Changing Politics of Property in Urban Land:
A Case Study of Istanbul

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For the people of Ayazma and Basibuyuk

ABSTRACT

In the past few years, major cities of Turkey, especially Istanbul, have experienced state mediated urban redevelopment through projects known as "squatter settlement clearance projects". According to the authorities, the projects were intended to evict squatter settlements, rehouse the squatter population in modern, decent houses and save them from unhealthy, 'dirty' and crime-ridden squatter life. This dissertation uses qualitative data based on two case studies, in Istanbul, to analyse these projects, their objectives, outcomes, and implementation, the response of the squatters along with the relations between the state and squatters –the dynamics of persuasion and contention- during the process of implementation. This analysis is undertaken through the framework of theories of world city, rent gap and gentrification. It is found that the projects are implemented with the motivation of making Istanbul a world city and are targeted at those squatter neighbourhoods with a large rent gap; that they prompt the displacement of squatter populations and result in uneven outcomes amongst this population based upon their ownership status. The projects ensure the enforcement of the 'property rights system' through the eviction of squatters on state land and their resettlement in flats. They have a chance to *own* the flats if they can meet their payments. Therefore, the projects connote the institutionalization of new rules and relations in urban land. The study at hand, as such, designates the constitution of a new property regime and unearths a process of capitalist urban redevelopment, albeit one realised by the state.

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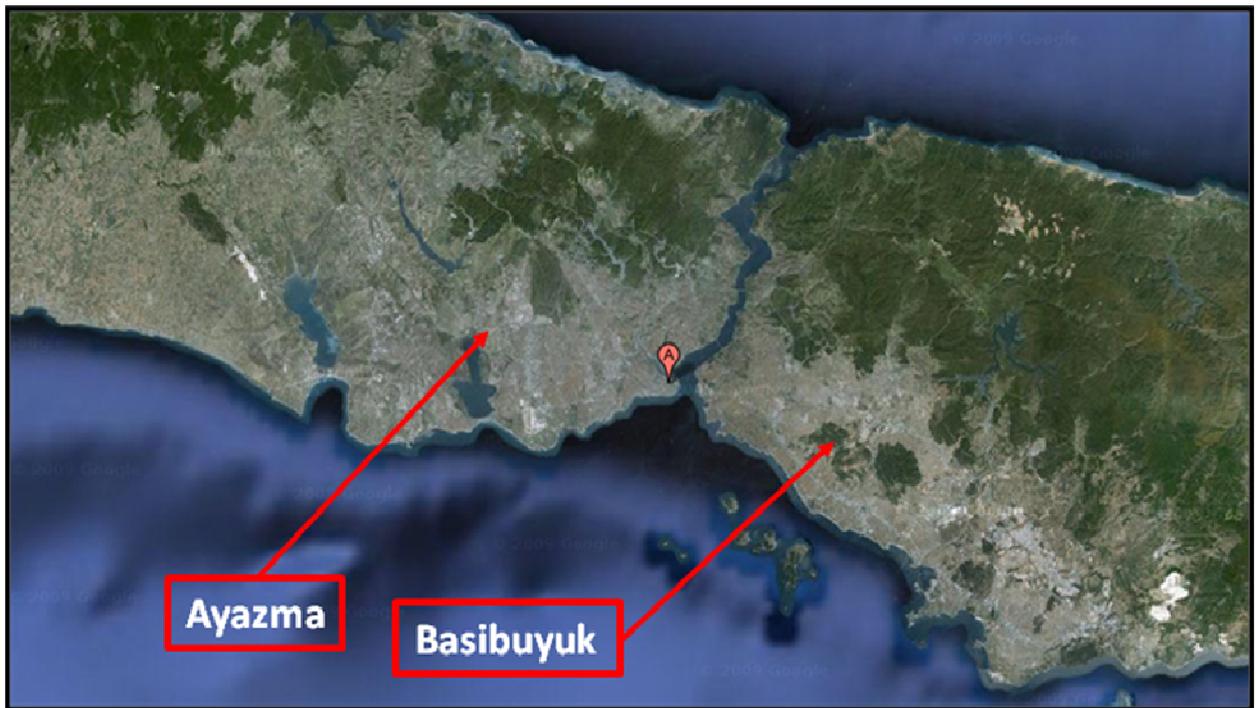
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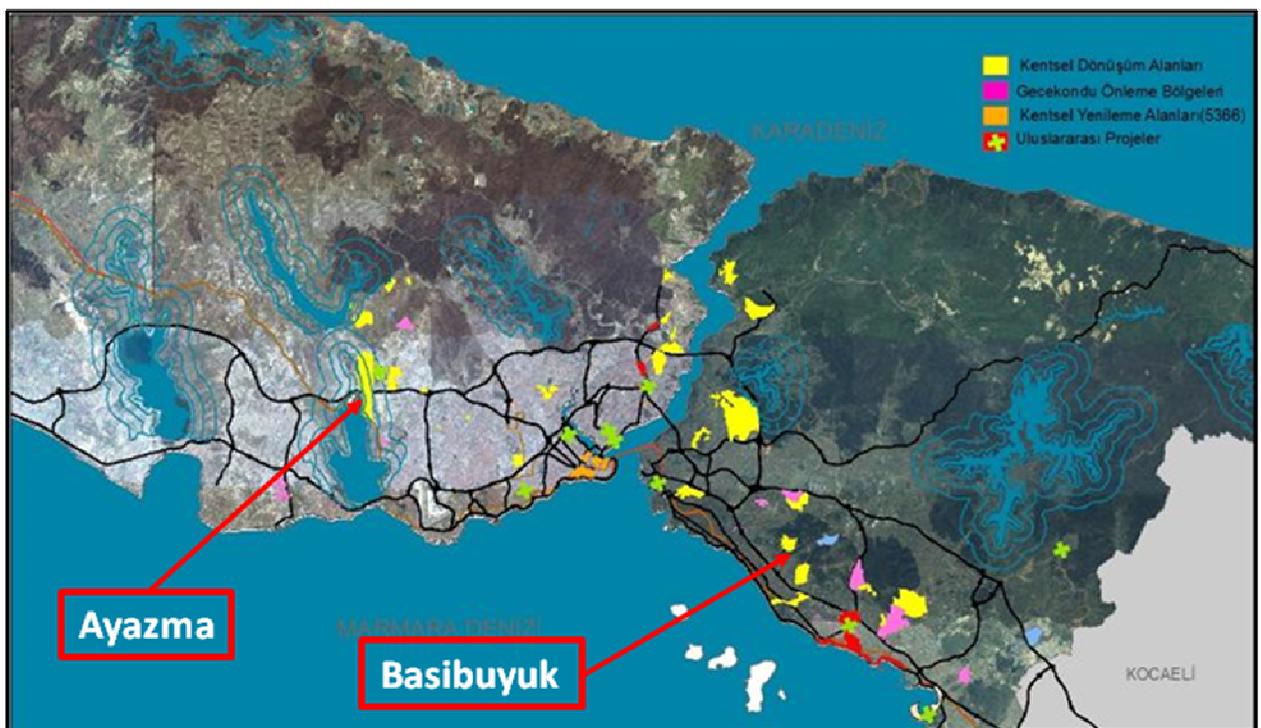
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INTRODUCTION

The last decade has witnessed a shift in the attitude and policy of the Turkish state towards its squatter settlements. The ambivalent, yet generally favourable, attitude of state authorities towards squatter settlements was abandoned for a more definite and undisputable aim: their permanent eviction. This objective was realised through the implementation of "squatter[1] settlement clearance projects"[2], directed and implemented by a state institution – the Housing Administration of Turkey-.[3] According to the Housing Administration, the projects were principally intended to provide the squatter population with a decent life in modern houses: "Citizens, who previously used to live in these unhealthy places, are given the chance to live in modern and planned residential areas with their completed infrastructure and facilities required for social life" (TOKI, 2007, p. 14).

This shift in the attitude and policy of the state was clearly reflected in the agenda, acts and policies of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) that has been in power since 2002. The 2003 'Urgent Action Plan' of the 58th government formed by the JDP mirrored this change: "the power and authority of the municipalities will be aggrandized in order to prevent the proliferation of new squatter settlements and to evict the existing ones for achieving *modern-looking cities*" (SPO, 2003, p. 105). The goal of eviction and prevention was reaffirmed in the program of the 59th government, publicised in March 2003 (BYEGM):

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[1] According to the U.N. HABITAT report (2003, p. 82), *The Challenge of Slums*, squatter settlements are "settlements established by people who have illegally occupied an area of land and built their houses upon it, usually through self-help processes". The characteristic of illegality and land occupation lends the term useful and suitable for understanding Turkish squatter settlements, or *gecekondus*, which literally mean 'set up overnight' (Davis, 2007, p. 38).[1] While today "one of every three city dwellers, a billion people, sixth of the world's population" (UNFPA, 2007, p. 16) live in slums, and it is expected to reach 4 billion by 2020 (UN-HABITAT, 2006), Turkey's slum growth –which really implies squatters- shows a stabilizing pattern. Despite the increase in absolute numbers, in 2005, percentage of slum population declined to 16.3 percent from its 1990's figure of 23.3 percent (UN-HABITAT, 2006, p. 28). This decline is further consolidated with the clearance projects, undertaken in a determinate manner during the 2000s.
[2] Throughout the dissertation, "squatter settlement clearance projects" will be referred as "clearance projects" or simply as "projects".
[3] For the subsequent chapters, "Housing Administration of Turkey" will be referred as "Housing Administration" or "Administration".

"one of the fundamental priorities of our government will be to transform cities into liveable places by in inhibiting unhealthy and unpleasant urbanization. Cheap houses will be constructed, targeted at people who live in squatter settlements."[4]

The aim of this dissertation is to construe this policy shift through a dialectical understanding of the current world economy, accompanied by the neoliberal restructuring of the cities therein and the local power dynamics. Designating clearance projects as a process whereby new rights over urban land are redefined and institutionalized, this study will prioritize, as its nexus of analysis, property relations in urban land. Property relations are consequential, since they determine who has a right over land, and therefore who will be excluded. In other words, constituting a new property regime[5] in urban land, clearance projects arbitrate who gain and lose, who has access to land and who does not. During this transition, this study analyses the processes whereby new rights over land are contested or resettled. It unearths the dynamics of persuasion and contention between the state and squatters as "property becomes a site of social contestation" (D. Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006, p. 152), as well an arena of divergent claims. More broadly, this dissertation seeks to illuminate the politics of urban land redevelopment and how various local actors promote, respond and resist large scale urban redevelopment and entrepreneurial place making strategies in Istanbul.

This study principally seeks answers to the following four sets of questions: [1]: What kind of urban land use policies were employed in the last decade in Istanbul and what were the motivating and legitimating forces behind them? [2] What were the effects of this 'new'

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[4] The term of office for the 58th government formed by the JDP was only four months. Subsequently, the 59th government returned to power in March 2003 and stayed in power for four years.
[5] The term property regime "implies a relatively settled, fairly consistent, set of practices, ideologies, and social relations. A regime can be –at least metaphorically- mapped. Its contours can be drawn." (D. Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006, p. 151).

urban policy? Did it really benefit squatters? [3]: What kind of politics did this policy derive from? How was it different from the clientelistic urban land politics of the developmentalist era of Turkey? Following Coats (1972) and Fox-Genovese (1973), was it accurate to conceptualise this change as a shift from "traditional paternalism" to "liberal moral philosophy"? [4]: What was the response of squatters? How were the clearance projects negotiated between the authorities and squatters or alternatively contested by the latter? What could be the important factors that triggered resistance to the projects? Or alternatively, what enabled their smooth implementation?

This dissertation is organised into six chapters. The first outlines the research methodology to be employed, proposes a case study led qualitative approach and outlines the hypotheses. The second chapter illustrates the theoretical framework, focusing on the world city hypothesis, gentrification and rent gap theory. The third discusses the motivating and legitimating forces behind clearance projects, juxtaposing the policy of clearance with the state's previous policy towards squatter settlements. The fourth succinctly delineates the process of the implementation of projects. The fifth focuses on two case studies in Istanbul, to discover whether they benefit squatters. Relying on the two case studies and the different local outcomes thereof, the sixth chapter alludes to the dynamics of contention and persuasion. Finally, in the concluding chapter, the research findings are consolidated and an argument for a just society, and squatters' "right to the city" (Lefebvre, 2003) is made.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs qualitative methodology, due to its appropriateness and effectiveness in providing an in-depth investigation (Ragin, 1994, p. 91; Silverman, 2000, p. 43) into the politics of Istanbul's redevelopment. The qualitative approach fulfils the goal of yielding 'thick descriptions', portraying diverse interest groups, and giving voice to squatters (Mason, 1996, p. 91; Mehan, 1979; Ragin, 1994).

The study is based on case study research, which is not merely "a data-gathering technique, but a methodological approach" (Berg, 2001; Hamel, Dufour, & Fortin, 1993; Yin, 1994).[6] It is befitting because it generates extremely rich, detailed and in-depth data regarding the questions of the nature of "how" and why" (Yin, 1994, p. 4). Schramm's point (1971), furthermore, provides a justification for the adoption of this approach: "the essence of a case study … is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result." Therefore, it perfectly suits the aim of understanding why and how clearance projects were implemented.

Case selection

The study employs a multiple-case design, where the unit of analysis is the neighbourhood. To this end, two squatter neighbourhoods in Istanbul were chosen that had been targeted for clearance. In comparison to single case studies, use of multiple cases reduces the problem of generalizability, and eases 'analytical generalizations' (Bryman, 1992; J. C. Mitchell, 1983; Yin, 1994). The logic of generalizability herein is not one pertaining to the statistical sampling

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[6] Stake opposes this view, arguing that "case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied" (Stake, 1998, p. 86).

logic, which links generalizability to sample size, but one pertaining to the "replication logic". The latter allows for generalizations to theoretical propositions rather than to populations and utilises a previously developed theory as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study (Yin, 1994, p. 31).

Becker (1958) proposes that a case study researcher is more prone to seeking cases that substantiate a preconceived position, resulting in problems of validity of findings. To mitigate this problem, two different cases were chosen.[7] The two cases are different in many respects: the history of their neighbourhoods, the social fabric of squatter community, the order of precedence of the implementation of the project and whether implementation has been successful. Accordingly, for contrast, one of the cases, Basibuyuk has been selected to represent a lack of success in implementation, while the other case, Ayazma represents successful implementation. Since the project was implemented in Ayazma, an evaluation of the project's outcomes can be made.

The selection of two different cases enables an analysis of the dynamics behind the success and failure of implementation in the neighbourhoods (the absence and presence of resistance), and the repercussions of their diversity on such outcomes. Yet, it is imperative to underscore two points. Firstly, because the study investigates absence/presence of resistance *ex post*, it has to rely on personal accounts, histories and construction of the past. This, as is known, is a potential source of bias. Secondly, the qualitative approach adopted in this study, primarily in the attempt to "study commonalities" in the two cases, has limitations in delineating the causal

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[7] The selection of two different cases is also beneficial where 'typical cases' (Woods, 1979, p. 268) are selected. Each case will not only be *de facto* different due to the specificity of its neighbourhood, dwellers, location and timing of the project, but most importantly they will be different because the Housing Administration, despite the blueprint for clearance projects, generally modifies and adapts the blueprint to the neighbourhood at hand. This is done solely for pragmatic purposes with the aim to implement the projects successfully.

mechanisms behind resistance and/or acquiescence. In other words, it fails to ascertain the presence of causality between the diversity of neighbourhoods, and the potential of resistance and/or acquiescence. Such a task would necessitate the use of a comparative method, which would allow for the identification of "causal links –how different configurations of causes produce different outcomes across the range of cases in a study" (Ragin, 1994, p. 114).[8] It would also require, at a minimum, extensive data on independent variables such as the population structure, socio-economic makeup, and the social relations of each neighbourhood. In the face of an absence of such data,[9] this study exclusively investigates the process of implementation, divergent outcomes, and the pivotal factors that played a role in each case. This is achieved by relying on the interviews conducted.

It should be noted, however, that the selection of two different cases does not preclude the possibility that they are sufficiently similar to be representative of the phenomenon at hand. Representativeness in this context does not pertain to population. Rather, in consonance with the theoretical sampling approach, it denotes "selecting groups or categories to study on the basis of their relevance to… research questions… [and to the] theoretical position" (Mason, 1996, pp. 93-94). This would permit analytical generalizations as well as the depiction of common processes affecting both localities.

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[8] However, Lieberson (1992) advances a very insightful comment on the use of "small N studies" to study causality. He demonstrates that when the number of cases is small, the possibility of formulating causal links that are both general and reasonable is greatly diminished. He contends that Mill's "method of agreement" and "method of difference "cannot be applied to small-N studies (Lieberson, 1992, p. 117).

[9] Logically, the first place to search for data is official statistics that could "be used to good effect in sociological research" (Bulmer, 1984, p. 149). Despite this potential, there are no official statistics or any other source of data for the neighbourhoods. Regarding this problem, the second option could be to conduct cross-sectional surveys, which however is unattainable given the time constraint. There is only one survey for Ayazma conducted by the local municipality, but there are no surveys for Basibuyuk. Yet, the study on Ayazma also has two problems: Firstly, the data on Ayazma is incorporated into the data on two neighbourhoods, namely Ayazma and its adjacent neighbourhood Tepeustu. Secondly, the prominence of informal transactions in the neighbourhood (i.e. rent, employment etc.) makes data collection arduous.

Finally, a few words need to be said about why Istanbul was chosen as the site of inquiry. Istanbul has been the centre of rural-urban migration and mushrooming squatter settlements since the 1950s. A plethora of changes in the post-1980 period occurred resulting from a shift in the orientation of the Turkish economy, marshalled by the IMF-led stabilization and structural adjustment programs. Through the policies of deregulation, privatisation, fiscal austerity and liberalisation, the economy became more global, finance and services oriented and pro-capital, in contrast to its national developmentalist era. These policies were accompanied by efforts to make Istanbul a centre of finance capital in, and attractiveness to, the world economy, directed by the world city aspirations of the elites. Today, Istanbul stands as an inspiring global city of the region.

Methods of Data Collection

A major strength of case study data collection is the opportunity to utilise many different sources of evidence (Hagan, 1993; Yin, 1994, p. 91). Accordingly, the research design employs three methods of data collection: interviews, direct observation and documentation. Regarding the first method, 42 interviews were conducted in total, with three different groups, namely 11 interviews with state elites, 25 with 'key informants' in squatter neighbourhoods and 6 with political observers, scholars, and professionals.

Interviews

Interviews are "superior to any other way of discovering what [elites] believe and do" (Moyser & Wagstaffe, 1987, p. 18). Elite interviewing especially yields valuable information on past histories and future plans (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 83). In order to unearth the motivating forces behind clearance projects and its proposed aims, semi-structured interviews

with the elites in the Housing Administration, the Istanbul metropolitan municipality and two local municipalities that govern Ayazma and Basibuyuk were conducted.

The rationale behind semi-structured interviews is threefold. Firstly, even though the interviewer asks the questions on the interview guide, semi-structured interviews permit questions that are not included in the guide to be asked as the interviewer picks up on things said by interviewees (Bryman, 2004, p. 321). Secondly, semi-structured interviews allow the interviewer to focus on specific issues within a broad topic (ibid, p. 323). Thirdly, they grant the interviewer the flexibility, in time, to rephrase questions and change the order in which they are asked to fit the characteristics of each interviewee (Denzin, 1989, p. 105).

When inquiring of 'sensitive issues', which may engender vexation with the elites, the 'funnel method' is adopted, where more general questions are posed prior to specific ones. Due to the importance of trust between the interviewee and the interviewer, as a way to elicit the former's responses more openly (Dexter, 2006; Oppenheim, 1968), effort has to be made to establish rapport by being explicit about the research (Dooley, 2001, p. 134).

To overcome the barriers of reaching elites, personal channels and 'pre-existing relations of trust' were exploited, as it is frequently underlined that "the best entrée to elite individuals for interviews is provided by their gate-keepers" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, p. 307). Having ensured first access, interviewees were selected via snowball sampling, which is the most common sampling technique in interviewing elites. However, the bias introduced by this non-probability sampling method is acknowledged since it may hamper the representativeness of the sample (Black, 1993, p. 50). A way to minimise this bias was to make use of official publications of the Administration and the municipalities such as their brochures and websites.

To include the interest group from the opposite side, interviews were conducted with 'key informants' in the two case neighbourhoods. Key informants not only provide "detailed data on a particular research setting, but also provide the researcher with introductions to other informants and to other institutions" (R. G. Burgess, 1982, p. 77). Unstructured interviews were preferred to procure the experiences held by the real-life members of participants, their reflexive understandings, and explanations (Johnson, 2002, p. 106). This turns out to be especially important when analyzing the dwellers' attitude towards the projects. Yet, unstructured interviews also require reflexivity on the part of the researcher, since the neutral and unbiased image of the researcher who records and reports data is erroneous (Chase, 1998, p. 69; Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 87).

Key informants were selected according to their level of involvement in community matters (Spradley, 1996). Hence neighbourhood associations were the primary locales for finding them. The snowball sampling technique was employed. Despite its drawbacks, it is the most convenient strategy to deploy in the study of squatters (Lee, 1993) since the closed social structure of squatter communities and their vulnerability with respect to the rest of population erect barriers to random sampling. For the researcher, being in the neighbourhood, directly observing it, and conducting interviews pose difficulties unless the consent of 'the gate keepers' of the community is granted.[10]

Because of the ongoing hostility between the elites and the squatters, key informants form the "counter-elite" or "defensive elite" who "are often reluctant to co-operate because they are

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[10] Their relative vulnerability would also raise ethical concerns. In particular, in-depth interviewing is more problematical because of the personalized and detailed nature of the information it exacts. Two ethical principles were followed: "telling the truth" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, p. 116) and paying ample attention to the issues of privacy as the information may very well be used by the parties with opposite interests as to their own.

cynical about the value of academic research" (Moyser & Wagstaffe, 1987, p. 187). Members of the defensive elite see themselves as guardians of the neighbourhood interest and as bulwarks against threatening, or unscrupulous, intruders such as media personnel, town hall officials, academics, researchers, and would be 'do-gooders' (ibid, p.186). Their importance as constituting a reactive group of informants required the establishment of trust relationships and full disclosure, on the part of the researcher, about the research being undertaken.

The relative ease of access to public spaces, such as coffeehouses and neighbourhood associations, necessarily yields interviews in multi-person situations. This has the advantage of securing the validity of data as it is less likely for people to lie (Goffman, 2002, p. 152), though such advantage is tempered by the social structure of the squatter neighbourhoods in which those present in public spaces are predominantly male. This difficulty, however, was overcome by conducting interviews at the dwellers' homes, in which those women chosen as key informants could be interviewed.[11]

Lastly, a couple of semi-structured interviews were held with political observers, scholars, and professionals at professional associations. A purposive sampling technique was employed; erudite professionals with competence in the history of squatting, housing and land use policies, were selected. Though purposive sampling lacks wide generalizability (Berg, 2001, p. 32), these interviews of "private memory" are fit for purpose as they complement "public presentations", which are to be found in the official documents, statistics and newspapers (Jacobs, 2001, p. 132).

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[11] Moreover, these interviews were not dominated by the 'head of each household', as men generally did not stay at home during day time. Even those unemployed tended to be outside of the 'domestic sphere' and socialize with other men in coffeehouses, local associations and other community locations.

Direct Observation

Making a field visit to squatter settlements, in order to conduct interviews, also provides the opportunity to observe the neighbourhood and the dwellers *in situ* (Hughes, 2002, p. 139). It is especially useful as the narratives about poverty and uneven outcomes of the projects gathered through interviews are enriched, checked and verified against the data from direct observation. Observation renders a different account than the interview data and reifies it because "encounter with local meanings and practices is not mediated by our respondents' personal judgments regarding what should and should not be discussed" (Weinberg, 2002, p. 135). Observation also reveals the differentiation among squatters, which may be lost in the interview data, as discourses utilised by the dwellers at times pertain to the entire community; therefore they undermine the differences amongst them. Furthermore, on site photographs were taken for illustrative purposes. Pictorial evidence assists readers of this study to visualise squatter neighbourhoods, and the sites of resettlement (Dabbs, 1982).

Documentation

This study used newspapers, official publications by the Housing Administration, journals, maps, planning documents and a survey conducted on Ayazma by the local municipality as sources of secondary data. These documents corroborate and augment evidence from interviews and direct observation (Yin, 1994, p. 81). Despite several benefits of secondary data analysis,[12] secondary data are a 'potential source of bias' as they are bound by the interests, concerns and reality of those who produce them (Denzin, 1989, p. 251; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 256; McNeill, 1994, p. 103). To overcome this bias, each document has been

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[12] With regard to the practical benefits, the secondary analyst "economizes on money, time and personnel" (Hyman, 1972, p. 6).

evaluated against the political stance of its source. This was especially crucial when referencing Turkish newspapers.

Similarly, potential error is an especially salient issue when considering the survey of Ayazma as conducted by the local municipality. As this survey is "a produced data set" (Dale, Arber, & Procter, 1988, p. 17), the difficulty remains of differentiating the potential errors made in the original survey (Kiecolt & Nathan, 1985, pp. 12-13). To surmount this problem, the data it contains have been cross-checked with data provided by dwellers, accepting that such data is often personally approximated and may vary by interviewee. Thus, issues of bias cannot be completely obviated.

Processes of validation

With regard to the analysis and use of data, there exists the problem of 'anecdotalism' (Have, 1998; Silverman, 1989, 1993). Bryman (1992, p. 77) defines the problem of 'anecdotalism' as "an approach to the use of data in relation to conclusions or explanations in qualitative research", which results in the use of data for the justification of preconceived results. Anecdotalism threatens the validity of research.[13] One of the best ways to overcome this problem would be to transcribe each interview and directly reference line numbers that would present the reader the entire material. However, due to insufficient resources, especially time, this could not be undertaken. Instead, the approach adopted in the study to surmount the problem of anecdotalism is data triangulation.

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[13] The other solution to the problem is "comprehensive data treatment" (Mehan, 1979). Comprehensive data treatment requires that "all cases of data [are] incorporated in the analysis (ibid, p.21). If nearly all data support the hypotheses, validity is ensured. Despite this could be a viable solution, it could not be exploited fully due to the brevity of this work.

Triangulation of data, in other words triangulation of documents, direct observation and interview data enhances confidence (Fielding & Fielding, 1986, p. 24) and internal validity of the research (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996, p. 206; Jick, 1983; Knafl & Breitmayer, 1989; Leedy, 1993; E. S. Mitchell, 1986; Sohier, 1988; Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, Sechrest, & Grove, 1981). Documentation and direct observation are useful in assessing informant reliability and the internal consistency of interview data. Nonetheless, as Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) disagree that triangulation will "overcome any problems of bias" (Burgess, 1984, p. 146), there still remain sources of bias in this study. Two instances that have been discussed above are the municipality survey of Ayazma and the snowball sampling technique utilised for interviewees.

The semi- and unstructured interviews with the elites and counter-elites propagate "elite bias" as they ignore 'non-elites'.[14] To correct this bias, surveys could be designed with the aim of incorporating the accounts of non-elites into the study that would verify the generalizability and validity of the interpretations derived from the interviews with counter-elites. However, time constraints have rendered this impossible. In the face of this shortcoming, the strategy was to gain entry into the field, after the consent of key informants was secured, and to conduct as many in-depth interviews as possible with randomly chosen dwellers (Dooley, 2001, p. 257). These interviews, in general, took place in coffeehouses and on streets.

Analysis of data

In analyzing the data, tape-recording is extremely useful since no data is lost or modified, and it allows the interviewer to focus on the interviewee. It also contributes to the validity of

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[14] Elite bias refers to a situation where the researcher adopts the elites' look and their evaluations, "giving greater weight to their viewpoints" (R. G. Burgess, 1982, p. 185).

interview data as it "eliminates a major source of interviewer bias" (Fielding, 2003, p. 4). To seize these benefits, tape-recording was used in all but very few of the interviews with some squatters when it has been declined at the interviewee's request. Other dwellers, however, were very comfortable talking in its presence.[15] Each interview was conducted by the researcher in Turkish language. The entire interview data used in this work was then translated into English by the author to ensure its accuracy.[16]

The theoretical perspective adopted and developed in this study is closely aligned with the literature on world cities, gentrification, rent gap theory, urban redevelopment and 'the neoliberalization of the city'. Thus, this study derives its conceptions, propositions and theoretical framework from the prevailing literature. The theoretical propositions initially act as a template, a framework against which the case study data can be compared. At a later stage, fieldwork helps to develop new insights into the existing theories and their enrichment with new case studies. In this sense, cases are "instrumental" in providing insights into the theories (Stake, 1998).

Hypotheses

This study has three guiding hypotheses. The first is concerned with the shift in the policy of the state toward squatter settlements: this shift in policy derives from the transformation of the Turkish economy in the post-1980 period and its reorientation to the new world economy, characterised by the hyper-mobility of capital, the hegemonic role of finance and speculative investments and the emergence of cities in this process as not only as nodes of 'command and

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[15] Tape recordings also increase the reliability of the research as these could be transcribed at a later stage and guaranteed public access to enable an insight into the procedure (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, pp. 144-161).
[16] Potential problems related to the selective interpretation of data cannot be rejected since there were insufficient resources to verify the accuracy of translations. However, diligent attention was paid to translate the information with regard to its context and on the basis of the meaning it conveyed.

control' for the new global economy but also as triggers of economic growth and avenues of 'creative destruction' for new modes of crisis displacement (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 374). The new policy follows the strategy of urban place-making and derives from an entrepreneurial approach to the city for the sake of improving its competitiveness amongst other 'wannabe world cities' (Short, 1999, p. 43) and making it attractive to inward investment. The second hypothesis concerns the location of the neighbourhoods chosen for clearance: Those neighbourhoods that have a large rent gap are the primary targets of clearance projects in Istanbul. As such, the projects follow the logic of capitalist urban development, albeit one mediated by the state. The third concerns the outcomes of the projects: The outcomes of the projects are uneven amongst squatters, primarily determined by their ownership status prior to the implementation of the project. Those without any ownership claims are the most disadvantaged. In direct contrast to the propitious accounts of the authorities, projects deepen the disparities and inequalities between squatters, and result in the displacement and loss of homes for the majority. These outcomes are to be explicated in relation to the new property regime that is being 'settled' by the projects. In the light of these hypotheses, data will be collected and analysed.

Having presented the hypotheses, the next chapter will set the theoretical framework that will be operationalized in the analysis of fieldwork data.