UNDERSTANDING THE CITY

Henri Lefebvre and Urban Studies

Edited by

Gülçin Erdi-Lelandais

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CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS

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PREFACE

HENRI LEFEBVRE: A PRAXIS OF WHAT IS POSSIBLE

REMI HESS*

Henri Lefebvre, who was born in 1901 and died in 1991, can be perceived in the world of social sciences as a "revolutionary romantic" (Lefebvre 2011). The "adventurous" side of his life course consisted of exploring what is possible. He produced a considerable body of work: he wrote close to seventy books during his life, as well as publishing hundreds of articles in reviews and journals between 1923 and 1991. So, for seventy years, as an intellectual H. Lefebvre participated in all the discussions about major issues of the 20th century (Hess 1988). It is difficult to associate him with a particular discipline. Even though he was a philosopher by training, he explored the realms of mathematics, linguistics, history and, above all, sociology. He translated the works of Hegel, Marx, Engels and Nietzsche, and, as Attilo Belli points out, his Nietzschean dimensions should not be overlooked since to define him simply as a Marxist—which he is not wholly—is not sufficient (Belli 2012).

Lefebvre chooses his objects of study in the areas of history, politics and sociology. Consequently, he tackles subjects pertaining to various disciplines. For example, his book *Language and Society* has been appreciated by linguists. His interest in aesthetics and art leads him to produce decisive texts on the creative process. He takes a keen interest in cybernetics but constantly comes back to philosophy and sociology.

His horizon is metaphilosophy: a critical discipline encompassing the contribution of human and social sciences, but surpassing their local limits (Hess and Deulceux 2013). Metaphilosophy is the art of conducting a search for totality through a *transductive* movement. Transduction—

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* With the collaboration of Camille Rabineau.

Aufhebung with Hegel—means surpassing the dispersion of fragments in an effort to appropriate and to elevate.

In the domain of sociology, he invents a critical approach which should align him with the Frankfurt School tradition. However his critical posture leads him to add the intervention processes. Thus, he is also a critical practitioner. His critical thought tends toward action. This dimension is what interests both young researchers (Nicolas-Le Strat 2013) and students today (Rabineau 2013). The present book also privileges this critical approach to understand the new forms, systems and relationships which restructure cities in different parts of the world. The contributors propose their fieldwork findings in order to empirically discuss Henri Lefebvre's thought. This position is completely in harmony with Lefebvre's orientations when it comes to explaining urban space.

Lefebvre is not an armchair sociologist; he goes into the field and intervenes in real life. To get to know reality, he transforms it. He proceeds this way in the areas of rural and urban sociology by creating an institute that conducts surveys. He also takes part in politics. His militancy in the Communist Party between 1928 and 1957 does not exclude an effort to develop what Georges Lapassade calls an internal analysis of this apparatus. Lefebvre becomes interested in Institutional Analysis, which R. Lourau theorized under his direction. This analysis, which he considers to be "today's dialectic approach", makes it possible to examine the relationship between practice and the underlying "prophecy". The German philosopher G. Weigand pointed out the originality of the French intellectual trend of institutional analysis that is essential to Lefebvre's work and surpasses the critical posture in the praxis. For Lefebvre, producing a critique of life or urban development, for instance, means shedding light on what is possible, on the virtualities present in reality at a given time (Hess 2009). Thus, his role in the emergence of *Mai 1968* is decisive, not only from a theoretical point of view, but also in terms of his involvement in a pedagogical critique.

Lefebvre's work is a movement that attempts to produce concepts allowing intervention in the real world. Concepts have no universal legitimacy. They are meant to work in real life at a given moment. They can be transcended. This is what the authors of the present book try to do by situating Lefebvrian concepts within different national and cultural contexts and giving them new dimensions and interpretations.

From that point of view, Lefebvre uses an approach that constantly articulates sociology and history; he names it the regressive-progressive method. The point is to start from the here and now. A situation is described as minutely as possible, and the structure is brought out.

Contradictions appear. Where do they come from? The researcher then goes back to the past to identify the origin of today's problems. Enlightened by this regressive survey, he comes back to the present to find the germs of the future. Lefebvre does not study history for the sake of history, but to gain practical knowledge. The historical survey is inscribed in the analysis of circumstances in order to find out how they can possibly be transcended.

Lefebvre relies on this method to study historical moments in literature or philosophy through figures. He studies Rabelais, Pascal, Descartes, Diderot, and Musset. These characters interest him because they show how the particular social situation with which they were confronted produced theoretical issues. For Lefebvre, an author's genius lies in the fact that he manages to overcome the contradictions of his time. According to him, Rabelais' invention, for example, was to produce a work in French, thus challenging the power of Rome and of the Vatican, which imposed the use of Latin.

Some of Lefebvre's readers can be called "contingent". They are interested in a book or a series of books. For instance, some geographers are fascinated by his research on urban reality. As far as we are concerned, we do not allow ourselves to decide on a hierarchy of Lefebvre's works, here or elsewhere. We assume that his theoretical involvement is a global movement that uses all opportunities to intervene in reality. From this point of view, any "moment" in his work is a fragment of a totality into which we attempt to instil dialectics as well as historical and sociological dynamics.

We are constantly trying to maintain the posture of the "necessary" reader who places each work into the general movement. Since, for Lefebvre, "man's work is himself", it seems that his life experience, his relation to the world and to the social praxis have to be taken into account as well as his written work (Deulceux and Hess 2012).

Our ambition is to publish Lefebvre's complete work one day. However, today this project is impossible. First, we must realize what is possible now. For the time being, amongst his books translated into English, the most widely read are those on space, on the city, and his critique of daily life. However, Verso will soon publish in English his *La fin de l'histoire*, a Nietzschean book, and *Métaphilosophie*. These books will help English-speaking readers to perceive the complementarity of his works. Perhaps one day *La somme et le reste*, a magnificent book, will also be available in English.

With Lefebvre, there is a will to constantly articulate real life experience, the perceived and the conceived. His texts are therefore always

the product of a context and of an aim within that context. Circumstances arise from circumstances. At the end of his career, he conducted seminars on Clausewitz and wrote a book called *De la guerre*. Lefebvre thinks about strategy. He does not do anything that is not inscribed in a strategic perspective. He is not afraid of going against the flow. That is why he frequently opens new channels! In the ten years following the publication of his *Manifeste différentialiste,* there was not a single philosopher who did not write a book on difference, unfortunately too often without mentioning Lefebvre. For several decades, this code of silence enabled philosophers and sociologists to pick up their themes from his ideas. Conversely, architects, town planners and his friends, the institutionalists, have always been loyal to him. The present book also contributes to this recognition and brings Lefebvre back to the core of discussions on urban studies. From this point of view, it is more than welcome in order to understand the dynamics of cities today.

Nowadays, Lefebvre is being massively rediscovered. In the last ten years about fifty books have been published on him in English, German, Spanish, Portuguese and even Korean. In France, the prospect of a new edition appears to be on the agenda. Quite a few newly reprinted books by Lefebvre are currently available. We have just republished *La somme et le reste* and *Le droit à la ville*, *Marx, une métaphilosophie de la liberté*, and *Descartes*. We are working toward a new publication of several out-of-print books: *Pascal*, *au-delà du structuralisme*, etc.

The book you are about to read is important. It makes new contributions to the field of urban reality and also refers to rhythmanalysis, an essential dimension of this thought and of its complexity. It is not an ordinary collection of disparate papers loosely organized around a topic, nor mildly polished conference proceedings, but rather carefully written contributions to a complex and important single theme: the meanings and the use of Henri Lefebvre's sociological theory in urban studies from an empirical perspective.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGM   Antalya Greater Municipality

AGOFF   Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival

AKMED   Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Enstitüsü
        Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilization

AKP   Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi
        Justice and Development Party

AKTOB   Akdeniz Turizm ve Otelciler Birliği
        Mediterranean Tourism and Hoteliers Association

ANSİAD   Antalya Sanayiciler ve İşadamları Derneği
        Association of Industrialistes and Businnessmen of Antalya

ATAV   Antalya Tanitim Vakfi
        Antalya Promotion Foundation

ATSO   Antalya Sanayi ve Ticaret Odasi
        Antalya Chamber of Commerce and Industry

AU   Akdeniz University

CHP   People's Republican Party

CQA   Conseil de Qualité Architecturale
        Council for Architectural Quality

GaWC   Globalization and World Cities Research Network

GIAT   Groupement Industriel des Armements Terrestres
        Land Weapons Manufacturing Group

GÜLDAM   Gülensu Gülsuyu Dayanisma Merkezi
        Gülensu Gülsuyu Life and Solidarity Centre

HLM   Habitation à Loyer Modéré
        Social Housing

İMECE   Toplum için Sehircilik Hareketi
                People's Urbanism Movement

INSEE   France's National Institute of Statistics and Economic
                Studies

MOAŞ   Mimar Odalari Antalya Subesi
                Antalya Branch of the Architects Chamber

SPOAŞ   Sehir Planlamacilari Odalari Antalya Subesi
                Antalya Branch of the Chamber of City Planners

ANSAN   Antalya Sanatçilar Dernegi
                Antalya Artists' Association

STOP   Sinir Tanimayan Otonom Plancilar
                Autonomous Planners without Borders

TGV   Train à Grande Vitesse
                High speed train

TOKİ   Toplu Konut Idaresi
                Mass Housing Agency

TÜBA   Türkiye Bilim Akademisi
                Turkish Academy of Sciences

TÜRSAK   Türkiye Sinema ve Audio Visual Kültür Vakfı
                Turkish Foundation of Cinema and Audio-visual Culture

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural
                Organization

INTRODUCTION

LEFEBVRE'S LEGACY: UNDERSTANDING THE CITY IN THE GLOBALISATION PROCESS

GÜLÇIN ERDI-LELANDAIS

> "*L'espace sert d'instrument à la pensée comme à l'action, qu'il est, en même temps qu'un moyen de production, un moyen de contrôle donc de domination et de puissance – mais qu'il échappe partiellement, en tant que tel, à ceux qui s'en servent.*"[1] (Lefebvre 1974, 35).

A few years ago, I led a research project at the University of Warwick's CRER (Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations) on the nature of urbanisation and resistance in Istanbul. For me, there was no other city that would allow for a better observation of the different stages of urbanisation (e.g., informal settlements, social housing, and gated communities), the blazing speed and the ephemeral nature of urbanisation without limit and the impact of this type of urbanisation on human lives.

During my empirical research, I also observed authoritarian and exclusive processes in the making of urban policies that caused the displacement of the populations of entire neighbourhoods to the outskirts of the city, and the whole disappearance of these neighbourhoods in order to create new ones forged according to the needs of high income classes. Thus, it is a part of the collective memory of the city that faded, as if

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[1] "The space serves as an instrument of thought and action; it is at the same time a means of production, a means of control, hence of domination and power, but it partially escapes, as such, from those whom it serves."

previously there were no other communities and lives occupying these spaces that are now "gated communities".

This process, because of its authoritarian and undemocratic nature, was indeed widely contested by many associations, but also sometimes by inhabitants, who organised themselves to defend their living space. I met them for the first time at the European Social Forum in Istanbul in July 2010. They were called the Istanbul Urban Social Movements and, at the end of the Forum, published their manifesto, which ending with the following paragraph:

> "Against all the urban transformation/renewal projects that are forced upon us and shaped by the interests of transnational capital, we are determined to continue our struggle fort the right to shape our city according to our way of life and our desires. As such, our goal is to spread our **right to the city** beyond shelter and access to urban facilities, to the whole of the city."[2]

This is exactly what Henri Lefebvre exposed in his research as "the right to the city", and what he defined as "the cry and the demand of inhabitants for a transformed and renewed right to urban life" in the city (Lefebvre 1996, 158). It was this cry that led me to Lefebvre's theory and analysis of the city space.

Throughout the 1970s, Lefebvre prepared the conceptual framework that would be deployed in the six books he devoted to urban issues—all of which have been translated into several languages: *Critique of Everyday Life* [*La critique de la vie quotidienne* (1947)]; *The Right to the City* [*Le droit à la ville* (1968)]; *The Urban Revolution* [*La révolution urbaine* (1970)]; *Marxist Thought and the City* [*La pensée marxiste et la ville*, (1972)]; *Space and Politics* [*Espace et politique* (1973)]; and *The Production of Space* [*La production de l'espace* (1974)]. The influence of Lefebvre's work was considerable during the 1980s, especially in Europe, and he is perhaps best known for his pioneering contributions to socio-spatial theory.

Having discovered the sociology of Lefebvre, and especially how he explains the concepts of "space" and "right to the city", I asked myself, as a young French-Turkish researcher, why I didn't see that many workshops, conferences or seminars devoted to Lefebvre, whose thought goes beyond France and a simple analysis of the city of the 1970s. My investigations

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[2] This declaration can be found on the website of the Istanbul Urban Social Movements: http://istanbulurbanmovements.wordpress.com/

found that there are town planners and geographers who, particularly in the United States, emphasise Lefebvre's theory, and privilege such terms as "the production of space", "the right to the city" and/or "the rhythm analysis" in order to analyse the remaking of global cities in the context of globalisation and spatial restructuring of power relations in the city. His writings on cities and urbanisation exercised a seminal influence upon some of the founders of critical urban and regional political economy in the post 1970s period, Harvey (1989) and Soja (1989) being foremost among them. Researchers such as Brenner and Theodore (2002), Marcuse and Van Kempen (2002), and Purcell (2008), taking deep inspiration from the oeuvre of Lefebvre, focused their research mostly on global cities and how capitalist power relations and neoliberal restructuring of the city shape the destiny of urban dwellers. Research on the impact of neoliberal policies on the production of urban space has been more than fruitful in the last decade. Many investigations have emphasised its negative impacts on the life of inhabitants, especially the poor, and how the capitalism is spatialised by the privatisation of public services in the city and for-profit housing construction, often led by State institutions (Berry-Chikhaoui et al. 2007; Fawaz 2009; Leontidou 2010; Lovering and Türkmen 2011). We can see, however, as mentioned above, that the references to Lefebvre's writings have become less frequent over the past 15 years in Europe, especially in France.

Most of the research on Lefebvre refers to his ideas and their theoretical discussion, without focusing on the empirical transcription of the philosopher (Elden 2004; Goonewardena et al. 2008; Merrifield and Muschamp 2005). From 2000 onwards, the key concepts initiated by Lefebvre come shyly back into French academia, especially those around "the right to the city". There have been recent developments on the production of urban space based especially on neoliberal policies, as well as debate on "new urbanism"[3] (Grant 2006). Opponents (e.g., Brenner and Theodore 2002) point out the contribution of the philosopher to an alternative urbanisation that is against the capitalist production of the city.

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[3] The new urbanism approach defends the creation of city spaces planned for the wellbeing of people with walkable and green areas. New Urbanism has been criticised for being a form of centrally planned, large-scale development, "instead of allowing the initiative for construction to be taken by the final users themselves". It has been criticised for asserting universal principles of design instead of attending to local conditions, resulting in the creation of gated communities and the intensification of gentrification.

Yet, precisely, the theory of Lefebvre offers reflections that are still valid for analysing social relations in urban areas caused by the crisis of neoliberal economic system. The political utopia of Lefebvre, when he spoke in the 1960s about a "right to the city", is now more widely shared; "the right to make the city" is no longer just a special case.

The above research has analysed in depth all aspects of Lefebvre's thought, based on his principal books, and it has made an extraordinary contribution to the understanding of Lefebvre, especially in the Anglo-Saxon academic world. Nevertheless, as Paquot (2009) stressed, there is no real measure of the impact of this thought on professionals, teachers in architecture and urbanism, or theses on sociology, but the wide distribution of his works suggests that he was powerful. In this point also, there is a lack of serious, comparative, quantitative and qualitative analysis of the reception of his work, especially in empirical urban studies.

If we take Lefebvre's sociology as a base by which to analyse and, sometimes, even to oppose the neoliberal nature of urbanisation, it is because it is necessary to think about current social dynamics of urban space. This is where our desire comes from to return to the sociology of Lefebvre and emphasise the importance it deserves in the analysis of these urban settings, and to reintegrate his concepts such as "right to the city" in the analysis of resistance and power relations within the city. The concept of "the right to the city", considered by some researchers as a utopia (Castells 1977, 90), could, on the contrary, propose an alternative solution to creating an urban space accessible and beneficial for all inhabitants. Lefebvre defines the right to the city as follows:

> "The right to the city should modify, concretise and make more practical the rights of the citizen as an urban dweller [*citadin*] and user of multiple services. It would affirm, on the one hand, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in the urban area; it would also cover the right to the use of the centre, a privileged place, instead of being dispersed and stuck into ghettos (for workers, immigrants, the 'marginal' and even for the 'privileged'." (Lefebvre 1996, 34).

Since 2000, there has been an increase in the number of books, articles, conferences and workshops referring to Lefebvre and to his most famous concepts, such as space, right to the city and rhythmanalysis. Even UNESCO referred in a report to the famous "right to the city" in the objective of "humanising the city and affirming solidarity as a fundamental value of democracy and human rights" (2006, 12). In the last four years, conferences at Nanterre University in France (2011) and Delft University of Technology in the Netherlands (2008 and 2009) on the *œuvre* of Lefebvre have been held. I also organised a panel during the

Tenth Congress of European Sociological Association in Geneva in 2011 to discuss how Lefebvre could be brought back into urban studies. The chapters of this book are the results of this fruitful meeting, which has brought together researchers with different intellectual courses and visions of analysis. Lefebvre thus returned in force to academic research, especially with his theory on the social construction of space and the right to the city.

Today, one of the main questions of urban sociology is to know how to think and analyse the contemporary metropolis. What tools, approaches and instruments are available to get there?

The second half of the 20th century witnessed an unprecedented level of urbanisation, particularly with the emergence of large metropolitan cities in developing countries within the context of globalisation. Many researchers refer to the global cities in their research (Sassen 1991; Amen et al. 2006; Brenner and Keil 2005). The speed of the phenomenon that we observe in many regions demonstrates some forms of unplanned urbanisation, with the resurgence of shantytowns (that we can call, for instance, *gecekondu, favelas* depending on the country) at the margins of cities. A key reason for this uncontrolled growth is the internal and/or international migration flows requiring more housing. However, cities are unable to meet this requirement. Thus, those who want to install in large cities with the hope of a better life "urbanise" themselves. They often create their own city at the margins without the necessary administrative procedures. Conversely, in many countries, governments apply progressively urban policies, which have the objective of making the city attractive for tourism, services and finance. The will to create brand cities becomes important. In this perspective, neighbourhoods with informal settlements (established in the 1950s and 1960s) or old historical neighbourhoods that were for a long time forgotten in the city centre, constitute the main targets, as they are considered as marginal and criminalised areas limiting a city's image. Reconstruction of Istanbul by the current AKP government via several urban transformation projects is one of the examples of this kind of urbanism (see Ergin's and Lelandais' chapters in the present book).

Urban transformation projects in several countries, especially in emerging nations such as Turkey, India, Brazil and China, have led to development of luxury collective accommodation, namely gated communities, with inhabitants protected and locked within their own living spaces, with outsiders excluded. At the origin of this kind of urbanisation, we found mostly the fact of regarding the city from a financial perspective and of proposing the lucrative town planning

schemes. Luxury sites built with the objective of financial gain are sold with considerable speed and at a considerable price. The construction industry is seeking new sites and neighbourhoods and turns its attention towards the illegal slums inhabited by poor people. Concerned about the image of their city, public authorities often yield to these projects and try to forcibly remove these people to the peripheries of cities. Numerous research studies have focused on this question (Davis 2006; Koonings and Kruijt 2009), with some emphasising the segmentation of the city by the construction of gated communities (Paquot 2009; Daniş and Pérouse 2005) and others deeply questioning the ways for urban dwellers to participate entirely in urban decisions (Purcell 2008).

Following the approaches of researchers such as Harvey (2013), Purcell (2008), and Soja (2010), we argue that all these evolutions have a bond with the growing prevalence of neoliberal perception of the city. Indeed, neoliberal policies have an important role in this evolution because they facilitate the commercialisation of space, reducing it to a measurable entity. In keeping with capitalism's tendency to overdevelop certain contexts while underdeveloping others, the contemporary phase of neoliberal policies provides refined tools to the owning class for greater accumulation in the urban context. The expansion of urban markets and "urban regeneration" practices has brought enormous investment to areas that have been neglected for decades. At the same time, local governments often fail to provide adequate support for existing communities, compounding their vulnerability to displacement.

Thus, we witness a renewed object of urban sociology: the marginalised areas harbouring any form of dissent. Several authors invite us to think the urban phenomenon from its margins. Whether the *barrio* and the culture of emergency in the cities of South America, presented as precursors of the urban future of the entire planet; "sensitive" neighbourhoods in France, the network economy more or less formally trained by these "mobile communities" that are immigrants; or the movement of squatters and their influence on the symbolic and practical definition of "urban common good", spaces and practices that may appear by first sight to be marginal (from the point of view of the middle class and government in Western countries) are presented as the actual place where the most significant developments of the "new urban revolution" can be decrypted. A number of the chapters in this book (e.g., Chapters 4 and 5) also consider the notions of "margin" and "centrality," and show that margins can sometimes create their own centrality, and what is a centre can be transformed to a margin.

It seems that this message is crucial for a new urban sociology: consider these facts not as "social problems", which our discipline should help to manage, but as sociologically central facts. I am convinced that these "marginal" actors should be considered "very visionary individuals", that is to say, as the "prototype" of the future urban spaces.

In *The Production of Space,* Lefebvre already emphasises the effects of global integration on the composition of the city. Lefebvre is of the view that the tension between global integration and territorial redifferentiation leads to a general explosion of spaces in which the relationships among all geographical scales are rearranged and reterritorialised continuously. For Brenner, Lefebvre's theoretical framework permits us:

> "To explore the various implications of contemporary re-scaling processes for conceptualising the dynamics of capitalist urbanisation in the late 20th century. Indeed, we appear to be witnessing an even greater intensification of the contradictory processes of globalisation, fragmentation and reterritorialisation to which Lefebvre drew attention over two decades ago." (Brenner 2000, 373).

We propose, therefore, to revisit Lefebvre, not to establish an orthodox interpretation of his concepts, but to comply with them after. However, his vision is useful insofar as it gives us the opportunity to develop specific content for the organisation of the city space.

Ross (1988) explains that Lefebvre suggests that just as everyday life has been colonised by capitalism, so too has its location—social space. There is, therefore, work to be done on the understanding of space and how it is socially constructed and used. This is especially necessary given the shift to the importance of space in the modern age. According to Lefebvre, social space is allocated according to class, and social planning reproduces the class structure and reflects the balance of power among actors. This is either on the basis of too much space for the rich and too little for the poor, or because of uneven development in the quality of places, or indeed both. Like all economies, the political economy of space is based on the idea of scarcity (Martins 1982)[4].

Restructuring the urban space in a neoliberal logic, excluding participative processes, highlights Lefebvre's theory on space and conception of the right to the city. Before all, this theory proposes to profoundly rework the social construction of the urban space and therefore

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[4] For a detailed discussion about it, see Martins (1982).

extend the borders of traditional citizenship to being an urban dweller. It proposes, therefore, ways of thinking about urban citizenship. Researchers such as Purcell (2002) and Isin (2000) explain it by arguing that the right to the city reframes the arena of decision-making away from the State and toward the production of urban space. The former argues that it means the production of urban space separates the right to the city from institutional forms of citizenship and participation. It gives the possibility of participating directly to the conception of urban space. Our first three chapters shed light on the relationship between the right to the city, urban space, and the debate on citizenship and link them to the debate about the introduction of spatial (in)justice in the construction of city space.

Lefebvre's theorisation of space and the right to the city has allowed new debates in urban studies, particularly within the context of the neoliberal world order. Based on his research on Los Angeles, Soja (2010) argues that the locational discrimination, created through the biases imposed on certain populations because of their geographical location, is fundamental in the production of spatial injustice and the creation of lasting spatial structures of privilege and advantage. As Dikeç (2009) points out, the right to difference is complementary to the right to the city. What it implies is a right to resistance, and not an exclusive focus on difference as particularity (2009). For him, in Lefebvrian terms, the right to be different is "the right not to be classified forcibly into categories which have been determined by the necessarily homogenizing powers" (2009, 76). Debate has ensued among researchers, especially in the United States, on the concept of the just city as the ultimate goal of planning. Researchers such as Fainstein (2010), Marcuse et al. (2009), and Soja (2010) focused on how to introduce spatial justice in the city.

However, some criticisms have been raised about Lefebvre's thinking on space and right to the city. First of all, many researchers underline the fact that his theory doesn't enlighten all aspects of the right to the city, especially its contents and how to realise it. Purcell points out, for example, that the right to the city "raises more questions than it answers and this indeterminate character leaves open the possibility that the right to the city could have significant negative impacts on cities" (2002, 103).

Indeed, Lefebvre feels that it is essential to think about the urban space, to break with the bureaucratic practice of town planning in order to found an experimental urbanism, combining an analysis of the new phenomena related to the assertion of urban and a right—i.e., a legitimate claim of a lifestyle transfiguring the everyday urban life. The right to the city seems, therefore, to suggest that there is something there, that it can offer real solutions to the problems of enfranchisement in cities. One may argue that

Lefebvre's objective, by elaborating the right to the city, was not to propose a tailor-made, ready-for-all instruction sheet to create a new city. He proposed a way and left to the *citadins* the possibility of making their own right to the city. Harvey notes that the openness and expansiveness of Lefebvre's discussion leaves the actual spaces of any alternative frustratingly undefined, but he underlines also that Lefebvre proposes only the ways and not solutions over time and space to concretely realise a just city:

> "The idea of the right to the city does not arise primarily out of various intellectual fascinations and fads (though there are plenty of those around, as we know). It primarily rises up from the streets, out from the neighbourhoods, as a cry for help and sustenance by oppressed peoples in desperate times. How, then, do academics and intellectuals respond to that cry and that demand? It is here that a study of how Lefebvre responded is helpful-not because his responses provide blueprints (our situation is very different from that of the 1960s, and the streets of Mumbai, Los Angeles, São Paulo and Johannesburg are very different from those of Paris), but because his dialectical method of immanent critical inquiry can provide an inspirational model for how we might respond to that cry and demand." (Harvey 2012, xiii).

While paying attention to all these aspects, which constitute one of the most important elements in understanding the current city, the objective of this book is to go beyond this debate and propose a global look at Lefebvre's sociology on urban space. This is in order to understand different conceptions and perceptions of everyday life, from resistance to work relations, from cultural city politics to urban renewal process, in different countries. It should be emphasised that this book does not assume that there is only one plausible Lefebvre or, for that matter, that Lefebvre represents a panacea for strategy, theory, and research. The fact that today there are multiple Lefebvres floating about is due partly to the circuitous character of Lefebvre's work, and partly to "the current conditions of interpretations which are characterised by deep political uncertainties compounded by an enduring postmodern eclecticism" (Kipfer et al. 2012, 2).

Based on the findings on different cities, the contributions in this book ask the following questions: how is Lefebvre's sociology relevant to understand evolutions and restructurings in current global cities? How could the understanding of Lefebvre help to propose alternative ways of constructing the city? What could we say about the everyday practices of current global cities? How do they shape social relations?

Each chapter seeks to highlight these questions. Empirical fields of contributors are located in Turkey, France and Poland.

Our objective is to provide examples about the empirical use of Lefebvre's sociology from the perspective of different cities and researchers, in order to understand especially the city and its evolutions within the context of neoliberal globalisation. Our purpose is not to propose a theoretical overview of Lefebvre's theory, but rather, reintroduce his key concepts so as to understand the contemporary city. Case studies in this book will show also that the reception of Lefebvrian concepts are not the same and not always perceived in a similar way depending on the social and political context of the scientific field of each country. Social conditions are determinant for the "international circulation of ideas" (Bourdieu 2002). While the book aims to look at Lefebvre's theory from the side of the empirical field in particular, it seems also necessary to engage this understanding by starting with a theoretical discussion about the perception of Lefebvre's theory in English-speaking countries, which was highly important on the return of Lefebvre in academic debates for understanding the contemporary city. In this perspective, *Claire Revol* provides, in Chapter One, elements about the transpositions and present meaning of "right to the city" used by researchers in the English-speaking academic world. She shows how using concepts from an author does not only mean using the words he or she used, but also implies a more global understanding and re-appropriation of this author. Nevertheless, it is necessary to take into consideration historical change as well as geographical displacement, given that most current readings and appropriation of Lefebvre take place in the English-speaking world. She explores the understanding of the right to the city and determines which distortions to its adaptation are needed without it being denatured. This supposes an analysis of the context of translation and reception of the right to the city and a description of the major changes related to it. She presents different re-appropriations of the right to the city, with three themes emerging: socio-spatial justice; citizenship and participation; and appropriation and struggle. Their development shows their interconnections as well as their inherent contradictions.

The two following chapters contribute to the meaning of the right to the city, and its appropriation as a mobilisation tool by urban social movements and resistance in different neighbourhoods. *Nezihe Başak Ergin* and *Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç* discuss in Chapter Two how the concept of the right to the city is perceived in Turkey by opponents to the urban transformation led by the current Turkish government. They propose a theoretical discussion and its appropriation as a mobilisation and

unifying tool for activists who have a high level of social and cultural capital and work as architects, engineers or professors at different universities. She shows how a similar notion could have different significations and interpretations according to the position of groups and political and ideological background of activists.

Chapter Three, written by *Gülçin Erdi Lelandais,* is complementary to the work of Ergin and focuses on the relationship between the emergence of urban resistance and the neoliberal construction of the city by discussing whether the neighbourhood as a life-space could be considered as a root for a spatial identity, which leads to the claim of the right to the city. Lelandais argues that, in a context where dominant groups determine the *habitus* (Bourdieu 1979) of the city, subordinate groups, such as the poor and minority groups, could also develop a *habitus* that embodies different values and "rituals of resistances" in which the meaning of things inside the city is appropriated and transformed at neighbourhood level.

The three following chapters focus on the production, social construction and appropriation of space by different actors. They propose a vision on everyday life practices in the city beyond visible urban resistance and struggle in order to contest its production by the dominant class. These chapters attempt to analyse the relations and the struggles among actors for the appropriation and investment of the space, and to understand social, economic and political relations shaping the conception and the structuring of contemporary cities.

Nora Semmoud in Chapter Four underlines how all kinds of operation for the transformation of space affect the social organisation. In this process, professionals think they have designed a space for certain uses but in reality something different happens and it is their *blind field* [*champ aveugle*] (Lefebvre 1974). Populations make a correction of how to behave in the urban space when they are in contact with any new urban organisation; they operate a social rearrangement of the space, and therefore produce a *counter-space* [*contre-espace*] (Lefebvre 2000). The empirical demonstration of her argumentation is based primarily on a traditional working-class district in the city of St-Étienne, located in the western Rhône-Alpes, France. The example illustrates the case of cities that have suffered brutal industrial crises, which are generally confronted with the dilemma of reconciling economic development and maintenance of social cohesion by protecting populations from the current restructurings.

In this perspective, *Hervé Marchal* and *Jean-Marc Stébé* propose a discussion, in Chapter Five, on the notion of centrality and its production in urban space. Their chapter examines the idea of centre/periphery

dualism as described in Lefebvre's sociological works, based on empirical research carried out in the suburbs of Nancy, eastern France. The authors examine whether the centre/periphery dualism of industrialised cities is still pertinent today as a means of understanding urbanised and scattered modern cities.

According to Marchal and Stébé, Lefebvre believed that urban areas would continue to be structured according to the dualism of the centre/periphery. The city centre would be reserved for the well-off and for the decision-makers, the managers and those who have the power to determine society's fate. The periphery, therefore, would accommodate the less affluent fringes of the population. It would also be the site for factories, warehouses and transport routes.

The authors argue that centrality, as envisaged by Lefebvre, has never materialised. In other words, the inequalities between the centre and the periphery have persisted. In spite of these inequalities, it would be impossible to understand the current situation if we continue to study urban reality only from the binary and simplistic idea of a centre/periphery opposition. In fact, the city, which has now "exploded", as Lefebvre put it, is now made up of a multitude of centralities.

Reyhan Varlı-Görk, in Chapter Six, provides an original reflection about the construction of the city conceived in a neoliberal context where the city is considered as a source for profit and conceived as such. The originality of her work comes from her discussion of the theory of Lefebvre on the production of space and the rhythm of a city with Bourdieu's social capital and Molotch's growth machine. The chapter explains the transformation of Antalya into the city of culture and the tools that are used for this objective by different dominant actors inside the city. Varlı-Görk argues that this common objective brings actors together and different interest groups create coalitions in the form of a growth machine in order to realise these objectives. The author considers this restructuring of Antalya as an arrhythmia process, which restructures also the position of implied actors.

In Chapter Seven, *Maciej Kowalewski* explains the ways of contesting the production of urban space toward urban wild swimming as an example of producing space, by questioning the rules of symbolic economies of the city. He explains that all urban swimmers, making jumps from the bridges, taking showers in fountains, practising "Urban Olympics" and taking regular baths in industrial reservoirs, produce their own notion of non-commercial leisure space, regardless of how dangerous or irrational it is. His chapter argues that urban wild swimming could be considered as an

example of "soft contestation", revealing the performative nature of public space, reconstructed by bodies of political nature.

Yıldırım Şentürk examines the phenomenon of "working global economy" and its implications for urban space. In this line of thinking, Şentürk argues that even though its outcomes are contested or questioned, integration into the global economy becomes "the only solution" for every locality and place. For him, such a perspective is especially problematic for scholars interested in examining the cities of the developing countries. In order to avoid repeating a similar fallacy, we need to question the notion of "a working global economy" from the start. A global economy is working, but it does not work like "a system". Chapter Eight argues that Lefebvre's studies on space, especially on the concept of contradictory spaces, have significant inspiration to examine cities, flows and the on-going social life of people without presenting a functionalist perception of the world economy. Şentürk defends Lefebvre's perspective on space by arguing that it continues to be an inspiration for urban studies, but he is reluctant to explore the contradictory aspect of space in the realm of work life. It seems essential to look at work-life in a city as a contradictory space.

The book closes with an essay by *Andrew Otway* in Chapter Nine, which brings the notion of "rhythmanalysis" back into the observation of cities. Lefebvre's notion of a trans-disciplinary "new science" of rhythmanalysis is potentially one of the most effective and interesting tools of sociological and political analysis, especially in its application to the condition of modern cities. Otway proposes the following hypothesis: rhythmanalysis is an essential tool in the analysis of urban society today and could help to bring about the realisation of an urban Marxian and "green" Utopia. The chapter focuses, like Lefebvre, on the city of Marseille. Otway stresses that the focus is on the method or technique of rhythmanalysis itself and not on Marseille as a city and place to study as such. It emphasises that all places are different and have their own character, which might, inevitably, colour the study.

The debates in this book are expected both to expand the scope of urban imagination and to help reinvigorate, unify and empower shared desires for just urban outcomes. We hope that the contributions in this book help illuminate the choices that are being made every day about the form and social processes of the city, inspired by Lefebvre's theoretical legacy in the realm of urban sociology.

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CHAPTER ONE

ENGLISH-SPEAKING RECEPTION OF "RIGHT TO THE CITY": TRANSPOSITIONS AND PRESENT MEANING

CLAIRE REVOL[*]

Using an author's concepts implies not only using his or her words, but also establishing an understanding of the author's work in general and the subsequent re-appropriations of his or her concepts. Henri Lefebvre described his *Critique of Everyday Life* as the application of Marx's writings in a new context, despite the fact that Marx himself never used the words "everyday life". We approach the problem from the standpoint that adapting concepts and ways of thinking is not an evident task. We run the risk of committing two errors: first, using concepts without taking the care to analyse either the context in which they emerged or the ways in which they have changed, thus freezing thought in a dogmatic system; and second, distorting the concept to the degree that the initial thinking becomes unrecognizable. It was Lefebvre's mission to "prolong the thinking without denaturing it" ("*prolonger une réflexion sans la dénaturer*", Lefebvre 1958). If we want to use the term "right to the city" today, we need to consider Lefebvre's advice. We need to consider historical change as well as geographical displacement, especially given the fact that most current readings and appropriations of Lefebvre's work take place in the English-speaking world.

We wish to explore the understanding of the term "right to the city" and determine which distortions are needed to adapt it without denaturing it. This supposes not only an analysis of the context of the translations and

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[*] I would like to thank K. Walker for her help in improving the English of this chapter.

the receptions of right to the city, but also a description of the major changes that the concept itself underwent. From this we will attempt to create a panorama of the different re-appropriations of right to the city in order to see how the concept was adapted to the specific conditions of its usage. Three themes become apparent from this panorama: socio-spatial justice, citizenship and participation, and, finally, appropriation and struggle. Their development shows how they are interconnected, as well as how they contradict each other. Hopefully, this will create a model by which to evaluate conflicting re-appropriations of right to the city and guide future approaches.

Translation and Reception

When Lefebvre wrote the majority of his books on urban theory in the 1970s, he was very famous in France for his particular Marxist approach, for he was both "revolutionary" and "romantic". Urban theory was just an aspect of his work, which spans many aspects of modern society. His influence declined in the 1990s, as Marxist theory no longer had the same status in intellectual circles in France. During the 1970s, he was not well known in the English-speaking world. He was only mentioned in Marxist debates, which focussed on other authors (Althusser, Debord, Marcuse, etc.), and his books on urban theory and space were not translated.

The work of David Harvey and Edward W. Soja was determinant in bringing Lefebvre into the debate in spatial theory. Both Harvey and Soja are geographers, and they established a reading of Lefebvre through the lens of spatial theory. Harvey (1973) uses Lefebvre as a key thinker for Marxist geography, which was not Lefebvre's project. He discusses the relation between space and society from the standpoint of radical geography and through the notion of social space that he takes from Lefebvre. Radical geography is also influenced by authors such as Manuel Castells who criticizes Lefebvre's views. The second author who made Lefebvre famous within English-speaking circles was E.W. Soja, with his ground-breaking book *Postmodern Geographies* (1989). Soja borrows the idea of postmodernism from Jameson (1984), who also worked in Los Angeles, and who invited Lefebvre to the University of California as a guest lecturer in 1983. But whereas Jameson's interest for Lefebvre lay mainly in his connection to the Situationist movement, Soja quickly determined the relevance of Lefebvre's work for spatial theory by means of his development of socio-spatial dialectics (Soja 1980). *Postmodern geographies* develops the idea of a "spatial turn", understood as the

reassertion of space in social theory, which Soja relates to Lefebvre's thinking:

> "[The spatial turn] is an increasingly spatialized dialectic, an insistent demand for a fundamental change in the ways we think about space, time, and being: about geography, history, and society; about the production of space, the making of history, and the constitution of social relations and practical consciousness." (Soja 1989, 52).

By means of this theoretical alliance, Lefebvre is associated with the spatial turn. The success of Soja's book and the notoriety he accorded to Lefebvre led to the translation of *La production de l'espace* in 1991. As a result, the reading of *The Production of Space* in the 1990s is oriented uniquely towards the themes of space and its conceptualization in the spatial turn. Since then, Lefebvre has become more and more influential in urban studies, while he was almost forgotten in France.

There is a particularity to the reception of "right to the city" in the English-speaking world: the chronology of the publications. *Le droit à la ville* was published in France in 1968, thus opening a debate on spatial, architectural and urban issues, which culminated in the writing of *La production de l'espace* in 1974. Inversely, *The Right to the City* (1996) appeared shortly after *The Production of Space* in 1991, as Lefebvre gained in notoriety, and it was included in an anthology, *Writings on Cities* (Kofman and Lebas [eds.] 1996).

The stated intention of the anthology, *Writings on Cities*, points to a certain disequilibrium in the reception of Lefebvre's work only five years after the English publication of *La production de l'espace*. As Kofman and Lebas (1996, 5) explain in the introduction, aptly entitled "Lost in Transposition. Time, Space and the City", their intention is to rectify contemporary readings of Lefebvre: "[Lefebvre's] increasing recognition in Anglo-American cultural studies has tended to focus on the production of space, and to a lesser extent urbanism (Harvey 1973; Soja 1985; 1989)." Reading authors that predate the English translations of Lefebvre, Koffman and Lebas point to a tendency to accentuate part of Lefebvre's thinking at the expense of the whole. The "right to the city" and other texts of Lefebvre's, subsequently translated and published in Kofman and Lebas' anthology, aim to widen this narrow interpretation of Lefebvre's writings on spatial and urban questions. As they explain in their introduction,

> "Our selection was guided by a number of considerations. The intention was firstly, to redress a balance in translation of his writings and in particular the urban which has been subordinated to the spatial. His urban

vision remains relevant for the developed world despite all the transformations in urban life and structures. And secondly, through this urban writing to raise questions about the conceptualization of the city, the rights of its citizens and articulation of time, space and the everyday." (Kofman and Lebas [eds] 1996, 6).

Because of the sequence of translations and interpretations, Lefebvre's urban writings come to enrich what was considered to be his position on the creation of urban space by the subsequent integration of aspects such as time and rhythms, everyday life, and difference. These considerations are translated and presented as a sort of afterthought to the main theoretical contributions that he was accredited with by the proponents of spatial theory. A bigger part of Lefebvre's thinking thus becomes available to English-readers in line with the evolution of urban theory in the Anglo-Saxon world. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that Kofman and Lebas insist on the fact that Lefebvre's writings must be contextualized in order to be properly used. It is in fact the principal aim of their introduction: "We wanted to give a stronger sense of changing places and contexts than might be conveyed by the term translation. As editors as well as translators, the choice of texts introduces a strong element of filtering and mediation" (Kofman and Lebas [eds.] 1996, 3). In other words, by applying a concept to a different context—in terms of space and time—we run the risk of distorting the initial concept. However, beyond the considerations of translations and interpretations, we must equally consider evolutions in cities to understand the shift in usage and therefore in meaning of right to the city.

According to Stuart Elden, Kofman and Lebas' introduction "was instrumental in bringing a wider range of Lefebvre's concerns to an English audience" (Elden 2003, 12). New possibilities for using Lefebvre's ideas were created by the publication of these writings, and yet, if Kofman and Lebas called for the contextualization of Lefebvre's texts, they did not focus on the possibilities for current practices of right to the city—in other words, the contextualization of the activities of right to the city. Since the 1980s, massive suburbanization and the eruption of global cities invite us to rethink right to the city: whereas Lefebvre's urban concepts were mostly applied to what was then considered the developed world of the 1970s, the international distribution of important urban centres has changed.

What can it mean to be Lefebvre-inspired in today's context? In order to attempt an answer to this question, we must ascertain how right to the city was received and appropriated by English readers in order to see what possibilities lay at the heart of current re-appropriations. As we have seen,

the English reception has largely been dictated by the usage of Lefebvre's theories that we have outlined above. We must ask ourselves if the overshadowing presence of *The Production of Space*, as it was presented in the initial context of spatial theory, had an impact on the manner in which the right to the city was generally appropriated in Anglo-Saxon theory.

Contextualizing the Spatio-Temporal Migration of Right to the City

In his article "Race, Protest, and Public Space, Contextualizing Lefebvre in the US City", Eugene J. McCann takes the example of racial and social segregation in the US to show how Lefebvre's concepts must be adapted to shed light on this urban problem (McCann 1999). It must be noted that Lefebvre omitted race as a constitutive element of the city, for in 1968 it was not integrated as part of the greater urban question in France. This initial position, however, does not exclude the pertinence of Lefebvre's thinking with regard to race for McCann, who contends

> "[…] that Lefebvre's work does lend itself to a thorough discussion of race and racial identities in US urban settings through its attention to the central role imagination and representation play in producing space." (McCann 1999, 164).

According to McCann, the right to the city is understood as the right not to be excluded from the city centre and public spaces on the basis of race, thereby supposing a fight against spatial segregation. The right to express difference becomes a function of right to the city, implying individual freedom from identity classifications. Right to the city can thus be enriched by the Lefebvre inspired notion of "right to difference" (Gilbert and Dikeç 2008). Today, racial segregation has increased worldwide due to the multitude of issues surrounding intensive global migration. Questions of difference have become important in thinking of the right to the city today. Moreover, we can consider gender issues as a constitutive element of right to the city (Fenster 2005). These perspectives have been largely guided by the relevance of such questions for cultural studies. McCann's reading follows his interpretation of *The Production of Space*, in which he chooses to expose the socio-spatial production of exclusion and segregation instead of evoking citizenship problems and appropriation.

Apart from these theoretical shifts, we must also consider that a globally urbanized world elaborates different readings of history. When Lefebvre wrote *Le droit à la ville* in 1968, he sensed the importance of the

historical link between industrialization and urbanization. Not only did he devote the first chapter of his book to this idea, but he subsequently developed this connexion in *The Urban Revolution* (2003), forecasting that urban society would emerge from historical cities and sprawl globally. Urban considerations were to provide the global framework for understanding societies. This has proven to be the case today, even in countries that have undergone rapid urbanization without the historical link between capitalist industrialization and urbanization that Lefebvre described. Social problems have become urban problems, without necessarily being expressed through the social structures created by industrialization along the European model. Consequently, even though Lefebvre elaborated his theory in 1970s France, it can be extended to other urban societies, even if industrialization was not an important factor in their urbanization. The call for a renewed urban society can be extended to all cities in the world, especially in parts of the world that have urbanized rapidly in recent decades (Asia, South America, Africa, etc.).

Globalization and urbanization have drastically transformed the notion of Nation States, and there is a need to consider this new spatiality from a political standpoint. Neil Brenner, inspired by Lefebvre, was the first to conceptualize this spatial shift in what he termed "New State Spatialities" (Brenner 1997; 2000; 2004). The Nation State, faced with globalization, is confronted with the rising power of cities as major political decision makers, for they have become the receptors of globalization. Cities and not nations are confronted with the impact of immigration, the complexity of international economic relations, frequent travel, and the upsurge in telecommunications. This is the consequence of the emergence of neoliberalism that changes the way capitalism works and its link with the State (Brenner 2001). Citizenship must also be adapted to this change, as urban governance has come to deal with issues that were once uniquely of national concern. For these reasons, right to the city can be understood to include a significant political dimension, that of citizenship. Traditionally understood as equal access to the rights of a national community, could citizenship be remodelled on the scale of a city? This dimension of citizenship in the global city age has to be taken into account in any contemporary reading of right to the city (Young 1999; Purcell 2003).

Finally, cities have had to face the challenges of environmental problems and sustainable development as a result of environmental shifts that have occurred in the twenty-first century. These problems are by definition social problems because of the correlation of environmental inequality and social inequality. Poor neighbourhoods have traditionally been more vulnerable to environmental disasters—the example of

Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans comes too easily to mind. Furthermore, polluting industries are often situated near underprivileged areas, notably because of their damaging impact on property values. In Western Europe, since the 19th century, many of the rich neighbourhoods of industrial cities were built in the West, because the smoke from manufacturing plants was pushed east by the dominant winds. We can see that environmental problems can be considered social problems, which must also be taken into account in the right to the city.

Recent urban evolutions influence the way in which the right to the city can be understood and applied today. On the one hand, the world is not the same place that it was thirty years ago. And as times change, so does the relevance of ideas thought up in previous contexts. In the case of right to the city, there is a second peculiarity, which is that it did not have a specific content, so to speak, when Lefebvre wrote it. Right to the city can best be understood as an open-ended concept that could be used to crystallize varying kinds of social demands. This formulation was intended by Lefebvre to counter a purely technical understanding of planning, and to define it as social *praxis*. Any scientific or technical approach could no longer dictate how the city was to be built, for the city had to be considered above all as a social *œuvre*. Urban societies emerge from modern industrial ones by means of this social *œuvre*. This aspect, which Kofman and Lebas [eds.] (1996) equally put forward in their introduction, is perhaps the most difficult aspect of right to the city to apply, if not portray, today. What does it mean to create a city as a social *œuvre*? Partial answers can be obtained by exploring experimental utopias, which integrate urban reform and the building of urban projects (Lefebvre 1968). How and where can we locate this strategy today? Even though right to the city is not specifically defined in the writings of Lefebvre, its re-appropriation requires specific criteria. We will see how "right to the city" is formulated in different contemporary readings to clarify its usage today.

The "Right to the City" is...

… *Socio-Spatial Justice*

Right to the city cannot exist without spatial justice. In this sense, spatial justice can be considered the first component in the formulation of right to the city. Soja (2009; 2010) insists on the fundamental spatial aspect of justice and retraces this idea in Lefebvre's "right to the city":

> "Paris in the 1960s and especially the still understudied co-presence of Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault, became the most generative site for

the creation of a radically new conceptualization of space and spatiality, and for a specifically urban and spatial concept of justice, encapsulated most insightfully in Lefebvre's call for taking back control over the right to the city and the right to difference." (Soja, 2009).

Once again, we find the open-ended nature of Lefebvre's definition in the call for spatial justice. Mustafa Dikeç attempts a definition in his paper "Justice and the spatial imagination" (Dikeç 2001). He retraces the concept of spatial justice through geographical formulations such as territorial social justice, citing Harvey (1973), and proposes theoretical perspectives that could establish a spatial understanding of social justice. Spatial justice has often been conceived as distributive, meaning that it is concerned with the spatial distribution of activities and wealth. Injustice in this context can be easily recognized, for it implies a conflict resulting from an unequal spatial distribution of activities and wealth. According to Dikeç, Lefebvre-inspired approaches take the argument further by analysing how spatial justice or injustice is produced through the production of space. This production of space, which "is inherently a conflictual process, not only manifests various forms of injustice, but actually produces and reproduces them" (Dikeç 2001). According to Dikeç, then, the spatial dimension of injustice must include an analysis of how physical spaces are created. It is not enough to simply describe spatial segregation, regardless of the social, racial or gender-defined factors seen to be at its root, we must understand how the space itself is produced.

The need to include an analysis of the production of physical space also partially explains why Lefebvre did not consider the criteria of racial identity in right to the city. Right to difference is not about each particular community's claim to receive an equal distribution of wealth; it is the right not to be identified in categories established by a homogenizing power, including those categories created by the community itself (McCann 1999; Dikeç 2001). This is notably the case in neighbourhoods that have poor reputations, that is to say neighbourhoods that have been singled out for poverty, crime, and other social problems such as drug abuse, violence, etc. The right to difference, according to Lefebvre, is essentially the right to differ from pre-established groups. The right to difference, as it has been interpreted and firmly linked to the right to the city, is not a vindication for the liberty from an imposed definition, but rather a protest against a more general exclusion from a pre-defined social norm. In this sense, the fight against segregation has become, in essence, the project of emancipation.

Lefebvre's position helps us to understand why, in his opposition of the spatial effects of segregation, the fight against socio-spatial injustice does

not necessarily imply political action from the State. Dikeç illustrates this point with the example of the French urban policy, *Politique de la ville,* whose definition was inspired by Lefebvre's ideas, although its policy did not fulfil their objectives. *Politique de la ville* aims to fight segregation and exclusion in parts of the city that are seen as having inadequate access to resources, be they economic, educational, cultural, etc. "Exclusion" in this context is defined by the concentration of a population with socio-economic problems in a particular perimeter. However, the policy requires pre-determined zones in order to be applied. It thus both equates integration and social-mixity, which is insufficient to define right to the city, and stigmatizes the neighbourhood in which it is applied. Moreover, *Politique de la ville* is applied to what could best be defined as a symptom of social injustice, for the neighbourhood already physically exists, and does not combat the underlying processes that were responsible for the creation and the reproduction of inequalities in this urban space. As Dikeç concludes: "The socio-spatial exclusion problem is constantly produced and reproduced by the ways in which the society is spatially organised" (Dikeç 2001, 1799). In this case, *Politique de la ville* only serves to recreate the phenomenon of social exclusion without fighting it efficiently, that is to say, determining its underlying causes.

According to Dikeç, what is more likely to ensure the right to the city is the return of politics to urban citizens. The answer to the socio-spatial problem is a civic one, based on participation and struggle in the *polis* in order to constitute an active space for politics. In the pursuit of the creation of this space, Dikeç proposes an analysis of a combination of the spatial dialectics of injustice, the right to the city and the right to difference. He does not consider socio-spatial justice as the core element of right to the city, but rather as a matter of citizenship:

> "The right to the city implies not only the participation of the urban citizen in urban social life, but, more importantly, his or her active participation in the political life, management, and administration of the city. […] The right to the city, therefore, is not simply a participatory right but, more importantly, an enabling right, to be defined and refined through political struggle." (Dikeç 2001, 1790-1791).

Dikeç also develops these arguments in his article "Police, Politics and the Right to the City" (Dikeç 2002), in which he argues that people living in underprivileged areas are disconnected from the possibility of engaging in a right to the city. In his article, questions of security find political answers, for public safety is a matter of democratic concern rather than an

issue for the police. How can right to the city be defined in terms of citizenship?

… Citizenship and Participation

The relationship of citizenship to urban governance was posed in the framework of right to the city at the turn of this millennium, in the context of rapid globalization and its diverse exchanges, including patterns of migration. Engin F. Isin was the first to discuss these problems in his *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City* (Isin 2000). Considering the City in political terms, he argues that globalization has transformed definitions of citizenship and democracy, traditionally justified by the territorial functions of Nation States. The expansion of citizen group rights (minorities, gay and lesbian movements, women's rights activists), a postmodern characteristic according to Isin, is a sign of the changing relationship of citizenship to politics. He invokes Lefebvre's right to the city in order to argue for the transcendence of citizenship and rights, which were traditionally defined by and for the individual male bourgeois, but has come to include a collective right to appropriation. The issues cited range from the political problems of citizenship and sovereignty in global cities to government or the governance of the city, and the fight against marginalization and exclusion in the urban politics. In all instances, it is the inclusion of urban-dwellers in a renewed urban society that is at stake. Gilbert and Dikeç (2008) also call for this new, inclusive citizenship to be based on the idea of sharing a common space and the act of living together. They justify their call for a new social ethics in terms of this right, implying that the right to the city, when based on the "politics of citizenship", can ensure socio-spatial justice.

In 2002, *GeoJournal* published a special issue entitled *Social Transformation, Citizenship and the Right to the City*, also addressing all of these issues. Lefebvre's right to the city is the common element of these reflexions and provides the touchstone for the many approaches developed to answer "questions of who belongs to the city and how people can be *in* the city" (Staeheli and Dowler 2002). According to McCann, this issue is particularly sensitive in urban planning (McCann 2002).

But the question still remains: how can we concretely interpret the right to the city in terms of citizenship today? Its openness can lead to a diversity of interpretations, making it at once useful and frustrating in its application to urban spatial analyses. Quoting Harvey, McCann insists on this "frustratingly undefined" (McCann 2002, 78) right to the city. For example, one could consider participatory urban planning as a way to

realize the inclusion of citizens in the decision-making process. However, the ideology of participation was vigorously attacked by Lefebvre, who considers it a way of obtaining consensus from citizens without considering the entire scope of the problem, which may, in the long run, undermine their interests. Citizens cannot participate fully in the decision-making process, according to Lefebvre, and participation is therefore misleading, as it can create consensus on false grounds and prevent true opposition to projects that may eventually be seen as undesirable. Lefebvre does not propose any "middle range alternatives" (McCann 2002, 78), even though, according to McCann, Lefebvre concedes that participation is better than authoritarian decision-making. McCann is more optimistic about participative democracy and the political opportunities that it provides, under the provision that elements of utopianism underscore all activism.

Purcell also attempts to develop a concrete version of the right to the city in his article "Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant" (Purcell 2002). Agreeing with Isin, Purcell marks the point of departure with the onset of globalisation. Neoliberalism, in this case, is seen as the threat to a traditionally democratic Nation State. Right to the city offers a way to locally redefine citizenship in order to fight against the disenfranchisement of cities and neoliberal urbanism. It provides the answer to the political shift that has been caused by globalisation. Local governance has shifted from redistribution to competition in the rescaling of governance to supra-national levels, with the result that populations have lost control over their own governance by the increasing dependence of local governments on firms. Political power is what is at stake for Purcell. He considers that "Lefebvre's right to the city is an argument for profoundly reworking both the social relations of capitalism and the current structure of liberal-democratic citizenship" (Purcell 2002, 101). Because power relations of both the Capital and the State participate in the production of space, the right to the city is seen by Purcell as a way to empower citizens by reorienting this decision-making process in terms of the considerations of the production of space. This interpretation of the right to the city by means of its spatial production seems to answer questions about physical manifestations, or instances of right to the city—keeping in mind that the dialectical relationships between perceived and conceived space at the heart of the production of space were never fully conceptualized by Lefebvre when he wrote *The Right to the City* in 1968.

Following the reasoning of these authors, right to the city relates to the creation of the "urban citizen". Decision-making would concern those living in urban spaces and citizenship could be applied on the national *and*

local, or city level. Purcell develops what he considers to be two fundamental aspects of right to the city, namely the right to participation, seen as a challenge to traditional citizenship, and the right to appropriation, understood as a challenge to individual property rights. Consequently, citizenship based on "inhabiting" rather than born or acquired rights, establishes the basis for another type of nationality that serves to legitimise participation in the decision-making processes of the cities in which we live. The question becomes how to delineate the time required to establish "inhabitant-status". Can migrant workers and people who live in multiple cities, or have multiple homes, parents, etc., be considered inhabitants of more than one city, or do we consider that they have no city at all? It is unclear whether or not empowering inhabitants can lead to the anticipated results. Purcell considers these difficulties to be those of "scalar politics". That is to say, which scale can be seen as relevant in determining right(s) to the city? Or more precisely, what is the relevant level of participation in each instance? In terms of perimeter, is it a neighbourhood, a town and/or its suburbs? How do we decide which areas can be considered town suburbs? Should we include the countryside, which has links to towns and competes for available land and resources such as water?

These technical problems are not the only ones. Empowering residents could create segregation if they are to use their new rights in order to exclude others. Decisions taken by inhabitants in some neighbourhoods could affect others. For example, would it be fair that the residents of the city centre make decisions concerning public space in their neighbourhood, given that this public space is often used by the entire city? This *démocratie du sommeil* (democracy based on your sleeping place) can have various repercussions, for it does not take into account the urban resident usage of the city, but rather the place in which one sleeps and votes, as Fleury explores in the case of Paris (Fleury 2010).

The difficulty arises in the uncertainty of whether or not a new scale of citizenship based on proximity, as Purcell calls for, would ensure the right for all inhabitants of the city. It is important to note that Mark Purcell not only defines right to the city in terms of the right to participation, understood as citizenship, but also as a right to appropriation. How has this right to appropriation been understood?

… *Appropriation and Struggle*

Purcell (2002, 103) defines the right to appropriation as "the right of inhabitants to physically access, occupy, and use urban space". Some authors have focused on the occupation or use of public space as a primary

element in the appropriation of the city. This is the position of Don Mitchell, author of *The Right to the City; Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (2003). This book was written in the wake of the 9/11 attacks in New York City and the ensuing debate about the security of public space. Mitchell claims that right to the city "is dependent upon public space" (Mitchell 2003, 5) and that public space is constrained by security laws that have their origins in social exclusion. Public space is considered the central concern for activists who care about social justice and a shared city. Right to the city, as Mitchell reads it, requires the possibility of using public space regardless of property rights. Mitchell explores the different disputes around public space, sometimes contradictory, citing the example of protests for/against abortion. This means that public space must ensure the possibility of free speech that is fundamental for democracy. Some public spaces are particularly important, such as parks, for example, and some problems can be particularly sensitive, such as the issues surrounding homeless people. These questions address the use of public space and represent what is allowed in these spaces and what is forbidden.

However, right to the city as appropriation should be understood in a broader sense, as Purcell pursues:

> "Lefebvre imagines appropriation to have a much broader and more structural meaning. Not only is appropriation the right to occupy already-produced urban space, it is also the right to produce urban space so that it meets the needs of inhabitants." (Purcell 2002, 103).

In meeting the needs of its inhabitants, urban space can be characterized as not only the collective *oeuvre* that we first described, but also a place to think through issues of space and time. Re-appropriation of the production of space in this context occurs with the participation of the citizenry in "city life", defined in both its broad political sense and its "concrete" sense, because it is above all a practice. Unfortunately, these concrete practices are often constrained by power relations, with the result that appropriation of the production of space supposes a struggle to obtain rights. This is not to be confused with a struggle against others, though there may be locally designated opponents, but a struggle for the right to inhabit, to use the space as needed, and/or desired. The struggle is about the social value of the *œuvre*, the city. An example of the link between appropriation and struggle is developed by Lefebvre's analysis of the Paris Commune. Workers were expulsed and therefore excluded from the centre of Paris during Haussmann's reconstruction of the city-centre in the 19th century. The resultant uprising, the Commune, was, in Lefebvre's analysis, the re-appropriation of that space of exclusion. Lefebvre explores the

celebratory characteristic of this occupation of the city in terms of the creation of a collective *œuvre*. Similar parallels can be drawn with *Mai 1968* in Paris, meaning that the *œuvre* can be composed of struggle and revolt. The problem is that industrial society has radically changed since 1968 and workers' movements are no longer leading forms of social movements. It is impossible to federate all current social movements by means of a class-based reading.

What has become increasingly common in cities is the global financial system that they depend on. It has a significant impact on urbanization. Harvey (2008) argues that building cities is a way to integrate surplus product in order to create surplus value. He analyses the link between urbanization and surplus value in the historical examples of Paris and New York, questioning how big projects have changed the way people have come to live in these cities. He exposes how Haussmann (for 19th century Paris) and Moses (for post-war New York) realized their plans, and points out their financial similarities, namely the creation of global property-market bubbles and financial crises. Harvey draws a parallel with the current situation. He sees a link between current urbanization and the stabilization of the financial crises that were fuelled by the financial surpluses created in the neoliberal era. The mortgage market, in his opinion, operated as a safeguard for a capitalism that became inflated by changes in the financial sector in the 1980s. Moreover, urbanization follows global tendencies of the investment markets. This new phase of urbanization, accompanied by a shift in the mobility of capital, is seen by Harvey to have radically altered urban lifestyles, producing the new city as a mirror of the knowledge-based economy and cultural markets.

Harvey (2008) details the urban consequences of these tendencies: divided cities, gated communities, slums and expropriations, etc. Consequently, massive urbanization deprived a large part of the population of their rights to the city. The answer to this problem, for Harvey, finds its solution in the structure of democracies. People should have a say in the production of the city and be able to control the uses of the spaces that have been created in light of the shifts in local and global economies. He concludes that all local struggles against deprivation should be unified in an urban struggle, and that the right to the city could be the banner that unifies them. This struggle acts upon the very connection between financial surplus and urbanization, thereby fully taking into account the meaning that Henri Lefebvre attributed to the "urban revolution". The Revolution is no longer an industrial one, but an urban one (Lefebvre 2003).

Purcell (2009) also concludes that right to the city could be considered as a way to gather and coordinate social movements, regardless of the fact that they differ significantly. Social movements cannot be subordinated but must be federated. In this sense, the right to the city is not an absolute solution, but a good beginning. Purcell takes the example of the movement "right to the city" in Los Angeles, which assembled different progressive movements (local movements against gentrification, for cultural identity, social claims, gay rights, etc.) and scholars who work on these questions. The right to the city is seen to be dependent not only on these struggles, but also on a vision of "urban revolution" (*ibid*.).

The notion of urban revolution as a pathway to social justice reintroduces the initial question of a possible consensus on the meaning of the right to the city today. Thus, we will now discuss this question: can the different definitions of right to the city that we have detailed above make a unified re-appropriation of Lefebvre's right to the city?

Conclusions and Difficulties

The aim of this article was to show how the right to the city has been interpreted during the last decade in the English-speaking academic world. The three sub-sections of this article that decline transpositions of right to the city include different perspectives taken by various authors, and resume the difficulties encountered. They are not exhaustive, but they help us to identify problems within the different positions. There are different approaches to right to the city, which rely on different concepts: socio-spatial justice, citizenship and participation, and appropriation and struggle. They are always in some manner interlinked. All of the approaches seek to foster socio-spatial justice, but in different ways. All of them agree that those who inhabit the city should have a major role to play, but it is still unclear how this can work. For example, Dikeç puts forward participation and citizenship, whereas Purcell shows that residents can have contradictory programs: they can work for their own neighbourhood, without considering the global scale of the city. Moreover, it is not clear how participation would include all citizens, given that there are evolutions in ways of living (trans-residence, etc.). Maybe participation and citizenship are not enough to define right to the city, because they apply to persons, while right to the city is about inhabiting in general. That is why it should likely neither become too formal, such as other rights (Purcell 2009), nor be applied to residents, but rather be kept alive by social movements. It is therefore unclear as to precisely which role participation and appropriation should play. Thus, English-speaking

reception of right to the city developed and adapted this concept, without creating a unified conception of right to the city.

These difficulties in adapting and applying right to the city in the current world encouraged some Lefebvre-inspired authors to abandon right to the city. For example, Andy Merrifield (2011) is sceptical about making right to the city a unifying banner for social movements. He argues that because of the urbanization process,

> "The right to the city quite simply isn't the right that needs articulating. It's too vast because the scale of the city is out of reach for most people living at street level; and it's too narrow because when people do protest, when they do take to the streets en masse, their existential desires frequently reach out beyond the scale of the city, and revolve around a common and collective humanity, a pure democratic yearning." (Merrifield 2011, 478).

He argues for a politics of encounter, suitable in an age of *post-urban* connectivity, as evidenced by the uses of Facebook and Twitter. He gives the example of the street demonstration in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011 to surpass the right to the city as Lefebvre imagined it. Being Lefebvre-inspired, then, is to find the core inspiration of right to the city that can become crystallized in other forms today.

Back to France. As French researchers rediscover Lefebvre's writings, they are largely influenced by his success in English-speaking urban studies and the applications of the concept of right to the city to current problems, especially regarding citizenship and justice. For example, the special issue of the review *Rue Descartes*, entitled "Droit de cité" (2009), deals with the current meaning of right to the city. Bernard Jouve (2009, 79) explains that French researchers are sceptical about right to the city because Marxism is no longer considered as an accurate analytical framework. According to Jouve, right to the city should be considered a utopia that cannot be realized or institutionalized, but that can empower people and fuel citizens' vindications, thus creating functional links between civil society and political institutions. Consequently, right to the city should not be understood as an analytical tool for social movements that do not re-vindicate it, nor should it be considered a public program, for it remained a subversive notion in Lefebvre's thinking, one that could hardly be institutionalized. This discussion about the theoretical status of right to the city helps us to understand the variety of formulations we observed. In the end, being Lefebvre-inspired relies perhaps more on the subversive and empowering spirit aspects of his thought.

To conclude, we can highlight some examples of right to the city as an empowering notion, transposed to the current urban world. Focusing on

"inhabiting" as a collective *praxis* in order to inscribe everyday life in space and time could be an interesting way by which to surpass right to the city as a program used solely to combat the gentrification of city centres. This strategy is also adapted to the global process of urbanization. As Purcell (2009) notes, it is relevant today to talk about a right to inhabit rather than a right to inhabit the city, because urbanization is global, and people settle in different manners and often in more than one place. The "City" was strategic at Lefebvre's time. However, today, there are also social movements in the countryside with the same ambitions as the right to the city. Purcell (2009) quotes farmer movements against cash cropping, GMO, and the privatization of seeds. Another interesting case study is the current anti-shale gas movement in France and elsewhere, which fights for common goods such as water and air, meanwhile questioning our dependence on carbon-emitting energy (see Revol et al. 2011). The right to the city as a right to inhabit thus implies being invested in environmental issues.

The *act* of inhabiting (rather than *being* inhabitants) is what lies at the heart of the vindications of the right to the city, and these examples show that environmental struggles could be included in a global right to inhabit. It is not an individual right, but a collective one that ensures social justice and preserves individual creativity and freedom. In this context, inhabiting is not only settling down, but also a struggle for specific values, including socio-spatial justice and the appropriation of a collective future. Thus, to prolong Lefebvre's thinking of right to the city without denaturing it can take various forms, but their theoretical interest relies on their ability to empower people by the manner in which they inhabit.

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Chapter Two

The Right to the City: Right(s) to "Possible-Impossible" Versus a Mere Slogan in Practice?[1]

Nezihe Başak Ergin and Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç

Introduction: on the Path of Lefebvre's the Right to the City for Today's Possibilities

The right to the city was proposed by Henri Lefebvre, and found its way in to the social movements of 1968 with a slogan "change the city, change the life" (Elden 2004, 160-162). We have witnessed the popular return of Lefebvre's magical concept, which was subsequently discussed in academic milieus, in both its legislative (Souza 2001, 2012b, Fernandes, 2007) and sometimes ideological usages by state institutions (Mayer in Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer 2012, 6) and co-optation by governments (Souza 2010, Mayer 2009) for legitimizing so-called participatory forms of urban governance and newly introduced forms of participation in municipal affairs as the realization of the right (Mayer in Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer 2012, 6). It is used, debated and contested by different actors and groups all over the world as a key for alliances all over the world: it is the focus of workshops and forums and has created a

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[1] This chapter is based on the 10th ESA conference paper of the session organised by Dr. Gülçin Erdi-Lelandais in September 2011, and the field study of the participatory/solidarity action research of the PhD thesis of Nezihe Başak Ergin started in 2010, on the subject of the urban social opposition in Istanbul, and supervised by Assoc. Prof. Dr Helga Rittersberger- Tılıç.

discussion and solidarity milieu for opposition groups, actors, and academics−even though it is mostly actors who can afford to travel that can attend these meetings (Souza in Atkinson et al. 2010)−such as the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, the European Social Forum in Istanbul and Urban Forums in Naples, to resist collectively or effectively against displacement and evictions. As Souza (2010) demonstrated, the more fashionable expression of Lefebvre's "the right to the city" becomes, arising from the common need for an umbrella word for action and theory, runs the risk of robbing the idea of its radical meaning and potential (Souza 2010, 316), the more the concept is marked by trivialization and the action of social movements reduced to a "politics of turf" (Souza 2010, 317). It is necessary to be specific about the right to the city's essential components in order for the power of the idea not to be lost, as Purcell (2008) argues. Souza (2012c) made a remark about the right to the city which becomes a vague slogan with the increasing number of politically weak and limited usages for the convenience of various interests of different groups and organizations, including movements, and added that it is necessary to provide a political and strategic clarity for the heterodox Marxist Henri Lefebvre and the right to the city (Souza 2012c, 563). In a dialectic relationship between knowledge production and struggles, this chapter aims to reveal the interwoven components of this socio-political claim including new conceptualizations as well as practical influences as a slogan and an inclusive idea with different meanings and experiences for the opposition groups and different actors with different histories and political views (Türkmen 2011, Yücel and Aksümer 2011). The questions about how and why the right to the city could go beyond a concept are substantiated for various opposition groups for the city and the society may not be answered, but could certainly be asked while the struggles for the right to the city go on.

The Right to the City in/for/beyond[2] Istanbul

"Unless neighbourhoods share their struggles and experiences with the other struggling areas, the resistance will be incomplete….I think we

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should be able to unite all the opposition groups in the city. Then we can reach out to neighbourhoods suffering from urban renewal projects in Ankara and İzmir. Thus, we can intervene in our cities, and the struggle will be about not only the right to housing, but also the right to the city, not only for the working class, but also for the middle-class. Unless we unite all the actors in a city, victims and their foes, the struggle for the right to the city won't be complete." (Erdoğan Yıldız[3] 2010 in the interview by Yaşar Adanalı and İmre Balanlı).

In Turkey, urban struggles with political characteristics mainly in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods date back to the 1970s. Starting from the early 2000s onwards, due to the production of space (in relation to the growth and survival of capitalism via the exchange value of space in real estate, as a secondary circuit of capital) (Lefebvre 1976, 1991, 2003) determined by instrumental rationality and commodification as the abstract space (Lefebvre 1991, 2000) of homogeneity (Lefebvre 1991, Lefebvre 2000, 48), fragmentation (Lefebvre 2000, 48, 188) and hierarchization (Lefebvre 2000, 48) via urban regeneration projects as a never-ending but continuously told story, some inhabitants have (re)claimed their right to the city. On the other hand, social space (Lefebvre 1991, 2000) based on values, meanings, perceptions and practices, is being erased by these socio-spatial interventions.

Since 2001, urban land policies and decisions with urban transformation projects have been marked by the radical change from populist to neo-liberal (Kuyucu and Ünsal 2010a, 2010b). Urban regeneration–and urbanism as an ideology of the state controls using this myth of technocracy (Elden 2004, 145)–was proposed in 2001 as the solution to so-called "socio-spatial" problems by offering "new, modern and appropriate lives" not only in *gecekondu*[4] neighbourhoods in Istanbul, but

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[3] The interview is available on the website:
http://reclaimistanbul.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/diwan_istanbul_living_in_excl usion.pdf.

[4] *Gecekondu* is the type of spontaneous housing as a popular urgent solution for state inability to construct social housing for migrated people in the 1940s, which is the early industrialization period. The gecekondu neighbourhoods have been changed over time by spatial and popular interventions, as well as changing legalizations and discourses. Urban regeneration projects in this respect represent another break for its illegalization. Reading the studies of Aslan (2004), Aslan and Şen (2011), the articles of Erman (2004) and of Pérouse (2004) is strongly recommended in order to understand *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, their struggles,

in time including historical neighbourhoods like Fener-Balat[5] and Sulukule,[6] as well as other neighbourhoods like Tozkoparan[7]. Simultaneously, Istanbul was labelled with various brands such as the European Capital of Culture, which is used as a part of these projects. From the early periods of urban regeneration, which are practised as demolition, the criminalization and stigmatization of some neighbourhoods went hand in hand with the pretext of earthquakes and natural disasters to legitimize these projects. A statement by Erdoğan Bayraktar,[8] who is the former chairman of TOKİ and the current Minister of Environment and Urbanization, is significant with the correlation of physical, spatial conditions and "moral", social aspects. The municipalities of these districts, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality[9] and legislative arrangements at the national level have

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as well as their stigmatizations and criminalization in urban and state policies and discourses.

[5] The website http://www.febayder.com/ contains information about the neighbourhood as well as the association. The statement on the last decision for the cancellation of the project from the actor Çiğdem Şahin from the neighbourhood and Urban Movements is available at http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/139203-fener-balat-ayvansaray-yikimi-da-iptal.

[6] In 2009, an "alternative" plan of Dayanışmacı Atölye (Solidarity Studio) for Sulukule was proposed with the presence as well as emergence of different platforms and urban opposition groups, which is inspirational as well as conflictual for urban opposition groups, with local, national, and international support. Sulukule was a turning point for urban activists and groups in terms of their experiences of struggle determinant in later attempts of alliances.

[7] See the website of the association for Tozkoparan neighbourhood, http://toz-der.blogspot.co.uk/, to read the journals about their neighbourhoods, covering urban regeneration but also other issues. Statements of Ömer Kiriş from the neighbourhood Tozkoparan, the Platform of Life and Urban Movements about the recent legislation Law on Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk are available at http://www.emekdunyasi.net/ed/guncel/18208-bu-yasanin-tek-amaci-yikmak.

[8] In the statement, Bayraktar stated that the necessity of urban regeneration, urban renewal, *gecekondu* and earthquake transformations comes from the necessity of getting rid of the unfavourable and shed-like buildings. This idea is supported in order to reduce social problems such as unemployment and "criminal" activities. The statement is available on the website:
http://www.emlakkulisi.com/musiad_kentsel_donusum_konulu_paneli_duzenledi_-55050.html. Reading Şen (2010) in the framework of critical evaluation of the statements is recommended.

[9] Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is the final decision body in the Istanbul

launched a cycle of regeneration[10] where neighbourhoods under threat of demolition are regenerated via the construction of luxurious houses by private firms and TOKİ, Mass Housing Development Administration**,** the single responsible public body within the housing sector. On the homepage of the English version of their website, there is a welcoming message on the "right to housing"[11] as stated in article number 57 in The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey. The Administration envisages collaborating with local municipalities on urban renewal projects and creating financial opportunities with the private sector to finance social housing projects.

There are plans for inhabitants – mainly tenants - of neighbourhoods such as Ayazma to eventually be relocated to newly built social housing blocks, such as Bezirganbahçe[12], located far from the city centres. Former owners become obliged to engage in a long-term payment process which can involve lifelong debts, while tenants in general will have to find new accommodation. In some cases, for example in Ayazma, although the municipality made some promises to the tenants, they found themselves

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Metropolitan Area; its council members are mainly composed of people from the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and Republican People's Party (CHP), according to the number of votes. Its duty is not only at the metropolitan level; it has power at the local district municipalities in terms of spatial infrastructure and social services. At the beginning of the urban regeneration projects, Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Design Center (IMP), which was a private company, was one of the main actors in the planning process with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The Municipality also has a housing corporation, KİPTAŞ, besides the Mass Housing Administration, TOKİ. More information is available on the website: www.ibb.gov.tr.

[10] Urban regeneration projects, as a form of gentrification, are implemented in neighbourhoods located in different districts in historical and city centres, which have different political sensibilities (Pérouse, 2006). Secondly, urban regeneration projects became a clearance and demolition project in *gecekondu* settlements, and thirdly, these two branches are supported by international and transnational projects concerning the new constructions (Pérouse, 2006).

[11] The article says: "The State shall take measures to meet the needs of housing within the framework of a plan which takes into account the characteristics of cities and environmental conditions and shall support mass housing projects."

[12] For a critical evaluation of the projects as forced eviction, please see the text of Cihan Uzunçarşılı-Baysal on Ayazma with various relocation and eviction maps of Istanbul available on the website:
http://reclaimistanbul.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/diwan_istanbul_living_in_excl usion.pdf.

without any shelter, which initiated their resistance in terms of survival, as Mitchell and Heynen (2009) conceptualized with the right to the city. The relocation also became a displacement and dispossession of the poor, involving the geographical relocation of poverty as conceptualized by Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010a). These policies transform the cities from "Spaces of Hope" to "Spaces of Hopelessness" for those who live and try to survive in the city (Türkün 2011, 64). The legislative bases of these interventions vary from changes of acts in old legislation to the introduction of new laws (Türkün 2011)[13]. Parliament accepted law 6306: "the Law on Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk" on 31st May 2012. Popular figures supported this change, which was promoted as a "national mobilization" with public spots on television. In fact, it includes some clauses which prevent people asking, appealing or reacting against decisions of demolition and resettlement, even though inhabitants have legal title of their houses. This transformation as "Authoritarian Neoliberalism" (Lovering and Türkmen 2011) created a boom in the construction industry. On the other hand, bargaining processes related to the difference of property tenure are used strategically by construction companies to obstruct oppositions in some cases. Kuyucu and Ünsal claim, based on what has been experienced in the neighbourhoods, that the "collective right-to-housing"[14] had evolved into the agreement of the project based on personal gains, intensified by the lack of resistance experience and state violence (Kuyucu and Ünsal 2010a, 2010b). As an illustration, some tenants gained this privilege of being relocated to the newly built social houses in the beginning or after struggles of residents, sometimes with former owners. The recent statements of Erdoğan Bayraktar in November 2012 are important in two respects: Firstly, Bayraktar stated that the urban regeneration projects will be presented in new ways such as via call centres, and will not be done without all

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[13] For Türkün (2011), neo-liberal urban policy reduced into an illusionary, political, so-called participation, while neo-liberal urban policy targets the transformation of areas with high rent potential, resulting in the eviction of the inhabitants. Spatial regulations are legitimized in a hegemonic discourse, which represents a tautological character due to the gap between legality and legitimacy (Türkün 2011).

[14] They used "the right to the city" in an earlier version of the article (Ünsal and Kuyucu 2010b, 53) stating that these projects violate the right-to-housing of the current users, who take a position for the use-value rather than the exchange one (Ünsal and Kuyucu 2010b).

people's consent. Secondly, the economic crisis in Turkey is not as severe as it is in the other countries in the world, thanks to the contribution of TOKİ houses and construction sector[15]. However, critical aspects of the right to the city should be remembered: urban regeneration became a general project valid for every neighbourhood, mainly for buildings under threat after the inclusion of former social housing neighbourhoods, such as Tozkoparan, and historical neighbourhoods, such as Fener-Balat, in addition to *gecekondu* neighbourhoods. The other aspect is that TOKİ initiated a system of low quality housing possession; in other words private property based on debt (Şen 2010, 319-320) rather than dwelling. Urban regeneration projects involve not only housing areas but also historical public; but more exactly, social common spaces such as Emek Cinema Hall, Galata Port, Haydarpaşa Port and Taksim Square. We must ask for whom the urban regeneration is proposed, given that it creates new deprivations and dispossessions due to the dislocations, and leads to an economic and social aggravation of the existing inequalities once social housing is relocated at the fringes of the city.

These projects became a turning point for the (re)emergence of *gecekondu* grassroots resistance(s), oppositions, and the formation of new types of unhierarchical and flexible types of "organizations" of different actors, as well as new types of neighbourhood associations in different neighbourhoods of Istanbul; this had the effect of intellectuals from inside and outside the neighbourhoods claiming the "right to the city" by challenging the private meaning and exchange value of urban space. Within the framework of geography of survival (Mitchell and Heynen 2009), the right to the city was present from the very first formation period of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods. It was the right to appropriation in terms of using and producing space according to need. In neighbourhoods of Istanbul, some may occupy a bus stop, as happened in Güzeltepe in Eyüp, and others spent their nights in a park in Küçükçekmece to campaign for their rights of dwelling after the demolition of their homes in Ayazma. However, as a reaction to urban regeneration, inhabitants active in the urban opposition reclaim the right for the occupation, the use and production of urban space once again. Some of the actors from

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[15] The statement is available on the website:
http://www.emlaktasondakika.com/haber/Kentsel_donusum/Bakan_Bayraktar_10_yilda_kentsel_donusumle_yaklasik_60_bin_konut_yapildi/40469.aspx.

neighbourhoods have broadened their claims starting from their own houses in terms of the right of property and their neighbourhoods.

In Turkey, the practical usage as a slogan and discussions of the right to the city in the academic world, as well as within movements, are quite new, dating back to 2007 and 2009 at the moments of alliance at international and local levels, which could be related to its popular usage in the world as well as to the common need for explanation and further conceptualization with the effect of these intellectuals from within and outside the neighbourhoods. They found their expression, starting from the right to dwelling and spatial claims, against urban regeneration for newly formed neighbourhood associations, thanks to the establishment of international connections of actors with intellectuals from within and outside the neighbourhoods. İlhan Tekeli, Ali Ekber Doğan, Cihan Uzunçarşılı-Baysal, Derya Özkan, Besime Şen, Erbatur Çavuşoğlu, Murat Cemal Yalçıntan, Hade Türkmen, Tuna Kuyucu, Özlem Ünsal, Begüm Özden Fırat, İbrahim Gündoğdu, Mehmet Barış Kuymulu, Erdoğan Yıldız, in an interview by Yaşar Adanalı and İmre Balanlı, Tansel Korkmaz and Eda Ünlü-Yücesoy, in the editorial part of the collective bulletin "Istanbul living in exclusion[16]", in the framework of the exhibition Open City, there are some scholars and intellectuals who firstly use and question the right to the city. Later, a special issue was published on the right to the city, edited by Erbatur Çavuşoğlu and Julia Strutz[17], the first journal published in Turkish on this issue. It would be accurate to state that these authors are engaged academics who are both struggling for these issues and carrying out related research. Using examples of struggles in Istanbul, Turkey and in the wider world, they refer to the idea's radical potential and the importance of the right to the city as a horizon beyond urban space, while proposing that the right to the city is the necessary and urgent key which could make possible the alliance of the urban opposition groups and actors. Doğan (2011), one of the earlier scholars from Turkey who has written on the right to the city, proposes that the right to the city was a demand for a slogan of everyday life, a socially just, more democratic, pluralist, solidaristic urban system in harmony with nature. The right to the

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[16] Available on the website:
http://reclaimistanbul.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/diwan_istanbul_living_in_excl usion.pdf.
[17] Available on the website:
http://www.egitimbilimtoplum.com.tr/index.php/ebt/issue/view/57/showToc.

city also represents rebellion against overly technocratic, top-down urban policies, plans and projects dependent on the capitalist rationality (Doğan 2011). Raising the questions on the right to the city between theory and practice from Urban Movements and for conflicting and different actors, Türkmen (2011) concluded that it remains as a romantic concept, so, for the radical meaning of the slogan, the politicisation of urban conflict among various groups for the future city must be put on the agenda rather than the slogan itself. The struggle for the right to the city must be against disguised improvements such as left Keynesianism, taming the global capitalist market, environmentally friendly capitalism and participation instead of neoliberalism, globalization and representative democracy (Souza 2010, Adanalı 2011), but instead lead to thinking about best practices and international examples (Adanalı 2011).

The preparation meetings and forum which brought together urban opposition groups and actors on 26-27 June 2010 for the European Social Forum, held 1-4 July 2010, must be cited as a turning point for the seeking of alliances related to the concept of the right to the city (see Türkmen 2011). The concept was discussed theoretically and contested conceptually; towards the end of the forum it was proposed as a unifying slogan used by neighbourhood inhabitant activists, other activists, and academics involved in main urban opposition groups like İMECE[18] and Dayanışmacı Atölye[19]. These discussions evolved into weekly meetings and seminars by Urban

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[18] İMECE, People's Urbanism Movement, Toplumun Şehircilik Hareketi, http://www.toplumunsehircilikhareketi.org/, is an open opposition group whose activists mainly produce alternative critical reports conveying information about urban transformation. They organize forums and discussions including neighbourhood inhabitants in which urban space is held as an important part of a wide struggle (Akgün and Türkmen, 2009), considering the importance of self-organization of neighbourhood inhabitants.

[19] Dayanışmacı Atölye, Solidarity Studio, http://www.dayanismaciatolye.org/, is a voluntary and interdisciplinary working group composed mainly of urban planners, academics, students and others trying to propose different resistance strategies, such as alternative planning attempts and cooperatives. They have a stance based on mutually learning and co-producing, while supplying technical and legal information if there is a need and wish from the neighbourhoods, to support their struggles and organizations with One Hope Association (which is another type of organization in and for neighbourhoods in terms of rural and employment security issues). The interview conducted with Erbay Yucak is available in English on the website:
http://www.red-thread.org/dosyalar/site_resim/dergi/pdf/4080237.pdf.

Movements (Kent Hareketleri). These attempts resulted in the possibility of an alliance entitled "Urban Movements", consisting of main actors from these groups with the primary purpose of helping neighbourhood associations to function effectively during strategic moments. As a call to European Social Movements, a manifesto[20] was written collectively and the right to the city was proposed as a unifying slogan, as a bridge to form alliances between various urban opposition groups and different activists. One of the most important layers and most-cited components of the right to the city as the refusal of existing exclusions by discrimination and segregation in terms of use of centre, decision-making and politics, is the right to a renovated centrality in terms of transformed and renewed right to urban life, which is not only a simple visiting right or a return to the traditional city (Lefebvre 2000, 158). The right to the city is also a demand with the right to nature, as a tendency to flee the deteriorated and unrenovated city and "alienated urban life" (Lefebvre 2000, 158; Lefebvre 1972, 120). They have evolved their right to dwelling over time, and that of others, to the appropriation of their neighbourhoods as social space for their everyday lives and then broadened this to encompass other neighbourhoods and Istanbul. In some neighbourhoods and for some actors, this struggle started to cover different claims, from the urban to the environmental, from health to transportation, as well as to embody hopes and opportunities for another society. This manifesto claimed that the use value and the right to dwelling superseded the exchange value and the right to property, and there is a re-appropriation of neighbourhoods with public spaces and historical heritage in terms of people's control over the production and use of urban space. This is also a claim for the right to centrality, to refuse to leave central urban spaces and to make their own decision about neighbourhoods as well as common spaces - such as the construction of the Third Bridge on the Bosphorus, or a new project in Taksim Square in some movements, including the transformations affecting rural areas such as hydroelectric power plants - primarily for collective and non-commodified ways. The international call which took place before the European Social Forum, initiated by actors and neighbourhood associations, led to new acquaintanceships and to local and transnational links for information and support between new actors all over the world.

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[20] The manifesto is available on the website :
http://istanbulkenthareketleri.wordpress.com/.

The Social Forum could not create a complete alliance, but it led to a rise in consciousness, a new political identity and activism,[21] as well as creating a discussion milieu for different ideas on practices of resistance in the urban struggles in Istanbul. It thus paved the way for exchanging information and experiences and for organizing collective seminars and campaigns. The main aim was to create a broad and effective alliance between activists, intellectuals from different groups having different socio-political histories and views on the commons means and ground of resistance, and neighbourhood associations. It is necessary to underline the importance and the effect of the actors from both inside and outside neighbourhoods on the implementation of the idea with their pioneering roles in the formation of associations, groups and platforms. In terms of community and neighbourhood associations' actions, the right to the city could also be considered as a right which may create cracks, fissures and spaces in state governance (Swyngedouw and Moulaert in Moulaert et al. 2010, 231-233) by building networks with others at a distance from the state. Even though this group, mainly composed of intellectuals from within and outside the neighbourhoods, has changed and still changing, it aims to be a non-hierarchical core group open to everyone and every neighbourhood association. It has its own problems, but this permanent yet flexible group of actors succeeded in organizing regular meetings, initiating campaigns, in distributing information to neighbourhoods and in forming personal relationships. Some actors from Istanbul went to other cities such as Ankara for conferences and meetings and to support and meet inhabitants living there. They also welcomed to Istanbul neighbourhood dwellers from other cities, making grassroots connections. Even though there are differences in the means of resistance according to each neighbourhood's political and social history and to the timing of the resistance, they formed new neighbourhood associations. In this respect it is important to remember the role and the effect of the local actors from within and outside the neighbourhoods.

Besides the forum for the European Social Forum, Urban Movements campaigns built international connections from the right to the city and provided a platform for international meetings with neighbourhood

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[21] This is another activism on "uncommon ground" with unknown ways for social change and for further solidarity between the actors who were not previously "activists", as Chatterton (2006) conceptualizes, by challenging the mainstream activism and related explanations.

dwellers, academics, lawyers, urban planners and architects, artists, and other activists from different groups. This resulted in the involvement of new actors from different urban groups at a local level in terms of the exchange of experiences and strategies. The zero eviction campaign with the International Alliance of Inhabitants in January 2012 was an important moment for using the slogans "neighbourhoods come together; Istanbul claims its right to the city", "to act immediately and together strategically" to stop aspects of "urban regeneration" as a "call to have the floor and talk for themselves". Neighbourhood dwellers, academics, lawyers, urban planners and architects, and activists, including artists and alternative media, build connections between themselves at a local level; at an international level, with the initiation of the International Alliance of Inhabitants and some key activists, they claim and take action on the right to the city. Uzunçarşılı-Baysal (2011a) is one of the first who applies the right to the city practically and theoretically in Istanbul by initiating many campaigns to form solidarities with international actors and groups focusing on "zero eviction" campaigns. Attributing a meaning of unifying force to the right to the city, Cihan Uzunçarşılı-Baysal (2011) made a call for the construction of a right to the city against urban renewal for different neighbourhoods, including Emek Cinema Hall and the construction of the Third Bridge. Beyond the right to access urban resources, the right to the city must be realized as a collective right and a democratic demand; a claim which is shaped by the desires and ideas of city dwellers against urban rent shaped by global capital.

The Right(s) to the City from Theory to Lived Experiences in Istanbul

Every actor has his/her own personal and political history. The right to the city carries different meanings for different actors and neighbourhoods, with the influence of activists and intellectuals coming both from within and outside of the neighbourhoods (see Türkmen 2011, Yücel and Aksümer 2011). Experience of struggles from the past affect their appropriation of the space beyond their homes for lifestyle, solidarity and social relations for the whole city in terms of appropriation, participation, and the city as an oeuvre (Yücel and Aksümer 2011). In this respect, the right to centrality is also claimed in two ways: Firstly, against the exclusion from decision-making processes on the use of space, led by the exchange value, as the right to modify and shape their living spaces and the city, based on their ideas and needs. Secondly, against their spatial eviction and social expulsion from the "centre" of the city; they refuse to

leave their central urban spaces for new social houses which will be built outside Istanbul. On the subject of centrality, Ömer Kiriş from Tozkoparan stated:

"Urban opposition is firstly a struggle for existence…It is an expression for a life struggle both in urban and rural areas. It is a way to resist injustices. You believe that there are some documents from which the right to life guaranteed by the authorities, secured by the state. Even though it is not changeable…You think that it could not happen. However, when you get into the struggle, you realize that the institutions ignore what is human….Other things are important such money, destruction, to displace these people from the city center." (Interview with Ömer Kiriş, April 2012, Istanbul).

Yıldız (2008) states that these inhabitants of the neighbourhood relate to the fact that they had formed a common and shared culture of living together fifty years ago, and wish to continue to live in the place where they were born until they get older. Erdoğan Yıldız added in the interview:

"To live in Gülsuyu and to be from Gülsuyu-Gülensu is a very special situation for me. Even though there seem to be very heterogeneous, there is a very homogeneous identity here. Neighbourhood dweller does not live any contradiction lived in the country. For example, some tensions are not lived in the neighbourhood.… These differences do not present an obstacle, discrimination and difference.... it is a privilege to be from Gülsuyu-Gülensu neighbourhood, as a person who is living here. This privilege lies in its solidaristic relations, its reflex and reaction against the issues. I would like to say openly: Last week, there was a rise in natural gas prices and there was a demonstration in the neighbourhood. This does not happen in another neighbourhood." (Interview with Erdoğan Yıldız, April 2012, Istanbul).

Ömer Kiriş, speaking about the meaning of the neighbourhood for him, said:

 "Tozkoparan where I've been there when I was eleven years-old, is the place, a unique, different thing where all my memories, my dreams come true, where I had fights, made love, made friendships. It is where we identified with the mud, where we walk in its dirty water because of the service scarcity of the municipality, where we play and sleep on its green…Tozkoparan is something else. It is beyond to be a neighbourhood. It would be unfair to Tozkoparan to say that Tozkoparan is only a neighbourhood. I do not see any other place in Istanbul where there is 10m2 green areas per person. It is very green." (Interview with Ömer Kiriş, April 2012, Istanbul).

In relating the importance of neighbourhood to the right to the city, he added: "the right to the city means everything…for our neighbourhood. It is unifying." He argued that the people of his neighbourhood have, out of necessity, learned many concepts and much technical information during this long range war. He asserted: "I do not want that my family lives in the tents…I do not want to live in dishonour. I want that my wife and my child live in decent places..." (Interview with Ömer Kiriş, April 2012, Istanbul).

By struggling and by learning together, people from within and outside of the neighbourhoods have become closer. From Validebağ Gönüllüleri, Arif Bilgin stated:

> "The neighbourhood is an important part of the city. One of the most important concepts inherited from our ancestors. Because of my age, I could have caught up the last days of life in the old neighbourhood a little bit. For this reason, I feel very lucky. Unfortunately, they try to eliminate the concept of the neighbourhood with the beauties of our city. This is very sad. That is a great contradiction to be hostile to the concept of neighbourhood (*mahalle*) of some of the administrators who state they are connected to the old values to so in the concept of the neighbourhood." (Interview with Arif Belgin, October 2012, Istanbul).

In this respect, we must underline that the right to the city is considered as a superior form of right: the right to freedom, to individualization and socialization (Lefebvre 2000, 173), which must be thought on a "human" level, which is self-realization and self-determination. Appropriation as a collective relationship between human beings and the space, requires "the right to be present in space" in terms of the production of space by users, essential for a "dignified and meaningful life" (Purcell 2008, 94). It is a right to the place of encounters and exchanges, rhythms of life and time programmes which permit full and whole usage of these moments and places from and beyond the right to work, instruction, education, health, as well as leisure (Lefebvre 1972, 146). For each inhabitant's "human flourishing" (Purcell 2008), it is the right to the use of the city centre of workers and immigrants, who are entrapped in ghettos (Lefebvre 2000, Isin 2002, and Purcell 2008). As Souza emphasized, it is the right to full and equal enjoyment of the resources concentrated in cities, but only possible in another, non-capitalist society (Souza 2012c, 563). İmre Azem from İMECE, who is also the director of a documentary film called *Ekümenopolis (*http://ekumenopolis.net), underlined:

> "The right to the city is also the right to housing and also to a healthy environment, the right to education and the right to health, to work with security. In fact, we refer to all of them by talking about the right to the

city. In other words, it is the right for a humain life." (Interview with İmre Azem, June 2012, Istanbul).

Strutz and Çavuşoğlu (2011) from Solidarity Studio (Dayanışmacı Atölye) emphasize the use-value as they elaborate and question the right to the city from urban services to other rights such as work, education and urban struggles. In this respect, the right to the city also has the potential of bringing people together in a holistic and practical way. In the interview Çavuşoğlu stated:

> "The right to the city is a revolutionary right, not a mere right of dwelling; right to access to centrality or to the urban services. It must be elaborated as related to the use-value of space with a democratic urban imagination. Urban struggle must aim the right to the city, targeting a more democratic, just city based on the use value." (Interview with Erbatur Çavuşoğlu, April 2012, Istanbul).

In the original French version of the phrase (Lefebvre 1972, 120), "the right to the city like a cry and a demand" (Lefebvre 2000, 158), the cry and the demand correspond to "*appel*" and "*exigence*" (Lefebvre 1972, 120). We could make a remark on the translation and put forward instead of cry, "call, invitation" and instead of demand, "aim" to accentuate urgency, necessity, collectivity and agency inherent in its meaning of the right. The right to the city is an "active right to make the city different, to shape the city more in accord with our heart's desire" (Harvey 2012, Preface xvi, 3). At abstract and discursive levels, the right to the city as both working slogan (Harvey 2008, 40) and political ideal is an empty signifier (Harvey 2012, Preface xv, 136). How could this emptiness be filled? This is possible only in the process of struggle. The right to the city as a common entity (Harvey 2008, 23), as a "collective right to be seized" (Harvey 2012, 4) means also changing ourselves though these collective struggles. Çiğdem Şahin from Fener-Balat said:

> "As Harvey said, it is the right to build our own city by building oneself, ourselves. In fact, we produce; build ourselves according to the amenities, possibilities around us. If in our city, these are not offered freely to me, but according to my money, to class, this means that obstacle and limits are set down upon me. In that sense, human being must have the right to say his opinion about how his/her living milieu is being shaped since this transformed city will shape him/her. If man/woman is shaped by shaping his/her city, is formed by forming it, he/she must participate in decision-making processes, to be asked about the formation of his/her city, he/she must be able to contribute in it, so in the formation of the right to the city,

we must have the right of decision and to say our own words. It is a crucial right since this city at the same time will shape me." (Interview with Çiğdem Şahin, April 2012, Istanbul).

Some of the actors, together with other actors from different groups, started to claim rights for others with and sometimes on behalf of those others, becoming aware of the use-value of urban space by changing themselves within the struggle. The "urban common" of the city found its meaning in time, while resisting together against the enclosure of common spaces beyond the duality of private, public and social life in their neighbourhoods and in the city. Arif Bilgin, from Validebağ Gönüllüleri stated that "*the right to the city gains vital importance. It is necessary that people defend the right to others in addition to their rights*." (Interview with Arif Belgin, October 2012, Istanbul).

The right to the city must arise from the streets and neighbourhoods as a cry for help and sustenance by oppressed peoples in desperate times, not primarily out of various intellectuals' fascinations and fads (Harvey 2012, Preface xiii). It is a demand for a city of *inhabitance*, which must be at the centre of the alternative to the right to own and profit from space to make the right to the city an "effective linchpin" and an "agenda for the mobilization against neoliberalization" (Purcell 2008, 92, 99-100). There must be a conception of the active inhabitant who makes a claim for appropriation and participation in terms of the production of urban space and who seeks to take control from capital appropriating it as the right for inhabitants to physically access, occupy and use urban space and to produce space for the needs of inhabitants[22] (Purcell 2002). Due to political or ideological standpoints, principles and methods of resistance, some separations are evident in groups outside the neighbourhoods.

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[22] It is critical to take into consideration the point of Purcell (2008) who asserts that there is a difference between inhabitant and inhabitance in that every inhabitant would not be a part of the struggle of a progressive alternative inhabitance (Purcell 2008, 102-103). Mitchell and Heynen underline another difference, that between the right to habitat and the right to inhabit: While the former refers to a place and to the ability to make life, the latter implies making that place one's own – collectively - to dwell, to have a right to be. When these rights are not available, people use their instincts of survival to try to make them possible (Mitchell and Heynen 2009, 615-616).

However, the right to the city still represents a common value, burdened by a totality of rights for different groups and actors.

For Lefebvre, "only groups, social classes and class fractions capable of revolutionary initiative can take over and fruition solutions to urban problems" (Lefebvre 2000, 154). The agency of working class, or more precisely of different dispossessed groups and people - the working class, the youth, the students, the intellectuals, the people from provinces, the colonized or semi-colonized, have to "exhibit the derisory and untragic misery of the inhabitant, the suburban dweller, who stay in residential ghettos, the mouldering centres of old cities" (Lefebvre 1972, 121; Lefebvre 2000 159) - so those spatially and socially excluded and segregated from the centres and possible urban life towards the peripheries (Lefebvre 2000, 146, 154, 158, 178) deserve to be discussed in a meticulous way. Souza (2012a) emphasizes that urban revolution, whose carrier is not only the proletariat, but many social movements, could guarantee the right to the city for all people (Souza 2012a, 24). For Purcell (2008), other possible identities and other groups which could be active in the mobilization are reduced to class politics, making the realization of the right to the city problematic. Could this definition of Lefebvre be a key for urban commons for the claim of the right to the city?

The crisis is an urban one, marked by accumulation and by dispossession of the assets of the low-income urban population, urban commonalities have been lost via these capitalist enclosures and control mechanisms, which leads to forced displacement in the cities (Harvey 2012); these projects in Turkey have triggered questions starting from the decisions on the production of space by those who are excluded from the centrality in spatial and political terms. New urban enclosures of privatization, dispossession, and capitalist subjectification all over the world (Hodkinson 2012, 506) also create possibilities for new urban commons, via the decommodifying of urban life (referring to Hardt and Negri[23] and de Angelis, Chatterton 2010a, Russell, Pusey and Chatterton 2011). Even though there are differences among urban oppositions, the right to the city has been a common mobilizing cause for deprived and

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[23] The related ideas of Hardt and Negri on the common can be found in their works, namely Commonwealth (Hardt and Negri, 2009) and Declaration (available on http://antonionegriinenglish.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/93152857-hardt-negri-declaration-2012.pdf).

alienated groups by building alternatives to injustices over who should
have the benefit of the city and what kind of city it should be (Marcuse
2009, Marcuse in Iveson 2011). The right to the city must consider the
need for "urban commons", collectivized as alliances of struggles from the
local level, which are both existing groups who have to be present and
active in the opposition, as well as potential groups who focus on other
issues that could be engaged in. In its relation to progressive and
participatory forms of democratic politics, to new forms of mobilization,
coalitions and confederations of grassroots social activists (Soja 2010,
Chatterton 2010a), this could be a common ground for struggles for spatial
justice to come together from losses to create alternative politics against
enclosures (Chatterton 2010a, 626); as a mobilizing force and strategic
objective for various demands and for democratic rights to urbanized
space (Soja 2010, 7). Chatterton (2010a) asserts that spatial justice for a
right to a future just city can only be fully realized by rebuilding this
"urban common", as a complex one produced and reproduced through
relations in different times, spaces and struggles (Chatterton 2010a, 625-
626), full of productive moments of resistance that create new
vocabularies of solidarities, social and spatial practices, and relations and
repertoires of resistance (Chatterton 2010a, 626). As a tool for unifying
and for creating new urban commons, it is continually being produced for
this broader social movement (Harvey 2012, Preface xviii, 112). In the
chapter entitled "The Creation of the Urban Commons"[24] in "Rebel
Cities"[25] (2012), Harvey asserts that there is an on-going struggle "to

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[24] Pusey (2012), in the review of the book (which can be read on the website:
http://www.redpepper.org.uk/cities-of-struggle/) underlines that Harvey's elaboration
on urban commons, less critical of Ostrom, ignores the current discussions such as
"neoliberalism Plan B" from the ideas of George Caffentzis (which can be read on
the website: http://sduk.us/silvia_george_david/caffentzis_future_commons.pdf)
and the "libertarian municipalism" of Murray Bookchin which is also underlined in
the article of Souza (2012a). Midnight Notes is an important autonomist Marxist
source, especially for the "commons". Texts on urban land struggles, such as that
of the Lower East Side of Manhattan, or Zurich, the city with countryside and
commons, can be read on the following websites:
http://www.midnightnotes.org/newenclos.html,http://www.midnightnotes.org/pdfn
ewenc10.pdf, http://www.midnightnotes.org/pdfnewenc11.pdf.
[25] The authors would like to thank the reading group from the University of Leeds,
School of Geography: Federico Venturini, Andre Pusey, Vicky Habermehl, Tom
Gillespie and Marie-Avril Berthet.

appropriate the public spaces and public goods in the city for a common purpose" (Harvey 2012, 73). Harvey concludes that the creation of a new urban commons based on an inclusive urban democratic participation could only be possible via a fight for inalienable right to the city with different political-economic practices, and it necessitates a rolling back of the growing privatization of destructive neoliberalism (Harvey 2003, 941) by integrating the commons into anti-capitalist struggle (Harvey, 2012, 66). Movements can be the basis for a broader common politics; however, alliances are needed by using alternative forms of democracy which move beyond a limited local scale and are capable of addressing the metropolitan region as a whole. Merrifield argues for the possibility of radicalization and generalization for the right to the commons (Merrifield 2011, 168-169) to take back land via the right to the city, which is a right to de-dispossession and to re-possession of the commons (Merrifield 2011, 174-177). The right to the city is a collective, total and multiple right; Yaşar Adanalı from Solidarity Studio and creator/writer of websites http://reclaimistanbul.com/ and http://mutlukent.wordpress.com/, with unique importance in terms of information and critiques about spatial changes and legislations as well as resistances, remarked:

> "What is important what we imply, express from the right to the city, rather than forming a struggle from the word of the right to the city. It is possible to collectivize...In this sense, the right to the city has a possibility to articulate, to combine…If we look at to America in terms of whom the right to the city opposition brought together, it proposes us this totality, integrity." (Interview with Yaşar Adanalı, June 2012, Istanbul).

Çavuşoğlu and Yalçıntan (2010), who are academic activists from Solidarity Studio, propose the right to the city as an opportunity and possibility to struggle together in urban opposition groups. For a powerful and persuasive opposition, underestimated similarities could be emphasized, while differences in terms of urban opposition methods would not be an obstacle any longer (Çavuşoğlu and Yalçıntan, 2010). It is necessary to extend beyond the "right of ownership" in order to create new ideas for the neighbourhoods and to conceive the right as a collective right. However, the right to the city could be a concrete key in the alliance-forming process of urban opposition groups, from neighbourhoods and from outside, in other words, the commons (Çavuşoğlu and Yalçıntan 2010). It is necessary to refer to another activist-scholar, Fırat (2011), who uses "urban enclosures" and "commons" with the right to the city in a published academic text for the first time in a pioneering way, referring to the Emek Cinema Hall opposition. Some opposition from the centre, such

as to Emek Cinema Hall and some struggles for a common space in the neighbourhood, brought together some actors from outside the neighbourhoods in order to support neighbourhood struggles, thereby creating another commoning. Kumru Çılgın from Solidarity Studio defined the right to the city with its unifying role:

> "We're talking about the right to dwelling and the right to use with the right to the city. But the right to the city does have a unifying role at the highest point. Since the right to the city does not only mean the right to dwelling. The right to the city does not only mean the right to use. Not only the right to life. In fact, it is a body/corpus of rights. It is at the high point. It's unifying." (Interview with Kumru Çılgın, June 2012, Istanbul).

Erdoğan Yıldız is one of the most important actors not only for his neighbourhood, Gülsuyu-Gülensu, active in GÜLDAM, Gülensu Gülsuyu Life and Solidarity Centre, but also for Istanbul, with the Istanbul Neighbourhood Associations Platform, the earliest form of alliance between neighbourhoods. Yıldız (2008) claims that these problems are not only those of the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods that underwent urban regeneration, but that they are also valid for other subjects of the city. There is a necessity to form a common urban opposition with wide assemblies by including different actors, groups and classes for resisting against neoliberal policies and capital. In his interview with Erdoğan Yıldız (April 2012, Istanbul), he underlined that even within one region or neighbourhood of one city there are different groups which do not support each other's aims, so fragmented opposition groups sometimes split into two in the framework of alternative planning and barricades. Yıldız adds:

> "We need everybody active in the opposition. With the experiences and knowledge, it is seriously necessary to construct a discourse on the right to the city from Istanbul. This task is mainly of the academy and professional chambers. People who do academic work on this subject have important aspect to contribute in this respect. The success of the opposition in the city is related to the strength in the local and to make the opposition of grasping the rights of the oppressed. Yet the city is a fragile issue. Even if the working class does not lose anything, here-in terms of urban issues-, he/she loses his/her home, which could trap him/her into an ownership issue." (Interview with Erdoğan Yıldız, April 2012, Istanbul).

In order to go beyond the contradiction between gains from the new plan and the right to dwelling, there is a need to take everyone's perspective into account by recruiting ordinary people for the production

of another Istanbul; that of the oppressed people. Arif Belgin, from Validebağ Gönüllüleri, stated:

> "Urban issues, problems could gather people. In this respect, there is a facilitating aspect to start from the city…In general, people stop to struggle when they got a result or success and thought that everything has finished. However, urban struggle is a struggle for a life time.…It is important and necessary that various groups, initiatives, associations who are fighting for the right to the city cooperate so find a wide audience base is very important and necessary...However, movements must be as far as possible from political debates movements and they must be independent from political parties and groups even if there are in co-operation with them. Another point is transparency. This is necessary to retain and expand a comprehensive popular base. I also think that focusing on hierarchy will lead people away from these formations." (Interview with Arif Belgin, October 2012, Istanbul).

These rights are not granted by institutions but are continuously defined by political action and active participation (Gilbert and Dikeç 2008) in the city as the battleground to claim group rights (Dikeç 2001, 1790). In this respect, Isin (2002), Dikeç (2001) and Purcell (2002) propose urban citizenship, the *citadin*, as user of multiple spaces in different groups, but as active inhabitants (Purcell 2002) in all the stages of the production of urban space (Purcell 2002, 2008), as well as in debates and struggles (Isin 2002, 313). This idea is based on the right to resist, starting in everyday life, through struggle against the erasure of the presence of some citizens from the city to take the control and use of the city from privileged people (Lefebvre 1972, Isin 2002). The "right to difference", to resist and struggle (Dikeç 2001, 1790) is a right to politics questioning the order of things (Dikeç 2002, Isin 2002). The right to the city also created a new horizon for discussions on the urban social movements' definitions in terms of anti-capitalistic change potential beyond the dilemma between old and new social movements with another class emphasis covering different actors from various groups, even defining themselves as non-political before the urban opposition. Another relevant pioneering turning point in Istanbul is that the right to the city was used as an article in the regulation of newly formed neighbourhood associations, GÜLDAM, Gülensu Gülsuyu Life, and Solidarity Centre, on 28th May 2011. This neighbourhood has a historically leftist heritage and has experienced vivid struggles throughout the urban regeneration project which had been introduced. The centre has aimed to openly unify all neighbourhood inhabitants to become the voice of all of dwellers in the neighbourhood from the urban areas to struggle in solidarity, gathering

ordinary people, ethnic and religious leaders, associations, and intellectuals outside the neighbourhood. They started as a grassroots organization, born from a neighbourhood, using the slogan "We'll appropriate our own living spaces", and defending the locality as well as campaigning on more general issues. In the journal published to mark the formation of the centre, they referred to the words of David Harvey on the right to the city. Yıldız (2008) emphasized that the formation of the association is salient: another type of association and organization must be formed which is based on togetherness, on its internal dynamics and on participatory, democratic and vertical relations. This will create the potential for another planning; an alternative city[26]. Decision-making processes must include the real needs and opinions of neighbourhood dwellers without them being evicted and displaced in the name of profitable distribution of urban regeneration.

    Some moments and campaigns created the potential for the opposition as well as hopes for neighbourhoods and urban opposition groups in terms of new types of organizations and new collectivities from below. These strategically temporary alliances could be cross-locality as well as cross-issue by forming new interlinkages, including international ones. Although the goals and the framing of different groups, local-level activists, and organizations in Istanbul may be different in some respects within the dynamics of urban opposition, it is necessary to find effective ways for generating common actions and practices; common solidarities which start from urban issues. Şen (2010), in her article on urban social movements in Istanbul, underlines that even though it is open to discussion, some neighbourhood movements went on to make global connections beyond their localities (Şen 2010, 343-344). In this respect, Purcell (2008) stated that resistance against neoliberalization through different organizational attempts, tried to find a place in global, as well as national, movements

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[26] For Souza (2006, 2008 and 2010), social movements can offer radically alternative socio-spatial strategies and plans to put pressure on the state for tactical reasons "together with the state" but in fact "despite the state" and "against the state" with non-hierarchical and self-management structures as a way of struggle. These alternatives require a just society with equal chances of participation (Souza 2008) as well as a radical critique of capitalism, with the effort and need to overcome it by claiming the right to a radically new socio-spatial reality (Souza 2012c, 563-564). However, the concept of radical planning remains caught in a "top-down" academic-intellectual rationality rather than being "radical", grassroots planning as a direct action and academic dialogue (2012b).

and networks. It must be admitted that different groups' claims still remain restricted to home ownership or spatial issues in the negotiation process; in these terms neighbourhoods' different characteristics and experiences, but mainly their political histories, are the main determinant factors. The situation in Istanbul and in other parts of the world raises hopes about the possibilities for new types of non-hierarchical, horizontal ways of organizing social and political action, and for new relations between local and global types of struggle aiming at social change. As Pérouse (2011) notes, we will see to what extent these struggles will be a permanent social movement developed on a local base and having a meaning for public opinion, beyond being individual and reactionary. In this respect, it is necessary to consider the right to the city as the key to strong alliances at a national and local level in the anti-capitalist struggle, from being reactionary with protests and campaigns to the creation of another urbanity and publicness through autogestion and broad-based grassroots movements; in other words, from below (Doğan 2011). This would be possible only through the struggle for radical social change and through communal, solidaristic socio-economic relations, which make popular anti-capitalistic political alternatives and the right to the city democratic (Doğan 2011).

For actors in Istanbul, rural and ecological issues are as important as urban ones in terms of the right to the city and opposition. Hatice Kurşuncu, from İMECE and the Collective of Ecology in Turkey, emphasized that the world as a whole is an ecology, and stated:

> "It is thought to be rural struggle is only pursued in rural areas. However, the responsible for the actual conditions of the rural areas, rural politics and the nature are the cities. The cities have their ecologies. These ecologies have drastic effects on the rural. Therefore, there could not be separated from each other. What we say ecology does not mean merely the rural." (Interview with Hatice Kurşuncu, June 2012, Istanbul).

Cihan Uzunçarşılı-Baysal, as a pioneering urban activist stated:

> "Now what is discussed is the right to living areas, beyond the right to the city. It is the fact that living areas, habitats are destroyed by thermic, hydroelectric power plants and dams. While we are discussing the right to the city, this is involved in the discussions…Since when you set up hydroelectric power plants and wiped the water of a group of people, you are destroying their destiny. You take one's self-determination right away…These are interpenetrated struggles. Another issue is that where the city ends and where the rural begins." (Interview with Cihan Uzunçarşılı-Baysal, April 2012, Istanbul).

However, for some actors, the right to the city is still abstract and academic, far from the realities of the neighbourhoods and Istanbul. It possesses some problems in terms of the right component and the relationship with the state. It also remains restricted to some academic milieus and international campaigning times. In this respect, actors in the urban opposition stated their questions in their minds with the right to the city from these following points: Hatice Kurşuncu, from İMECE and the Collective of Ecology in Turkey, underlined that she still has problems with the right to the city as a concept, which is not clear about what it is and what it must be, as Harvey (2008, 2012) stated and continued:

"In fact, the right to the city is an empty concept. It depends on what you fill it with. It must have been practical in some sense. However, for me, it is not a concept from which I can do something or an explanation which satisfies me. (Interview with Hatice Kurşuncu, June 2012, Istanbul).

In this respect, Yaşar Adanalı questioned:

"The vaccine from outside could not be necessarily effective. How could we do an agenda from the right to the city in Turkey? The terminology of rights has its own annoyances starting from human rights. In the conditions where even the basic rights such as right of life and freedom of speech, there must not be rely only upon the right to the city…we give value to the cry rising from the city. This is necessary; however, we must be interested in its content…We must think about the next step from the current situation. As elaborated by Harvey, how could revolts be thought together with the right to the city from the current crisis? This is the main question. It is necessary to think about the right to the city from space and democracy." (Interview with Yaşar Adanalı, June 2012, Istanbul).

Kumru Çılgın from Solidarity Studio stated:

"But above all, it is just a right. Right! Our whole effort is right seeking. The right to the city is above all the struggles dealing with urban issues, the most unifying type of struggle. However, before all, what is the most important is the right seeking." (Interview with Kumru Çılgın, June 2012, Istanbul).

The right to the city as an inspiring claim for the conquest of human, urban and social transformation, as well as the possibility of a radical change, cannot be reduced to the right to better housing or other related material gains within the capitalist society (Souza 2010, 2012c). So, a radical critique of capitalism, with the effort and need to overcome it if the right to the city is the right to a radically new socio-spatial reality (Souza

2012c, 563-564), is necessary. *Autogestion* (Lefebvre 1972, 2000, and 2009) is a key term for the theoretical understanding and practical usage of the right to the city as the right to the *oeuvre*, to participation and appropriation (Lefebvre 1972, 2000, 2009, Mitchell 2003, Purcell 2008). It is in fact a form of radical-democratic transformation (Lefebvre 2009, 139-152) via socio-political mobilisation in neighbourhoods, cities, regions, rural peripheries, national states, and on a world scale (Brenner and Elden in Lefebvre 2009, 3, 14, 15, 134-135). As Lefebvre posits, *autogestion* is not a magic formula or recipe (Lefebvre 2009, 134), nor a panacea for the "workers' problems" (Lefebvre 2009, 134), yet is open to being assimilated in a number of different ways (Brenner and Elden in Lefebvre 2009, 16; Lefebvre 2009, 134). However, in a process of continuous struggle (Lefebvre 2009, 135, Brenner and Elden in Lefebvre 2009, 16), it opens up a practical path to the possible and to the politics of the possible (Brenner and Elden in Lefebvre 2009, 38, Elden 2004). As Souza (2010, 2012a, 2012c) underlined, it is significant to discuss the ideas of Castoriadis and Bookchin[27] in terms of *autogestion*, new citizenship, and politics. The right to the city "is not the right to the existing city but the right to a future city" (Marcuse 2009, Chatterton 2010, 235), which presupposes a different, post-capitalist society, as Souza (2008) proposes with his question: "Which right to which city?" (Souza 2010).

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[27] The authors would like to thank Federico Venturini for his support, inspiration and remarks about Murray Bookchin's ideas. For Bookchin (1991), libertarian municipality, as the social and political alternative (Bookchin 1986, 25), makes citizens active and free - rather than passive constituents in so-called "social justice" programs supported by spatial improvements to give capitalism a human face - with a claim for another policy made by a community or neighbourhood assembly. It could pave the way for the fully transformed cities (Souza 2012a, 17) emerging from the difference between urbanization without cities and citification (Bookchin 1986, 169, Souza 2012c). Citizenship is a process of self-formation of active participants in the management of the communities, and the citizen as a free subject could only be possible by autogestion (Bookchin 1982).

Conclusion: Struggling for Right(s) to/beyond the city, to Another Society

Due to the pioneering efforts of some actors from both within and outside the neighbourhoods and the power of the idea, the right to the city both as a discussed idea and contested slogan created some moments and possibilities of temporary coalitions, protests, and campaigns, which differ from conventional types between different groups and actors. Starting from the right to stay in their homes and their neighbourhoods, they are claiming and defining the right to the city in terms of appropriation, of centrality and participation, covering their "common social spaces" such as Taksim Square and Emek Cinema Hall. On the other hand, the right to the city has still remained in small groups of actors from within and outside the neighbourhoods. New urban commons must be used as a theoretical and practical term against urban interventions, so urban enclosures. In the dialectic between theory and practice, and in human and socio-spatial terms, the right to the city must be defined by different urban grassroots groups collectively from below and by inhabitants themselves. Urban opposition groups must take action collectively on the right to the city from-and-beyond housing, from-but-beyond localities and spatiality. As Chatterton (2010) states, the key role for an urban imagineer is to make today's impossibility into tomorrow's possibility, so as to claim the "right to the city" for paving the way for possible-impossible (Lefebvre 1972, Chatterton 2010). While creating new vocabularies, imaginations and strategies of action in this way for a radically different and just city of the future (Chatterton 2010, 235), the struggle for the right to the city, as a slogan, as an idea and as a horizon, creates cracks in capitalism, as Holloway conceptualized (2002, 2010) and as Erdoğan Yıldız stated:

> "This actually a process that we came from, that we live by assembling more and more. These are the cracks in the capitalism so we don't wait for the revolution…However, every struggle and every action that we pursued from today creates in fact a nucleus of being a founder again. Thus every form of struggle that we establish today must be part of the social order to be found. Otherwise…this order will be collapsed today and tomorrow another order will be found. We have to quit this strategy and form another thing which could create cracks today." (Interview with Erdoğan Yıldız, April 2012, Istanbul).

Acknowledgments

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CHAPTER THREE

RIGHT TO THE CITY AS AN URBAN UTOPIA? PRACTICES OF EVERY DAY RESISTANCE IN A ROMANI NEIGHBOURHOOD IN ISTANBUL

GÜLÇİN ERDİ-LELANDAIS

Many countries, including Turkey, are keen to reconfigure the spatial organisation of their cities in order either to facilitate the exploitation of profitable resources or to create "for-profit" housing (Kibaroğlu and Başkan 2009). However, the social and cultural impacts of these planning projects, including forced displacements, uprooting and assimilation, are often ignored. Within this framework, old and dilapidated neighbourhoods and inner-city *gecekondus*[1] full of low-income classes and ethnic minorities become the target of this policy.

These neighbourhoods are made up of those ethnic, religious or political minorities whose identity is constantly shunned by public institutions. The city and the neighbourhood make it possible for them to create enclaves where their identity is recognised without repression, and

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[1] The *gecekondu* has a particular significance in Turkey and is distinguished from the slum. Originally a technical term, *gecekondu* derived from everyday language to signify a specific housing and settlement typology of self-service urbanisation that occurred during Turkey's industrialisation and rural migration between 1945 and 1985. *Gece* means "the night" and *kondu* "landed", hence *gecekondu* translates as "landed at night". The term has evolved to encompass a variety of informal settlements and building typologies. Its usage denotes a bottom-up, spontaneous action, especially prevalent during the first wave of mass migration, to provide mass housing under conditions in which conventional or government-initiated models of housing supply failed. See Erman (2001) for further discussion on *gecekondus* and *gecekondu* studies in Turkey.

these life spaces enhance the development of a collective identity for the community. In this sense, the state's desire to destroy these enclaves constitutes a threat to this identity and triggers resistance.

My research draws on a campaign organised against a renewal project in the Sulukule neighbourhood of Istanbul, which aimed to entirely destroy the gipsy settlements. Lefebvre's theories and ideas about the urban space, especially the concept of the right to the city and the social production of urban space, will, in this paper, help highlight the social dynamics of urban protests and everyday forms of resistance.

After explaining methodological tools, the paper will highlight firstly the evolution of urban policies in Turkey, before explaining the mobilisation process in the neighbourhood. The emphasis will be placed on how identity and space shape the protest in order to reclaim a right to the city.

Case Study and Methodology

The investigated neighbourhood, Sulukule, is a part of the historical peninsula of Istanbul, declared as a World Heritage Site in 1988 by UNESCO. Sulukule was selected as the case study of this research in order to show that neo-liberal urban policies are not only directed against informal settlements and squatters inside the city, but also in historical and well-established neighbourhoods if they do not fit in principal and into plans designed by these policies. In addition, Sulukule represents the first example of urban resistance in Turkey, reaching a transnational scale and contesting the neo-liberal restructuring of the city. It could also permit us to understand how the concepts such as "perceived space", "conceived space" and "right to the city", as elaborated by Lefebvre, find concrete fields of practice and propose a detailed understanding of the dynamics of the capitalist city.

The community of Sulukule originated in its current location in XI, when Istanbul was the capital of Byzantium and the majority of the population was still Romani. While there are other neighbourhoods in Istanbul with Romani communities, Sulukule's historical heritage made it the most famous.

The Sulukule Romanis are, in general, musicians and dancers. The children start to play a musical instrument very early and girls train to be belly dancers in house taverns from 10-12 years old. Related to this particularity, since the 1980s, Sulukule gained an injustified reputation for crime and prostitution due to the Romani house-taverns and their female dancers. In the past, the community ran a series of entertainment houses,

which were the backbone of the area's economy but, in 1991, were shut down by the police. Since then the economic condition of the community worsened, with many residents relying on the support of their neighbours for survival. The district underwent several cycles of demolition, forced displacement and police intervention, all of which reinforced its negative image, while its inhabitants suffered high levels of social and economic instability.[2]

The stigmatisation of this district arises from the devaluation of the Romani culture, which is officially identified as the source of these problems and which has served to justify the regeneration project. All the agencies involved in the neighbourhood's transformation agreed that its environmental degradation created the urgent need for renewal.[3] However, advocacy organisations and the inhabitants of Sulukule themselves demanded that these agencies take into account the needs and wishes of the neighbourhood's residents.

Evidence for this article was drawn from in-depth interviews with dwellers, academicians (urbanists, architects and sociologists) and associations (Solidarity Studio, People's Urbanism Movement, Sulukule Volunteers, Association for the Development of Romani Culture and the Solidarity), who have been involved in the project in order to propose alternative solutions or to protest against the existing ones. Official documents, public reports, advisory reports and letters to/from international organisations, brochures, alternative project descriptions and presentations from associations have been collected. Archival searches were also conducted in daily journal records (*Hürriyet*, *Radikal*, *Birgün*) to follow the chronological development of the subject. The fieldwork was undertaken in two phases. The first phase was between March and May 2011 in Istanbul to ensure the first contact with inhabitants and civil

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[2] For a wide range information about Sulukule, see the website created by associations and inhabitants inside the neighbourhood during the demolition process: http://sulukulegunlugu.blogspot.fr/.
[3] This degradation is largely related to the behaviour of the local and national public agencies. The municipality has never provided the necessary public services in the district under the pretext of its supposed criminality. They failed to regularise the professional activities of the Roma, which would have enabled them to raise their living standards and repair their houses. Also, by classifying this neighbourhood as part of the historical peninsula of Istanbul, they prevented any construction or improvement schemes, unless residents had authorisation from the official council of historic buildings.

society representatives and activists involved in Sulukule. Inhabitants affected by urban transformation projects, activists from organisations mentioned above, fighting against the destruction of the neighbourhood, and representatives of associations or platforms working to organise resistance were questioned via in-depth interviews. Participatory observations, informal discussions and participation in meetings, seminars and associations' activities have also been realised. This phase aimed to observe the acts of resistance in everyday life to analyse how the inhabitants perceive their living environment and what this space means in the construction of identity and protest. In the second phase, focus group interviews mostly with activists and researchers were privileged.

In the following sections, I will examine the evolution of Istanbul towards a global city and the housing policies conceived in a neo-liberal context. I will then focus on how these evolutions create a resistance in several neighbourhoods in which inhabitants attempt to protect their life space, considered as the main source of their collective identity. I will conclude by studying different forms of resistance, showing that methods of social movements like street actions, struggle against police forces and destruction are not always accepted or desired by inhabitants and that they formulate their refusal in alternative forms of resistance in everyday life.

Istanbul: a Global City within Global Transformations?

Istanbul offers us a case study in the construction and implementation of a broadly "neo-liberal" approach to development, but with the distinctive local characteristic that this is being pursued under the authoritarian influence of the highly centralised Turkish state (Lovering and Türkmen 2011). However Istanbul is not an exceptional case and undergoes the same evolution as many Mediterranean cities, which is the spatialisation of neo-liberal order (Ababsa et al. 2012). Hence, the neo-liberal economic system was introduced from the 1990s by the liberalisation of markets, progressively reducing the control of the state on markets and services under the rule of Turgut Özal. However, the space has rarely been considered as a resource for the regeneration of the neo-liberalism.

Starting from the 2000s, the AKP, Party of Justice and Development, introduced policies in order to overcome the economic and financial crisis in 2001 and to reintroduce economic growth. The solution has been found in the promotion of planning and development projects by accelerating the construction industry, which was already boosted during the 1990s via the emergence of Real Estate Investment Trusts and the privatisation of a

number of urban public constructions (Enlil 2011). The sector has been designated by the government as a solution to revive the country's economy and growth (Yalçintan and Çavuşoğlu 2013). In this sense, urban entrepreneurialism denotes an array of governance mechanisms and policies aimed at nurturing local and regional economic growth by creating a business environment propitious to capital investment and accumulation (Hall and Hubbard 1998; Harvey 1989; Leitner 1990).

Table 3-1. Economic growth in Turkey and its link with construction sector growth.

Years	Construction Sector's Growth	Economic Growth
2001	- 17.4%	- 5.7%
2002	13.9%	6.2%
2003	7.8%	5.3%
2004	14.1%	9.4%
2005	9.3%	8.4%
2006	18.5%	6.9%

Source: National Institution of Statistics.

In order to support the construction sector, several legislative arrangements are realised by the government. The first stage of this restructuration was the reinforcement of the Mass Housing Administration's (TOKİ) competencies in 2003 by Law N°4966, permitting the transfer of all treasury lands to the use of TOKİ with the permission of the Primary Minister in order to create lands for housing. Between 2004 and 2008 several laws were passed by the Turkish parliament in order to establish land and housing policy directions of the government. Law N°5162, accepted in May 2004, gave TOKİ the possibility of forced expropriation in the areas of urban renewal, to establish partnerships with private firms and financial trusts and to develop transformation projects in *gecekondu* areas. Law N°5216, accepted in July 2004, extended the rights for municipalities to decide about urban transformation projects and areas. Another important law was granted to the municipalities and TOKİ to carry out urban regeneration projects not only in those zones considered to be decayed and unhealthy, but also in historical districts, ostensibly to renew and protect them (Law N°5366, 5/2005). Meanwhile, urban space had become a significant means of capital accumulation during the same period (Ünsal and Kuyucu 2010). In this fashion, vast areas have been designated as renewal zones in several

cities in the past seven years, the process being particularly intensive in two major cities of Turkey—Istanbul and Ankara. The overarching mandate is to increase Istanbul's share of revenues from tourism, culture industries and finance, and further integrate the spaces of the city into global real estate markets (Karaman 2013). To ensure sustainability of the construction sector, all *gecekondu* areas, inner-city slums and old "unhealthy" neighbourhoods have been opened to regeneration and gentrification (Türkün 2011). Lower-class neighbourhoods inhabited by the city's poorest, which at the same time carry the highest potential in terms of the rising value of urban land, are refashioned by local municipality-private sector partnerships and allotted to new İstanbulites with the highest cultural and economic capital—such as local and foreign executives working in sectors that are in great demand in the post-industrialist era, such as finance, design and informatics, as well as professionals of the institutionalised field of arts and culture (Adanali 2011).

Neo-liberal urban regeneration policies have three major characteristics in order to legitimise this process and to reduce potential resistance channels. First, they are supported by a wide range of legal mechanisms, as indicated above, which the government adapts according to needs and conditions. Secondly, urban security discourses are used for these policies in the public opinion in order to legitimate human consequences such as forced displacements and house destructions. In 2009 the General Directorate of Security published a list of neighbourhoods in which so-called "illegal terrorist groups and organisations" were operating (Aksiyon 2008). The Director of TOKİ has stressed that:

> "Today, urban transformation ranks among the most important problems in Turkey. But Turkey cannot speak about urban development without solving the problem of the shanty towns. These are known to be the source of the health issues, illiteracy, drug abuse, terrorism and distrust towards the State. No matter what, Turkey must get rid of these illegal and non-earthquake-resistant buildings."[4]

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[4] This speech was given by the Director of TOKİ during a conference that was co-organised by the Municipality of Istanbul and Urban Land Institute on "Urban Renewal Projects and Real-Estate Investments". For further information, see "Kentsel dönüşümü tamamlayamazsak terörü de bitiremeyiz" [We cannot finish with terrorism if we cannot finish the urban transformation]. *Mimdap*. Accessed 2 February 2009. http://www.mimdap.org/w/?p=2114.

As some researchers argue, and this is also the case in Istanbul, urban transformation targets the urban poor and the informal economy, aggressive enforcement of these via "broken windows" and order maintenance policing, the privatisation of security, the literal or *de facto* privatisation of public space and the emergence or re-emergence of an often racialised discourse of the poor as dangerous and criminal. All contribute to spatial fragmentation and a massive fortification of the spaces between rich and poor (Herbert and Brown 2006; Wacquant 2002). This statement brings out the desire of policy-makers to link the shantytown or unhealthy downtown districts to criminality and to designate their inhabitants as potential offenders and enemies.

In this framework, the multiplication of gated communities in Istanbul is correlated with the sentiment of (in)security[5] and the desire to be among similar people (Daniş and Pérouse 2005; Genis 2007; Low 2001). Isin explains this phenomenon by introducing the concept of the "neurotic citizen" who is incited by governing actors to make social and cultural investments to eliminate various dangers by calibrating their conduct on the basis of their anxieties and insecurities rather than rationalities (2004, 223). He relates it to the home becoming a fortified castle through gated communities, surveillance technologies and security industries that address the vulnerabilities and anxieties associated with "home security" (*ibid*., 230).

Thirdly, this neo-liberal restructuring of cities in Turkey has an authoritarian character, since it is almost blind to the demands and desires of the majority of residents, namely middle, lower-middle and poor classes and privileges the market priorities in order to integrate Istanbul into global economic, financial and cultural flows (Öktem 2011). This authoritarianism of neo-liberal policies has been widely discussed in academia. Such authors as Dryzek (1996) defend deliberative democracy

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[5] By this concept, I refer to critical security studies, especially those of Didier Bigo, which consider security as a phenomenon accentuating the feeling of insecurity and thereby introducing a snowball effect in the implementation of securitization measures. (In)securitisation, as a process of extrapolating dangers and fears of what could be and is not, becomes a central feature of contemporary societies. It often leads to a loss of perspective and to attempts to achieve "re-assurance" through simplifying myths constructed from partial knowledge and institutional or collective anticipations of an exceptional violence. These anticipations neglect ordinary forms of violence that are no longer considered as such. See Bigo (2003).

and underline that neo-liberalism values individuals who myopically pursue their material self-interest in the marketplace, not citizens who cultivate their civic virtue in the public square. As democratic decision-making tends to involve political wrangling and debate, it could take time and become an obstacle in urban governance. Collective decision processes, therefore, are not desired. This can be observed in many urban projects in Istanbul where the inhabitants are the last ones to know public decisions concerning the future of their neighbourhood. This process refers to what Lefebvre (1974) calls difference of perception between conceived and perceived space, which is often adversarial in capitalist urbanisation. In Sulukule, the project has been decided upon inside the decision-making chain of the Fatih district municipality, with TOKİ and private building firms and inhabitants learning the details of the transformation project only after the involvement of chambers of architects and planners. Some researchers (MacLeod 2002; Miller 2007; Purcell 2008) explain that neo-liberalisation narrows the options open to decision-makers and, because of the disciplining force of the perceived need to remain globally competitive, democratic decision-making is therefore seen as slow, messy, inefficient, and not likely to produce the kind of bold entrepreneurial decisions that attract and keep capital.

In this perspective, the objective to make Istanbul a global city forces public actors to respond quickly to the market opportunities. Urban governing institutions are being, therefore, increasingly "streamlined" so they can foreclose lengthy debate and more quickly respond to market opportunities (Purcell 2008). As a consequence, urban governments adopt ready-made policy ensembles developed in other places rather than engaging the city's public in generating policy through democratic debate (*ibid*.). The project in Sulukule has, like those in other neighbourhoods concerned by urban transformation in Istanbul, been introduced by virtue of this logic, and the inhabitants learned that their neighbourhood and life would be affected only when the project was officially launched.

Consequently, alternative lifestyles, different political ideologies and various traditions of socio-political resistance feel themselves to be under threat and approve the need to resist this evolution. In the case of Turkey, these struggles and resistances tend to emerge in some neighbourhoods with a particularly strong group identity, often related to an ethnic and/or political status that is closely associated with the neighbourhood itself considered as the place of the collective memory production of its residents. Resistance is, therefore, connected to identity and to space that plays a crucial role for mobilising social resources and solidarity, reinforced by the memory of the neighbourhood.

Reclaiming the Right to the City against State-Led Urban Restructuring

Over the past several years, the idea of a right to the city has become increasingly popular. Many in the literature are exploring resistance to neo-liberalisation specifically (Holston 1998; Purcell 2008; Salmon 2001). Purcell (2008) reports that the idea is not only discussed inside academia but is also evoked in conflicts over housing and several international conferences organised by international organisations, such as the Worldwide Conference on the Right to Cities Free from Discrimination and Inequality in 2002.

Lefebvre perceived the right to the city as a way of legitimating "the refusal to allow oneself to be removed from urban reality by a discriminatory and segregative organisation" (1996, 197). For Lefebvre, the urban is not simply limited to the boundaries of a city, but includes its social system of production. Hence the right to the city is a claim for the recognition of the urban as the (re)producer of social relations of power, and the right to participation in it (Gilbert and Dikeç 2008). In that sense, the right to the city could be described as a right to the appropriation and the participation of the inhabitants. As Marcuse explains, it is, at the same time, a right to produce the city as well as to enjoy it, and the two are integrally linked. It is not only the right to a choice of what is produced after it is produced, but a right to determine what is produced and how it is produced and to participate in its production (2012, 36).

It is on this point that the right to the city becomes meaningful in the restructuring of the cities in the current world. The reason is that, as we mentioned above, neo-liberalism rules the city, and this logic expects results in culture, tourism, economy, housing and education, generating profit inside the city and is not so interested in the type of city in which inhabitants want to live. In Istanbul, several neighbourhoods oppose this change in different ways. Some choose to protest in order to prevent the transformation project while others try to resist in an invisible way by defending their lifestyle, social networks and establishing solidarities in everyday life.

Harvey emphasises the genesis of the emergence of this concept in current urban resistances by saying that:

"The idea of the right to the city does not arise primarily out of various intellectual fascinations and fads. It primarily rises up from the streets, out from the neighbourhoods, as a cry for help and sustenance by oppressed people in desperate times. [...] It is here that a study of how Lefebvre responded is helpful—not because his responses provide blueprints (our

situation is very different from that of the 1960s, and the streets of
Mumbai, Los Angeles, Sao Paulo and Johannesburg are very different from
those of Paris), but his dialectical method of immanent critical inquiry can
provide an inspirational model for how we might respond to that cry and
demand." (2012, xiii).

In Sulukule, at the beginning of the transformation project, the
inhabitants were not considered as legitimate interlocutors by the
municipality of Fatih. They were informed by organisations such as the
Istanbul Chamber of Architects and Engineers, Human Settlement
Association and Solidarity Studio, who were working on urban questions
and policies.[6] Thus, a committee was founded in 2006 in order to ensure
the contact with the municipality and to obtain information on the course
of the project. The latter was presented by the mayor of Istanbul as "the
most social urban project of the world",[7] in that it aimed "to improve the
living conditions of Romanis" in the district, by proposing new housing
possibilities. The choice was left to inhabitants to take a house rebuilt in
the district or to accept a flat in a newly built housing site in Taşoluk.
Many inhabitants thought, at the beginning, of accepting the first
alternative in the hope of seeing their activities legalised and public
services improved. Nevertheless, in spite of the involvement of the above-
mentioned associations, the project turned out not to be as "social" as
announced. This was for a number of reasons. Firstly this was because it
implied, in reality, a heavy loan for inhabitants who were financially
precarious. In addition, these new houses did not correspond to the
lifestyle of Romani who preferred to live in communities and to pass their
time in the streets of their neighbourhood.[8] Inhabitants finally understood
that the project was not conceived for them, but rather, as an extremely

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[6] Nezihe Basak Ergin's chapter in this book gives a general view and a deep
analysis of these organisations and groups struggling against urban transformation
projects in several areas in Istanbul.
[7] Purpose of the Mayor of Fatih district, Mustafa Demir, published in *Zaman*, 17
November 2006. The Mayor is currently arrested suspected to be involved in a
corruption related to illegal construction permissions (January 2013).
[8] They explained being "accustomed to living in houses without stage with a
garden and an interior common court, to have a collective family life"; and not to
have understood the "need for the garages in the underground of the houses" since
they rarely own a car.

profitable real estate opportunity for the TOKİ in order to sell the new houses to populations with high income.[9]

Consequently, in 2006, mobilisation was organised in Sulukule. Initiated by the external associations mentioned above, some inhabitants of the district also joined it by founding their own association—the Association for the Development of Romani Culture. Although the role of the association in terms of orientation and training remained a determining factor, they together founded the *Sulukule Platformu* (Platform of Sulukule),[10] thus initiating some into activism. The mobilisation in Sulukule was organised around two consubstantial topics: the right to live in the city and the right to a convivial life in a human environment—the main elements of the right to the city defined by Lefebvre, in fact. It was first of all a question of denouncing the inhuman character of the urban projects promoted by the AKP, whose opponents denounced the objective of benefit, instead of the constitution of a socially equitable urban space. Thus, it tried to show that all renewal projects systematically targeted the disadvantaged districts and excluded the low-income social groups by preventing them *de facto* from living in the city centre. These claims were then completed by the defence of the Romanis' cultural identity. Inhabitants and militant associations emphasised the historical bases of Romanis' installation in Sulukule so as to show that they were the "true inhabitants", the "real owners" of Istanbul and had as much right to live there and to invest in the city as any other Turkish citizen, with their identities, their traditions and their practices. This claim directly crosscut what Lefebvre understood to be the right to the city. In his opinion, this right represents something more than reclaiming basic needs. As people in Sulukule reclaimed, it signifies an access to the resources of the city for all segments of the population, and the possibility of experimenting with and

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[9] The newspaper *Hürriyet* thus revealed that, well before the beginning of the project, many deputies of the AKP had already bought houses in the new neighbourhood. See "Işte Sulukule'nin rantsal dönüsümü" (For-profit transformation of Sulukule). *Hürriyet,* 18 March 2009.

[10] This platform was made up of associations, academics and independent individuals working for the preservation of the district and rehabilitation on site without the obligation for inhabitants to leave the neighbourhood. The Chamber of Architects Engineers and researchers at Mimar Sinan University were most active in the platform. This was an open space with a flexible activism that everybody could join. For more information, see the website of the platform: http://sulukulegunlugu.blogspot.fr/.

realizing alternative ways of life (Schmid 2012).This awakening and resistance also made it possible for Romanis to think about their role as full citizens. The president of the Association of the Romani Culture of Sulukule explains:

> "Before the project, people's reflex was not to oppose to the State. It could be explained by the denigration and the contempt [of which are victims Roms] since centuries. There was neither an organisation, a spirit of resistance nor political conscience. Myself, I have only the elementary school diploma. It is with this project that I learned how to write official letters, to become town planner, lawyer, activist and speaker at the same time. We understood that it is necessary to defend our rights and that we have also our word to say on decisions which concern us." (Şakir, inhabitant-activist in Sulukule).

From the beginning, the Platform of Sulukule stated an agreement to a transformation project in Sulukule only if it had the objective to improve the well-being of the residents without forced evictions. It stated that the inhabitants had the right to continue to live in the district and to practise their professional activities. In this regard, professional associations and researchers from different universities conceived an alternative project.[11] Their request clearly concerned a claim of a right to the city insofar as their will to take part in the design of their life space came from a will to make the city more inclusive, where opportunities are distributed better in the population (Purcell 2003). Resistance to Sulukule was not limited to a simple opposition to the destruction of the houses; it refused above all the process of urban segregation implemented by public institutions and the lack of viable alternatives for the Romani population. Thus, in all its confrontations with the public actors, in the booklets and letters addressed to the various international institutions, the mobilisation in Sulukule formulated its desire to take part openly and equitably in the production process of urban space and to reach the advantages of the city life. It emphasises the point that to live in the city centre is not a luxury and was opposed to all forms of spatial segregation and containment imposed by a top-down process.

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[11] This alternative project was conceived by a group of town planners named STOP (Sınır Tanımayan Otonom Plancılar, autonomous Urbanistes without borders). It was exposed in front of a public made up of the local public decision makers, academics, students and engineers at the University of Yildiz in Istanbul in 2008. It has never been taken into account by the mayor of Fatih.

For the neighbourhood's Romanis, the project meant uprooting, a rupture in their collective history. In fact, if any resistance practice was not observed among the Romani community until the launch of the project, it is probably because, in Sulukule, their life space remained after each attempt at destruction and they succeeded in reinvesting and rebuilding their space. In other words, Sulukule represented a place of shelter, serenity and stability for its inhabitants; an enclave where they escaped stigmatisation, exclusion or contempt. A resident tells us that:

> "You have seen the Byzantium castle walls around our neighbourhood. They might appear to you as ordinary stones but actually, they were our shelter. It was a shelter which covered our poverty, our quarrels, and our honour. The district was our house. It was regarded in this way. [...] We were a merry neighbourhood from which music was heard all the time and our evening. […] You know the Carnival of Rio, it was like that every evening. Our celebrations, joys, sadness and burials. […] We were sharing everything together. It was the place that made us what we are. When they destroyed our neighbourhood, we suffered like a mother separated from her child. It was everything for us." (Sakir, inhabitant-activist in Sulukule).

This statement explains clearly the importance of the neighbourhood considered by its residents as the place representing "a sense of community... a feeling of solidarity between people who occupy the common territory based on a strong local network of kinship, reinforced by the localised patterns of employment, shopping and leisure activities" (Knox and Pinch 2010, 188). In spite of the generalised injustice and the contempt they felt because of their ethnic origin, Sulukule's Romanis remained loyal towards public authorities and had interiorised the state's authority. As soon as this injustice became spatial, it combined with a feeling of uprooting and some inhabitants decided to resist. They understood that, with this project, a space that is a part of their identity would not be accessible anymore and that they would be condemned to live outside the city. For the majority, it was the end of their community:

> "After the destruction, some families went to Tasoluk but, they could not live there. As Sulukule did not exist anymore, they could not return there either. Some of them found apartments in Karagümrük near Sulukule, and the others left for various districts of Istanbul. In a town of 12 million people, they progressively lost each other, the frequentations rarefied with time. They lost their friends, neighbours and also their social life. Today, there are still people who cannot exceed this traumatism." (Nesrin, volunteer in Sulukule).

The mobilisation effort in Sulukule used a wide range of repertoires in order to make their claims heard. Organisations and people operating in *Sulukule Platformu* arranged their action around local and transnational levels, mobilising also the justice and legal framework as a basis for collective action (Benford and Snow 2000). Transnational strategies were also mobilised (Keck and Sikkink 1998) and internationally known artists such as Manu Chao, Gogol Bordello and Goran Bregovic took part in musical demonstrations. European institutions such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Helsinki Commission to the American Congress were seized upon as ways of raising recognition of the rights of inhabitants and to put pressure on the Turkish government. Even if the mobilisation of Sulukule's Romanis was not entirely successful and ultimately unable to prevent the destruction of the district, it constituted a first example of resistance that articulates spatial justice, right to the city and urban citizenship.

However, in spite of the fact that the mobilisation with Sulukule was very dynamic, involving many associations and organisations at local, national and international levels, it remained essentially an external mobilisation because it did not succeed in actively including the majority of the inhabitants. Many inhabitants explained that the destruction of the neighbourhood had been very easy and that the destruction teams had not met an active resistance. In fact, Romanis preferred other forms of resistance and asserting themselves in spite of the planned disappearance of their neighbourhood. These forms of resistance were less visible in the public space but observable in the daily practices within the neighbourhood.

Their resistance consisted of the denial of the destruction of their neighbourhood, the rebuilding of their cultural identity and its valorisation, which resulted in an increased vigilance with regard to the threats weighing on their community.

Neighbourhood and Dwellers' Everyday Resistance after the Campaign

The Sulukule neighbourhood, as I mention below, is characterised by the relative social and ethnic homogeneity of its settlement. This leads to a strong identification with a small territory in which the majority of dwellers' socialisation is realised, while the dense kinship connections in a local space establish effective networks of mutual aid. As an inhabitant from Sulukule emphasises:

"We were able to buy a little bit of food with the little money we earned each day. The grocer registered it in his notebook and we paid it when we had money. If we were having difficulties, the owner of our apartment told us to pay whenever it was possible. We didn't need much money to live in Sulukule." (Türkan, age 39, inhabitant of Sulukule since birth).

In this context, the neighbourhood plays an important role in determining the identity, the way of being and the position of individuals *vis-à-vis* the external world. Mills, for example, explains that "landscapes are powerful materialisations of collective memory, because particular forms in the landscape both come from and reproduce this memory by serving as symbols that remind us of the past" (2005, 443). Additionally, the social networks constructed in the neighbourhood are instruments for preserving collective identity, giving residents the ability to resist in order to protect this space of identity. Neighbourhood cements collective identity, but not just in relation to the specific codes and practices associated with ethnicity. This identity is also enriched by the traditional customs, social networks, rituals, symbols, collective memories and mechanisms of mutual aid that exist only within the physical living environment of that community:

"The neighbourhood in Sulukule is considered as 'inside' by its residents while the rest is 'outside'. Inside is the place where everybody is free and comfortable. Outside signifies rules, absence of freedom and unfriendly relations. [...] People in Sulukule live in the streets of the neighbourhood rather than their house. Except sleeping and eating, all activities are going on the streets within the community. Especially women and children stay almost every time in the neighbourhood and go to the outside only for few needs absents there. Women take their chairs and stay in their street together and chat until the evening. The neighbourhood is their main socialisation area." (Güngör 2008, 2).

Identity, insofar as it relates to belonging to a space, was also mentioned several times by the interviewees as an important aspect of the individual and a source of pride. Several aspects of Romani culture, in particular their music, the festive character of their gatherings and their gaiety, are in direct opposition to the delinquency attributed to this neighbourhood by public authorities. In both instances, identity is specifically related to the neighbourhood or city, with inhabitants in both places underlining the importance of their neighbourhood to their sense of self.

After the destruction of their neighbourhood, organisations struggling against the project started to progressively leave the neighbourhood as their claims were not heard. The inhabitants then stayed alone to adapt to

the new life conditions, losing most of their social marks and relationships. As a result, they found new forms of resistance in their search for survival.

Firstly, the Romanis did not easily accept their resettlement in Tasoluk, which was undertaken without considering their way of life. For them, Tasoluk was a ghetto almost completely cut off from the city centre, making it impossible to maintain their traditional profession as musicians:

> "They proposed installing us in an area 30 km away from here where there is nothing which looks like a city. To take a bus, to see a doctor, it is necessary to walk kilometres. All these things could be managed in some way but we are musicians, we earn our living like that. Tell me, who will travel 30 km to listen to us? Who will come to our houses? Our music is our life. We cannot live without it, but they tell us to find other jobs even though we cannot do anything else. They should give us the freedom to exercise our talent here in Sulukule." (Sakir, inhabitant and activist in Sulukule).

As a result, the majority of the Romanis returned to the district of Fatih in neighbourhoods near to Sulukule. As Sulukule was demolished, they rented apartments or moved in with close relatives, especially in Karagümrük, where there is another important Romani community. In this way they have reproduced the daily structure of Sulukule society with the same social unity and similar arrangements of streets and Turkish cafés, where the most of neighbourhood's men spend their day.

Another example of this symbolic reinvestment of the neighbourhood was the re-establishment of cultural rituals such as marriages, burials or boys' circumcision. Until the rubble was entirely removed, those that had left the district decided to organise their marriage or circumcision inside Sulukule, with the musicians of the district. Romanis remain particularly attached to their feast, which becomes thus "a place of production of modes of identification, categorical attributions, symbolic borders, signals and devices of differences" (Dorrier-Apprill and Gervais-Lambony 2007, 176).

This attachment allows dwellers, dispersed in the city because of the project, to register a collective action intended to maintain a strong social network, to make visible a cultural identity and finally to put forward the shared identity in the neighbourhood (Stébé and Marchal 2011). Lastly, the district thus reconstituted, thanks to the continuation of symbolic acts, makes it possible for dwellers to affirm their right to appropriate the city, to form it according to their needs and practices and to refuse the public processes of decision-making that excluded them. These claims are not, however, expressed as acts of citizenship in public space through mobilisations, petitions or street demonstrations.

This resistance is observable within the district by ordinary acts of everyday life, such as the permanent watchfulness of residents who are now aware of the irreversible loss of Sulukule. This watchfulness could be explained by the will to protect this new life space they created as alternative and exerted in particular by the control of foreign people coming to the neighbourhood from outside. This was because of the way in which the project was launched. The transformation project was conceived by the agents of the municipality, followed by a signature of approval being proposed to residents, often illiterate, explaining that it was simply a reinforcement of buildings against earthquake risk. Being suspicious about the repetition of the same type of misleading behaviour from the public actors, the inhabitants do not appreciate and welcome people coming from outside. It is no longer easy for them to pass along the neighbourhood without being bothered and followed by the children of the community.

Lastly, Romanis consider that, if the mobilisation of associations, as presented earlier in this article, was not successful in stopping the project, then it was mainly because residents did not consider themselves as citizens enjoying their rights *vis-à-vis* the state and its institutions. From this point of view, it proved necessary to develop and to make visible the Romani identity and culture in public space in order to claim it as a citizen's right:

> "For various reasons, Romanis were never regarded as equal citizens to the others. Romanis should be recognised and protected like one of the founder communities of the Republic as they also worked for the foundation of this country. So we claim rights within a constitutional framework as equal citizens and with a whole share."[12]

The opening of a studio bringing together well-known musicians, coming from Sulukule, and the organisation of a concert at *GarajIstanbul* (a famous concert hall) in 2007, were some of the first examples.

Lately, three young people of the neighbourhood founded a rap group called *Tahribat-i Isyan* (Revolt against the destruction) to express their opposition and their anger at the transformation of their neighbourhood. Zenci, the singer of the group, explains that "people should not speak any

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[12] Declaration of Romani Associations, addressed to the Parliamentary Commission for a New Constitution, published in *Aksam*, 17 April 2012 [our translation].

more about Sulukule only for report incidents like street battles, the sale of drug or the battle of gangs. People should speak about Sulukule to evoke its music, its rappers, its culture".[13]

Conclusion

The example of Sulukule proposes alternative ways of thinking about the conception and the use of urban space. The resistance observed in this neighbourhood shows that dwellers are sometimes able to resist urban public policy without using the tools of contentious politics, but rather by mobilising the resources that could be provided. This statement alludes to possible ways in which spatial constraints are turned to one's advantage in political and social struggles and the ways that such struggles can restructure the meanings, uses, and strategic valence of space (Sewell 2001).

As Lefebvre points out in *La production de l'espace*, space becomes a place of struggle for its appropriation and conception between public actors and their opponents. In this struggle, the right to the city is chosen as a tool by urban dwellers in order to legitimate their right to "be" in the city. Neo-liberal hegemony tends to absorb alternative logics and shape them to its ends, as was the case for the alternative lifestyle of Romanis in Sulukule. Claiming a right to the city in that context is a challenge (Purcell 2008). Resistance in Sulukule claimed a right to appropriation, in Lefebvre's terms, to show that the city belongs to everyone and that it is unowned.

As Purcell argues, the meaning of the right to the city is enriched by local patterns and struggles, for it would mean that neighbourhood groups (not citywide bodies) should decide how neighbourhood space is produced, since they inhabit that space fully every day (2008, 101). The right to the city is the way to control the production of space in the city.

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[13] Interview carried out by Zuhal Erkek at the Art Studio for the Children of Sulukule, 25 May 2012. Available at:
http://www.on5yirmi5.com/genc/haber.91801/sulukulenin-protest-cocuklari-tahribat-i-isyan.html.

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CHAPTER FOUR

A NEW EXAMINATION OF URBAN INTERVENTION: SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

NORA SEMMOUD

This article provides a partial description of research[1] that has the potential to be the urban studies counterpart of the perspective developed by Jauss (1978) concerning the dialectical, open and flowing relationship between the production of literature and its public reception. Following Jauss' example, my approach is based on the dialectics behind the conditions of production of urban space and its acceptance by the people for whom it is intended. Any transformation of space (or instrumentalisation of the space, according to Lefebvre, 2000), therefore, has an impact on social organisation. This impact can only be explained by shifting the analysis towards the means by which space is appropriated[2] or used. In this process, professionals believe they have designed a space for certain uses but in reality something else has taken place. The reflection is based here on the concept of the instrumentalisation of the space elaborated by Lefebvre (2000), who believed that there is an important distinction between what is happening *in* the space (what is *lived* and *perceived* by the inhabitants) and what is done *of* the space by the urban planning professionals. The space, considered *abstract* by the author, is

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[1] This research paper was written for my accreditation to become a Director of Research, and it was defended in June 2005 at the University of Paris 12. This French diploma is required to become a professor.
[2] The concept of appropriation is sharply opposed to that of property.

subject to manipulation and serves as an *instrument of domination*. Here, the *representation of space* is a specific conceptualisation of the instrumentation of the spatial organisation—a procedure—through the iconographic tools or the norms, to produce a space that follows the dominant group's interests (Lefebvre, 1970).

By facing any new urban organisation, inhabitants readjust the way they behave in the space. As Lefebvre points out: "[...] the designed space of the scientists, planners, urbanists, technocrats 'carvers' and 'organisers' [...] pushed to confuse the experience and the perceived with the designed" (2000, 48). Inhabitants, therefore, restructure the space according to their representations of it. It must be stressed that the forms of appropriation and acceptance of urban development correspond largely to the very features of urbanism (that is, its nature and social coherence, because people relate to it through their past experiences and accumulated knowledge). Taking these aspects into account, and as suggested by Lefebvre, it seems that a change in attitude on the part of professionals of urban development and planning is called for: they must necessarily take into account the usages of the inhabitants. This would enable them to see strictly the social impact of urban projects. The gap between the lived space and the conceived space sheds light on the "blind spot" in the operational view of institutional decision-makers that reflects their relative blindness to social organisation and the effects produced by their interventions on space. Lefebvre had already analysed this relationship between institutional decision-makers and social organisation. He shows, through such varied terminology as blind spot, the non-see [*le non-voir*], and the non-formal knowledge [*le non-savoir*], that the behaviour of the decision-makers could switch between the refusal to see and to know, and the ignorance and lack of discernment and foresight.

> "The blindness, the non-see and non-formal knowledge involve an ideology. The blind spot take place in the re-presentation. There is first the presentation of the facts and the set of facts; the way of perceiving it and putting them together. Then, there is the re-presentation, the interpretation of the facts." (Lefebvre 1970, 44).

Starting from these assertions and based on an empirical examination of urban planning actions, this article reveals the primary focus of reflection required when assessing the social acceptance of urban planning. First, in order to understand the social logic of an urban planning project, the conditions of production of space are examined through the representations and practices of decision-makers. Attention is then given to the contradictions that may arise between the promoters of a project and

the project managers. Examination of relations between decision-makers and the social requirements expressed by neighbourhood associations, meanwhile, allow a critical analysis of participative approaches and their paradoxical manifestations. These sometimes appear as an area of conflict, of conflict/negotiation and learning, or sometimes as an undertaking to legitimise urban planning.

Secondly, the conditions of appropriation of urban space, which reveal the social organisation, are analysed. It is important to recall here the words of Lefebvre, who considers that:

> "The right to the city [...] as the superior form of rights: the right to freedom, to individuation in the socialisation, to the habitat and to the living. The right to work of art (to activity participating) and the right to appropriation (although distinct from the right to property) are involved in the right to the city." (2009, 125)

The conditions of appropriation enable us to understand the social construction of a district, the specificities of the social groups that live inside, and their relationships with one another. They shed light on the interactions between social groups (Goffman 1974) and the way in which their representations manage in defining their forms of cohabitation and constructing of a neighbourhood *community*. Above all, they stress the dynamics of "revision/adaptation" of the urban space by its inhabitants to make it conform to their *habitus*[3] (Bourdieu 1972). Apart from the fact that this social reorganisation of space reveals the "blind spot" with which institutions and professional decision-makers viewed their interventions, it also provides elements that enable someone to re-examine the results of urban organisation.

These statements were based primarily on the case study city of St-Étienne,[4] located in the west of the Rhône-Alpes Region of France (Fig. 4-1). The example is interesting for several reasons: it illustrates the ways in which a city faced up to severe industrial crises; it has lost a considerable proportion of its population; and highlights how a city is fighting against

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[3] "The habitus is understood to be a system of sustainable and transferable provisions incorporating all previous experiences which functions continuously as a matrix of perceptions, appraisals and actions" (Bourdieu 1972, 118).

[4] The St-Étienne metropolitan area today has 400,000 inhabitants. The city of St-Étienne, with nearly 180,000 inhabitants lost approximately 20,000 people between 1990 and 1999.

Fig. 4-1. Localisation in France.
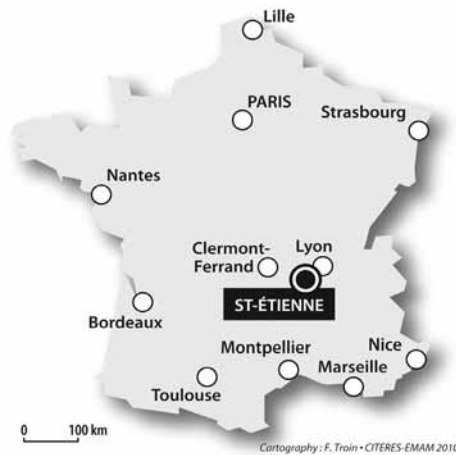
the marginalisation during the current metropolisation process (St-Étienne has suffered from the effects of Lyon's metropolisation growth). Cities such as St-Étienne are generally confronted with a dilemma: either to pursue a neoliberal[5] (Harvey 2011; Soja 2010; Davis 2007) perspective, focusing on the extension of economic investment areas without taking into consideration any social exclusion caused by restructuring; or to try to reconcile economic development and social cohesion by protecting populations from the on-going reorganisation of urban space. In this regard, Lefebvre had already noted that "the city and the urban reality correspond to the value in use. The exchange value, the generalisation of the goods by the industrialisation tend to destroy the city and to

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[5] American authors such as Harvey, Davis and Soja were among the first to revive the social and political critique of urbanism. Harvey, in particular, resurrected Lefebvre's thought on the urban, which had been obscured in France. These authors point out the dominant neoliberal logic in the management of cities. This management is characterised by the disengagement of the State from any serious regulation of the land and property markets, the financialisation and the privatisation of urbanism: "the urban quality, as well as the city itself, is now a commodity (in French merchandise) reserved for the wealthy, in a world where consumerism, tourism, cultural industries and knowledge have become key aspects of the economy urban policy." (Harvey 2011, 21)

subordinate the urban reality" (2009, 4). Lefebvre also observes that "[the exchange value] tends to absorb the use value in the exchange" (2009, 121).

My research, based on the analysis of the redevelopment programme in the Bellevue district (a former working-class district) of St-Étienne, was completed at the end of 2000. Focused mainly on the development of public spaces, the research[6] also consisted of replacing urban wastelands[7] by the *Clinic Mutualiste* and the *Îlot Charcot* residential complex. These projects were accompanied by the implementation of a tram in its own space,[8] the layout of a square, and the establishment of a public transport hub (Fig. 4-2). There were several reasons for the interest in the project of restructuring the Bellevue district. First, the project concerned a traditional working-class district and questioned the future of its social morphology. Then, unlike radically transforming operations such as renovation,[9] it was carried out in successive phases that were relatively unaggressive. Finally, it was a project that has led to confrontations between various decision-makers, which, ultimately, led to a hard-won consensus, particularly influenced by the District Committee of the South West of St-Étienne. Thanks to this committee, which liked to think of itself as representative of a large number of inhabitants, the project was directed towards the improvement of public space and the provision of amenities for the neighbourhood, thus abandoning a more transforming option.

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[6] Field work combines several tools: a corpus of 29 semi-structured in-depth interviews with residents in their homes, shopkeepers, and associations and politico-administrative actors, as well as 21 informative interviews carried out in public places. This resulted in nearly 50 exchanges carried out with residents interviewed during the consultation and the public enquiry. The surveys were realised in the second semester of 2004 in Bellevue.

[7] STAS depot, abandoned building and factory of *Îlot Charcot*.

[8] In French: *site propre,* it runs in a lane not shared with cars.

[9] Demolition and reconstruction.

Fig. 4-2. The Devillers' Project.
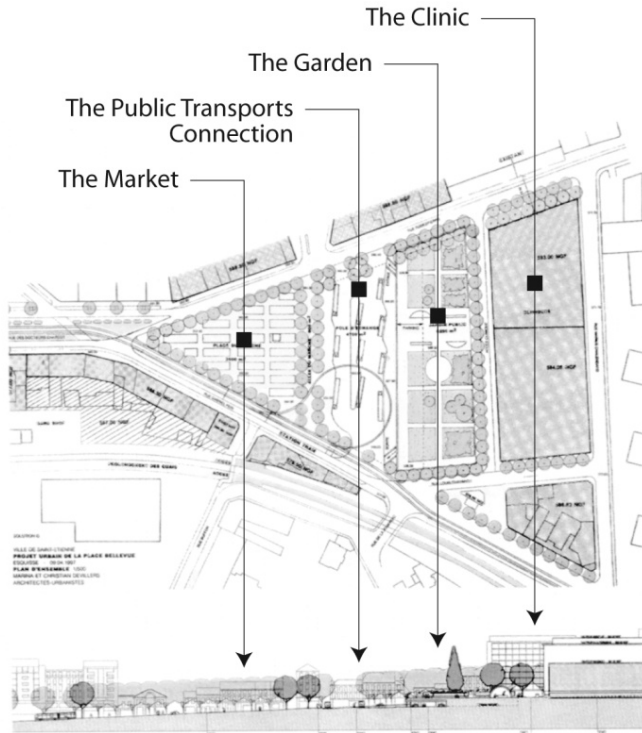
Source : Cahier des charges, Cabinet Marina & Christian Devillers.

The Conditions for the Emergence of the Project
and its Implementation

The concrete effects of the representations on social interaction and territorial process make them essential when examining public policies of urban development. The collective memory[10] and the economic and social

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[10] St-Étienne had to face a brutal restructuring in the 1970s and 1980s following the crisis in the steel industry and the decline of the mining industry. This included

crises are the cause of negative and demeaning representations that have affected the St-Étienne area. These representations were of concern to the public authorities and so they attempted to reverse them. The representations often reflect the relationships between the dominant and the dominated, and can be either shared or divergent, even if their institutionalisation usually ends in consensus. Thus, other representations beyond the strategies of the dominant urban decision-makers have had some effect on influencing public opinion, as shown in local mindsets, particularly for those whose family histories were marked by working-class and mining backgrounds. Aware of the important role that their families had played in the economic development of the metropolitan area, they strongly opposed all forms of socio-spatial marginalisation. Institutional decision-makers,[11] who had thoroughly understood the effectiveness of the representations on the perception of a territory, sought to influence these areas by erasing or promoting images, such as "black city"[12] being replaced by "green city".[13] This manipulation of images would be synchronised with urban transformation programmes. Thus, transformation of reality that minimised the nature of social structure, regarded as a handicap,[14] would legitimise the image and urban transformation strategies and policies designed to attract affluent social categories and economic operators.

These diverse perspectives resulted in paradoxical urbanism where development operations were taking place in Bellevue at the same time

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the closure of the mine shaft and dismantling of steel companies and large enterprises (Manufacture, GIAT).

[11] Elected officials of the municipality and members of the urban area community.

[12] This image refers to the representations of the ugly and dirty city, which sprang up in the 19th century, when the coal and steel areas were active and employers used this territory without worrying about the miners' and workers' living conditions.

[13] The image comes from the success of the local football team "The Greens" and the proximity of the city of St-Étienne to the wooded area of Pilat.

[14] The percentage of workers and employees in St-Étienne (26%) is considered high compared with those of Lyon and Grenoble, estimated at 23% and 22% respectively. But most institutional experts deplore the low percentage of managers and intermediate occupations, estimated at 13% versus 20% in Lyon and 19% in Grenoble. This social structure is reflected in the income of St-Étienne's households, whose taxable income is €11,000, compared with €14,000 in Lyon and €12 000 in Grenoble (1999 Census).
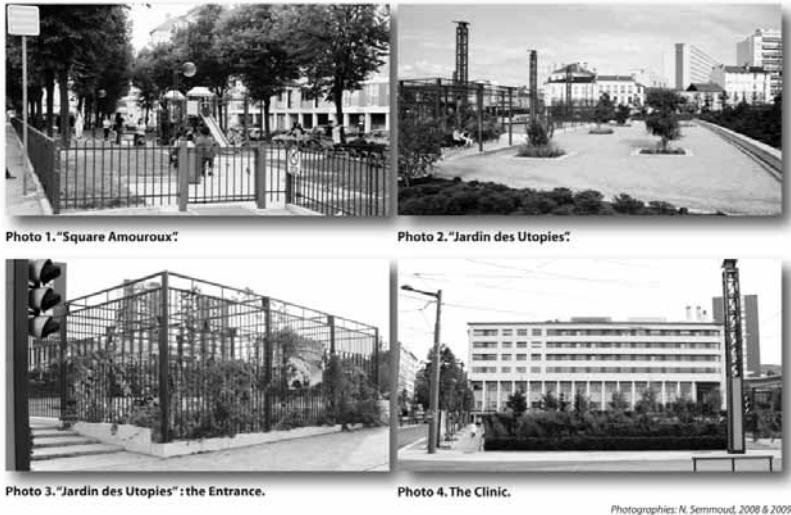
that large-scale operations were starting up at the sites of GIAT[15] and
Châteaucreux.[16] The goal was to attract executives and economic
operators, and to offer an elitist central location, but this then raised the
question of the fate of existing social space. Conflicting ideas of urban
projects correspond to a consensus that seeks to combine the desire to
attract both the upper classes and economic operators and to maintain the
working classes wishing to remain. However, this consensus was
characterised by a certain fragility when faced with the entrenched
positions of the decision-makers. A number of them called for
authoritarian urban development and exclusion, aiming to erase the
working-class past and opening up the city to new forms of economic
investment, and others urging urban programmes aimed at distributing
services in the city (e.g., public transport, social and cultural facilities) to
meet the needs of low-income groups of the population, while at the same
time welcoming the upper classes.

The evolution of the Bellevue development project perfectly captures
the changes that affect the balance of power between the different
decision-makers. In 1992, the first description of the project by the Catalan
architect Ricardo Bofill, was characterised by densely built-up areas, the
monumental design of which produced a crushing effect on the volume of
existing buildings. Local residents then set up a neighbourhood association
that initially was able to assert itself during the consultation period of the
project. Questioned by the elected officials about its representativeness,
the association organised a broad survey of the inhabitants, who rejected
the logic of radical transformation of the area proposed by the Bofill
project. Local councillors then decided to change the logic of the project
that was reformulated by the Devillers design office in a less aggressive
version. It directed its interventions on the improvement of public space
and the provision of services in the neighbourhood, notably the
construction of a clinic and a multimodal public transport hub.

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[15] The site comprised armament industries that were displaced, freeing 42 hectares.
It now hosts an "optical and vision" research centre, a design centre, an institute of
advanced technologies and a business development centre.

[16] This site, organised around the TGV (high-speed train) station and the headquarters
of *Casino*, was partially abandoned. It has undergone a total restructuring,
accommodating the new headquarters of *Casino*, many offices and dwellings
around the multimodal public transport hub, giving structure to the interaction with
the second tramline.

Fig. 4-3. Main Places.

Photo 1. "Square Amouroux".

Photo 2. "Jardin des Utopies".

Photo 3. "Jardin des Utopies": the Entrance.

Photo 4. The Clinic.

Photographies: N. Semmoud, 2008 & 2009.

The contradictions between the politico-administrative objectives and their awareness of the expressed social demands were reflected in the contrasted evolution of the project and made the decision-makers' work more complex. In addition, the process of enlargement/fragmentation of decision-making was common to urban areas and related to the large number of decision-makers and partnerships. Thus it has inevitably led to a struggle for position by the decision-makers on the new local power scene, while it made necessary the construction of a consensus. The large number of decision-makers and the divergent interests that they represented revealed their contradictions and therefore directly aided the action of the neighbourhood association. Despite a consensus on the unaggressive approach to the overall project, disagreements between promoters were reactivated by the project managers at the time of construction. They worked in a disorganised manner and individualised their work, thus diverging from the coherence of the overall project. The space thus produced is more like a puzzle that testifies to the division of the designers by their field of expertise: the clinic is an architectural structure that does not fit into its urban surroundings; the multimodal public transport hub, designed according to the rules of transport engineering, does not take into account the practices of the users; and the garden designed by landscape artists is more concerned with geometrics and aesthetics than its use by the public (Fig. 4-3). After examining the

condition of the realisation project, in the next section, I propose to analyse its social effects.

The Effects of Development on Social Organisation

The social reorganisation of space is a collection of processes that ultimately reflects the effects produced by the urban planning process. First, there are those that affect the social organisation of the neighbourhood and reveal changes, mainly in the representations that the inhabitants make of their renovated residential area. Second, these effects correspond to the dynamics of adjustment/revision of the new spatial layout that are set in motion by the users to make the space comply with their *habitus* (Bourdieu 1972). This will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. Thanks to the development of the Bellevue district, new families with higher incomes than the former, generally working-class population have made their appearance. They are composed of employees, technicians or managers, many of whom are descendants of workers. These changes in the settlement of the district have participated in the evolution of the representations and the sociability of the residents, who are working towards creating a new collective identity.

The labour past of the former residents, and the significant events in its local history, remain a symbolic reality determining much of everyday behaviour. When one belongs to a district where one's membership in a specific social group is approved, this becomes a mark that reinforces the process of identification with that specific group (de Certeau et al. 2003). This process is all the more important in the working-class district of Bellevue, where the new amenities partly concern the children of workers who in terms of education have been able to rise socially and attain a higher social status than their parents. For this latter group, they belong to what is generally considered the reference group (Boudon 2004). For many executives with their roots in other social strata who chose to settle in this neighbourhood, the working class represents a group whose values are mythologised. These executives may have the impression that the neighbourhood is friendly, and they associate this with the legacy of its working-class past and its work ethic of sacrifice and solidarity: "if there is a hard blow, we are not alone. We can help each other even if we haven't frequent relations […]. We keep the relations with the unemployed

persons, don't let them down, it's tradition."[17] In this case, what is important is not the numerical superiority[18] of the working-class social group, but rather its influence on the relationships between inhabitants. It imprints the image of the place, the lifestyle and, sometimes, the processes of populating.

The gentrification following the arrival of a new population in the district has had consequences for the social interaction between old and new residents. It is understood that the forms of sociability between individuals gives the district its social value. The interactions between the old and new inhabitants accelerate the transformation of the neighbourhood. When recomposing a traditional working-class district, there is in fact evidence of the disappearance of a system of sociability characteristics of working-class communities.[19] One of the negative consequences of the intensity of social relations in the district is often overwhelming social control (Bacqué and Sintomer 2002). Its replacement by a system including other social groups diversifies its forms of social bonds, enlarges its territoriality and frees individuals from community constraints. This diversification of the forms of sociability also depends on the social category, gender and age of the individual, and concerns several scales (e.g., residence, district, city, urban centre). All of these forms of sociability participate, each in its own way, in the construction of the social capital (Bourdieu 1980) of the district.

The analysis of the forms of cohabitation between old and new residents overlaps with other work, representing reflections on the present day mechanisms of urban social aggregation, and highlights two important ideas. First, the reconfiguration of formerly working-class neighbourhoods occurs through changes in the representations that people make of themselves, others, and their neighbourhood. Social cohabitation and the relationships that are progressively introduced are built from the representations of interdependence between individuals of each social category. From the symbolic capital of the district, which pre-existed but

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[17] Skilled worker, 32 years old.

[18] According to the INSEE in 1999, the workers represented 15% and managers 4% of economically active population, that is to say 2,762 inhabitants (49% of the total district population: 5,635 inhabitants).

[19] Research directed by Magri and Topalov (1989) clearly describing these forms of working-class sociability through which geographic proximity is the basis for solidarity that acts as a safety net against the risks of existence, according to Castel (1995).

was reactivated by them, new residents have been able to build positions for themselves in the local social space more rapidly and more easily than they could have done in another type of district, such as a wealthier neighbourhood. At the same time, they have taken advantage of the feelings of security offered by the working class, with its potential for solidarity. In this form of cohabitation, long-time residents may be able to get out of a chronic process of confinement in poverty or to free themselves from a path that condemns them to social stagnation. In any case, they benefit from the added value that this cohabitation offers.

The representations, fundamental to this collective identity, are fed by a real dynamic of diverse forms of exchange between long-time residents and new arrivals, such as child minding, rooms for rent, do-it-yourself and tutoring. In the end, the collective identity is built on a sort of interdependence where each one needs everyone else; an idea that can be expressed as: "you consider me worthwhile, I'll give you security; you give me security, I'll consider you worthwhile." This is indicated by the following remarks: "there are good people in the neighbourhood, executives, rich and they do not look down upon others" (Retired worker); "they are very supportive, honest among themselves [...] they give us lessons" (retired bank manager). The elements of identity are made up of a set of attributes that each individual assumes in imaginary fashion or that others assign to them (Bonetti 1994). This is what Augé (1992) defined as the anthropological domain.

Secondly, the above research underlines that the results of the reconfiguration of working-class districts according to the features of social diversity is dependent on the nature of the urban development undertaken. When they were spared by brutal transformation of the urban morphology to maintain the social fabric while encouraging the arrival of new populations, they gave the district "territorial means of conviviality" [*les moyens territoriaux de la convivialité*] (Raymond 1988, 4) or in any case, the spatial arrangements for promoting this social cohabitation and a development of the idea of *being together*.[20] Differences in the forms of reconfiguration of traditional working-class districts and the new features that they produce are undoubtedly associated with the political and social conditions of the transformation of these areas.

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[20] "Being together" is understood here as the attitude of exchange and interaction (Goffman) that individuals develop in encounters and co-existence. These practices are evidently driven by the representations of the residents.

The Bellevue district, spared by these brutal transformations, found itself in a central location characterised by easy access to public transport, and a large number of retail outlets and amenities. These are, along with the moderate cost of real estate, undoubtedly the fundamental reasons for the middle-class population's housing choice in the district. There are other less evident reasons that emerged from the discussions and highlighted their search for the *village*[21] and the working-class culture as an urban norm. Furthermore, the notion of *territorial valence* (Raulin 1999), which in my case goes back to the idea of added value, emphasises the relationship that city dwellers make between the spatial characteristics of their district and the social life that it offers. They willingly consider, therefore, the composite character of the district (diversity of habitat and activities), centrality of location (e.g., amenities, accessibility, dynamism) and the quality of the spaces as vectors of social life and conviviality. However, if the process had not aimed to transform the social morphology, the fact remains that the land and real estate processes that it produced could, in the end, have caused Bellevue to evolve towards gentrification. Indeed, the measures are used to regulate the property market. This begs the following question: is the choice to let the real estate markets take over and create social change in Bellevue deliberate? Social effects are inevitably accompanied by changes in population behaviour in space, as shown in the next section.

Processes of Adjustment/Adaptation of Developed Space

The appropriation of space is a three-dimensional matrix: first that of uses (e.g., patronage, travel, avoidance); the representations and significances that individuals associate with a space; and, lastly, the imaginary and symbolic projections that they bring into play. Furthermore, according to Dosdas et al. (1999), the psychology of space distinguishes three levels of perception of space by individuals, which are: the real, the imaginary, and the symbolic. This enabled us to sort the information gathered from discussions with the residents. The real corresponds with the description of the physical characteristics of the space and with its spatial properties: "there are not enough trees providing shade in the

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[21] A recurring term expressed by those interviewed that reflects an assumed conviviality.

formal garden."[22] The imaginary, while disregarding the real, feeds on it to create a dream: "the garden fence is cold. We get the feeling we will be locked in."[23] The symbolic attaches the significance to the meaning of words: "the neighbourhood is a village."[24] Beyond the convenience they present, to demonstrate the distinction between the real, the imaginary and the symbolic, these levels appear to be strongly interlinked with the appropriation of space. According to the psychology of space, the properties of the perception of space by man are thought to be determined by impulses, motivations, attraction and repulsion in a "space", which is sometimes imaginary, sometimes real.

The users' appropriation of the developed space is complex and includes the processes of adjustment/adaptation/revision, the significances, the imaginary, the symbolic, and ends with the reconfiguration of a new sort of topography, reinterpreting the spatial arrangements produced by the development project. Specifying this form of "reinterpretation" reveals both the spaces and the constraints that oppose appropriation by users: spaces that do not initially appear to have the capacity to be appropriated socially and, in contrast, those that will be overvalued and rapidly appropriated by users. The distinction, designation and the organisation into a hierarchy of these spaces by users, and the representations of the inhabitants, correspond to a large extent with the purpose for which they were designed, and reveal the obvious differences between spatial organisation and the conditions of use of the area. This is the case in situations that hinder the conformity of the space with the *habitus*, notably the spatial arrangements that make conditions of appropriation difficult.

Those making the decision to develop, and particularly the designers,[25] do not shrink from using the idea that the space always ends up being socially appropriated, in order to argue in favour of their architectural and

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[22] Excerpt from an interview with Mrs. M.G. (66 years old, former owner of a haberdasher's).

[23] Excerpt from an interview with Mr. D.M. (52 years old, engineer, whose origins are working class).

[24] Excerpt from an interview with Mr. W. (35 years old, English teacher).

[25] This idea has often been a subject of opposition by designers in regard to the councillors of St-Étienne. They have taken the risk of questioning the uses of the projects presented to the CQA (Conseil Qualité Architecturale; the Council for Architectural Quality). This is an organisation where the members, assisted by a consulting architect, negotiate the redesign of projects that are controversial in the eyes of the population.

urban plans. For designers, this idea exonerates them from the separation they create, on the one hand, between the space of architectural and urban creation and real estate promotion, and, on the other hand, the practices and representations of the recipients in relation to their projects. A limited view of the appropriation of space does not realise the *symbolic violence*[26] (Bourdieu 2002) that the population can undergo (*via* these projects). It does not take into account the adjustment process of the population in its spatial arrangements that do not allow a sufficient compromise. In this case, the conditions are ripe for social upheaval and processes for demanding of rights.

> "[…] when a gap forms between the social and spatial organisation, individuals attempt to manage this contradiction dialectically, with greater or lesser success, by adapting the space to their practices and by adjusting their practices to the space. The work of continual adjustment aims to reduce the tensions between these two levels by trying to re-establish certain coherence between them […] with the compromises that are made for each one never being satisfactory. They end in processes where rights are asserted or in reactions that can provoke social uprisings." (Bonetti 1974, 197).

The "revisions" made by the inhabitants produce reconfigurations where various uses increasingly leave their mark on the space as the frequency in its use intensifies. In this way, practices such as patronage, travel and avoidance will "reconfigure" the space in proportion to the use that is made of them. The various uses of space by individuals appear in several aspects of social life and those that recur most frequently in their statements will be cited. There are uses associated with meetings and social relationships, such as discussions and appointments, drinks with acquaintances or having a chat. For example, an elderly person will go to the market, the grocer's or the butcher's as much to speak with the shop owner and with other customers as to shop. A youngster will arrange to

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[26] "[…] the space is a place where power makes itself known and is exercised, and undoubtedly in the most subtle forms, that of symbolic violence as unperceived violence: the architectural spaces, whose silent injunctions address themselves directly to the body, obtaining from it, as surely as the etiquette of the court, the reverence and respect born of distance, or better, being distanced, are kept at a respectful distance, and are undoubtedly the most important components, for the very reason that they are invisible […], from the symbolism of power and the real effects coming from symbolic power" (Bourdieu 1993, 256).

meet up with his friends by the footbridge or the tram stop. There are uses associated with observing other people and what they enable someone to learn: "I sit on a bench and watch people go by, see the way they dress and speak. […] I like watching people. Some I like a lot and others not so much" (former miner). Some uses are for leisure and recreation, such as walking around the square to relax, going regularly to the park or to a cafe for a drink. There are uses whose implicit goal is ostentation and representation, as demonstrated in the comments by Mrs M.L. (a retired French teacher): "I don't just wear anything when I go out in the neighbourhood, especially when I go to the market […]. The vendors notice your new shoes or the brand, and are more than ready to tell anyone who will listen". A young person confessed: "I drive around the square several times and I'm parking in front of the bar to make my friends green with envy" (25 years old welder). Lastly, there are uses that are strictly utilitarian: e.g., shopping, travelling to work, or a doctor's appointment. All of these activities are evidently specific to the way of life of each individual and differ according to sex and age. For example, there are the people with jobs who walk across the square quickly, and elderly people who stop and chat several times. The favourite places for each use also differ depending on age, gender and social status. Conversely, the spatial properties of various places are taken into consideration when choosing what a place will be used for.

Since it is difficult to distinguish the uses from the social and symbolic significances that are associated with places, I will direct my analysis to the words of individuals, trying to understand the subtle relationships between the practices of individuals and the symbolic, imaginary and emotional registers associated with them. First, the projection of subjectivity and affectivity on a spatial framework presented highlights the valuation/cancellation[27] of spaces. With this, the high places of social life are highlighted and give substance to the centrality. Second, the appropriation of space testifies to the lifestyles and the differences in the control of urban space, thereby expressing the specificities of each social group. Third, the modalities of appropriation indicate potential areas and define the shape of the district as it relates to its social makeup. The reconfigurations that I seek to establish should reflect both the aptitude of the space to be appropriated by the inhabitants, and their skills to circumvent the constraints on this appropriation. In other words, if the

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[27] Relates to the spaces absent in the residents' speech or strongly criticised.

appropriation is confronted with direct or indirect constraints from the urban environment, such as a greater or lesser degree of inflexibility in urban planning, then inhabitants will use their skills to bypass, redirect or overthrow these constraints. Conversely, when the spatial properties are permissive, an exuberance of imaginary and symbolic projections can be observed. In this case, the spatial properties reveal a "potential space", in the way Bonetti (1994) uses this idea for habitat. Bonetti emphasises the impact of the architectural value of the space on the potential for symbolic enhancement:

"Each space is filled with virtual possibilities of use and significances which are more or less rich, the attainment of which reflects its conditions of production and modalities of use but does not necessarily depend on it. This is why we put forward the notion of 'potential space' to define this paradoxical process by which a given habitat can both lend itself to a wide variety of interpretations and uses, and possess specific capabilities." (Bonetti 1994, 37).

There is no doubt that the connecting structure between physical space and social space is shaped through a complex process that I have barely begun to penetrate. Lefebvre indicates in this regard that "the needs are not in the 'reality' than described the market research [...] this means therefore to substitute social planning [...] at the economic planning" (2009, 115). Consequently, when all is said and done, the 'topographical' expression of this structure only reveals the tip of the iceberg. I can also consider a multitude of reconfigurations, each with variants of social specificities— e.g., symbols attached to places, the imaginary. For example, the appropriation of a space reflects the social characteristics of individuals and reveals the differences in their lifestyles and urbanity. Thus, as Frey demonstrated for the city of Le Creusot, urbanity reflects the differences in control of urban space and the lifestyles of people in relation to their degree of integration in urban income levels. In other words, urbanity reflects the duration of urban socialisation.

"A person can, in fact, consider urban areas as a set of properties to be appropriated, and the differences in appropriation as the result of the process of capitalisation through different economic, social and cultural means that are the primary distinction between different categories of employees." (Frey 1986, 180).

Thus, in the case described in the current paper, there are many examples of appropriation that demonstrate the social characteristics of individuals, their differences in urbanity and the representations they make

of each other. The number of people shopping at the market varies, for instance, depending on whether it sells second-hand clothes or not; goods sold at the neighbourhood's *Casino* supermarkets define which customers shop there; and the choice of the hypermarket *Auchan* or *Casino* indicates different modes of consumption. Thus, each concept mobilised by the process of appropriation could lead to a line of research, and, in the spirit of this section, to specific reconfigurations. In the next section, I try to translate the new behaviour of the population in space, through a specific mapping that I have named "Topography".

New Configurations, New Topographies

Taking into account previous considerations and the difficulty in transcribing to Euclidean space the markings of the appropriation, I propose to focus on common characteristics of the majority of individuals. The practices of residents are most evident when they are synchronously making the "cancellation"[28] of some places and over-valuation of others. Different reconfigurations appear as a sort of "negative," where strong contrasts appear between certain spaces that are more or less *opaque* and where there is the "super-imposition" of others. In any case, each site that is assigned of sense is then recorded in a hierarchy and plays a specific role in the daily life of individuals. In other words, the hierarchy represents a scale of emotional ties whose expression ranges from eclipse to excessive possession of the spaces.

> "Either they crossed the opacity of the places—mandatory mediation but forgotten—[…] or they tied their common existence to the very urban substance. Or else the decor had fashioned them somehow and made them similar in some respects, through an indirect relationship." (Sansot 1999, 257).

It is clear that when places are considered to be a real "headlight" of social life and, as a result, benefit from being over-valued by individuals, they become a focal point or point of centrality. This is not surprising since centrality crystallises the positive values attached to a district and, as it is part of its history, it is the primary vector of integration and improvement. Nevertheless, when mapping out the many routes taken by individuals across the square, in particular for those with no specific goal,

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[28] Spaces ignored and denied, because they are not loved.

we are reminded of the dramatization of daily life in public spaces as suggested by Sansot:

> "We are surprised to see the same people leave the square by one street and return by another, multiplying false exits and false entrances to the theatre. The city then has ceased to exist outside of the square. It becomes a kind of decor in which we pretend to believe, to which we grant, by convention, an appearance of depth." (Sansot 1999, 260).

I see in this process of over-valuing or "cancellation" of space an irony of fate: in appropriating urban space, individuals render "invisible" the places they do not like, as an implicit response to the blindness of the designers.

The proposed "topographies"[29] (Fig. 4-4) reveal differences in the control of urban space depending on the age of the individuals.[30]

Fig. 4-4. Topographies.
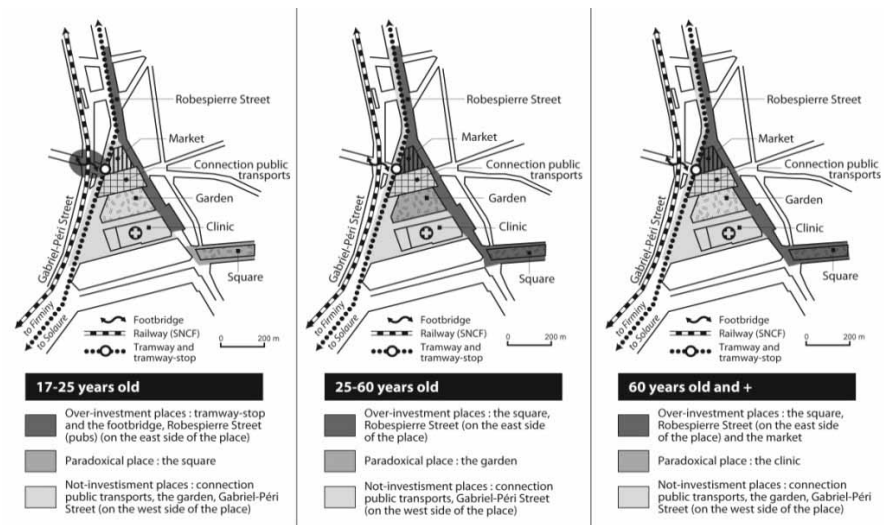
Cartography : N. Semmoud & F. Troin • CITERES-EMAM 2010

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[29] The approach inspired by that of Lynch (1971).
[30] The suggested age groups result from the analysis. They correspond with the thresholds where differences were seen.

Young people between the ages of 15 and 20 reveal two important areas on the perimeter of the square: rue Robespierre and the area made up by the tram stop and the footbridge that links the district to the secondary schools. For them, the rest of the square is more or less obscured to the point of disappearing altogether. It should be remembered that these "topographies" identify the preferential places and rank them. The concentration of young people between the tram stop and the footbridge is striking, even outside of school hours. This supports youth sentiment about this place, which is connected in their discourse despite being separated by the tramline; swarms of people and excitement that characterise the place remind the young people the "entrances of concerts or nightclubs, it is where everything is decided and it is there that one can to trying pick up someone without being seen" (student, 16 years old). It is significant to note that many young people eat their sandwiches while sitting on the footbridge, when they are only a few meters from the Jardin des Utopies gardens. Respondents mentioned that the cafes of the Rue Robespierre are particularly appreciated by young people. They can spend the afternoon there by chillaxing (chilling and relaxing), talking or sharing information. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are the only ones who refer to a lack of cafes in the square. Without Rue Robespierre and the square formed by the tram stop and the footbridge, the young people ignore the other spaces or they assign them to other inhabitants: the market for elderly people and the parks for children and mothers. Young people are the only ones who resort to this kind of assigning, which resembles territorial division, creating a distance with others and oppressive social[31] control. In short, the few places favoured by young people, as well as those they use for avoidance, represent a very limited space, symptomatic of their lack of freedom in the district. Undoubtedly, they are compensating for this by their appropriation of the city centre and other places in the city to which they devote considerable space in their discourse.

The market, rue Robespierre, and Amoureux square are first on the list of places favoured by the "topography"[32] of seniors (over 55 years old). The paradoxical relationship between seniors and the clinic takes second place. On the one hand, the park, the public transport hub, the car park and

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[31] "[…] if you smoke, they devour you with their eyes"; "They look at you as if you are going to jump on their dosh."

[32] It is an attempt to translate the modes of appropriation by the drawing.

rue Gabriel-Péri are more or less shrouded in darkness. In the end, the "topography" of seniors includes their traditional or customary spaces and rules out the newly created ones. As for the intermediary age group (from 21 to 55 years old), it combines virtually both of the two previous "topographies", using the places of young people as well as those preferred by seniors. On the other hand, the clinical and, to a lesser extent the garden, are affected with opacity by the population. Individuals in this age bracket, have undeniably more space in their "topography", which reflects a greater freedom of appropriation.

If the configuration of "topographies" seemed relatively clear to us in individuals' discourses, then the limits fixed in the district are quite variable. The very notion of limit is questioned in the variable geometry of the district and its different meanings. Everything happens as if by a process of excluding or including places. The individual carves out the district and adds on outgrowths, without necessarily defining a perimeter. Exclusion and inclusion correspond respectively to the "cancellation" and the valuing of certain spaces that have or do not have the capacity to become a part of the district. This concept of certain places belonging or not belonging to the district supplants the idea of fixing boundaries by a perimeter. For example, Mrs. P., who was questioned specifically about the limits of the district, cited the square, rue Robespierre, the market and the tram stop. In this case, the clinic, the park and the hub were excluded from the district. There is a sort of tacit refusal by the inhabitants to define a geometric perimeter because it would require the inclusion of the cancelled spaces. Geometrically, discussion of limits defines lines, points and areas which may either be articulated or split up. It designates sites full of meaning, located at Solaure,[33] Jomayère or rue du Mont, which form outgrowths in relation to the official limits of the district. These limits are strongly contested by those who, as a result, feel "excluded from their Bellevue."[34] The reluctance of individuals to discuss the limits of the district reflects their caution with regard to an arbitrary institutional process of symbolic exclusion from the territories to which they belong. In this way, the "topographies" of the inhabitants give substance to the place and explode the triangle of official projects. They designate places and itineraries near the square, as well as those that are clearly separated from

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[33] The District Centre and the parish of Solaure.
[34] Feeling expressed by several interviewees who do not agree with the official boundaries of the district.

it. For example, certain "topographies" may extend from the district of Centre II, to rue Guizay and Solaure. Thus, the district gains in substance "[…] whenever subjectivities intertwine with the required mediation of a set of streets, walls and public places." (Sansot 1999, 256).

To finish the analysis of the dialectical movement that characterises the production of space and its appropriation by individuals, the way in which the social reorganisation of the space can, in return, allow urban development should be questioned. When individuals proceed with the "cancellation" or the over-valuing of certain places, they refer us back to the logic of their design. For example, the "cancellation" of the transport hub and gardens is associated with the inclusion of the former in an architectural design of travel focusing primarily on the functionality of transport, and the latter in geometrics and aesthetics. These two types of spatial organisation limit appropriation, while the development of the market bolstered the conviviality that was characteristic of this place. Furthermore, the forms of reception described in this article reflect an unaggressive form of urban development that differs from radical, authoritarian urban planning. The unaggressive quality of the development of Bellevue reflects the dialogue which accompanied the project, making it coincide to some degree with the social demand for the modification of the district while maintaining its population.

Conclusion

By identifying the places neglected by the population and the potential spaces, the "topographies" established also serve to indicate the elements that Lefebvre (2000) calls a "counter-space". For this author, the confrontation between the "concrete space" (social space) and the "abstract space" of the designers, ultimately produces the "counter-space". It actually expresses the social reorganisation of a space subsequent to a development project, where the process of appropriation superimposes on a space designed by overlays, inversions, conversions and cancellations. Adjustment processes to (and from) the space were designed to express the confrontation between the practices of users and the practices of urban planners, and were related to the representations of politico-administrative decision-makers and professionals. This confrontation corresponds to the notion of "test space" [*L'épreuve de l'espace*] defined by Lefebvre (2000, 478) where all practices (in a complex interplay on themselves)—those of politics and of the social groups—confront each other in space. The practices are undergoing the test of space, which is where they win or lose their difference. The space becomes a mediator, an instrument. This

verdict on the designed space by the inhabitants testifies to the forms of social acceptance of the development. When urban development takes place according to the logic of consideration and development, the social organisation, particularly of the former working-class suburbs, escapes the risks of a breakdown inherent in authoritarian actions and options for radical transformation. In these circumstances, the social representations of the district are in a position to build a mode of social aggregation and assert a kind of conviviality, for which the new spatial arrangements have the material means.

In this context, participation, which itself is paradoxical, can either provide the necessary flexibility so that the representatives of the users shift the programme towards the social demand, or exclude them. In the first case, the conviction of individuals to have influenced, even slightly, the destiny of their district, gives them the impression of succeeding in a satisfactory compromise. Participation, therefore, contributes to the determination of conditions of acceptance of urban development. In any case, while not constructing a collective identity the collective experience of their participation contributes, at least, to restoring individuals inside the group. Bevort (2002), in this regard, offers a sensible assessment as he considers participative democracy as a political ideal and a successful model.

Finally, for urban planning professionals, the goal should be less to predict future uses of their projects or their acceptance by the public, than to situate their approach in a process of democratisation, and nourish it with knowledge from the social sciences. These two conditions assume the choice of co-production of the space with the users concerned and representatives from the required fields of the discipline. It is a perspective that is even more plausible when the project managers have a certain autonomy, and even power, which in this case becomes the power of mediation.

In conclusion, through my research I have tried to play the role of a mediator between town planning professionals and the social sciences. Undoubtedly, this motivation is linked to my dual position of expert and researcher. The approach of researchers such as Marié (1989), who, in the course of his career, always tried to be a mediator between town planning professionals and the social sciences, between development and circumspection, is a most valid one. Despite the discomfort, this mediation is fundamental to understanding urban environments and to working in them.

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Chapter Five

From The City To Crumbling Urbanism: Beyond Centre/Periphery Dualism
A Re-Examination Of Henri Lefebvre's Concept Of Centrality

Hervé Marchal and Jean-Marc Stébé

If, in his work *Le droit à la ville* published in 1968, Henri Lefebvre provoked thoughts on the question of urban centrality and its accessibility to city dwellers, the question had been, nonetheless, far from ignored by geographers and economists. As a result of the work of Walter Christaller (1933), geographers pointed out how well the centre accepted the functions of command, control and coordination to structure and prioritise city space (Gaschet and Lacour 2002). As for the economists, they specifically emphasised, in the wake of August Lösch's reflections (1971) for example, to what extent the centre is characterised by a combination of specific factors (the cost of real estate, the concentration of political and economic power, the seat of legitimate culture) as the origin of its dominance and its superiority over other spaces (Monnet 2000). Without undermining the achievements of the geographers and the economists, Lefebvre, in his political essay, was not only able to introduce space into the Marxist theory of class inequality, but also able to go beyond an economic and spatial approach of the centrality and suggest a definition that encompassed the social, the spatial, the economic and the symbolic all at the same time.

Considering centrality as an intrinsic property of the city, Lefebvre (1968) convincingly puts forward the idea of the "right to the city" which he places on the same level as other essential rights. By the right to the city, one must understand the right to access centrality, as represented by the historic, European city centre with its concentration of economic and political power as well as the amenities of city life (shops, schools, culture,

leisure, medical services and administration). Taken in this sense, we understand why Lefebvre insists on centrality, an essential component in our grasp of urban dynamics and especially the way in which "urban society" (Lefebvre 1970) is organised around the dualism of the centre/periphery including the rich/poor divide. In doing so, Lefebvre limits centrality as the only centre of the traditional city. However, the changes which cities have undergone in the last half century makes us question more than ever the Lefebvre equation that centrality equals city centre. Furthermore, there is the concept of centre/periphery dualism, which defined the industrialised city, still valid today in our understanding of the scattered and urbanized city.

Indeed, the progress of the urban front towards the countryside has led to the formation of vast peripheral areas, ever-more distant from the city-centres; areas which, if they are examined carefully, are not lacking, in many cases, in the essential characteristics of centrality. The latter are made up of many spatially delineated, concrete centralities, increasing the sites of the historic centres at the same time, as Lefebvre understood when he spoke of "centrality" in a generic sense as represented by the historic city. Therefore, the opposition of centre/periphery loses its heuristic relevance. At least, that is the theory that we have developed in this contribution, based on ten years of research in the agglomeration of the city of Nancy,[1] 350 km from Paris in the North-East of France. We chose this regional metropolitan area of 350,000 inhabitants because of its typical peri-urbanisation process, common in many French towns.

Methodologically, we combined both qualitative and quantitative research. First, we did statistical research in several outlying areas around Nancy based on data from INSEE (the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Research). Then, we visited thirty families in their homes and interviewed them in order to understand the motivation behind their choice of residence, their way of life and their connection to Nancy's city centre. These interviews permitted us to establish precisely how these families resolved the daily issues of travel, work, shopping facilities and leisure and cultural activities.

Following an examination of Henri Lefebvre's works on cities, we will return to the philosopher's predictions about the beginning of the "urban society" and, more particularly, the phenomenon of urban sprawl. We will then show how peri-urbanisation has gone hand-in-hand with an increase

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[1] Today, Nancy *intramuros* has 106,000 inhabitants.

in centralities, which, as strange as it might seem, has been almost totally ignored by most social science researchers into the way of life of peri-urban dwellers, and the motivation behind their residential choice. We will then return, based on our empirical research, to the importance that concrete centralities play in the lives of peri-urban inhabitants, which then will lead us to redefine, but not to abandon, Lefebvre's notion of centrality.

Table 5-1. Evolution of the Population of Nancy and of the Greater Nancy Area from 1962 to 2006.

	1962	1968	1975	1982	1990	1999	2006
City of Nancy (1)	128,677	123,428	107,902	96,317	99,351	103,605	105,468
Other towns within Greater Nancy (2)	79,093	108,505	144,390	154,634	157,020	154,663	153,058
Total population of Greater Nancy (3)	207,770	231,933	252,292	250,951	256,371	258,268	258,526

Note: This table compares the evolution of the population:
    (1) the city of Nancy as an independent, administrative community;
    (2) the peripheral communities in the suburbs of Nancy;
    (3) the city of Nancy with its peripheral communities making up the agglomeration of Nancy.
It is quite obvious that the number of inhabitants inside the city of Nancy itself decreased between 1962 and 2006, while the associated towns of Greater Nancy saw their populations nearly double over the same period. This inevitably led to the rise of new centralities.
Source: Agence d'urbanisme de l'agglomération nancéienne et Grand Nancy, 2010, 6ᵉ programme local de l'habitat durable [Local Program for Sustainable Housing], *Diagnostic 2011-2016, p. 22*.

The Beginning of the Urban Society

The Collapse of the Core City

One of the main ideas running through most of Lefebvre's work concerning the city is that of the total urbanisation of the planet (Lefebvre 1970; 1972; 2000; 2001). Almost at the same time as Jean Gottmann (1961) and Melvin Webber (1996), he demonstrated that the core city, the historic city, had given way to an "urban society". He predicted the collapse and end of the traditional city in favour of a new reality, that of

the "urban". A very important movement originated during the industrialisation era of the 19th century, when the "non-city"[2] conquered the classic city, infiltrating it, causing it to collapse, and, because of this, to extend beyond measure, generating the urbanisation of society. This movement then gave way to an "implosion-explosion"—to quote from Lefebvre (1970), who had borrowed the metaphor from the nuclear physics industry—that is to say, a large concentration of people, activities, wealth, possessions and objects; and, simultaneously, a huge explosion of the traditional city boundaries with multiple and disjointed fragmentation (peripheries, suburbs, housing estates, new cities, secondary residences, etc.).

After that, the industrialised city developed into "an informal city, a not-quite urban agglomeration, a conglomeration, a 'conurbation'" (Lefebvre 1970, 24), barely preceding what Lefebvre calls the "critical zone" (26).[3] The philosopher formulated the hypothesis that during this transitional period, industrialisation would decline; then, most importantly, he predicted the emergence of the "urban society", namely "urban" domination, not only in rich, industrialized countries but also over the whole planet. In other words, "urban" doesn't describe a finished, present reality, but something that will happen in the future. In fact, Lefebvre underlined how "urban" could be defined

> "not as a finished reality, situated at a time other than the present, but, on the contrary, more like the horizon, an enlightened virtuality. […] In fact, he added, the virtual object is none other than the global society and the 'worldwide city', beyond a global crisis of both reality and thought, beyond the old borders that were put in place at the time of agricultural supremacy and maintained all through the growth of change and industrial production." (Lefebvre 1970, 27-28).

This "urban" reality of living all together, concentrated in small, restricted spaces, concerns an ever-increasing number of people. The greater the number of people living in cities all over the world, the more

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[2] This expression is used by Lefebvre (1970) in his work *The Urban Revolution* to characterise the unstructured city, without limits and without organisation, made up of disparate elements: factories, depots, workers' housing, bars, shops, co-operatives and workshops.
[3] Lefebvre (1970) in his work *The Urban Revolution* speaks of "a critical zone" to allude to this transitional period when the industrialised city transforms and becomes part of "urban society".

the cities, as we now know them, will disappear and be replaced by "generalised urban" as Michel Lussault (2007; 2009) called it, using Lefebvre's terminology. Even if the historic city disappears in favour of the "urban society", nonetheless social inequality and spatial segregation are still present in the new "urban society" that started in the 1960s. So, according to Lefebvre (1968), the urban world will continue to be structured along the lines of a centre/periphery dualism.

Centre/Periphery Opposition

Centre/periphery dualism can best be interpreted in the following way: the city centres would be reserved for the well-off, the decision-makers, the managers and those who have the power to determine society's future. There, one would find places where decisions are made, like the headquarters of businesses, banks, and state administration. In other words, the urban centre would be the centre of influence, wealth, power, information and knowledge, forcing out those who do not take part in political decision making to the peripheries. The peripheries would therefore accommodate the less wealthy fringes of the population, together with factories, warehouses and transport.

There is no doubt that, for Lefebvre, there were, on the one hand, strong links between the core city and the rich, as epitomised by the prestigious Haussmann buildings, and, on the other hand, between the periphery and the poor, as symbolised in France by high rise council estates (HLM).[4] This is so if the connection between the centre and the periphery is hindered by segregation, which Lefebvre so abhorred. This segregation concerns both areas (centre/periphery) and people (rich/poor). It is therefore spatial as well as social.

What concerned Lefebvre was how much access the general population would have to the urban world in terms of services, employment and amenities, in other words, what Lefebvre called "centrality"; the objective being that the "right to the city" had to be respected.

"The right to the city legitimizes the refusal to be set aside from urban reality by discrimination or segregation. […] Therefore, the right to the city means the constitution or reconstitution of a spatiotemporal unity, of a coming together rather than a fragmentation. This, of course, does not

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[4] The complexes of social housing environment were built in the suburbs during the years 1955-1975 in the objective to solve the housing crisis in France.

prohibit confrontations or struggles. On the contrary! This unity could be renamed after ideologies: in external morphology, the "subject" (individual and collective) should be allowed to reaffirm its sense of self—of accomplishment (of self, of being) of life—the 'security-happiness' pair, as defined by Aristotle as the conclusion and sense of 'citizenship' [...]." (Lefebvre 2000, 21-25).

Regarding the right to the city, first of all, a civic programme should be set up which will be the vector for a political programme aimed at (1) developing citizenship, by this we mean restoring to all inhabitants the right to active participation in the life and management of the city, and (2) making sure that all city dwellers reclaim the city in all its aspects (spatial, symbolic, economic and cultural). In other words, Lefebvre wanted to end centre/periphery dualism, so integral a part of the rich/poor divide. Thus, the Marxist philosopher wanted to invent a new city in which everyone had the right of access to the centrality, that is to say, access to the amenities on offer in the city centre. Centrality restores the right to meeting and assembly; it rehabilitates the right of dwelling, of adapting space to one's own needs and desires; it also revives the need for individuals to be with others, to share in their lives and to define areas outside those imposed by political decision makers and town planners in the service of the state.

Urbanism, a New Standardised Way of Living

It is obvious that urban society, according to Lefebvre's interpretation, has become the norm almost everywhere. In spatial terms, urban is characterised by the agglomerative sprawl that extends into previously rural areas; commercial zones and residential developments surround fields and forests. The urban also means that there is a recurrent implantation of the same hotel chains, garden centres and even "do-it-yourself" warehouses from one agglomeration to another. An urban area integrates what previously was foreign to it by the continual building, ensuring *de facto* that areas, which, until then, had been clearly delimited, are joined together (cities, villages, fields, forests and rivers). From this point of view, the countryside has been to a large extent integrated into the urban network in such a way that the rural landscape has increasingly become the innermost part of urban organization (Paquot 2006; Lussault 2009).

In social terms, urban means questioning the space for the benefit of time as if the whole city is in motion (Allemand et al. 2004). Today, we no longer think about distance in terms of kilometres but in the length of time

spent in travelling: for instance, we don't know the exact distance between Paris and Nancy, but we do know that it takes an hour and a half on a high speed train (TGV). The superiority of time over space puts an end to the unity principle that existed between temporality and clearly delimited areas, between precise areas and specific activities, between areas and social membership.

In a general way, the urban is characterised by more and more homogenised ways of life, consumption and communication (Stébé and Marchal 2010). In this sense, urban, not only from a spatial perspective but also from a socio-cultural perspective, spreads well beyond cities and suburbs towards the countryside (Dibie 2006): in the countryside, people watch the same television series as in the towns; they surf the internet; they eat in the nearest *fast-food* outlets; they buy the same jeans and dream of the same holidays as they do in the cities. From this point of view, even if the question of urban generalisation has become the subject of numerous controversies (Charmes 2011), nevertheless, it has become, as Lefebvre predicted (1970), a global reality; that is to say, it is a worldwide social fact in the way it has restructured whole societies in the four corners of the globe (Paquot 1990; Urry 2000; Ascher 2001; Lévy 2009).

We cannot deny that today global urbanisation has become a concrete and tangible reality. On this matter, Lefebvre wrote "it virtually covers the entire planet by recreating nature, which has been stripped of all its natural resources (material and 'human') by intense industrial exploitation […]" (Lefebvre 1970, 220). Because the aim of urban is to become generalised, one mustn't forget, the philosopher reminds us, that it will create important decision-making centres that will become power hubs (financial, economic and cultural). Because urban's aim is to explode the boundaries of the traditional cities, one must expect, Lefebvre insists, that it will be the start of large peri-urban spaces, which will, in turn, create their own set of tensions within what it has been brought about: "between the centrality of power and other forms of centrality, between the 'wealth-power' centre and the peripheries, between integration and segregation" (225).

Peri-Urbanisation – an Urban Reality

The Movement of the Urban Front

It is a fact that, since the 19th century, city boundaries have been, if not eliminated, at the very least greatly reduced following urbanisation, which continually pushes the limits of the urban front further and further away. Today, more than ever, the core city with its well defined perimeter is

brought into question, because of the urban expansion which was at the origin of peri-urban areas[5]. The proliferation of peri-urban areas that are further and further away from the city centre, a phenomenon known as "urban sprawl", can be seen by the number of leisure and industrial complexes as well as residential areas made up of individual housing and large social housing developments (Arnould and al. 2009). Therefore, regarding the functional plurality inherent in peri-urbanisation, it is necessary to accept that peri-urbanisation is not an independent, homogenous and perfectly coherent reality.

The popularity of peri-urbanism has been seen throughout the second half of the 20th century; it has even increased with the general rise in the standard of living and the large distribution of the motor car (Fishman 1987; Teaford 2006): more and more households from different social categories choose to live in peri-urban areas. Peri-urban progression— which Americans call *Urban Sprawl*—has enveloped boroughs and small towns with services, educational facilities and social and cultural amenities (Garreau 1991).

Concerning France, even if the annual migration from the suburbs and cities has slowed down since the end of the 20th century, nevertheless the population of these peri-urban areas continually increased over the forty years following the second World War, with almost 15 million inhabitants in 1962 to more than 30 million in 2010 (Marchal and Stébé 2011). Even if this demographic growth is still apparent in peri-urban areas, it has nonetheless considerably decreased over the last ten years (Morel and Redor 2006; Degorre and Redor 2007). Even so, peri-urbanisation has inevitably produced an artificialisation of area or land[6] which has not stopped increasing: in 2003, artificialisation corresponded to 8.6% of the metropolitan area whereas it was only 7.4% in 1992 (Baccaïni and Sémécurbe 2009). To put it more precisely, the French Institute for the Environment noticed that during the first half of the 2000s more than 600 km² of new land had been artificialized each year, corresponding to more than 1% of the metropolitan area over ten years. Over the last few years in France, the Auvergne, Bourgogne, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, Champagne-Ardennes and the Lorraine regions have been the most

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[5] The peri-urban area usually refers to the suburbs of a large city.
[6] Artificialisation of area or land corresponds to the changes from natural or agricultural usage to an artificial use of the land (buildings, houses, lawns, gardens, roads).

affected areas by the process of artificialisation. For example, in Lorraine, the peri-urban front has not ceased advancing into the hinterland and is now 30 km from the centre of Nancy. As a logical conclusion of this, the housing market for first time buyers has moved into the peripheral areas, ever more distant from Nancy.

The Increase in Centralities

It is clear that if today's city has "exploded" and spread out under urban sprawl, it is now organised around a multitude of centralities. In this respect, Henri Lefebvre's hypothesis, that there would only be one centrality as represented by the traditional downtown area of the city, has not materialised, even though the inequalities between the centre and the periphery have not totally disappeared (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 1989; 2007; Lapeyronnie 2008); even though the gentrification process proves the attraction of the core city (Bidou-Zachariasen 2003); and even though, on a strictly economic level, individuals continue, to a certain degree, to spread themselves out between the centre and the periphery in order to work (Baccaïni et. al. 2007; Berger 2004; Le Breton 2008). The increase in centralities is part of the process of urban sprawl; it makes sense when we look at the ever-increasing urban progression far away from the city's historic boundaries (Bassand 2007). This new, urbanised town is horizontal, dispersed and scattered, placing, here and there, pieces of the town surrounded by nature and residential housing estates and then by commercial districts and industrial developments. This process of spreading or, more precisely, of scattering of the town invalidates all urban analysis based on the binary opposition of the centre/periphery, so dear to Henri Lefebvre. We must address the importance of the peripheral centralities, not only in the organisation of people's daily lives but also in the setting up of management projects in the peri-urban areas.

Looking at it this way, today's peri-urban areas are no longer only peripheral areas, they are also, and above all, urban areas in their own right, redefining, re-questioning and recomposing the city centre's centrality (Dubois-Taine and Chalas 1998). In this connection, it is the emergence of attractive peripheral centralities, full of competitive polarities for the city centres, which, for the last thirty years have redrawn areas and restructured urban life. And this is the idea that we are defending here, that, today, in generalised urbanism, the inhabitants of peri-urban detached residences organise their daily lives, not from the "centrality" as defined by Lefebvre, but from the centralities that are emerging everywhere in the scattered "urban society". Taking Lorraine as an

example, most especially Nancy, while it is clear that the historic centre of the city, embodied by the rue St-Jean, Stanislas Square and St-Epvre Square, has become one centrality among many others in the agglomeration, it is also true that the multi-functional zones (businesses, work and leisure) of Houdemont to the south, Frouard-Pompey to the north, Essey to the east and Laxou to the west, have, over the last twenty years, become competitive and complementary centralities to the city centre of Nancy.

Indeed, our empirical investigations on the way of life of the inhabitants of the peri-urban areas situated 10-30 km from Nancy city centre, have shown how much those emerging centralities with business, cultural and educational objectives have become more and more of an urban extension, inescapable from daily life and how much of a major factor in the choice of moving into a particular area they represent.

For example, the research that we did in a sample of communities in the north east of the agglomeration of Nancy, shows that daily life is, to a large extent, organised around the economic and commercial polarities of Frouard-Pompey and of Essey and not around the historic centre of Nancy. Indeed, from statistics taken by INSEE and from our own cross-checking of the case in point, we have observed that 80% of the 6,000 households, living in one of the 45 peri-urban communities, do their weekly shopping in one or other of these economic and commercial zones that have arisen over the last thirty years. As for the rapidly expanding concrete centrality of Frouard-Pompey, it has attracted and continues to attract the inhabitants of the surrounding communities, some of which are still rural. It is what has happened in Clemery, where, in 1982 there were 256 inhabitants and more than 500 in 2012. Other observations on the communities to the east of Nancy, more oriented towards the concrete centrality of Essey, show a similar pattern of demographic evolution. 8 km from this centrality is Champenoux, which numbered 650 inhabitants at the end of the 1970s and today numbers 1,300; in other words, double. Interviews conducted with more than thirty families corroborate these urban dynamics. We often hear that the only times a visit to the heart of Nancy, specifically Stanislas Square, was considered necessary was on festive occasions. A father told us:

"We rarely go to the city centre. We mainly go for the St. Nicholas Day Parade, the Grande Braderie [Flea Market] in spring or on the 14th July! It's true that my wife would like to go more often, but we don't have the time! In any case, she can find everything she wants in the hypermarket in Essey." (Head of household, 45 years old, physiotherapist, 2 children).

Similarly, other families explained that they only rarely go to the boutiques in the centre of Nancy, preferring those found in the shopping malls closest to their homes. Thus, a mother insists:

"Why go to the centre of Nancy, when we have everything here? You know, I take my husband's car and every Wednesday and Saturday I go to the hypermarket in Essey and I take the opportunity to take the children to one of the pizzerias in the mall or to MacDonald's. Anyway, it's more practical and less tiring! Can you see me spending three quarters of an hour in my car, in traffic jams, just to go to the centre of Nancy?" (Mother, 39 years old, secretary, 2 children).

At the same time, the first results of our quantitative study on the peri-urban areas, this time situated to the south west of Nancy, again explicitly show how important the peripheral centralities are to the way of life, particularly in Houdemont. Of 1,292 households,[7] it was found that 75% of them went to the centre of Nancy no more than three times a month. Half of these households, which boycott the historic centre, state that they enjoy going to the huge commercial centre of Houdemont (*cf.* see inset below) not only, as we often heard during our interviews, to "go shopping", but also "to go out as a family", "to go and see the latest James Bond movie" in the new cinema complex, and "to go window-shopping with their friends" as two teenagers from one family told us. Let's have a look at the significant words of a young mother:

"I wanted to live in the centre of Nancy, but, in the end, my husband and I decided to move to this village which is some distance from Nancy, which was fine for me because we aren't completely isolated and anyway, there are many shops and recreational facilities close by. As a result, we hardly ever go to the centre of Nancy. We go by car to the hypermarket in Houdemont or to the cinema nearby. And, we have to admit, it just happened like that. We've got used to it and now, we go to Nancy three or four times a year to go to a restaurant or to go to the big park in the city centre, near Stanislas Square, with our child. My husband is happy because as long as he can go to the do-it-yourself shop *Leroy Merlin* near the

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[7] In June 2011, we sent out closed questionnaires to a randomly chosen sample of 7,000 households. *In fine,* we were able to exploit 1,292 questionnaires. We were able to conduct this enquiry thanks to the support and participation of community and inter-community political leaders spread over an area of 90 communities south west of the agglomeration of Nancy.

Houdemont hypermarket to get things for his handy-work, everything's all right." (Mother, 32 years old, administrative executive, one child).

Fig. 5-1. Nancy and the associated towns: the rise of new centralities or new hubs.
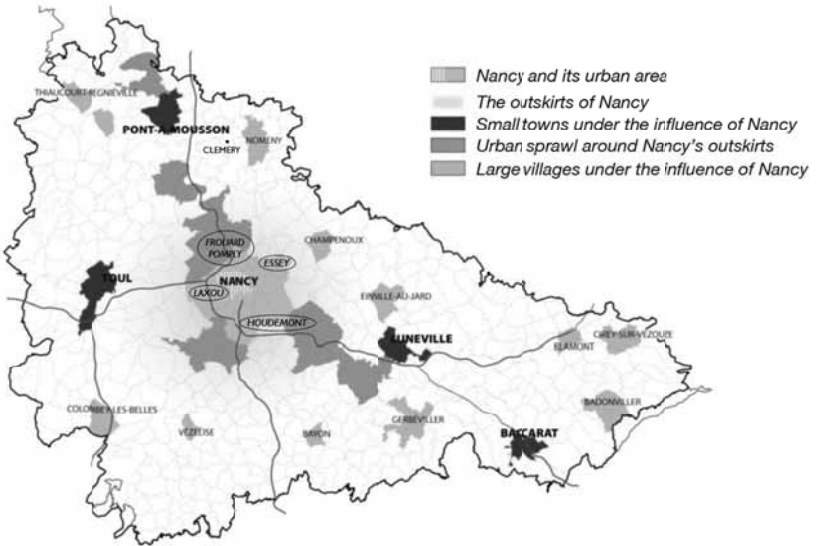
Source: Agence d'Urbanisme de l'agglomération nancéenne et Grand Nancy, 2010.

An example of peripheral centrality in Nancy

When you are on the A330 highway heading towards Nancy, you can see the Houdemont commercial area in the peri-urban landscape, with its huge awning of white cloth stretched over a series of metal masts making numerous small marquees. Above the imposing entrance there is the gigantic neon sign of the hypermarket. In order to get there, it is necessary to take the slip road 5 km before the southern entrance to Nancy. Once on the slip road you will find a car park on two levels, which is at least 10 hectares long and where there is parking space available for 5,000 cars.

To enter this commercial enclosure of more than 20,000 m², you have to take the escalator from the above-ground parking lot. The consumers from the peripheral areas around Nancy are carried along towards one of the gates opening onto the shopping mall of 65 shops. Once past the "Porte Majorelle", you will find yourself in an intimate atmosphere, which is helped by a warm temperature, dark flooring, pastel coloured walls, plants, peaceful music and soft lighting. When the consumers have finished shopping in the hypermarket, which covers three quarters of the commercial enclosure, they can browse in the shopping mall going from one boutique to another, from *Yves Rocher* to *Sergent Major*, from *Marionnaud* to *Quiksilver*, from *Sephora* to *Julien d'Orcel* or from *Jules* to *Petits Petons*. Clients often stop and have a beer or eat a slice of pizza before continuing their shopping in the other shops that make up this peripheral centrality, which stretches over several communes in the south of Nancy. In this commercial, industrial and leisure pole, there are numerous different signs for fashion, sport, D.I.Y. (do-it-yourself), and interior decoration boutiques, as well as restaurants, hotels and small and medium-sized businesses. On Saturdays and holidays and during the sales there are thousands of visitors, who can end their day by watching a film on one of the many screens of the Multiplex Cinema complex, which is not far away from huge estates of detached houses, built over the last forty years. The only reason for the building of these houses is found in terms of this centrality and vice versa.

This peripheral centrality shows how strong the desire to live in a house in the peri-urban area is, given that the periphery has ceased to be peripheral, since many elements of the city centre can be found there, such as commercial areas, schools, leisure and business areas. It remains to be seen whether the extension of the Nancy agglomeration towards Epinal will encompass a new peri-urban centrality by borrowing numerous characteristics from the core city. This established fact shows how structured the way of life of the inhabitants of Nancy's southern periphery is, and leads us to question centre/periphery dualism.

Fig. 5-2. The peri-urban front is getting further and further away from the centre of Nancy.

Photo by Marc Berthier.

Fig. 5-3. Scattered centralities in Nancy's periphery.

Photo by Marc Berthier.

Peri-urban centrality, made up of several concrete centralities, reminds us that the inhabitants of peripheral individual housing estates lead their lives, like the inhabitants of the city centre, around social hubs and densely built-up areas. In this sense, the presence of concrete centralities does not completely invalidate "centrality" in Lefebvre's sense of the word. In fact, when it pertains to peri-urban centrality or the centrality of the town-centre, there is always a question of the density of social life, cultural density or commercial and economic density; in other words, of access to the urban advantages. Peripheral centrality, therefore, shares common points and convergent lines with central centrality. In other words, centrality, which may seem, at first glance, to be antagonistic towards the periphery, can, to a large extent, be considered an essential support from which a definition of the way of life of those individuals, who choose to live in peri-urban areas, can be made. In the longer term, it may be helpful to understand that centrality serves as a horizon of sense, a basis and a justification for their way of life and therefore their choice of housing.

An Analysis of the Attractiveness of Peri-Urban Areas

One of the factors which Lefebvre (1970) referred to as "the urban explosion" was, above all, the result of the development of individual housing estates. This popular trend can be explained by the ambition of individuals to live in detached suburban houses close to nature and quietness, whilst remaining near a city centre and benefitting from the amenities (shops, schools, recreational facilities, etc.) of "urban society". Today, more than 80% of French people would like to live in a suburban house (CREDOC 2008). This attraction for suburban living is therefore one of the causes of urban sprawl and can only be understood, from the point of view defended in this text, by placing it in relation to the development of the centre peripheries. But, the hypothesis that concrete centralities, which make up peri-urban centrality, determine the way of life and residential choices has not been retained as such in the many studies made on the inhabitants of individual housing developments. In fact, social science researchers (Raymond et al. 1966; Charmes 2005; Maumi 2008) on this subject have put forward many other possibilities: the determinant factors in residential choice would be ownership of a detached property, an inheritance portfolio, proximity to nature, access to a safe environment, the desire to live as far as possible from the under privileged, or even mortgage rates.

Ownership of a Single Family Home

For some researchers, one of the main driving forces behind peri-urbanisation would certainly be in terms of the study of the middle classes or, to be more precise, their desire to own a detached property (Cartier et al. 2008). One cannot deny the success of home ownership: by the end of 2010, it represented nearly 50% of new homes (Authier et al. 2010). The enormous preference that French people have for single-family homes—for nearly a century 80% of them have voted for this type of housing—is well-known, according to research carried out by sociologists from the Paris Institute of Urban Sociology (Raymond et al. 1966). They have been able to demonstrate that the main question is not that of fierce opposition between single family homes and apartment buildings, but rather architectural design that allows the inhabitants to decorate their own homes, to adapt the space more easily according to their own needs (each person according to their needs and desires) and not to be dependent on the outside world, as well as ensuring a property portfolio for their children. The attraction of a single family home can be explained by the ideas that people have about individual property ownership: enhancing the benefits of individual property ownership, they aspire to not being physically confined in a block of flats and not to be legally subjected to co-ownership statutes. An apartment, as Éric Charmes (2005) observes, has never been able to compete with the house, where the inhabitant has the possibility to distance himself from his neighbours, play with his children in the garden and decorate his home as he likes.

The Attraction of Nature and Security

If, in a general way, Lefebvre (1968) saw all the advantages of centrality, he never grasped the importance that proximity to nature had for people. But, a single family home in the peri-urban areas has, for over a century, seen its power of attraction increase due to its proximity to nature: rural and agricultural landscapes relax the inhabitants on a visual, auditory and psychological level (Maumi 2008). But, it is important to make clear, as Charmes does, that the connection between the peri-urban inhabitants and nature and the rural world is relatively ambivalent:

> "The countryside factor is as much of a reason for the choice of housing as it is an opposing factor. The countryside offers what is lacking in the city, but it isn't in the city. If peri-urban inhabitants willingly admit to being rural folk, they are also townsfolk." (Charmes 2005, 40-41)

The inhabitants of peri-urban areas are not necessarily escaping the city; they want the advantages of both the city and the countryside.

Regarding the search for a safe place to live, Lefebvre showed some insight in the way in which he understood that the wealthy would band together, especially in the city centres. However, he did not foresee that this phenomenon of aggregation and retreat into safe places would structure the peripheral areas of the cities. Nevertheless, becoming an owner of a single family home on a peri-urban estate appears to be an entry into a "residential club", according to Jeremy Rifkin (2000) and Charmes (2005; 2011). According to these two authors, becoming an owner of a peri-urban residential property renders one eligible to become a member of an exclusive residential housing, benefiting from a special, landscaped and environmental social world. Access to each of these "clubs" is, of course, reserved for certain families because they are "controlled" by the housing market and the most prized are the most selective and expensive. In the United States, this phenomenon of exclusive residential housing is seen, not only as a social specialization of urban areas, but also, in the large number of *gated communities*, those private and enclosed housing estates that lead to the setting up of "residential clubs" (Blakely and Gail Snyder 1997; Degoutin 2006). According to Rifkin (2000), ownership of a single-family home *stricto sensu*, makes the owners feel safe but can also be a source of worry, so they seek to protect their property in order to enjoy the security it offers. In this sense, owning a single family home means owning this security, by providing access to a protected area, only allowing access to the amenities it offers to those who have the right to enter. Therefore, it is not only the protection of one's property that the owners seek—by means of whole systems of sophisticated surveillance equipment—but also the environmental tranquillity on offer in these peri-urban, private, residential complexes.

This being so, the feeling of insecurity doesn't quite explain the desire to join a protected universe; one must also examine, as Jacques Donzelot (2004) does, not only the reason why these peri-urban inhabitants want to extend the feeling of tranquillity they enjoy in their homes but also the reason why they want to avoid any contact with a certain part of society, especially the underprivileged, who live in the council house estates so close to their homes. We should, therefore, take into consideration this sense of identity that wants to keep those who represent failure, deviance, and poverty, as far away as possible from themselves and their families by living in a "protect ourselves" community.

Last but not least, we could agree with Marie-Christine Jaillet (2004) on the fact that peri-urban areas of suburban housing can be likened to a "mosaic" in which different social categories have settled in order to benefit from attractive mortgage rates.

Conclusion: When Urbanism Scatters to Become Multiple Centralities

Without a doubt, all these aspects hold an important place in peri-urban life, but, in order to understand the daily way of life of the inhabitants of the peri-urban areas, we must remind ourselves of the question of centrality in light of the problem of accessibility to concrete centralities.

It is important to put ourselves back into Lefebvre's way of thinking (1968) and remember that, by centrality, we understand not only the proximity of the city centre and access to its amenities, but also, and especially, in a larger context, access to shops, jobs, recreational facilities, health, culture and even education, all the aspects of centrality now found on the periphery. Indeed, our research on the periphery of Nancy has shown that the four large multi-functional zones of Houdemont to the south, Frouard-Pompey to the north, Essey to the east, and Laxou to the west, structure and organise the lives of the peri-urban inhabitants, as well as offering numerous advantages found in Nancy's city centre.

Therefore, we should not be surprised that these multi-functional zones embody so many complementary and competitive concrete centralities in relation to the historic centre of Nancy.

By extension, from the example of the Nancy periphery, paying attention to everything that we understand by "centrality" in the Lefebvre sense of the word, allows us to not simply focalise on only one aspect of daily life of the inhabitants of the peripheral areas.

Furthermore, highlighting the importance of peripheral centrality leads us to question the very existence of peri-urbanism (Paquot 2006) insofar as we can state that centrality in today's "urban society" is no longer exclusively attached to the historic city centre, which is the opposite to what Lefebvre thought, but is deployed in numerous urban areas, spatially distanced from the city centre, which have all the assets of "centrality". Therefore, we can ask ourselves the question of whether peripheral or peri-urban areas *stricto sensu* still exist today in "urban society". Indeed, an analysis of peri-urban in terms of centrality invalidates the concept of centre/periphery dualism: the centre can become the periphery just as much as the periphery can become central.

It must be said that the progression of the urban front over the last forty years has ended up generating peri-urban spaces that are no longer peripheral spaces today, given that they form an integral part of urban life and that, at the same time, they have reduced and scattered the centrality typical of a traditional city. Doesn't the emergence of centrality everywhere in "urban society" force us then to resort to a *continuum* (Stébé and Marchal 2009) with the centre and the periphery at opposing poles as rather rare situations? A continuum in which it is possible to see a variety of situations intermixing, in one way or another, characteristics of both the centre and the periphery? Hence, our proposal to identify here three forms of centrality, each one specifically laying out typical elements (shops, schools, recreational facilities, culture, health services and administrative services) listed by Lefebvre when he spoke of "centrality":

1)   Central Centrality, dense and agglomerate, corresponding to the author of *the right to the city*'s definition of a centrality represented by the historic European city;

2)   Polycentric Centrality, scattered but organised around multi-functional poles, like the North American *edge cities* around Phoenix, Los Angeles, Las Vegas and Houston, among others (Abbott 1987; 2001; Maumi 2008);

3)   Scattered Centrality, spread out over vast areas with increasingly loose chains, like numerous peri-urban French agglomerations, as we have shown in our example of Nancy.

This typology reveals how much Henri Lefebvre has allowed us to reflect on what makes up the lives of city dwellers today, to grasp the forms that now encompass what he called "centrality", and consequently, to exceed a spatial reading of urban society in order to understand the entire social stratum.

Finally, Lefebvre's sociology inspired debate especially around the concept of centrality, but our argument should not be taken as political advocacy in favour of one urban form over another. In this context, we are less interested in the political implications than in the analytical implication which is understanding its capacity to help us comprehend the city of today. As strange as it may seem, it is the development of "urban society," in the Lefebvre sense of the term, which has caused us to rethink "centrality" in the way in which it was understood by Henri Lefebvre.

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CHAPTER SIX

THE TRANSFORMATION OF ANTALYA INTO A "CITY OF CULTURE": AN ATTEMPT AT RHYTHMANALYSIS

REYHAN VARLI-GÖRK

Introduction

The aim of this study is to come up with a unitary theory to determine the strategies of the actors involved in the process of restructuring Antalya into a "city of culture", where Lefebvrean sociology meets Molotch and Bourdieu. To outline a theory of practice of the actors' strategies of the growth alliance formed to restructure Antalya, three distinct concepts coined by different social scientists were employed in this study; namely Lefebvre's "rhythmanalysis" to analyse restructuring, Molotch's "growth machine"[1] to denote the alliance of the stakeholders who hope to make the maximum gain from the restructuring process, and Bourdieu's "transformation of the forms of capital in sub-fields". Despite their differences, these concepts share a feature in their sociological methodology: they all acknowledge the power of agents in society without ignoring social structure as a reality.

Though the local politics and the strategic role of the Antalya Greater Municipality (AGM) in this process are highlighted, a primary assumption developed throughout the study is as follows. During the process of

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[1] According to "growth machine" theory, urban politics is centered on the struggles of certain individuals and groups to realize their material interests in the city (Logan and Molotch 1987). The holding together of structure and agency was a key objective of the growth machine theorists, but they also saw a need to distance themselves from certain structuralist accounts of urban politics (*ibid.*).

restructuring Antalya into a city of culture, some of the fields were restructured via the energy deployed by certain powerful agents who also formed the growth alliance in Antalya, and set a new tempo or rhythm for the game played in the sub-fields in the general field of power in Antalya to attract global tourists and capitalist investors.

Antalya, the research object of this study, is a city on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey. Its climate, nature, tourism investment possibilities and ever-increasing influx of migrants from other parts of Turkey have made Antalya one of the most rapidly developing cities in Turkey; and it is also the seventh most crowded city, with a population of around 1,100,000 (Kıvran and Uysal 1992, 37; Güçlü Özen 2002, 45). Because of its quiet atmosphere and short winter, the city has become a destination for retired families from EU countries, too, especially from Germany, Austria, Holland and England since the beginning of the 1980s, as well as from Russia, the Ukraine, and the countries in the northern Caucasus since the beginning of the 1990s (Varlı-Görk 2010, 193; Deniz and Özgür 2010).

In the early 1980s, the central government passed a law[2] permitting the 49-99 year leasing of and construction on the forest land along the coast line, which resulted in a great deal of tourism investments both in the city and along the 640 km shoreline in the form of hundreds of licensed establishments. Needless to say, these establishments dramatically changed the entire economic, social, and cultural structure of Antalya.

I first developed an interest in this subject in December 2002, when I started working as a Research Assistant at Akdeniz University in Antalya. However, it was after reading a statement[3] made by Menderes Türel, the Mayor of the AGM after the April 2004 election that I began conceptualizing all that was transpiring in Antalya.

Living and working in Antalya for a period of time, I felt I was grabbed by the city's rhythm. Coined by Lefebvre, the term *rhythmanalysis* refers to

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[2] "The Tourism Support Act" numbered 2634, which came into effect in 1982, is defined as one of the most important legal and financial tools allowing the channelling of investments to prioritized tourism development areas and ensuring the effective use of scarce resources (İlkin and Dinçer 1991, 44-45).

[3] About a week after the election, on April 12, 2004, Mayor Türel explained how to make Antalya attractive in all sectors of the tourism and culture in an interview with a national newspaper, *Hürriyet*, "Dünyaca Ünlü Üniversiteler Antalya'da Kurulacak [World renowned Universities Will Establish Campuses in Antalya]", Interview by Yener Süsoy in *Hürriyet*, April 12, 2004. Accessed August 31, 2012. http://webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2004/04/12/441950.asp

the analysis of the rhythm of everyday life found in the workings of towns and cities, in urban life, and movement through time and space (2004). Lefebvre also proposes that to properly analyse the rhythm of a city, "one must get outside of [this grasp]" (2004, 88). As Simmel states, "the unity of nearness and remoteness involved in every human relation is organized, in the phenomenon of the stranger". My outsider position in Antalya as a "stranger" allowed me to analyse the rhythm of the city with "a very positive relation, a specific form of interaction", in Simmelian terms (Simmel 1950, 402).

Above all, any *rhythmanalysis* necessitates a "feeling" of transformation from one phase to another. It requires an almost observable change beforehand, a signal of structural transformation or restructuring because at that moment any "arrhythmia" as the discordance of "rhythm" can be analysed. As implied by the phrase, the "transformation of Antalya into city of culture", the distinguishing feature of this study is its conceptualization of the on-going change observed in the city context of Antalya. This can be theoretically analysed in terms of structural transformation or urban restructuring via "growth machine" strategies (Molotch), as well as the transformation of the structure of the field(s) within the general field of power via the transformation in the relations of force [forms of capital] (Bourdieu). This is why "urban restructuring" is discussed in this study at the junction of Lefebvrean sociology, Molotch and Bourdieu. Throughout the study, the two terms "transformation" and "restructuring" will be used interchangeably since the term "restructuring" in urban theories denotes a transition from an old structure to a new one, reminiscent of *arrhythmia*.

With respect to the structure of the study, the next part elaborates on the method and methodology devised to gather the empirical data. The third section outlines a unitary theory specifically for the case of Antalya and the restructuring process there. In the fourth part, Antalya's restructuring process, which occurred during the 2004-2009 municipal governance term, is examined in the light of empirical findings. In the final section, some general concluding remarks are made.

Methodology and Research Design

Since the aim in this study is to examine the strategies of the growth alliance during the process of restructuring Antalya into a "city of culture", the study was designed to draw a model to scrutinize urban restructuring in four of the sub-fields in the general field of power; art and culture, urban policy, economy, and tourism.

For the purposes of this study, the representative(s) of the central and local government, NGOs, national and transnational companies, cultural and academic institutions, and the intellectuals in Antalya are defined as actors or players from different interest groups, in which four key sub-fields are defined. Thus, it is supposed that the agents who actively play in the sub-fields change the exchange rate among various species of capital with their strategies, while aiming to maximize the species of capital they preferentially possess, which also changes the structure of the field in which they play.

An *exploratory* research was designed for the inquiry, to enable the researcher to approach a social phenomenon *retroductively* within a time-span. This so-called *retroductive* approach in *exploratory* study design is also known as *realist methodology*. *Realist methodology* in social science is generally seen in the theories of contemporary Marxist thinkers who actually strive to go beyond the dichotomy of structure versus agent and begin with Marx's renowned assumption that "the social world has to be understood in its totality" (Sayer 1992, 83).

Various tools and techniques of *qualitative research methods* have been employed in this study, but the majority of the qualitative data was collected through direct interviews (28 representatives of six distinct, specific interest groups[4] constituting the "growth machine") and a group interview (six members of the Faculty of Fine Arts at Akdeniz University) conducted in Antalya between 2006-2009.

Inspired by a survey of economic development officials in 226 cities in the US, reported by Clingermayer and Feiock (1991), I posed four questions to explore the local politics and identify any indicators of the existence of a "growth machine" in Antalya to frame the case study. First, I asked, "Is there an overarching group or representative of any class or interest group organization in Antalya that takes the lead in the development efforts or coordinates the activities of other community groups?" Second, with the assumption that civic and business organizations

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[4] The research design is based on the following six dimensions of representatives of specific interest groups: cultural, educational and academic institutions (museums, theatres, universities, etc.); capitalist investors (both local, national and transnational investors); local government (Governor and Mayors); NGOs in Antalya and in other cities in Turkey (Chambers of Commerce, Architects, Engineers, and Associations, Foundations, etc.); the central government (Minister of Culture and Tourism); artists and intellectuals in Antalya (Antalyalite Intelligentsia).

would support growth promotion, I asked, "How active are these organizations in the city?" Third, attending to Molotch's emphasis on the importance of local media as a partner in boosterism,[5] I inquired, "How supportive are the local media in economic development efforts?" Fourth, to measure the strength of any potential opposition, I raised the question, "How active are neighbourhood associations in the city?" This was to test the existence of potential opposition(s) to some definite associations with the pro-growth coalition in Antalya.

Urban Restructuring Re-Examined at the Intersection of Lefebvre, Molotch and Bourdieu: Seeking a Unitary Theory

Theoretically speaking, this study is based on the urban political economy[6] approach which primarily focuses on the significance of space for capital accumulation (Saunders 1984, 258). Among urban political economists focusing on the local, Susan Fainstein shows how local property development is driven by global forces and the importance of location and technology in the new division of labour at the global level (Fainstein 1990); Saskia Sassen (1991; 2002) discusses how global economic restructuring has deepened inequalities at the local level; Allen Scott (2000) displays how cultural industries shape the economy of cities; and the contributors to the book edited by Michael Sorkin (1992) explore the ways in which these developments have created segregated, defended, and militarized spaces.

Going beyond the basic dichotomy between *anti-structuralist* and *structuralist* perspectives, Logan and Molotch focus on the diversity of powerful agents of urban change by criticizing the uni-dimensionality of Marxism for reducing residents to merely labour whose urban role is to be

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[5] Urban boosterism is a term commonly used in urban literature to demonstrate the strategies for promoting flag-ship projects to attract global capital.

[6] *Political economy* may be described as the analysis of the consequences of political choices that statesmen and other persons make involving the polity's scarce resources (Illchman and Uphoff 1969, 26). As they argue, the theory of *urban political economy* takes a stance on the "urban" by considering other political forces in the city, including *coalitions of influential elites* (like the growth machine), and the *collective actions* (social movements of opposing groups) of other citizens in shaping the future of the locality.

reproduced by structural relationships (Logan and Molotch 1987, 10-12). For Lefebvre, one of the forerunners of urban political economists, the influence of capitalism can not only be explained by "money" and its powers of intervention, or commercial exchange, the commodity and its generalization, in that "everything" can be bought and sold. Rather, he places great importance on *actors* like national and multinational companies, banks, financiers, government agencies; and the *energy* they evoke within the web of space and time (Lefebvre 1991, 10). Lefebvre himself underlines the transformative power of the agents not only as individuals but as institutions as well, all the while acknowledging the relevance of the structure.

In Lefebvre's theory of space, the urban consists of three related concepts: "space", "everyday life" and "the reproduction of capitalist social relations." That *capitalist social relations are reproduced through the everyday use of space* has itself been captured by capital and subordinated to its logic: "[s]pace, occupied by neo-capitalism, sectioned, reduced to homogeneity yet fragmented, becomes the seat of power" (Lefebvre 1976, 83).

Thus, the production (of space) "is performed solely by classes, fractions of classes and groups representative of classes" as in the form of growth alliances (*ibid*., 57). Agreeing with Lefebvre, it can be asserted that only the *energy* deployed by the actors representing the abovementioned interest groups has the capacity to *differentiate* space, in other words, to restructure space.

As Lefebvre has stressed, a remarkable case of the production of space on the basis of a *difference* or *differentiation* internal to the capitalist mode of production is supplied by the current transformation of the perimeter of the Mediterranean into a leisure-oriented space for industrialized Europe (*ibid.*, 58). Without a doubt, Antalya is among those cities on the Mediterranean coast where the leisure time of one class confronts the labour time of the other class. As such, and even in a sense as "a non-work space," this area on the Mediterranean coast "has acquired a specific role in the social division of labour" (*ibid.*). In Lefebvre's understanding, the social production of social space is not exclusively performed by social classes, because this space, as he argues, "is founded in the vast network of banks, business centres and major productive entities, as well as on motorways, in airports and information lattices" (1996, 53).

In Lefebvre's theory of space, "quantity" refers to the *spaces of consumption,* while "quality" refers to the *consumption of spaces* (*ibid.*, 354-361). On the one hand, *spaces of consumption* are areas exploited for the purpose and by means of production (of the consumer goods in

quantities and services). At the same time, the *consumption of spaces* refers to areas used for unproductive forms of consumption and by means of the consumption of space (for the *qualities* consumers seek, such as sun, sea, sand, etc. via tourism and leisure practices).

Above all, Lefebvre's well known proposition, "*space is a product*" means that "space is not just a built environment but a force of production and an object of consumption" (*ibid.*, 26). The reproduction of the social relations of production within this space inevitably displays two tendencies: "the *dissolution of old relations* on the one hand and the *generation of new relations* on the other" (*ibid.*, 52), which are two essential realities observable in the urban restructuring process by analysing the rhythm of the everydayness.

In Lefebvre's theory, physical space has no "reality" without the *energy* that is deployed within it. It follows from this that *energy*/space-time condenses at an indefinite number of points (local space-times) (2004, 13). In his book *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life,* Lefebvre notes that "everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm" (*ibid.*, 5). For Lefebvre, "rhythm" is found in the (measurable repetition of) workings of towns and cities, in urban life and movement through space (Elden 2004, vii-viii). Lefebvre himself uses the different notions of "polyrhythmia", "eurhythmia" and "arrhythmia" to define the notion of "rhythm" (Lefebvre 2004, 16). For him, the everyday reveals itself as "polyrhythmia" from the first listening. In this sense, "eurhythmia" is the normal everydayness of the rhythms in a healthy state, while "arrhythmia" is a pathological state or suffering. "Arrhythmia" as the "discordance rhythms bring to previously eurhythmic organizations" or structures towards fatal disorder or sometimes towards other organizations or structures having completely different healthy rhythms of eurhythmia.

In an effort to outline a theory of practice for the actors comprising a growth alliance in Antalya to transform it into a city of culture, it makes sense to first explain why these three distinct and yet complementary concepts developed by different theorists—*rhythmanalysis* (Lefebvre), *growth machine* (Molotch), and *transformation of forms of capital in field* (Bourdieu)—are utilized in this study. Since Marxian theory is holistic and works with a particularly realistic approach examining how the parts relate to the totality, it starts with the proposition that "everything relates to everything else in society" and that a particular object of inquiry must necessarily internalize a relation of the totality of which it is a part (Harvey 2001, 74).

   In my conceptualization, this relational thinking differs from functionalist structuralism, which ignores the actor. In Molotch's "growth machine" thesis, the actor is an active component of society and has the power to modify its structure. Hence, during such a transformation, the first task at hand is to understand how this dialectical relationship between the agent and structure enables and constrains the actors. Like Lefebvre, Bourdieu believes that "social reality can be grasped by relational thinking". According to him, the transformation of society takes place in sub-field(s) within the general field of power without ignoring the structure of the relatively autonomous sub-field(s) and the freedom of the agent, whose practices are generated by his *habitus* (Bourdieu 1998, 5). What I understand from Bourdieu's relationality is not a single static—or a set of—strictly structured relations of different parts functioning in society, as in Durkheim's structuralist thinking. Rather, Bourdieu's relationality implies a kind of *fluidity* among relations, akin to the art of *ebru*[7] (paper marbling), in terms of the interaction of colours swimming freely in photo-flo filled with thickened water (Fig. 6-1).

Fig. 6-1. Paper marbling from endpapers of a book manually bound in France around 1880 (Giacomo Leopardi, *Œuvres*, vol. 2).
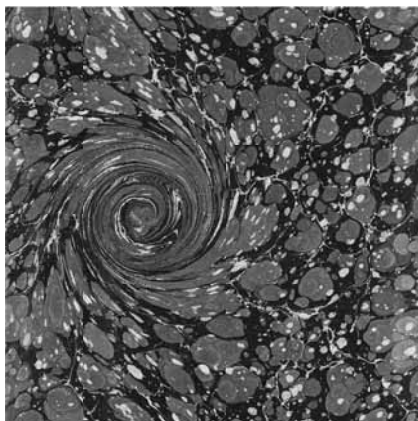
Creator of the paper unknown. Accessed 31/07/2012.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paper_marbling

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[7] Traditional visual art also known as "marbling" art: figures made by simply leaving splashes of paint on the surface of the dense or thickened water.

As Logan and Swanstrom argue (2005, 31), restructuring is the system's attempt *to resolve crises*. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the fundamental economic restructuring at the global level has shifted from economic to urban restructuring (Préteceille 1990, 29). Any attempt to analyse urban politics and urban policies, without taking this shift into consideration, would ignore major components of present problems. In focusing on the city, Smith and Feagin (1993, 13) visualize five basic types of urban restructuring as part of the global revolution that analysts since Marx have called the "new international division of labour". These are:

a. economic restructuring in cities;
b. state restructuring in cities;
c. household restructuring (including migration) in cities;
d. community (or urban social movements) restructuring in cities;
e. spatial restructuring in cities.

Beginning with the shift from economic to urban restructuring at the global level, the local governments and local groups have become major actors of urban, social and economic change. According to Logan and Molotch, urban politics is centred on the struggles of certain individuals and groups to realize their material *interests* in the city (1987). These interest groups make coalitions in the form of a growth machine that seeks to mobilize powers of local government in order to structure an environment conducive to growth (Wood 1999, 165).

In their "growth machine theory" Logan and Molotch (1987, 12) "give primary attention to the *strategies*, schemes and needs of *human agents* and their *institutions* at the local level". At the heart of growth coalition is the "rentier" class—those centring on those developers, realtors, and banks who have an interest in the exchange of land and property (*ibid.*). Rentiers are supported by a number of auxiliary players, including institutions like universities, utilities, professional sports franchises, chambers of commerce and so on.

Although members of a growth alliance are likely to have their differences, they are united overall by their common interest in absolute growth and the enhanced profitability of properties. They are the "agents through which accumulation does its work at the local level" (*ibid.*, 12). Virtually every city currently employs experts to attract national and global capitalist investors.

Through his studies, like Lefebvre and Molotch, Bourdieu saw the limitations of structuralism and began formulating his own theory of practice as a means of "overcoming a series of dichotomies" (individual vs. society, freedom vs. necessity, and so forth) (Johnson 1993, 3). In

Bourdieu's methodology, both "objective reality" and "subjective reality" differ from what he calls "actual reality" and/or "social reality" (*ibid*.). Bourdieu's approach to social reality is nothing but the same approach to social reality in Lefebvre's search for a "unitary theory" among separate fields of space—*physical/perceived space, mental/conceived space, social/lived space* (Lefebvre 1991, 12)*.

Bourdieu's whole theory is based on his primary argument that "the real is relational" (1998, 5). For Bourdieu, "*social agents are not particles* that are mechanically pushed and pulled by external forces," like particles affected by the forces of attraction or repulsion as in a magnetic field. Rather, they are the *bearers of capitals*, and depending on their *trajectory* and on the position they occupy in the field by virtue of their endowment (volume and structure) in capital, they have a propensity toward the *preservation* of the distribution of capital or toward the *subversion* of this distribution (*ibid.*, 106-108). He states that depending on the field in which it functions, capital can present itself in four fundamental forms: *economic capital, cultural capital, social capital,* and *symbolic capital* (*ibid.*, 242)*.

In Bourdieu's theory of the *field*, *taking a position* in the field means aiming at maximizing the composition of the agent's capital(s). In this sense, in each and every *field*, certain *interests* are at stake even if they are not recognized as such; a certain "investment" is made even if it is not recognized as investment (*ibid.*, 8). In Bourdieu's own words, "*interest* is to 'be there', to participate, to admit that the game is worth playing and that the stakes created in and through the playing are worth pursuing: it is to recognize the game and to recognize its stakes" (*ibid.*, 77).

In this study, Antalya is defined both as an actor bearing its own urban collective capital and a sub-field in the general field of power. With regard to this definitive aim, four sub-fields were selectively defined here because they represent the key production and service sectors in Antalya. Bourdieu's theory of the *field* and actors' strategies by *taking a position* in the field to transform the species of capital they possess for a maximum exchange rate in the sub-fields seems relevant for an attempt to understand Antalya's restructuring process. In the general field of power, to enter the game, one must possess at least the minimum amount of knowledge, skill or "talent" to be accepted as a legitimate player. This means "investing" one's (academic, cultural, symbolic) capital or one's social energy, in such a way as to derive maximum benefit or "profit" from participation. Under normal circumstances, no one would enter a game to lose (Johnson 1993, 8).

At any given moment, the struggle in the field is determined by the state of the relations of force between the players that defines the structure

of the field. The history of the field arises from the struggle between the established figures and the new challengers (Bourdieu 1993, 60). "Generally speaking, hegemonic or dominant agents have the capacity to set the tempo of transformation in the various areas of production, marketing, research, etc." (Bourdieu 2005, 201).

Using the theoretical framework detailed above, the following section will feature empirical findings, and examine the restructuring that took place in Antalya during the 2004-2009 municipal governance term.

Actors' Strategies during Antalya's Restructuring

As described above, the major task of this study is to understand how the urban stakeholders acted or what kind of actor strategies they developed during the process of restructuring Antalya. Since, for Marx, a structural level of reality that exists beyond the visible relations between men and the functioning parts of the structure, the hidden logic behind the observable relations of the capitalist social system, needs to be explored for an understanding of any restructuring process. In this study, the *arrhythmia* felt in Antalya could be regarded as the signal of restructuring of the relatively autonomous sub-fields with an interest for increasing the forms of capital invested by the agents in various subfields who comprise a growth machine in Antalya.

Marxian theory of urban political economy is pre-eminently a theory of crisis. As capitalism struggles to create a physical landscape suited to its needs and purposes (both in production and consumption), my most fundamental task was identifying the major reason underlying the process of restructuring Antalya. In other words, I tried to clarify the major crisis facing Antalya that needed to be resolved through urban restructuring. The research showed that it was the declining prices attached to Antalya's tourism services and products in the global market, which is defined by the interviewees as the decline in the economic, social, and cultural profiles of the current tourists in Antalya. Thus, the growth alliance sought strategies to increase the value of the tourism services and products offered in Antalya in various fields. The qualitative data shows that at least three types of urban restructuring have manifested in Antalya; namely, economic restructuring, state restructuring and spatial restructuring. The

major reason for the "restructuring" process becomes clearer when viewed through the lens of these interviews[8] depicting the crisis in Antalya.

> R19. "The tourists that come here lack enough culture to seek the local culture, anyway. They lack European culture and have been brought here for very low prices. The investors here recognize this. They build the Kremlin Palace. Tourists pay a pile of money to stay at a copy of the Kremlin, where they've never even been. In the same process of change, there are people in Turkey who lack culture, but have money that get pleasure out of staying there."

Although the profiles of the domestic and international tourists demanding the hotels in Antalya seem to differ from each other, the results of the study indicate that almost all of the informants believe that some of the tourists who come demanding "sun, sea, sand" (3S) trio are from lower income groups "lacking European culture"[9] in the interviewee's words, getting by on unemployment checks.

As a solution to the major crisis facing Antalya, the Antalya Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Antalya Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, ATSO) president R22 proposes that the highly luxurious resorts built by foreign investors will increase the monetary value of Antalya in the global tourism market. Informant R22 believes that these new facilities will be in demand with a wealthier European tourist profile:

> R22. "Like the Mardan İstanbul Palace Hotel[10] worth nearly 650 million dollars, currently being built in Antalya. It will be one of the world's [best].

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[8] All the quotations from the interviewees were translated from their original utterances in Turkish so that the grammatical mistakes and local expressions were reflected in the same way.

[9] "Lacking European culture or having low level of cultural capital". This phrase reflects the common view of interviewees who work in the field of tourism and complain about the cultural level of the European tourists coming to Antalya.

[10] See the news "Milyar Dolarlık Otele çok ünlü konuklar: Hollywood Antalya'da" [Celebrities in Billion Dollar Hotel: Hollywood comes to Antalya] *HaberTürk*, 08/05/2009. "1,4 milyar dolara otel yaptı, yemek takımına 25 milyon Euro yatırdı" [Built a hotel for 1.4 million dollars, invested €25 million in plates] *Hürriyet*, 23/05/2009. http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/11709458.asp, accessed on 21/04/2010; "Sharon Stone: İsmailov bu abideyle krizde istihdam yarattı" [Sharon Stone: İsmailov created employment with this monument during a financial crisis] *Hürriyet*, 24/05/2009; "Richard Gere: İsmailov Vakfımıza bağış yaptığı için geldim" [I came because İsmailov donated to our foundation] *Hürriyet*, 24/05/2009

Even though I have travelled the world, I have not found any hotels matching the quality of those in Antalya. […] It's important to balance the supply and demand. The wealthy don't go to places where there are low prices. But today, we see that as places like Rixos, Mardan İstanbul Palace are opened—and these are not cheap—we will see distinctions appear over time."

Although increasing the comfort, luxury and star level of resorts seems like a solution to meeting wealthier tourist demands, the contents of the product actually remain the same; the 3S tourism is offered, but it is offered to the global tourism market at half price. The total amount of tourism investments made as of the end of 2006 in the Antalya region was 8-10 billion, while, as of 2007, foreign investors started making billion dollar investments.[11]

Since there is no universal tourism experience which would apply to all tourists at all times, the tourism industry has transitioned from "one-size-fits-all" *mass tourism* to what Cracolicia, Nijkampb, and Rietveld have called the "new age of tourism," or *niche tourism* as a general term, meaning a customized approach designed to address the specific attitudes and needs of tourists (2006). This new kind of tourism involves 'niche markets' that emphasize their uniqueness in regard to cultural and ethnic heritage and natural resources (Hall 2002; Hoffman 2003). The actors in the tourism field in Antalya seem to be trying to retain *mass tourists* on the one hand, but reach *niche tourists* by creating product variety as a strategy. Of the informants aware of the gravity of the issue, during the field research, ATSO president R22 and R13, a representative of the foreign investor company operating the Antalya Airport International Terminal 1, provide the examples below:

R13. "We are not talking about eliminating this [mass tourism] because this is how we make a living. What can we do? Maybe we'll turn our hotels into boutique hotels. Make different investments. Value golf resorts more. People should be able to come here for a kidney transplant or to make their faces more attractive. The number of tourists we can bring with conventions may provide a quarter of the sun-sand-sea tourism. Another

accessible at http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/11713657.asp, accessed on 21/04/2010.
[11] See the news "Observer: Milyoner Cennetine Dönüşen Antalya Yeni Dubai" [Antalya, New the Paradise for Millionaires is New Dubai] *Hürriyet,* 01/06/2009, accessible at http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/11713657.asp

advantage is that this kind of tourism would not be limited to the season like the sun-sand-sea tourism. 80% of the foreign tourists come within a period of 6 months. The other 6 months should bring convention tourism, culture tourism, health tourism and so on, but these tourism products just have not developed enough."

R22. "We do tourism according to the temperature of the sea water; as the sea water warms, the number of tourist increases and decreases when it cools. As Antalya, we don't want to be limited by this. [...] We want to make high quality tourists spend money, which means we have to attract tourists to the city centre. We have to make them shop."

In fact, the diversification of the tourism in Antalya was a hot issue long before the 2004-2009 municipal governance period. For example, the golf resorts that first opened in 1994 as another type of tourism meet the demand of tourists of a different profile. "Golf tournaments"[12] are held in the Belek Region[13] which has begun to draw golfers' attention worldwide with its golf fields covering at least a thousand acres.

In the field of tourism the idea for restructuring Antalya from the traditional mass tourism of 3S (sun, sea, sand) into the urban niche tourism of 3E (entertainment, education, environment) was already on the Mayor's mind in 2003, one year before he was elected. When he was the Chairman of the Board of the ATSO in August 2003, he stated the following in the "Foreword" of the *ATSO Journal* (Türel 2003, 3):

"It is time to make the concept of urban tourism more prominent. Urban tourism is dependent on the architectural, cultural, historical, entertainment, art, conferences and fairs, shopping, sports and other such touristic elements of a city. Tourists visit a city for these elements, they come, and they shop. We have to remember that this kind of tourism is different than

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[12] See the news "Turnuva dualarla açılacak: Dünya Rotary Golf Şampiyonası Belek'te 1 Mayıs'ta başlıyor. Açılışta İmam, Haham ve Papaz dua edecek" [The Tournaments will begin with prayers: the World Rotary Golf Championship begins on May 1st in Belek. An imam, rabbi and priest will pray at the opening] *Milliyet-Akdeniz*, 01/04/2006, accessible at
http://www.antalyabusiness.com/index.php?mod_id=3020&tur=3&hbr_id=2057
[13] The Belek Region is 30 km east of the city of Antalya on the Mediterranean coast. It has beaches of 23 km, 35 five-star hotels and holiday villages, 3 27-hole and 3 18-hole golf courses and clubs with a total of 35,000 bed capacity within 2,210 hectares of wooded area "Bataklıktan Doğan Cennet" [The Paradise Born of a Swamp], 2005 *Vizyon* 19/214: 28-31).

sea tourism. We cannot expect the sea tourism customers to also be present in city tourism. What we need to do is to directly market the tourism opportunities in the city centre domestically and internationally."

In this context, Türel recommends the cooperation of the city shareholders to formulate a growth machine, to attract niche tourists searching for 3E, as do the entrepreneurial mayors of entrepreneurial cities who follow neoliberal policies.

According to the Antalya Branch of the Architects Chamber, eco-tourism[14] and culture tourism, which are the most significant alternatives to mass tourism, are the fields that most need to be prioritized in Antalya (MOAŞ 2007, 66). The Informants formally interviewed during the field research and those spontaneously interviewed, generally waxed nostalgic about how the tourists visiting Antalya in the late 70s and early 80s, were vastly different than the mass tourists visiting today, with their higher cultural sophistication level and higher spending potential; and that they went downtown to meet and experience the city culture of Antalya. According to the results of the "Antalya Region Tourist Profile Investigation" published in 2008, a large percentage, 60%, of the incoming tourists did not visit the city centre during the time they spent in the Antalya area.

In light of the empirical evidence above, answering the first two questions, "Is there an overarching or growth alliance in Antalya?" and "How active are these organizations in the city?" towards resolving the major crisis facing Antalya, the first finding of this study is that the AGM is the leading agency in the formation of a pro-growth coalition in Antalya, with a great deal of support from the ATSO, as the second most important agent. The subversive agents, namely the AGM and the Mayor himself with the support of other agencies in Antalya, had established new rules for the game and set a new tempo, which gave off a sense of arrhythmia or a discordance in the everyday rhythm of the general field of power in Antalya—whether aiming for a turbulent or harmonious field.

The Municipality of the Kepez District, Antalya Industrialist and Businessmen's Association (Antalya Sanayiciler ve İşadamları Derneği, ANSİAD), Akdeniz University, Turkish Foundation of Cinema and Audio-visual Culture (Türkiye Sinema ve Audiovisuel Kültür Vakfı, TÜRSAK), Mediterranean Tourism and Hoteliers Association (Akdeniz

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[14] See "Alternatif Turizmin Yeni Adresi; Eko Park" [Eco Park: The New Address of Alternative Tourism] (2005) *Vizyon* (19)211: 12-13.

Turizm ve Otelciler Birliği, AKTOB), the Vehbi Koç Foundation, Suna &
İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilization (Akdeniz
Medeniyetleri Enstitüsü, AKMED) and some multi-national land developer
firms in various fields such as industry, agriculture and finance with their
wealth of *economic capitals*, and intellectuals and academicians with their
higher *social, cultural and symbolic capitals,* are the other agents
constituting the growth machine for restructuring Antalya. This list is to
prove the growth machine theory developed by Logan and Molotch, who
state that a growth coalition is supported by players from institutions
including universities, research centres, chambers of commerce and the
like.

To answer the question "How supportive are the local media in
economic development efforts?" I observed that newspapers, magazines
and TV broadcasts, both local and national media, supported the economic
development efforts of the "growth machine" in Antalya since the first day
of the municipal election in 2004. In May 2004, the popular Turkish
newspaper *Milliyet* published a fourteen page supplement called *Business
Antalya*. This supplement virtually outlined the strategies in various fields
that the Mayor, incidentally an experienced journalist himself, would
prioritize during his five year governance term.

As empirically proven in the Antalya case, Logan and Molotch (1987,
50) argue that a coalition of urban shareholders, by working together,
comprise a *growth machine* dedicated to enhancing the profitability of the
local market investors. According to Molotch (1976), in addition to the
members mentioned above, the growth machine also consists of politicians,
the management of local media, museums and theatres, organized labour,
self-employed professionals, retailers, and corporate capitalists.

Perhaps, what is more important than the abovementioned findings is
that the state and the politicians who take part in the central government
are the most active players in the process of restructuring Antalya through
interventions in various fields whenever needed. The Lara Theme Park for
instance is an exemplary strategic project from this period involving multi-
level governance with the very mediation of the "state" itself, partnership
with the private sector even in the planning level, and legitimization with
the involvement of civil society in the form of NGOs. During the
neoliberal urbanism of the 2004-2009 municipal governance term, the
platform for communication and negotiation was eliminated by the hand of
the central government (or state) through the intervention of the Ministry
of Tourism and Culture with new regulations regarding this 3,500 acre
Nature Reserve. In other words, during the spatial restructuring process, in
order for the new players to enter the field of urban policy, the rules of the

game were changed by the central government itself, a new tempo was set or a new rhythm was established in the field: one which made it easier for the new actors to enter and invest their forms of capital in a more profitable way.[15] Informant R16, the 1999-2004 term AGM mayor, comments on The Lara City Park soon after it was concluded in an interview:

> R16. "Now that the authority has been handed over to the Culture and Tourism Ministry, all that's left for everyone else to do is to sit and watch. Unfortunately now we can't see where the Lara Cultural Park Project is headed. It's not about who gets the job. There will be a bid and someone will win it. The conditions of the contract are set; anyone who complies with the conditions has the right to enter the bid. [The company that prepares] the tender correctly wins the bid."

Based on Harvey's reflections, four main elements of neo-liberalism for a state are observable in the process of restructuring Antalya (2006, 44-48). First, *privatization*, which always follows the corporatization and commodification of public assets, has been a signalling feature of the neo-liberal project as observed during the privatization processes for a Theme Park in the Lara Region; for a Shopping Mall in Cotton Textile Factory Land; and another Theme Park on Muratpaşa Foundation Farm Land: the three enormous green areas in Antalya. Moreover, the commodification of cultural forms, histories and intellectual creativity through tourism entails wholesale dispossessions as observed with the introduction of the concept of "city of culture" as a new image for Antalya, Antalya's *collective cultural capital* is to be commoditised and through which it is transformed into *economic capital* with higher sales in the field of tourism in a global context.

According to Harvey, the strong wave of *financialization* as the second major element of neo-liberalism, which set in after 1980, is marked by a speculative and predatory style. The third element of neo-liberalism, *the creation, management and manipulation of crises* on the world stage has evolved into the fine art of deliberative redistribution of wealth from poor

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[15] The region including Lara City Park was declared a Cultural and Tourism Preservation and Development Region (KTKGB). The resolution was put into effect through its announcement in the September 6th, 2004 issue of Official Gazette numbered 25575. With this resolution, all planning authority regarding the space at any scale was handed over to the Culture and Tourism Ministry (MOAŞ 2007, 71-72).

countries to the rich. As Harvey mentions, the *state,* as the fourth element of neoliberalism, as the *prime agent* of redistributive policies, becomes an agent for profit policies and programs. This results in the reversal of the flow of capital, previously trickling down from upper to lower classes as seen in social progressive urban policies. Since the concept "redistribution" does not necessarily mean distributing equally, in this new neoliberal governance term in Antalya, the wealth of the city was to be redistributed to the new players in the field.

Hence, the process of 'urban restructuring' in Antalya to resolve the crises in the field of tourism spread toward other fields, namely the field of urban planning and design via spatial restructuring, the field of art and culture via internationalization of cultural events, and finally to the field of economy with the hope of becoming a "world city". In actuality, the visible acceleration in the "urban restructuring" process, aiming to develop "urban tourism" in Antalya and encompassing the fields mentioned above, could be attributed to the municipal and central governments being composed of administrators from the same political party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, Justice and Development Party, AKP) as pointed out by some informants.

> R24. "Until today, there were always a different party's (Republican People's Party, CHP) contributions along a social democratic path on the entire coastline where tourism is strong. But there is a changing trend in all touristic areas and that is towards AKP, the party in power. This change and these different expectations might be due to Turkey's structure. Because if you are a municipality at odds with the central government, this means you profit less from this. Of course, the increase in the investments in Antalya especially during this period, this air of change, in other words this transition from town to city was only possible with support from Ankara, as well. But this would not be happening solely through Ankara's assistance. There were locals who wanted this change that contributed to this."

One of the central arguments of this study is that the "state", or more accurately, "the central government" is literally an actor in the "growth machine" formation in the process of restructuring Antalya. Looking at how often the Prime Minister and the relevant ministries visit Antalya, the significance the city holds for the central government is clear. Informants comment on the importance the central government places on Antalya:

> R18. "Let me tell you this: the investments made by the government in the last 4-5 years are equivalent to the investments made over the last 50 years. This means 5 quadrillion. This is a serious figure. Antalya has become a city of considerable prestige with all its roads, connecting roads, the second

airport terminal, its hall of justice and all other investments. The central government has contributed enormously. In the last five years, that is. If it weren't for this support, honestly, tourism in Antalya would come to a halt […]."

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, during a speech on television on a news show said, "*I have been to Antalya 28 times. Why? Because we need vision cities*, [we need] *brand cities*"[16] and reveals the active role the central government plays in restructuring Antalya.

During the interviews, to measure the strength of the potential opposition, I posed the question, "*How active are the neighbourhood associations in the city?*" The answer accompanied the finding regarding *collective actions* of opposing groups generally standing at a critical distance to various cultural, economic and urban policies to transform Antalya into festival marketplace or fantasy city. This group includes citizens generally associated with the Antalya Branch of the Chamber of City Planners (SPOAŞ), members of the Antalya Artists' Association (ANSAN), Antalya Promotion Foundation (ATAV), Antalya Branch of the Architects Chamber (MOAŞ) and some academics at the Akdeniz University. Here, the dual position of both MOAŞ and Akdeniz University (AU) is noteworthy (Fig. 6-2).

As mentioned above, Mayor Türel, the first citizen of Antalya as the representative of the AGM, the leading agency of the growth machine, employed experts from İstanbul to broaden the sub-fields of Antalya and to attract global capital to Antalya. For instance the TÜRSAK[17] was consulted by AGM to restructure the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival (AGOFF) through internationalization. Informant R4, the president of TÜRSAK, claims that the municipality and the Antalya Culture and Art Foundation (Antalya Kültür Sanat Vakfı, AKSAV) "*made the right decision*" when they consulted TÜRSAK, asking them to organize the

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[16] See TGRT Haber [TV News], 10/03/2009, Saat: 21.00 "Pursaklar/Ankara Aile Yaşam Merkezi Açılış Töreni Konuşması" [Speech at Pursaklar/Ankara Family Life Centre Opening Ceremony] accessed on 19/05/2010 at
http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=4793915; accessed on 19/05/2010 at
http://www.lpghaber.com/Basbakan-Erdogan--Pursaklar-Aile-Yasam-Merkezi-ni-Hizmete-Acti--haberi-184688.html
[17] TÜRSAK, founded as an NGO in 1991, has 215 members consisting of directors, scriptwriters, actors and actresses and others working in the Turkish cinema sector.

AGOFF. Elsewhere, Engin Yiğitgil, the president of TÜRSAK, says the following about the restructuring process of the AGOFF:

> Mayor Menderes Türel contacted us. He said that the crumbling festival needed to be restructured, that it needed to transcend into the international arena. […] It is also a first in Turkey that two foundations organized something together. AKSAV and TÜRSAK achieve this together. (*Sabah-Akdeniz,* 19/09/2006).[18]

Fig. 6-2. Actors' Relations within the Growth Machine and the Process of Restructuring the sub-Fields in the General Field of Power in Antalya (Varlı-Görk 2010).
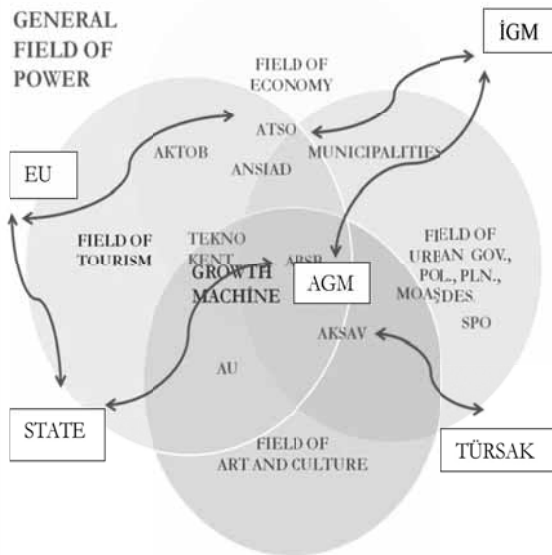
Another important project was the Antalya City Museum. A history professor from the Turkish Historical Foundation was employed as the founding curator of the museum (ATSO 2007a, 30-31). The professor has knowledge and high *cultural capital* as an academic; network skills in the field of art and culture *with his social capital* as one of the founders and

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[18] See the interview with Engin Yiğitgil given to Nihat Toklu "Bu festivale sahip çıkılmalı" [This festival must be saved] Sabah-Akdeniz, 19/09/2006.

the general secretary of the Turkish Historical Foundation; and *symbolic capital* as one of the people who worked for the İstanbul City Museum Project. As in Bourdieu's theory of *field*, the relationship between the *position*s and *position-takings* of informant R7, the mayor as an individual agent and other occupants as institutions in the field of art and culture is mediated by their dispositions, their feel for the game—their *habitus*. During the game their *strategies* are a function of the convergence of *position* and *position-taking* mediated by their *habitus*.

Though the founding curator uses every opportunity to state that city museums are born of need, it is debatable whether this need is for producing tourism-oriented *consumption of space* or for "cities" starting to establish City Museums as non-work space in Lefebvrean terms, in an effort to prove they are indeed cities. Informant R7 explains the founding reasons of the City Museum as well as the reasons why Antalya, and in fact, Antalyalites have a "profound need" for a City Museum:

> R7. "Those people in this city who are a bit educated and want to look after its future want it to be more than just a big tourism town, not for it to lose this quality, but for it to have more. One of the new critical institutions they came up with that the city needs was a City Museum. […] One and a half museums in Antalya are not enough. […] Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA) says: it is all about 'creating a culture sector'. It involves many things like making an inventory of cultural assets to the other end, developing cultural policies and discussion the philosophy but there is also the field of museums and a critically important institution of this could be a city museum."

As proven by the case study, none of the members of the growth machine automatically took place in the sub-fields, like particles attracted by a magnetic field. Rather, they got the opportunity to enter the field with the forms of capitals they possess through the neoliberal policies of the central government and the local governance of the AGM as well. For instance, the Cotton Textile Factory within the municipal border of the Municipality of Kepez District was the most valuable spatial capital of its bearer, enabling him to play in the sub-fields. By investing this spatial capital in the game, the Kepez Municipality wanted to maximize the other species of capital it possesses in the field of urban governance, tourism, and culture.

One must first understand, from Molotch's (1976) "growth machine" thesis, that a pro-growth coalition typically brings together landowners and land developers—often those with concentrated investments in old or emerging business districts where potential land values (spatial capital) are highest—and this coalition is typically reinforced by local utility

companies, construction unions, news media, and even cultural organizations. Once again, MOAŞ exhibited a conciliatory attitude for the urban propaganda project developed in the Cotton Textile Factory area. The President of MOAŞ, informant R21, gives the following explanation in reaction to the public criticism they received for their supportive attitude towards pro-growth coalition projects:

> R21. "The Cotton Textile Factory was privatized. Then the architects' chamber said that they would sue if this place was revitalized, then we took it to Local Agenda 21, fought it out there and it got out of privatization. It was turned over to a company, 99.99% of whose shares belong to the Kepez Municipality. The Municipality was consulting with NGOs about what to do and finally they ended up giving the contract to a Dutch company, which I didn't think was right. Then we asked for an investigation into which of the buildings could be preserved and which had to be torn down with the preservation board. A journalist came out and said that this should be declared a historical site, that the whole thing should be preserved."

The protection of all of the buildings on the factory land, what MOAŞ considers a victory as a result of compromise, is not likely to prevent this green space of 288 acres in the middle of the city from being turned into a shopping mall. An important but often overlooked aspect of Molotch's thesis was the claim that growth coalitions not only strive to create the material preconditions for growth but also to convince people of the importance of growth to their well-being. Under the leadership of the AGM, an observable elite organization (of Chamber of Commerce and others like ANSIAD, Akdeniz University, etc.) actively supporting growth promotion by using the media and even the multi-level governance of the state, indicates the existence of a growth machine in Antalya. In addition to these three indicators, there are those who are not buying these growth tales about entrepreneurial projects and neoliberal policies in Antalya. Owing to this opposition group, in Eyüboğlu's (the CEO of the developer firm) words "the sleeping [green] giant close to the centre of Antalya" still remains green.

In Lefebvrean terms, the whole area of the factory which was socially produced as a *space of consumption* in the late 1950s was exploited for the purpose and by means of producing consumer goods in *quantities* for 42 years. What used to be a *space of consumption* is going to be transformed into *consumption of space* for unproductive forms of consumption and by means of the consumption of this charming space for *qualities* consumers seek, such as, cultural, artistic and entertaining *qualities*, and leisure and

shopping practices; in this place the development company has named the "Forum Antalya Leisure Park".

Similarly, the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival (AGOFF) as a cultural capital was to be invested in by the AGM to be transformed into economic capital in the game. Under the theme of urban tourism and cultural tourism, substantiation was provided for the value of art in re-fashioning Antalya's image. Antalya's festivals, especially the AGOFF, have become synonymous with the city's image.

During the 2004-2009 period, under the leading agency of the AGM, the city's share-holders, who aimed to produce diversified tourism products in the field of tourism, first started a growth coalition to develop "urban tourism" strategies, as seen in the agendas of ATSO's monthly meetings, and the monthly publication, *Vizyon Magazin*. ATSO, which is not active only in the field of tourism, but all commercial and industrial fields within the city's economy, is seen as the most important element of the growth machine formed for the growth oriented urban restructuring process following the election of their previous president Türel as the AGM Mayor. In this new municipal governance term, in October 2005, ATSO, as an active actor in the formation of the growth machine in Antalya organized a "Search Conference" for its own assembly members in order to prepare a celebration of the centennial anniversary of the Turkish Republic, in which the vision for the year 2023 would be discussed.[19]

In this period, with a subversive actor, Menderes Türel, the AGM Mayor, the formation of a growth machine for urban restructuring is apparent not only in the field of tourism, but also in art and culture, urban policy, and economy. This is clearly seen in the message broadcast from the official AGM website during Türel's term:

> "We aim to bring Antalya up to the level of European cities like Barcelona, Paris and London. The way to do this is to increase Antalya's brand value. We will do whatever it takes to become a world brand in tourism. We have

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[19] The basic goals established by the end of this event for 2023 were: 30 million tourists; 35 billion dollars in tourism revenues; becoming a world leader in agriculture, becoming a city of universities, museums and festivals (ATSO, 2005, 18/205, 22-27).

initiated a 100 trillion investment to this end. '*Our goal is to make Antalya a world city*'".[20]

The report prepared by Brandassist and Interlace Invent for the Antalya Greater City Municipality and the Antalya Chamber of Commerce and Industry entitled, *Antalya Manifesto; City Brand Strategic Plan* (2008), on the one hand reflects the common view of the city's 24 shareholders;[21] on the other hand, it reflects the growth oriented coalitions of the influential urban shareholders. The recommendations directed towards the tourism field in this report led to the creation of products which would be alternatives to "all inclusive" mass tourism, such as golf tourism targeting Europe's older (55+) population, as well as "health tourism".[22] The report also recommends appealing to this older European population, with their wealth and their high expectations of quality of life for permanent residence rather than just short term vacationing. "*We must become a city that can do health tourism*" says ATSO Assembly Member Odman Ertekin, and points out that Turkey's cost advantage in this respect, as well as the subfields of new medicine in which there is specialization such as dialysis, ophthalmology, organ transplants, oral and dental health, and in vitro fertilization, need to be promoted (ATSO 2007b, 51). The recent developments in the medical services, especially in the organ transplantation sub-field at Akdeniz University, can be regarded as outcomes of the recommendations from the *Antalya Manifesto*.

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[20] http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel_baskan/projeleri.cfm, accessed on 11/03/2008.

[21] Of the 24 city shareholders who stated their opinions in the *Antalya Manifesto; Şehir Marka Stratejik Planı* [*Antalya Manifesto: City Brand Strategic Plan*], (2008), 8 were formally interviewed in-depth within the scope of the field study of this dissertation. The views of Menderes Türel have been obtained from written materials.

[22] See the news "Talya Göz turist de getiriyor" [Talya Eye (Hospital) also brings tourists] *Hürriyet-Akdeniz*, 11/08/2006; See also the news by Tüzün, H. "Turist hem tatil yapacak hem tedavi olacak" [Tourists will be treated and take vacations] *Radikal*, 28/05/2007. http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=222461, accessed on 27/04/2010; see also the news "Norveç'in Yaşlıları Antalya'ya: İskandinav ülkelerinde faaliyet gösteren Scandinavian Life Center (SLC) şirketi ile Norveç Hükümeti, yaşlı Norveçlilerin bakım, tedavi, rehabilitasyonunun Antalya'da yapılması için anlaştı" [Aged people of Norway to Antalya: The Scandinavian Life Center (SLC) company and the Norwegian Government agreed on Antalya as where elderly Norwegians will receive treatment and rehabilitation] *Hürriyet*, 04/10/2008.

Concluding Remarks

In an attempt to go beyond the polarization between structuralism and anti-structuralism in *urban political economy,* this study attempts to outline a unitary theory towards a better understanding of the unique case of Antalya's restructuring. To this end, the concepts "rhythmanalysis" (Lefebvre), "growth machine" (Molotch) and the "transformation of forms of capital in the field" (Bourdieu) have been utilized to outline a theory to examine Antalya's urban restructuring, which manifests itself as "arrhythmia" (Lefebvre), or the discordance of "rhythm" in the everydayness of the sub-fields in the general field of power in Antalya.

Since the term restructuring is the system's attempt *to resolve a crisis,* it implies some shifts in policies concerning governance, planning, culture and economics in a specific geographical location of production and consumption in the capitalist mode. First, a more entrepreneurial and business-minded city governance has been restructuring the field of art and culture by introducing the new concept of "city of culture" instead of the older concept of "city culture" in order to legitimize political projects that function primarily in their own interest. Second, the field of urban government has been restructured toward urban governance following the formation of the growth machine by the city's shareholders who have great deal of interest in the process of restructuring Antalya, under the leading agency of the AGM pursuing neoliberal urbanism.

Though the analysis of the process of restructuring Antalya has been done in four sub-fields, there is no distinct line that separates them from one another (Fig. 6-2). All of the subfields are intertwined, and while protecting their integrity, they endeavour to expand. Since all the sub-fields are related to other fields in the general field of power, any restructuring strategy in the field of art and culture also restructures the field of tourism, which is also true for the field of economy. The fluid relations among the fields in the general field of power are determined with the transformative power of the agents who enter the fields. Relationality as the major motto of realist methodology is employed in this study to outline a unitary theory in which a *fluid* relation is drawn among the relatively autonomous sub-fields within the general field of power. This theory can be further clarified through an analogy with the art of *ebru,* paper marbling, which involves colours freely swimming in photo-flo filled with thickened water (Fig. 6-1). Like the different coloured liquids with their changing volumes, tones, and forms within the thickened water through the artist's intervention, fields may sometimes coincide with other fields or even be engulfed by others: the "fluid relation" among the

fields may result from the same actor having to play in more than one field at times. During the course of the game, the structure of the field(s) might be conserved or changed depending on the convergence and divergence of the *position* and *position takings* of the actor(s).

On the one hand, in the field, the dominant *conservative agent* attempts to maintain their position against the challengers by preserving the rhythm of the everydayness as *eurhythmia*: i.e., keeps the field harmonious, which is conducive for their interests when investing some of his species of capital. On the other hand, the *subversive agent* tries to alter the rules of the game in the field by changing the rhythm of the everydayness into arrhythmia: i.e., makes the field turbulent, which is not conducive for existing players to maximize their invested capital in the field, but is conducive for new players to enter the field.

Agreeing with Bourdieu, since the hegemonic or dominant agents have the capacity to set the tempo for transformation in the various sub-fields of production, marketing, research, etc., the urban restructuring process in Antalya during the 2004-2009 local municipal governance period can be defined as state restructuring. During this process, along with the AGM as an institution and the mayor himself as an individual, the central government can be regarded as the most *subversive* agent. Since the two agents involved the same political party, both have mutually reinforced their hegemonic power in the general field of power while establishing the new rules or tempo for the transformation of forms of capital in various sub-fields.

This study, an attempt to outline a unitary theory for a clear understanding of the unique case of Antalya's restructuring, demonstrates that the *state* as the fourth element of neoliberalism as a *prime agent* of redistributive policies (Harvey 2006), has played an active role in the growth machine alliance in Antalya and reversed the flow of capital in the sub-fields with its hegemonic power. While restructuring the subfields, the central government aims to ease the new players' entry into the field by changing the rules of the game played in the field. This study illuminates "why rhythmanalysis is still important." Rhythmanalysis does not only show us the changing rules and structure of the fields, but also helps us see what is taking place as "restructuring," because any *rhythmanalysis* requires a "feeling" of transformation from one phase to another.

Information on Interviewees

R4. The Turkish Foundation of Cinema and Audio-visual Culture (TÜRSAK) President, 08/04/2008, Beyoğlu-İstanbul

R7. Antalya City Museum, Curator, 26/10/2007, Işiklar-Antalya

R13. Antalya Airport, International Lines 1st Terminal Management, General Director, 20/12/2006, Antalya Havalimani-Antalya

R16. Antalya Greater Municipality, Mayor (1999-2004, CHP), 23/09/2006, Yüzüncü Yil-Antalya

R18. Municipality of Kepez District, Mayor (2004-2009, AKP), 05/06/2008, Kepez-Antalya

R19. Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects, Chamber of Architects, Antalya Branch, Chair (1998-2000), 20/09/2006, Antalya

R21. Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects, Chamber of Architects, Antalya Branch, Chair (2008), 03/07/2008, Antalya

R22. Antalya Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ATSO), Chair, 05/06/2008, Antalya

R24. Antalya Promotion Foundation (ATAV), President, 05/06/2008, Kemer-Antalya

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CHAPTER SEVEN

PRODUCING THE SPACE, CONTESTING THE CITY: URBAN WILD SWIMMING

MACIEJ KOWALEWSKI

Introduction

Discussing the practical usefulness of Lefebvre's thoughts is very difficult, as his workings were read not only as important in terms of critical theory (Elden 2004; Merrifield 2006; Goonewardena et al. 2008; Marcuse 2009; Stanek 2011) but also as theoretical background for political struggle (Elden 2007; Harvey 2008). However discussion on research practices and operationalization of Lefebvre's theory is limited in sociology: referring the theoretical concept of *Space Producing*, *Right to the City* or *Rhythmanalysis* to the methodology of social sciences is much more difficult (Stanek 2011). "From a first sight" Lefebvre's theory is convenient for researchers, but adopting the perspective of the French theorist eventually brings more problems than easy solutions. According to Brenner and Elden (2009), Lefebvre is primarily a philosopher, or broadly, a critical thinker. Methodological work with Lefebvre's thoughts therefore requires a serious commitment, as shown in the work of Iain Borden (2001). The author of *Skateboarding, Space and the City: Architecture and the Body* starts from a critical analysis of Lefebvre to review his concepts and—what is most important—to make a theoretical frame for in-depth studies and ethnographic research of skateboarders. This is a perfect example of developing the main idea of Lefebvre, which is the relation between the rules of the economy of capitalism and spatial practices of urban everyday life.

Referring to Lefebvre's triad model (perceived, conceived and lived space (Lefebvre 1991, 33)) we could find how regular (routine) and unusual practices constitute spatial and societal order. As Lefebvre states,

"the spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction" (38). Space is reproduced through social practices (Lefebvre 1991), as even these are marginal and far beyond everyday life; they are a challenge to the mainstream principles of the city. An interesting example of producing space by questioning the rules of the city is urban wild swimming. A (half-) naked urban swimmer's body presented in the public space will cause a sensation, smiles or a scandal, but it will primarily make a comment about the urban social text. Their practices are similar to those presented in Iain Borden's (2001) study on skateboarding as a form of a performative critique of the city. Both, i.e. swimmers and skateboarders, can be viewed as city-contesters, as they "produce themselves bodily and socially, and they produce the city in terms of their own specific bodily encounter with it" (Borden 2001, 296). But practices of this kind may also mean a weakening of security control or a step toward crime. The example of urban swimming allows one to see serious matters in something that seems frivolous at first glance. The researched practices reveal the importance of the body, which can evade the rules of urban rationality: "This body is practical and flashy. Contemplating space with the whole body and all senses, not just with the eyes and intellect, allows more awareness of conflicts and so of the space that is Other" (Borden et al. 2002, 12).

The body produces space in daily routines as well in unusual practices; Lefebvre's concept stresses the importance of bodies changing the perceived, conceived, and lived space of the city. In this article I would like to refer to two different problems: one is the way in which the discourse of unconventional behaviour in public space is gaining the status of political action. The second is the problem of the theoretical analysis and unambiguous interpretation of practices such as urban wild swimming.

Is bathing in the urban river a deviation, alternative lifestyle, form of political protest or just trivial showing off? Leaving the cultural analysis behind allows us to go deeper into the principles of the city as one of the important points of Lefebvre's theory, which is to highlight the spatial practices by drawing attention to the importance of everyday activity in the city: "reading the city is to know the context, what is below the text to decipher (everyday life), immediate relations, the unconscious of the urban, what is little said and of which even less is written" (Lefebvre 1996, 108).

Even though we are talking about bringing Lefebvre back to urban sociology, we are accustomed to many of his ideas, like thinking about spatial practices that occur in a particular social context. But what does that actually mean? Is observation of spatial behaviour by a researcher

enough to discover the context and rules of space production? Is subject-interpretation of these rules reflexive? It is difficult to research practices that seem to go beyond what is "regular" and "common" in the city. Lefebvre and Situationists like Debord (1977) opened up the theoretical analysis of what is elusive, unpredictable and unusual in urban space. It is precisely this elusiveness on which may be found the fundamental principles of producing the space: forms of contestation of urban space tell the story about the object of contestation. Regardless of whether we define a city in terms of space, symbols, geography, politics, culture or economy, in all of these fields protest is possible and could be transformed from individual activity into a social movement. It is important however, whether the scattered forms and areas of protest can be seen as a whole, using common criteria. Can urban swimming be regarded as similar to such practices as a protest in a public space, alternative housing, art in public spaces, guerrilla gardening, graffiti, skateboarding, etc.? Protest appears in so many arenas that any collective and untypical behaviour can be easily read as a challenge to the authority, but it is the contesting practices that tell us much about the nature of urban life and the principles of space production. As "more and more the spaces of the modern city are being produced for us, rather than by us" (Mitchell 2003, 18), it is "still" important to analyse the performative nature of public space, as reconstructed by bodies of political nature.

The methods of visual sociology and visual discourse analysis were used for this study (Rose 2001; Banks 2007; Christmann 2008). As contemporary culture is becoming increasingly visual, visual studies methodologies are becoming an important strategy for the study of relation between society and the city (Hall 1997; Pink 2001). According to Karen Wells (2007, 136), "It is this quality of visual and material culture to condense at once the everyday, the monumental, and the spectacular that makes it such a powerful tool for analysing the power relations that structure city living."

Referring to this approach, photographs were used as a tool for documentation (photos of places and bathers) and as a source of data. In this case, photos were examined for hidden relations and meanings attributed to the urban wild swimming, assuming that the situations shown in the photographs and the actors are not random, but reflect the hidden social structures. The collected data were visual materials posted on the Internet by urban swimmers, bathers or viewers/passers-by; in some cases these were also press photos. The collected images and videos are both from identifiable (through a description of the users or characteristic points) and from unknown areas in the cities. It was not always possible to

identify the time of the events recorded in the visual materials. The study included seven European cities (Berlin, Cologne, Copenhagen, Krakow, Rome, Sofia, Szczecin), as a complementary method the content analysis of press and website articles that included reported cases of swimming in the city's rivers, docks, fire basins, etc. was used. Another source of data was an observation conducted in Szczecin, in July of 2011, near a fountain close to the building of the City Council. The object of observation was the behaviour of bathers in the fountain and the reactions of other space users. Most of the bathers were children, thus it was difficult to carry out photographic documentation (the children were not always accompanied by an adult so it was impossible to obtain consent to take a picture).

The very initial result of the research was that there is a clear difference between the examples of urban wild swimming in countries such as Germany, Denmark and Switzerland, and in the Polish cities. In Western-European countries, wild swimming is a form of entertainment, while in Poland or Bulgaria it is a form of *urban guerrilla* action. Significantly, using the fountain as a place of spontaneous entertainment (to "show off") was reported from all the cities. For this reason it is worth examining more closely how the discourse of irrationality is constructed. In the following sections the tension between regular and irregular principles of urban space usage will be discussed. I would like to consider how unusual practices redefine urban space and tend to be considered as a form of political protest.

Urban Wild Swimming as an Irrationality

Security is an obsession of a city's citizens, who want to feel safe, which leads not only to a change in the style of urban life, but also to a change in the way the city is governed by fear management. According to Engin Isin, innovation such as CCTV city monitoring is typical for new governmental projects of neoliberalism (Isin 2004). But sometimes they also go out of control: youths, children and adults use the city environment for swimming and taking a bath in urban ponds, fountains, city rivers and even in industrial areas (ports). All urban swimmers, i.e. those jumping from bridges, taking showers in fountains, practising urban sports or "urban Olympics",[1] and taking regular baths in industrial reservoirs are

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[1] Urban Olympics means events of Olympic-like disciplines played in an urban landscape, like swimming or athletics. The place (arena) of urban Olympic games

also producing their own notion of non-commercial leisure space regardless of how dangerous or irrational it is (except for the situation of extreme heat, when the cooling fountain in the city is part of being rational and is supported by the municipalities that install special water curtains to prevent excessive overheating). It is, however, still romantic, like "regular" (non-urban) wild swimming, and defined by Daniel Start (2008, 2) as:

> "1. Swimming in natural waters such as rivers, lakes and waterfalls. Often associated with picnics and summer holidays. 2. Dipping or plunging in secret or hidden places, sometimes in wilderness areas. Associated with skinny-dipping or naked swimming, often with romantic connotations. 3. Action of swimming wildly such as jumping or diving from a height, using swings and slides, or riding the current of a river."

Urban swimming cannot be easily interpreted, as we could find different types of these practices, such as extreme sports, regular behaviours, and single events. It could be placed somewhere on the continuum between alternative sports and the practices of everyday life. Similarly, it is difficult to define urban running, however, the swimmers are less organized than *parkour* runners and much more unpredictable and inappropriate than *traceurs*. Certainly this kind of running and vaulting the obstacles in the urban space has become an acceptable part of the urban culture, also due to films such as *Yamakasi* or *Banlieu 13th*. It is not only a matter of popularity of urban swimming, but it is a matter of its symbolic dimension that is related to a deviation.

Is this a universal youth rebellion against the "old" values or, rather, a cultural transmission referring to the culture of the lower classes? Juvenile excesses, as described by Shaw and McKay (1942), allow us to situate urban wild swimming in the same category as car racing, skateboarding or spontaneous performances. Through these practices, middle-class status values (such as respect for property, rationality and wholesome recreation (Cohen 1955)) are contested.

Everything that is unexpected is a threat to the existing urban order, thus urban wild swimming is subject to regulations (e.g. prohibitions, municipal police intervention). Recurrent excess leads not only to

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is important: for example, runners may contest on the tram tracks, stairs or along the promenade; swimming events are held in such places as a fountain, etc. The essence of urban Olympics is a *pastiche*.

criminalisation of certain behaviour, but also to defending the urban rationality as described by Simmel (1903) in his essay *The Metropolis and Mental Life*. As "forms of self repression or self limitation" (Bridge 2005, 41), urban rationality means being predictable: "goofing around" is something unexpected in a public space. The rules and manners, as we know from Goffman's works (1963), are a form of urban middle-class universal language.

As Lefebvre claims in *Everyday Life in the Modern World*,

"the city can be defined [among other definitions] as the reading of social text, that is, as a representative miscellany of society and the heritage of past generations, each of which has added a page; it is also the place of speech doubling the reading of written matter, interpreting, commenting and questioning it." (Lefebvre 2002, 176).

The fountain is an interesting example of those re-interpretations because it is also a symbol of decoration, superficiality of the urban theatre, and usually a representative site. As a place of the tourist experience, it changes the "original" meaning through "risky" bodily practices such as bathing. Fountain baths usually have been criticized because of the problem of contamination. According to the most frequently press-quoted warnings of the state sanitary inspector, people bathing in fountains are at risk of gastrointestinal, skin and eye infections due to the multiplying microbes, bacteria, salmonella, fungi or zoonotic parasite eggs during warm days:

"A new fountain in Szczepanski Square has become the biggest 'swimming pool' this year, but there are also those willing to splash about in the pond at Planty Street, Sławkowska and Basztowa. Many swimmers also like a fountain at Franciscan Street. Some Cracovians are appalled by the view of half-naked swimmers, others are angry that they are making the water dirty. Day after day, for the past week I have seen nudists bathing in the fountain in Szczepanski Square. The municipal police should do something about this, because the fountain is not for washing, said Janusz Kowalski." (Stuch 2010).

The penalty for fountain swimming is about 250 PLN (60€) and also appears in other countries, e.g. the tourists and residents of Rome receive fines for bathing in the di Trevi Fountain or the Fountain of Four Rivers at Piazza Navona. The reactions of the authorities, and the reactions of outraged passers-by, are an example of the opposition against the right of one's individual expression when compared to the rights of the community. It is easy to imagine a situation in which city residents express their opposition to the presence of half-naked bodies in the fountain, but it

is rather difficult to imagine that their protests would be called, by observers, a claim to the right to the city. Competing visions of the presence of bodies in urban spaces can be balanced by reference to the "common enemy" (which is capitalism); however, it does not abolish the problem of equivalence in the different ways of life and in the different concepts of the urban community.

In the analysed cases from Szczecin, we are dealing with re-reading and re-claiming of urban space. In a world ruled by the laws of urban rationality, excess is a luxury which only locals can afford (or a desperate stranger). The regular bathing of children and young people living in the inner city is also a demonstration of being a resident of a specific district: in the analysed cases from Polish cities, the only fountain swimmers were the locals. Occasional baths in port waters or rivers may be hazardous, and it is not just courage but a matter of the relationship with the place, a certificate of being "from here"; there is a strong relation between searching for forbidden excitement and local identity.

Public space is, however, an arena of unusual events, yet coming in the order of urban life, such as the rituals of a carnival. Inverting the social hierarchy during the feast of fools is (limited) consent to derogate from the principle of rationality. Urban wild swimming can be treated in a similar way, i.e. as an example of controlled transgression, the ritual of reversing the norms. The rules of rationality—including a bathing prohibition in certain places—is nothing permanent and non-negotiable. If excitement is more important than safety, swimming in the river is allowed. Public art uses similar consent, as in the Fashion Architecture Taste (FAT) project, where the traditional ways of using public space are reversed:

"In Mod Cons familiar objects from the domestic realm are displaced around the city: shower equipment in the square, a welcome mat at the entrance to the shopping arcade, a bedside table in the bus stop. The municipal fountain is not so much an abstract symbol of civic pride as a nice place to take a bath." (FAT 2002, 346).

As Bridge states,

"*Self-limitation in micro-spaces* is paralleled by the settings of different types of interaction in the city as a whole. At the street-scale interaction cues are given about the rules of interaction that can be expected. This relates to the overall socio-spatial segregation that characterizes many western cities. Expectations as to the types of participants in the interaction are given by the location in which that interaction is occurring. Certain types of people 'belong' or are expected in particular parts of the city." (Bridge 2005, 41).

In the urban pond also, only certain types of people are allowed. The naked woman swimming in the di Trevi Fountain in Rome in a *YouTube* film (Kaldami 2007, 1-13) is (besides being a film *cliché*) something the male audience wants to watch and something that satisfies the "male tourist gaze" (Pritchard and Morgan 2000). An important observation was found during my research conducted in Szczecin. One day a homeless man started washing himself in a fountain, which caused strong protests from several people sitting at a nearby cafe. These onlookers called the city police to remove the homeless man from the fountain because "he could be carrying a disease" (as one of the onlookers stated). Several hours later, and with a more numerous audience, two dogs were wading in the fountain without anyone's objection.

Using the rules of the space usage to exclude certain people is obvious; however it is worth considering the political potential of questioning these rules. In the next section the political significance of unusual practices will be discussed.

Urban Wild Swimming and the Right to the City

The right to the city as a moral claim, especially to those excluded from participating in the city, has become the slogan of urban social movements (Mayer 2009). Referring to the rights in urban political reality may be confusing, as Gilbert and Dikeç (2008, 250) states: "the inclusion of the catchphrase, without deliberate elaboration and careful consideration of larger structural issues, appeared unable to deliver on its promises". As a tool of narrating the urban reality, the concept of the right to the city is increasingly being abused, as there is a temptation to define any collective action as "political". In this perspective neither the motive nor the effect is important in being recognised by external observers (experts, scholars, political activists) as a form of opposition and demanding the right to the city. Expressing cultural diversity is defined as "political" more often if more unconventional actions manifest themselves in public spaces. City inhabitants are, in some sense, accustomed to unusual behaviour in a certain space and that is why unconventional protests can be manifested in the city with more understanding. According to Saskia Sassen, the "urban street" (defined in a broader sense to include squares, parks and other public open spaces which have become places of political action) gives the opportunity for political protest because of this openness to innovation and relatively low ritualised behaviour (Sassen 2011, 574). In this sense all unconventional behaviour (such as fountain swimming) can be used to attract observers. That is why more and more

attention is being paid to the carnivalisation of social protest, which means using popular forms of culture (such as music (Eyerman 2002) and costume (Sawer 2007)) to promote political ideas. It seems to be self-evident today, thus some scholars call a contemporary protest a "protestival" (John 2008). Carnivalisation of the protest is consciously used by social movements to attract the media in order to mobilise new members, but in the long-term perspective this spectacular form of action limits political significance and effectiveness. The unconventional protest which attracts media can become just another amusing event without political meaning.

Another problem with abuse of the concept of the right to the city is associated with the assumption that city inhabitants want to take responsibility for the place in which they live (see examples in Sugranyes and Mathivet 2010). The traditionally defined opponent of such claims, i.e. the capitalist system, may seem too abstract for those contending with the inconvenience of everyday life, such as having no places for leisure. Even if the logic of capitalism is behind all of this, people who want to solve problems "here and now" can ignore the political significance of their actions.

Even if the *Right to the City* is more of a slogan for urban researchers (although the reasons for its popularity should constitute a research topic of its own), it is also primarily a philosophical problem, i.e. how to reconcile the differing expectations of multicultural and diverse city inhabitants. In this sense, actions that are referred to as claiming the right to the city may be ambiguous. If we agree that the right to the city "is a superior form of rights: rights to freedom, to individualization in socialization, the habitat and to inhabit" (Lefebvre 1996, 173), we acknowledge that violation of the conventional behaviour is allowed since the right to freedom is more important than the prohibition of exposing and bathing in the fountain. The right to the city can be in these cases interpreted as abusing rights of others. Considering each urban wild swimming act as an expression of the struggle for the rights to the city is risky but allows a discussion about what is political in the everyday practices of an urban space.

Perhaps cooling oneself down after a hot day may not be so easily achieved, thus urban wild swimming is then a sublimation in the context of a lack of open public swimming pools, municipal baths or simply alternative ways of spending one's free time. This excess caused by being bored also has a context that is associated with the amount of entertainment places. On the one hand, we are dealing with the appropriation of public space or the affirmation of belonging; but on the

other hand it is evident in using the space as an instrument in the struggle for citizens' rights. If entertainment is an important value, then the right to the city means the right to recreation in a public space according to its own rules. It is not only a right in the form of institutionalized rules of democracy, but also the right to use a space however we want. Urban swimming is free and non-commercial, but does it question the rules of capitalism? Perhaps a deeper study conducted among swimmers could show if the most important profits are to the individual, such as strengthening one's personal identity ("me as a courageous person").

The space is an instrument for building the identity, a way of projecting uniqueness, of which Simmel wrote:

> "Finally, man is tempted to adopt the most tendentious peculiarities, that is, the specifically metropolitan extravagances of mannerism, caprice, and preciousness. Now, the meaning of these extravagances does not at all lie in the contents of such behavior, but rather in its form of being different of standing out in a striking manner and thereby attracting attention. For many character types, ultimately the only means of saving for themselves some modicum of self-esteem and the sense of filling a position is indirect, through the awareness of others." (Simmel 1903, 18).

Fishing, like swimming in the river, is part of the practice in which the river is something obvious and pre-modern at the same time. Using the river is something "natural" and does not constitute excess, but rather the daily rule. In pre-war Szczecin there were five sites (with the whole infrastructure of swimming lanes, towers for jumping into the water, beaches for team games, toilets, etc.) operating on the Oder river, but already by the 1930s some of them had to be closed due to pollution of the water by the passing ships (Łyskawa 1999). Nowadays urban rivers are extremely polluted and/or too dangerous, as they are used for transportation. A different case is Switzerland, in which urban wild river swimming is regarded as a "privilege", i.e. as an improvement of the quality of urban life:

> "I could only be in Geneva, the city urban swimming that gives a bit of chic. Not because it sits at the tip of one of Europe's largest lakes, but thanks to the Bains des Pâquis, the top spot for swimming in Geneva. [...] It's all about the view, both of the city and your fellow swimmers—this is prime see-and-be-seen territory for everyone, and entry is only about £1.50. This city is swimming with style." (Bewes 2011).

The urban regeneration idea of "bringing the city closer to the river" mostly means "creating a waterfront space" and not making the river more accessible for swimming. The desire to swim in the river still remains, for

which two small examples can be provided: the first one is a small pond on the waterfront of the Rhine in Cologne, where in the summer children take a bath (Fig. 7-2). The second are installations that allow people to swim "on the river". These pools floating on the Spree River in Berlin (Berlin's Arena Badeschiff) are advertised as "Europe's most extraordinary swimming pool and one of the coolest meeting points in town. Includes a pool floating on the river Spree, open air bar and beach-like sunbathing area and offers massages, sports classes, concerts and parties alike" (Kultur Arena 2011). If the space along the river is a place of leisure, it often occurs on an artificial beach: Berlin and Paris are the most known examples of those European urban beaches. However, as Elsa Devienne wrote,

> "the idea of a urban beach that would both inspire the city dweller to relax and enjoy the natural environment and allow for an important urban crowd to have access to, park its cars, eat and enjoy a day at the beach after the work week is not something new. Major cities endowed with long stretches of sandy beaches have struggled with this question since at least the early 20th century. Los Angeles is an especially interesting locale to look at these issues as it witnessed a tremendous demographic growth in the post-WWII years, was renowned for its scenic strands and beach lifestyle, and cruelly lacked public spaces dedicated to recreation." (Devienne 2011, 17).

The main problem presented in this article is interpretation of practices in the urban space which involve a challenge to the rules of contemporary city. The study of untypical behaviour as political claims can lead to misunderstandings or errors, especially such as in the case of urban wild swimming when, depending on the context, it can be interpreted in different ways. On the other hand, the abstract concept of space and the body—as we were warned by Lefebvre (1991)—is a part of dominant ideology. The multiplicity of meanings that can be attributed to urban wild swimming in the first place thus shows how careful we should be in trying to make a clear interpretation of the relationship of space and body. In this study, therefore, the following forms of urban wild swimming were researched:

Table 7-1. Urban wild swimming types.

Urban wild swimming as	Analysed examples/cities
Tourist attraction	Di Trevi Fountain Bath (Rome)
Show off (e.g., bathing after finishing the semester in the fountain or in fire basins)	All Cities
Part of everyday life. "Forced" (in the absence of free places to swim, hazardous due to bacteria)	Krakow (Poland)
Part of everyday life. "Chosen" ("natural" use of the river, cooling on a hot day in a water curtain, lake swimming as a "posh" lifestyle)	Cologne, Geneva, Copenhagen, Berlin
Offending (naked people in the fountain, bathing of the homeless, washing up animals)	Szczecin (Poland)

Conclusions

Lefebvre *explicitly* suggested exploring the contradictions, cracks, disjunctions of space (Lefebvre 1991, 293) rather than regularity. His idea presented in the chapter *Contradictory Space* of *Production of Space* was that unusual actions, which constitute a breach of an existing symbolic order, allow us to learn more of how the cultural patterns of space perception and performance are missed. Practices that go beyond "regular" and "common" in the city (de Certeau 1984; Stanley 1996; Borden 2001; Bridge 2005) probably tell us much more about how the city functions than the research of regular practices.

What is most interesting is that despite the difficulties of the theoretical analysis, irrational behaviours in the urban space are easily included in the repertoire of political action of social movements, since opposition to the dominant culture and the prevailing political order is an important motive for a performance art action. Street artists, through a variety of activities, pay attention to the problems of marginalised groups and protest against the economy of space, against the power of capital, etc. The Polish sociologist Rafał Drozdowski considers this as a kind of resistance culture with its ability to change the structure of reality (Drozdowski 2009). According to Drozdowski, cultural resistance as we see it now more often legitimizes the system by recognising its legitimacy and legality. The opposition is a kind of cultural costume, an additional reinforcing of the identity of individual differences and locating resistance in categories other than everyday life. In that sense "quiet passivity" and discreet resistance hit the system whose logic is activity, visibility and variability

with more force. Following this interpretation, excess in the form of a fountain bath cannot be treated as a serious discussion on how to use urban space and the right to the city. On the other hand, urban river swimming is a request for the returning of the state's use of water resources to other ways than commercial ones. For urban wild swimmers the water is more than just a transport channel or a source of profit.

   Protests against depriving public open spaces and places of free recreation can take on many forms. Bathing in the city fountain is not an organised form of resistance, but it could be considered as an indication of the lack of affordable swimming pools. First of all, it is a part of the discussion concerning the global city in which non-commercial spaces are shrinking. Mark Purcell claims that Lefebvre's idea is a revolutionary challenge to the capitalist world order (Purcell 2003, 565), and questioning the economy of leisure space is a challenge to a capitalist economy. On the other hand, different forms of protest tend to be easily incorporated by the market. Beaches along urban rivers, places such as a swimming pool in the Copenhagen Harbour Bath or the Badeschiff Arena in Berlin, are not only new, global products referring to the spontaneity and extravagance of urban swimming, but also give a sense of security, so desired by neurotic citizens (Isin 2004).

Fig. 7-1. Plot's Islands Brygge Harbour Bath in Copenhagen, Denmark, 2007.

Author: milgrammer
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/milgram/542888102/sizes/o/in/photostream/
(File licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license)

Fig. 7-2. Cologne, Rhein embankment, 2010.

Author: Maciej Kowalewski.

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Chapter Eight

Contradictory Spaces of Labor:
The Social and Spatial Practices
of Work Life in Istanbul

Yildirim Şentürk

> "The more carefully one examines space,
> considering it not only with the eyes, not
> only with the intellect, but also with all the
> senses, with the total body, the more clearly
> one becomes aware of the conflict at work
> within it, conflicts which foster the
> explosion of abstract space and the
> production of a space that is *other*."
> (Lefebvre 1991, 391)

This paper argues that Lefebvre's studies on space, especially with regard to the concept of *contradictory spaces*, provide significant inspiration for examining cities, flows, and the on-going social life of people without presenting a functionalist perception of the world economy. He acknowledges that in every society, economic practices lead to a certain level of "consistency" and "coherence" within its social space. Nevertheless, as he rightly argues, the same processes have also produced their contradictory spaces, thereby simultaneously challenging *the cohesiveness* in a social space (Lefebvre 1991; Kofman and Lebas [eds.] 1996). Therefore, in the first section of the paper, I will briefly highlight some points that Lefebvre elaborates on in his discussion of the contradictory space.

Subsequently, I will argue that Lefebvre's perspective on space is still inspiring for urban studies, even though he is reluctant to explore the contradictory aspect of space in the realm of work life because it seems essential to look at work life in a city as contradictory space. Therefore, in the second section of the paper, my intention is to share some findings of

on-going research on work life in Istanbul by concentrating on three occupations, which are chambermaids in hotels, mechanics in the automobile sector, and managers of shopping centres. My objective in this paper is to show that by exploring the work environment of a city as contradictory space, we are provided with a new and greater scope for social research as well as political agendas. The contradictory spaces in the work environment help us question dominant social practices, while at the same time allowing us to comprehend what possible alternative political practices there might be that enhance the empowerment of labourer over employer and protect the social aspect of work life.

The Contradictory Spaces of Cities

The chapter that Lefebvre devotes to "contradictory spaces" in his book, *The Production of Space* (1991), begins with a critique of the "mental space" (a formal abstraction about space). According to him, "Much effort has been expended in contemporary thinking on attempts to bring entire sectors of reality under the rule of logic, or, to put it another way to treat specific domains as determined and defined in accordance with a logical thesis about coherence and cohesiveness, equilibrium and regulation" (293). For him, this eventually leads to "the reductionism of social space to a purely formal mental space" (296).

This critique seems relevant to the most contemporary urban studies dealing with globalization and cities. When they try to explore what globalization looks like, they eventually give priority to the mental (conceived) spaces of globalization by highlighting the links among people, places and cities. The studies on "world" or "global" cities are a part of this concern. They seek to explore how the operation of the global economy depends on the spatial reorganization of capitalism through particular cities. This line of thinking has spurred various studies dealing with different aspects of world cities. In a Kuhnian sense, we can even identify this stage as "a normal science" period of a paradigm (Kuhn 1996). For instance, Sassen initially puts more emphasis on the *production* aspect of these cities. Therefore, she could easily address the relationship between the operation of the global economy and the marginalization and devaluation of labour; the surge of informal sectors; and the extension of social polarization in global cities (Sassen 1991). Her studies have made a significant contribution to highlighting that the current social problems of global cities are direct outcomes of the global economy, rather than being its side effects. Meanwhile, Peter Taylor and the GaWC (Globalization and World Cities Research Network) collaboration seek to identify the

criteria of being a world city and measure the *connection* among world cities (Taylor et al. 2007).[1] And, Castells puts more emphasis on "network" through "space of flows" (1996). Meanwhile, there are many studies discussing or analysing "the world city status" of particular cities. Such concern leads scholars to *compare* the particular city that they are working on with either a particular global city such as New York or London, or an ideal image of the global/world city (for the case of Istanbul see Keyder and Oncu 1993; Keyder 1999; OECD 2008; Soysal 2010).

However, whether advocating or criticizing, many studies on urbanization and globalization are based on a hidden functionalist image of the world, especially "a working global economy" (Şentürk 2008; Smith and Doel 2011). Due to this line of thinking, even though scholars question or are aware of some negative outcomes of the global economy such as uneven social and spatial development, they might still consider that integrating into the global economy or being part of globalization is "the only solution" for every locality and place. In other words, the political impact of these studies is not strong enough to help us formulate or to even imagine an alternative world. For the cities of the Northern Hemisphere, which are already world or global cities, the solution to the rising social problems that globalization has brought rather depend on the "perception" of the empowered classes or social groups. We can only hope that as these empowered social groups perceive that informal sectors, labourers or marginal groups, such as immigrants, minorities and female workers, are also crucial to the operation of the global economy, these groups will re-gain the value they deserve and their conditions will be improved. For the cities of the Southern Hemisphere and the smaller cities to the north, the political outcome seems rather different to the ones of world cities. Cities which are not yet identified as "world cities" have started to ask how they can become so, how they can *integrate* into the web of world cities, or how they can improve their *connection* with certain world cities and *attract* the interest of transnational business. It is proposed that if a city climbs up into the hierarchy of the world-cities-network, this city will be better than a city which is excluded from this network, and the well-being of the entire inhabitants of this world city will eventually improve. Ironically, as "a particular space", every city that is a candidate for being a world city seems to *compete* with other cities to attract the

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[1] GaWC (Globalization and World Cities Research Network),
http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc.

interests of entrepreneurial activity. Was this not the point—prepare a convenient business environment for the global capital—that the advocates of the "new world order" already asked for? In this sense, it is not surprising to see that urban developers, business-world leaders, local politicians and the advocates of neoliberalism enthusiastically refer to the phrase of "making a world city" or "competitive cities" more often to legitimize their on-going activities, ranging from constructing shopping centres, business centres and skyscrapers to the privatization of particular urban services. Meanwhile, they corporately organize big conferences on these subjects. At these gatherings, as Lefebvre frequently reminds us, urban scholars and technocrats often also play their own part in reproducing the dominant image of the world economy; in other words, "the mental space" of the world economy.

Eventually, the notion of world city status proves more appealing to the advocates of neoliberalism. The reason behind this is the fact that despite its critiques of the mainstream image of globalization and the global economy, world city studies, for the most part, implicitly present a *functionalist* notion of the global economy as they try to explore how the global economy operates. This brings us back to all the problems of the functionalist framework: assuming a working system, defining every agency/factor by its role in this system, and assigning hierarchical importance to every agency within the system. Meanwhile, since some places, such as global cities, are considered more important to the operation of the global economy, they and the institutions located within them, eventually have the primary role in shaping the content of the global economy and the features of other places, such as the cities of the Southern Hemisphere. In this sense, the notion of a "working" global economy is especially problematic for scholars interested in examining the cities to the South. Remembering the *postcolonial studies'* critiques of the social theory would be enough to address the shortcomings of such a perspective (Loomba 1998).[2]

My point is not to assert that we should ignore the flows and links among people, places and cities; on the contrary, we cannot proceed to a spatiality analysis without them. Even in the mid-1970s, Lefebvre does not ignore the expansion of links and flows between people and places in capitalism (Kofman and Lebas [eds.] 1996; Merrifield 2006). Indeed,

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[2] The issues raised in the last three paragraphs were previously presented in a symposium (Senturk 2008).

according to him, rather than the production in space, the production of new spaces such as shopping centres, suburbs and leisure spaces become the agenda of "neocapitalism" (Lefebvre 1991, 384). This takes place through deconstructing previous social spaces and turning them into "homogeneous spaces" that might look "different" but which, at the same time, are all intent on being relevant to the logic of capitalism. All such elaborations of Lefebvre's might be considered parallel to the emphasis of contemporary urban and global studies. Nevertheless, Lefebvre warns scholars not to picture the world economy or various social practices as "systems" by constructing models.

> "These models are presented as the product of objective analyses, described as "systemic", which, on a supposedly empirical basis, identify systems of subsystems, partial "logics", and so on. To name a few at random: the transportation system; the urban network; the tertiary sector; the school system; the work world with its attendant (labour) market, organizations and institutions; and the money market with its banking-system. Thus, step by step, society in its entirety is reduced to an endless parade of systems and subsystems, and any social object whatsoever can pass for a coherent entity. Such assumptions are taken for established fact, and it is on this foundation that those who make them (ideologues, whether technocrats or specialists, convinced of their own freedom from ideology) proceed to build, isolating one parameter or another, one group of variables or another. [...] The claim is that specific mechanisms are being identified in this way which partake of a "real" aspect of reality, and that these mechanisms will be clearly discernible once they, and some particular facet of the "real", have been isolated. In actuality, all we have here is a tautology masquerading as science and an ideology masquerading as a specialized discipline." (Lefebvre 1991, 311).

Another relevant quotation from him:

> "The "commodity world", which is an abstraction, cannot be conceived of apart from the world market, which is defined territorially (in terms of flows and networks) and politically (in terms of centres and peripheries). The notion of flows—a strictly economic notion that has been mistakenly generalized by some philosophers—is still not clearly understood; along with their spatial interconnections, flows, by reasons of their complexity, still lie beyond the analytic and programming capacities of the computer. The fetishism of an abstract economics is being transformed into the fetishism of an abstract economic space. Space-become-commodity develops the traits of commodities in space to the maximum." (Lefebvre 1991, 350-351).

Lefebvre does not ignore that different markets, ranging from labour to real estate, require a certain degree of links, flows, and repetitions, as well as coherence. Yet, "flows" and "links" take place in social spaces consisting of social relations and practices which are not necessarily relevant to the dominant social practices and cannot be constricted by the realm of mental space. There is a tendency, especially among dominant interest groups, to rationalize, homogenize, and make all social practices, from production to consumption, coherent. Nevertheless, social space is more comprehensive and less coherent. Thus, they are in direct contradiction to the spatial practices of capitalism (Lefebvre 1991; Kofman and Lebas [eds.] 1996; Merrifield 2006; Kipfer et al. 2008).

Lefebvre elaborates on the dynamics of these contradictory spaces as follows:

1) *Quality and Quantity*: the abstract and homogenous spaces have a strong tendency to demolish all differences and uniqueness. Measurability and quantity have taken priority over quality. This is true for labour as well as places. Yet, according to Lefebvre, there is a built-in on-going resistance of the quality of things as they produce their own contradictory spaces. Moreover, as the homogenous space assimilates the qualitative one, the quality of things might become more important to capitalists too. The dominant social groups have begun to put more emphasis on such qualitative spaces and try to reproduce them by giving them different content (such as the natural environment, and community life in the suburbs or gated residences, the qualitative features attributed to leisure spaces and retirement places in the countryside for the middle and upper classes, and in the case of labour the occasional rising interest in some handmade products or the work of artisans). In short, there are on-going contradictions between the quality and the quantity of things in and through social space, which need to be carefully analysed without presenting them as binary opposites (Lefebvre 1991, 352-353).

2) *Global and Fragmented Spaces:* related to the above contradiction, for Lefebvre there is also a contradiction between global (conceived) and fragmented (directly experienced) spaces (355-356). The global space inclines to conceive of the world on a world scale by reducing, measuring and quantifying it. Nevertheless, as soon as the power groups attempt to strategically utilize some resources (money, labour power, commodities etc.), they eventually produce fragmented space as well. The fragmented space is keen to subdivide space, to exchange or turn it into "business" by

highlighting its differences. In this regard, while at first sight the global space reflects a certain level of "consistency" and "coherence" within its social space, the same power relations might also strategically produce its fragmented spaces, thereby simultaneously challenging the cohesiveness in a social space. However, it is important to notice that according to Lefebvre, the global and the fragmented spaces are not disunited from each other (365-366). Like work and leisure spaces, there are strong links which eventually unite them. This is a point that Lefebvre frequently reminds us of by addressing the relationship between production, productive consumption and ordinary consumption taking place through a space. "Everything that is dispersed and fragmented retains its unity, however, within the homogeneity of power's space; this is a space which naturally takes account of the connections and links between those elements that it keeps, paradoxically, united yet disunited, joined yet detached from one another, at once torn and squeezed together" (365-366). Indeed, this statement is directly relevant to his general perspective on space. "For space "is" whole and broken, global and fractured, at one and the same time. Just as it is at once conceived, perceived, and directly lived" (356).

3) *Centrality and Periphery:* at a certain point, Lefebvre uses centrality as he uses global; he asserts that centrality is "a logical form" which identifies certain goals and gives priorities to certain features to reach such goals by excluding others. For example, a "making a world city" project can sacrifice the well-being of the people who live in the city. According to him, contemporary centralization has become more total and violent, expelling all peripheral elements within a space (Lefebvre 1991, 332), often by utilizing new *prohibitions* through a space such as gates, walls, and other security measures etc. (319). Centrality calls for "Logos", whereas the periphery is more welcome to "Anti-logos". Here, the point is to question the logical form of centrality, and the power relationship between the dynamics of centrality and the peripheries embracing different lived spaces (332-333).

4) *Use and Exchange Value*: the business world emphasizes the exchange values of commodities. Yet, products and things are not just commodities. They have use-value as well. There is a constant contradiction between "capitalist utilizers" who focus on the consumption of space *to produce surplus value* and "community users" who are mainly keen on the consumption of space for

enjoyment (Lefebvre 1991, 359-360). For Lefebvre, in everyday life, reinstating the use value of things, including human labour and places, is a crucial political stance that calls especially upon the '"lived space" of people.

5) *Dominated and Appropriated Spaces*: with this line of reasoning, there is a *dominated space* which established agencies and institutions (such as states, corporations and families) utilize and control. To the contrary, there is also *appropriated space* in which "various forms of self-management or workers' control of territorial and industrial entities, communities and communes, elite groups striving to change life and to transcend political institutions and parties" (Lefebvre 1991, 392). As usual, Lefebvre is very careful not to mystify or glorify any act of constructing counter-space, considering that every space always has the "potential" to be a part of the dominated space. Therefore, the realm of social practice itself is the only criterion for evaluating any alternative practice.

As a result, Lefebvre's approach gives us quite important values with which to explore contemporary cities, while not falling into the trap of picturing the forces or flows as a "system", "logical form" or "mental space" by also exploring the contradictory spaces that embrace differential space and alternative practices. Despite all such merits of Lefebvre's work, when it comes to alternative social practices, he mostly gives examples from outside the realm of production. Traveling through examples and anecdotes is an important part of reading Lefebvre's book and understanding his approach to space. Thus, it is important to think about why he gives fewer examples from the world of production. I think there might be two reasons for this: First, he is willing to criticize the political economy; in other words, the Marxist tradition of the mid-1970s that mainly focused on the dynamics of production ("the production in space") and presented its structural analysis without giving enough attention to "the production of space" (Kofman and Lebas [eds.] 1996; Merrifield 2006; Kipfer et al. 2008). Second, since production is the realm of "logos", "rationale", or centrality, he might be seeking to redirect his readers' attention from the realm of dominated space and its priorities towards other realms of living such as leisure, sexuality, entertainment, and the creation of art. That is why, for instance, he also frequently criticizes the socialist experience on the grounds that it was too keen on the goal of "accelerating growth" (Lefebvre 1991, 55-56, 357-358).

Lefebvre's work does not give enough examples for us to understand the realm of production by using the spatiality analysis he advocates. However, his approach is still inspiring enough to examine the patterns of work life in cities, and he has important remarks on these issues. There is no reason not to think of a work space as a contradictory space as well. Spatial dynamics and all its contradictions also play a role in the realm of work. For instance, on the one hand, employers have the intention of having their employees just "working" and "producing." On the other hand, their employees have frequently attributed more social meaning to their jobs and try to protect their *creativity*. Between these two intentions, there are always contradictions in the work place.

Using this line of reasoning, I will focus on our on-going research project on work life in Istanbul in the next section.

The Contradictory Spaces of Work Life: Three Cases from Istanbul

I have been conducting qualitative field research in Istanbul with a group of researchers since Spring 2010. My intention is to explore how people working in different economic sectors make their living in the city and how contradictory spaces influence their work lives. This will help us to show how working people, ranging from workers in manufacturing sectors to professionals in service sectors, reproduce certain social and spatial practices, and how their practices encounter the dominant ones. As nowadays the dominant actors of the global economy continuously strive to define the social and spatial organization of the world economy on their behalf, it is necessary to put similar efforts into researching alternatives on behalf of the wider inhabitants of cities, who are also trying to make their living in cities. Indeed, people can make their living in places and by occupations which are devalued or ignored by the dominant images and practices of "the global economy"; alternatively, people's effort to make their living can be directly prevented by these dominant practices. In this regard, as we try to investigate the work life of people in the city, we will especially focus on occupations and their relevant needs. Examining occupations has some significant merits for us. First, it helps us to understand the social dynamics of an economic activity from the angle of the employees rather than the economic sectors. It is important to notice that when an economic activity is explored, it is too common to present it from the perspective of "the sector," in other words from the side of employers. Second, doing research on how people carry on with their occupations helps us to investigate the social and spatial pattern of a

particular occupation in the city, and how any changes in these patterns have an influence on the wellbeing of the employees. Such notions can help us both question the on-going spatial and social practices in cities, and propose alternative ones that aim to enhance the wellbeing of people rather than "the working" of the global economy.

The research project that we have conducted aims to investigate the social and spatial patterns of the city dwellers that live and work in different city districts and jobs through examining 100 occupations in Istanbul. In this very comprehensive research project, 40 graduate and undergraduate sociology students of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University have been working as researchers to gather data under my supervision. Each researcher (in some cases a group of researchers) is supposed to investigate an occupation by using qualitative research techniques. For each occupation, the researchers conduct nine *occupation interviews* and eventually write *an occupation evaluation paper* based on these interviews. As a result, the essential findings and arguments of this research project will be based on these occupation interviews and evaluation papers. For the confidentiality of the employees, we would like to preserve the anonymity of the interviewees by referring only to their first name and the district where they work.[3] Since it is difficult to summarize the findings of such a comprehensive qualitative research project, I prefer to focus mainly on three occupations as cases to explore Lefebvre's perspective on space and work life in the city: chambermaids in hotels, mechanics in the automobile sector, and managers of shopping centres.

Chambermaids in the Hotel Sector

One of the occupations on which we are conducting interviews is chambermaids in the hotel sector. Through this occupation, we also expected to see the tourism sector in Istanbul from a different angle. Indeed, since the mid-1980s, as a development agenda for the city, there

has been strong emphasis on attracting more tourists to the city. Our research indicates that space plays a significant role in various aspects of this occupation.

Hotel chambermaids are responsible for the cleanliness of hotel rooms. They dust, vacuum, make beds, dispose of waste materials and clean and restore bathrooms by using properly prescribed cleaning solutions and equipment. At the same time, they have to be reliable, responsible and friendly. According to interviews, compared to seaside hotels in other cities of Turkey, housekeeping jobs are more demanding in Istanbul because the profile of customers in Istanbul consists of more people interested in culture tourism, business and conference gatherings. As a chambermaid states, "*you have to show the guests your hospitality, but try not to be too close to them. You should keep a distance with guests. I always keep myself three steps away from them.*"[4] Indeed, there are strict subdivisions of space in hotels, reminding us of Lefebvre's emphasis. Chambermaids are only allowed to be on certain floors and are not supposed to be seen in other main areas of the hotel. Ironically, hotels are the places bringing the spaces of leisure and work together. While a hotel, with its facilities, is an attractive and intriguing place for its guests, it is mainly a place of hard work for its chambermaids. According to our interviews, the chambermaids seek to overcome such contradictions by not thinking about them. As a chambermaid notes,

> "People come here for holidays, and we make their beds and clean their toilets. It is really difficult to work, especially in summer. You cannot rest at all. Then, all of a sudden, you start thinking of questions like whether I will ever have a chance to go on holiday, or what I would do if I had a chance to go. Would I leave my room so dirty? But, when you start to constantly think about questions like these, you cannot work at all, so I just try to focus on my job."[5]

A chambermaid cleans a room in 20-30 minutes depending on her/his experience and also the way the room was used by the guest. In a shift, a chambermaid is expected to clean 12 rooms on average, but this job load also depends on other factors:

[4] Mr. Gürsel, 34 years old, works for an international hotel in Topkapı-Istanbul. Interview by Berfe Yılmaz, 29 December 2011.

[5] Ms. Yıldız, 30 years old, works at a boutique hotel in Çemberlitaş-Istanbul. Interview by Berfe Yılmaz, 6 February 2011.

- *The type of hotels* (whether it is a boutique hotel or a big hotel): the small boutique hotels have less job load and more flexible relationships among hotel staff. Moreover, especially in big hotels, clients are more demanding and tend to ask chambermaids to clean their rooms while they are in the room, which is a great concern for female chambermaids regarding sexual harassment.
- *The district locations of hotels:* the location of the hotel in the city determines the social status of customers. For instance, upper class customers are more demanding. According to interviews, the chambermaids prefer to have middle class foreign guests in their hotel. Indeed, a chambermaid, working in different hotels, states that he is willing to work in hotels close to Sultanahmet and Çemberlitaş, the historical peninsula of Istanbul, which are the favourite destination of the middle class foreign tourist, and not willing to work in hotels in Tarabya, a destination for upper class foreigners, as well as Tarlabaşı and İstiklal, a destination for lower class guests.
- *The origin of customers:* the chambermaids also articulate strong stereotypes for their customers depending on where they come from and whether they leave their rooms clean and tidy. As a chambermaid states, "*every day we can guess our job load by learning where the new guests come from.*"[6]

By briefly highlighting all the above issues, I would like to show that the different pattern of spatial organization of a job plays a significant role in shaping the work conditions of an occupation, thereby employees. In fact, despite their hard working conditions, chambermaids have relatively better salary and benefits when compared to other service sectors. Depending on the type of hotel they work in, they earn between €300-600, higher than the minimum wage in Turkey; they also have insurance, while in other service sectors employees might not have any insurance at all. It seems that chambermaids have a certain level of *empowerment* over their employers in their jobs. Where does it come from?

This empowerment comes from the fact that the services provided by chambermaids are directly related to the clients of a hotel. The *cleanliness* of a hotel, an important sign of its service quality, is mainly provided by

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[6] Ms. Gülsüm, 35 years old, works for a boutique hotel in Laleli-Istanbul. Interview by Berfe Yılmaz, 6 February 2011.

chambermaids. Moreover, the *hospitality* of chambermaids to hotel guests and their *dependability* regarding any theft in hotel rooms are of great concern for hotel managers when establishing their hotels' reputations. Especially nowadays, the online comments of former customers about their experiences during their stay in a particular hotel are very important issues for hotel managers. The hotel managers have to make sure that their chambermaids are reliable and trustworthy. Therefore, they try to hire their employees via the references of their senior employees, and even prefer to hire employees from the same district. Moreover, they provide a better pay for their employees, and also try to ensure better work relationships among staff. Small hotels especially, frequently emphasize how important it is to have a friendly relationship in the workplace and "a family-like atmosphere." Even though the number of customers of the hotel sector fluctuates seasonally in Istanbul, the sector has a low turnover compared to other service sectors.

Nevertheless, it is not difficult to guess that when there are relatively fewer customers seasonally, the employers of big hotels might consider their employees' payments as an additional cost for their businesses. As a consequence, big hotels especially, first try to maximize business every season by encouraging businesses to hold meetings and international conferences at their hotels. Second, *subcontracting employees* come to their aid. Some big hotels have started to subdivide their hotel areas according to the jobs to be done, and hire subcontracted employees on lower pay and reduced benefits and at a high turnover to clean places such as main hallways and saunas which do not require as much "'reliability" as hotel rooms. In other words, using Lefebvre's concept, fragmented spaces with different working conditions are constructed within the hotel. A chambermaid subcontracted to a very famous five star hotel in Istanbul states that "*they make us work harder than their own chambermaids. We have to do whatever the manager asks us to do. But, their chambermaids' duties are defined clearly; they would not do any extra work like us.*"[7]

In brief, the relative *empowerment* of chambermaids in the hotel sector of Istanbul compared to other service sectors comes from the fact that hotels have to be able to provide customer satisfaction effectively and employing dependable and reliable chambermaids is an essential part of ensuring this satisfaction. Eventually, dependability and reliability become

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[7] Mr. Tahsin, 47 years old, worked at an international five star hotel in Ortaköy-Istanbul. Interview by Berfe Yılmaz, 8 February 2011.

important qualities that a chambermaid should have. This is a point usually underestimated in business discourse. Only the entrepreneurs of the hotel sector are presented as having control of everything. Meanwhile, however, some big hotels especially seek to utilize a *counter-strategy* through reorganizing the job areas in the hotel by constructing fragmented spaces within the hotel, and hiring subcontractor chambermaids for hotel areas where dependability and reliability might be relatively ignored. Nevertheless, it does not seem easy for them to turn the entire hotel area into homogenous space utilizing unskilled labour rather than the qualified and empowered workers, because the dependability and reliability of workforce is still important for hotel businesses. As a result, the empowerment of chambermaids in Istanbul and the counter-strategy of hotels to prevent this empowerment of labour through reorganizing the space of their hotels reflect some dynamics of the contradictory space of labour in the hotel sector.

Mechanics in the Automobile Sector

Mechanics in the automobile sector are required to have certain *qualifications* to understand the problems of a given vehicle and then to be able to repair them. These qualifications make an auto-mechanic's job an important occupation in the city, as the number of automobiles increases rapidly. There are mainly two different places for a mechanic to work: in small auto-repair shops or auto-manufacturer service shops. These two places reflect two different social and spatial organizations for mechanics, and the qualifications needed for the occupation change significantly according to the work place chosen.

In some aspects, the small auto-repair shops remind us of the old artisan work environment. Here, the occupation is learned initially by being an apprentice to a master mechanic. The job is learned in real life by following the master, doing the jobs he asks and eventually gaining more and more responsibility for repairing vehicles. The master-apprentice relationship shapes the training and the qualifications of the apprentice. In interviews, some of the mechanics recall that their masters were tough on them, but they also insist that this is the only way to learn this job which is hard, demanding and highly skilled. Moreover, some of them recall that their masters were like fathers to them. They, in turn, complain about how difficult it is to find a worthy apprentice among youngsters nowadays. Some of the mechanics run their own shops or have partnerships with the owner of a shop. The working conditions are usually hard in a small repair

shop. The shops are cold in winter, hot in summer, and require long and flexible working hours depending on the customers' schedules.

Nevertheless, they praise themselves for the skills that they have acquired by hard work and long practice. For instance, a mechanic notes that "*when I listen to a car engine, I immediately diagnose its problem and figure out a short cut and reasonable solution to it. I work with my ears.* […] *Some people do not appreciate it, but it requires a lot of experience. You have to be smart and skilful.*"[8] Mechanics state that finding a problem and fixing it is sometimes challenging but there is also a great deal of satisfaction. They try to keep their reputations as good mechanics and pay attention to maintaining good social relationships with their customers. As a result, a mechanic seeks to improve both his skills and personality at the same time. For him, it is not only a job but also a means of eventually building his own personality and social network (Sennett 2008). As a mechanic states, "*You can earn good money from this job. You acquire a social network, and get to know a variety of people ranging from smugglers to members of Parliament.*"[9] Similarly another mechanic notes, "*Thanks to this job, I have a vast social network as my customers might range from mob members, doctors and lawyers to businessmen. It is nice to meet with different people. You cannot get such a social network in a manufacturer service shop.*"[10]

When we look at all these statements from Lefebvre's perspective, the mechanics working in small auto-repair shops attribute *social meaning and skill* to their jobs as a direct result of having a close relationship with their masters, eventually training their "ears" (thereby defining their skill as an intangible quality), devoting themselves to their jobs and getting satisfaction from it, and finally acquiring a superior social network through their customers. A work place cannot only be "a place of work." As mechanics devoting most of their daily life to their auto-repair shops, the social relationships taking place there eventually gain a more social meaning for them (the master turns into a "father," skill and experience reflect their personality, and customers and colleagues become also their friends and social networks).

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[8] Mr. Hıdır, 47 years old, works as a mechanic in an auto-repair shop in Bostancı Oto Sanayi-Istanbul. Interview by Esra Kaya, 5 January 2011.

[9] Mr. Ahmet, 46 years old, works as a mechanic in an auto-repair shop in Atatürk Oto Sanayi-Istanbul. Interview by Esra Kaya, 5 February 2011.

[10] Mr. Hıdır, 47 years old, works as a mechanic in an auto-repair shop in Bostancı Oto Sanayi-Istanbul. Interview by Esra Kaya, 5 January 2011.

However, the automobile sector in Istanbul has recently shown a great deal of change, which pushes the reshaping of the necessary qualifications, duties and workload of a mechanic's job. First of all, auto-manufacturers have started to be more interested in auto-maintenance and repairs, and they try to make it a more profitable business for themselves by expanding their showrooms into auto-service shops and tracking their customers. They encourage their former customers to use the maintenance and repairs services from their service outlets directly. In these service shops, the maintenance and repair services are more organized and well-scheduled. Moreover, computer-based technological devices are routinely used to diagnose vehicle problems. Consequently along with the changes in the automobile sector, the maintenance and repairs services also require more computerized shop equipment.

This means that the mechanics need to keep pace with the changes in their sector. Service shops prefer to hire mechanics with formal training from high school. They provide reasonable salaries, insurance, better working hours and an improved environment for their mechanics. Therefore, the mechanics who work in service shops state that they prefer to work in such establishments because they know their duties and pay, and do not need to think or worry about customers or earnings. In other words, the job criteria for a mechanic in a manufacture service shop seems to provide a more relaxed and stable state of mind for an employee.

Conversely, the qualifications for the job seem to have weakened in manufacturer service shops over time. According to interviews, service shops require average skills. Besides, since there is a division of labour in the service sector, auto-mechanics specialize in certain models of cars and certain parts of vehicles. Since the manufacturers encourage them to do so, they incline to replace rather than to repair the broken part of a vehicle at the expense of the customer. Indeed, every service shop has certain sales targets for the spare parts in stock, so they have a greater desire to encourage their customers to replace some parts of their vehicles even though it may be unnecessary. In other words, the manufacturers' "rational calculation" of profit plays a more important role in shaping the way the job is done than the mechanics themselves. Compared to the small repair shops, service shops also overcharge for their maintenance and repair services. In all these procedures, the mechanics in the service sector do not directly interact with the customers at all. The manufacturer becomes the mediator between them. There is a more "formal" and constrained relationship between the mechanic and the customer. Indeed, the profile of the customers has also changed in the auto manufacturer service sector. The customers are usually from upper or middle classes, who do not tend

to search for a good mechanic, nor directly interact, bargain or deal with them. Instead, the auto manufacturer's representative makes everything possible for them.

The auto-maintenance and repair sector seems to be an extremely profitable area for manufacture companies, so, on the one hand, they are trying to expand into this area. On the other hand, according to interviews, as the manufacturing companies use more sophisticated technology in auto-manufacture in order to have their monopoly in the sector, they are often reluctant to release the necessary manuals and hi-tech repair equipment to the market in a timely fashion. One mechanic complains that "*in order to learn about a new model, I need to work on it, but the manufacturer sector changes their models too frequently and withholds some information from us.*"[11]

We have to be careful not to idealize or glorify the narrative of the master-apprentice work environment as a practice of "the good old days" too easily. However, this case is still significant in illustrating that a job might entail *skills* and *social meanings* which cannot be simply constrained to the realm of the "rational business" world. I think this is a point that Lefebvre has great interest in showing the contradictory aspects of the space. Employees might attribute more social meaning and comprehensive abilities to their jobs, as it is in the case of small auto-repair shops. On the other hand, these *skills* also become the target of automobile manufacture companies operating in a more central, formal, calculating, and profit-oriented manner, thereby attempting to reorganize the social and spatial organization of the auto-repair job and business. Nevertheless, such transformation is not occurring with a linear shift from auto-repair shops to auto-manufacturer service shops. The auto-repair shops still seek to prevail, and the mechanics working there are able to make their livings. Rather than considering them only as old-fashioned work places, it is possible to see that these places comprise some features that enable the wellbeing of employees, therefore causing discomfort for the auto-manufacture companies.

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[11] Mr. Hıdır, 47 years old, works as a mechanic in an auto-repair shop in Bostancı Oto Sanayi-Istanbul. Interview by Esra Kaya, 5 January 2011.

Managers in Shopping Centres

Over the last two decades, the number of shopping centres in Istanbul has been increasing rapidly. In 1990, there were only 3 shopping centres, but this number reached 102 by the end of 2011.[12] Housing international brands and companies, they are often considered "the modern side" of consumption and city life. For instance, it is common to see that when foreign journalists write something on Turkey or Istanbul, they somehow give examples of the famous shopping centres in the city. These are the easiest ways to "read" and prove the "globalization" of a city. In other words, these are the means of legitimizing the dominant mental space of the city. In shopping centres, the consumption and leisure activities of all visitors are interwoven and calculated very carefully. They are one of the places that Lefebvre points out as being the product of new spaces according to neocapitalism, where quantity over quality, exchange value over use-value, dominated space over appropriated space, and finally centrality over periphery have gained priority. In other words, despite all their efficient management and organization, they might be carefully re-evaluated as being sites of contradictory spaces within contemporary cities. Often, what they contradict is far away from the walls of the shopping centres because they are intended to be the primary places of "business" and "logos" from the outset.

As we did for the other sectors, we wanted to conduct our research through looking at the employees within the sector. It seemed interesting to ask who runs these shopping centres, which naturally led us to the managers of the shopping centres. Since shopping centres have become the new attraction points of consumption and leisure activities throughout the city, and real estate consultant companies state that the city still has market potential for establishing new shopping centres, we assumed that being a manager in a shopping centre must be a prestigious and promising career. Nevertheless, just the location of a manager's office within a shopping centre indicates their status within the sector. Despite "the spectacular" architecture and comfort of shopping centres, managers' offices are often located in basements or other invisible parts of the buildings, and frequently lack the same comfort that centres provide to their customers.

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[12] The data about shopping centres in Istanbul is gathered from the web site of AYD (Council of Shopping Centers-Turkey). For the most recent number of shopping centres see http://www.ayd.org.tr/TR/PDFs/ayd_main_brochure2012.pdf.

Most of the shopping centres are in partnership with international (or Western) real estate consulting companies, such as *Jong Lang Lasalle* (England), *Mfi Management für Immobillien AG* (Germany), *Cefic* (France) and *Multi Development* (Nederland).[13] The international real estate consulting companies, with their worldwide branches, are influential (but not determining—remembering Lefebvre) actors in producing the homogenous spaces of consumption practices all over the world. Often, there is a strict division of labour between the main company's European employees and the ones in Turkey. A manager who worked with a French consultant company states that, "*The company had a straight rule on assigning a French manager as a marketing manager and a Turkish one as a shopping centre manager who was responsible for dealing with the tenants of the mall (when fluent Turkish was essential).*"[14] The local managers often insist that the foreign managers of the consultant companies have more authority and better salaries and benefits.

According to some interviews, the managers state that since the number of shopping centres has increased dramatically, there is fierce competition among them to attract more customers. Since most of the shopping centres contain similar companies and brands, it becomes necessary to find new strategies to attract more customers to these modern market-places. Thus, they try to come up with unique themes for their shopping centres, which are also eventually imitated by rival establishments. In other words, while centre designers are busy homogenizing the space of consumption, their managers are being forced to create "unique" spaces of consumption. Ultimately, these "arenas of consumption" are forced to offer more than consumption and leisure, and eventually re-invent themselves as the "social spaces" of a city. Interestingly, one shopping centre defines its customers as "their guests." According to a manager we interviewed, the investors and the tenants of the shopping centres want centre managers to organize a lot of interesting activities to attract more customers, but at the same time they do not want to expend more. Hence they ask for low cost activities to be organized. Once, this particular manager even organized a cost-free activity by using

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[13] The information regarding international real-estate consulting companies that have partnerships with shopping centres in Istanbul was gathered through our field researcher, Metlem Sanlav.

[14] Mr. Erdem, 42 years old, had worked for different shopping centres and is presently unemployed. Interview by Meltem Sanlav, 29 December 2010.

her own social networks.[15] The dilemma for these new consumption spaces is that they intend to be more than consumption areas, by being more meaningful for people and by being places to socialize, but at the same time, the rational-cost analysis of the business means it is not willing to spend more money, so the extra efforts and "social networks" of their managerial employees are called upon.

Finally, according to certain interviews, as a result of the 2008 economic crisis, the tenants of shopping centres started to contest their tenancy agreements, for the rent as well the general expenses of the shopping centres that they were sharing. Eventually, after the 2008 crisis, the tenants renewed their contracts to their advantage. One manager states that "*we were the castles of contemporary shopping and were very selective about our tenants. But, since the 2008 crisis, they have become the kings. Now, they set the rules. And, we, as managers, are trying to balance the relationship between investors and tenants.*" Because the tenants of shopping centres have been empowered since the crisis and investors still want to protect their profit margins, the main task of a manager has become that of persuading both sides of the business. As the manager states, "*90% of our job has become mediating between both sides, which is a very exhausting task* […] *there is always uncertainty, and you cannot have long-term predictions*."[16] Consequently, it is not surprising to see that there is a high turnover of labour among managers of shopping centres.

To sum up, while shopping centres, functioning as the new spaces of consumption, impose their own "logos" on a city's work life as well as social life, they also bring their own contradictions with them due to the fierce competition amongst rival establishments. The purely rational-calculative spaces of consumption might, at the beginning, pretend to be "social spaces" for their guests, but eventually they ought to be so in reality. Ironically, for that reason, these "rational" and "formal" institutions force their managers to work harder and utilize even their social and informal networks. Along with the economic fluctuations and crisis, the logos of these new consumption spaces do not seem persuasive and feasible even for the managers of the shopping centres in the long run.

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[15] Ms. Esma, 43 years old, interview by Meltem Sanlav, Fatih-Istanbul, 29 December 2012.
[16] Mr. Erdem, 42 years old, had worked for different shopping centres and is presently unemployed. Interview by Meltem Sanlav, 29 December 2010.

These three cases from the work life of Istanbul show that companies, from tourism to the auto-repair and shopping sectors, have the intention to operate in a more central, formal, calculating, and profit-oriented manner. Their business practices, which are expanding as a result of international links and partnerships to the construction of vast new buildings such as luxury hotels, new auto-service facilities and shopping centres, can be easily seen as a sign of "globalization" and the evolving direction of work life eventually. Nevertheless, in all these cases, I attempt to show that despite such inclinations by the corporate world, labour and its features are not a passive part of work life. First of all, every work environment requires certain skills and quality of labour, and this leads to the empowerment of labour. For instance, at first glance, the chambermaid job in the hotel sector seems a simple service sector job requiring few skills. Nevertheless, the dependability and reliability required in the tourism sector becomes an important quality for this job and helps empower chambermaids. The mechanics in auto-repair shops show that a job can improve someone's skills, personality and, eventually, provide more social meaning for employees. On the other hand, in both of these cases the corporate world seeks to prevent the empowerment and quality of labour through social and spatial reorganization of the work environment, thereby triggering contradictions. In the first case, this happens within the workplace; for instance, when a hotel fragments its work space and reassigns jobs for each area. In the second case, the contradictions reflect themselves in two different work places. While auto manufacturers attempt to present an alternative service to the auto-repair shops via their manufacturers' service shops, two different work environments for mechanics prevail in the city. The third case is a little bit different from the first two because shopping centres are supposed to be calculating and profit-oriented places of consumption by definition. However, the 2008 economic crisis and the fierce competition taking place among shopping centres have forced them to attribute more "social meaning" to their spaces (in other words enhancing the use-value of the space for the community) to attract more customers, and even to utilize the social and informal networks of their employees, hence requiring new and unusual qualifications from employees. This is a contradictory trend weakening the rational, calculating, and modern image that this business sector wants to build.

Conclusion

Lefebvre's approach to space provides us with a compelling perspective for exploring contemporary cities without picturing any relevant forces or flows as a "system", "logical form" or "mental space". In this paper, I have especially focused on his view on contradictory space and sought to look at the work environment in Istanbul as contradictory space via given examples from specific occupations. I have tried to show that by exploring the work environment of a city as contradictory space, we are provided with a new and greater scope for social research as well as political agendas. First of all, it makes it necessary to look at how work life and the spatial practices involved are interwoven at various levels and what their outcomes are. As soon as we can look at the work environment from this perspective, we will be able to grasp the contradictory aspects of work life more deeply. Second, the point is not to merely assert that there are always contradictions in work life, which is, of course not difficult to do. The contradictory spaces in the work environment help us question dominant social practices, while at the same time allowing us to comprehend what possible alternative political practices there might be that enhance the empowerment of labourer over employer and protect the social aspect of work life. In that respect, even the three cases presented above give particular and significant clues as to how we may build on the empowerment of the work force and the social meaning of work life in particular social settings.

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CHAPTER NINE

RHYTHMANALYSIS:
A NEW PROJECT?[1]
PRELIMINARY REFLEXIONS
ON A FUTURE RESEARCH ON MARSEILLE

ANDREW OTWAY

Introduction

Henri Lefebvre's notion of a trans-disciplinary "new science" of rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre 2004, 3) is potentially one of the most effective and interesting tools of sociological and political analysis, especially in its application to the condition of modern cities. My hypothesis is: Rhythmanalysis is an essential tool in the analysis of urban society today and could help to bring about the realization of an urban Marxian and "green" Utopia. It can show how the rhythms of urban society and the rhythms of the natural aspect of the city are adversely affected by the forces of capitalism and the power of the modern state. An alternative Marxian solution could provide a solution to this predicament: during the 1970s, Lefebvre became especially interested in the left-libertarian notion

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[1] This is a partial summary of a work in progress and is part of my Ph.D thesis which will include a rhythmanalysis of Marseille, mostly based on Lefebvre's work on urban rhythms. It will comprise two month-long periods of field-work observation and analysis in selected parts of Marseille for one month during the summer and one month during the winter (for purposes of comparison). I will record my observations of a selection of urban rhythms using written notes, photographs and sound recording equipment.

of *autogestion*—the self-management *of* the whole of society *by* the whole of society.[2]

In the first part of this article I will define rhythmanalysis, looking at what rhythms are and how they are analysed, and then looking at the relationship of rhythmanalysis to a critical theory of everyday life. Then I explain why rhythmanalysis is important to us in a political and environmental context, and why Lefebvre's original notion of rhythmanalysis needs to be updated. I then trace the general development of Lefebvre's notion of rhythmanalysis and some of his other sources of inspiration.

In the second part of this article I explain why I have chosen to focus on Marseille (which will be the subject of my rhythmanalytical study) in its context as a Mediterranean city. In the following section I look in particular at two rhythmanalytical essays by Lefebvre and then at some more recent work along similar lines by contemporary writers. This is followed by a section on some potential contributions to method from the *Situationiste Internationale*, a movement which Lefebvre was very close to intellectually for several years. I then suggest possible components of a rhythmanalytical method in terms of a) time and space, and b) rhythms to be analysed.

Part I

What is Rhythmanalysis?

To answer this I refer mostly to the work of the French Marxist sociologist Henri Lefebvre and especially to his *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life* published in English in 2004, thirteen years after its publication in France. Rhythmanalysis is about the analysis of rhythms, but what kind of "rhythms" and what kind of analysis? Let us first look at the "rhythm" component. There is something primal and exciting about rhythm. Rhythms occur in space and in time. Heraclitus said about time "Everything flows and nothing abides, everything gives way and nothing stays fixed" (Diogenes 1925). However we tend to measure how quickly or slowly phenomena change from our own limited human standpoint and

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[2] See Lefebvre's *De l'État* in four volumes (1976-1978) and two essays in Lefebvre 2009: "Theoretical Problems of *autogestion*" (138-152) and "It Is the World That Has Changed": Interview with *Autogestion et socialism* (153-164).

so tend to believe things are static and permanent. So even these things that are apparently static and permanent, including the things that make up places and spaces, *do* actually move or flow—but very slowly. They are made up of rhythms; modern science describes things as being made up of "waves" (see the TV documentary by David Malone, *The Secret Life of Waves*, BBC4, 2011). Maybe rhythmanalysis is on the side of Heraclitus as it shows how phenomena continuously change in a process. They move or "flow", with rhythm punctuating this "flow" usually at regular intervals. Three kinds of rhythm are analysed, but the abovementioned radical and primal quality is more evident in the first kind.

Firstly there are rhythms proper, rhythms of nature which can be described as cyclical, or as cycles *of* nature. There are the rhythmic cycles that are external to the human body and mind such as the cycles of the seasons and the cycles of day and night, the tides and the movement of wave energy, and those that are within the human body and mind including biological and psychological rhythms such as heart rhythms, circadian rhythms, biorhythms and sleep rhythms. Natural human rhythms are also crucially connected to a notion of resistance to the modern state (Lefebvre 2004, 96) and to capitalism.

Secondly, and opposing these natural rhythms in Lefebvre's scheme, there are linear, artificial rhythms which usually only last for a pre-determined period of time. They are only *rhythms* in appearance: strictly speaking, for Lefebvre, they are (mere) *repetitions* (Lefebvre 2004, 78), and I will refer to them as repetitions from here onwards to avoid confusion. These especially meant the repetitions of the culture of modern capitalism and can be found in the mechanical, industrial and technological repetitions involved in capitalistic production, for example. Some of these are repetitions involving inorganic matter and some are repetitions which are more obviously social. Examples of these two types of repetition are the sequence of blows of a mechanical hammer in an industrial setting and the regular repetitions connected with the phenomenon of clock time, which has gradually become accepted and naturalized over centuries in the layering process of civilization.

Thirdly, rhythmanalysis is especially concerned with the analysis of the overlapping, interaction and interference of these two opposing natural rhythms and artificial repetitions which produces a third, hybrid kind more concentrated in urban environments. These three categories fit with Lefebvre's particular understanding of the dialectic, a concept which recurs throughout his work. A problem of categorization comes when we look at the fuzzy area of the social world, which in Lefebvre's scheme seems to be partly natural and partly artificial. Tim Ingold (2000) shows

that social time *can* actually fit into the category of the naturally rhythmic; he also offers a useful description of natural rhythmic time and its difference from artificial and linear time, explaining that natural rhythms are actually *intrinsic* to natural movement. He says:

> "[…] while there are cycles and repetitions in music as in social life, these are essentially rhythmic rather than metronomic. It is precisely for this reason that social time, pace Durkheim, is not chronological. A metronome, like a clock, inscribes an artificial division into equal segments upon an otherwise undifferentiated movement; rhythm, by contrast, is intrinsic to the movement itself." (Ingold 2000, 197).

What kind of *analysis* is involved in rhythmanalysis? Rhythms occur everywhere, but as with Lefebvre, the rhythms I am interested in mostly are the rhythms of large cities. Cities are dense *loci* of a wide range of rhythms. At some point in the last ten years it has become clear that more people throughout the world live within cities than outside them. The growth rate of this urban population is still increasing world-wide at an astonishing level. In *Right to the City*, discussing the relationship between art and the urban, Lefebvre says: "the future of art is not artistic, but urban, because the future of 'man' is not discovered in the cosmos, or in the people, or in production, but in urban society" (Lefebvre 1996, 173).

The rhythms that Lefebvre analyses are usually directly and immediately perceived through the everyday use of the senses; or at least he uses them as a starting point. Many rhythms can be difficult to perceive. For Lefebvre a rhythmanalyst has to train themself, beginning with a patient process of tuning in to the rhythms of their own body (Lefebvre 2004, 19-20).

For Lefebvre the whole idea of rhythmanalysis is closely tied in to his notion of everyday life. Everyday life for Lefebvre was repressive and alienating, but also was the potential site for initiating a spark of a liberating revolution. Kurt Meyer stresses very strongly the role of rhythmanalysis in the critique of everyday life, saying:

> "The aim of critical research into everyday life is to investigate the continuity of the rhythmic in the linear flow of time in modern industrial society, to study the interferences between cyclic time and linear time." (Meyer 2008, 148).

Lefebvre believed that the increase in the influence of linear time in our life is linked to the influence of modernity, which is in turn linked to an expansion of capitalism. It sometimes appears that Lefebvre advocates a return to an urban society ruled by cyclical time-scales, although in a

way not motivated by nostalgia for a past golden age (see the essay *Notes on a New Town in* Lefebvre 1995, 116-126). But in fact Lefebvre merely wanted to redress the balance between linear and cyclical time.

Why is Rhythmanalysis Important?

The first reason is that if it can show us that capitalism is inherently flawed, it can help to persuade us to start looking for a radical alternative. Lefebvre shows us in his essay *The Manipulation of Time* that his main critique is of capitalism:

> "Capitalism has more than maliciousness, malignance and malevolence about it. […] It kills nature. It kills the town, turning itself back against its own bases. […] It goes as far as threatening the last resource: nature, the fatherland, roots." (Lefebvre 2004, 53).

It could be argued that Lefebvre intended his rhythmanalysis project to contribute towards revolutionary political change; later in this essay Lefebvre hints that socialism might be a political way forward. We do need a workable alternative to capitalism to allow life to be sustainable. In a review of John Holloway's *Crack Capitalism* in the May/June 2011 edition of *Radical Philosophy,* Howard Feather compares Holloway's approach with that of the Situationist Raoul Vaneigem in his *Revolution of Everyday Life* (1983) published in France in 1968. In this book, Feather says:

> "Holloway's treatment of time as duration is also characterized in a unitary way. Here his approach is "apocalyptic", relying to some extent on Vaneigem's Revolution of Everyday Life. Vaneigem argues for the need to break the duration of capital's linear time and thereby recuperate other times, past and futural. He identifies the determinations of this breach as lying in the temporal tensions between linear and cyclical time in the everyday." (Feather 2011, 50).

Rhythmanalysis does not only show us the difference between the rhythms of an oppressive capitalist state system and its opposite (see below in Lefebvre's *Mediterranean Cities* essay). It can also show us where to apply pressure to certain weak spots, the "temporal tensions", to disrupt the daily rhythms on which the edifice of capitalism has been built. This disruption could be the first guiding stages of a Marxist revolution. Incidentally, Lefebvre must have been aware of what Vaneigem, one of the two leading Situationists, had written in 1967 in the well known *The Revolution of Everyday Life.*

The second reason is illustrated by Riccardo Pulselli and Enzo Tiezzi in *City out of Chaos* (2008) where they say: "The rhythms of technology and nature are out of phase. This fact underlies the global environmental crisis" (Pulselli and Tiezzi, rear cover). I believe that capitalism greatly contributes to this arrhythmia which is a symptom of a false Enlightenment view which has become a deeply embedded cultural assumption—that nature is completely separate from society. We need a workable alternative to capitalism to allow life to be sustainable. Despite the high profile of the green tendency on today's political and commercial scene, as Neil Smith says:

> "[…] even environmental insiders now admit what socialists, radicals and anarchists have long concluded, namely that the mainstream environmental movement is dead, co-opted by the very capitalist power that it once tried to fight, reincarnated as little more than green capitalism." (Smith 2006, xii).

The increase of the destruction of nature by the forces of capital over the last thirty years or so since Lefebvre wrote his book on rhythmanalysis might suggest that his ideas have more potential relevance today than they had in his own lifetime.

Updating Lefebvre

Much of Lefebvre's collection of essays on rhythmanalysis needs to be updated. The world has changed; the present hegemony of the politics and economics of capitalist neoliberalism only started to develop in the early 1970s, mostly in Britain, Chile and the USA; it is now a global phenomenon, although its development has been uneven. Former president Sarkozy has become a prominent advocate of this particular ideology in France.

Although Lefebvre had no particular interest in the idea of the environmentally sustainable city, his work on rhythmanalysis could fit well with such recent ideas as Urban Political Ecology allied with the grand narrative of Marxism[3]. Here we come to what attracts me more than anything to rhythmanalysis: it can be used creatively. In his half page long "Introduction" in his *Rhythmanalysis* book Lefebvre says that it is "a new

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[3] For a succinct definition of Urban Political Ecology, see Keil and Boudreau's definition in *The Nature of Cities*, 2006, 43.

field of knowledge: the analysis of rhythms; with *practical consequences*" (Lefebvre 2004, 3). We need to explore what these words might mean for us now. Lefebvre and his last wife, Catherine Régulier, blatantly encourage us to carry on their work at the end of their 1986 essay *Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities,* when they say on the last page: "In proposing several hypotheses in the hope that they would be taken up and carried further than before by others, we wanted to verify them as far as possible…", and they finish with the words: "The path marked out by these concepts thus opens itself onto finer analysis. To be undertaken." (Lefebvre 1986, 100).

Stuart Elden in his introduction to *Rhythmanalysis* says of Lefebvre's book:

> "It is a work which shows why Lefebvre was one of the most important Marxist thinkers of the 20th century, but simultaneously illustrates how his work moves beyond that paradigm, incorporating insights from elsewhere in an intoxicating mixture of ideas, illustrations and analyses." (Lefebvre 2004, vii).

Lefebvre always had kept a broad "metaphilosophical" overview and we can see in the first two chapters of *Rhythmanalysis* that he keeps his almost lifelong humanist Marxism at a distance; but I am interested in picking out the "everyday life" aspects of rhythmanalysis which are more conducive to Marxism and its possible linking with green urban politics. So for me some of the essays in the book are more important than others; the most important are "Seen from the Window", "Dressage", "The Manipulation of Time" and "Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities."

Rhythmanalysis could be perceived as an unusual and even slightly offbeat subject. Rob Shields (1999) in his general overview of Lefebvre does not mention rhythmanalysis at all. Andy Merrifield describes Lefebvre's interest in rhythmanalysis almost as something like the musings of an old man whose mind is failing. He says "Rhythmanalysis was Lefebvre's personal right to the city, a right he perhaps should never have shared" (Merrifield 2006, 75). I believe however that Lefebvre saw rhythmanalysis as one of the most important parts of his life's work.

The Seeds of Rhythmanalysis

To appreciate this we need to see it in the context of his *œuvre* and how the concept has developed through his work. Lefebvre first writes about rhythms in a developed way in *Critique of Everyday Life, Volume II:*

Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday (Lefebvre 2002, 47-51), an update of Lefebvre's first book on his particular philosophy of the *quotidien* published fifteen years earlier. This second volume includes some major changes in focus in his thought on the quotidien, which had also become more sophisticated. Even at this early stage Lefebvre has already built the foundations for his notion of rhythmanalysis; the area of social life here seems to be a meeting point of the two opposing kinds of rhythms. But the notion of rhythms does not appear again outside of this short section in this book; a book which, as Elden pointed out, amounts to a considerable reworking of the first (1947) volume of *The Critique of Everyday Life* until the next mention of rhythmanalysis in *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre 1991). Here he is not specifically dealing with the philosophy of everyday life, but is attempting to define a "history of space":

> "The departure point for this history of space is not to be found in geographical descriptions of natural space, but rather in the study of natural rhythms, and of the modification of those rhythms and their inscription in space by means of human actions, especially work-related actions. It begins, then, with the spatio-temporal rhythms of nature as transformed by social practice." (Lefebvre 1991, 117).

In section X of the book's third chapter on "Spatial Architectonics" Lefebvre describes the relationship between the body, its "surface" and "deep" natural rhythms, and space. He goes on to suggest what a "sort of rhythm analysis" might entail (205-207), within the study of the body, or music and dance. What he says here about rhythm and the coordination of space and time and the need for a study of rhythms in the lived social world is particularly interesting:

> "A rhythm […] embodies its own law, its own regularity, which it derives from space—its own space—and from a relationship between space and time. Every rhythm possesses and occupies a spatio-temporal reality which is known by our science and mastered so far as its physical aspect (wave motion) is concerned, but which is misapprehended from the point of view of living beings, organisms, bodies and social practice." (Lefebvre 1991, 206).

The Production of Space (Lefebvre 1991) is peppered with references to rhythm. Towards the end of the book Lefebvre returns to an idea of a

method of "rhythm analysis" which ties the notion of the "total body" (a concept reminiscent of his earlier notion of the "Total Man"[4]) and space together. He also speculates on the future nature of this approach:

"The passive body (the senses) and the active body (labour) converge in space. The analysis of rhythms must serve the necessary and inevitable restoration of the total body. This is what makes "rhythm analysis" so important. It also explains why such an approach calls for more than a methodology of a string of theoretical concepts, more than a system all of whose requirements have been satisfied." (Lefebvre 1991, 405).

By 1981, when the third and final volume of *Critique of Everyday Life* appeared, Lefebvre's foundational ideas on rhythmanalysis were almost completely developed. The political implications of the manipulation of natural rhythms, or at least the relevance to capitalism of this manipulation are outlined here, as Stuart Elden (2004, 221-222) has pointed out. Here Lefebvre says of rhythmanalysis:

"It would [thus] study all cyclical rhythms starting from their origin or foundation—nature—but taking account of their alterations through interferences with linear processes. The important thing here is the progressive crushing of rhythms and cycles by linear repetition. It must be emphasizes that only the linear is amenable to being fully quantified and homegenized. On a watch or a clock, the mechanical devices subject the cyclical—the hands that turn in sixty seconds or twelve hours—to the linearity of counting… Fully quantified social time is indifferent to day and night, to the rhythms of impulses." (Lefebvre 2005, 130).

Here, then, Lefebvre shows us the rhythms of capitalism and the modern state.

Lefebvre was not the first to write on rhythmanalysis; he acknowledged Gaston Bachelard's work as an influence on his own ideas on rhythmanalysis. Bachelard (2000) included a chapter in his *The Dialectics of Duration*, originally published in France in 1950, which he entitled *Rhythmanalysis*, and in which he presented his own ideas on the healing powers of rhythm (which can perhaps be traced in modern work in the area of Music Therapy) based on the earlier ideas of Lucio Pinhero dis Santos in a work which is evidently untraceable today. This chapter of

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[4] Lefebvre's notion of the "Total Man" is widely discussed throughout Lefebvre's *œuvre*, such as in *La somme et le reste* (1958) and in literature, such as *Shields* (1999) and *Elden* (2004).

Bachelard constitutes a strange text which seems to be based in the new ideas of the physics of the mid-20th century, but which seems to have been written as a piece of literature. Perhaps this might have suggested to Lefebvre that his own "new science" of rhythmanalysis should be poetic as well as scientific?

In Part II, I will discuss how I will translate these ideas into a practical rhythmanalytical study of Marseille.

Part II. Marseille

The focus of my on-going research project (see footnote 1) is a practical rhythmanalysis of Marseille. There are several reasons why I chose Marseille in its Mediterranean context. I particularly relate my study to the essay *Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities* included in *Rhythmanalysis* (Lefebvre 2004). Here I take my lead from Lefebvre who, in this essay, refers to Marseille; my aim is to expand on his analysis. However the emphasis of my study is on the method or technique of rhythmanalysis itself and not on Marseille as a city and place to study as such. On the other hand I also acknowledge that all places are different and have their own character which might inevitably colour the study.

Lefebvre lived in Marseille for a time during the Second World War and knew the city well. It is the oldest and the second largest city in France but it is separated in many ways from the non-Mediterranean part of the country. Lucy Wadham in *The Secret Life of France* says:

> "Marseille is a city that most Parisians can't stand. It is seen as dirty, lawless and full of Arabs. The first port of call for many immigrants from the Maghreb, it is both in atmosphere and outlook more like Algiers or Tunis than any French port. Marseille is rebellious, wild and cocky. It is also the only city in France with a thriving local mafia, Le Milieu…" (Wadham 2009, 247-248).

Wadham says Marseille is the *bête noire* of the French bourgeoisie, despite the millions that have been "poured into" its rehabilitation. She says she could never understand the Parisian scorn for the city and describes it almost idyllically in places:

> "The first time I went there I was dazzled; by the blanched light and deep blue skies, washed clean by the Mistral, the golden stone of the buildings, the gentle rise of the city over the Vieux-Port [Old Port], bold and busy and open-armed to the Mediterranean…" (Wadham 2009, 248).

Others have written about the rhythms of Marseille—for example, the impressionistic and almost rhythmanalytical essay written in 1929 by Lefebvre's contemporary Walter Benjamin entitled *Marseille*. Here is an excerpt:

> "Noises. High in the empty streets of the harbour district they are as densely and loosely clustered as butterflies on a hot flower bed. Every step stirs a song, a quarrel, a flapping of wet linen, a rattling of boards, a baby's bawling, a clatter of buckets. Only you have to have strayed up here alone, if you are to pursue them with a net as they flutter away unsteadily into the stillness…" (Benjamin 1999, 233).

It is Marseille's and its hinterland's great good fortune to have been chosen, together with the city of Košice in Slovakia, as European Capitals of Culture for 2013. This will entail a certain amount of redevelopment for Marseille and the towns around it. I do not intend to be too distracted by this phenomenon, but certain aspects of it which might affect my study will need to be taken into account.

Studies of Rhythmanalysis

Before analysing other recent comments on rhythmanalysis by Amin and Thrift, Edensor and Degen's attempt at an actual rhythmanalysis in *Sensing Cities: Regenerating Public Life in Barcelona and Manchester* from 2008, I will turn to two of Lefebvre's essays from his *Rhythmanalysis* book in which he actually *does* rhythmanalysis: "Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities", and "Seen from the Window". These essays are quite different in written style and the methods they use. The earlier of the two, the "Mediterranean Cities" essay, recommends that the rhythmanalyst, "an enigmatic individual who strolls with his thoughts and his emotions, his impressions and his wonder, through the streets of large Mediterranean towns" keeps a balance between being involved in the rhythms he or she is observing, and being a more objective observer.

What is quite striking about these two essays is the different amounts of analysis of rhythms. The first essay's first four pages are an explanatory account of what rhythmanalysis is; there follows a theoretical account of geographical, historical and cultural background on the Mediterranean region and its cities in terms of rhythms. Lefebvre mentions the importance of the clan system in social organisation, the importance of ritual and its basis in natural rhythms and other factors which differentiate Mediterranean culture from that of the rest of France, especially from that

of northern France. He also writes about practical analysis of rhythms—for example on the rhythmical implications of stairways in Mediterranean cities such as those next to the St-Charles station in Marseille, and other observations made in Venice. These observations, both theoretical and practical, are important for political reasons. On the side of the political *status quo*, from the time of the creation of the region's city states to our own times, Lefebvre says: "power and political authorities that sought to dominate the town through the domination of space, were constituted very early. These powers drew and continue to draw on space as a means of control, as a political instrument" (Lefebvre 2004, 91). This power, which manipulates the space of the town or city of the Mediterranean region as it manipulates time, is manifestly brutal but also, crucially, fragile and weak. Resistance to the state, and by implication to the capitalist system supported by the state, is inherent in Mediterranean society, and Lefebvre explains this (in a quite complex multi-layered way) in terms of the everyday resistant rhythms of the people. In terms of "dressage" (see the fourth chapter in *Rhythmanalysis*: "Dressage"), these popular rhythms have not been "broken" enough by either the state or by capitalism (Lefebvre 2004, 96).

In the second essay ("Seen from the Window") the rhythmanalyst (who is obviously the author himself!) concentrates on one actual *place*: he observes the streets below the front window—and the garden below his rear window—of his central Parisian flat on rue Rambuteau near the Centre Pompidou in central Paris. There is less physical involvement on the part of the rhythmanalyst here, due to the isolated position of observation, but Lefebvre launches into his very literary-style rhythmanalysis—as actual analysis of rhythms—right from the start. He does however go off on tangents discussing power and the neighbourhood's monuments. "Seen from the Window" leaves behind the theoretical and scientific side of rhythmanalysis and dwells more on the details of rhythm and repetition, getting closer to their raw nature and to the truth of their presence. What strikes me in particular about this essay is the contrast between the discussion of the different views from the author's two windows—the one which looks onto the street at the front of the house, which takes up most of the essay, and the view from the window, which presumably looked out to the rear of the house, to a sheltered and quiet garden area. From the first window all is movement and action:

> "Towards the right, below, a traffic light. On red, cars at a standstill, the pedestrians cross, feeble murmurings, footsteps, confused voices. One does not chatter while crossing a dangerous junction under the threat of wild

cats and elephants ready to charge forwards, taxis, buses, lorries, various cars." (Lefebvre 2004, 28).

At the rear of the house all is tranquil, where the rhythms of nature appear much slower and less obvious. Given the difference between this essay and the "Mediterranean Cities" essay, it is obvious that Lefebvre's written practice of rhythmanalysis has markedly different constituents or strands.

Considering what little Lefebvre has left us to go on, how can we construct a methodology for a rhythmanalysis of Marseille, or of any other place, given our theoretical predilections outlined in the introductory chapter above? Amin and Thrift give us some indication of the difficulty in constructing any kind of conventional methodology for rhythmanalysis:

> "[…] contemporary cities are certainly not systems with their own internal coherence… The city has no completeness, no centre, no fixed parts. Instead, it is an amalgam of often disjointed processes and social heterogeneity, a place of near and far connections, a concatenation of rhythms; always edging in new directions. This is the aspect of cities that needs to be captured and explained, without any corresponding desire to reduce the varied phenomena to an essence or systemic integrity." (Amin and Thrift 2002, 8).

This highlights one of the problems of conceptualising any methodology for rhythmanalysis. Cities are such complex entities that one wonders whether any notion of an expertise regarding cities as a whole is possible. In what ways can we *know* cities as totalities? This touches on the difference of rhythmanalysis from other kinds of analysis. Perhaps rhythmanalysis could or should be the analysis of those gaps or lacunae in our knowledge of cities, knowledge beyond the purely instrumental, and perhaps a new kind of knowledge which would be a corrective to the over-rational and technocratic knowledge of urban planners. Going back to the above-mentioned review of John Holloway's *Crack Capitalism*, Feather says:

> "At the same time "the crack" is also redolent of the point at which the system stops: its limits and boundaries. Gaps or lacunae are paradoxically the point at which the hole becomes the being, the way out, opportunity; the commodified life as an opportunity for reversal, détournement." (Feather 2011, 48).

The rhythms in these gaps are the rhythms of the revolutionary potential of everyday life.

Returning to Amin and Thrift, after discussing Walter Benjamin's accounts of his wanderings in Paris, Naples and Marseille the authors say:

> "The "theorist" is the gifted meditative walker, purposefully lost in the city's daily rhythms and material juxtapositions. The walker possesses both a poetic sensibility and a poetic science that is almost impossible to distil as a methodology for urban research." (Amin and Thrift 2002, 11).

This is an important aspect of the situation of the rhythmanalyst (the "theorist" for Amin and Thrift), as I understand it, and also elucidates one of their dilemmas. This has caused me to ask myself whether I should make my observations of rhythms moving around the city, probably on foot, or from one or more fixed place—a café terrace, perhaps, and a hotel window—or should I combine both methods?

Some recent literature has been very useful to my research, both in its theory and (especially) in its methodology. Monica Degen's excellent book *Sensing Cities; Regenerating Public Life in Barcelona and Manchester* (2008) compares two urban regeneration projects: El Raval, a suburb of Barcelona, and Castlefield, a suburb of Manchester. This study is a very useful source of ideas for a rhythmanalytical methodology. For example Degen apples two main concepts to the areas she analyses: activity rhythms and sensory mapping. Exploring the activity rhythms of Castlefield she says:

> "In Castlefield activity rhythms are shaped by outsiders. Its main streets become busy during rush hour in the early morning and early evening when streams of professionals drive to the various media businesses in the area and residents stride purposefully to work along the main thoroughfares into the city. The sharp clicking of female office workers' stiletto heels reverberates along the streets…" (Degen 2008, 163).

Degen's account of Castlefield moves through the day from the early morning to the night-time, noting times of intensive and quieter activity rhythms; she illustrates her description with short extracts from interviews with local people and also with photographs. Her account covers various parts of the suburb, at different times of the week (weekdays are differentiated from weekends) and at different times of the year (summer and winter). She looks at how different social groups relate to the urban environment of Castlefield.

El Raval, like Marseille, is on the Mediterranean coast. It is subject to the same solar rhythms as other Mediterranean cities (Lefebvre 2004, 91) and could have been written about by Lefebvre in his "Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities" essay. In her account of El

Raval, Degen (2008, 167) picks out its differences with Castlefield (just as Lefebvre has pointed out differences between Mediterranean and North European cities). El Raval is a place with a more "local" feel, less dominated by "outsiders": "Both the spatial and sensuous rhythms [of El Raval] indicate a socially mixed use of public space and at first sight a strong ethics of engagement". In a section entitled "Sensual mapping", Degen explains this term:

> "Activity rhythms are intricately linked to sensuous rhythms. As public life is punctuated and produced through activities we experience these through the senses. […] Activities create events, yet it is the analysis of the sensuous rhythms produced that provides us with an insight into how places are experienced in a more phenomenological way as 'presences', thus evoking those inexpressible qualities of place." (Degen 2008, 173).

Here she refers to Lefebvre: "[…] the act of rhythmanalysis integrates these things—this wall, this table, these trees—in a dramatic becoming, in an ensemble full of meaning, transforming them no longer into diverse things, but into presences" (*ibid.*).

Another (seemingly inexhaustible!) source of ideas on methodology is Tim Edensor's edited collection of essays *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies* (2010), which "aims to explore the fertile suggestions offered by Henri Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis*" (Edensor 2010, 1). In his valuable introduction, Edensor initially concentrates on four categories of rhythms which I assume he has drawn from the content of the essays in his edited collection: the rhythms of people, bodily rhythms, rhythms of mobility, and non-human rhythms. I will take Edensor's thoughts on these four areas (below) and combine them with my own to use as focal points of rhythm to concentrate on in my own analysis.

La dérive*: the Methodology of Rhythmanalysis*

There is a tradition of a critique of urban society which involves moving on foot through a city—often through Paris. This critique has taken different forms over the years but it is usually connected to some form of art or poetry. It began with *la flânerie* in the 19th century in the times of the poet and crowd-loving *flâneur* Charles Baudelaire who wrote in his prose-poem "Crowds" in 1862: "Not all men have the gift of enjoying a crowd-bath. Luxuriating in the throng is an art on its own […]" (Baudelaire 1989, 59). For Baudelaire, the poet/*flâneur* is both a hero and a critic of modernity, especially in its urban form, which always fascinates him. This critical attitude and fascination with the urban was continued by

Surrealist poets such as André Breton and Louis Aragon in their poetic novels *Nadja* and *Le Paysan de Paris*, respectively; thirty years later the tradition re-emerged: just as Baudelaire had inspired the Surrealists' ideas on cities, so the Surrealists were an inspiration to the Paris branch of the Situationist International. The walking practice of *la dérive* or "drift" of the Paris-based Situationists (contemporaries and sometimes-friends of Lefebvre) seem to be echoed today in some of Amin's and Thrift's ideas. This psychogeographical practice of the *dérive* involves walking alone or in a small group through a city, usually with some loosely pre-decided route but with room for spontaneous choices in route-selection, with sensitivity and openness to one's surroundings. In "Theory of the *Dérive*" the Situationist Guy Debord says:

> "In a dérive one or more persons drop their usual motives for movement and action, their relations, their work and leisure activities, and let themselves be drawn by the attractions of the terrain and the encounters they find there. The element of chance is less determinant than one might think: […] cities have a psychogeographical relief, with constant currents, fixes points and vortexes which strongly discourage entry into or exit from certain zones." (Debord 1991, 50).

Art-maps, such as *The Naked City* (Debord and Jorn 1957) were produced from these *dérives* or drifts in which arrows, representing routes taken, linked various nodes or *unités d'ambiance* forming a network of the drifters favourite, most atmospheric and emotionally charged places. Could this practice be taken into account when creating a walking rhythmanalytical methodology for Marseille? Psychogeography is a geography of the emotions. It combines the poetic with a gesture towards the scientific, similar to the way in which Lefebvre describes the "new science" of rhythmanalysis; like rhythmanalysis, psychogeography tried to "combine subjective and objective modes of study" (Sadler 1998, 77). If this technique were to be adapted to rhythmanalysis, the emphasis on emotionally charged or sublime and atmospheric places and routes could be substituted for places and routes with strongly perceived rhythms and repetitions.

A Rhythmanalysis of Marseille

Time and Space

The rhythmanalysis I will perform will be limited by factors of time and space. For a period of one month during the summer of a particular year and one month during the winter of that same year certain areas or

locations will be chosen for analysis within the city (possibly five or six, depending on practicalities such as having to get from one area to another, eating, drinking and resting). I will record data for my study for a certain number of hours each day in each chosen location. However it is worth bearing in mind, if a comparison between a practical rhythmanalysis and the dérive is worthwhile, that for Debord an average *dérive* lasted one day, but that "this duration is merely a statistical average. For one thing, the dérive rarely occurs in its pure form: it is difficult for the participants to avoid setting aside an hour or two at the beginning of the day for taking care of banal tasks; and towards the end of the day fatigue tends to encourage such an abandonment" (Debord 1991, 52).

A walking route will be decided on for each area, which might vary from day to day. The first part of the analysis will take place during the walking of these routes, aided perhaps by voice and other sound-recording technology, and the use of still-photography and filming. The route might be traced using GPS technology to aid later phases in the analysis. Certain points will also be pre-decided as places for static analysis lasting for certain periods. These points of static analysis might also vary from day to day.

Rhythms for Analysis

So far I have accounted for, very roughly, when and where the rhythmanalysis will take place—but what rhythms will be analysed? As I mentioned above I will use Edensor's four categories of rhythm and adapt these to my own purposes. As examples of "rhythms of people" Edensor mentions: "the walking patterns of schoolchildren, the rush hour of commuters, the surge of shoppers, the throngs of evening clubbers, the rituals of housework, the lifestyles of students, the slow pace of unemployment […] and the timetabled activities of tourists […]" (Edensor 2010, 4). I will examine the rhythm and movement of people as they walk, but also the stillness of people in cars, trains, etc. I will look at crowds, the favourite milieu of the *flâneur,* for their density and their fast or slow-moving rhythms, and I will notice in what places and for what purposes crowds form. I will ask whether they affect the rhythms within them, and whether crowds have a rhythm of their own, and how dense a group of people has to be before they become a crowd. It might be useful to map certain kinds of rhythms at certain times and in certain areas of the city.

Mediterranean people of Marseille have their own kinds of rhythm. I will observe these both walking and in situ, combining Lefebvre's ideas both from "Seen from the Window" and his "Mediterranean Cities" essay. I will make written notes as well as making sound recordings of both my

own verbal commentary and also of ambient sounds. I will also take photographs and possibly video film.

In his section on "Bodily rhythms" Edensor refers to Lefebvre's hypothetical rhythmanalyst's constant reference to his own bodily rhythms as a measure for all the rhythms one analyses. He mentions Lefebvre's ideas on "dressage" (see above), but balances this with the idea that the body (or a group of bodies) acts to a great extent to determine, or "[produce] place as well as fitting in with it, and [it] may not keep in step or synchronise with regular beats" (Edensor 2010, 5). In my own analysis of Marseille I must be as aware as possible of my own individual rhythms. When walking I will need to be aware of my own walking rhythm; I will also need to adjust the rhythms of my "sleeping pattern" to the local norm and to the temporal requirements of my practical analysis. I am aware that I will be a foreigner in Marseille. There might be a need to adapt my research methodology, which might to some extent be grounded in alien notions, where necessary. I will be able to research such matters on an initial reconnaissance trip to Marseille before the time of the proper practical rhythmanalysis.

On "Rhythms of mobility", Edensor says "Patterns of mobile flow […] contribute to the spatio-temporal character of place. […] There is a regulatory dimension through which the braiding of multiple mobile rhythms is organised, with traffic lights and other apparatus […]" (Edensor 2010, 5). I will look at the rhythmic shapes involved in the movement throughout the city and at its peripheries by pedestrian, bicycle, car and train and ship and the infrastructure within the city which supports these (roads, rail and metro network, pedestrian areas, etc.). I will do this with reference to maps where possible (for example bus and metro maps, tourist maps and *Google Earth*). In his section on "Non-human rhythms" Edensor reminds us of Lefebvre's description of rhythms in the garden behind his house in "Seen from the Window". To be able to examine its rhythms I will need to find the location of "first" nature in Marseille, both in its wildlife in animal, bird, or insect form, and also plant form—grass, flowers, weeds, trees, etc. Where would nature be cultivated as "second" nature? In parks, gardens, zoos, household pets, maybe? The movement and rhythms of birds and other fauna in and around the city would be examined when possible. The rhythms of the non-human as regards my own particular rhythmanalysis of Marseille include not only natural rhythms but also the rhythms of more static phenomena such as the city's transport infrastructure (road-works, for example), and parts of the built environment. Various questions would need to be addressed here: for example, do the shapes of buildings affect the flow and rhythms in

adjacent streets in a positive or negative way, if at all? How does the siting or positioning of buildings affect rhythms around them? Do buildings have their own individual rhythms? Do the appearances or styles of buildings affect rhythms—whether or not they have smooth walls, are uniform, and/or attractive? Do the constituent elements of the built environment contain or channel movement through adjacent spaces such as streets, squares or alleyway? What about rhythms inside buildings—public and/or domestic?

Conclusion

It is not possible to write about rhythmanalysis without starting out from Lefebvre's pioneering work. But Lefebvre left the development of his sketchily outlined project to future generations, and others have continued it in a variety of forms. Lefebvre's lack of any definite methodology for his project has advantages and disadvantages. On the negative side one can feel lost as to how to proceed, especially in an academic environment whose scientific ethos perhaps goes against certain aspects of Lefebvre's work, such as his notion of *poesis*, for example. On the positive side it encourages one to be creative in new and original ways.

Rhythmanalysis plays a unique part in modern critical urban studies. Incorporating the best aspects of Lefebvre's subversive and suggestive work on the relevance of space, time and everyday life, its future political role could have great potential in an increasingly urban world in which the combined forces and powers of capitalism and the state are still dominant but perhaps increasingly fragile. In this way rhythmanalysis connects with other aspects of Lefebvre's critical urbanism, such as his work on the right to the city.

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CONTRIBUTORS

Gülçin Erdi-Lelandais received her PhD in sociology in 2006 at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. She was Lecturer and researcher in different universities in France and Marie-Curie Research Fellow at the University of Warwick at the Department of Politics and International Studies. She is currently permanent CNRS Research Fellow at the University of Tours. Her research focus on the analysis of contentious politics, spatial dimensions of social movements, and resistances inside the city. She published several articles in journals, like the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research and Citizenship Studies,* and the manuscript of her thesis *Altermondialistes en Turquie: entre cosmopolitisme politique et ancrage militant* was published in 2011 by L'Harmattan in France.

Nezihe Başak Ergin is a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University and Research Assistant of ÖYP (Scholarship Program of Raising Associate Professor of the State) in the Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University and the Department of Sociology, Giresun University. She is now visiting researcher in the School of Geography at the University of Leeds. Her PhD thesis is on urban opposition groups and actors against urban regeneration in Istanbul. Her studies are on urban sociology, urban social movements, the right to the city, critical and radical geography, and participatory and solidarity action research.

Remi Hess. Disciple of H. Lefebvre, R. Lourau and G. Lapassade, Remi Hess has taught since 1969. He published his first article in 1970 on institutional analysis, the theory he continues to develop. He created IUFMs Reims in 1990. He was a university Professor in Reims, Cottbus, and, has been Professor in Paris 8 since 1994. As an author, he has published 60 books. His work has been translated into 12 languages. He recently published at Téraèdre *La pratique du journal. L'enquête au quotidien* in 2010, and *Henri Lefebvre et la pensée du possible. Théorie des moments et construction de la personne* at Anthropos in 2009.

Maciej Kowalewski holds a PhD in sociology from the Institute of Sociology, University of Szczecin (Poland). His research and teaching are in the fields of urban studies and maritime sociology. He is a member of the journal editorial board of *Annuals of Marine Sociology*. Currently he works on the history of urban protests of port and shipyard workers.

Hervé Marchal is a lecturer and the director of the Research Department in Sociology at the University of Lorraine. His research is on cities, the identity of city dwellers, and the process of segregation in the Department of Social Science. Among others, he has published *La diversité: impératif ou idéal?* (Ellipses, 2010), *L'identité en question* (Ellipses, 2012), and together with Jean-Marc Stébé, *Les grandes questions sur la ville et l'urbain* (PUF, 2011) and *Les lieux des banlieues* (Le Cavalier Bleu, 2012).

Andrew Otway, born in Lancaster, England, has a degree in French (1980) from Kingston Polytechnic (now Kingston University) and an M.A. in European Languages and Cultures from Lancaster University (2008). He is currently studying part-time for a PhD at Lancaster University researching the area of urban rhythmanalysis; this is supervised by the University's Department of European Languages and Cultures and Department of Sociology.

Claire Revol is a PhD student in philosophy and teaches at Lyon 3 University (Lyon, France). Having studied both philosophy and town planning (she obtained a Masters degree at the Institut d'Urbanisme de Paris in 2011), her research is at the cross-roads between the question of space and time in philosophy as it applies to the city and urban phenomena. Her current thesis explores Henri Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis and its relevance to understanding spatial and temporal praxis and their embodiment.

Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey. Rittersberger-Tılıç received her PhD in sociology from the University of Essen, Germany, in 1997. Her fields of interest are urban sociology, domestic and international migration, urban poverty, and urban social movements with a specific focus on gentrification/urban resistance movements. She has published, among others, on: rural-to-urban migration in Turkey and urban poverty, informal economy and female labour; return migration to Turkey; and solidarity networks among migrants.

Nora Semmoud. Professor of Geography and Planning at the François-Rabelais University of Tours and head of the Arab and Mediterranean Worlds Team of CITERES UMR 7324 (CNRS & University of Tours). Her work focuses on the appropriation of space by citizens and their confrontation with the planning on Maghreb, Algerian, French and Polish land. She has published two books at L'Harmattan, *Les stratégies d'appropriation de l'espace à Alger* in 2001, and *La réception sociale de l'urbanisme* in 2007.

Jean-Marc Stébé is Professor in sociology at the University of Lorraine, Social Science Department. His research focuses on social housing, territorial fragmentation and urban utopias. Among others, he has published *La crise des banlieues* (PUF, 2010), *Qu'est-ce qu'une utopie?* (Vrin, 2011) and, together with Hervé Marchal, *Sociologie urbaine* (A. Colin, 2010) and *Traité sur la ville* (PUF, 2009).

Yıldırım Şentürk is Assistant Professor of sociology at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Istanbul. He is interested in city and space, transnational studies, neoliberalism, labour, and qualitative research. His current research concerns work life in Istanbul.

Reyhan Varlı-Görk received her PhD in sociology at Middle East Technical University. Her PhD dissertation *The Making of a "City of Culture": Restructuring Antalya* received the Mustafa Parlar Thesis of the Year Award in 2010 in Turkey. She currently teaches as Assistant Professor on social, political, cultural and environmental aspects of space at Çankırı Karatekin University in the department of Political Science and Public Administration.