

A Tale of an Uneven Urban Development

The socio-economic and socio-cultural
contradictions of Tarlabasi Renewal Project

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Acknowledgements

A debt of gratitude is owed to Swedish Institute and to Rita Wikander from the Swedish-Turkish Scholarship Program for supporting my studies in Sweden. Without them, I would not be able to come to Sweden and have a life-changing experience.

I would also like to thank a few people for helping me to carry out this research. First of all, I would like to thank my adviser, Hannes Stephan for his support.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Deniz Özhan, Zeynep Sila Sönmez and Nilgün Fehim Kennedy for their help and constructive feedback throughout the process of writing this thesis.

Special recognition is also owed to all my friends and classmates and especially to my flatmates Cihan, Katya, Nora and Onursal and my friend Ceren who were always very inspiring.

I would like to thank my parents, Nursel and Halil, my brother Çağlar, my boyfriend Can, to Ali & İnci Gökmen and rest of my family members for their encouragement and support, as they make life much meaningful.

Above all, I want to express my profound appreciation to the artisans of Tarlabasi who agreed to be interviewed. This thesis would not have been possible without their participation and their valuable stories.

Abstract

This paper audits, theoretically and empirically, how the nature of the renewal projects in Turkey and social justice are closely connected by looking at spatial and urban politics with a special emphasis on the case of Tarlabasi Neighborhood in Istanbul. Based upon the theoretical framework of Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad, the study aims to illustrate the socio-economic and socio-cultural contradictions of the urban regime in Turkey. This study asks two questions from the standpoint of urban politics and spatial social justice: 1) How can the social and economic transformations be understood within Lefebvre's spatial triad? 2) How can the concepts of construction of truth, power and space be applied to Tarlabasi Renewal Project? By exploring neoliberal shift of urban politics in Turkey it will be argued that the current neoliberal policies of the new urban regime does not include participatory methods and therefore lacks social justice. Within a qualitative research approach, critical discourse analysis will be used, with an emphasis on Foucauldian discourse, and semi-structured interviews to analyze the Tarlabasi case to demonstrate the unfavorable impacts of the urban renewal projects on urban poverty. This study will suggest that public participatory methods should be included within urban renewal processes in order to achieve a just urban development.

Keywords: Urban transformation, Tarlabasi Renewal Project, Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad, urban neoliberalization.

Word count: 20036

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List of Abbreviations

AGFE: Advisory Group on Forced Evictions to UN HABITAT

AK Party: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)

ANAP: Anavatan Partisi (Mother Land Party)

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

MHA: Mass Housing Administration (TOKI: Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı)

OHCHR: United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim of the Study and the Research Questions

"As human beings are at the centre of our concern for sustainable development, they are the basis for our actions...We shall intensify our efforts to eradicate poverty and discrimination, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, and to provide for basic needs, such as education, nutrition and life-span health care services, and, especially, adequate shelter for all. To this end, we commit ourselves to improving the living conditions in human settlements ways that are consonant with local needs and realities, and we acknowledge the need to address the global, economic, social and environmental trends to ensure the creation of better living environments for all people. We shall also ensure the full and equal participation of all women and men, and the effective participation of youth, in political, economic and social life..."

The Habitat Agenda, Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements, Article 7, 1996.

Since the beginning of 2000s, the term 'urban transformation' has become the top issue on the city agenda of Turkey. As a result of a radical shift in the governance of urban land and housing markets from a 'populist' to a 'neoliberal' model, a neoliberal system which is instituted through large scale urban transformation projects in incompletely commodified urban areas has been experiencing in the country (Kuyucu & Unsal, 2009:1479). Within this process, Istanbul has unsurprisingly entered an entirely new era with rapid transformations taking place on an unprecedented scale (Islam, 2010:60). These transformations take the form of: urban design projects at the district level; flagship projects on the city's waterfronts; the transformation of *gecekondu* (squatter settlements on public land) areas; and the transformation of historic neighborhoods (via urban renewal projects) (ibid.:61). Furthermore, the policy rhetoric surrounding these transformations is promoted as if they are for the common good of the society. Urban transformation is shown as the solution of all social and natural problems of the city such as crime, poverty, segregation, stigmatization, earthquakes and even terrorism. Naturally such a persuasive and convincing urban discourse has significantly contributed to the formation of a legitimate base and support among the mainstream population for the concept (ibid.). Yet, in practice, urban transformation has other facts such as the disintegration of the city and segregation within the population. Therefore it is also seen as the vehicle in which cities are being divided into clearly identified functions and class-based clusters, where the political meaning of the term is about monopolizing the decision-making power on the reconfiguration of the urban spaces and using the power of state for the benefit of capital accumulation of a privileged class (Adanali, 2011).

Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlement has highlighted the universal goals of ensuring adequate shelter for all and making human settlements safer, healthier and more livable, equitable, sustainable and productive. However, the large scale urban transformation projects in Istanbul seem unlikely to accomplish their stated goals such as eradicating poor-quality housing, creating a more sustainable and livable of the urban environment, and improving the lives of the urban poor (Kuyucu&Unsal, 2009:1495). In contrast, it has been observed that radical state-led interventions into urban space and land/housing markets act as a tool for 'marketing' certain potential rent-zones to stronger actors (ibid.). In addition, it is also observed that the physical and demographic upgrading and beautification of the respective areas to increase real estate values make it difficult for current 'users' (original owners) to remain in the area (ibid.).

Tarlabasi Renewal Project represents one of the current urban transformation projects that is being implemented in Tarlabasi, which is a historical inner-city neighborhood in Istanbul, that is associated with crime and marginalized groups who has settled down in the neighborhood due to low housing prices. While the project, which is designed by Turkish 'star architects', promises to revitalize the area by turning it into a residential, touristic and commercial center, it holds conflict between the developer and residents over the percentage of the new units to be allocated to the existing owners (ibid.:1488 ; Islam, 2010:63). Although the owners and tenants have established a neighborhood association in 2008 in order to defend their rights, they have withdrew from the negotiation process due to the lack of transparency and as a result of inadequate financial compensation.

This study aims to investigate the close connection between social justice and urban politics with a special emphasis on the case of Tarlabasi Neighborhood in Istanbul. By doing so, it hopes to contribute to the vast world of social sciences as "the role of social sciences is to understand and explain social phenomena, to focus attention on particular issues and to challenge conventionally held beliefs about the social and natural worlds" (May 2001: 8). By responding to the research questions of this study, it is intended to inquire the socio-economic and socio-cultural contradictions of the urban regime in Turkey with an emphasis on Tarlabasi Renewal Project.

The research questions of this study are driven by a desire to investigate the impacts of Tarlabasi Renewal Project and analyze the close connection between urban politics and social justice. The research questions are:

- How can the social and economic transformations and contradictions in Tarlabasi Neighborhood be understood within Lefebvre's spatial triad?
- How can the concepts of construction of truth, power and space be applied to Tarlabasi Renewal Project?

1.2 Disposition

According to Harvey, 'exploring questions that arose from projecting social and moral philosophical considerations into the traditional matrix of geographical enquiry is highly important as principles of social justice are closely connected with the application of spatial and geographical principles to urban and regional planning' (1973:9). As mentioned before, this study firstly aims to explore how these implications and transformations caused by Tarlabasi Renewal Project could be understood within Lefebvre's spatial triad. Secondly, it aims to investigate how the concepts of construction of truth, power and space can be applied to Tarlabasi Renewal Project. Therefore, throughout this two-staged study, a variety of theories and methods will be used to respond to those two questions.

Chapter 2 aims to provide an adequate background of the issue. It explains the human rights violation of forced eviction in connection to large scale urban transformation projects in the name of development and its impacts on communities and urban poverty with a special focus on the mega city Istanbul. In this regard, a brief introduction of Istanbul within a city context will be given. Later on, some crucial points of AGFE Mission Report on Istanbul will be included in this chapter; which will present information concerning the local context of and dominant driving forces behind the evictions and main findings of the missions in regard to large scale urban transformation projects in Istanbul. Lastly, a very brief introduction to Tarlabasi neighborhood and Tarlabasi Renewal Project

will be presented in order to provide a familiarity with the study area. Although Chapter 5 will present a much more detailed historical background of Tarlabasi, this short introduction is believed to be necessary to avoid any misconceptions throughout chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3, which is the backbone of this study will present the theoretical framework of the research. It will explore Henri Lefebvre's and David Harvey's definitions of space and their meanings of social construction and production of space, in addition to different representations of space. This chapter is the backbone of the study because of several reasons. First of all, Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad of space can be seen as the starting point of this inquiry. Starting from Lefebvre's spatial triad; it is aimed to investigate different forms of Tarlabasi space within the methodological framework of this study, and throughout the analyses of the methods. In addition, Harvey's interpretation of Lefebvre's spatial triad provides further insights of three moments of space, which backs up Lefebvre's theory.

Within this scope, the methodological framework presented in Chapter 4 will offer the methods that were used for this investigation. It will introduce critical discourse analysis (CDA); Foucauldian discourse; and semi-structured interviews. While theoretical assumptions of those methods aim to clarify why those methods are chosen; weaknesses of the methods will also be expressed for the sake of transparency and honesty. In addition, the sources that will be used for analysis will also be introduced in this chapter, such as the selection of newspaper articles, the project booklet taken from the Beyoglu Municipality, and a group of artisans in Tarlabasi that have been interviewed with.

Chapter 5 aims to give a historical background of Tarlabasi in a comprehensive level. Together with the shift to neoliberalization in the urban regime of Turkey, this chapter intends to provide a vivid literature review of different stages of neoliberal configuration of Turkey, which have been paving the way of contemporary urban transformation projects such as Tarlabasi Renewal Project.

While Chapter 6 aims to analyze the sources introduced in Chapter 4 by conducting CDA, Foucauldian discourse and interview analysis; Chapter 7 aims to present the results and the concluding remarks.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 Forced Evictions in the name of Urban Development

When a transformation project is about to be implemented, it is shown that the project will improve the lives of people. However, at its heart, the story is often different for the communities who live around the project areas. As a matter of fact, most of the time, when projects are developed on the lands of people, this is often about destruction of their homes, about disruption of their communities and networks and unfortunately such projects result in further impoverishment of people. Every year, millions of people are forced to leave their houses and lands, and their communities in the name of common public good and 'development'.

This action of coerced and involuntary displacement of people from their lands and communities is called 'forced eviction'. Forced evictions constitute gross violations of a range of internationally recognized human rights, including the human rights to adequate housing, food, water, health, education, work, security of the person, freedom from cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, and freedom of movement (OHCHR). As a consequence of forced evictions, people are often left

homeless and destitute, without means of earning a livelihood and, in practice, with no effective access to legal or other remedies; thus, forced evictions deepen poverty, destroy communities, and irrevocably, adversely impact the future of millions of people (OHCHR; UN Habitat). Furthermore, forced evictions intensify inequality, social conflict, segregation and invariably affect the poorest, most socially and economically vulnerable and marginalized sectors of society (OHCHR).

Considering their size, scale and scope, large scale development projects such as urban transformation projects cause some of the most massive forced evictions. It can be found in UN Habitat's Report on Forced Evictions that during the 1980s and 1990s, each year displacement of 10 million people were calculated, as a result of large scale development projects under the pretext of 'urban development' (2011). Moreover, during the following decade, this number reached an estimated 15 million people per year. Yet, these numbers are just tip of the iceberg.

Such large scaled development projects involve capital investment from giant corporations and private sector actors in addition to local governments and municipalities. Construction of luxury housing complexes and fancy shopping malls which exclude the undesired people, exploitation of natural resource, construction of dams and erection of highways are some of the examples that such projects involve. The implications of large scale development projects primarily target the most marginalized and vulnerable groups such as the minorities, the indigenous peoples, women, children and the poor. Those evictees end up having no choice but to move, contributing to the rapid increase in urban poverty.

In short, the practice of forcibly evicting people from their homes is an "egregious human rights abuse" which leads to the loss of livelihoods and environmental degradation that in most cases could be prevented (UN Habitat). The case study of Tarlabasi Neighborhood in Istanbul and thematic analysis of Tarlabasi Renewal Project and forced evictions illustrate the tragic consequences of urban transformation projects that lack public participation.

2.2 Istanbul, a Global City

"In the shadow of the new skyline of Istanbul, new spaces of poverty and wealth are emerging in a decidedly and progressively segregated manner" (Candan & Kolluoglu, 2008:7).

For more than 50 years, there has been a striking pressure on the lands of 8,000 year old Istanbul that has been witnessing a massive population and economic growth. The statistics indicate that whereas the city had 1.1 million inhabitants in 1945, and 4.7 million in 1980, it had 15 million in 2008 (UN Habitat). With % 63 of it's current population who were not born in the city, Istanbul clearly is a city of migration (ibid.).

In terms of economic growth, while the city accommodates % 20 of total population of Turkey, it produces % 38 of total industrial outputs and more than % 50 of services; furthermore, 242 out of 500 largest industrial companies are located in Istanbul (Cabannes et al., 2010:52). In addition, a great number of neighborhoods have been going through large-scaled transformations under the goal of becoming a 'Global City', which puts further pressure on the city.

The designation of Istanbul as the Cultural Capital of Europe¹, the new airport on the Asian side of

¹ Through a partnership of Metropolitan Municipality, Istanbul Governorship, and the 2010 European Culture Capital Coordination Board, the city has been transformed into a city of tourism with conventions, fairs, cultural events, art,

the city, the Formula 1 circuit, and development of new highways and bridges² are examples of mega events and mega projects that aim at turning Istanbul into a 'Global City'. In other words, the entire urban renewal agenda is driven by the authorities' ambition to transform Istanbul into one global first class city. However, when looked at a human perspective, due to such ambitions, millions of people are under the threat of being displaced, millions of houses are planned to be destroyed and people continually get poorer, more marginalized and stigmatized. In order to achieve the concept of 'Global City'; a great number of neighborhoods in Istanbul have been going through large scaled transformations in the last decade, which are closely connected to the recent evictions. Even though the city is experiencing sustained growth and accumulation of wealth, due to the lack of a just redistribution mechanism, the population as a whole has not been benefiting from this change. On the contrary, the recent transformations have lead to demolition of houses and eviction of the people. Especially regarding housing, upper end housing development and gated communities have been exercising a pressure on existing well-located settlements of the poor and middle class (AGFE Mission). In some cases residents are being relocated to the outskirts of the city while others are being left to the streets.

The whole transformation machinery is powered by Mass Housing Administration³ of central government (hereinafter referred to as the MHA) and supported by the municipalities. As a result of numerous legal reforms passed between 2002 and 2008, MHA has become the most powerful real estate developer in the country, which has increased its assets tenfold in less than five years by a system of having free and easy access to land, and contracting private developers to build both high-income housing units (to generate funds) and social houses (to provide shelter to displaced masses) (Kuyucu&Unsal, 2009). The role of the municipalities on the other hand is to clear the land-to-be-renewed from existing built and social environment.

MHA and the Istanbul Municipality have declared that 1 million buildings are planned to be rebuild in Istanbul. This means that around 8 to 10 million poor and middle class inhabitants living in the aforesaid housing stock are under the threat of eviction (Cabannes et al., 2010:52).

2.3 AGFE Mission Report on Istanbul

Upon the invitation of civil society groups and reports by local organizations, the Advisory Group on Forced Evictions (hereinafter referred to as AGFE) to the Executive Director of UN-HABITAT, had a mission to Istanbul in 2009. The mission was tasked with documenting ongoing and foreseen forced evictions, assessing the existing legal framework, and hearing the viewpoints of those responsible for and those affected by evictions (Adanali, 2011). According to the reports received by AGFE, inhabitants of a considerable number of neighborhoods in Istanbul have been subject to forced evictions and many more are living under the threat of possible forced evictions which are carried out in the context of urban regeneration and renewal projects that are jointly implemented by central and local authorities (AGFE Mission).

and sports activities.

- 2 In May 9, 2012 the transport minister of Turkey announced the launch of the third bridge over Bosphorus. Plans for a third bridge over the Bosphorus have circulated since the early 1990s, with its proponents claiming that another motorway across the strait would ease traffic congestion and generate big profits. Yet, environmentalists, urban planners and many Istanbul residents are furious with the plan, arguing that it will create more traffic, increase the number of vehicles in Istanbul and spell an end to the few remaining green areas and urgently needed drinking water reservoirs that have so far resisted the urban sprawl (Guardian, 2012).
- 3 The Turkish name of MHA is TOKI (Toplu Konut Idaresi Baskanligi).

Despite the fact that such urban regeneration and renewal projects in Istanbul are often carried out in the name of the common public good and in the name of economic and social development, the main problem underlying the nature of such transformation projects in Turkey is that they are generally an output of a non-participatory process which take place in a top-down manner. Furthermore, they mostly target the most marginalized and vulnerable groups with a wide range of implications regarding their employment, housing, education, family structures, health, culture among other life conditions.

According to the AGFE Mission Report, the evictions are driven by private and/or public sponsored real estate and property market-driven developments and commercial interests, by planning and development control decisions that penalize informal/illegal buildings and land occupation, by urban planning and land use ordinances leading to clearance and land-use transformations that are incompatible with present residential use and lastly, by conflicts and internal ethnic tensions that generate outburst of property destruction and human suffering (ibid.).

Whereas 80,000 people were detected to be directly affected by the urban renewal projects in the areas visited by the mission, 12,730 people in total were determined to have already had their homes destroyed in Ayazma/Tepeüstü, Kücükbakkalköy and Sulukule districts. Those numbers in addition to the announcement of future housing projects of MHA and Istanbul Municipality, clearly demonstrates the seriousness of the possible future evictions of millions of people in the near future (ibid.).

The aforesaid evictions have been carried out in an unclear and unjust legal framework which takes place in a non-participatory process and in a top-down manner, as mentioned above. It is stated that the project has not been well explained by the municipality in the neighborhood and that the owners may not have full awareness about the potential financial gains they could get when the project is finalized. Therefore, it is more likely that the potential value increase will be realized by the outsiders, rather than the existing residents (AGFE Mission).

Amnesty International also points out that Beyoglu Municipality has violated the municipality's obligations under the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (Amnesty International, 2011).

The AGFE Mission's recommendation to the Government of Turkey and to its local authorities is to include participatory methods in its urban policy, including the communities and the citizens directly interested and concerned within the formulations, design, implementation and control phase of the whole process in order to prevent evictions and reach creative and positive solutions for the benefit of the city and of its citizens.

2.4 Tarlabasi

Tarlabasi⁴ is a socially and territorially stigmatized inner-city neighborhood located in the European side of Istanbul that is just behind Istiklal Street⁵, one of the most famous avenues in Istanbul. Istiklal Street is considered to be the cultural, historical and commercial center of Istanbul and thus,

4 Tarlabasi neighborhood lies on both sides of Tarlabasi Boulevard which is parallel to Istiklal Street. Please see the map in Appendix 10.3 in page 42.

5 Istiklal street is compared to Champs Elysees in Paris and Oxford Street in London by many tourists or tourism agencies.

the surrounding districts and neighborhoods, including Tarlabasi, poses a great importance. In spite of its closeness to Istiklal Street, which is seen as a modern, touristic and a beautiful street, Tarlabasi is rather a neglected neighborhood that has a bad reputation of accommodating crime, poverty and physical dilapidation.

In February 2006, in the aftermath of the implementation of the law No: 5366⁶ on the 'Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties', parts of Tarlabasi were announced as regeneration areas that would be operated by Beyoglu Municipality. Tarlabasi Renewal Project covers 9 city-blocks which are located on an approximately 20,000 square meter field. A total amount of 278 plots, side streets and the infrastructure of the area will be regenerated. Tarlabasi Renewal Project is based on a public-private partnership model. Beyoglu Municipality has appointed the project area and announced it for a tender, where the highest bidder, GAP Construction, has obtained the authority for the preparation and implementation of the renewal project. When the ongoing phase is completed, according to the level of success of the project, the municipality will decide if the project will expand further or not.

Mayor Demircan defines the Tarlabasi Renewal Project as an "extraordinary project" that will change the destiny and future of the neighborhood. It is claimed that the project will transform Tarlabasi from an ugly, poor, neglected and a "dead" neighborhood to a modern, commercial, rich and lively one. However, according to the 'Property Owners and Social Development and Tenant Aid Association' of Tarlabasi, the municipality is violating their human rights by forcing them to sell their properties to the construction company for low prices. Furthermore, they explain that although they did not want to sell their properties and move out from the neighborhood, where they have strong social ties, the municipality threatened them by using law No: 5366, which gave the local governments full authority to expropriate the properties for the sake of urban transformation. The residents that are being evicted from Tarlabasi end up being relocated or displaced. While MHA housing, which is offered by the municipality is not affordable, its remote location is incompatible in terms of transportation.

It is aimed to investigate such contradictions of Tarlabasi Renewal Project in terms of its socio-cultural, socio-economic and environmental implications on Tarlabasi community. The next Chapter intends to provide a theoretical framework for this inquiry.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

"An understanding of urbanism and of the social-process-spatial-form theme requires that we understand how human activity creates the need for specific spatial concepts and how daily social practice solves with consummate ease seemingly deep philosophical mysteries concerning the nature of space and the relationships between social processes and spatial forms" (Harvey 14).

In order to discover the interconnection between numerous different social processes such as gentrification, forced evictions and social justice; and embedded spatial hierarchy in Tarlabasi Istanbul, it is vital to understand the notion of space as well as how it is produced and maintained. In terms of the notion of space, Lefebvre's critical/poststructuralist *Production of Space* will be used as the main source for the theoretical framework in addition to numerous concepts imparted and analyzed from the perspective of Harvey. The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical presentation on *production of space* and *forms of space*.

6 Will be further explained in Chapter 6.

3.1 Defining Space

Lefebvre emphasizes that social space works as a tool for the analysis of the society (1991:34). This research also puts a great interest on space, believing that it has a crucial role within the dynamics of urban politics. However, it is crucial to avoid a simplification of its meaning. Therefore, understanding the true nature of space in the context of this paper is necessary in order to understand the urban phenomena of Tarlabasi Renewal Project and its social aspects. In this respect, the concept of space discussed throughout this paper refers to a social one. It is important to consider the symbolic meaning of space and its complex impact upon behavior as it is mediated by the cognitive process (ibid.:36).

Lefebvre argues that in the past, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning which simply evoked the idea of an empty area. He furthermore criticizes the previous epistemologic-philosophical thinking which has developed a science of space, but failed to achieve an explanatory theory. He asserts that while such previous spatial analyses provide inventories of what exists in space, and generate a discourse on space, they lack a true knowledge of space (ibid.:7).

According to Lefebvre, social space is a social product, though a product to be used, to be consumed; it is also a means of production: network of exchange and flows of raw materials and energy fashion space and are determined by it (ibid.:85). In addition, for Lefebvre, the space is produced but also serves as a tool of thought and of action and alongside to being a mean of production, it is also a means of control, and hence domination, of power (ibid.:6). Social space embodies the relations of production, i.e., the division of labour and its organization in the form of hierarchical social functions (ibid.:32). Therefore, social space is complex, non-homogenous, discontinuous, and almost certainly different from the physical space in which the engineer and the planner typically work. (Harvey 1973:35). Lefebvre was interested in the fundamental spatiality of all social processes yet remained wary of the tendency to fetishize space as a mental thing, a container or place where social action was played out (Ingen, 2003:202).

3.2 Production of Space

Lefebvre claims that every society produces and offers its own peculiar space, as it were, as an object for analysis and overall theoretical explication (1991: 31). Harvey similarly underlines the connection between the social processes and spatial relationships by claiming that different styles of representing spatial relationships are developed by different culture groups and these styles are linked to social processes and norms (1973:36).

According to Lefebvre, spatial scholarship often supplied inventories or generated discourses on space but failed to pay critical attention to the ways in which spaces are produced and maintained through social conflicts that are inherently political and ideological (Ingen, 2003:202). Lefebvre argues that it is necessary to study and inquire space without ignoring the strong and the dominant tendency within present-day society and its mode of production, in which intellectual labour, like material labour, is subject to endless division. (8). Moreover, the role of the class struggle in the production of space is cardinal, in the sense that this production is performed solely by classes, fractions of classes and groups representative of classes (Lefebvre 1991:55).

3.3 Perceived, Conceived and Lived

According to Lefebvre, social space comprises specific representations within the social relations of production and reproduction, which can be called as 'forms' of space. Each of these forms of social space can be defined within his conceptual triad: *Spatial practice*, *Representations of space* and *Representational spaces*.

Spatial practice (or Perceived Space)

'Spatial practice' embraces production and reproduction, particular locations and characteristics of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion (Lefebvre, 1991). In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance. 'Perceived Space' is the concrete materiality of spatial forms such as a 'room' in an apartment, the 'corner' of the street, a 'marketplace', a shopping or cultural 'center', a public 'place' among other examples (Ingen, 2003:202). This is the kind of space that can be mapped. Yet, for Lefebvre, spatial practices are more than the physical objects or material places: they include everyday activities, involve the use of an established spatial economy characteristic of each social formation (place) and demonstrate the ways which bodies interact with material space (ibid.). To illustrate, the artisans that have been interviewed with have their working spaces on the Tarlabasi Boulevard. Their perceived space of Tarlabasi is where their daily routine takes place. This does not only include the physical space where their daily activity happens. It is more than that. Their routine, the flow of exchange among other interactions are all a part of this perceived space. The analysis of semi-structured interviews presented in Chapter 6, aims to investigate the perceived space of Tarlabasi.

Representations of Space (or Conceived Space)

Representations of space are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations. This is the form of space which remains imagined and is constructed through discourse (Soja, 1996). While we connect with conceived space through our ideas, plans, codes and memories, it remains abstract in thought rather than being directly lived in (McMann, 1999). For Lefebvre, this is the most dominant form of space. Soja explains that conceived spaces impose order, which is constituted via control over knowledge, signs, and codes, over the means of deciphering spatial practice and hence over the production of spatial knowledge (Ingen, 2003:203). In this study, Tarlabasi Renewal Project and all the parameters of the project demonstrates the conceived space. Parallel to Soja's explanation, the CDA and Foucauldian Discourse discussed in Chapter 4 will show how discourses, constructed by public authorities such as Mayor Demircan and the media, constitutes the conceived space of Tarlabasi. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, this study argues that in the case of Tarlabasi, the urban transformation project is being implemented only on the conceived level of space.

The representations of space is this aspect that codifies epistemological approaches to understanding, against which claims of knowledge and truth are evaluated and is an abstract representation, which has arisen through the proliferation of symbol systems providing categories, forms and taxonomies of analysis, which dominate attempts at understanding and representation in modern society (Watkins, 2006).

Representational Spaces (or Lived Space)

Representational spaces, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces) (Lefebvre 1991:33). This is the social space through which life is directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence, the space of 'inhabitants', hence 'users', and writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do no more than describe. This is the aspect of space that embraces the partiality of representation and knowledge systems, and which Lefebvre tries to ensure retains a prominence in any engagement within a spatial event (Watkins, 2006). It is the space which forms, informs and facilitates the deviations, diversity and individuality that are a fundamental aspect of any social encounter (ibid.). This distinctiveness is achieved in conjunction with, while not being completely constrained by, the structures of the *conceived space* and the *perceived space* that have developed to provide the necessary cohesion and competence for successful social interaction (ibid.). Lived space is the "experiential aspect" of space, which is also the dominated – and hence passively experienced space which imagination seeks to change and appropriate (Lefebvre 1991:39).

To illustrate, while a city guide book that has been taken from a bookstore represents the conceived forms of that city's space, the actual streets, the buildings, the daily activities and routine of the locals would be the perceived space of that city. The lived space, on the other hand, would be the aspect of space where deeper networks take place. For instance, one can learn from this guide book where all the touristic places and the important attractions of this city are located, perhaps some museum and art centers that locate in this city. This guide book would be the dominant tool for learning about this city as it would most probably be written and produced by a collaboration of a journey specialist and city planners and local government. However, it would be the physical sphere where daily activities and the routine take place. In order to understand how people live in this city, how they earn their money, the division of labour and such matters, one should directly go to the places where these interactions happen. Yet, in order to understand deeper interactions, such as gender roles in this society, or discrimination, or the role of the religion in the society, one should search within the lived space of this city.

The three dimensions of Lefebvre's conceptual triad are characterized as the *experienced*, the *perceived*, and the *lived*. Harvey uses these three dimensions in his "grid of spatial practices" where he aims to "capture" the complexity of the transformation of spatial practices (Harvey:261).

In this regard, for Harvey, the *perceived space* (called as *experienced* by Harvey) is the material practices that refer to the physical and material flows, transfers, and interaction that occur in and across space in such a way as to assure production and social reproduction. The *conceived* (called as *perception* by Harvey) includes all of the signs and significations, codes and knowledge, that allow such material practices to be talked about and understood, no matter whether in terms of everyday common sense or through the sometimes arcane jargon of the academic disciplines that deal with spatial practices (engineering, architecture, geography, planning, social ecology, and the like). Lastly, the *lived* (the *imagined* in Harvey's words) are social inventions (codes, signs, and even material constructs such as symbolic spaces, particular built environment, paintings, museums and the like) that seek to generate new meanings of possibilities for spatial practices (ibid.).

Harvey's "Grid" of Spatial Practices:

Table 3.1 A 'grid' of spatial practices

	<i>Accessibility and distancing</i>	<i>Appropriation and use of space</i>	<i>Domination and control of space</i>	<i>Production of space</i>
Material spatial practices (experience)	flows of goods, money, people, labour power, information, etc.: transport and communications systems; market and urban hierarchies; agglomeration	land uses and built environments; social spaces and other 'turf' designations: social networks of communication and mutual aid	private property in land; state and administrative divisions of space; exclusive communities and neighborhoods; exclusionary zoning and other forms of social control (policing and surveillance)	production of physical infrastructures (transport and communication; built environments; land clearance, etc.); territorial organization of social infrastructures (formal and informal)
Representations of space (perception)	social, psychological and physical measures of distance; map-making; theories of the 'friction of distance' (principle of least effort, social physics, range of a good, central place and other forms of location theory)	personal space; mental maps of occupied space; spatial hierarchies; symbolic representation of spaces; spatial 'discourses'	forbidden spaces; 'territorial imperative's; community; regional culture; nationalism; geopolitics; hierarchies	new systems of mapping, visual representation, communication, etc.; new artistic and architectural 'discourses'; semiotics.
spaces of representation (imagination)	attraction / repulsion; distance / desire; access / denial; transcendence 'medium' is the message.	familiarity; hearth and home; open places; places of popular spectacle (streets, squares, markets); iconography and graffiti; advertising	unfamiliarity; spaces of fear, property and possession; monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual; symbolic barriers and symbolic capital; construction of 'traditional'; spaces of repression	utopian plans; imaginary landscapes; science fiction ontologies and space; artists' sketches; mythologies of space and place; poetics of space; spaces of desire

Source: in part inspired by Lefebvre (1994).

To conclude, drawing upon the work of Lefebvre, and Harvey, it is claimed that Tarlabasi Neighborhood has three forms of space: the perceived, conceived and lived. Furthermore, it is argued that Tarlabasi Renewal Project which is being implemented by the municipality only takes account of the conceived level. Therefore, the implications of Tarlabasi Renewal Project have an unjust nature concerning the transformation of the social and economic fabric in the neighborhood, due to its topdown neoliberal policies which neglects the perceived and lived spaces.

4. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, the research methods implemented for this qualitative study will be presented. In addition, main reasons of the selection of these methods will be discussed together with the weaknesses and strengths they hold. As 'qualitative methods are good at capturing meaning, process and context,' the goal of qualitative research is to explore people's subjective experiences and the meaning they attach to those experiences (Marsh&Stoker 2002:199). The methodological part of this study has an exploitative approach with an aim of providing information rather than producing generalizations. On that account, 'Critical Discourse Analysis', 'Foucauldian Analysis' and 'Semi-Structured Interviews' are the research methods that will be utilized for this study.

4.1 Methodological framework which will be used for Critical Discourse Analysis

If language, as Habermas claims, is a medium of domination and social force, and thus, serves to legitimize relations of organized power (Wodak&Meyer: 2), it is crucial to investigate the discourses embedded within the language. In this regard, discourse is a social language created by particular cultural conditions at a particular time and place: it expresses a particular way of understanding human experience (Whisnant: 4). Therefore, by studying discourses in a society, it is possible to analyze the systems of thoughts, ideas, images and other symbolic practices that make up what we generally call culture (Ibid: 1). Furthermore, CDA, as an analytical framework, is fruitful for studying the connections between language, power and ideology (Fairclough 1995: 23). In order to study the dominant urban discourses over Tarlabasi Renewal Project, CDA will be conducted through the interpretation of written texts and speeches on various newspapers. Foucauldian Discourse will also be made use of, as it is believed that it provides important insights regarding the nature of the inquiry of this study. This research looks at Tarlabasi from the standpoint of Lefebvre's and Harvey's theories of space. In this respect there are three realities of Tarlabasi which will be investigated within the methodological framework of this study. Thus, CDA and Foucauldian Discourse are significant tools to analyze the urban discourses embedded within social processes that produce truth, knowledge and power.

4.2 Methodological framework which will be used for Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Foucault argues that the world we live in is a kind of a virtual world generated by our mind, but not

by us alone: we construct this world socially through a complex interaction between experience, upbringing, and education (Foucault, 1972, 1995; Whisnant: 6). What he means is that discourses, which he calls 'chains of language', bind humans together as social beings and play a key role in the social construction of 'reality'. He furthermore asserts that some certain discourses in certain contexts have the power to convince people to accept statements as true (Foucault, 1972).

The aim of this study is to: 1) explore the contradictions of the ongoing urban renewal project that have been transforming the social and economic fabric in Tarlabasi; and 2) inquire how these social and economic transformations and contradictions can be understood. In this respect, this study argues that, correspondingly to Lefebvre's spatial triad, Tarlabasi Neighborhood has three different levels of spatial reality which do not overlap due to the lack of participatory methods. As mentioned within the theoretical framework of the study, the conceived space (representations of space) of Tarlabasi dramatically differs from the perceived space (spatial practice) and the lived space (representational space) of the neighborhood. If knowledge in society is produced and intimately connected with social power as May asserts and if knowledge and power are constructed within a set of social practices as Foucault considers (May 2001: 16,43), it is highly necessary to investigate those social practices embedded within the urban discourse on Tarlabasi.

In this regard, CDA and Foucauldian Discourse will be very beneficial to explore how conceived space of Tarlabasi Neighborhood is socially constructed by the municipality, the project partners, public authorities and politicians. In order to reach a conclusion, speeches of the related governmental actors and institutions of the urban politics in Turkey as well as newspaper reports about the urban processes were analyzed to search how Tarlabasi is defined and constructed in those written texts. Parallel to the Foucauldian way of investigating "systems of thought and ideas" produced by dominant discourses and hegemonic narratives, it is intended to investigate how and by whom the dominant urban discourse about Tarlabasi and Tarlabasi Renewal Project are produced.

Central to CDA based on Foucault's discourse theory are issues such as: 1) what knowledge (valid at a certain place at a certain time) consists of; 2) how this valid knowledge evolves; 3) how it is passed on; 4) what function it has for the constitution of subjects and the shaping of society, and, 5) what impact this knowledge has on the overall development of society (Wodak&Meyer:32-33). As discussed earlier, urban renewal projects on historic neighborhoods such as Tarlabasi Neighborhood is one of the examples of the outcomes of this dominant and hegemonic urban discourse. The highly convincing nature of such political discourses has contributed significantly to the formation of a legitimate base and support among the mainstream population for the concept, and its easy translation into Istanbul's urban space (Islam 2010). It is believed that searching for the answers of those five issues, mentioned above, would contribute to the investigation of social construction of the conceived space of Tarlabasi. Hence, those five questions will be a guideline in CDA.

Newspapers are one of the most powerful ways to communicate and contest truth claims in a society and power it possesses. Firstly, through mass distribution and consumption, newspapers have the power to make huge impacts on societies. Secondly, newspaper articles are a good option which reflect the positions of public policy officials in the absence of interviews with public policy actors such as the mayor, other authorities and the police, as they have refused to be interviewed. Therefore 43 newspaper articles that have written pro essays about Tarlabasi Renewal Project have been reviewed. Due to the limits of this study, each and every one of them will not be referred but a few of them will be included in the analyses section by providing essential parts from selected passages. On the other hand, direct quotations will mostly be used for the transparency. The selected newspaper articles were written between 2005 and 2012. One interesting point was that in almost

every single article, it was always and only the Beyoglu Mayor Ahmet Misbah Demircan⁷ who was interviewed with. Therefore, although my initial intention was to have a variety of political actors included in my discourse analysis, most of my direct quotations belong to Demircan.

It will be argued that the discourses which dominate the public sphere on Tarlabasi Renewal Project create a different reality by constructing truths and truth claims in the name of urban development and public good. The aim of conducting CDA within this study is to investigate the dominance and social inequality reproduced by texts and speeches in the political rhetoric.

4.3 Methodological framework of semi-structured interviews

May argues that monolithic social theories and one-dimensional approaches to research are inadequate to explain the workings of societies or understand social relations; therefore, a combination of reflection, experience and practice is needed to strengthen the "constant relationship between social theory and social research" (2001:29). Although CDA and Foucauldian Discourse are highly significant methods to study the socially constructed urban discourses which form the conceived space of Tarlabasi, it is vital to listen to the story from the Tarlabasi artisans to inquire the perceived and lived spaces of the neighborhood. Thus, in addition to CDA, semi-structured interviews were conducted where "questions are normally specified, but the interviewer is freer to probe beyond the answers in a manner which would appear prejudicial to the aims of standardization and comparability" (May 2001: 123). The aim in interviewing people was not to produce generalizations, but in contrast, to collect qualitative data. In this sense, semi-structured interviews is a fruitful method as interviewing allows people to talk freely and offer their interpretation of events since it is their perspective that is paramount (Marsh&Stoker 2002:199).

Although questions regarding regular information such as 'age, sex, occupation, type of household', can be asked in a standardized format in semi-structured interviews, the interviewer can also seek both *clarification* and *elaboration* on the answers given, and can then record the qualitative information about the topic which altogether provides the interviewer to have more latitude to *probe* beyond the answers and thus enter into a dialogue with the interviewee (ibid.) Last but not the least, semi-structured interviews allow people to answer more on their own terms than the standardized interview permits, but still provide a greater structure for comparability over that of the focused interview (ibid). By using semi-structured interviews, I was allowed to use an interview guideline as a checklist of topics to be covered, but at the same time, was able to leave space for the interviewees to answer on their own terms and to talk as much as they wished. In contrast to the highly structured interviews used in survey research, based on tightly defined questionnaires and closed questions, semi-structured interviews conducted in this research were open and flexible, allowing for spontaneous responses and actions of the interviewees (Marsh&Stoker 2002:198).

A total number of 22 interviews were conducted during the short fieldwork in Tarlabasi neighborhood. All the interviewees were artisans who work or/and live in Tarlabasi with an exception of one young male person who didn't live or work in Tarlabasi but who has relatives residing in the neighborhood. Among 22 people with an age range between 18 to 70, four were women and the rest were men. For privacy reasons, the names of the interviewees will not be used but rather age, gender and occupation characteristics will identify the interviewees (hereinafter referred to as 'respondent').

⁷ Ahmet Misbah Demircan serves as the mayor of Beyoglu Municipality since 2004. He is considered to be the main actor behind the Tarlabasi Renewal Project. Tarlabasi is one of the neighborhoods that Beyoglu District consists of.

Voice recording was used during the interviews following by subsequent transcriptions for a couple of reasons. Firstly, having the interview recorded allows the researcher to focus to the interview more than when notes are taken instead. Secondly, it allows the researcher to use direct quotations more and thus decreases the chances of misinterpretation of the interview.

For two reasons, a system of blocks was used regarding the interview questions during the interviews. Firstly, it was believed that putting the questions in a logical order according to specific categories would provide a more efficient analysis. Secondly, having several blocks helped a lot during the interviews as it reduced the possibility of confusions.

To illustrate, the blocks were structured in the following way:

1. Introduction of the respondent: questions regarding the information on gender, age, occupation, relationship with Tarlabasi in terms of living space and working space.
2. Tarlabasi Renewal Project: questions regarding the actors, process, goals, details, impacts and possible consequences of the project. Forced eviction in connection to the project.
3. Social Justice and Public Participation: Questions regarding the level of their inclusion and participation within the project and the concept of social justice.
4. Questions regarding the ways they (respondents) would want to influence the current state of Tarlabasi and additional comments.

Another important point about the questions is worthwhile mentioning. Semi-structured interviews serve for this study in a dual way. While the main aim of conducting CDA was to understand the representations of space – the 'conceived' space – of Tarlabasi, the semi-structured interviews aim at understanding the spatial practices – the perceived space – and the representational spaces – the lived space – of Tarlabasi. But at the same time, it gives the major hints about how participatory methods and social justice are lacking concerning the project.

The purpose of conducting semi-structured interviews was not to test if the artisans are pro or against the Tarlabasi Renewal Project but rather to understand what Tarlabasi means to them; to listen to the spatial practices of everyday routine in Tarlabasi. Furthermore, to compare their perceived and lived spaces to the conceived space of the municipality. It is moreover aimed to test the relevancy of the discourses communicated by public authorities on Tarlabasi with the realities of the Tarlabasi community. Therefore, I will realize my analysis within two sub topics, namely: 1) the spatial practices in Tarlabasi: the perceived space; 2) representational spaces in Tarlabasi: the lived space.

4.4 Limitations

The first limitation concerns the interpretation of the meanings during CDA and analysis of semi-structured interviews. Throughout the methodological part of the study, when both CDA and semi-structured interviews were being conducted, I had applied a personal interpretation of the meanings. The researcher's personal characteristics and background put the researcher in a biased and a subjective position. For instance, as a result of my educational background in political science, the meanings of certain concepts and issues completely differ from those of the respondents. In addition, although the same language was used with the respondents, this does not change the fact that I and the respondents come from different backgrounds. As a result of this, it is not possible for me to be able to empathize %100 with the parties interviewed. Therefore, it is important to be aware of the fact that the results will be a product of my personal interpretation. Yet, it was tried to be as

transparent as possible during the entire study. Therefore, many direct quotes from the interviews will be used besides paraphrasing throughout the analysis of semi-structured interviews.

The second issue concerns the representativeness of the group that have been interviewed with. Due to the limits of this study, only a group of 22 people were interviewed. Since I could not choose who to interview, basically random people were picked according to their availability and desire to be talked to. Therefore the interviewees are mostly men. If there was the possibility, it would be wished that more women and young people would have been interviewed since the study has an explorative approach and the aim is not to produce generalizations but to provide qualitative information. However it is important to underline that the group of people that were interviewed does not represent the entire Tarlabasi community, which was not the intention anyway.

The setting during the interviews was another limitation. It was chosen to conduct the interviews with a group of artisans. Although it was very interesting to listen to the artisans, one problem was that the interviews had to be realized at the work place of the respondents. Hence, sometimes the setting was very noisy and crowded. For instance one of the respondent was a street seller and thus the interview was conducted on a very noisy street that had traffic. Relatedly, time was another issue. A guideline with 18 questions was used. Although I needed and wished to ask further questions in order to avoid misinterpretation of the own meanings of concepts and terms of the respondents, sometimes due to surrounding conditions, it was not possible.

Except for a very few, the majority of the respondents had never been interviewed for an academic research purpose in their lives. Therefore, from time to time, it was a challenge to assure them that I was not a journalist and did not want to bring any trouble but just wished to collect information about the research subject for academic purposes. While some people refused to be interviewed, some did not give permission to use the voice recording. For instance, in one of the interviews, although the permission of the respondent to use voice recording was carefully asked at the beginning of the interview, he noticed the device only in the middle of the interview and did not wanted to be recorded. This clearly is a demonstration that some people are afraid of expressing their true feelings, thoughts and opinions perhaps believing that this might bring serious trouble. Hence, it could also be the fact that some of the answers are biased at a certain level since I, as the researcher was an outsider.

Before starting to conduct CDA and semi-structured interview analyses, the historical background of the study area, together with the three stages of neoliberal configuration of Turkey will be presented. It is believed that knowing the historical background of Tarlabasi is important to grasp the ideas behind the current hegemonic discourses on the neighborhood on one hand; understanding the neoliberal shift in the urban politics and regime of Turkey is vital to make the connection between neoliberal urban politics and social justice – especially in the context of Tarlabasi Renewal Project, on the other hand.

5. HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE STUDY AREA

This section of the study aims to present a thorough portrait of Tarlabasi in order to well narrate the socio-demographic and physical texture of the neighborhood. Not only the current portrait of the neighborhood is introduced in terms of its built environment and its social and economic characteristics, but a historical background will also be given in order to provide a comprehensive timeline to understand the nature of Tarlabasi. However, the author believes that a thorough analysis

of the neighborhood cannot be actualized without a short study of an urban neoliberal policies throughout the world.

5.1 A New Era: Neoliberal Urbanism

In order to understand the transformation of Tarlabasi and neoliberal urbanism within this very neighborhood, one has to understand and acknowledge the essence of the emergence, acceptance and normalization of neoliberal urban policies.

Neoliberalism is defined by Harvey as a theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade (2005:2). The neoliberal thinking assumes that individual freedoms are guaranteed by freedom of the market and trade on one hand, and the freedoms that neoliberal state embodies, reflect the interest of private property owners, businesses, multinational corporations and financial capital on the other hand. (ibid.:7).

The years 1978 – 1980 were a revolutionary turning-point in the world's social and economic history (Harvey 2005:1). Margaret Thatcher was elected as prime minister in the UK in 1979, with a mandate to reform the economy through curbing trade union power and putting an end to the miserable inflationary stagnation that had enveloped the country throughout the previous decade (ibid.). Then, of course, when Ronald Reagan was elected as the president in the US in 1980, he revitalized the US economy by curbing the power of labour, deregulating industry, agriculture, and resource extraction, and liberating the powers of finance both internally and on the world stage (ibid.). The rule of Thatcher and Reagan symbolized the neoliberal turn of the world. 1980 marked an important milestone in the social and economic history of Turkey as well.

The 12 September coup of 1980 and subsequent career of Prime Minister Turgut Ozal as the leader of the liberal conservative government ANAP (Mother Land Party), started a structural transformation in all fields. The developmentalist era, where the state served as the regulator and protector of the domestic market against foreign competition through imposition of custom fares and subsidies for import-subsidizing industries, was no longer the case. As the import substitution development model of the developmentalist era collapsed, neoliberalism gave rise to a new configuration of the state. In this new era, open economy, urbanization and urban development through tourism, export-import, finance, real estate actors and macroeconomic, political and social restructuring were expected to globalize the Turkish economy and capital. All in all, adjustment reforms and structural transformation in all fields based on neoliberal policies began to be implemented.

Candan & Kolluoglu argue that the new "stigmatizing topographic lexicon" and other technologies of neoliberal urbanism work together to enable and justify ongoing planned "urban transformation," "urban renewal," or urban rehabilitation" projects that result in displacement and replacement of new forms of poverty (2008). There has been a radical shift in the governance of urban land and housing markets in Turkey from a 'populist' to 'neoliberal' mode (Kuyucu & Unsal: 2009); thus, it is crucial to understand how this era of neoliberal urbanism had begun in Turkey, alongside – with the rest of the world.

The neoliberal reconfiguration of Turkey can be conceptualized in three different stages: the liberalization phase in the 1980s; the implementation of neoliberal reforms in the post-1990 period; and after the 2000, the process of configuring a new market-friendly, coordinating state by

abandoning the institutions of the old state (Dincer, 2011). Within the first phase, implementation of neoliberal policies in spatial planning led to greater expectations from global integration but also exacerbated some crucial urban issues such as migration, regional imbalances, changes in the dynamics of urban development, and the pressures on squatter housing areas (ibid.). For instance, in the pre-1980s (from the 1950s on), there was an expansion in geography and population in Istanbul through flows of rural to urban migration, yet there were no formal housing mechanisms. Therefore, illegal occupation in the historical inner-city neighborhoods such as Tarlabasi and many others was a widespread phenomena. The earlier migration was a chain process, where single men and young couples would first migrate and then, bring their families later on. The neoliberal turn encouraged the granting of amnesty to squatter settlers in the urban peripheries that had grown since the 1950s without any planning or infrastructure. During the state-populism times, all those illegal settlements were legalized and even municipalized in return of votes.

Although Istanbul had always had a special importance due to its privileged geographic location, in the 1990s, the urban development vision of Istanbul became a grand one. The mission was to turn Istanbul to one of the capital cities of finance, congresses, tourism, and service industry. This goal led to the start of mega investments by large scaled holding companies, such as "the proliferation of high-rise office buildings, mass housing projects, malls, gated communities, luxury hotels and new transport networks" (Kuyucu&Unsal, 2009). In order to become a global center of finance, Istanbul needed to change both in terms of image and life quality.

Despite rapid economic liberalization and urban restructuring during the 1980s and 1990s, a fully neoliberal system was not instituted until 2001; hence, after 2000, a different phase of neoliberalism emerged. The greatest obstacle posed to institutionalizing such a fully neoliberal system was the continuation of populist mechanisms in land and housing market (ibid.). With a series of legal / institutional reforms, the ruling AK Party (Justice and Development Party) radically restructured the governance of real estate markets in Turkey, with very important consequences for Istanbul's socio-economic geography (ibid.). This last ongoing stage does not only cover the construction projects of shopping malls or residences but it comprises much greater projects that include consumption and shopping centers, parks, and very large-scaled transformation projects.

5.2 A History of Tarlabasi

Tarlabasi had a very different fiber back in the 19th century, when the 'Western' was the fashion, and when the district of Pera, together with Galata⁸ – was the golden gate of the Ottoman Empire to the West. Foreign trade, finance, diplomatic and bureaucratic relations were ongoing in the district for centuries. Thus, Pera, together with Galata had quickly become the gate and the bridge to the Western politics, economics and culture. Pera was home to bureaucrats, foreign bankers, tradesmen, people working for the embassies and the Ottoman elite. It quickly became the cultural, commercial and bureaucratic center of the city. To give a more precise picture of the composition of the population, the area of Galata-Pera-Tophane consisted of % 47 foreigners, % 32 non-Muslim groups and % 21 Muslims, whereas Istanbul in general consisted of % 14 of foreigners, % 42 non-Muslims, and % 44 Muslims in 1884 (Celik, 1996). Increasing popularity and population, consequently, increased the demand for housing in Pera throughout the century. As a matter of fact, Tarlabasi had its share and became the new affordable residential area for the middle and lower middle classes, while Pera remained as a residential area for the upper classes.

8 Pera is the old name of a part of Beyoglu. Both Pera and Galata are neighborhoods within Beyoglu.

In the first half of the 20th century, firstly, the World War I and secondly, the Russian Revolution resulted in an inflow of migrant groups from the Balkans and Russia to the area. Although embassies moved to the new capital Ankara in the early years of the Turkish Republic, the composition of the population in the area remained mixed. However, the 1942 wealth tax which was implemented by the State put a heavy burden on minorities, who ended up selling their properties to pay their taxes and resulted in a dramatic change in demographic characteristics and property ownership structures in Tarlabasi (Unlu et al. 2000). Historical events such as the foundation of Israeli State in 1942 decreased the Jewish population, while the Cyprus Operation of 1974 contributed to the repatriation of the Greek community. The influx of inland migration from rural regions coincided with this period of outflow from the area which made Tarlabasi a very attractive and desirable residential neighborhood for newcomers. (Dincer & Enlil),

In the second half of the 1980s Tarlabasi underwent a serious physical change in order to construct Tarlabasi boulevard, including a total number of 386 demolished buildings which 168 of them had high historical value (Ekinici 2004). Although the construction of Tarlabasi Boulevard was legitimized not only through development purposes but also for the purpose of 'cleansing the area from prostitutes and drug smuggling' (Ucok 1987): this destruction raised debates in the public opinion, with objections from city planners claiming that Tarlabasi would be further marginalized, impoverished, fragmented with such acts (Akbulut, 1994).

Throughout the 1990s, Beyoglu, including Tarlabasi, continued to face an uneven socio-spatial and economic development. Although the interventions of the municipality to revitalize the area increased the popularity of the district, shift to service economy and changes in lifestyles, consumption and leisure patterns turned this historic center into an attractive place for new fractions of middle class (Sakizoglu, 2007:174). When popularity of a space increases, it also brings the process of gentrification which risks the survival of low income groups, which is observable in Tarlabasi as well.

5.3 Tarlabasi of Today

Since the outflow of minorities, Tarlabasi has been an ideal and attractive place for the newcomers for several reasons. Firstly, as mentioned above in detail, the location of Tarlabasi is very central, which makes it easy for migrants to find unskilled jobs around the neighborhood. In addition, due to the political reasons stated above, Tarlabasi was left as an abandoned neighborhood after the minorities left the country. This turned Tarlabasi into a shelter for the first wave of migrants who could just come and settle down. Affordable rents were also another reason of the attractiveness of the neighborhood.

Today, Tarlabasi is rather a neglected neighborhood which is known for its bad reputation of crime, poverty and psychical dilapidation. To demonstrate, although the Istiklal Street which is right behind Tarlabasi is the commercial center of the city, Tarlabasi is believed to be an unsafe place especially after sundown. In terms of the built environment of the neighborhood, Tarlabasi consists of very narrow streets with many dead-ends. The neighborhood mostly consists of 3 or 4 storey small buildings ranging between 50 to 100 square meters (Unlu et al. 2000). The neighborhood also hosts several registered buildings with high historical value such as the Greek Orthodox Church, the Syrian Church and the Central Mosque.

The neighborhood suffers from serious physical dilapidation, which causes a high risk especially for

the people who live around the dilapidated buildings. To demonstrate, according to Unlu et al's study, while %62 of the building stock is dilapidated, and %11 is totally ruined, only %27 is in good condition (2003). However, the same study highlights that infrastructural conditions are not so bad, which means that they could be repaired.

In terms of social characteristics and socio-economic demography, Tarlabasi is a socio-spatially stigmatized neighborhood, which have main problems such as unemployment, child labor, extreme poverty and crime.

In their study, Dincer and Enlil (2002) analyze the Tarlabasi population, where they divide it into several subgroups according to the arrival periods. In this respect, whereas the ones who have migrated to Tarlabasi before the 1990s are named as 'old migrants' and constitute % 51 of the total household; the ones who have migrated after 1990 are named 'new migrants', and constitute % 27 of the total household. Migrants of second or third generation who were born and raised in Istanbul constitute % 18 of the total households. Lastly, another subgroup that constitutes % 4 of Tarlabasi household are constituted by foreign migrants, and by people who identify themselves as transvestites, prostitutes, drug addicts etc.

Considering the concept of neoliberal urbanism and its worldwide recognition, and thus its impacts on Turkey and Tarlabasi in specific; it could be argued that Turkey is shaped by a neoliberal political economy where urban transformation is being realized through big scale private sector investments. This urban process is a product of such a regime where rearrangements in the legal and corporate spheres have been enabling it for a capitalistic growth by making surplus through urban transformation projects (Aksoy 2008:2). This is made possible by commodifying the urban field and putting it down to the market relationships. In this neoliberal regime, the role of the local governments is a kind of an entrepreneur who prepares the urban space for the open market to be sold and bought, rather than a perceived, conceived, lived space designed for its inhabitants. Existing research on such projects has shown that they have highly unequal socioeconomic consequences for different groups: while generating fast returns for investors and local governments, they also instigate strong dynamics of displacement and dispossession for disadvantaged communities (Kuyucu & Unsal, 2009). Within this process, communities get excluded and marginalized from the urban space in various ways and end up facing with giant private sector companies in the negotiation processes.

Kuyucu & Unsalan explains that by redefining the property rules and market dynamics, urban transformation projects achieve two goals: physical and demographic 'upgrading' of particular localities within the city and the construction of a neoliberal regime of governance that no longer tolerates the legal ambiguities and the incompletely commodified market structure characterizing these areas (2009:1480).

The table below is a clean summary of the characteristics and features of the Tarlabasi Renewal Area:

<i>Size & Location</i>	Beyoglu District – 2 Ha
<i>Historical characteristics</i>	Residential area of middle class non-Muslim, retaining its character until the beginning of the 20 th century
<i>Current use</i>	It is predominantly inhabited by traditional migrant families from various parts of Anatolia

<i>Brief planning history as a conservation area</i>	- Urban Conservation Area 1993 - Conservation Plan enactment: 2009
<i>Brief planning history as a renewal area</i>	- Approval of the renewal area by the Cabinet: 20.02.2006 - Approval of the renewal project by the Board for Renewal Areas: 30.11.2007
<i>Authority responsible for project management</i>	The Beyoglu Municipality: Decided that the renewal of the area would be through private sector investments. Initiated the market into the project through tenders. The company offering the highest bid for the property owners (GAP Construction Company) got the tender
<i>Coherence with conservation plan</i>	When the Tarlabasi Renewal Project was approved, Beyoglu Conservation Plan was not yet confirmed
<i>Financial model project preparing phase</i>	All the project is financed by the GAP Construction Company
<i>Financial model implementation phase</i>	According to the values in the tender contract with the finalization of the project property owners will own 42% of the construction area, while the remaining area will belong to the GAP Construction Company
<i>Debates on model of implementation</i>	Expropriation of the properties of property owners not agreeing to the bid of GAP Construction Company through the law numbered 5366
<i>Socio-economic aspects</i>	No public announcement of any social project
<i>Participation debates and criticisms</i>	An association was established by property owners and tenants
<i>Public debates and criticisms</i>	Demolishing historical buildings and making replicas, increasing density by constructing additional buildings, proposing a function of commercial units and offices
<i>Annulment case</i>	There is one case at the court, but it has not been finished yet

Source: Dincer, 2011.

6. ANALYSES

6.1 Critical Discourse Analysis and Foucault

In this section, it is aimed to provide deeper insights of how Tarlabasi neighborhood and the ongoing Tarlabasi Renewal Project is expressed by politicians and media. By making use of the Foucauldian Discourse and conducting a CDA, it is intended to gain insights into how certain elements of the nature of Tarlabasi neighborhood and the goals and process of Tarlabasi Renewal

Project are communicated within selected newspaper articles and project booklet provided by the municipality. Additional sources will also be used.

According to Foucault, discourses create a world by shaping our perceptions, by pulling together chains of associations that produce a meaningful understanding, then by organizing the way we behave towards objects in the world and towards people, therefore by generating the world of our everyday life (Foucault, 1972; Potter, 1996: 86-88). Furthermore, for Foucault, discourses generate all forms of knowledge and truth which can not exist independently of language (Foucault, 1972). In other words, knowledge is not simply communicated through language, but all knowledge is organized through the structures, interconnections, and associations that are built into language (Whisnant: 6). Discourses made in specific contexts have the ability to convince people to accept statements as true. For instance, numerous medical practices accepted in the previous centuries are unacceptable today and vice versa. The truths and truth-claims are shaped according to certain medical practices that are embedded in certain networks of medical discourses. In this study, it is highly important to investigate such truths and knowledge produced by discourses since they make the basis of justification of urban transformation projects such as Tarlabasi Renewal Project.

In addition, Foucault also makes a connection between truth and power by claiming that truth is embedded in and produced by systems of power (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002:14). For Foucault, "basically in any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse" (Foucault, 1980:93). In this regard, Foucault argues that power is not something that could be owned, but rather it is something that acts and manifests itself in a certain way; it is more a strategy than a possession (Foucault, 1980). Thus in Foucault's opinion, power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain, and which is employed and exercised through a netlike organization (ibid.). Yet, Foucault is more interested in investigating how power is operated and exercised rather than finding precise definitions of the concept. In this sense, certain types of discourses allow certain types of people to speak about the 'truth', or to be believed when speaking on specific subjects. In addition, discourses also give certain individuals degrees of social, cultural, and even possibly political power (Whisnant: 7). For instance, in many societies, and for long stretches of Western history, religious authorities wielded tremendous social and political power because they had the power to speak about the divine; which was caught up with their specific position, but was also based on the fact that religious discourse suffused all of life, shaping social organization and influencing how people interpreted the world (ibid.). Today, similarly, doctors are seen as an authority of the medical world which allow them to recommend courses of action or patterns of behavior (ibid.). The judicial apparatus, for Foucault, is another good example of how power is exercised in society. The construction of certain laws on housing in the case of Tarlabasi, which will be discussed later in this chapter is a fine example of how power is exercised through judicial apparatus in Turkey. In this study, inquiring socially embedded networks of power is crucial as it could provide deeper insights of how certain decisions are taken by the local governments on the legislative level that paves the way of implementing urban transformation projects.

Since the beginning of the last decade, we are confronted with an extensive 'urban discourse' from the public authorities in Turkey. At the heart of this urban discourse lies the term 'urban transformation', which has become a magic term used by politicians at all levels as a tool to justify how they organize the physical sphere (Islam 2010:1). Furthermore, the policy rhetoric surrounding this urban discourse is quite persuasive, promoted to the general public as a solution to almost all of the city's ills: it helps to avoid earthquakes, reduces crime, decreases segregation, removes stigma,

increases poor living conditions and even combats terrorism (ibid.) The nature of such a political discourse is no doubt very convincing. This is very closely connected to Foucault's claim about discourses creating a world, shaping our perception and generating truth and knowledge, in addition to the connection between discourse, truth and power. Here, public opinion of those who are not able to witness the Spatial Practices (perceived space) of transformation areas such as Tarlabasi, is shaped by the urban discourse produced by politicians and media. In this regard, firstly selected newspaper articles and the project booklet taken from the municipality will be analyzed in order to see how hegemonic discourses produce certain truths and knowledge and how such discourses are used for the justification of the urban policies. Secondly, the intertwined relationship between discourse, truth and power will be analyzed in order to see how authority is obtained through constructing discourses and creating truths.

Discourses, Truth and Knowledge

Prior to the fieldwork in Tarlabasi, the picture on the mind of the researcher was a completely different one. It was advised to the researcher by numerous people that one must be very careful and not wander around alone or at nights in Tarlabasi. Yet, none of those people who gave advices had been in the neighborhood in their lives, which frankly shows that they have received some kind of negative information about Tarlabasi from a variety of sources and accepted the 'reality' that those sources provided. Hence, it is intended to investigate such discourses on Tarlabasi and how those discourses create truth and knowledge and an alternative reality, different from the actual reality.

To exemplify the way discourses generate truth and knowledge, newspaper articles, project booklet and several significant laws on housing will be analyzed to see how truth and knowledge is re-created by Demircan and the Beyoglu Municipality. While doing this, certain issues central to CDA and based on Foucault's discourse will be tried to be answered, such as: 1) what knowledge (valid at a certain place at a certain time) consists of; 2) how this valid knowledge evolves; 3) how it is passed on; 4) what function it has for the constitution of subjects and the shaping of society, 5) what impact this knowledge has on the overall development of society.

Newspaper Articles

There are several terms that have been used to describe Tarlabasi in different articles. In one of the articles the mayor Demircan defines Tarlabasi as a 'poisoned princess' that needs to be cured (Akşam, 2012). In another article, he defines Beyoglu⁹ as the famous entertainment, art and tourism center of the city and argues that "it is not only the heart of Istanbul but also Anatolia" (Vatan, 2005). He points out in another article that everyday one million people cross the Istiklal Street and therefore Tarlabasi is a 'diamond valued district' (Aksam, 2012).

Tarlabasi is defined by Demircan as a princess simply due to its historical, and thus, touristic value. As it is just behind the Istiklal Street which is one of the most famous commercial streets in Istanbul, Tarlabasi thus, has an enormous value and potential. Yet, he also uses the metaphor of "poisoned princess" because he believes that Tarlabasi has deteriorated over the past decades and needs an immediate intervention and operation to be cured and saved. For instance, when talking about the physical characteristics of Tarlabasi, he uses negative words such as "wreckage areas". While Mayor Demircan defines Tarlabasi as a poisoned princess, he defines the renewal project as an operation, a surgery to cure the poisoned princess:

⁹ As mentioned earlier, Beyoglu is a district that includes Tarlabasi neighborhood.

"What we do here is not just a simple urban transformation; we are curing a poisoned princess... Tarlabasi stood closer to death than life. By improving our renewal project, we have started the surgery to save Tarlabasi" (Akşam, 2012).

These explanations of Demircan clearly demonstrate how he thoroughly constructs a certain reality of Tarlabasi. Although there are different expressions of Tarlabasi, the common attribution to the current circumstances of the neighborhood within the selected articles is that it is poverty stricken, neglected and falling apart. But at the same time, it is seen as a very valuable land and space that should be turned into a beautiful, modern, rich, and a commercial place. Furthermore, it is suggested that transforming the houses and buildings through the renewal project is the only way to achieve this. In short, through certain discourses, and interpretations, Demircan constructs truth, hence, an image of Tarlabasi by deciding on what knowledge consists of in his speeches and commentaries.

It is not only mayor Demircan who constructs the discourses about Tarlabasi, for sure. The editorial articles have an equal role and impact on such discourses that create a certain reality. For instance, one article associates Tarlabasi with high rates of crime. In the same article, it is reported that most of the buildings have a status of a historical building and are as dilapidated as if they are about to collapse (Star, 2007). The editor of the same article portrays Tarlabasi as shadowy and shady, in contrast to the Istiklal Street which is shiny and sparkling in contrast. He says while there are chic cafes in Istiklal and people who go shopping and who buy trendy clothes, books, music albums; there are shisha cafes for old men in Tarlabasi and people who live from hand to mouth and who can only afford bread and cigarettes on credit. He also says that people who live here want to run away from Tarlabasi (ibid.). Furthermore he describes Tarlabasi as a neighborhood where people are kidnapped and from time to time killed for a little amount of money, where children sell drugs in corners, and where you get surrounded by scary trio groups (ibid.). Such descriptions of the neighborhood simply creates truth and even a reality. As a consequence of such discourses appear on newspapers and by public authorities, such as mayor Demircan, people adopt a specific imaginary perception of the neighborhood. People who have given advices about Tarlabasi is a great example of how such discourses effect people's perceptions.

How knowledge shall evolve and passed on are also controlled by public authorities together with media. For instance, by recalling specific information on specific time and place, the local governments, together with various media channels can easily draw attention to desired issues. To illustrate, it has been observed that the regeneration project is easily put into the agenda by underlying the urgent problems that immediately needs to be fixed in Tarlabasi at certain periods. When people come across with such information through dominant discourses made by authority figures, they quickly grasp the information as the absolute truth, which all and all create a 'reality'.

The Project Booklet

While newspaper articles were useful to analyze how discourses generate truth and knowledge by seeking what knowledge consists of, how it evolves, and how it is passed; project booklet maintained from the municipality is a useful material to understand what kind of a function the knowledge, produced by the booklet, has for the constitution of subjects and the shaping of society.

During the fieldwork in Tarlabasi, the police department located on Tarlabasi boulevard and the municipality were visited in order to find someone to interview. At the police department the young cop who was working at the front desk made a few phone calls but unfortunately no permit was given. On the other hand, municipality building was under renovation and thus the entire building

was temporarily transformed to another governmental building, which was, as a result, very chaotic. Although a public relations person was found, he pointed out another office with the excuse that Tarlabasi Renewal Project was not in his area. Although the right office was eventually found, the contact person who was the head of the office was not present at that moment. The two secretaries refused to give information out but provided a project booklet where the project is explained in detail.

According to the expressions of the Beyoglu Municipality provided in the project booklet, the collaboration which has started between the municipality and the investors on the basis of the project within the legal process will grow further and get richer by the involvement of the property owners, inhabitants and NGOs¹⁰. In this respect the project aims the following:

1. The participatory collaboration between the municipality, the investors, the landowners, the NGOs, and the inhabitants.
2. An approach of conservation and rejuvenation on the basis of city-blocks, within the principles of design and usage, replacing small plots that cannot keep up with the contemporary functions.
3. An intervention to increase the quality of life of Tarlabasi inhabitants and for social and economic development.
4. A vision of obtaining a living space which integrates with the environment, replacing urban disintegration.

It is expressed that the Project Team is composed of GAP Construction Project Directorate; GAP Construction Coordination Group; Design Group; and Advisory Committee that consists of academicians in the fields of Architecture, Urban Planning and Civil Engineering. This piece of information clearly intends to highlight the expertise of the team members who have background in relevant fields, which simply give authority to the team to take decisions on behalf of the citizens.

The primary target of Tarlabasi Regeneration Project is presented as to bring the historical value of the district to the front and to renovate the whole building stock that has been causing danger and unhealthy conditions for the inhabitants due to neglect. It is claimed that revealing the historic value and improving the environmental quality, such as by building green spaces, underground parking lots, places for social activities and working on the lightening, is foremost for the benefit of the landowners and the community living in the area. It is written that after the psychological renewal, Tarlabasi will become a safe and secure, valuable and a contemporary place, while the area's historic characteristic will be preserved. Truth and knowledge created by discourses expressed by Demircan and several newspaper articles were analyzed earlier and it was asserted that such discourses on Tarlabasi pave the way for justification of the implementation of such projects. Throughout the project booklet, discourses, similarly, generate knowledge and truth on very specific unfavorable conditions of the neighborhood, on the value of Tarlabasi and future benefits of the project. However, differently from the newspaper articles, the truth and knowledge-claims are constructed on the policy level of the municipality which indicates that they will be actualized and practiced in close future. In other words, through this booklet which is prepared, published and provided by the municipality, truth-claims begin to function for the constitution of subjects and the shaping of living spaces within society.

In the booklet, it is also pointed out that although Tarlabasi, as mentioned before, is neighboring the commercial centers of Taksim Square and Istiklal Street, it hasn't made use of the economic and cultural revival of those centers. Even the buildings on the Tarlabasi Boulevard couldn't host full-

¹⁰ Project booklet of Beyoglu Municipality.

scale commercial activities due to the bad reputation of Tarlabasi with high crime rates and wreckage. Moreover, it is asserted that Tarlabasi Regeneration Project will bring a change to the whole area through commercial activities based on the service industry. Investments in tourism and quality services will provide an economic revival to the project field and its surroundings; and constructional quality will be an opportunity not only for the development of the project field but to the whole Tarlabasi District. Such an information creates a discourse that when the project is completed, the entire neighborhood in terms of its socio-economic nature will transform in a positive way. Yet, similar urban transformation projects throughout the city caused for the gentrification of the project areas, resulting in evacuation of the original residents. In this regard, no research was conducted by the municipality to study the possible negative outcomes of such a transformation on the Tarlabasi dwellers; which is innately problematic.

According to the booklet, through the participation of the Beyoglu Municipality and the related actors, a social plan is planned to be put into effect to have the inhabitants get a share from the change and benefit from the employment. Within the framework of 'Neighborhood Social Development Program', social and economic projects will be conducted in order to fight against poverty and social-exclusion.

Information presented in the booklet has quite a few contradictions with what is said in the interviews of Demircan and by the interviewees. Firstly, it is stated in the booklet that based on the outcomes of the ongoing questionnaires that will determine the social and economic circumstances of Tarlabasi inhabitants, a social fabric profile will be indicated and will be used to constitute a "Social Plan" to create employment and residence opportunities. In addition, it is concluded in the booklet that participation of all affected groups in the project is the basis of the development strategy. It is also mentioned that it is the intention to firstly have the youth and women to make use of the educational activities and the local community to benefit from the opportunities that the project will offer.

However, in his interviews, Demircan mostly refers to the aesthetics and physical appearance of the neighborhood rather than education, poverty and unemployment of Tarlabasi dwellers, among other problems. For instance, in one of the interviews, when talking about the reasons why Tarlabasi is in ruins, he provides four reasons that they have detected. Firstly, he says the size of the buildings, which are 30-40-50 square meters, are very small and thus not adequate in terms of housing and workplace. Secondly, he says the streets are narrow and there is a problem in terms of parking space. Thirdly, he mentions the environment factor, but does not make any clarification about what he means. Lastly, he also expresses the fact that the economic situation of the neighborhood dwellers who have been living here for a long time is inadequate (Dunya, 2007). When he mentions about the worsening economic situation of the Tarlabasi community, although it seems like the essential concern in this statement is the wellbeing of people; it actually is about the wellbeing of the buildings. For instance, in an interview published in a newspaper article in 2005, Demircan mentions the change the neighborhood experienced over the centuries:

"Beyoglu is one of the most historical places of Istanbul, it is ancient, therefore the houses are also antique. In the past, people lived a very modern and a beautiful life here. There are 100-200 years old buildings that have 40-50 inheritors today. When one of those heritors disapproves, it is not possible to have any operations in the house People, instead of living in them, rented out their houses or buildings and did not care about them. The people who rented those places did not care either as they did not own the property... As the quality of the tenants have lowered down in the last couple years, those beautiful houses and buildings turned into neglected buildings which are now being used as workshops or warehouses (Vatan, 2005).

Even when talking about crime rates that he refers to in another article, he connects it to the physical conditions of the neighborhood: "My principal goal is to restore the old buildings and make them look pretty. I am determined to decrease the crime rate, and in order to achieve this, my first plan is to lighten up the streets" (Vatan, 2005). In other words, mayor Demircan, implies that it is possible to fix the problem of crime in the neighborhood by changing the appearance of the neighborhood.

Secondly, the project booklet ensures that the landowners and the lease-owners who have been living in the neighborhood for a long time would remain there and would benefit from the plus value created by the project. In the booklet, it also is reported that within the scope of the tender, the municipality will use some parts of the renovation area to construct social house-dwellings, where those housings will be rented out to the lease-owners who authenticate their residencies . By doing so, the lease-owners will be able to go on living in their own neighborhoods where they are connected with strong ties. Some inhabitants of the renewal area, on the other hand, will be orientated to their new living spaces and will be provided with rent allowance, according to booklet. However, several respondents who live in the neighborhood expressed that they were compelled to leave their houses or work places due to various reasons such as increase in the rents and destruction and demolition of their buildings. Yet, there weren't any assistance or orientation by the municipality. This will be further discussed below.

Thirdly, it is uttered that capacity-building programs are being carried out for the inhabitants in order to create employment within the construction works in the short run, and the service sector in the long run. In this sense, through the contribution of the Beyoglu Municipality, universities, career organizations, NGOs and the private sector, capacity building programs are planned to be launched out, and carried out in Tarlabasi Community Center. It is asserted that the ones who get a certificate through those programs will be employed in the construction jobs in the beginning of the project and in the service sector later on. However, there were no sign of such capacity-building programs, organizations or events. On the contrary, regarding the semi structured interviews, there are no forms of participation of the community members within this process of large scale transformation of the neighborhood.

Discourses, Truth and Power

Inquiring how power is operated and exercised through discourses and social processes is very significant since power, through discourses, allow people to claim truth and announce authority on certain subjects. By creating a certain sense of truth about Tarlabasi, which is a negative one, Demircan and other public authorities claim sole power over the territory of Tarlabasi.

Negotiations with the property owners

"For 7 years we have committed our lives to this job. We have met, conversed and came to an agreement with each community dweller. We have worked in coordination with the Buyuksehir Municipality, the government and many NGOs. We have made great efforts and now we are moving very fast towards a big goal" Demircan.(Akşam 2007).

It is quite striking to see how very important details about the project have changed over the years. Besides, there are some contradicting statements made by Demircan in different sources, which mostly concern the negotiation process with property owners, rights of the tenants, public opinion about the project and public participation during the decision making and implementation processes of the project. On one hand, while Demircan underlines that this is a project for the common good

and that the municipality will protect the rights of the house owners and help out the tenants, on the other hand, in the majority of the interviews, he states that this project will be completed no matter what, and that people who oppose will have no chance against the municipality, which has absolute power – thanks to the law no:5366¹¹.

To illustrate, before the project was started to be implemented, in an interview which dates back to 2005, Demircan expressed that "everyone's houses and money will be protected" (Vatan, 2005). He set the goal as "to save Tarlabasi from this 'it is collapsing down' situation" (Vatan, 2005). While in various sources it is stated by Demircan that the Beyoglu Municipality works closely with local NGOs in the neighborhood and applies a "win-win" model where the owner, the municipality and the entrepreneur will benefit equally from the project, he has also stated that the municipality will take the properties away from those owners who oppose (Tercuman, 2005).

When Demircan was asked about the process of negotiations with the property owners in one of the interviews, he answered:

"Very positive. They are aware that they cannot do this alone. It is like curing cancer. We have cured an incurable disease. They are of course happy and ready. There is a rate of %80-90 who says "yes, do it!." There will of course be some complaints and concerns but I haven't met anyone who objected after understanding the project. It is a project that will achieve a total reformation, that will build parking lots under the buildings and perhaps inner yards within the buildings" (Radikal, 2007).

Similarly, in a recent interview, Demircan stated that they had made %100 agreement with the right holders and that they were in a smooth and a problem-free process. He added that as evictions were completed and the construction proceeded, the trust of the public opinion increased. He furthermore highlighted that they meet thousands of people who demand from the municipality to take their houses and transform them too. For Demircan, it is the public itself who wants this transformation. He believes that the transformation in Tarlabasi will be completed in two years and will become one of the most lively places in Istanbul (Sabah, 2012).

However, in the declaration made by the 'Property Owners and Social Development and Tenant Aid Association of Tarlabasi' the process of the negotiations is narrated completely different from what Demircan says. Shortly, it is said in the declaration that when the Beyoglu Municipality started to inform the residents about the renewal project for the first time in the beginning of 2006, and held individual meetings with each property owner until March, 2007, the idea was that the property owners would receive loans from the World Bank with low interest by 10 or 20 years installments. However, a couple of weeks later, the property owners learnt from the press that there had been a tender concerning 9 blocks that contain 278 buildings on a 20,000 square meter land. Yet, after the tender came to a conclusion, property owners found out that restoration was not the topic anymore and were asked to sell their properties to GAP Construction Company, which was the winner of the tender. In the declaration, it is stated that although "the property owners have explained many times that they do not want to sell their properties, authorities did not want to listen to the property owners" (Property Owners and Social Development and Tenant Aid Association of Tarlabasi):

"By referring to law no:5366, they said: 'If you do not sell your properties to the construction company, we will immediately expropriate your properties and pay the money by installments within a period of five years. But if you agree to sell your properties, the construction company will immediately pay your money.' Moreover, they said that the municipality had the authority to carry out or have a legal entity or an individual to carry out a project according to the law No: 5366...By threatening with expropriation of their properties of the owners, they have forced the property owners to sell their properties and thus some

11 Law no:5366 is also called as Tarlabasi Law. It is known that this law has been passed specifically for the Tarlabasi Renewal Project.

of the owners who were afraid of expropriation sold their properties to the construction company. By taking advantage of the ignorance and illiteracy of the people in this region, and by oppressing people, the construction company bought the properties" (ibid.).

Law No:5366

As mentioned earlier, judicial apparatus according to Foucault, is one of best examples of how power is operated and exercised in society. Through analyzing relevant laws, it is possible to observe what kinds of impacts the knowledge produced by discourses has on the overall development of the society.

There are three sets of very important reforms that concern the housing policies adapted by Justice and Development Party: Law No:5237 that has passed in 2004; Law No:2393 and; Law No:5366 that have passed in 2005. The first one is about the passage of the new Criminal Law in 2004, namely, Law No:5237. According to this law, any kind of construction of *gecekodu* houses became a criminal offense to be punished by five years of prison (Kuyucu&Unsal:2009). Then, the new Municipality Law was passed in 2005, namely, Law No:5393, which authorized district municipalities to implement transformation projects in derelict, obsolescent and unsafe parts (due to natural disasters) of the cities (ibid.). While all those reforms have massive consequences, the third area of reform has a specific importance. This reform concerns the regulation of 'historical and natural protection zones,' which have been insufficiently integrated into capitalist markets (ibid.). With its approval by the Council of Ministers, this law has caused a dramatic change in the dynamics of the urban land transformation processes within the old city. Following its enactment, a series of historical neighborhoods were declared by the authorities as renewal areas including Tarlabasi. So far, the law, or the way it is being implemented by the authorities, has proved to be a good recipe for the expansion of gentrification¹² via urban renewal projects to areas that have remained untouched during the earlier rounds of gentrification.

According to Kuyucu & Unsal, when an urban space becomes one of the most profitable sources of investment and as cities adopt aggressive place-marketing strategies to attract capital, it becomes very difficult for the urban poor to survive in their living spaces due to increased real estate values (2009). Similar to Tarlabasi, many inner-city zones in Istanbul experienced rapid down-fall and are mostly inhabited by vulnerable populations unable to meet their housing needs elsewhere (Kuyucu&Unsal, 2009).

It is possible to see the course of events regarding this law. For instance, Demircan describes how the initial steps were taken: "I was only a candidate and when I came together with my honorable Prime Minister (Recep Tayyip Erdogan). He set two targets in front of me. I remember it as if it were yesterday. Firstly he said: "Whatever you do, you will find a solution for Tarlabasi! Whatever you need, come and tell me. I will give all kinds of legal and legislative of support." (Radikal, 2007). This clearly shows that even before being elected as a mayor, Demircan had support from the government.

By first creating truth and knowledge-claims on Tarlabasi neighborhood through dominant discourses, Demircan has paved the way of the Tarlabasi Renewal Project. Then, he constituted the necessary legal infrastructure which was supported by his continuous urban discourses on the

12 Clark defines the gentrification process as a change in the population of land-users, in which the new users belong to a higher socio-economic status than the original users (2005, p258). Moreover, he states that the greater the difference in socio-economic status, the more noticeable the process as the more powerful the new users are, the more marked will be concomitant change in the built environment (Ibid.).

necessity of such changes. Then, he finally obtained the legal power after the implementation of law no: 5366. During this process, he received full support by the higher state officials such as the prime minister.

Demircan underlines the power of the law no:5366 in every opportunity he gets. For instance, he once expressed: "The law no: 5366, which gave the municipality paramount powers, lets us decide on behalf of the citizens, gives us authorization to implement collective projects and, invite entrepreneurs and make agreements with them if the citizens don't have enough money. Furthermore, it also allows the municipality to expropriate the places of those who do not agree and take their assets" (Dunya, 2007).

"I'm the municipality, I am working to improve the wreckage areas of my city. At the same time, I am in charge to protect the rights of the property owners. If I want to prevent the tenants from suffering, I shall provide rent allowances, and we will do that. But there is a mechanism for that. The government would not give money to any ordinary citizen. We are not responsible of showing a new place for the tenants to move. The city is big. If they somehow managed to come and settle down here from nothing, they will do the same somewhere else."

Although Demircan has expressed that "this law is a product of consensus" Demircan (Radikal, 2007), various sources claim the complete opposite of a state of consensus.

In brief, Mayor Demircan's discourses on Tarlabasi and the renewal project are as follows: 1) Tarlabasi is neglected, ugly, in ruins, in other words, poisoned; 2) The only solution to save Tarlabasi from it's current situation is the renewal project, which is the best solution for everyone; 3) The rights of the residents and the property owners are protected, thus they are very happy about the project and give full support to the municipality; 4) When Tarlabasi Renewal Project is completed, it will change the destiny of the neighborhood and start a new era; 5) The municipality has absolute power over the territory of Tarlabasi.

Foucault emphasizes the link between the truth and the power relations by claiming that truth is produced by and embedded in systems of power. In this regard, Demircan, as the mayor of Beyoglu, has constructed and re-created a certain reality of Tarlabasi through dominant discourses. By doing so, he claimed his own hegemonic truth which he gained further power. As the power he obtained let him implement the necessary legislative infrastructure, at the same time, such legal backup further increased his power to carry out the Tarlabasi Transformation Project without any boundaries.

In this analysis, although it may seem like specific persons (Mayor Demircan) and institutions (Beyoglu Municipality, AKP Government) have absolute power over the residents, this was not the point of this study. It is highly important to highlight once more that Foucault is more interested in investigating how power is operated and exercised rather than finding precise definitions of the concept. Therefore, how Demircan and or the municipality operates and exercises their power is the most important point.

6.2 Semi-structured Interviews

This study argues that there are three forms of Tarlabasi space: perceived, conceived and lived. The conceived space of Tarlabasi was investigated throughout CDA and Foucauldian Analysis. By analyzing the selected newspaper articles, the project booklet, the negotiation process, and the law no: 5366; the ways of construction of the conceived level by public authorities such as Demircan

was inquired. Investigating how truth and knowledge is re-created by urban discourses and how sole power over a territory is claimed by creating a certain sense of truth, provided deeper insights of how conceived space of Tarlabasi Neighborhood is socially constructed by the municipality, the project partners, public authorities and politicians.

However, there are two more forms of Tarlabasi space that needs to be inquired and clarified. In this respect, it is believed that, the analysis of semi-structured interviews with a group of artisans will bring light to the perceived space, where spatial practice take place on a daily basis, and to the lived space, where life is directly lived through its associated images and symbols. Furthermore, it is believed that such an investigation will also challenge the discourses embedded within the conceived space of Tarlabasi.

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of conducting semi-structured interviews was not to produce generalizations or test if the artisans are pro or against the Tarlabasi Renewal Project but rather to understand what Tarlabasi means to them; to listen to the spatial practices of everyday routine in Tarlabasi. Furthermore, to compare their perceived and lived spaces to the conceived space of the municipality. Thus, the analysis of the semi-structured interviews will be realized within two sub topics, namely: 1) the spatial practices in Tarlabasi: the perceived space; 2) representational spaces in Tarlabasi: the lived space.

The spatial practices in Tarlabasi: the perceived space

The perceived space is the concrete materiality of space. The perceived space could be a room in a flat, a corner of the street, an office or a center but it is more than a physical sphere, a physical object or a material place. It is also dynamic in the sense that it is the form of space where spatial practices take place. In other words, it is the space where everyday activities and daily routine takes place. In this regard, the descriptions and answers of the artisans of Tarlabasi is highly important as they provide inside information. Thus, this part of the analysis will search for what Tarlabasi means to the artisans, how they describe the neighborhood and their relationship to the neighborhood.

A 47 years old housewife for instance who has been living in Tarlabasi for about 44 years expressed that Tarlabasi is her home where she grew up: "... first my father moved here and then the entire family, my father is not alive anymore but we are 8 siblings and we all live here...no matter what they say about Tarlabasi, this is where I live and I love it so much, even though they say bad things about it, I love it so much." She says Tarlabasi is very central to everywhere and the transportation is very easy.

A 53 years old male shoe seller who has been working in Tarlabasi for about 30 years describes what Tarlabasi means to him: "...Tarlabasi is everything for me, it represents the history, the mosaic of all religions. The Jew, the Christian, people from all kinds of religions have constructed their homes according to their own traditions....I love Tarlabasi so much."

A 29 years old male artisan who does not live but who works in Tarlabasi expressed that Tarlabasi is where he earns his bread. The artisan who works in fast food sector (kebab shop), expresses that when he found a job in Tarlabasi he thought it was a good opportunity and thus started working here. He added that in the past it was much better in Tarlabasi. He believes that the neighborhood has fallen behind in the last years. Yet he also thinks that the security of the neighborhood has increased after security cameras were installed.

Another 49 years old male artisan who lives in Tarlabasi for 40 years told that they migrated to

Istanbul from Elazig¹³ when he was 9 years old. He said his uncle who came to the city beforehand, helped his family to buy a house from Tarlabasi. He owns in a little luminaire shop. He expressed that for him, Tarlabasi is a chaotic place in the middle of the city which will eventually be destroyed as they (the municipality) are in pursuit of earning profits.

17 people out of 22 said they are residing in Tarlabasi. Except for one young male adult who do not have a direct relationship with Tarlabasi but who has relatives that live in the neighborhood, all the people I have interviewed described Tarlabasi as either their home or where they earn their livelihood. Except for only 1 male artisan who does not live but work in Tarlabasi¹⁴, all the respondents said they love working / living in Tarlabasi. However, some of the respondents have also pointed out some negative facts about the neighborhood. When I asked if Tarlabasi has threatening elements, several of them responded that it does. For instance, several respondents indicated there are all kinds of people including drug dealers, gamblers, and people who come from other districts in Istanbul and surrounding cities. Yet, some respondents said they do not believe that Tarlabasi have threatening elements. Some respondents said all those threatening elements are produced by the policemen and are not real. A 67 years old barber told that he has been working in Tarlabasi since 1972 and has never seen any threatening elements or matters of violence. He also said that some people construct these bad reputation. He also added that there have been some incidences but they are very normal and ordinary incidences that can happen anywhere else. Another 41 years old hairdresser said that people who work and live here are ordinary people who have ordinary lives. They are normal people who are put in a bad position by others.

With a few exception, the majority of the respondents are residents who have moved to Istanbul from other cities, mostly from Eastern, Southeastern and Central Anatolia. They have moved to Tarlabasi with their families, except with one male adult who came to Istanbul alone and as a child. Some of them pointed out the negative sides of their neighborhood, some pointed out the good things about Tarlabasi but they have all defined Tarlabasi as their living space or working space where they earn their money, their livelihood and where they have families and social network. Where they own a shop, or rent a shop, where they own a flat or rent a flat and where they do not want to or plan to move out.

Representational spaces in Tarlabasi: the lived space

The lived space is where deeper interactions take place. It is the clandestine or underground side of social life. Therefore, I have used the questions of the second and third block of the guideline of the interview questions. These questions aimed to find information on how the respondents see their roles within the Tarlabasi neighborhood, what they think about social justice and public participation. It was aimed to find deeper insights on how Tarlabasi space is lived.

A young male Kurdish shop owner in his 30s said he escaped to Istanbul due to political – military conflict in his town nearby Mardin in the southeastern part of Turkey when he was a child. He said he lived with another 5-6 children in an empty building and somehow survived. Today he still lives in Tarlabasi with his wife and little baby and owns a little shop where he sells phones and phone accessorizes. He believes that although Tarlabasi has a bad reputation for crime and drug dealing, these are minor problems that can be easily solved. He pointed the police department close by, accusing the cops for involving in drug traffic. He said it would be impossible to sell drugs in the back streets from the police department if the policemen really wanted to prevent it. He added that

13 A city in the Eastern Anatolian region of Turkey.

14 Although he did not said he does not like Tarlabasi, he said he would not recommend anyone to come to Tarlabasi to work or live. However, he also said Tarlabasi has improved a lot and that people are imposed with wrong ideas.

crime exists everywhere, not only in Tarlabasi which has been positively changed over the years. He called Tarlabasi "home" and added that Tarlabasi is a neighborhood of strong family ties and friendship and kinship; he said he wouldn't survive anywhere else. He also claimed that there has been some discrimination towards specific groups within the neighborhood, mostly realized by the policemen. He underlined that, there are very strong social ties within the neighborhood which cannot be replaced in any other places.

One male respondent argued that some profiteers (opportunists) have occupied Tarlabasi. He told his story:

"...I used to own a shop and was a tenant in an apartment in the upper side of Tarlabasi, then they came and told me to get out, they said I don't have any rights to claim. Yet, I had been working there for 25 years. Although they did not provide me with any social security, they kept taking tax from me and kicked me out to the street. How could this be possible? How could such an urban arrangement be possible? ... Let me sum up what is going on here (referring to the renewal project), it is a violation of rights, it is a robbery ... and this is taking place everywhere in Istanbul ... urban transformation in Turkey is a system of exploitation, a stage of thieves and profiteers."

A 53 years old male shoe seller said they (the municipality), purchases a house for a 20 thousand Turkish Liras and sells it to 250 thousand Turkish Liras. So, he said he does not believe that there is an urban renewal.

There were two questions about social justice. The first one was to understand the meaning of the term for the respondents and the second question was to see if they believe there is social justice in Tarlabasi Renewal Project. One respondent, who is a female artisan who helps his husband in their little shop, described social justice as the current system where each individual works and produces something to earn their money and to develop themselves and to look after their kids. One respondent clearly denied to answer those two questions as he kind of thought they are dangerous questions to answer. Couple of respondents had to think about the meaning. For instance, one respondent could not answer to this question and asked for some help. But said he does not know what it means. One respondent said social justice does not exist. It is something that can only be found within books. But except for the respondents who could not give an answer and the respondent who described social justice as the current system, all of the respondents said they do not believe that Tarlabasi Renewal Project is being realized in a socially just manner. None of the respondents believe that they have a voice in Tarlabasi Renewal Project as a member of the society.

All of the respondents said they were not included within the project, were not informed about the project. One question was about the steps they have taken or incidents where they expressed themselves, except for a few respondents who said they have joined the protest meeting in front of the municipality office and except for the respondent who was a member of the 'Property Owners and Social Development and Tenant Aid Association of Tarlabasi', none of the respondents said they have taken any steps or expressed their opinions.

The opinions of people on urban transformation projects in general and Tarlabasi Renewal Project in specific were very diverse. However there were few points that everyone without any exception had agreed upon. One of the consensuses was on the physical condition of Tarlabasi. Every single respondent expressed that Tarlabasi does need a physical recovery. However when it came to Tarlabasi Renewal Project, people had different opinions and feelings. While a few people had positive feelings about it, couple of people said they don't know anything about it but they learn from the television or newspapers. Though the majority of people were not in favor of the project

for various reasons.

Mayor Demircan has been describing Tarlabasi as a neglected, dilapidated and a poor neighborhood which needs an immediate intervention to be fixed. In all his interviews and speeches, he repeats his grand discourses on Tarlabasi. In such discourses, there were no opinions of the actual community. However, the interviews with a group of artisans who work and/or live in the Neighborhood, clearly shows that their reality of Tarlabasi differs from the one that is created by the public authorities.

In short, Tarlabasi for the artisans interviewed, is where they work and/or live. The ones who live in Tarlabasi express that no matter how Tarlabasi is described by the outsiders or fancy project groups, it is where they belong to. All of the respondents who live in Tarlabasi, highlighted that they have been living in the neighborhood since ages. As a result, they are connected to the neighborhood with strong ties. On the other hand, some of the artisans who only work but do not live in Tarlabasi expressed their fears that they might loose their jobs in the future, once the project is completed. Furthermore, the diversity of the opinions of the respondents clearly demonstrate that there is no consensus within the community. Different respondents pointed out different problems to be fixed, and dimensions of the neighborhood. Yet, these problems are not the subject of this study but can be further investigated in different researches.

7. RESULTS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

As discussed earlier, in early 80s, together with the rest of the world, Turkey has experienced a radical shift from a developmentalist era to a neoliberal one. Since then, the entire urban agenda in Turkey is being shaped by neoliberal policies. Whereas neoliberalism has been given rise to a new configuration of the state; large scale urban transformation projects are continuously being implemented in the big cities. 'Urban transformation', which has become a 'magical' term, pronounced by public authorities very often, is at the heart of the city agenda. In order to solve all kinds of social, physical, economical and even natural ills of the cities, mega projects are being implemented in the name of urban transformation and development. Such transformations take the form of urban design projects at the district level; flagship projects on the city's waterfronts; the transformation of *gecekondu* (squatter settlements on public land) areas; and the transformation of historic neighborhoods. Yet there is a completely different story behind those large scale urban transformation projects. Only in Istanbul alone, millions of people are under the threat of forced evictions in the near future. In addition to the people who are forced to leave their houses, enormous number of people end up leaving their neighborhoods due to the gentrified life standards that they cannot catch up with and cannot effort. In spite of all the devastating consequences of such projects, local governments continue to implement new projects in new neighborhoods and areas. In this respect, Tarlabasi was chosen as a case study to research the social-cultural and socio-economic transformations of a historical inner-city neighborhood. However, since the devastating consequences and impacts of such topdown projects are more or less explicit, instead of investigating something that is rather obvious, this study sought to find explanations for socio-economic and socio-cultural contradictions derived from the Tarlabasi Renewal Project.

In this regard, two questions were asked at the beginning of the research: 1) How can the social and economic transformations in Tarlabasi Neighborhood be understood within Lefebvre's spatial triad? 2) How can the concepts of construction of truth, power and space be applied to Tarlabasi Renewal Project?

The first question lead the study to investigate the social world by using Lefebvre's consideration of space as a resource (Watkins, 2005: 219). According to Lefebvre, space, which has a socially constructed nature, is not a dead, inert thing or object, but rather is organic and fluid and alive, and most importantly, has three different moments or forms. Therefore through the first question of this study, those three forms of Tarlabasi Neighborhood were investigated by conducting analyses on various levels of sources. Yet, the answer of the second question was revealed while the first question was being investigated.

The hegemonic discourses expressed within selected written texts were analyzed by conducting CDA on one hand; on the other hand, the Foucauldian Discourse was used as a tool to explore how conceived space of Tarlabasi is constructed through discourses. Discourses create knowledge and truth but also 'nurture' power, and at the same time, power also constructs truth-claims. Therefore those three phenomena have an intertwined relationship within the Tarlabasi Renewal Project as well. To demonstrate, while Mayor Demircan has been establishing a reality based on his hegemonic discourses on Tarlabasi, such discourses have also gave him the authority to change the laws and prepare the legal ground for the implementation of Tarlabasi Renewal Project. All in all, those processes created and reinforced the conceived space of Tarlabasi, which dominates other spaces.

On the other hand, the semi-structured interviews represent the views of the artisans who work and/or live in Tarlabasi. Differently from the conceived space expressed and constructed by hegemonic discourses of the Municipality, the perceived and lived spaces were expressed and communicated by the community. The analyses of the semi-structured interviews demonstrated how perceived and lived spaces differ from and dominated by the conceived space of Tarlabasi. This differentiation also demonstrates how construction of truth power and space contributes to the domination of the conceived space.

The semi-structured interviews clearly show that the Tarlabasi Renewal Project is not being implemented in a socially just manner. The artisans who work and live in the neighborhood, who are the real owners of Tarlabasi, are not included within any steps and processes of the project and are never informed.

This study concludes that the Municipality is implementing the Tarlabasi Renewal Project only by taking the conceived level into account. The spatial practices (perceived space) and representational spaces (lived space) are truly neglected and thus the Tarlabasi Renewal Project does not appeal to the real needs of the inhabitants. Not only that house owners who are forced to move out are directly affected, but also the ones who stay are also under the threat of being pushed away as the neighborhood will be gentrified. There are many similar cases where the entire neighborhood end up being gentrified and forcing the original inhabitants to move out as they cannot afford the new expensive lifestyles. Therefore the Tarlabasi Renewal Project lacks social justice. It is recommended that public participatory methods should be used during the decision making and project implementation processes of the project which would make it possible for the community to express their own realities, needs and expectations. By doing so, the project may serve for the real owners of Tarlabasi and make a more sustainable change and development.

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9. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since the beginning of 2000s, the term 'urban transformation' has become the top issue on the city agenda of Turkey. As a result of a radical shift in the governance of urban land and housing markets from a 'populist' to a 'neoliberal' model, a neoliberal system which is instituted through large scale urban transformation projects in incompletely commodified urban areas has been experiencing in the country (Kuyucu & Unsal, 2009:1479). Within this process, Istanbul has unsurprisingly entered an entirely new era with rapid transformations taking place on an unprecedented scale (via urban renewal projects) (Islam, 2010:60). Urban transformation is shown as the solution of all social and natural problems of the city such as crime, poverty, segregation, stigmatization, earthquakes and even terrorism. Naturally such a persuasive and convincing urban discourse has significantly contributed to the formation of a legitimate base and support among the mainstream population for the concept (ibid.). Yet, in practice, urban transformation has other facts such as the disintegration of the city and segregation within the population. Therefore it is also seen as the vehicle in which cities are being divided into clearly identified functions and class-based clusters, where the political meaning of the term is about monopolizing the decision-making power on the reconfiguration of the urban spaces and using the power of state for the benefit of capital accumulation of a privileged class (Adanali, 2011). Furthermore, every year, millions of people are forced to leave their houses and lands, and their communities in the name of common public good and 'development'.

Tarlabasi Renewal Project represents one of the current urban transformation projects that is being implemented in Tarlabasi, which is a historical inner-city neighborhood located in the European side of Istanbul that is just behind Istiklal Street, one of the most famous avenues in Istanbul. Istiklal Street is considered to be the cultural, historical and commercial center of Istanbul and thus, the surrounding districts and neighborhoods, including Tarlabasi, poses a great importance. In spite of its closeness to Istiklal Street, which is seen as a modern, touristic and a beautiful street, Tarlabasi is rather a neglected neighborhood that has a bad reputation of accommodating crime, poverty and physical dilapidation and that is associated with crime and marginalized groups who has settled down in the neighborhood due to low housing prices.

In February 2006, in the aftermath of the implementation of the law No: 5366 on the 'Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties', parts of Tarlabasi were announced as regeneration areas that would be operated by Beyoglu Municipality. Tarlabasi Renewal Project covers 9 city-blocks which are located on an approximately 20,000 square meter field. A total amount of 278 plots, side streets and the infrastructure of the area will be regenerated. Tarlabasi Renewal Project is based on a public-private partnership model. Beyoglu Municipality has appointed the project area and announced it for a tender, where the highest bidder, GAP Construction, has obtained the authority for the preparation and implementation of the renewal project.

According to Beyoglu Municipality, Tarlabasi Renewal Project is an "extraordinary project" that will change the future of the neighborhood. It is claimed that the project will transform Tarlabasi from an ugly, poor, neglected and a "dead" neighborhood to a modern, commercial, rich and lively one. However, according to the 'Property Owners and Social Development and Tenant Aid Association' of Tarlabasi, the municipality is violating their human rights by forcing them to sell their properties to the construction company for low prices. Furthermore, they explain that although they did not want to sell their properties and move out from the neighborhood, where they have strong social ties, the municipality threatened them by using law No: 5366, which gave the local

governments full authority to expropriate the properties for the sake of urban transformation. The residents that are being evicted from Tarlabasi end up being relocated or displaced. While MHA housing, which is offered by the municipality is not affordable, its remote location is incompatible in terms of transportation.

Based upon the theoretical framework of Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad, the study aims to illustrate the socio-economic and socio-cultural contradictions of the urban regime in Turkey. The research questions of this study are driven by a desire to investigate the impacts of Tarlabasi Renewal Project and analyze the close connection between urban politics and social justice. The research questions are: 1) How can the social and economic transformations and contradictions in Tarlabasi Neighborhood be understood within Lefebvre's spatial triad? 2) How can the concepts of construction of truth, power and space be applied to Tarlabasi Renewal Project?

According to Lefebvre, social space is a social product, though a product to be used, to be consumed; it is also a means of production: network of exchange and flows of raw materials and energy fashion space and are determined by it (ibid.:85). In addition, for Lefebvre, the space is produced but also serves as a tool of thought and of action and alongside to being a mean of production, it is also a means of control, and hence domination, of power (ibid.:6). Social space embodies the relations of production, i.e., the division of labour and its organization in the form of hierarchical social functions (ibid.:32). Lefebvre claims that every society produces and offers its own peculiar space, as it were, as an object for analysis and overall theoretical explication (1991: 31). According to Lefebvre, social space comprises specific representations within the social relations of production and reproduction, which can be called as 'forms' of space. Each of these forms of social space can be defined within his conceptual triad: *Spatial practice*, *Representations of space* and *Representational spaces*.

It is believed that Lefebvre's spatial triad is fruitful to understand the contradictions of Tarlabasi Renewal Project. Within a qualitative research approach, critical discourse analysis, and an emphasis on Foucauldian discourse, and semi-structured interviews was chosen to analyze the Tarlabasi case to demonstrate the contradictions of the Tarlabasi Renewal Project and emphasize how construction of truth, power and space help contributing to those contradictions.

In this regard, the hegemonic discourses expressed within selected written texts were analyzed by conducting CDA on one hand; on the other hand, the Foucauldian Discourse was used as a tool to explore how conceived space of Tarlabasi is constructed through discourses. Discourses create knowledge and truth but also 'nurture' power, and at the same time, power also constructs truth-claims. Therefore those three phenomena have an intertwined relationship within the Tarlabasi Renewal Project as well. All in all, those processes created and reinforced the conceived space of Tarlabasi, which dominates other spaces.

On the other hand, the semi-structured interviews represent the views of the artisans who work and/or live in Tarlabasi. Differently from the conceived space expressed and constructed by hegemonic discourses of the Municipality, the perceived and lived spaces were expressed and communicated by the community. The analyses of the semi-structured interviews demonstrated how perceived and lived spaces differ from and dominated by the conceived space of Tarlabasi. This differentiation also demonstrates how construction of truth power and space contributes to the domination of the conceived space.

The semi-structured interviews clearly show that the Tarlabasi Renewal Project is not being implemented in a socially just manner. The artisans who work and live in the neighborhood, who

are the real owners of Tarlabasi, are not included within any steps and processes of the project and are never informed.

This study concludes that the Municipality is implementing the Tarlabasi Renewal Project only by taking the conceived level into account. The spatial practices (perceived space) and representational spaces (lived space) are truly neglected and thus the Tarlabasi Renewal Project does not appeal to the real needs of the inhabitants. Not only that house owners who are forced to move out are directly affected, but also the ones who stay are also under the threat of being pushed away as the neighborhood will be gentrified. There are many similar cases where the entire neighborhood end up being gentrified and forcing the original inhabitants to move out as they cannot afford the new expensive lifestyles. Therefore the Tarlabasi Renewal Project lacks social justice. It is recommended that public participatory methods should be used during the decision making and project implementation processes of the project which would make it possible for the community to express their own realities, needs and expectations. By doing so, the project may serve for the real owners of Tarlabasi and make a more sustainable change and development.

10. APPENDIX

10.1 Guideline of Interview Questions

Introduction questions:

1. Could you briefly introduce yourself? How old are you? What is your occupation? Where do you live/work?
2. For how long have you lived / been living in Tarlabasi? How did you end up in Tarlabasi? And why have you chosen Tarlabasi to live?
3. What does Tarlabasi means to you?

Questions on Tarlabasi Renewal Project:

4. When I say 'urban renewal project,' what do you think about it?
5. What do you think about Tarlabasi Renewal Project? Why do you think this project has been started? Who do you think carries out this project and for whom or what does it serve for?
6. Do you think Tarlabasi Renewal Project will reduce or clear away the physical and socio-economic problems in the neighborhood?
7. Do you think both the Tarlabasi inhabitants and the people living close by will be able to benefit from the added value of the renewed Tarlabasi?
8. Do you believe that Tarlabasi Renewal Project is a product of a transparent, open, and a participatory governance?
9. Do you believe that Tarlabasi has threatening elements for the surrounding environment?
10. Do you consider yourself as a Tarlabasi victim? Why? Do you know any Tarlabasi victims? Do you know where do evicted people are sent to? Do you know if a living space and a work place is being provided for those who are evicted from their homes? Do you know if evicted people could continue working from their new living areas? How?

Questions on Social Justice and Public Participation:

11. Do you believe that you have a voice in Tarlabasi Renewal Project as a member of the community? Do you believe that your voice is heard or your thoughts are considered important?
12. The municipality particularly, do you trust in the public institutions / governmental agencies? What kind of a role do you think the public institutions carry regarding the Tarlabasi Renewal Project? Do you think the public institutions protect/support the Tarlabasi victims?
13. Do you trust in the media? What kind of a role do you think media carries regarding the Tarlabasi case? Do you think the public institutions protect/support the Tarlabasi victims?
14. What does 'social justice' means to you?
15. Do you believe that social justice exists during the Tarlabasi Renewal Project?
16. Have you taken any steps regarding the Tarlabasi case? Were there any incidents where you expressed yourself?

Desired contributions & Additional comments:

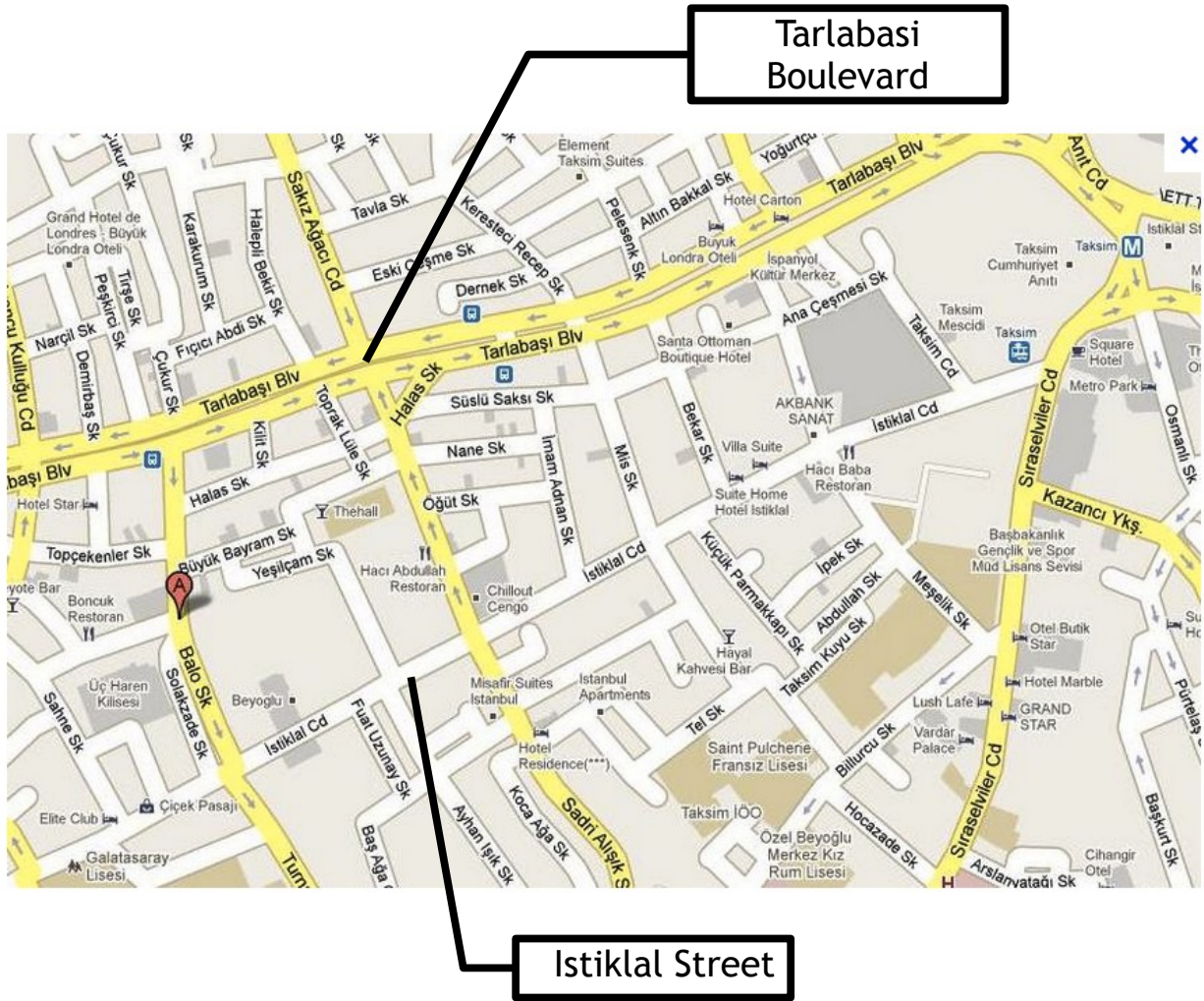
17. If you had any power – lets say superman power – what would you want to do in Tarlabasi? How would you want to impact the ongoing Tarlabasi Renewal Project?

18. Do you have anything else to add? A last comment? A critique? Any point that I forgot to ask but that you would like to express?

10.2 Map of inner-city neighborhoods in Istanbul



10.3 Tarlabasi Boulevard and Istiklal Street



10.4 Tarlabasi: reality vs. visualization



