thus a “desarabization” and posterior “Islamization” of the buildings.

Whereas SBMRJ’s previous study was concerned about proving the continuity of a Muslim presence in the city’s history, the actual construction of the mosque aims at anchoring the Islamic presence in the urban space. Both initiatives insistence on the “Islamic architecture” are coherent with the Association’s missionary reorientation. They correspond to the local counterpart of a global discourse that refers itself to the idea of an “Islamic culture”. In fact, the apology of a “Muslim-civilisation” as Islam’s accomplishment, its perception as “a closed system that would explain itself from its own history”³⁶ can be found amongst Muslim communities and Arab intellectuals, as well as several studies of Muslim societies and Islamist political movements (Roy, 2002: 14). This line of thinking acknowledges the existence of a transnational community of believers, the *Ummah*. As Hamit Bozarslan (2005: 20) explains, whereas the *Ummah* does not exist under the form of a political or administrative entity, in the contemporary Muslim world it can be constituted as an imagined community.

The mosque provides Rio’s Muslim community with a concrete reference that, through its architecture, reassures its belonging to this ‘imagined community. Even though “mondialized Islam” is de-territorialized, as Olivier Roy (2002) argues, in the sense that it does not refer to any State or ethnicity in particular, my research indicates that the idea of an “Islamic architecture” characteristic of mosques worldwide binds Muslim communities by the means of

³⁵ The study aimed at proving the continuity of Islam in Brazil, notably in Rio de Janeiro. The empirical research was carried out by SBMRJ’s former president, who the author describes as a “studious of art and geometric forms derived from Arab calligraphy” (Montenegro, 2000: 200).

³⁶ Our translation for “(...) un système clos qui s’explique à partir de sa propre histoire” (Roy, 2002: 14).

tangible, locatable spaces, bringing into existence what I suggest we call “geography of the *Ummah*”³⁷.

The possibility of experiencing different global arenas offered by the Islamic religious system operates on a symbolical level, through the creation of transnational religious identifications (such as “Islamic architecture”) as well as on a more concrete level, by the establishment of networks of people and resources. The analysis of the funding of the mosque, for instance, revealed how, by putting the stress on belonging to the *Ummah* instead of acknowledging an Islamic State³⁸, SBMRJ creates operational networks with Islamic institutions worldwide which are ideologically close to it. Indeed, although the *Ummah* does not exist in the shape of a political or administrative unity, the circulation of people and resources gives it a tangible façade. Rio de Janeiro’s mosque constitutes a highly cosmopolitan space, in opposition to Pentecostal churches and the other religious temples converted Muslims most often frequented before adhering to Islam (i.e. Catholic churches, Spiritist centers and afro-Brazilian cult houses).

Rio de Janeiro’s Islamic community is formed by Arabs and their descendants (second and third generation migrants from Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinian Territories), African students and immigrants from different countries (as Burkina Faso, Senegal and South Africa), as well as Brazilian converts. In addition to being multiethnic, this religious community constantly receives the visit of foreign Muslims doing tourism or business in the city, as well as Islamic missionaries who share its religious views³⁹. The presence of these foreigners provides the local community with a tangible experience of belonging to a global community of Muslims. Let us mention, for instance, the case of João, a converted Muslim who was, for a short time, concierge at the mosque. João grew up in a favela and did not finish his high school studies. Before adhering to Islam - religion he discovered on the internet – João attended a *candomblé* house and earned his life doing tarot readings in a vegetarian restaurant at the city’s *Zona Sul*. Currently, he dedicates most of his time to the study of the religion as well as the Arabic language. The day a converted Japanese Muslim who was doing tourism in Rio visited the mosque, João asked

³⁷ At SBMRJ, the Grand Mosque is the main reference of “Islamic architecture”. It is not trivial that the image of this mosque is the wallpaper of all the computers I have seen in the Association and at the houses of its members.

³⁸ Indeed, SBMRJ adopts a conception of Islam that does not recognize the existence of Islamic States in contemporary times. Muslim communities that adopt this point of view consider that the true Islamic State existed only during the historical period of the four first caliphs, called exemplary or orthodox caliphs (Montenegro, 2002b).

³⁹ Let us notice that Rio’s Muslim community does not belong to any missionary network in particular. In SBMRJ the dominant tradition is Sallafiyya, “a Sunni reformist movement that emerged in the 19th century which preaches a return to the ‘original Islam’ codified in the Quran and the Hadith” (Pinto, 2010c).

me to join them and act as his interpreter, as he is not familiar with the English language. The conversation between the Japanese and him passed necessarily by the presence of a third person until the moment they decided to recite to each other the Quran surates they knew by heart. The Quran presents a very peculiar structure, given that it does not contain the description of God's words by a prophet or his disciples, but His own discourse, the words, syllables and sentences of Allah. Thus, one who chants the verses of the Quran is not chanting words about God, but, as these words are His essence, is chanting God himself (Geertz, 1983). João and the Japanese were both filled with emotion to realize that, although they could not have trivial conversations, they could understand each other in the most important register of their lives, the sacred one. Sharing a common faith expressed in a common language approached a Brazilian man and a Japanese girl who feel their own compatriots fail to understand them. Their encounter reinforced the feeling of belonging to a religious community at the same time it acted as proof that belonging to the *Ummah* is more relevant than any boundary created by men, such as ethnicity, nationality or social class.

2. SBMRJ'S ACTIONS ON RIO'S URBAN AND MEDIA SPACE

On the morning of April 7th 2011, an armed man entered an elementary school in *Realengo*⁴⁰, killing 12 children and seriously wounding 20 others. It was the first time an event of this nature occurred in Brazil. The local media and the shocked population rapidly suspected the killer of belonging to a Muslim group: there were rumours he defined himself as a Muslim; his sister declared to the police he frequented an Islamic worship place downtown Rio de Janeiro⁴¹; the perpetrator of the crime left behind a letter inspired from testaments written by suicide-bombers of Islamist ideology and diffused on the Internet. An Islamist threat seemed even more palpable as the previous week the country's most read magazine, *Veja*⁴², had dedicated its front cover to the theme "Islamist networks in Brazil". In view of this situation, SBMRJ was not long to react. A few hours after the incident, Sami gave an interview to *Radio Globo*, declaring his concern about the impact of these accusations:

First of all, he was not a Muslim, he did not frequent the mosque here in Rio de Janeiro, and nobody recognizes him as a Muslim. [...] The second point is that we were all shocked with this massacre and at the same time worried about the things the media has started showing,

⁴⁰ Neighbourhood situated at the western fringe of Rio de Janeiro.

⁴¹ 11th April 2011, "Muçulmanos se dizem hostilizados após tragédia em Realengo", O Globo Rio. <http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/muculmanos-se-dizem-hostilizados-apos-tragedia-em-realengo-2798056> Date of access: 18th December 2017.

⁴² Environ 1.098.642 numbers sold per week; more than twice the second most read magazine in Brazil, *Época*, with environ 417.798 numbers. Source: "Os dez mais", Luiz André Alzer and Mariana Claudino, Editora Agir, 2008.

linking this act with Islam, with Muslims [...] The historic of these events in schools, in the United States, shows most of the time they were made by Christians and [however] they have never been associated to Christianity⁴³.

The priority was to untie the confusion between the assassin and Islam. Afterwards, it was necessary to reassure the society of the religion's peaceful nature. Only after that, it was possible to alert Brazilians about the danger of stigmatizing the country's Muslim community. This pattern repeated itself in all interviews accorded to the media by members of the different Muslim institutions in the country. The spokesperson of Brazil's Muslim community and president of the Ethical Union of National Islamic Entities in Brazil, Sheikh Jihad Hassan Hammadeh, participated in a program of Brazil's public television channel, TV Brazil⁴⁴. As Sami, he denounced an unfair treatment towards Islam in comparison to other religions. One week after the incident, Sheikh Jihad and Sheikh Yanis (spiritual leader of Rio's mosque at the time) participated in an ecumenical ceremony at the place of the incident, where representatives of different religions symbolically embraced the school. They expressed the profound regrets of the Muslim community, reassuring Brazilian society by affirming Islam condemns all kinds of violence. On the Friday following the incident, Sheikh Jihad visited Rio de Janeiro's mosque. After the prayers and the sermon that traditionally follows (known as *khutbah*), he picked up the microphone and talked about the importance of one's character, reminding the local community each one of them was responsible for the image of Islam in Brazil. Such reminder was necessary to the extent that those who could be recognized as Muslims in the streets – notably the veiled women – were object of threats and aggressions from stunned passers-by who identified them with the shooting and, beyond, with global acts of terrorism⁴⁵.

As in the case related above, the Association's leadership first concern is to undo and clarify the prejudices and stereotypes about Muslims. This allows them to go further and present Islam as a possibility of religious conversion to the Brazilian public. When approached by passers-by, for example, the veiled women are expected not only to react with courtesy (since they represent the religion) but, as far as possible, to discourse about Islam and invite their interlocutors to visit the Association's mosque and website.

⁴³ <http://radioglobo.gloradio.globo.com/boa-tarde-globo/2011/04/07/ESCLARECENDO-SOBRE-A-RELIGIAO.htm> Date of access: 15th April 2011.

⁴⁴ 11th April 2011, Program *Sem censura*, TV Brasil.

⁴⁵ "Whereas in predominantly Muslim countries the use of the veil is, *a priori*, a way for women to keep a low profile and cover their sensual attributes in the city's space of visibility – in Rio de Janeiro, its high degree of extraneity triggers great attention." (Dias, 2013: 506).

Veiled women are one of the most visible elements of Islam in the city, and the Association's leadership is well aware that the urban space is conducive to the recruitment process (Furseth, 2011). Indeed, SBMRJ coordinates activities where the body is conceived as an instrument for missionary work. Its commemoration of *Eid el-Fitr*⁴⁶ in 2010 is a good example of this: after the performance of communal prayer (*Eid salat*) and a joyful breaking of the fast at the mosque, several members of the community proceeded to a collective blood donation. They walked together to a hospital nearby, wearing a t-shirt where we could read "Give Blood. In Islam, to save a life is like saving all humanity". At the back of the t-shirt, there was an indication of the Association's website. During the walk, people stared at and sometimes stopped the passers-by, curious to learn more about this group and their religion. We can also mention the Association's participation in the "March against Religious Intolerance" the same year. At this occasion, the participants wore t-shirts saying "Islam. Respecting religious diversity" and an inscription of the Association's website address on the back. The women were veiled and some men adopted what they perceive as "Islamic clothing": caps, turbans, tunics and so on⁴⁷. Such clothing intrigued other participants of the March. As Orsi (1999: 49) writes, "it is through style - through the intricate intentionalities of public self-representation, and especially through style in religion - that city people have made meanings and impressed those meanings on themselves and others [...] and have presented themselves at the borders and junctures of adjacent urban social worlds". Indeed, whereas some Muslims wear Islamic symbols on a daily basis, the March constituted a privileged platform to display their religious belonging. At the occasion of the March, the visibility of the Muslim community was amplified by its diffusion in several media supports, such as newspapers, television and internet.

Dawa can be practised by several means and the SBMRJ has developed different strategies of using the city's space to accomplish it. As we have seen, the construction of the mosque itself contributes to the practice of *dawa* in the city, as the extraneity of its architecture attracts the curiosity of Tijuca's urban dwellers. Another way the Association invests Rio's urban space is through the establishment of what they call "*dawa* table". Since 2009, the SBMRJ, in partnership with the Federation of Muslim Associations in Brazil (FAMBRAS), installs a "*dawa* table" at Square *Saens Peña*, in *Tijuca*, and another one at the Square *Uruguaiana*, downtown Rio. Both emplacements are major circulation spaces of the city. With the objective of diffusing their religion and dispelling wrong ideas about it, members of the Muslim community freely distribute

⁴⁶ Celebration that marks the end of Ramadan.

⁴⁷ For an analysis of the adoption of these elements by Muslims in Rio de Janeiro, see Dias, 2013: 508.

publications about Islam. The books are donated by a public Islamic institution in Egypt⁴⁸, whose members visit Rio in order to help the local Muslim community accomplish the missionary work. Rodrigo, a young “carioca” who frequented a Pentecostal Church, converted after reading “Jesus, a Prophet of Islam”⁴⁹, which he received as he was leaving the metro station *Saens Peña* on his way home in 2009. The following year, Rodrigo was part of the team distributing the books.

In 2011, the Muslim community enlarged, so to speak, the scope of its “*dawa* table”, by participating with FAMBRAS at Rio de Janeiro’s 15th Book Biennale at *Riocentro*, the city’s most important convention centre. Members of SBMRJ actively offered the books at a stand that simulated the façade of a mosque. The orientalist appeal of the stand attracted thousands of visitors: at the total, 10.000 books and pamphlets on Islam were distributed. The participation at the Biennale was part of a national wide campaign⁵⁰ designed to increase the awareness of Islam in the Brazilian society and diminish the negative image of the religion (one of the panels explained the “real” meaning of the term Jihad as “inner spiritual fight”, giving as example Gandhi and Mandela and denouncing the attacks of 9/11 as a terrorist act, together with the Holocaust and the Hiroshima bombs. Ultimately, the participation in the biennale was also aimed at attracting new conversions amongst Brazilian Christians. The willing to communicate to this public was synthesized in the bookmark distributed at the occasion: “I know the Bible. Do you know the Quran?”. In addition to the freely distributed books, it was possible to buy those published by SBMRJ. The authors of these books are Sami and his brother Munzer, who both underwent three years of Islamic studies in Saudi Arabia. Their books, which approach different aspects of Islam, are printed by a publishing company owned by one of the Association’s members and consultant, under a label specifically created for the publication of Islamic works, *Azaan*. The *dawa* books the Association receives for free distribution as well as the ones published under the label *Azaan* are continuously available at a table installed at the back of the mosque’s first floor.

Two main elements contribute to the rise of the number of conversions to Islam in Rio de Janeiro: its growing visibility in the city and the new relations Muslim communities have established with Brazilian society⁵¹. As we saw, SBMRJ has improved Islam’s visibility in the city, using Rio’s urban space as a privileged arena for its *dawa* practice. It has also created different dialogue

⁴⁸ These books are continuously available at the mosque. The Islamic institution in Egypt publishes divulgation material about Islam in different languages and diffuses them around the world. It sends them to SBMRJ without benefits.

⁴⁹ Book that, along with “The woman in Islam”, knows the biggest amongst the Brazilian public.

⁵⁰ This was part of FAMBRAS campaign “Know Islam”.

⁵¹ The communities where dialogue with Brazilian society has not been created, such as Foz do Iguaçu, reported no increase in the number of conversions (Pinto, 2010).

channels with the non-Muslim Brazilians, such as the course on Arabic language and introduction to Islam. This course, which has been in place since 1993, corresponds to the Association's first step towards the Brazilian public⁵². It is composed by one hour and a half of Arabic language⁵³ followed by another hour and a half of introduction to Islam. In between, there is a short pause, during which the Muslims realize the *Maghrib* prayer⁵⁴. As the lessons currently take place at the mosque's only functional floor, the students silently observe the devotees' pray in the mat situated in front of their set of chairs, specifically installed there for the course. The fact that one desiring to learn Arabic must also follow the classes on Islam, in addition to the fact that the lessons evolve in a prayer atmosphere, create a situation propitious for conversion, even though this is not announced as the course's main goal. In fact, whereas the Association aims at making Islam one more possibility of conversion in Rio's religious circuit, it insists on the non proselytising aspect of the religion. Differently from Pentecostals, Muslims do not explicitly assume their missionary character. Instead, in their discourse, the priority is to dispel misrepresentations of Islam, the conversion of Brazilians appearing as a potential outcome of this. This way, on the first day of the course, Sami announced: "our main objective is to correct wrong ideas about Islam, not to Islamise people. Media talks about suicide bombers, etc: it's already in the collective subconscious. It's the opposite of Islam, which word derives from peace. [...] Of course, if at the end some of you wish to convert, you are most welcome"⁵⁵. This year, a group of 41 people, composed by different social classes and cultural backgrounds, attended the course. Their motivations varied from doing tourism in Muslim countries to appreciating Arab cuisine. Some were enthused by the re-airing of the soap-opera *O Clone*⁵⁶, while others simply wanted to learn the language. That said, 2011 was the first year in the story of the course that a majority of students

⁵² In 2011, the Association promoted, previously to the course, a cycle of conferences on the life of the Prophet. Their public was composed by an eclectic group of about 60 people, men and women confounded. Opened to the public, the conferences allowed the Association to reach a larger spectrum of people. They were also a platform to announce and introduce the course itself, which started mid-March, right after Carnival. The course was diffused at the carioca newspaper *O Globo*, at local neighbourhood newspapers, at SBMRJ's website as well as other Islamic sites and blogs.

⁵³ SBMRJ's leadership encourages the mosque's Brazilian converts to learn Arabic because of its intrinsic religious value, rather than its ethnical aspect.

⁵⁴ The *Maghrib* is the fourth of the five obligatory Muslim daily prayers (*salat*). It is performed just after the sunset.

⁵⁵ 26/02/2011, Sami's introduction to the course. Mosque. Saturday Conference

⁵⁶ Originally shown in 2001-2002, this popular Brazilian soap opera was broadcasted for the second time in 2011 by Brazil's largest television channel, Globo. It dramatizes the saga of a Moroccan family living in Brazil. Adopting a romanticized and Orientalist approach to the Islamic religion, *O Clone* greatly influenced the perception of Islam in this country, contributing to an increase in the number of conversions. For an analysis of the impacts of *O Clone* in Brazil, see Montenegro, 2004.

declared their main interest relied on the religion itself⁵⁷. By the end of the course, two students had become Muslims.

A way SBMRJ increases both the visibility of Islam and its dialogue with the society is by making itself present in the city's communication vehicles and virtual arena. In fact, the Association regularly prepares systematized discourses to be diffused on its internet website or local publications, which aim at providing the Brazilian public with an alternate image of the religion (Montenegro, 2002a). In 2010, the Association put in place a monthly newsletter that it distributes inside the mosque and at some points of Tijuca (for example, at the neighbouring restaurant that advertises in it). Recently, SBMRJ has made progress in gaining space on national wide established means of communication. Since 2009, TV Globo, Brazil's most prominent television channel, airs a series celebrating the country's religious diversity. Islam is part of the program, together with five other religions⁵⁸. During the second season of the series (2010-2011), Sami was the spiritual leader responsible for exposing the religion's view on a variety of topics. Along with spiritual leaders of other religions, he also has a permanent space at the national newspaper Extra's blog⁵⁹. In fact, Rio's Muslim community embraces each opportunity of visibility in Rio de Janeiro's communication channels. In addition to its regular communication strategies, the Association promptly responds to invitations to accord interviews to the radio and television, as well as to give lectures at schools and other educational institutions. Aware of the importance of having a positive public image in 2009 SBMRJ offered its members rhetoric lessons, to ensure they have a good performance when communicating with the press. Allowing scientific research in its grounds may also be understood as a means of fighting stigmatization and, eventually, attracting new conversions. In addition, the Association leaders participate regularly on events promoted for interreligious debates and fight against religious intolerance.

Last but not least, the SBMRJ leaders seek actively to render the Brazilian environment more favourable to Islam followers. In 2015, they put together a document named "Islamophobic: real and virtual", with over 100 pages reporting attacks to physical persons, mosques and virtual harassment. This document was handed to several Brazilian authorities and one of its outcomes is that in 2016 the Federal Justice demanded *Google* to delete 23 videos insulting

⁵⁷ Interview with Marcelo, mosque, March 2011.

⁵⁸ Catholicism, Pentecostalism, Afro-Brazilian *Umbanda*, Judaism and Buddhism.

⁵⁹ <http://extra.globo.com/noticias/religiao-e-fe/sami-isabelle/> This is an initiative of the commission against religious intolerance. Sami inaugurated the blog by clarifying Islam is not "the religion of Arabs". Date of access: 18th December 2017.

Islam and its followers⁶⁰. In March 2017, “carioca” Muslims celebrated one more victory: Rio de Janeiro’s state justice (*Procuradoria Geral do Rio de Janeiro*)⁶¹ issued an opinion declaring that the state’s residents can henceforth wear, in their identity documents’ photographs, turbans, hats, veils or any other head cover for religious reasons.

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⁶⁰ <http://www.mpf.mp.br/rj/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-rj/mpf-google-e-condenada-por-videos-de-intolerancia-religiosa-na-internet> Date of access: 18th December 2017.

⁶¹ <http://www.oabrp.org.br/noticia/106684-cariocas-podem-usar-turbantes-ou-veus-na-carteira-de-identidade> Date of access: 18th December 2017.

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**GERMAN AND FRENCH “SPATIAL MANAGEMENT” OF
REFUGEES ILLUSTRATED BY SYRIANS’ URBAN
EXPERIENCES IN BERLIN AND MARSEILLES**

Assaf DAHDAH* & Annika DIPPEL**

ABSTRACT

Whereas the recent Refugee Studies with geographical approach often focus on the state-refugees nexus and living conditions in refugee camps or accommodation centres, we propose an analysis of the refugees’ residential insecurity and institutional constraints, questioning how they generate and influence individual strategies of urban integration and resettlement. Hence, our approach is to compare the politically established, multi-scaled “spatial management” of refugees with the refugees’ individual actions and decisions within their spaces of arrival. For this, we compare Marseilles’ and Berlin’s accommodation systems and urban specificities that come within two different national and local settings in terms of politics and migration patterns. The core question we address is to understand if and how these two barely comparable political and administrative systems can still lead to similar refugee resettlement patterns within urban spaces. The studies are based on the authors’ intensive ethnographic fieldwork in both cities that helped carry out in-depth case studies on Syrian nationals.

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Keywords: Refugee Accommodation, Residential Trajectory, Ordinary Urban Experience, Urban Inscription Patterns, European Comparison.

INTRODUCTION

This article aims to conduct a cross-sectional analysis of refugee resettlement processes in urban contexts, studying how individuals' usage of space within two European cities: Berlin (Germany) and Marseilles (France)¹. Despite obvious differences in their roles as “spaces of arrival” for refugees in recent years –divergent absolute numbers of arrival², asylum politics and their recurrence in public and political debates–, we argue that the so called “migration/ refugee crisis” has taken place/ takes place in both cities, although to different extents; yet, both urban contexts have been historically shaped by international migration influx. Hence, analysing and explaining contrasts in local patterns is central to our argumentation. These two cities of different size, national/ international range and political contexts will be object of the authors questioning on the entanglement and contradictions between administrative constraints and the ordinariness of urban life for refugees.

In fact, generally based on the analysis of national accommodation systems and considering the city as basic and homogeneous spatial support, a part of the literature dismisses the importance of urban specificities to understanding the refugees' urban integration and its conditions. More globally speaking, the transnational literature tends to underestimate the influence of national and local authorities, bureaucracy and borders on the refugees' resettlement process. Trying to avoid the pitfalls of these approaches, this article promotes an ethnographic analysis based on a comparison between refugees' experiences within two national and urban contexts. Furthermore, in discordance with the geographical focus of actual Refugee Studies on refugee camps or accommodation systems and the state-refugee nexus (Darling, 2016), it has only recently been admitted and considered that the majority of refugees all over the world live within ordinary urban spaces, apart from public or UNHCR accommodation systems (Crisp, 1999; Crisp et.al., 2012; UNHCR, 2009). Therefore, this article proposes an approach articulating urban refugees settlement processes and its social and geographical structures, based on multiple individual experiences of exile within the different urban contexts.

¹ In this article we use the term “refugee” as generic for all legal statuses, basing the reflection on the motive of migration, i.e. persons who reached Europe under the regime of forced migration.

² Since 2015: more than 100 000 registrations in Berlin, around 12 000 in Marseilles.

As a result, our approach is original in four aspects: 1) it does not only focus on the state-refugees nexus, 2) the city is not considered as an inert support for human influx, 3) it takes into account the refugees' representations and usages of space, 4) it does not overlook the refugees' social networks and their connections to non-profit or political organizations, but views them as crucial on the individual paths.

Living in a refugee shelter does not only define a specific pattern of living, but affects the refugees' first contacts with their spaces of arrival and local society. Thus, integrating defined social groups, such as migrants or refugees, in specific established accommodation systems has been analysed as being part of a multi-scaled (international, national, local) "spatial management" of individuals (Bruslé, 2015: 248). In Berlin for instance, according to the regional law, all refugees are assigned to live in centres of accommodation (compulsory for at least the first six weeks of their stay). Indeed, (compulsory) accommodation measures have been discussed as paradoxical (Agier, 2008), providing temporary shelter as part of a humanitarian solution, but at the same time enabling institutional surveillance of the hosted population (Lassailly-Jacob, 2006).

On this point, the literature on refugees in European cities shows that the principal objectives of national policies are the control of this population and also the rebalancing of its distribution and the lightening of the "burden" for the biggest cities (Robinson, et.al., 2003). This literature also underlines the impact of national policies on the distribution of this population within urban areas, choosing in some cases peripheral and already poor sectors for settlement (Phillimore and Goodson, 2006). Nevertheless, the cases of Marseilles and Berlin are in certain aspects at odds with this argument. Indeed, on the one hand, accommodation structures are not systematically implemented in peripheral areas. On the other hand, considering the refugees' spatial relegation as the consequence of "spatial management" only hides the influence of urban structures and dynamics on the resettlement processes such as socio-economic patterns on residential paths.

Undeniably, the accommodation structures tend to create different types of discontinuities in urban space: newly built up (urban) refugee camps and accommodation structures are often easy to identify morphologically within their environment, and thus its occupants are easily recognized and classified as part of the "refugee group" (Jaber, 2016). For instance, new shelters can be built inside cities with their own specific architecture, like the recently erected accommodation structures out of prefabricated elements in Berlin (Dippel, 2017). In other cases, depending on political and urban context, such discontinuities are less visible because authorities use the formal and informal existing urban structures as an accommodation system like squats, furnished

hostels and social housing in the central district and in the outskirts of Marseilles (Dahdah et.al., 2017). In this article we will address the question if through different ways these situations generate a marginalization process and maintain the “newly-arrived” in a precarious relation to space and society.

In Berlin, asylum law prescribing compulsory accommodation and difficult access to the housing market forces thousands of refugees to live in public accommodation shelters. The latter often become middle- or long-term housing solutions that sometimes last beyond their asylum procedures. Thus, the system maintains a high dependency on the public accommodation program, even if asylum seekers do not have to wait long to get the right to work³ and to afford personal housing. Meanwhile in Marseilles, hundreds of refugees, including minors, do not have access to the accommodation system and to the assistance program. As a consequence, they need to lean on informal solutions to avoid ending up on the streets. This generates high precariousness and dependence on the involvement of social, medical and humanitarian organizations and of activists in order to help the migrants and denounce the system failure. Hence, as result of those local and national specificities, individual difficulties might come up at different stages.

Therefore, individual experiences and strategies should be a central component of any analysis. Firstly, because “refugees” do not constitute a homogeneous group. Individuals come from different countries, have different skills and administrative status, unequal social and economic capitals. For that matter, being a man or a woman, a child or an adult, single or married with children can impart different relations to authorities and incidentally to urban space. Secondly, despite the strong obstacles previously mentioned, refugees remain actors of their mobility thanks to their skills, to their previous experiences and to available urban resources (Ma Mung, 2009). On this matter, refugees’ precariousness seems to be higher in Marseilles than in Berlin. Marseilles’ prevalent economy of undeclared labor and housing rental market gives rise to factors that are not as relevant when examining Berlin.

Finally, in order to understand the urban resettlement processes and their complexity the authors adopted a comprehensive approach based on a comparison between the two cities and an ethnographic approach based on intensive fieldwork. As part of a three-month field research for her Master’s Thesis in the spring of 2017, Annika Dippel frequented three charitable

³ In fact, the recent modifications of the German integration law strengthened asylum seekers’ and refugees’ rights concerning labor market participation. If they are not from one of the so-called “safe countries of origin”, asylum seekers are now allowed to work from the fourth month of their stay.

organizations in Berlin where she met with over 60 refugees (of all legal statuses), in different personal situations and from different origins (mainly from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq), who had reached Berlin since 2015. Assaf Dahdah was involved in a research program⁴ analysing Marseilles' central districts and its role as place in the residential trajectories of refugees. Through his research activities (2014-2017), he met Syrian, Sudanese, Somali, Algerian, Albanian and Kosovan nationals, of different administrative and of diverse marriage /family statuses, with whom he conducted several interviews at different stages of their resettlement process. Through their independent fieldwork, both authors reported dissimilar residential trajectories and social integration based on administrative obstacles and constraints, gender issues, resource inequalities (including personal social networks and non-profits), access to formal or informal housing, availability of formal or informal labour markets, and financial resources.

Currently representing the largest refugee group worldwide, it is impossible to consider Syrians as homogenous or as having experienced the same resettlement process. In this article the authors compare individual trajectories of Syrians in the two urban contexts in order to answer to the following questions: Do the particularities of the two refugee accommodation systems lead to specific spatial inscriptions of Syrian refugees in Berlin and Marseille? How do urban structures and dynamics influence the resettlement process and the refugees' individual residential plan? In extension, we address the question of how two very different local contexts and national administrative systems can still lead to similar driving out processes, from the city-centres to the outskirts.

The article is structured into three sections. Firstly, the authors will explain the functioning of French and German accommodation systems for refugees and the local management of the "migration/refugee crisis". Then they will compare the resettlement process of Syrian refugees through their residential trajectories, with the mapping of case studies. Finally, they will briefly analyse the Syrian urban integration in Marseilles and Berlin, urban polarities despite the residential instability generated by their accommodation systems.

1. FRENCH AND GERMAN NATIONAL ACCOMMODATION SYSTEMS, THE "REFUGEE CRISIS" OR "MIGRATION CRISIS", AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LOCAL CONTEXTS

Berlin and Marseilles, Germany and France, the comparison between these two contexts of refugee reception considers multi-scaled differences not only in

⁴ PUCA program "Ville ordinaire, citoyens précaires" leads by Florence Bouillon (LAVUE, Paris).

terms of political systems (federal, decentralized system versus centralized system), refugee politics, and accommodation systems (compulsory in Germany versus highly underfunded in France), but also national and local migration patterns (historical and recent), as well as social structures and dynamics in urban space. Without a doubt, the two countries and urban contexts do not in the same way experience the contemporary migration movements. Correspondingly the public debates in both countries forge different idioms concerning the recent immigration: whereas in Germany the debates concentrate on the “refugee crisis”, in France there is talk of a “migration crisis”. These idioms may reflect the different migration patterns as well as they probably feed the debate of “legitimate” (forced migration) versus “illegitimate” (economic migration) migrants.

Berlin’s Accommodation System: Emergency Situations and Large Scaled “Spatial Management”

Since the “long summer of migration” (Yurdakul, et.al., 2017) in 2015, more than 1.2 million refugees have reached Germany (website BAMF⁵, 2017), the majority of whom are fleeing (civil) wars in the Middle East and central Asia (Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan); Syrian nationals form the largest contingent, accounting for almost 30% of the registered refugees. Thus, Germany has become the most important host country for refugees in the European Union and has been in 2016 in the top 10 of host countries worldwide in absolute numbers. Berlin alone has received more than 100 000 asylum requests (website BAMF, 2017) during this time. Any analysis of Berlin’s accommodation system needs a reminder of the emergency situation it was facing in autumn 2015, when the city was receiving more than 1 000 refugees a day; tens of thousands of refugees were placed into emergency mass shelters, such as sports halls, some of which remained in use until spring 2017. Thousands of persons continue to live in emergency centres in Berlin, even though the number of arrivals has decreased largely as a result of the closure of the Balkan route, the UE-Turkey Refugee Deal, and a general closing of European borders. The crisis revealed obvious dysfunctions of the established political and administrative refugee support systems.

Within Germany’s federal political system, the support of refugees depends on an administrative “spatial management” that spreads the arrived individuals throughout the different federal states to divide institutional charges. The distribution and funding of refugees is organized through the *Königstein* key (calculated annually); based on the indicators of population and tax revenues

⁵ BAMF: Federal Office for Migration and Refugees

each federal state is designated responsible for the accommodation of a part of the registered refugees during one year, varying between 1% (Bremen) and 21% (North Rhine-Westphalia). On a more local level, the federal states apply a similar distribution system within their “borders”. As a consequence, refugee support has been established in every German commune, as much in rural communes as in urban ones. Historically, bigger cities are emblematic places of migration and potentially provide recently arrived individuals access to different networks (community, association, commercial, professional, etc.) facilitating their arrival and resettlement. However, the recent German spatial refugee management aims to smooth regional imbalances of migration patterns notably to avoid situations of refugee or ethnic groupings in major urban spaces. To do so, refugees registered in Germany are legally put under the “obligation of residence” and, since 2016, under the “obligation of home”. The “obligation of residence” reduces the individual’s freedom of movement during the first three months of his/her stay after registering with the local authorities; asylum seekers are not allowed to go beyond a defined perimeter, be it the city or the administrative district. For three years after the final decision on their protection status (as long as a person has neither a professional nor a training position in another federal state), the “obligation of home” forces refugees to live within the federal state responsible for their asylum procedure.

These national particularities show how much refugees are “objects” in a huge logistical process, that is mainly concerned with their geographical presence and needs to be analysed as a constraint for the individual resettlement process; as a consequence, being a refugee in one of the bigger cities in Germany, and notably in Berlin, appears to be an advantage. Indeed, the presence of diverse economies, job openings, social networks, migration networks, activities, etc., provide potentially more social and professional opportunities and, hence, that’s why the two laws restricting geographical freedom of movement are less of a constraint within the individual resettlement process for the refugees living in Berlin and other large cities.

In Berlin’s accommodation system, living in refugee shelters is compulsory for at least six weeks after arrival and first registration, if not for the whole of the asylum procedure for nationals from the so-called “safe countries of origin”. However, within Berlin’s urban context the difficulties for the resettlement process seem to have two components: the difficult access to housing and the temporarily long dependency on local accommodation systems that can neither provide proper housing conditions nor become support of personal orientation and durable settlement. At the time of writing, the refugee accommodation in Berlin is afforded through 100 centres (7 reception centres, 32 emergency

shelters, 61 shared accommodation facilities) with locations spread over the whole urban area (website LAF⁶, 09/2017). Berlin's accommodation centres hosted more than 28 000 persons in September 2017 and almost 45 000 persons back in June 2016. Many of those living in the centres are in the asylum procedure and waiting for the authorities' final response; for others, limited access to the housing market keeps them in the accommodation system for long periods, exceeding in some cases a year or two.

Moreover, Berlin's accommodation system means for the individuals to be rehoused from one centre to another. For many the urban accommodation trajectories start in emergency shelters or reception centres, widely criticized for the provided "mass accommodation" and the impossibility for refugees to lead an autonomous life. Occupants of these shelters often only receive social benefits in kind (daily meals are catered). From these centres, depending on availabilities, refugees are rehoused in shared accommodation facilities that often have higher living standards. These provide typically smaller units, with rooms for two or three persons or family rooms with shared kitchens and bathrooms.

Refugees tend to establish ties in the communities where they reside, and hence, as a consequence of repeated rehousing, if social connections are maintained, the refugees' daily urban patterns often appear as erratic.

The "Migration Crisis" Highlighting French and Marseilles Accommodation System Dysfunctions

As a result of the rising influence of populist ideas and movements and the "criminalization" of international migration by public authorities, a growing proportion of the French population perceives there to be a tremendous threat of foreigners invading the country. Yet, France is no longer as an attractive country as it used to be⁷ in a "globalized migrations" context (Simon, 2008). For instance, the net migration has remained low and stable (between +30 000 and +100 000 per year) since the middle of the 1970's (Mazuy et.al., 2015). As a matter of fact, compared to Germany, the so-called European "migration crisis" did not greatly influence French migration statistics. The French administrative authority for refugees' annual report (OFPRA, 2017) noted that the number of asylum applications increased by 24% (65 000 to 80 000 applications) between 2014 and 2015, and by 7% (80 000 to 85 000 applications) the following year; the large majority of the applications were filed in two urban areas: Paris (more than 21 000) and Lyon (around 6 600).

⁶ LAF: State Office for Refugee Affairs

⁷ In 2015, with 148 500 non-EU immigrants France ranked 5th after Germany (967 000), Great Britain (278 600), Italy (186 500) and Spain (183 700) (Eurostat, 2017).

In Marseilles, *Hospitalité Pour les Femmes*, the organization in charge of asylum seekers' registration until December 2015, indexed 2 371 new applications in 2015, around 60% more than 2014 (Bonis, 2016). Syrians are in 3rd place with 10% of the new applications, below Iraqis 10,5% and Algerians 18% (Bonis, 2016: 15). Putting an appropriate accommodation system in place to respond to such a situation in a metropolitan area of 3 million inhabitants should not present the problem that it does, thus highlighting the dysfunctions of an already swamped system based on two main services: the HUDA (emergency accommodation for asylum seekers) and the CADA (reception centres for asylum seekers). The HUDA should be the first and short-term step before accessing the CADA, where asylum seekers await the decision to their demand.

In 2017 the HUDA was comprised of around 15 000 places nationally (about 2 800 more than in 2015). In Marseilles, the 463 HUDA places are mainly rooms in a dozen furnished hostels situated in the city's central district (Cimade, 2017), as well as other types of accommodations such as prefabricated elements, old converted buildings like schools, or homeless shelters. Like the CADA, the HUDA organization is managed under the direction of the OFII and, as a result, is charged with protecting asylum seekers by supplying basic accommodation needs according to rights set forth in the 1951 Refugee Convention. But in fact, due to a lack of places, as a result of budgetary constraints and of local politics, HUDA uses the hostels as a selection process to control the access to accommodation centres: adults without children and families with children over 10 years old have no access to hostels; "Dublin" and "dismissed" families, including pregnant women and mothers with new-born babies, are evicted by the hostel manager at the end of the administrative procedure. Moreover, because of the swamped CADA system and the long administrative procedure, a large part of asylum seekers accommodated in the hostels have to wait several months in small and insalubrious rooms without access to basic needs like kitchens and washing machines. In spite of these hardships, many migrants mention that during this period they established ties and built networks in the neighbourhoods with other Arab nationals (thanks to historical North African immigration in Marseilles) and in the schools where their children are registered. As a matter of fact, when they are forced to leave the hostel and the central area for a CADA apartment, typically situated in peripheral districts or outside of the city, their feelings are ambivalent.

The CADA is mostly made up of apartments within social housing buildings situated in the outskirts of the cities. French authorities delegate the management of this measure to several organizations, which have an ambivalent position as they provide social, legal and administrative support to asylum seekers as well as evict them if their asylum demand is rejected (Kobelinsky, 2008). According to the French Office of Immigration and Integration (OFII,

2015), in 2015 the CADA was composed of around 28 000 places nationally, the occupation rate was about 91%, and the average of the time spent in a CADA was around 495 days for refugees (including 159 days after gaining the status) and 573 days for dismissed asylum seekers (including 123 days after receiving the final decision of the court). Because of the lack of CADA housing in Marseilles⁸, authorities and organizations give priority to families with minors. Consequently, several adults, mainly single men, are excluded from the system and have no other choice than living on the streets, squatting or renting insalubrious places from slumlords. The large scale demand on the national level has forced the French state to reform the asylum law with the main objective of reducing the asylum process costs. So, the law includes a reduction of the administrative processing period and of the accommodation occupation period, meanwhile creating new CADA places. As a result of this reform, according to the association Cimade (2017), the number of CADA places reached 38 000 units in 2017. However, the administrative processing period is still long and the number of CADA places remains insufficient. As a result, a large number of asylum seekers do not have access to the accommodation system.

Finally, Berlin's and Marseilles' accommodation systems seem to have an heavy impact on the refugees' place within urban space and local society, as consequence of being specifically for refugees (social isolation), often meaning socio-spatial instability and a lack of autonomy.

2. FROM THE CITY-CENTRE TO THE OUTSKIRTS: INDIVIDUAL RESIDENTIAL PATHS WITHIN THE ACCOMMODATION SYSTEMS

In the following we will show the ambivalent links between a lack of autonomy on the residential path, personal ties, appropriated urban spaces and ordinary daily urban practices. Additionally, the comparison between Marseilles' and Berlin's contexts shows how different systems can lead to a comparable driving out process, from the city-centres to the outskirts.

Berlin: Moving to the Outskirts as Result from a Tense and Competitive Rental Housing Market

To quit the accommodation system and to move into a proper personal flat, refugees in Berlin can receive public benefits to afford the rental costs, but they do not receive any public help to find apartments. However, many civic organizations propose help by accompanying refugees in their research. In the

⁸ According to the French organization Cimade, in 2017 there are less than 1 200 places in the CADA accommodation system in Marseilles and its suburbs, meanwhile according to the organization *Hospitalité Pour les Femmes* there are around 5 000 migrants who have applied for asylum demand in Marseilles between January and September 2017.

context of increasing rents and high demand in the local housing market, refugees seem to have several disadvantages: discrimination based on foreign sounding names or family status (particularly Turk and Arab sounding names and single men), the language barrier, and landlords' reservations concerning public administrations for rent reimbursement (Barwick, 2011; Hinz and Auspurg, 2017). Hence, many refugees are forced to move into flats in the outskirts of Berlin, where rents are lower than in the central areas.

This rehousing runs contrary to the wishes of many of the Syrians the author met in Berlin who want to live inside the "Ring" (a perimeter of around 100km² created by the suburban railway circumnavigating the central districts) to avoid long daily trips⁹. The city of Berlin has historically had a decentralized and poly-centric urban space with numerous centres and sub-centres and the areas inside the "Ring" are often defined as central Berlin. Whereas the accommodation centres in the best cases are located in central and attractive areas, close to commercial and/or migration centralities, the refugees' first places of residence outside the accommodation system are often located in the outskirts. However, in some cases, mainly young single men and women, are able to stay within the central districts living in flat-shares with German and/or international flatmates (sometimes Syrian friends). Fortunately, the whole urban area of Berlin is highly connected and accessible through its dense public transport system, highly subsidized and thus affordable for refugees¹⁰, enabling these individuals to maintain strong relationships in the centre even if they have moved to outlying areas. Thus, Syrian refugees met in Berlin seem to be very mobile within the urban space but can spend significant time daily in public transport.

Marseilles: Precariousness in City Centre and Displacement to Outskirts as Result of CADA System

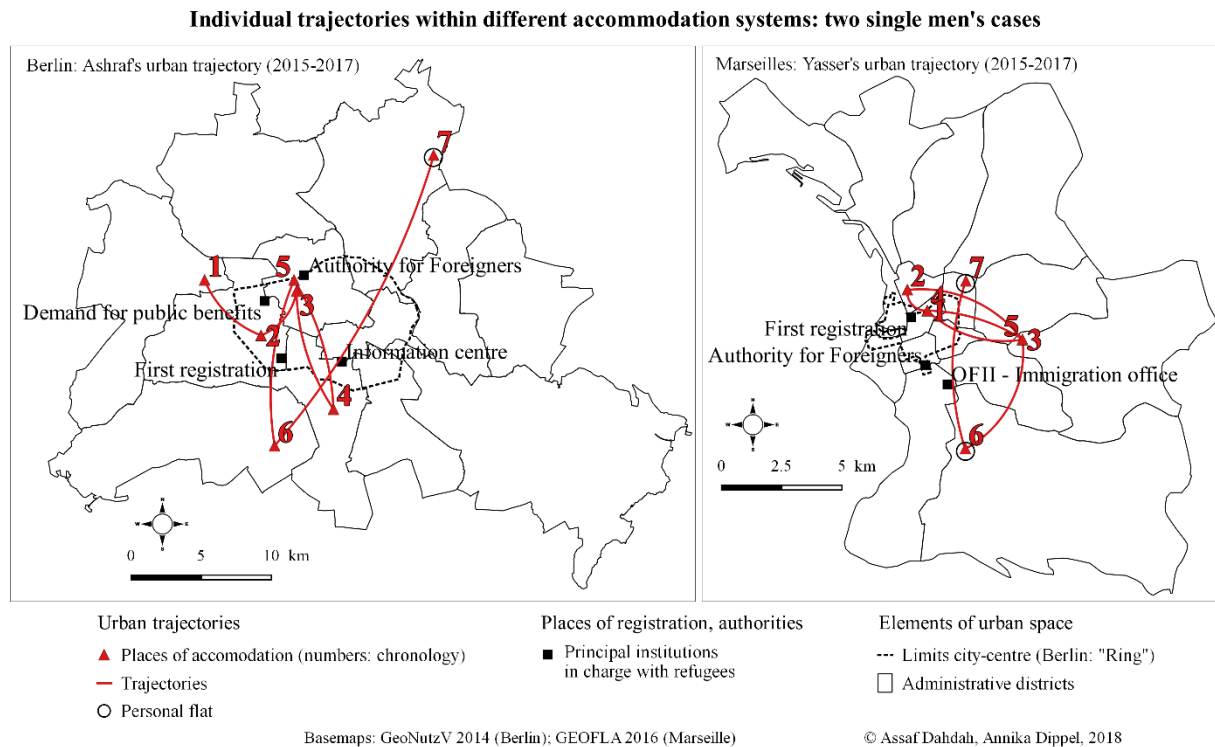
After a refugee's initial reception period, possibly in a furnished hostel or a long period of instability, Syrian residential trajectories in Marseilles depend on many factors: their personal networks and self-initiative, family status, access to the accommodation system, availability of social housing, and the rental market. In the city centre CADA apartments are typically small (studio or 2 rooms flat), preferable for one to two people without children. Another possibility for remaining in the city centre is the private rental market, refugees with administrative status can receive public benefits to afford the costs of small

⁹ Taking public transport across Berlin's urban space, an area of around 890 km², easily takes more than one hour and a half or two in the N-S and W-E directions.

¹⁰ The monthly charges for Berlin's public transport for refugees (as well as for all persons receiving public social benefits) amount to 27,50€ instead of around 80€ at full-price.

apartments in the central area. The CADA apartments designated for families (3 to 4 rooms flats) are mainly concentrated in peripheral social housing forcing families to move to the outskirts or even to leave Marseilles for smaller municipalities or for the countryside far away. This runs contrary to the preferences of the majority of Syrians interviewed who want to settle in Marseilles' central area in order to maintain networks and ties, to have access to professional opportunities, and to continue children's schooling. Single men, on the other hand, do not receive the same government protection as families and can face potential homelessness and instability; however, they have a greater chance to remain in the city centre and retain more freedom in respect to their residential trajectory. Finally, the accommodation system is kind of Sword of Damocles over families because if the refugees do not accept the CADA apartment proposition the organization in charge is able to exclude them of the accommodation system. As a matter of fact, on the short and medium-term, Syrian families are obliged to move to peripheral areas while single men might be able to settle in central or "peri-central" districts after several months of precariousness.

Two Single Men's Individual Trajectories in Marseilles and Berlin: Residential Assignment and Wandering



Map 1: Two single men's individual residential paths

Yasser¹¹ is a 35-year-old man and accountant from Damascus. In September 2015, after two years of exile in Istanbul, he decided to leave the Turkish metropolis for Western Europe through the Balkans. Already settled in Marseilles, Yasser's cousin advised him to choose the city in southern France as his destination, where he finally applied for asylum upon his arrival in October 2015.

Ashraf, a 29-year-old Syrian lawyer from Qamishli (north-eastern Syria), has lived in exile for years, since the outbreak of the Syrian war. His migration path took him through several countries: Lebanon, Jordan, Algeria, Iraq, Turkey and Cameroon, before reaching Germany and Berlin in July 2015 also by the Balkan route. When he first arrived in Germany he decided to go to Schwerin in the north to apply for asylum (he had heard, in Schwerin Syrians' asylum requests would be treated within one week), but he was right away transferred to Berlin owing to the federal spatial management system for refugees.

Immediately upon his arrival in Marseilles Yasser was confronted with housing problems as his cousin, already living with his wife and sons in a small apartment, could not accommodate him more than a few nights. So, he resolved to apply for a place in *Foyer Forbin*, a well-known shelter for precarious and homeless persons in the central urban area (1). He had to quit the shelter every day at 8 o'clock a.m., and when we met Yasser he looked very tired and weary:

"It's been 10 days now that I stay in the 'foyer' and it is a really difficult time for me. I did not expect that I would live so precariously in France... It is much harder than Istanbul. I stay with Syrian friends and other refugees from Afghanistan and Sudan, but every day we must leave the dormitory. During the day I stay outside, wandering around, waiting for my appointments with the 'Préfecture' [Authority for Foreigners], the OFII. I am still waiting for the asylum benefits and an accommodation proposition." (personal translation from Arabic, December 2015)

In March 2016 OFPRA gave Yasser a subsidiary protection, meaning that he has to reapply every year to renew his status. This administrative status sustains him in a precarious situation meanwhile he is still not eligible for CADA accommodation. After weeks in *Foyer Forbin* Yasser decided to leave the shelter for a short stay in his friends' apartment in the city centre (2). While there, he enquired into accommodation systems organised by non-profit asylum organizations and contacted the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), supporter of the *Welcome Project*. Through this organization Yasser found housing with Marseilles inhabitants for two months in the eastern area of the city (3). However, during

¹¹ All names in this text have been changed to guarantee our interlocutors' anonymity.

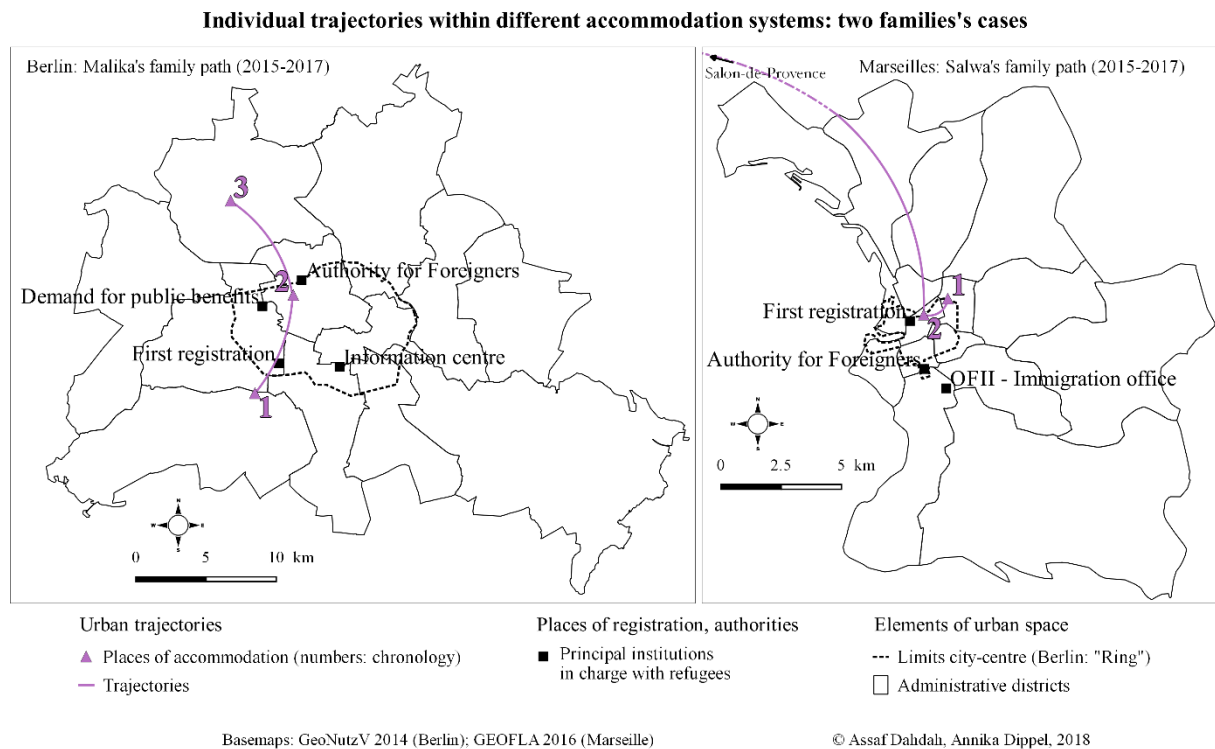
the summer there are less *Welcome Project* volunteers available to accommodate refugees and as a result, Yasser had to quit the apartment and return to his friends' (4).

Losing hope of accessing a CADA apartment, Yasser attempted to rent a private apartment but as an unemployed refugee he faced landlords' reluctances and discriminations, even in the central districts where small and relatively cheap apartments are available. In September 2016 he contacted JRS volunteers and found accommodation for two more months in the eastern area (5). Then, the volunteers informed Yasser of the possibility to circumvent the CADA system by contacting the organizations in charge of the post-CADA refugees' accommodation. Finally, Yasser found an accommodation system supported by the organization *Habitat et Humanisme*, which guarantees the tenants three years of housing as well as professional and language training courses. Because of the *Habitat et Humanisme* objectives of socio-spatial mixing, in 2017 Yasser lived in the southern area of Marseilles, which is generally accepted as the wealthiest part of the city (6). During the summer of 2017 the organization suggested he change apartments for one closer to the city-centre (7), a proposition accepted by Yasser who had found work in a pizzeria situated near the Marseilles train station.

By comparison in Berlin, Ashraf was transferred between five different accommodation centres and right from his arrival in the city he was integrated into the public accommodation system for refugees. After one month in a reception centre located in Berlin's western outskirts (1), the authorities offered him a room in a hotel in the western central area close to the Kurfürstendamm, a quite wealthy residential neighbourhood, where he stayed for three months (2). He reflects on those months like being on holiday in Berlin and which permitted him to get to know the city. As soon as there were new sheltered accommodation capacities (at his arrival in summer 2015 the whole accommodation system was highly overcharged), he was transferred to an emergency shelter for refugees, an air dome pitched on an abandoned green space in a quite central and busy urban area (3). After one month, he was transferred to a shared accommodation centre in southern Berlin (4), but he ran away from it because of its bad living conditions and stayed instead with a friend in central Berlin for several weeks waiting for another centre placement (5). From there, he got another place within a shared accommodation centre in the southwest, where he stayed for several months (6). Finally, after more than a year and a half of residential instability and limited autonomy, Ashraf moved into his own flat located in the north-eastern outskirts (Pankow) (7). As a result of his complex residential path he says he now knows the whole city, evidenced in his daily urban practices spread over a huge area, from the city centre to the outer boroughs.

Even if Ashraf's trajectory is a bit exceptional, other (Syrian) refugees met in Berlin were often transferred between fewer centres (2-3), it shows how even within situations of extreme dependency on local authorities there is a possibility to use institutional gaps to avoid bad living situations but not without risking precariousness. In Ashraf's case, residential insecurity was able to be absorbed by his social network and friends from his hometown in Syria living in Berlin. Other persons met in Berlin preferred to stay homeless for several nights rather than moving to one of the centres providing mass accommodation.

Two Syrian Families' Cases in Berlin and Marseilles: One-Way Trajectories to the Outskirts



Map 2: Two families' individual residential paths

A Family Experience of Exile in Berlin: Ambivalence towards the Proposed Accommodation

Malika's journey to Berlin started with neither her two children (a 15-year-old boy and an 11-year-old girl) nor her (ex-) husband, whom she left behind in Syria. The 35-year-old Syrian woman reached Berlin in summer 2015 through the Balkan route and claimed international asylum protection with the aim of her family joining her. The whole administrative procedure took her seven months, from her arrival to the arrival of her family.

During several months, before her family's arrival, Malika was accommodated in a centre located in southwestern Berlin, in the district of Dahlem, which is a quite wealthy, mainly residential area and centre for academic research (1). She really appreciated her stay within this part of Berlin because of its green spaces, its calmness and quietness, and the low presence of Arabic inhabitants. Then, as a result of trouble with the authorities, she left the accommodation centre and lived with a friend for some weeks in central Berlin (2). In order for her children to join her, the administrative procedure required her to prove she had enough living space for the three; the administrations granted her a "flat" within a hotel transformed into an emergency accommodation centre located in the north-western outskirts of Berlin, in the district of Reinickendorf (3). Since as a result of the difficult access to rental space in Berlin refugees often stay within the accommodation system even after their asylum procedure has come to an end, Malika and her children can keep their "flat" as long as they did not find anything else. Her family's case shows the cost of living within the accommodation system for the resettlement process: despite the very high quality of the shelters Malika says she cannot feel home as long as she does not live in a personal apartment.

From Homs to Salon-de-Provence, International and Local Experience of Residential Instability

Salwa is an approximately 30-year old mother of two young children and her husband is around 40 years old, formerly a prosperous merchant in Homs. Salwa's husband had been kidnapped in July 2012 and disappeared for several months. This event deeply affected the man provoking psychiatric disorders. Consequently, Salwa decided to quit Homs for Damascus where she and her family settled for a few months in a hovel situated in the outskirts. Facing suspiciousness as displaced people from the "capital of the revolution" the family left Syria for Lebanon, where Salwa found housing and worked as a housekeeper in the Bekaa Valley (eastern Lebanon). The economical precariousness and the political instability forced them to quit Lebanon for Cairo (Egypt), where they faced discrimination and political insecurity. Because of such instability in the Middle East, Salwa decided to reach Europe. Late 2013 the family flew to Istanbul and then on to Algiers (where Syrians used to be accepted without visa) in order to cross the Moroccan border. There, Salwa's family waited almost one year nearby Melilla trying to enter the Spanish enclave. After several tries, Salwa finally succeeded to enter alone and had to wait three months for her husband and her children in a retention centre. A few weeks later Spanish authorities deported Salwa's family to Madrid, where Salwa did not want to seek asylum. However, her husband decided to stay and local authorities registered his fingerprints; thus, according to the Schengen system, he was to apply for asylum in Spain. After days of hesitation the family moved to France by train, were

arrested by French police in Perpignan, transported to Toulouse, and then released. Salwa's family finally moved to Marseilles, where they arrived in March 2015.

"We come to Marseilles because in Toulouse a man told us that as Arabs it is easier to find help, accommodation and work. Now I can say that our relations to Arabs in Marseilles are very ambivalent. Some of them want to help us and some of them take advantage of us. I met one Arab woman who trapped me and thank God I met another Arab woman who saved me. And now we are friends." (personal translation from Arabic, April 2016)

Salwa met a Moroccan woman met at the train station while seeking accommodation. The woman suggested to Salwa that she could house her and in the meanwhile she would help her to apply for asylum. Salwa accepted but after several weeks she realized that she had been tricked. The woman exploited her as housemaid and did not help her with the administrative procedure. Moreover, she lied to Salwa explaining that her husband has no asylum rights in France because of the so-called Dublin procedure. Consequently, the Syrian family stayed 8 months in Marseilles' central area without schooling the children and without medical care for the husband (1). Finally, Salwa met a Tunisian woman in the mosque who told her that they have the right to be registered as asylum seekers in France¹². In December 2015 with new found asylum status the Syrian family were accommodated in a furnished hostel in the neighbourhood of Belsunce (2). There they met volunteers of the informal organization *Soutien et Solidarités avec les Réfugiés* who helped Salwa to register her children in public school and convinced her husband to see a psychologists' organization called *Osiris*.

Usually, because of insalubrity and lack of privacy, refugee families accommodated in hostels are in a hurry to quit the HUDA system even if they have to leave Marseilles' central area. After years of residential instability for Salwa, getting a room in the hostel was synonymous with stability despite the inconveniences; hence, Salwa decided to stay as long as she could in the hostel, not applying for a CADA apartment that would mean another residential move. As a consequence, Salwa's family stayed approximately 8 months in a 9m² room. But in July 2016 the OFII forced them to leave the hostel for a CADA apartment in Salon-de-Provence, a small city 50km from Marseilles (3). Despite her wishes to live in central Marseilles, where she has established friends and

¹² According to Dublin Convention, a family cannot be separated and after 8 months out of the first registration country the Dublin deportation procedure is not relevant.

bearings, Salwa appreciates the CADA accommodation after almost 5 years of wandering.

Syrian Urban Experiences within the Two Different Contexts

In all these cases the social network must be seen as a crucial component of the individuals' paths, possibly: offering short or medium-term accommodation in times of residential instability or helping to understand the rights and demands of the asylum procedure. Yet, Salwa's case shows how bad social encounters may also mislead individuals or families in times of residential and social instability or when public systems are lacking. Dysfunctions in both cities' accommodation systems lead to residential instability though in different ways: Marseilles' accommodation system destabilizes single men and women often left to their own devices putting them at risk for deception or abuse, even if charity organizations try to fill the system's dysfunctions; on the other hand, in Berlin residential instability is more often due to medium or long-term dependency on the accommodation system and its repeated rehousing procedures in which individuals are displaced (without consent) between different accommodation centres, partly due to the emergency situation and overfilled structures.

These individual cases highlight the major difficulty for (Syrian) refugees: to quickly find long-term housing in the common rental market especially in the central urban areas and as a result forcing them to move to the urban peripheries, where rents are lower. In Marseilles moving to the outskirts generally means moving to the northern areas characterised by few economic activities, social and physical isolation, and limited connection by public transport to the central area. Therefore, Syrian refugees living in the outskirts often feel isolated and most of them reported that it is the worst condition for fostering social and cultural integration. Even in Berlin, where the living conditions in the outskirts are barely comparable to those in northern Marseilles and are fairly well connected to the central areas, living in the outskirts may still create a feeling of social isolation and inhibit access to non-profit organizations such as neighbourhood collectives or *language cafés*¹³, which are more often located in the central areas. Observations in Berlin show that the family situation seems to be important in analysing daily urban mobility: young single men and women are often more flexible, having less constraints in their everyday life, and thus may be more mobile than those with families, especially parents of young children.

¹³ *Language cafés* are a kind of German conversation class organized by charitable organizations and members of the civil society in Berlin (and other German cities), that seem to be a significant place of interaction between refugees and the local society.

3. NEW SYRIAN GEOGRAPHIES BUILT ON PERSONAL TIES

Residential instability and repeated (forced) rehousing create constraints, which, at the same time, significantly influence the refugee's relationship to urban space. In some cases, as in Ashraf's or in Yasser's, the repeated rehousing aided their knowledge of their respective cities, since they needed to repeatedly readapt their daily practices to very different urban spaces and (re)appropriate them. In other cases, the repeated rehousing brings social instability and disorientation notably when social connections are interrupted as a result of poor access between places. However, despite the accommodation system's weight and the refugees' dependency on the system, some refugees still consider moving to the city-centre on their own devices. Additionally, because of the administrative asylum procedure, work opportunities, medical follow-up or even personal ties, Syrian refugees we have met in Berlin and Marseilles regularly go to central areas where they have established habits and bearings. As a consequence, despite their forced rehousing (either in the outskirts or within the city centre), through their everyday practices and urban representations Syrian refugees in these cities also participate to produce new Syrian geographies added to already "cosmopolitan situations" (Gastaut, 2002).

The Emerging Syrian Economic and Cultural Geography of Marseilles

Thanks to 20th century migration influx, and more specifically North African immigration (Témime, et.al., 2007), a large portion of Marseilles' inhabitants are Arabic-speaking, particularly in the central neighbourhoods of Belsunce and Noailles; these areas are located between the port and the central train station, both principal entry gates to the city, and are also the primary location of the majority of the furnished hostels (Baby-Collin, Dahdah, 2017). In Marseilles, because of social-spatial inequalities and centre-peripheral imbalances, most economic opportunities are also concentrated in the city centre where informal economy is still important. This historical and social geography must be taken into consideration when analysing the Syrian integration in the city.

When Yasser first arrived in Marseilles he met other Syrian refugees housed in the hostels surrounding the train station. Later, he met Syrians who had already found some work in bakeries, coffee shops and barbershops. These businesses are mostly situated around the train station and have become a hub of the newly arrived Syrians in Marseilles who are still frequently gathered on the Turkish-Kurdish restaurant's terrace drinking Arabic tea. A second area has begun to attract Syrian refugees, that of Cours Julien and La Plaine, known for previously established Lebanese-Armenian grocers who sell traditional Arabic bread and foodstuffs. This is also an area known for its nightlife and where a

Palestinian-Syrian refugee family from Yarmouk Palestinian camp (Damascus) has opened three pubs and restaurants since 2012. Their newest one is named *Yasmine* and has become, in a very short time, a trendy and busy place (Picture 1). Many Syrians had participated in the opening party, including Yasser who enjoys this place managed by like-minded opponents to the Assad regime. It is for the access to these social opportunities that Yasser appreciates the possibility to settle in an area close to the city centre.



Picture 1: Palestinian-Syrian restaurant *Yasmine* in Marseilles (© A. Dahdah, 2017)

Individual Paths within Berlin's Diverse Urban Spaces

Regarding Ashraf's case enables us to observe the links between his residential history and his present daily urban practices. For example, during his stay in the southern parts he got into the habit of going to a public library located close to his accommodation centre where he learned German and even now that he lives in the northern part of the city he still frequents this library. Since the summer of 2017, Ashraf works as a waiter in a German-Arab restaurant whose manager he got to know during the months he lived in a hotel nearby. Now he lives in the outskirts and it takes him more than a 50-minute-ride by public transport to reach his working place. Everyday Ashraf travels throughout the city: he aids a local initiative close to the Turmstraße, where he helps “newly-

arrived” refugees to learn the German language by participating to the “language cafés” and he organizes a dance class. Through his professional and social activities he has raised an important and diverse social network mainly with Germans and other Syrians, but also with other European nationals and persons from Arab-speaking countries. Furthermore, in Berlin he met back up with several old school friends and neighbours from his hometown in Syria, who have proven to be important within his own urban experience.

More generally speaking, the analyses of daily urban movement and use of space by refugees in Berlin showed three tendencies: 1) their different places of both short and long-term residence tend to influence the spatial patterns in their present daily life, which means that personal ties to urban spaces (often in central areas) are preserved even if the persons have moved and live quite far away; 2) urban places with historically established Turkish or Arab shops, restaurants or cafés, often located in central areas (such as Sonnenallee/ Hermannplatz, Turmstraße, Frankfurter Allee, etc.), are important in the everyday practices of refugees and need to be analysed as an important resource for social networking, most notably during the period following the arrival when access to the local society may be difficult; 3) charitable organisations and local initiatives (counted in the hundreds in Berlin) often become places for the refugees’ regular or daily social and spatial practices and are a significant liaison between “locals” and “newcomers” (Han-Broich, 2015).

4. CONCLUSION

Even though the cities of Berlin and Marseilles are hardly comparable in terms of accommodation systems, urban contexts and administrative situations, the urban spatial integration of Syrian refugees exhibits similar dynamics in the resettlement process, such as residential instability and centre-peripheral trajectories. At the same time, these two situations underline the structural character of national systems’ constraints on individual paths, which in turn influence the refugees’ urban experience.

However, the article’s findings highlight the importance of urban context in other aspects. Firstly, the accommodation system’s functioning depends on urban structures and on socio-spatial organization. Additionally, if the accommodation system is managed on a national scale, local authorities also have manoeuvrability to adapt it, especially in Germany. Secondly, in both cities formal and informal charitable organisations are crucial to overcoming the systems’ dysfunctions, helping refugees aside from their official status, to access information concerning the asylum procedures and to access accommodation facilities. As a matter of fact, one need to consider these organizations and more widely individual social networks as main component of refugees’ individual

resources to minimize social and administrative precariousness and to strengthen their urban insertion.

In response to our initial questions we showed how within two different accommodation systems Syrian refugees built up personal ties within their appropriated urban spaces. It should be noted our observations are not specific for only Syrian refugees, since refugees in general are subjected to the same rules and constraints and differences observed may be based more on legal statuses than on national backgrounds. Nonetheless, the assortment of case studies within the Syrian group illustrates the diversity of urban trajectories and experiences of the larger refugee group in both urban contexts. We analysed established “Syrian” or “oriental” centralities (shops, restaurants, cafés) as crucial to understanding the spatial integration of Syrian refugees in both cities. Then, in Marseilles and Berlin we observed how under different circumstances refugees often end up living in the outskirts as the result of competitive private rental markets and in Marseilles as a result of most of the social housing being located outside the city centre. Finally, comparing a variety of experiences highlights the differences between single individuals and families on the one hand, and between men and women on the other, especially in Marseilles.

Having witnessed individual refugees’ experiences within the two European cities, we can state that they are placed under a specific administrative regime that rules and affects their everyday life and urban integration. According to Michel Agier and his Foucauldian approach, despite its national and local specific features this regime can be considered as part of a “biopower” or “technology of power” that transforms migrants into “a mass of dissocialized individuals” and in which they “become objects, being distributed, accounted, controlled, divided into different demographical categories leading to specific treatments” (personal translation from French, Agier, 2012: 5). All these aspects highlight the tensions and the contradictions between the “spatial management” of refugees and the principles of hospitality and diversity that (should) rule urbanity. Extending this statement, there is a contradiction between actual refugee policies and democratic political systems, which are supposed to guarantee rights to those who are asking for protection and looking for social integration.

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WOMEN AND RESISTANCE IN URBAN SPACE¹

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ABSTRACT

This article studies women's resistance and mechanisms of politicisation in marginalised urban areas by focusing on the case of women's mobilization in the Dikmen Valley neighbourhood. In this mobilisation, the neighbourhood has a decisive role in the emergence of resistance, the development of a collective identity and the politicisation of the inhabitants. Appropriation and preservation of the neighbourhood which is considered by women as the central space for their everyday life and social relations become the main issue of their struggle. After presenting the Dikmen Valley and the evolution of urbanisation in Ankara, the article, drawing of Lefebvre's right to the city and theories on everyday forms of resistance, analyses the emergence of the discontent and the role of the neighbourhood in the resistance and the politicisation of the inhabitants. The focus will be particularly on women as they appear during the mobilisation as a leading power which convinced many other dwellers to join the action and the resistance in the neighbourhood. The article argues that the mobilisation experience in the neighbourhood has empowered women to question the political system, traditional values and gender relations in everyday life.

Keywords: Woman, Turkey, Urban Resistance, Neighbourhood, Everyday Life.

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INTRODUCTION

The housing and estate policies implemented in Turkey since the early 2000s have given rise to a rapid urbanization accompanied by the transformation of many informal neighbourhoods and forced displacement of an important number of inhabitants living in these areas. Most of projects are imposed by the top decision makers, inhabitants are not consulted on the redesign of their neighbourhood and their resistance is generally repressed and rarely taken into account. The global objective of these policies is to generate a spatial rent contributing to the development of neoliberal economic regime and to the transformation of metropolitan cities as global cities with zero security and urban problems, privileging their touristic, financial and commercial use. In this perspective, social policies in the city and the search for some spatial justice promoting social diversity and support for disadvantaged populations are gradually overshadowed. This process gives rise sometimes to grievances from inhabitants in order to keep or have a place in the city with their own aspirations, demands and desires. In some of these grievances, women especially in the informal settlements increasingly play a key role to defend the neighbourhood which they considered as a main life and socialization space.

While women are always a part of the construction of urban space, their presence in urban settlements has been made often invisible as women's place is deemed to be in private home environment (caring for the children and running the household) according to gender-based division of labour (Falú, 2014). Through neighbourhood movements, women begin, in Turkey, to find their voices in terms of having rights, and that includes the right to the city. The emphasize on women's right to the city has been discussed in different international arenas like UNESCO and in 2004, a World Charter for Women's Right to the City² has been prepared with the aim to put women's right to the city into effect. According to this Charter, in addition to the absence of women from decisions linked to the territorial and urban planning of our cities, there are some specific obstacles like security or sexual division of work in the home avoiding women to appropriate entirely the city and to be aware of their rights.

In this context, although women are steadily moving forward in the public arena, in the areas of labour relations, gender-division of urban space is still evident in Turkey. I, therefore, argue that urban resistances in neighbourhood constitutes an opportunity for women in Turkey to affirm their political and socio-cultural subjectivities in order to gain more active place in the society and their everyday life.

² For a copy of charter, see www.barcelona2004.org/www.barcelona2004.org/esp/banco_del_conocimiento/docs/OT_4_EN.pdf consulted on 1/02/2018.

The objective of this article is to study women's resistance and mechanisms of politicisation by focusing on the case of women's mobilization in the Dikmen Valley neighbourhood. In this mobilisation, the neighbourhood has a decisive role in the emergence of resistance, the development of a collective identity and the politicisation of the inhabitants. Appropriation and preservation of the neighbourhood which is considered by women as the central space for their everyday life and social relations become the main issue of their struggle.

After presenting the Dikmen Valley and the evolution of urbanisation in Ankara, the article will analyse the emergence of the discontent and the role of the neighbourhood in the resistance and the politicisation of the inhabitants. The focus will be particularly on women as they appear during the mobilisation as a leading power which convinced many other dwellers to join the action and the resistance in the neighbourhood. In this article, I argue that the mobilisation experience in the neighbourhood has empowered women to question the political system, traditional values and gender relations in everyday life.

1. DIKMEN VALLEY IN ANKARA DURING URBANIZATION PROCESS

At the beginning of the foundation of Ankara as the capital of Turkey in 1930s, what is now called the district of Dikmen was a small village with gardens, vineyards, far from the new city designed in 1928 according to urbanisation plans conceived by a German planner, Herman Jansen. These plans were foreseeing to preserve the village of Dikmen and its surroundings, in order to maintain its agricultural activities, to ensure the air quality and to conserve green spaces (Şenyapılı, 2004: 63–73).

Because of the high and unexpected demographic pressure linked to rural migration, the Dikmen Valley became progressively one of the areas where *gecekondu*³ began to emerge in the 1970s. From its beginnings, the neighbourhood has no infrastructure or basic services such as roads, electricity or water. Moreover, the services for electricity and running water services are performed clandestinely. Due to the rapid increase in population and *gecekondu*, policymakers provided progressively basic public facilities in the neighbourhood. Some *gecekondu* residents managed to obtain certificates of ownership (*tapu tahsis senedi*) from the municipality during the 1980s. Different political parties ruling Ankara municipality successively permitted these ownerships for electoral and economic reasons as the population of these informal neighbourhoods increased and was seen as voter sources; with the

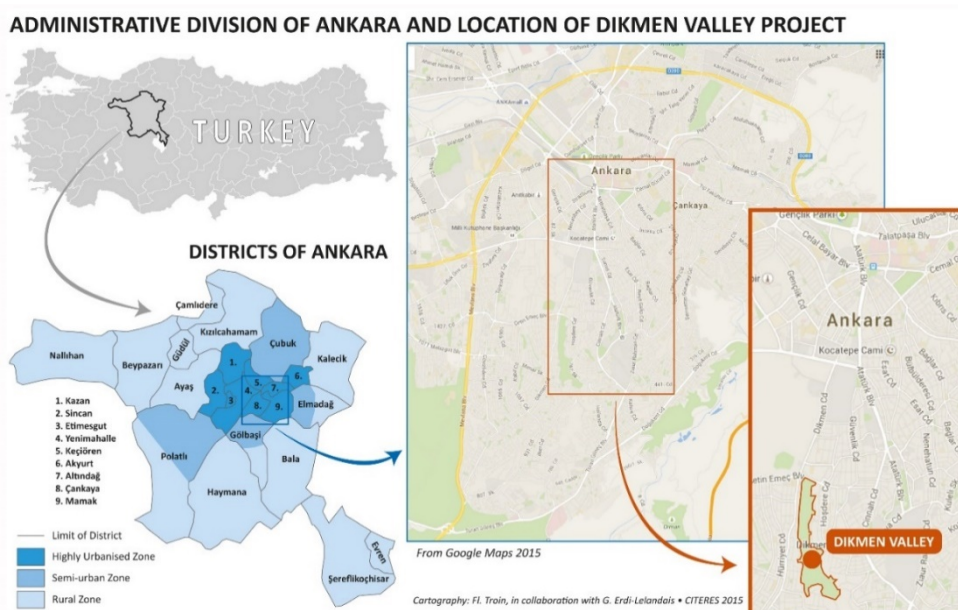
³ The *gecekondu* which means literally 'built overnight' is the name of informal, shantytown settlements in Turkey.

legalisation and recognition of these areas, the various successive governments hope to get votes. In addition, the State which was absent in providing housing to these rural migrants coming to contribute to the economic development of cities, wanted also to distribute a part of welfare to these populations in order to maintain them in political and economic game rules.

As for the socio-economic and cultural composition of the neighbourhood, there are mostly disadvantaged low-income classes. The inhabitants often have precarious jobs. Among the men, a small minority are workers or basic civil servants in the town hall of Cankaya or public institutions. Women are often unemployed, most of them have undeclared work as housekeepers. Despite the fact that the neighbourhood was founded by left-wing groups in 1970s, the neighbourhood has diversified over the years and many migrants with conservative views from the cities of Central Anatolia have moved in. They were located in groups according to the towns of origin and built their *gecekondu* near to their *hemşeri* (people with the same hometown). There are thus strong relations of physical solidarity and the valuing of the community of origin.

In the early 1990s, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and the Municipality of Çankaya (a district of Ankara where the neighbourhood is located – see Figure-1), both led by the People's Republican Party (CHP), decided to launch an urban renewal project and include the Dikmen Valley project in Ankara's master plans in 1989. A semi-public company Metropol İmar AŞ, was created in partnership with the Municipality of Çankaya which plans to realise the project in five stages, each corresponding to the construction of a specific number of housing units including social housing.

Figure-1: Location of Dikmen. Courtesy of Florence Troin, CITERES, 2016.



However, after Melih Gökçek's arrival as the head of the Metropolitan Municipality in 1994, most of the characteristics of the project have changed progressively. Now, according to the current guidelines, the objective is more the maximisation of land profit than the creation of social housing projects. In 2006, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality declared the launch of the fourth and fifth stages of the project, restricting the conditions of access to the property for gecekondu residents. These require, above all, a rapid displacement, a high loan and a relocation proposed mainly in a peripheral area (Mamak Kusunlar) devoid of real infrastructure. In July 2006, the mayor of Ankara announced on several local television channels the imminent implementation of these stages of the project, adding that the residents of Dikmen Valley had enjoyed this place 'for free' for years and that they should now sign an agreement with the municipality within two weeks, otherwise their homes would be completely destroyed without any compensation and alternative rights of relocation. He also described the residents as *çapulcu* (looters) and warned that the municipality would not tolerate residents who stubbornly refused to leave the neighbourhood. These threats and insults had a mobilising effect for the inhabitants of the valley as they had a real feeling of exclusion and stigmatisation. This sentiment was even more intense for the Valley's women. For them, it was entirely unfair to be considered as squatters or thieves when they had lived there for more than 20 years and endured all kind of difficulties to build a shelter:

"I have lived here for 22 years. When we migrated from Malatya [eastern Anatolia], I was twenty-two years old. I'd known nothing about Ankara and Turkish. My language was Kurdish. Some relatives constructed a gecekondu here, then we decided to do the same thing. We have had a lot of debt. My husband had just come back from military service so he was unemployed. I had my two children and it was impossible to pay off our debts... My children were hungry, I could even not buy bread. We passed a night in front of the stove without eating. We had nothing. We stayed here because of poverty. I had carried sandbags for the house with my baby son on my back. To pay the costs of the gecekondu, I was a housekeeper, concierge...I cleaned up the carpets and duvets of rich people... Now, it is normal that I don't want to leave my house. We, women, were expected to be subordinate, silent, and obedient even against injustice...Now it is over, we want our right to shelter after all these painful years." (Nazlı).

The space of gecekondu appears actually as a vital space socially and collectively constructed, playing sometimes the role of a therapy place with other women. Having no choice to live with rules imposed by the society, women consider the space of gecekondu as an intimate space where they could confide in other women, socialise, help each other. In that way, it becomes a "sacred place" to preserve unconditionally. In addition, by emphasizing all psychological

and material difficulties they faced and how they knew to manage them despite of all the pain, women of Dikmen want to show how they deserve a respectful place and try to show also their empowerment (Göral, 2011: 78). Their struggle in the neighbourhood empower their position with the argument that gecekondü women have undergo double punishment and domination and therefore have all legitimate reasons to resist (ibid: 72).

2. MOBILIZING FOR THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

The resistance of the residents refusing the agreement imposed by the municipality started in Dikmen in the autumn of 2006. Although ethnic, religious and political differences had divided and dispersed the residents to a certain extent and initially complicated the organisation of the mobilisation, some of them – including some original founders of the neighbourhood in the past – managed to be heard and to propose meetings. At these meetings, some of the inhabitants decided to elect ‘street representatives’ and to constitute a neighbourhood assembly composed of these representatives. This assembly then decided to find a permanent place to lead the mobilisation and negotiation process. In the meantime, the municipality opened an office on the upper frontier of the Valley to manage the project’s implementation, demolition of gecekondus and administrative relations with residents. In return, the residents called this office the ‘Demolition office’ and decided to create in opposition an ‘Office for Housing Rights’ with the support of the people participating in the mobilisation.

According to Sultan, a woman from the neighbourhood, the office has become the institutional and symbolic centre of the struggle, common ground but also the physical reflection of the collective will of the inhabitants of the valley; it goes beyond the meaning of an association or cooperative:

“The office is a roof that brings the neighbourhood together and unites us. People working in the office are very important to us. They have always remained there, sometimes without food, without water. Even if all the residents do not come often, we know that the office is always open and continues the struggle. Women can go there also. They manage to keep the office open. It never closes for holidays, summer or winter.” (Sultan)



Photo: Office for Housing Rights

As part of the opposition to the project, the actions and claims were limited initially to residents' rights to new housing, even in another part of the city and without taking on major debts. Their primary purpose was to secure the welfare of the inhabitants. Among the main actions taken, there were sit-ins in front of the national parliament, media statements in front of the municipality of Ankara, collective rallies, meetings in the park (Güvenpark) of the central square of Ankara (Kızılay), organisation of an annual festival and numerous lawsuits against the metropolitan municipality assisted by a lawyer hired within Halkevleri⁴. In all these actions, the presence of women had been considerable.

Halkevleri and its activists living in the neighbourhood were able to create informal networks of solidarity and political learning, especially for women. Many women explained how they were informed about different social issues during the nights they passed in the gecekondu of Halkevleri's activists. Sultan, one of the most active women in the neighbourhood, explained clearly the role of Halkevleri in her politicisation:

⁴ Halkevleri restarted its activities in 1987 and opted for an organisation from below in some neighbourhoods known for their political engagement in the past, refusing any avant-garde approach. Their principle is to act with people and not for people. This organisation was set up by the founding elites of the republic in 1932 with the aim of familiarising the people with the principles of the Republic, to provide education and culture programmes. It was closed by the government of the Democrat Party in the 1950s and all its assets were transferred to the State Treasury. After the overthrow of the party and the establishment of a new constitution following a military coup in 1960, the organisation was re-established in 1963 under the status of association, independent of the state, very different from its origins and mostly closed to socialist ideology. The second coup in 1980 once again banned the organisation marked as radical left, close to socialist movements of the 1970s.

“They were all the time with us, in the neighbourhood. They have never tried to guide us but we had long nights of discussion. Some nights, we were organising poetry lectures. They were bringing the poems of Cemal Süreya. We had never heard about that but there were poems about making love, about a woman’s body...it was erotic but also sensual. We loved these nights. At the same time, they also helped our children with their homework. When there was an act of resistance, they were also with us in the barricades. So, we considered them as full members of our neighbourhood and it was the case. Thanks to them, I also learned about other struggles, about women’s conditions.” (Sultan)

According to one of the members of Halkevleri, they were successful in the progressive politicisation and awakening of the consciousness of residents:

“Although initially there were not many people, we had set up regular informal meetings in the evenings. People had come, spoken about things that did not please them. We thought that if we should take risks, we should take them with people of the neighbourhood. We must do what they wanted to do. For example, at the beginning, they wanted to go to AKP believing people they know there could help. They wanted to go to the prefecture, police, and the mayor. We had never given our own opinion on these institutions. By dint of seeing that all the doors were shut in their face, they understood that the only force they had was their own power and ability. Eventually, they said, ‘If we resist in the neighbourhood, we can save our home and protect our future’.” (Özgür)

In this case, the issue is less the ability of these activists to impose a definitive view than their ability to mobilize. They constantly communicate with the residents to produce arguments, to formulate a common representation of the situation. They participate and contribute, therefore, to create an ‘us’, and the emergence of a sense of common destiny.

To denounce the marginalisation of the neighbourhood and the contempt of public actors, residents also invented original forms of action designed to restore the image of their neighbourhood. According to Michel Agier, social and spatial closures, produced by stigma, can lead to forms of integration that city dwellers implement in order to resist segregation in the city (1999). He is thus opposed to the prevailing analysis according to which margins in the city are considered as places of social anomie and highlights the resources of the people, their social connections and their inventiveness. The resistance organised in Dikmen Valley constitutes one of the examples of this inventiveness and the capacity of empowerment emanating from the so-called margins of the city.



Photo: Gecekondus in Dikmen Valley before the project in 2015

The stigmatising discourse of public actors and particularly the mayor, describing the residents of the valley as ‘terrorists’ or ‘looters’ , increased the collective mobilisation and indignation by politicising the rest of the inhabitants. This indignation can be seen as an emotional source of participation and a kind of ‘moral shock’ managing to touch the hearts and minds and then to constitute a good reason to protest (Jasper, 1997).

According to Jasper, this moral shock ‘results from an unexpected event or an unexpected change, more or less sudden, of people’s environment; [it] involves a very strong reaction [...] [it] leads one who is faced to measure and to judge how the current world order seems to deviate from the values to which he/she adheres’ (cited in Traïni, 2010: 343) and thus creates an anger, ‘a sentiment of necessity to give an immediate reaction, which leads to a commitment to action, and that, even in the absence of favourable factors generally emphasised by the theories of collective action’ (ibid), including the inability of the poor to take action. This is exactly what happens in women’s mobilisation and politicisation. Generally considered as subaltern, without resource and power, the gecekondu women in the Valley lead a mobilisation resulting on a successful resistance against the municipality.

3. BECOMING ACTORS OF THE CITY AS LIVED AND LEARNED SPACE

The originality of resistance in the Dikmen Valley is the active participation of women in the mobilisation. The possibility of losing their neighbourhood has been, above all, felt by the Valley’s women. The female population mostly remain in the neighbourhood; their life is directly related to

their home, family and children. Most of them come from rural areas of Anatolia where solidarity with neighbours was strong and they reproduce the same kind of solidarity within the neighbourhood with other female neighbours in their street and nearby. Their socio-economic profile shows that, in general, these women have a low level of education. There is no woman with a university degree and only few of them have a high-school diploma. In general, they do not work or have a regular job. Some of them work as housekeepers, unofficially and in precarious conditions. Most of them married very young, between 18 and 23 years of age, and had at least two children very quickly. Some of them came to live in a metropolitan city (Ankara) after their marriage. Therefore, most of their lives have been spent in the neighbourhood.

Their social status brings clearly to light the subordinate positions and conditions in which women in cities find themselves. Women's place is deemed to be in the private home environment, out of the public eye and they are seen as responsible only and exclusively with regard to domestic and reproductive tasks. Therefore, women have to develop different tactics to find a place and interlocutors in order to make this voice heard.

One of the women, Sultan, stresses the importance of neighbourhood: "*A house outside of my neighbourhood means nothing to me. The neighbourhood is as important as my house. We are all poor, oppressed. The neighbourhood is the place that unites us all*" (Sultan). Gülhan, another woman in the neighbourhood, adds that "*The neighbourhood is a large and strong family, where the misfortunes become honey*" (Özer, 2012: 67). Their activism is a conscious and collective way of expressing and acting in their interests as women, as wives and as members of the neighbourhood (Rodriguez, 1994).

We can even say that it is thanks to the women that the neighbourhood has remained for so many years because they maintain, in respect of this place, a particular narrative, which differs from that of the men. The majority of men are absent in the day and return home in the evening. Most of them do more than one job during the day and work as unqualified workers in different sectors. The long working hours of men mean they are less aware of everyday problems and difficulties facing the women, and they do not have the time to be mobilised when the need arises. This situation paves the way to the active participation of women in mobilisation. Men also have work and friendship networks outside the area while most women stay in the neighbourhood and construct and develop their social links within it. It is the place where social and economic needs are filled by solidarity, where families and friends come together and where there is a feeling of being on their own territory. Thus, it provides the means to exist in the city and to be rooted within it:

“Before our struggle, I have not known many people in the neighbourhood. The struggle has brought us together. Without making religious, linguistic or ethnic distinctions, we became like sisters in sharing our troubles, happiness and hopes. We, women, have learned that life is not only in our homes but also in the barricades. While we have hardly ever gone out and usually spent our days within four walls of our houses, we are now everywhere with our children. We have learned to demand our rights and we also teach it to our children so that they do not live the same. We have learned to claim the life we desire, not that imposed on us. The Valley became a major training school for women.” (Sultan)

As mentioned before, most women do not have a regular job and some of them do domestic work in wealthy neighbourhoods surrounding the Valley. They therefore rarely develop other social relations outside their neighbourhood beside relationships they may have with the women for whom they work. One could even say that the neighbourhood constitutes a kind of natural boundary between women and different representations and spaces of the metropolitan city. However, this boundary is quite relative. Women of the Valley, even they seemed to be confined in spaces of duty, of perpetual and endlessly repeated tasks that gain little recognition, are sometimes able to develop strategies to challenge this separation (Ilcan, 1998). The visible everyday boundaries are sometimes maintained but they are also crossed, resisted and reconfigured. In fact, when they go to high-income neighbourhoods as housekeepers of other women, they participate in the city, use public transport, and observe people and especially the way of life of the women for whom they work. They see the economic and social differences and sometimes develop a political awareness (Wedel, 2001). Looking at the construction of the city through the lens of the diversity of women’s lives acknowledges that the category ‘woman’ cannot be stripped of the other forms of oppression that impinge upon women in their daily lives. Thus we get a richer sense of how women negotiate their way in the city, and in particular, the ways in which the intersection of gender, race and class affects women and either limits or encourages actions (Miranne and Young 2000: 2).

The attachment to the neighbourhood results in a feeling of well-being; conversely, having to leave it results in a sense of loss. Analysis of women’s behaviour and words highlights the political significance of practices and use of the space and confirms that the space plays a key role in mobilisation. It not only motivates and structures women’s resistance but also transforms gender relations within the neighbourhood.

In short, the defence of the neighbourhood as a source of women’s politicisation transforms them by enhancing their confidence, ensuring

individual empowerment and providing collective recognition despite all the obstacles they meet. A woman explained, for example, how her husband tried, at the beginning, to prevent her from participating in the mobilisation, and how then, facing her determination, he finally allowed her out to attend the collective struggle:

“People have asked me why I was worrying myself with all of that [resistance, na] but I continued because I was convinced that our struggle was justified. I could not go to certain mobilisations at the beginning. My husband did not want me to. We did not agree at all. We have quarrelled all the time. For me, it was unfair. It was not right for me to stay at home when people were fighting against the project. After a while, I was able to convince my husband and because of my stubbornness, he accepted the situation. He had no choice, he saw how determined I was.” (Nur, from focus group interview).

By providing a social and political visibility to women who were often invisible and ignored in the city, outside their neighbourhood, this mobilisation has also affected the spatial organisation and power relations between men and women within the district. By participating in actions, conferences, panels and meetings, women of the Valley discover new urban spaces to which they have never had access before; they rediscover themselves and measure their real capacity to act. These new public spaces are thus identified by –and for– women beyond the borders of the neighbourhood. Going downtown to attend a panel where they could listen to psychologists, lawyers, journalists and urban planners allows them to access previously unknown knowledge and to acquire new skills which help their emancipation as well as their personal and collective development.

In this sense, according to Jelin, it is important to ask “whether the conditions under which women leave their traditional role rooted in daily life to enter the public domain constitute a significant departure with regard to social changes in women’s subordination, helping to form gender identities that put in doubt the current system of domination” (Jelin, 1990: 188). With this mobilisation and their will to be part of it, women progressively develop their ability to speak in an environment where silence is one of the most evident forms of women’s oppression as most of the families in the Valley are in general patriarchal and traditional.

Furthermore, in the mobilisation process, the practical and daily needs of women are transformed into strategic needs such as defence of their home. This process ensures their survival strategies and resistance in a political sense. The fact that they perceive their homes and the neighbourhood as a common public space composed of informal networks of communication and solidarity leads to

the conquest of the city and allows them to reclaim a place in public spaces. The intimate space (neighbourhood-home) becomes public space and opens up other spaces. Sultan explains this process of widespread politicisation:

“If there are no women in a mobilisation, it is condemned to failure. We started initially with the right to housing, but we understood that we cannot politicise only the local struggle of our neighbourhood, as residents can easily forget it after having secured their house [...]. For me, resistance is a lifelong process. After the resistance in the neighbourhood, women of the Valley started to protest everywhere on different subjects. We went to Labour Day, to rallies for the right to education and the right to public services. For us, human rights are indivisible.” (Sultan, from the women’s group interview)

Thus, their claim of a right to housing extends to other rights. They have begun to participate in other mobilisations on different societal issues. They supported, for example, the strike of Tekel workers in 2009 and Gezi Park resistance in 2013.

However, this active involvement of women does not take place without criticism. According to their words, some of them were strongly criticised by their families:

“In my family, all relatives living in the neighbourhood support AKP. They always told me that I’m fighting for nothing, that it is not good to oppose the state who could easily punish us. They accused me of joining the protesters, to become like them. They ask ‘What does the AKP not do well? They build roads, hospitals; they give us social aid’. They accuse us of being ungrateful. They told me: ‘You also became like these leftists, you vote like them, like these Alevis’.” (Fatma)

In spite of this kind of family or social barrier, women continued their struggle accompanied by the construction of a global political consciousness. Another important example was the appointment of a woman to the municipal elections in March 2014. Candidate to the position of mukhtar in the borough to which the inhabitants of the Valley are attached, she led a local campaign and obtained 487 votes out of 1200.

In the Dikmen Valley’s resistance, women who draw up and present their agendas, develop and organise their capabilities to pressure authorities succeeded to have a voice in decision making but also to renegotiate their role in their family as women. This brings with it a symbolic and cultural change in their life. More specifically, the participation to the mobilisation provide some social compensations according to the legal status of women (Le Texier, 2006: 122); Some of them become “contact person” inside the neighbourhood like Sultan

who manage women's coordination and gain therefore new skills, social and collective recognition. Some of them are politically empowered and take place in political parties. These women have had then the capacity to initiate a mobilisation dynamic to respond to some punctual needs like asking a bus stop or stopping up dirty canalisation waters in the street to avoid children to play with.

4. CONCLUSION

Thus, this experience seems to prove that gender asymmetries, and the division of labour and power differentials, must not only be considered as constraints guiding women's activism, as it can also function as a catalyst for taking action (Neuhouser, 1995). The subaltern situation of women in the neighbourhood enabled them to meet, to discuss in common their collective problems and to decide to be mobilised.

In the example of the Dikmen Valley women have demonstrated the existence of a potential to protest and the possibility of collective action in a context of spatial instability (Le Texier, 2006: 131).

Women's resistance in Dikmen Valley presents a number of characteristics. First of all it reflects a variety in generations. Women of all ages participated in the resistance; some of them have become adults during ten years of resistance and been forged by a protest identity. Their resistance, limited at the beginning to the protection of their home and neighbourhood, have expanded to embrace global issues concerning the whole Turkish society and especially equality and gender relations. They have sometimes confronted sexism and male power within the neighbourhood and changed the stereotype of passive and resigned women into one of active subjects (Rodriguez, 1994).

As a result, among these women, some of them will never be the same again. Personal growth, self-confidence, changes in relationships in the family, neighbourhood and community contribute to reshaping their gender identity (ibid: 40).

Finally, the resistance of the Valley's women can be interpreted as a form of struggle for recognition insofar as they assert their right to exist in the city, to appropriate it and invest it with their own way of life and way of being. This determination to gain recognition is also related to all the difficulties they experienced while they were fighting for their home and neighbourhood. It is the women rather than the men who suffered much more than lack of water, electricity and roads and the distance of schools for their children. They dealt with these problems for years and now want this struggle to be recognised along with an improved way of life as a woman.

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**WHEN THE WASTE-PICKERS GET OUT THE MARGIN¹ :
LITTLE BATTLES AND MOBILIZATION OF ISTANBUL
WASTE-PICKERS (TURKEY)**

Bénédicte FLORIN*

ABSTRACT

As in most other countries, the “informal” waste-pickers of Istanbul are characterized by a “social indignity” and plural stigma. But the examination of their everyday social and professional practices reveals small daily battles to earn a livelihood in a brutal context of political reforms. In order to adapt and get round the obstacles confronting them, these waste-pickers adopt all sorts of small tactics to defend themselves and legitimize their position in the city and in urban society. The spatial dimension of their work is essential, as the city is literally a resource for these “poachers”. They also feel profound sense of injustice, which sometimes leads to indignation via mobilization: far from being passive or anomic, they try to have their work recognized by the authorities.

Keywords: Mobilization, Waste-pickers, Margin, Indignation, Istanbul.

¹ This article is a revised and updated version of an article entitled “From indignity to indignation: small battles, day-to-day resistance and attempts at mobilization by the waste-pickers of Istanbul (Turkey)”, published in French in *Culture et Conflits* journal, n° 101, “Marges urbaines et résistances citadines”, Gülçin Erdi-Lelandais and B. Florin dir., L'Harmattan, 2016.

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INTRODUCTION

Around the Mediterranean, there has been an increase in popular uprisings since the early 2000s; these are not, or not only, examples of the “bread riots” observed during the previous decades in the southern Mediterranean, or the street protests driven by political movements (parties, unions) on the northern side. Some of these demonstrations in central or peripheral spaces, inspired by the Occupy movement, involve local people who have been more or less marginalized and are considered as such by the public authorities, and who protest, seek to make themselves heard and be talked about, with more or less success. However, while the recent uprisings and revolutions have received strong media coverage, and rightly so, small movements have often been overlooked, because they are scattered and sector-specific. The same is true of everyday forms of resistance involving the “little people”, not considered worthy of interest because they are socially, culturally and economically vulnerable.

These invisible populations include the “informal” waste-pickers of Istanbul², characterized by “social indignity” that puts them on the lowest rung of the hierarchy. However, examination of their everyday social and professional practices reveals small daily battles to earn a livelihood in a brutal context of political reforms that leaves them increasingly excluded, as we will show in the first part of this article describing the threats that face them. The second part of the paper is firmly in line with the ideas of Michel de Certeau (1984), who considered these tactics of the destitute, discretely transgressing the hegemonies of everyday life, as forms of resistance. Taking this approach, we postulate that these everyday actions can be qualified as acts of resistance once they deny, ignore or adapt the rules introduced by the ruling classes. Among the various discrete transgressions of the waste pickers, we will highlight their professional practices in public spaces, in spite of the fact that scavenging in rubbish bins is now forbidden, tipping them from “informality” to illegality. Consequently, they move out of their neighbourhoods – spaces that are marginal but protective and where they have a sense of group belonging – to work in public areas where they are visible and vulnerable. In order to adapt and get round the obstacles confronting them, they adopt all sorts of small tactics to defend themselves and legitimize their position in the city and in urban society. The spatial dimension

²With a French-speaking master’s student in sociology, we interviewed about 30 waste-pickers and six warehouse owners in the European side of Istanbul in July 2014 and again in July 2015. A large number of waste-pickers also work on the Asian side, but to date they have not been contacted. I also thank Gülçin Erdi for providing and translating documents from Turkish press, especially concerning the case of Ankara in order to support our field observations from Istanbul. Finally, most of the photos illustrating this study were taken by Pascal Garret, sociologist and photographer, during interviews we carried out together and with the consent of the waste-pickers.

of their work is essential, as the city is literally a resource for these “poachers”³: access (or not) to waste, the raw material of their activity, thus provides a close link between the right to work and the right to the city.

More than their spatial exclusion or social status, this threat to their right to make a living “from” the city has led to collective awareness, raised and propagated by activists and waste management entrepreneurs. The third part of this article focuses on their profound sense of injustice, which sometimes leads to indignation via mobilization, but which also allows them develop arguments to justify their role in society and in the world that their work helps protect. Far from being passive or anomic, they have held demonstrations in Ankara, speak out and attempt to defend their rights and have their work recognized by the authorities in Istanbul. However, these attempts are difficult to put into action and lead only to a very fragile tolerance of their situation, rather than to public debate. This “micro” example also perhaps reveals the socio-political tensions in Turkey today, fluctuating between calls for democracy and authoritarian repression.

Whatever the outcome of this largely unprecedented indignation of the waste-pickers, it is not motivated or produced by the marginalization situation as such (it is even sometimes welcomed, as it seems to provide the waste-pickers with some sort of freedom), but by their sense of injustice and indignity: *“Individuals are not indignant because a vile act has harmed some abstract dignity; they declare their demand for dignity because they have experienced real indignations. It is in the wake of indignation that the idea of dignity takes root”* (Mattéi, 2005: 20).

1. THREATS TO THE WASTE-PICKERS’ NEIGHBOURHOODS AND THREATS TO THEIR ACCESS TO THE RESOURCE

When the Margin is Both a Resource and a Place to Which the Waste-Pickers are Assigned

In Istanbul, the waste-pickers, *toplayıcılar*, scavenge for recyclable materials (cardboard, plastic, metal, objects) in rubbish bins and containers, recovering what would otherwise end up in landfills. In this way, they give new life to these materials, which to them, far from being just scrap, have a precise value and are an essential resource – their livelihood. Unrecognized and almost invisible because “it is the last of jobs”⁴, the waste-pickers are characterized, in Istanbul as

3 As defined by J.C. Scott (1990) in the chapter “Infrapolitics of subordinate groups” regarding poaching in forests, considered as a right for peasants, who claimed their “right” to use the resources provided by the forest in the 18th and 19th centuries.

4 The expression “the last of jobs” came up several times in the discussions. Mahmut explained that *“Nearly all of us had another job here, but went bust, it didn’t work. We do this because it’s the last job before getting into a life of crime [...] Once you’ve started this job, you don’t care any more about what*

elsewhere, by their low social and spatial status. This also explains the fact that, despite the media coverage given to recycling, reuse and “sustainable development”, the waste-pickers do not have much say in the matter and are rarely involved in the reforms undertaken by the public authorities. Likewise, their work of ridding the city of large quantities of rubbish, sold to recycling companies via wholesale dealers, provides the basis of the formal and lucrative recycling system, but does not give them access to labour or social rights. This exclusion does not prevent them from being part of the urban economy in a form of “perverse inclusion”, whereby the social outcast is at the heart of the system and makes it work (Sawaia, 2001).

The *toplayıcılar* of Istanbul are at the margins of society and the city, even though many of them live and work in the central districts and near the popular tourist sites (Aya Sofya and the Blue Mosque for the waste-pickers of Süleymaniye; Taksim, Istiklal Avenue and the gentrified district of Beyoğlu for those of Tarlabası). The waste-pickers’ settlements on urban wasteland are seen as no-go areas, occupied by the underprivileged as well as by large numbers of refugees and illegal immigrants. The buildings are in an advanced state of decay, due to a deliberate strategy of neglect by the city authorities in order to better justify urban renovation projects, and the waste-pickers are highly aware of the threat to their living and working space. In Süleymaniye and Tarlabası, the large number of houses in ruins, walled up or burnt testifies to this strategy of neglect, while large hoardings in Tarlabası advertise major property development projects (already begun), supported by President Erdoğan himself⁵.

others think, because it's the last of jobs. So you just think of yourself and not of others” (Mahmut, former waste-picker and owner of a small informal warehouse in Tarlabası, interviewed in Istanbul, 10/07/2014).

5 See the documentary about a waste-picker in the district: “Tarlabası and me” <http://sud.hypotheses.org/1690>. Note that there are about 500,000 waste-pickers in Turkey, and an unknown number in Istanbul. A large number of Kurds, from south and south-east Turkey, migrated to the large cities in the 1990s due to the violence against them and became waste-pickers, notably in Tarlabası.



Nevertheless, not all waste-pickers are poor and there is a professional hierarchy; at the top are the “depo” (warehouse) owners, who buy the materials

119

collected by the street waste-pickers, with whom they sometimes have family or interpersonal ties. The relationship between the warehouse owners and waste-pickers varies, fluctuating between paternalism and protection on the one hand, and dependence or even domination on the other. By way of example, the owner of one of the largest warehouses in Süleymaniye invited all the local waste-pickers to a large meal to break the Ramadan fast; and he frequently lends money or helps needy or sick waste-pickers in one way or another, or those who want to invest in equipment. The young Roma women who he employs to sort waste say that they are better treated and paid than when they collect waste. It is difficult to understand the power relationships when carrying out interviews in the warehouses, not least because the owner is always present when the workers are being interviewed, and they tend to express feelings of solidarity rather than of conflict. Nonetheless, in an interview carried out in French, and thus not understood by the other people, an illegal immigrant, who had recently arrived after a long and hazardous journey from Togo, told us that he was given the most difficult tasks – washing and grinding plastic at the back of a garage in a highly polluted environment – and that he was paid less than the others.

Finally, the spatial situation of the *toplayıcılar* is paradoxical. The fact that they live in run-down areas is precisely because these provide them with a spatial resource that is essential to their activity; it is on wasteland that they can store and sort the waste material they have collected, and the ground floor, basement, and sometimes the building as a whole can be used for storage⁷. Moreover, if the waste-pickers live and work in these districts, it is again because they know that their warehouses would not be tolerated elsewhere, particularly in more affluent neighbourhoods, and that they would not be able to find anywhere to live there. It is also precisely because these spaces are perceived as marginal that the waste-pickers can find some sort of peace and a form of much sought-after freedom.

When Public Action Reinforces Marginalization

Since the 1990s, notably following a methane explosion in an unauthorized dump in Istanbul, which made a lasting impression on people, and even more since the 2000s during negotiations for EU membership, the Turkish authorities have undertaken a process to modernize, organize, rationalize and upgrade (in line with European norms) all aspects of waste management. This has gone hand-in-hand with extensive privatization. In this way, supervised waste-disposal sites have been created, illegal dumps closed and converted into green spaces, composting and recycling centres have been opened.

7 Advantage has also been taken of the sloping land in Süleymaniye: for example, at one of the large warehouses located above the street, the workers throw the bags of sorted rubbish directly into the lorry parked below, facilitating the handling of bags that are often very heavy.

A year that the waste-pickers remember vividly is 2005, when a directive about packaging enabled the local authorities to delegate the collection of cardboard (an important material for the waste-pickers) to private companies, and to set up sorting centres, to organize the sorting of waste at source, and to install underground containers for selective sorting. Pilot trials were carried out, and several central districts now have underground containers. This reform policy did not in any way take into account the existence and work of the informal waste-pickers (except in Ankara, as discussed below); since this directive, anybody working in connection with waste without an official permit is considered to be carrying out an illegal activity, and scavenging is seen as theft. Consequently, the waste-pickers' status has changed from informality to illegality. And yet, the informal sector in Turkey puts 30% to 70% of recyclable material back into the system; although this covers a wide range, it is the basis of the collection and recycling system, while the private or public companies working on behalf of the municipalities struggle to meet their obligations. Only 47% of household waste in Istanbul is collected by rubbish trucks; the remainder, including 80% of packaging waste, is collected by the informal or formal sector⁸.

In 2010, in a context of growing economic profitability of the sector, of competition and covetousness regarding waste management, and faced with the continuing presence of the waste-pickers, the city attempted to intervene and to pre-empt their material, as explained by Serdach, owner of a small warehouse in the district of Tarlabası: *"According to a new law [directive of 2005], all the waste belongs to the town, so what we're doing now is stealing! But the government can't fight us. Five years ago [in 2010], the municipality summoned the waste-pickers and wanted to give them uniforms and fixed working hours. But the waste-pickers didn't follow their instructions. So the people in the municipality told the warehouse owners that they would have to work with a specific private company who would buy our material; but it didn't work, the prices were too low! That private company, Yüceler Kağıt, paid 10 Turkish lira, but we were getting 15 elsewhere! Now, it's finished and they went bankrupt [...]. The government takes my taxes, but doesn't recognize my job... it's very strange!"*⁹

In August 2011, still following this modernization approach, a new law on packaging waste was introduced, banning both "informal" collection, reserved for people with a permit, and the purchase of this material by companies. However, this decision was not applied until 2016; very recently, the policy of excluding waste-pickers from this sector has hardened, and they are now

⁸ These figures are undoubtedly approximate, but there is a trend towards harmonization of waste management, via Istac, a company affiliated to the Metropolitan Council of Istanbul and which is responsible for monitoring and coordinating collection and recycling in Greater Istanbul. Another company, Cevko, was created in 1991 by 14 Turkish industrial firms to coordinate recycling. Finally, in 2014, 21 private recycling companies were licensed (Robin, Collas: 2014)

⁹ Interview 5/07/2015.

threatened with fines and confiscation of their materials.

As described in the last part of this article, the waste-pickers' demands are not about the right to housing, even though many of them live in overcrowded and sub-standard "bachelor rooms", but about the right to work, at a time when access to their main resource, i.e. waste, is threatened by the reforms. Previously, the collection work as such required numerous small individual tactics of adjustment, arrangement, circumvention, and avoidance, which can be seen as micro-battles against urban norms that *a priori* exclude anyone whose presence is disturbing, such as the waste-picker. The ideology underlying the modernization reforms cannot tolerate the waste-picker in the public space, with his trolley full of rubbish and perceived as "dirty", "archaic", and undoubtedly uncontrollable. Daring to collect rubbish in the public space, in spite of the restrictions and bans, is clearly a matter of fighting for survival, but also of flouting the orders for upgrading.

2. SPATIAL AND EVERYDAY ACTS OF RESISTANCE

The "Little Tactics of the Vulnerable" Used by the Waste-Pickers in Public Spaces

The spatial dimension plays an essential role in the *toplayıcılar's* typical resistance strategies, notably because knowledge and information sharing takes place at the scale of the neighbourhood, and this proximity enables them to join forces in order to resist the reforms. Here, the link between spatial, social and professional proximity is central to the waste-pickers' ability to organize themselves and act. In Süleymaniye, many of the *toplayıcılar* come from Anatolia and already knew each other before coming to Istanbul, and the tight family and professional networks give rise to a form of conviviality and solidarity. Moreover, the fact of doing the same stigmatizing job creates a strong sense of group belonging. The waste-pickers say that they only go into other districts to collect waste, and that they do not go elsewhere in their free time (which in any case they do not have), that they have no social contacts in Istanbul outside their immediate circle, etc. In Tarlabası, the migrant waste-pickers say that they save their money to finance the next stage of their journey and never go out. A warehouse owner in the same neighbourhood explained that the money the waste-pickers earn goes on paying for their telephones, alcohol and cigarettes. All these factors help make the neighbourhood safe and reassuring, but also no doubt confining and isolating.

However, for their work, the waste-pickers go into the city every day to collect material, and it is perhaps above all in the way they cross the neighbourhood boundaries or go beyond the margins (Agier, 1999) to work in public spaces where they are visible and vulnerable that the spatial dimension

comes into play.

Their collection itinerary can be about ten kilometres long, and some may work them four or five times a day. They collect waste in the main tourist areas of Istanbul, which are closely monitored and controlled, and in affluent districts where they are not always seen in a good light. And yet it is when working in the public spaces that their “little tactics” become acts of resistance, even if these are individual, discreet, sometimes short-lived and fragile. One such way of resisting is to demonstrate their patriotism, or even nationalism. For example, one waste-picker attached a large Turkish flag to his trolley, and a warehouse owner displayed a large banner portraying Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the street over the entrance to his warehouse. He explained this by his love for the father of the nation, and his pride in being a Turk¹⁰. This is a way of showing good citizenship and of legitimizing their presence, but sometimes it is also a means of self-protection, because the flag is sacrosanct. This is based on a code shared by the whole population (Mauss-Copeau and Copeau, 1998), and by displaying the flag, the waste-pickers demonstrate their full allegiance to it.

Another way of using public spaces concerns the attitude the waste-pickers must adopt to be tolerated there by the local authorities, the police, and the other citizens. They know (and say) that they must work quickly, discreetly, and leave the place very clean after going through the skips and garbage bins. They never have priority in the public space, and they know that they will always be in the wrong if there is a conflict or accident. This type of behaviour can be seen as an act of submission related to the stigma, but it is also a sign of their keen awareness of urban practices, and of knowing how to get round obstacles and utilise the resources of the town in the best possible way. To carry out their work, there are all sorts of small tactics: never obstruct the traffic of cars but use the tramway lines (dangerous); avoid pedestrians and tourists by going round them; go away in the event of a difficult interaction; use the mosques as a place to rest, go to the toilet and wash; leave the trolley when it gets in the way and use a small bag to collect waste; lend a hand to the official rubbish collectors in exchange for the right to collect certain materials, etc.¹¹ Yusûf described the waste-pickers’ know-how about avoiding difficulties as follows: “*The waste-pickers can go anywhere, they don’t have set times. Even if the town authorities forbid them to go to a particular neighbourhood, an hour later, they go there! And the police can’t do a thing. The waste-pickers can even beat the police and the town council! [...] They always find*

10 Note that this display of the flag or of a well-known person is found in other countries, notably in Morocco where the slum-dwellers hang the portrait of the king on their shacks to avoid eviction.

11 These ways of proceeding and moving around public spaces were observed by Pascal Garret who followed a young waste-picker on his round of more than 9 km.

their way”¹².



2 – The collection itinerary of Yunus. Photo P. Garret 2015

Another example involves making verbal agreements with shop-keepers to have direct access to the resource, as described by Mustafa: “[...] *The waste-pickers always find their way. For example, if they arrive after the municipality’s trucks, they still manage to find something [...]. Sometimes the residents give their sorted garbage to the waste-pickers, and sometimes even the garbage-men give them stuff directly [...]. We even have unofficial agreements with the police to collect their rubbish!!!*” Knowing the schedule of the refuse collection vehicles also enables them to get there first. In that case, they know that they are putting themselves in an illegal situation, but accept it because their livelihood depends on it.

Finally, overall, due to their skills and knowledge of how the town and urban society function, the waste-pickers are clearly out-of-the-ordinary citizens who, despite all, develop ways of adapting and fitting in and of getting round the restrictions.

Invention as a Form of Resistance

In addition to the small tactics described above, which are fairly common in the informal waste sector in other parts of the world, there are inventive individual initiatives to overcome the obstacles. For example, in one warehouse, long poles are used to get hold of material at the bottom of containers. The waste-pickers acknowledge that carrying and handling this sort of “fishing rod”

¹² Interview, 16/07/2014. In Turkish, “to find ones way” means to find a solution to a problem.

3. UNEXPECTED RESISTANCE: AWARENESS OF INCREASING EXCLUSION AND THE EMERGENCE OF OPPOSITION

Waste-pickers, because they do “dirty work” (Hugues, 1962) and handle filth, are associated at best with the poor and at worst with the impure and untouchable. These are groups of people whose qualities are ignored, and in official and even academic language they are referred to only in terms of what they lack - money, means, culture, knowledge, skills, etc. In spite of this perception of incompetence and inadequacy, they nonetheless show that they can be proactive (Boulier: 2009)¹⁵, raising the question of the “marginality” of people who may not be as subjugated as we imagine, although this should be viewed in relation to the inequality of social positions within professional and community groups.

The “Waste-workers” Dare to Express Themselves?

Compared to the strong community reactions or even demonstrations for “the right to housing” that sometimes (and increasingly frequently) occur following the eviction of tenants, the situation of the waste-pickers is very different. On the one hand, they are never informed directly of decisions, laws, plans or directives concerning waste-management policies, because they are not considered as having a role to play. They learn about them only through the media or by word of mouth. On the other hand, although the waste-pickers may have confrontations with the police during their work, this occurs individually and on a one-off basis. The political violence against them is thus largely hidden and latent, and is above all reflected in increasingly difficult access to the resource (on which they depend for their survival). From this it is clear that their exclusion is not immediately apparent, and hence it is more difficult to get people to rally to their cause. Finally, they are geographically scattered across the city of Istanbul, and the *toplayıcılar* of Süleymaniye say that they do not know those who work in Tarlabası, on the other bank of the Golden Horn, and even less those who work on the Asian side. In the same vein, they can, it is true, form small communities, like the *toplayıcılar* who come from Aksaray, or the Roma waste-pickers¹⁶ who work together and who are linked by strong family ties, but

15 See also Z. Bauman (2009): the author speaks of the “lost lives” of the unemployed, the poor, immigrants, etc., who belong to the horde of non-productive people, of wasted lives separated from the social body and assimilated to the industrial and household waste that the planet cannot rid itself of. The author describes as “human waste” these beings who are relegated to the margins of modernity by the global triumph of the market economy, and who are thus unlikely to oppose the public authorities. It is also interesting to note the juxtaposition of meaning between “*déchets humains*” (human waste), “*déchets sociaux*” (social waste), and “*récupérateurs de déchets*” (waste-pickers) proposed by D. Lhuillier (2005).

16 We were able to interview three young Roma women and one man sorting waste in a warehouse in Süleymaniye. They explained that they usually worked for themselves, but that they are well paid and have a more regular income in the warehouse.

However, in 2002, the waste-pickers in the Iskitler district of Ankara, comprising industrial wasteland and ill-reputed slums, rose up against the current reforms: *“We realized that privatization was being introduced by the local authority and we wanted to defend ourselves. The waste-pickers took part in the demonstrations of 1st May 2002 to draw attention to their situation. We went with our hand-trolleys and placards saying ‘Don’t throw capitalism in the rubbish bin, because it is worthless [i.e. cannot even be recycled]’. It was the first time that we demonstrated as a group! [...] People asked us who we were, and we said ‘People who recycle cardboard’, and someone even asked if we were Trotskyists, and we answered ‘No, we are paper workers [Kağıt İşçileri]”*¹⁷.



4 – Demonstration in Ankara, 1st May 2010. “A poor paradise is better than a rich hell”. “Waste-paper workers”. “Don’t throw capitalism in the rubbish bin of history. It isn’t even worth two coins”. www.facebook.com/groups/7037320971/photos/

In Ankara, awareness of the effects of privatization was raised thanks to the efforts of this militant, Ali Mendillioğlu, a former waste-picker and then owner of a small warehouse and a neighbourhood leader, and who has now become a public figure, defending the waste-pickers' rights. During the same period, attacks against the waste-pickers increased; the police cordoned off their

17 Interview with Ali Mendillioğlu, a former waste-picker, born in Ankara in the district of Dikmen, 13/07/2015.

neighbourhood, confiscated 4,000 hand-carts and assaulted the residents, some of whom were injured and taken to hospital. They also had confrontations with the police while collecting waste in the town. These episodes were followed by negotiations with the local authorities, because, as explained by Ali Mendillioğlu: *“You can’t put a policeman behind every waste-picker or every container [...]. In Ankara, we demonstrated, we wanted our rights, we fought for our rights ourselves [...]. It isn’t the town council who wanted to integrate us, it’s us who wanted our rights to be recognized! Finally, they allocated a single district where we could collect waste – only one, but it’s legal for us!”*

In Istanbul, the waste-pickers are also aware of the growing number of obstacles confronting them since 2005; on the orders of the local authorities, some informal warehouses in Tarlabası have closed; the police go through Süleymaniye announcing that all the warehouses will soon be illegal; others are monitored and must be “upgraded”; in theory, the waste-pickers are completely forbidden to collect rubbish, particularly in the tourist and affluent districts; the number of underground containers has increased, and small private sorting firms working under licence for the town councils have also been set up. At first, the waste-pickers were not organized, had no representative, and certainly no union. By contrast, they nearly all know each other, particularly in Süleymaniye where there is a strong community spirit and large family networks. In addition to these social ties, there are professional relationships between the waste-pickers and the warehouse owners and they meet and discuss daily. Everyone knows when someone has had a difficult time collecting waste or has been harassed by the police, etc. As explained by Yusuf¹⁸: *“In this job, everybody knows each other, either because they come from the same village, or because they do the same job. There is a lot of solidarity”*. These relationships foster discussions between the waste-pickers faced with difficult situations, and have led to the emergence of leaders, spokespersons for the “waste workers” who initiated negotiations with the authorities. In this way, in Istanbul, unlike Ankara, there have as yet been no spontaneous or organized collective protests, but more information-sharing and awareness-raising campaigns, as well as a form of delegating defence of the group to those who hold the highest social and professional positions, namely the wholesale dealers who run the warehouses.

The Role of the Warehouse Owners and Activists

In Istanbul, the geographical dispersion of the waste-pickers and the topography of the city make any collective mobilization at the urban scale difficult (*“the waste-pickers don’t cross the bridges”*), unlike in Ankara where there is greater communication. By contrast, in Süleymaniye, at the local level, Yusuf,

¹⁸ Interview with Yusuf, a wholesale dealer, 4/07/2014.

the main wholesale dealer and owner of a large licensed warehouse, attempted to bring together the local waste-pickers in 2005 and initiate discussions with the authorities. Yusûf is one of the most experienced workers – his father and uncles were already scrap metal merchants – and he is known and respected by all. He has sufficient social and economic capital to lend money to those in need. In addition to his paternalistic relations, Yusûf knows the whole recycling sector intimately, as well as the prices of the recovered material. His is thus a central figure on three counts: in relation to the community of origin, the professional group, and the neighbourhood. Quite naturally, he has taken on the role of organiser and decision-maker, and is recognized as such by everyone. First of all, he carried out a survey of the warehouses, their owners and their waste-pickers. Thanks to mobile phones, he can inform them of material that should be collected following price fluctuations, and he can also let them know about progress in negotiations with the local authorities. Then, in 2007, he created an informal organization that acts as an intermediary with the public authorities: *“Every three or four months, we get together and talk. The warehouse owners come with their waste-pickers. Some don’t come, but lots do. I also invite a representative of the local council to discuss problems [...]. In these meetings, we also talk about the legislation. If we could manage it, the waste-pickers would have social rights [...]. They aren’t official meetings, but we would like them to be. The idea is to improve the living and working conditions of the waste-pickers”*¹⁹.

As a result of these meetings, as mentioned above, the local authority proposed giving a uniform, gloves and fixed working times to the waste-pickers who collected for private companies. However, the price for the waste material they collected would be less than the market price, and they would receive no other advantage from this “integration” (such as social security, etc.). In the same vein, there was a proposal to give waste-collection tricycles to some waste-pickers (but with no clear criteria about who would be chosen), and a prototype has even been built. These proposals have been refused by the waste-pickers; they do not know how to use the tricycle and do not want to use it, because they are afraid of not being able to control it on the steep slopes of the city. They refuse to be compelled to work fixed hours, and above all, they consider that recognition only via the uniform is insufficient and that the loss of earnings would be too great.

So far, these discussions with the town representatives have not had any tangible results, but they have allowed a certain fragile status quo to be established – a sort of laissez-faire attitude by the authorities in exchange for the waste-pickers working discreetly and cleanly. The waste-pickers know this and say that they are very careful not to leave any rubbish round the containers once

¹⁹ Interview, 15/07/2014.

they have gone through them.

In addition to the warehouse owners who are at the top of the professional hierarchy and who set themselves up as intermediaries between the waste-pickers and the local authorities, there are activists like Ali Mendillioğlu, who already intervened on behalf of the waste-pickers in Ankara and decided to move to Istanbul in 2012 with the clear objective of *“helping to organize and bring the waste-pickers together”*²⁰. Ali Mendillioğlu has been involved in political action for a long time, mainly in the socialist movement, although later in the interview he said “communist”. Paradoxically, his role as spokesperson is recognized more by the public authorities than by the waste-pickers, which he regrets. In fact, he says that the authorities regularly call on him to intercede with the waste-pickers, particularly the Roma, when there are problems. Due to the urban structure and the thirty-nine municipalities in the city, Ali explains that it is very difficult to organize the very large number of waste-pickers; for example, there are more waste-pickers in one of the main districts on the Asian side of the city than in the whole of the city of Ankara. Ali has become a public figure and has been interviewed on television, but he says that he is *“tired of talking on behalf of the waste-pickers”*, and without completely withdrawing, he has distanced himself somewhat from them.

While the waste-pickers’ attempts to organize themselves and make themselves heard have not resulted in very concrete outcomes in terms of recognition of their work by the politicians, they are clearly developing a coherent approach to legitimize their position, which can be seen as a form of political awareness. It is based on discursive arguments, found among both the “waste entrepreneurs” and the waste-pickers, namely that they play an important environmental role: *“We contribute to recycling plastic that would otherwise be dumped in the environment, even if we are not recognized for our contribution to the environment”*²¹. In the interviews, they repeatedly argue that they rid the city of a vast amount of rubbish, that they participate in the urban economy, and provide a livelihood for a large number of people in the city and in their countries of origin, which suffer from extreme poverty. They stress the fact that the residents of the city cannot and do not sort their rubbish as in Europe, and that they are more efficient thanks to their professional skills. These arguments form the basis of their demands both for social recognition and for the right of access to waste material, and more generally for the right to work. Their demands are thus driven more by a sense of injustice than of marginality: *“This job provides a livelihood for thousands of people, and we are better organized in Turkey than elsewhere. But we still have problems with the police. The people who live here also say that we are*

²⁰ Interview, 13/07/2015.

²¹ Interview with Mustafa, 7/7/2014.

*dirty, and we have problems with the local authorities. And yet we're very important for recycling and the environment [...]. Thanks to this job, we can survive. Otherwise, what would we do? Steal? Become a criminal? It's how I feed my family!"*²²

Last but not least, in January 2016, the Minister for the Environment and Urbanism sent a circular to recycling firms, announcing that all purchase of paper and cardboard from the informal sector was prohibited and punishable by a fine of 140,000 Turkish Lira (€43,750). For their part, the waste-pickers were threatened with a fine of 20,000 Turkish Lira (€6,200) if they continued scavenging. The decree of 2011 is now being strictly applied, and it seems that a large number of companies have recently stopped buying cardboard from the waste-pickers. There is a video showing an altercation between policemen and a waste-picker who is literally hanging on to his trolley in order to avoid being arrested; passers-by come to his defence and he is finally allowed to go²³. Although we do not know how the waste-pickers will react, this decision has created a buzz on social media and rallied support for their cause²⁴. It is still difficult to measure the consequences, notably in terms of the emergence of a debate that would bring this issue into the public arena²⁵.

22 Interview with Mehmet, 09/07/2014.

23 See: <http://www.aktifhaber.com/kagit-toplayicisi-zabitalara-isyan-etti-ekmek-tekneme-el-koyma-1319548h.htm>

24 See for example a video of Dinçer Mendillioğlu, President of the Association of recycling workers pleading the waste-pickers' cause <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cApUdUczQP4>; the article at <http://www.kedistan.net/2016/02/04/ramasseurs-papier-turquie/>; the public support of İlber Ortaylı, a renowned historian and professor at Galatasaray University; a petition on change.org; the Facebook group Katık/Geri Dönüşüm İşçileri Dergisi (Katık, the journal of recycling workers) that carries out awareness campaigns and provides information; and the article on the Global Alliance of Waste Pickers' web-site giving an account at a different scale <http://globalrec.org/2016/02/05/will-waste-pickers-in-turkey-join-unemployed-army/>

25 Here, it involves the process whereby small discreet and transient movements, which are not taken seriously, can ultimately bring public issues to the public arena (Cefaï, Trom : 2001 ; Gilbert, Henry : 2012 ; Florin : 2015)



5 – Cartoon

“The firms buying waste from the pickers will have to pay a fine of 140,000 Turkish Lira.

The State: It is told that there’s a lot of money in your sector, isn’t that true?

The waste-pickers: No, there isn’t that much money, but at least we contribute to the protection of the environment, my brother.

The State: Stop talking politics!”

Source: a cartoon found on the Facebook page of a warehouse owner²⁶

4. CONCLUSION

The discreet and everyday tactics used by waste-pickers to get round the obstacles facing them in their work in public spaces are linked to their know-how and skills arising from their detailed knowledge of urban space and society and how they function. As such, the waste-pickers, generally considered as marginal, pariahs and “social waste”, are also “extra-ordinary” citizens who have good knowledge of how to overcome the constraints. Apart from these ruses that flout the public authorities’ bans and orders designed to clean up and upgrade the city, the demands made by the waste-pickers since the 2000s seem to indicate that they are gradually coming together as a professional group, with an awareness of group belonging, potentially giving them the means to become proactive. This is demonstrated by the use of the same arguments by waste entrepreneurs and

²⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/onemligeridonusum/?fref=nf>; March 2016. English translation by Gülçin Erdi.

activists, even if a distinction should be made between the two; for the waste entrepreneurs, the activity of the waste-pickers (with low income and no rights) is the basis of the lucrative recycling system, while the arguments put forward by the activists are politically motivated.

Finally, the increasing professionalism of the so-called “informal” sector belies the traditional representation of waste-pickers as “*bands of hunter-gatherers in the urban jungle*” (Lomnitz, 1975)²⁷. Nevertheless, the fact that they are so firmly pushed to the margins – of the town, of society, of work – undoubtedly makes the possibility of mobilization difficult, in spite of the indignation that drives them. Their attempts to move out of the margins are limited, uneven, and have little chance of success: “When we examine how the various social actors respond to the many expressions of indignation, it is clear that indignation is a rallying cry. It is for this reason that many see it as essentially provocative, subversive, or even revolutionary. Is this enough to see it as the main motive of human actions? It is evident that the effectiveness of indignation can rapidly run out and be short-lived, producing only....indignation. In fact, it seems important to distinguish between different types of indignation: indignation that leads to discussion (sometimes in vain) and/or thinking; indignation that rouses opinions (sometimes in vain); indignation that provides the driving force for action, or better, produces action (and can also be in vain...)”.

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27 Here, the author is referring to the rag-pickers in Mexico in the 1970s.

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alternatif politika

Yayın İlkeleri

I. Genel Kurallar

- 1.Dergiye gönderilen yazılar başka bir yerde yayımlanmamış ya da yayımlanmak üzere gönderilmemiş olmalıdır. Yazıların uzunluğu 10.000 sözcüğü geçmemelidir. Makaleler için alt sınır 6000 sözcüktür. Yazılar yayımlanmak üzere kabul edildiğinde Alternatif Politika Dergisi bütün yayın haklarına sahip olacaktır.
- 2.Yazarlar unvanlarını, görev yaptıkları kurumları, haberleşme adresleri ile telefon numaralarını ve e-posta adreslerini bildirmelidir.
- 3.Dergiye verilecek yazılar Yayın Kurulu'nca ilk değerlendirilme yapıldıktan sonra en az iki hakeme gönderilecek, hakemlerden gelecek rapor doğrultusunda yazının basılmasına, rapor çerçevesinde düzeltilmesine, yazının geri çevrilmesine ya da üçüncü bir hakeme gönderilmesine karar verilecek ve durum yazara en kısa sürede bildirilecektir. Yayımlanmayan yazılar yazara geri gönderilmeyecektir.
- 4.Yazardan düzeltme istenmesi durumunda, düzeltmenin en geç 1 ay içerisinde yapılarak Yayın Kurulu'na ulaştırılması gerekmektedir.
- 5.Alternatif Politika Dergisi'nin yazı dili Türkçe olmakla birlikte İngilizce dilinde de yazılar yayımlanmaktadır. Yazı bu dillerden hangisinde yazılmış olursa olsun ortalama 150 sözcükten oluşan Türkçe ve İngilizce özetler de yazının başına eklenerek gönderilmelidir. Aynı şekilde, hangi dilde yazılmış olursa olsun yazının başlığının Türkçe ve İngilizce olarak yazıya eklenmesi, ayrıca yine Türkçe ve İngilizce olarak 5 anahtar sözcüğün belirtilmesi gerekmektedir.
- 6.Yazarlara telif ücreti ödenmemektedir.
- 7.Yazılar .doc ya da .docx halinde **alternatifpolitika@gmail.com** adresine gönderilmelidir.
- 8.Yayımlanan çalışmaların bilim ve dil bakımından sorumluluğu yazarlara ait olup bu konuda dergi editörlüğü sorumlu tutulamaz.

II. Yazım Kuralları

- 1.Yazı, MS Office Word formatında, 1.5 satır aralığında, ana bölümlerinde, özet ve kaynakçada 12 punto; dipnot ve tablo gibi bölümlerinde ise 10 punto harf büyüklüğünde ve Times New Roman karakterinde yazılmalıdır.

2.Yazının giriş bölümüne numara verilmemelidir. İzleyen bölümler yalnızca kelimelerin ilk harfleri büyük olacak şekilde numaralandırılmalıdır.

III. Referanslar, Dipnot ve Kaynakça

Metinde dipnot uygulaması yalnızca açıklama amacıyla kullanılmalıdır, kaynakça metnin sonuna aşağıda belirtilen kurallara uygun olarak eklenmelidir.

Metin içinde yapılacak referanslar ayraç içinde gösterilecektir. Kaynakça da bu referans sistemine uygun olarak hazırlanacaktır. Aşağıda farklı nitelikteki kaynakların metin içindeki referanslarda ve kaynakçadaki yazılış biçimleri örneklerle gösterilmiştir:

a) Tek yazarlı kitaplar ve makaleler:

Metin içindeki referans (kitap): (Wendt, 2012: 85).

Aynı yazarın, aynı yıl birden fazla eserine referans yapılması durumunda: (Wendt, 2012a: 85); (Wendt, 2012b: 40).

Kaynakçada: Wendt, Alexander (2012), Uluslararası Siyasetin Sosyal Teorisi (İstanbul: Küre Yayıncılık) (Çev. Helin Sarı Ertem, Suna Gülfer İhlamur Öner).

Metin içindeki referans (makale): (Waterbury, 1991: 15).

Kaynakçada: Waterbury, John (1991), “Twilight of State Bourgeoisie”, International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 23 (1): 1-17.

b) İki yazarlı kitaplar ve makaleler:

Metin içindeki referans (kitap): (Balibar ve Wallerstein, 2000: 67).

Kaynakçada: Balibar, Etienne ve Immanuel Wallerstein (2000), Irk Ulus Sınıf (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları) (Çev. Nazlı Ökten).

Metin içindeki referans (makale): (Sina ve Soyer, 1998: 108).

Kaynakçada: Sina, Zeynep ve Serap Soyer (1998), “Sosyolojik Açıdan Kooperatifçilik Teorisinin Niteliğine İlişkin Düşünceler” , Amme İdaresi Dergisi, 31 (3): 103-117.

c) İki den çok yazarlı kitaplar ve makaleler:

Metin içindeki referans (kitap): (Gönlübol vd., 1996: 45).

Kaynakçada: Gönlübol, Mehmet, Haluk Ülman, Ahmet Şükrü Esmer, Cem Sar, Duygu Sezer, Oral Sander ve Ömer Kürkçüoğlu (1996), Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası, 1919-1995 (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi).

İki den çok yazarlı makaleler de yukarıdaki örneğe göre kaynakçada yer alacak ve referanslar da bu örneğe göre yapılacaktır.

d) Derleme yayınlar içinde yer alan makaleler:

Metin içindeki referans: (Riddell, 1994: 53).

Kaynakçada: Riddell, Peter (1994), “Major and Parliament” , Kavanagh, Dennis ve Anthony Seldon (Der.), The Major Effect (London: Macmillan): 46-63.

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Kaynakçada: Geray, Cevat (1992), “Çevre İçin Eğitim”, Keleş, Ruşen (Der.), İnsan Çevre Toplum (Ankara: İmge): 223-240.

e) Kurum yayınları:

Metin içindeki referans: (DPT, 1989: 145).

Kaynakçada: DPT (1989), Altıncı Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı, 1990-1994 (Ankara).

f) İnternet kaynakları:

Metin içindeki yollamada: (Çubukçu, 2009).

Kaynakçada: Çubukçu, Mete (2009), “Bu Kimin Zaferi?”, <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/473346.asp> (15.06.2010).

Metin içindeki yollamada: (Dışişleri Bakanlığı, 2010).

Kaynakçada: Dışişleri Bakanlığı (2010), <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/default.tr.mfa> (16.06.2010).

g) Bunların dışında adı uzun çeşitli resmi yayınlara ya da mevzuata metin içinde yapılacak yollamalarda kısaltmalar kullanılmalıdır. Örneğin Devlet Memurları Kanunu için DMK, Ateşli Silahlar ve Bıçaklar Hakkında Kanun için ASBHK gibi.

h) Yollamalar dışındaki açıklamalar için dipnot kullanılmalıdır.

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