

INFORMAL LEARNING IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN A DISTRICT OF ISTANBUL



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2024

INFORMAL LEARNING IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN A DISTRICT OF ISTANBUL

The thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Educational Sciences

by
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Boğaziçi University

2024

Informal learning in the struggle against urban transformation in a district of Istanbul

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January 2024

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Informal Learning in the Struggle Against Urban Transformation in a District of Istanbul

The purpose of this case study is to find out the informal learning experiences that the participants of the social movement against the urban transformation had in a district of Istanbul and the outcomes that they acquired with these experiences. The study was carried out in 2022-2023 in Tokatköy district of Beykoz municipality of Istanbul. Data were collected through semi-structured face-to-face interviews and analyzed thematically. Through the analysis of the informal learning experiences of the participants, the content and the ways and means in which this informal learning took place were revealed. The findings of this study show that the participants experienced informal learning processes on the urban transformation and on the social struggle during the movement they developed in response to the urban transformation. These informal learning processes took place to a great extent through the social relations that the participants experienced within the context of this social movement. These informal learning processes brought about changes in the participants' earlier thoughts about urban transformation. These processes also led to the acquisition of new knowledge, attitudes and values by the participants within the context of a social movement. This study is important in terms of recording informal learning processes and the outcomes of these latter in the context of a social movement.

ÖZET

İstanbul'un Bir Semtindeki Kentsel Dönüşüme Karşı Toplumsal Mücadeledeki Katılımcıların Enformel Öğrenme Süreçleri

Bu vaka çalışmasının amacı, kentsel dönüşüme karşı toplumsal hareket katılımcılarının İstanbul'un bir semtinde yaşadıkları enformel öğrenme deneyimlerini ve bu deneyimlerle elde ettikleri sonuçları ortaya çıkarmaktır. Çalışma 2022-2023 yıllarında İstanbul'un Beykoz belediyesinin Tokatköy mahallesinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Veriler yarı yapılandırılmış yüz yüze görüşmeler yoluyla toplanmış ve tematik olarak analiz edilmiştir. Katılımcıların enformel öğrenme deneyimlerinin analizi yoluyla, bu enformel öğrenmenin içeriği, yolları ve araçları ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu çalışmanın bulguları, katılımcıların kentsel dönüşüme tepki olarak geliştirdikleri hareket sırasında kentsel dönüşüme ve toplumsal mücadeleye ilişkin enformel öğrenme süreçleri yaşadıklarını göstermektedir. Bu enformel öğrenme süreçleri büyük ölçüde katılımcıların bu toplumsal hareket bağlamında deneyimledikleri toplumsal ilişkiler aracılığıyla gerçekleşmiştir. Yine bu enformel öğrenme süreçleri, katılımcıların kentsel dönüşüme ilişkin daha önceki düşüncelerinde değişikliklere yol açmıştır. Bu süreçler aynı zamanda toplumsal bir hareket bağlamında katılımcıların yeni bilgi, tutum ve değerler edinmesine de yol açmıştır. Bu çalışma, bir toplumsal hareket bağlamında enformel öğrenme süreçlerinin ve bunların sonuçlarının kayıt altına alınması açısından önemlidir.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The accomplishment of this thesis was primarily thanks to two separate labor collectives: Dear faculty members, research assistants, and other workers of Boğaziçi University Department of Educational Sciences and our dear citizens who participated in the interview in this study. I thank both collectives and their people for their contributions.

Without my dear professor and thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Ayşe Caner's close attention, encouragement, patience, support, effort, and wonderful guidance, writing this thesis would not have been possible. The wonderful teacher-student relationship I experienced during the writing of this thesis was one of the most beautiful experiences of my life. I am grateful to her.

My professors in the thesis committee, Prof. Özlem Ünlühisarcıklı and Assist. Prof. Onur Seçkin's encouragement, support, and guidance during the writing of this thesis were very valuable to me. I would like to thank both of my professor also.

I would especially like to thank Ahmet Kanbur for allowing me to meet with the participants of this study. It also made possible the social movement that is the subject of this thesis, and because he led this movement.

I would like to thank all the university workers who contributed to this research process. Not just to them, but to all the workers of our country... because they are the ones who create life.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, my son Ülke Çınar, my wife Tülin, the Başaran family, which is also my family, and Semiha Cev who guided me to "alleviate the sufferings of humanity" on the day I started primary school.

DEDICATION

To Gelenek, and “Tohumların tohumu”.

To Ülke Çınar, and Tülin.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1 Background of the problem | 4 |
| 1.2 Statement of the purpose | 5 |
| 1.3 Significance of the study | 6 |
| CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW | 7 |
| 2.1 Informal learning | 8 |
| 2.2 Informal learning in social movements | 12 |
| 2.3 Urban transformation in Istanbul | 18 |
| CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY | 23 |
| 3.1 Research design | 23 |
| 3.2 Research participants | 24 |
| 3.3 Data collection | 29 |
| 3.4 Data analysis | 31 |
| 3.5 Position of the researcher | 32 |
| CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS | 33 |
| 4.1 Beykoz, Tokatköy: Case context | 33 |
| 4.2 Portrayal of houses, life, and urban transformation in Tokatköy neighborhood | 38 |
| 4.3 Participation in the social movement in response to the urban transformation | 44 |
| 4.4 Learning during the social movement | 51 |
| 4.5 The changes in the daily lives of the participants | 62 |

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.6 Changes in the opinion of the participants | 70 |
| CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION | 77 |
| 5.1 Background | 77 |
| 5.2 Informal learning experiences of the participants in the social movement | 79 |
| CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION..... | 92 |
| 6.1 Conclusion..... | 92 |
| 6.2 Implications of the study | 95 |
| 6.3 Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research | 95 |
| APPENDIX A: CONSENT FROM THE ETHICAL COMMITTEE | 97 |
| APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS IN ENGLISH | 98 |
| APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS IN TURKISH | 99 |
| APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM: | 100 |
| APPENDIX E: KATILIMCI BİLGİ ve ONAY FORMU | 102 |
| APPENDIX F: QUOTES IN TURKISH | 104 |
| QUOTES IN TURKISH | 104 |
| REFERENCES..... | 116 |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this first chapter of the study, a general introduction as well as the background of the problem, the statement of purpose, and the significance of the study will be presented.

Historically, human society, which was not divided into social classes when it was first formed, became a class-divided society with the means of production becoming the private property of a definite segment of the society. A class society is a society in which a social class, deprived of the means of production, is forced to produce surplus products for the social class which is the owner of the means of production. The appropriation of this surplus product by the ruling class constitutes the essence of economic exploitation in a class society.

The state and ideological apparatuses that emerged with the division of society into classes are also in the hands of the ruling class. The ruling class maintains and reproduces the relationship between economic exploitation and political and ideological domination by using these as domination tools. “The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it” (Marx & Engels, 1965/1845, p. 59).

Today’s society is a capitalist one which is a particular historical form of this society divided into two main social classes, capitalists and workers. In this society, the capitalist class is the ruling class and the working class is the exploited, oppressed class. The state and ideological apparatus are instruments of the capitalist

class to realize its economic interests and to continue and reproduce its domination. “Domination originates in, and is constructed in, relationships of production and power, but it is also constructed in ideologies and discourses, that is in how people make meaning of situations and speak about them. So domination comes to be internalized, to be embedded in people's consciousness” (Foley, 1999, p. 48).

In the capitalist mode of production, the main goal of all economic processes is the production of surplus value by the working class and the accumulation of capital through the appropriation of surplus value by the capitalist class. The dominance of capital as a social relation means that it evaluates every aspect of social life in terms of the requirements of this accumulation.

Contestation of this domination by the oppressed is predominant in capitalist society, as it was for social struggles and movements that have occurred in other class societies throughout history. This “domination is universal, it is also continually contested, so history may also be seen as a continual struggle by ordinary people to maintain or extend control over their lives” (Foley, 1999, p. 48). In capitalist society, this struggle to “control over the lives” of working people applies to social processes both inside and outside the production process, because capital aims to dominate and exploit all social life processes in society. This, in turn, encounters resistance from the working classes in the form of social movements.

Urban transformation is the general concept of capitalist policies which reflects this drive of capital accumulation through renovation, and reconstruction of the fabric in urban areas. Urban transformation policies and practices, which started in the 70s and became the main urban policies in capitalist countries, especially in the 1990s, express the intervention of capital and its state in certain parts of urban areas in line with this logic of accumulation of capital. In terms of political economy,

“urban transformation aims to increase the price of land in urban areas, to produce an increase in real estate values and to attract the upper classes” (Aksümer, p. 28, own translation). “To attract upper classes” is equivalent to driving out working people from their place of – in many cases lifelong - residence and from their neighborhoods (“gentrification”) towards the periphery of the city (“peripheralization”).

It is this drive of capital for accumulation that sparks the social movements of the working people in the face of urban transformation policies and practices. People living in these areas are being excluded from the execution and decision-making processes of the urban transformation projects. In response, they initiate a social movement that aims at forcing the private sector (companies) and public authorities (municipalities, state) to admit them as interlocutors. They start to organize and collect information about the content of the urban projects that are planned to be implemented. They start to follow its flow attentively with frequent gatherings full of discussions and exchange of ideas and information. They build their list of demands and communicate them to the executors of the urban transformation project. They organize press conferences and try to inform the general public about their just cause. These kinds of “social movements are exceedingly rich learning environments” (Walters, 2005, p. 3) and “privileged locations for the creation of new knowledge” (Walters, 2005, p. 7).

This learning is partly a dialectical negation of the previously learned since capitalist “relationships of domination are learned and can be unlearned” (Foley, 1999, p. 5). Thus, social movements can be viewed as spaces for “ideological dissolution” of domination. In addition to this ideological aspect, informal learning makes its participants gain various skills, make them acquire practical knowledge as well as get organized, protest, and alike. Informal learning is immanent in all social

processes. It is a form of learning that has the characteristic of happening anytime and anywhere.

It is generally accepted that social movements are very conducive fields for learning. Thus, “some of the most powerful learning occurs as people struggle against oppression, as they struggle to make sense of what is happening to them and to work out ways of doing something about it” (Foley, 1999, p. 2).

Turkey is a country with a rich history in terms of social movements. Although urban transformation policies date back to the immediate aftermath of the Second World War as some singular examples, the implementation of these policies began to gain speed and prevalence, especially in the 1990s, and accelerated further in the 2000s (Ataöv A. & Osmay S., 2007). The execution of these policies sparked social movements in the face of urban transformation in Istanbul, Turkey’s largest city. These social movements against urban transformation may have constituted important informal learning sites for their participants, a topic that has not been studied adequately in any urban transformation project implemented in this city.

1.1 Background of the problem

One of the largest cities in the world, both Istanbul’s city center and its neighborhoods have been on the stage of numerous urban transformation projects in recent decades (Ayar, 2019). Zeytinburnu, Ayazma-Tepesü, Kuştepe, Fener-Balat, Sulukule are some of them (Esentürk, 2009). Only during the year 2022, the execution of three urban transformation projects has been underway in Tozkoparan, Fetihtepe, and Tokatköy, each one giving rise to its respective social movement by their residents (<https://haber.sol.org.tr>, 22.06.2022, 14.10.2022).

Tokatköy is a neighborhood in the Beykoz municipality of Istanbul. Like the neighborhoods in all other municipalities of the city, this neighborhood, which received its share from the internal migration from Anatolia to Istanbul that started in the 1960s, is a typical example of informal settlements built by workers themselves to meet their housing needs. In 2019, an urban transformation project was announced by Beykoz Municipality for a part of the neighborhood. In this process, the municipality has tended to have the residents of the neighborhood sign a consent document. The discontent of the residents of the neighborhood, who would be affected by the initiated urban transformation process, because they are not adequately addressed and not informed, has led to the emergence of a social movement over time. Afterward, there was a process in which the municipal administration announced that it would cut off the electricity, water, and gas in these houses to evacuate the houses that were subject to urban transformation, then postponed this due to the reaction of the residents, but then carried out this process. In the following process, the people of the neighborhood filed a lawsuit to stop the execution of the project, and various meetings were held with the participation of lawyers on urban transformation, thus a social movement that sought to seek their rights in the face of urban transformation emerged. This social movement in response to the urban transformation is considered by the researcher as a valuable context in which significant informal learning experiences may have occurred.

1.2 Statement of the purpose

The purpose of this case study is to find out the informal learning processes and the outcomes that the residents of the neighborhood experienced during their participation in the social movement vis-a-vis the execution of the urban

transformation project. The following research questions will be addressed for this social movement in the Tokatköy neighborhood of Istanbul:

- i. What informal learning experiences do the participants have had by participating in the social movement?
- ii. What are the outcomes of the informal learning that the participants acquired in the social movement?

1.3 Significance of the study

Social movements are favorite spaces for informal learning to occur. Community members engage in a social action in which they acquire multidirectional knowledge that they probably would not have acquired if they had not joined the movement. Social movements in particular, which develop sharply out of the conflict of different social interests and which affect the lives of people in terms of their necessities (like wages, working conditions, housing), force people to actions and interactions in search of creating and becoming a collective social force to defend their interests. This process is, in turn, full of potential to acquire more and new knowledge (even contrasting the acquired until then) for the participants of this struggle. A considerable part of this kind of knowledge acquisition in social movements occurs informally. Thus, this study may reveal significant information on informal learning.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, a literature review on learning, informal learning in social movements, and urban transformation in Istanbul will be presented.

Learning, an important characteristic inherent to natural life, is an ability that human beings inherited from their ancestors and developed further within their primitive communal and more advanced societal life. Learning is a basic and necessary human activity for the survival of man. In its very early stage, human society did not yet have a formal education. Formal education, as an organized process on its own, emerged later with the development of human society and especially with the social division of labor. Until then, the basic form of learning/education in human society had been based on the practical knowledge that the members of the society had acquired and conveyed to each other during every aspect of their life vis-à-vis nature and within their social form of existence.

Informal learning has been the first and primary form of learning and continued its existence in all areas of social life with the later development of human society in parallel to the organization of formal education and learning. It did not disappear with the emergence and development of formal education, nor was it replaced or made redundant. So much so that in today's contemporary societies, despite the advanced level reached in formal education, 70 percent of learning occurs informally (Van Noy et al, 2016).

A study pointed out four main criteria in terms of the formality of learning: location, process, content, and purpose (Colley et al., 2003). According to this, the main characteristic of formal education is that it has a precise institutionalized form

with a recognition of the learning outcomes at the end of the learning process. The main location of formal education is a school-like institution. Formal education is implemented according to a planned curriculum with the presence of a leading subject as an instructor. In this form of education, the learning content is transferred from the teacher to the learners (UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning, 2012).

Non-formal education shares basic characteristics of formal education in terms of institutional character, the presence of a subject, the recognition of the learning outcomes, and the presence of a curriculum. The main difference lies in the fact that non-formal education is more flexible compared with formal education and the locations where it takes place are milieu-like communities and workplaces (UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning, 2012).

2.1 Informal learning

A third form of learning, distinct from formal and non-formal learning, is conceptualized as informal learning (Schugurensky, 2000; Livingstone, 2001).

Informal learning is defined as “any activity involving the pursuit of understanding, knowledge or skill which occurs without the presence of externally imposed curricular criteria” (Livingstone, 2001, p. 4).

Viewed in terms of the four criteria of formality mentioned above, informal learning does not necessarily occur in any educational or even in any institutional setting whatsoever, but in every sphere of social life like home, family, workplace, and community. (Bahadır Kuruş, 2021). (However, this does not mean that informal learning does not take place in formal or non-formal educational processes. On the contrary, it can come into being also in these latter as in any other institutionally organized setting).

The location of informal learning, except for organized ones (Van Noy et al, 2016), is an everyday social sphere. This is a social milieu rather than a specific institution set up for learning purposes. In this regard, informal learning is embedded in daily societal life processes and can occur anywhere, anytime, and during all life stages of human beings, adulthood included.

Informal learning does not comprise any teacher-like subject who leads the learning process. Thus, under this form, learning does not take place as a transfer of knowledge from a teaching subject to a learner. Instead, it occurs as a result of the interaction of the people with the social reality in which they live.

A further distinctive feature of informal learning is that it does not proceed according to a predetermined, “externally organized” curriculum (Livingstone, 2001, p. 2). In this type of learning, the knowledge that is being acquired is not propositional but practical. It is born out of experiences so that the learner acquires new knowledge during or after these life experiences.

An important criterion in terms of which informal learning is studied is the degree of intentionality and consciousness of the learner. While in both formal and non-formal ones, learning is a purposefully planned action and the learner is conscious that he/she learns, this is not necessarily so under informal learning. Studying this aspect, Schugurensky (2000) proposed a conceptual set in the form of self-directed learning, incidental learning, and tacit learning (socialization). According to him, self-directed learning is a form of informal learning since it lacks the main characteristics of both formal and non-formal learning. On the other hand, it is an intentional and conscious process since the learner plans, executes, and evaluates the learning process on his/her own. Except for self-directed learning,

informal learning is not purposefully organized by the learner. This learning is rather an outcome, a byproduct of a practical process.

As regards consciousness, people may or may not be conscious of the fact that they learned during and as a result of the process they lived through (Schugurensky, 2000). If there is learning without aiming at it, then this is incidental learning. In incidental learning, there is awareness of having learned either during or after the related practical process.

Finally, tacit learning (or socialization) is the mode of informal learning under which some values, attitudes, and behaviors are learned but the learner does not possess an awareness of this either during or after it (Schugurensky, 2000).

In a parallel way and again based on the intentionality and consciousness criteria, Eraut (2004) conceptualized informal learning with three concepts: Reactive, deliberative, and implicit learning. According to this, implicit learning is both unplanned and unconscious whereas in deliberative one, learning is both purposeful and planned. As to reactive learning, it takes place spontaneously amid the action or experience.

Informal learning is studied in terms of some other characteristics as well. Any situation, experience, and social relationship in social life has the characteristics and the potential to give rise to informal learning. When people meet certain concrete situations that require them to react or certain problems for which they need to find solutions, this can bring about informal learning of which situational or contextual characteristics can be distinguished accordingly. Lave and Wenger (1991) defined this learning as situated. In situated learning, the importance of context in terms of informal learning is also emphasized for adults in particular (Stein, 1998). Marsick

too pointed out that “context is key to understanding informal learning” (Marsick, 2018, p. 13).

In this regard, not only context but also participation in the social processes underway in this context itself, that is an active stance in social life, is also important for the learning to come out. Again Lave and Wenger (1991) emphasized that participation in this context does not necessarily need to be full but can even be peripheral for informal learning to occur.

Informal learning relies heavily on daily life experiences. Lindeman’s (1926) assertion for adult education can be extended to this form of learning as well, that adult education is a continuing process of evaluating experiences. The experience being an important source of learning is known to have been pointed out by (Dewey, 1938) much earlier as well. New experiences make people face new situations, and new problems for which new solutions are necessary so that these experiences give rise to the creation of new learning. This aspect of learning related to experience is theorized and studied scholarly as experiential learning (Kolb, 1984).

The context in which informal learning takes place also comprises social relations which are continuously established and reproduced by people who communicate via language (Vygotsky,1978). The presence of these social relations is an important factor for informal learning to take place since these relations contain mutual sharing and even the creation of knowledge. This constitutes the basis for the concept of relational learning, as a part of informal learning (Marsick, 2018). Thus, relational learning is a form of informal learning, born out of social interaction between people.

2.2 Informal learning in social movements

Learning is integral to all social processes throughout human history and, thus to social movements too. Learning in social movements, conceptualized as social movement learning, is a firmly established field of study within adult learning (Hall, 2005; Choudry & Vally, 2018). Informal learning constitutes a considerable part of this learning in social movements to such an extent that social movement learning is mostly associated with informal forms.

Foley (1999) pointed out that “social movement learning has been characterized as the learning that occurs informally and incidentally, in people’s everyday lives” (p. 2). According to him, in conformity with the general characteristics of informal learning, social movement learning is “largely informal and often incidental - it is tacit, embedded in action, and is often not recognized as learning” (p. 3).

The significance of informal learning in social movements is emphasized by many scholars. Besides Foley (1999) for whom social movements “are important sites of emancipatory adult learning” (p. 134), for Walters (2005), “social movements are exceedingly rich learning environments” (p. 3) and “privileged locations for the creation of new knowledge” (p. 7). In many studies, social movements are analyzed as “epistemic communities” (Dobusch & Quack, 2010).

Emphasizing the creative role of consciousness and cognition in all human action, both individual and collective, by using the term cognitive praxis, Eyerman & Jamison (1991) contend that “cognitive praxis is the core activity of a social movement” (p. 55-56). They also conceive social movements as “producers of knowledge” in a collective process (p. 43). Underlining the informal character of learning in these movements, they give the example of the American civil rights

movement of which cognitive praxis “was almost entirely informal” (p. 43) in their opinion.

For Welton (1993), new social movements being “privileged sites of emancipatory praxis” (p.152), ecological actors unlearn the earlier anthropocentric conception of humankind’s relationship to nature and replace it with an ecocentric conception, which corresponds to learning in this social movement. According to him, this same unlearning and learning process is valid for the struggle in other fields like sexism, racism, and popular exclusion.

Reminding the Hegelian and Marxian concept of the negation of negation, this process which can be generalized as the “unlearning of the (previously) learned” has an important place in Foley’s analysis of informal learning in social action. For him, “the unlearning of dominant, oppressive ideologies and discourses and the learning of oppositional, liberatory ones are central to processes of emancipatory action” (p. 4).

According to Finger (1989), new social movements are new forms of adult education and they have placed the person in the center of the learning process. For Hall (2005), much of the power of these movements comes from their “learning and knowledge-generating capacities” (pp. 1-2).

Crowther and Jaw’s (1997) view of social movements has a parallelism with the characteristics inherent to informal learning. To them, “the educative potential of social movements lies in their process of moving people *against the status quo*” (p. 266) and they “have demonstrated the importance of experience as an important resource for 'knowing'” (p. 271).

For Walters, class origin and composition of participants are important while studying the form of learning in social movements (Walters, 2005). From South

Africa's anti-apartheid movement in which black people had white allies, she concludes that "because of their privileged class positions", these white allies "were able to provide transport and other organizational infrastructure to support organizing in the poor working-class areas" and "to produce sophisticated policy briefs, research papers, create a huge network of organizations" (Walters, 2005, p. 6). On the other hand, within the same movement, learning means for black participants are differentiated, so that "the predominant form of social movement learning took place at the large rallies, the funerals and the demonstrations where masses of people were able to be present. Leaflets, handbills, and speeches were the dominant forms of social movement learning" (Hall, 2005, p. 9).

For Foley, beyond its presence, social movement learning is one of the strongest produced in human society because it emanates from a social struggle: "...some of the most powerful learning occurs as people struggle against oppression, as they struggle to make sense of what is happening to them and to work out ways of doing something about it" (p. 1-2). Holst (2002) uses the concept of "pedagogy of mobilization" to describe the learning inherent in the building and maintaining of a social movement and its organizations. Through participation in a social movement, people learn numerous skills and ways of thinking analytically and strategically as they struggle to understand their movement in motion. Novelli (2010) indicates the presence of incidental, formal, informal, and non-formal education which strategic learning includes through struggle and contestation.

Choudry affirms that in social movements like those against free trade agreements, critical learning takes place informally, through experience, by acting and reflecting on action, rather than in formal courses or non-formal teach-ins (Hall et al, 2013).

Atta and Holst (2023) reviewed 69 empirical studies on learning in social movements by utilizing Engeström's (2018) four questions on learning theories to analyze the studies. These questions were: "Who are the learning participants? Why do they learn? What do they learn? How do they learn?" (p. 179). As a fifth one, they added their question which was "What are they learning for?" (p. 179). They found that the learners were the participants of the movement and the public who observed the movement from outside. The authors listed the findings of what was learned in three categories as: practical or instrumental learning, raising individual and social consciousness, and experiencing more connectedness. In terms of practical and instrumental learning, Saguy & Ward's (2011) and Walter's (2012) studies led to the conclusion that instrumental learning helps people reject prevailing hegemony or common-sensical thinking and helps them build movement-based meaning (Saguy & Ward, 2011; Walter, 2012). This can be also denoted as the resulting learning of the participants of the social movement of their contestation against domination and the development of their conception against the hegemonic conception of the main substance of a social movement. The second finding brought about by the "what do they learn?" question pointed to the fact that "raising individual and social consciousness involves increasing people's understanding of their social, political, and economic realities" (Atta & Holst, 2023, p. 181). In some instances, this learning is a product of getting organized. The last one was "community development and engagement" of which some examples are "exercising solidarity" and "building community". As to the findings of "Why do the people learn?", the authors found out that "the primary motivation for learning is functional", that is the participants "are interested in acquiring new knowledge to improve their capabilities for participating in movement-related activities" (p. 181). As to "how do people learn?", they (2023)

determined that participants learn from each other and more experienced members. Lastly, for the response to the “What are people learning for?” question, the authors found that these reasons can be enlisted as “strengthening communities, building collective power, pursuing new identities, and seeking change, liberation, and emancipation” (p.181).

Atta and Holst (2023) also found that learning in social movements is an emotional process and is triggered by emotions like anger, fear, hope, despair, and trauma, all of which are particularly usual in social movement experiences. It is observed that in some experiences “anger toward injustice facilitates their learning about themselves and their lived realities for the participants” (p. 183).

As previously mentioned above for Foley’s (1999) study, Atta and Holst’s (2023) review also highlighted that “unlearning” is a modality of learning when previous learning based on power relations was present but now invalidated and replaced with new learning.

An important finding of Atta and Holst’s (2023) review in terms of case studies having a determined context is “how the movement's context affects the types of activism of the movement and leads to various forms of knowledge production” (p. 184). This is a learning linked to the context of the social movement and such learning needs to be studied taking into account “the relationships between the goals of a movement, the worldviews of a movement’s members, and the movement’s sociohistorical circumstances” (p. 184). In other words, contexts are crucial for social movement learning since they determine the generation of knowledge providing more or less favorable conditions for learning.

Another study on informal learning through political participation revealed “a range of informal learnings, relating to social, political, or instrumental domains”

(Serrat et al., 2016, p. 169). Under the category of social learning, five themes were identified: “the ability to listen to and respect others’ opinions, a sense of solidarity with and awareness of others, recognition of the importance of social harmony, appreciation for the companionship of others, and integration into the community” (p. 176). In the political domain, the informal learning of the participants included “an enhanced understanding of the social and political reality of their community, an appreciation of the value of collective action, and an enhanced ability to be assertive and defend their rights” (p. 177). Finally, as a third domain of informal learning, the authors discovered instrumental learning in the form of “an enhanced ability to work with other people, acquisition of practical and technical skills, and improved communication skills and confidence” (p. 178). It can be asserted that informal learning forms enlisted above in all these three domains are also characteristics of social movement learning in general. In his study, Foroughi (2013) investigated informal learning and tenant participation and found that informal learning has been realized through some paths leading to it. The first one was “learning through strategizing”, this path included participants’ equipping themselves “with effective strategies to find out how to achieve” their goals (p. 45). The author discovered that this was self-directed, intentional, and conscious informal learning. A second path of informal learning detected in this study has been one of “learning through struggle”. This was brought about as a result of a struggle with different parties. It has been possible to make a distinction between the behaviors of some participants who looked to create personal pipelines with the opponents and others who preferred to struggle. The study revealed that informal learning was stronger in the case of the latter. A third learning path revealed in this study was “learning by doing”. This was in the form of “learning to organize, chair, facilitate, and even report on council

meetings by simply observing and then doing it themselves” (p. 46). Finally, “socialization and engagement” was the last path of informal learning. Even though being tacit and difficult to document, this learning path emerged during the interviews with the participants and was detected to be in the form of participants’ references to “their awareness of others’ needs”, “their increased involvement in communicating with and sometimes helping tenants with whom they had no prior contact, including tenants from other buildings and communities” (p. 46). All in all, Foroughi (2013) concluded that “informal learning facilitates to (1) enhance individuals’ knowledge; (2) develop individuals’ social and political skills; (3) improve individuals’ attitude toward self, community, and polity; and (4) further individuals’ social engagement and practice” (p. 48).

Seçkin (2008) studied the adult learning experiences of the participants in the Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement. He found that this social movement offered the possibility of accessing to new knowledge for the adult villagers. Bahadır Kuruş’s study (2021) investigated the transformative learning process that occurred among the participants of the Gezi movement which took place in Istanbul in 2013. The study provided the conclusion that taking part in this movement provoked some transformative learning for the activists in the movement. Öztürk (2022) studied transformative learning in feminist social movements. The study revealed that participating in the movement creates transformative learning opportunities for women.

2.3 Urban Transformation in Istanbul

Urban transformation processes in Istanbul have been examined in several studies from various aspects (architecture, urban planning, public administration, political

science, sociology, educational sciences, and so on). Ayar's (2019) study aimed at compiling all the projects of urban transformation in Istanbul within fifteen years for all the municipalities of the city. One of them is about the Tokatköy/Beykoz urban transformation project. This project is mentioned to be put into execution in 2022, sparking a social movement by the residents, which is the topic of the present study. Esentürk (2009) studied urban transformation projects in various neighborhoods of Istanbul. According to this study, these projects are implemented in economically valuable places and provide rent increases in general. Those residents who can not take a share of this rent are encouraged to migrate to other parts of the city. Bayhan Gür (2016) studied the interaction between the school relocation policy and the urban and education policy processes in Turkey. This relocation comprised the demolishing of schools just as other urban transformation projects, as the one in the present study comprised the demolishing of houses.

Sarsılmaz (2018) proposed an urban transformation project in Tokatköy/Beykoz with a focus on the users so that the residents will not have to leave the neighborhood they live in for long years.

Urban transformation in Istanbul is also studied in terms of the social movements it sparked (Aksümer, 2010; Solmaz 2013; Karabulut, 2015). Aksümer's (2010) study revealed that "Ghetto inhabitants describe urban transformation projects as 'nonparticipative', 'unfocused on inhabitants' (p. xvi). Pointing out the social movements against urban transformation, she concluded that "these movements become more and more visible in urban Istanbul" (p. xvi), the inhabitants being able to "eliminate the separations in the urgent cases and working together" (p. 124, own translation).

Solmaz (2013) studied the urban transformation and urban movements in Istanbul in terms of city rights. This study revealed that movements in neighborhoods declared as urban transformation areas on a local scale established associations in Sulukule, Tarlabası, Fener-Balat-Ayvansaray, Derbent, and others to protect their lifestyles and property rights. It has been observed that “Consolidation of the struggles of the associations is increasing with experiences” (p. 153, own translation). Karabulut (2015) studied urban protests against neoliberal urban policies in Istanbul. In her study, it is revealed that protests accelerated during the 1990-2010 period, especially after 2006. Housing being one of the main fields where these protests occurred, the movement against anti-eviction constituted a major part of this housing-related resistance. Karabulut detected that these movements included “Sit-ins, petitions, demonstrations, rallies, barricading, conflicts with police, road-blocking, and picnics” (p. 240, own translation). One of the conclusions of the study is that every one of these movements “has its internal dynamics; thus, it is not possible to produce a simple examination of a movement separate from its context” (p. 240, own translation).

Kızılay (2016) studied the strategies of struggle against the urban transformation project at Derbent/Sarıyer, another working-class neighborhood in Istanbul. The author looked for the root causes of the birth of a social movement against the urban transformation project and concluded that the main reason for this was that the residents developed a sense of appropriation about the neighborhood as a living urban space against the use of “predatory tactics” of dispossession in the execution of the urban transformation project.

The gentrification processes, which have been part of the urban transformation policies and practices in İstanbul, have been investigated by several

studies. İslam (2009) stated that before 2000, gentrification which caused displacements was based on single houses. This meant that the residents in these neighborhoods left their houses one by one and they had the time and the opportunity to plan their change of residence in the face of gentrification. However, with the recent gentrification wave which is triggered by public authorities and large companies, whole neighborhoods are gentrified suddenly with displacements. According to İslam, the recent gentrification practices turned out to be ones affecting hundreds of families. Moreover, this wave of gentrification is characterized by a balance of power changed seriously against the residents. In his study, İslam also mentions the fact that even though there was not a strong organizational and social movement in Istanbul, there have been social movements in Tarlabaşı and Sulukule against the gentrification projects both of which were state-directed. In Tarlabaşı, locals set up an organization against gentrification and succeeded in stopping it for a while. The social movement in Sulukule has been even more active. In this movement, activists succeeded in involving academicians, and artists and could draw the attention of public opinion to create pressure on the municipality. İslam (2009) states that “the social movement that emerged in Sulukule paved the way for the formation of a new tradition of activism in a city where there was no tradition” (p. 46, own translation).

Aydın (2023) also studied the urban transformation in the Fikirtepe and Tarlabaşı districts of Istanbul. She observed that the residents of Fikirtepe were forced to adopt the urban transformation project. Evaluating the urban transformation in Fikirtepe, Aydın (2023) concluded that the urban transformation created living spaces that address higher income groups and through the moving of the residents to other districts, the gentrification could not be prevented. Similarly, evaluating the

one in Tarlabası, Aydın concluded that people's participation could not be ensured while neither their demands nor their needs were taken into account. Again for Tarlabası, gentrification could not be prevented and the purpose of creating healthy and secure living spaces could be created for only the middle and higher income groups.

In another study, Uysal focused on the gentrification in the Cihangir district of Istanbul. Reviewing the gentrification practices in other districts of the city Arnavutköy, Ortaköy, Balat-Fener, and others, Uysal concluded that the gentrification in all these ended with changes in the interests of the dominant sections of the society, in displacements of the former residents and social exclusion. For Cihangir, Uysal's study indicates that the displacements after the gentrification were realized involuntarily and by force. According to Uysal, "the displacement is an indication of the fact that the urban transformation practices can lead to class conflict and emerges as the most striking social consequence of gentrification in Cihangir" (p. 106, own translation).

Arslan's (2018) study also focused on state-led gentrification like the present study since the urban transformation in Tokatköy is a state-led one. In this study, Arslan found that during the gentrification in Haliç, the residents founded an association to protect their rights and opened lawsuits against the parties of the project, and finally they succeeded in stopping the execution of the project.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The present study aimed to examine the informal learning experiences of the participants of a social movement in the face of an urban transformation. Being a well-established methodology in social sciences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015), qualitative research methodology was used to understand in-depth the characteristics of the informal learning processes of the participants from their perspectives by obtaining answers to the research questions of the study. This methodology was preferred also as an appropriate one to make sense of the learning experiences that each participant lived and conceived in a unique, subjective way in the social movement under question.

3.1 Research design

Since the present study aimed to deeply understand the informal learning processes of the participants of the social movement in a determined social context, a qualitative case study research design was selected by the researcher as a suitable method. A case study is a research on a “case”, a single phenomenon that can be an individual, an event, or a process, having the characteristic of boundedness in terms of time, place, and physical properties (Creswell, 2013). In a case study, the researcher focuses on developing an in-depth understanding of the case (Yin, 2008) as well as its uniqueness, complexity, and embeddedness with its real context (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2008). That is, the researcher uses this method when he/she intends to understand one thing well (Stake, 1995).

In connection with the present study on informal learning in social movements, it is pointed out that “Emancipatory learning and action are not straightforward; they are complex, ambiguous and contradictory. These complexities are best understood through analysis of concrete situations” (Foley, 1999, p. 17). A qualitative case study research design is the most appropriate one to investigate such complex concrete situations. Furthermore, case studies have the suitability to “demonstrate in greater detail that each struggle has its unique dynamic” (Foley, 1999, p. 26) as well as to reveal the importance of “emancipatory learning sites” (Foley, 1999, p. 105). Since my intent in this study was to look for a greater and first-hand understanding and rich description of the complex informal learning processes of the participants of the social movement in the specific neighborhood context, I decided that a case study is a suitable method for the study.

Case studies require quality, rich, and in-depth data gathering (Bassey, 1999). Focused interviews are used as appropriate methods for such data collection as they provide “indirect information filtered through the views of the interviewees” (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 264). In the present study, since I needed detailed descriptions of the participants of their perspectives on their informal learning during the social movement, the personal-focused interview was the most appropriate technique for obtaining detailed responses from the participants.

3.2 Research Participants

Participants were selected after the permission of the Ethics Committee in Social Sciences and Humanities of Boğaziçi University was received (APPENDIX A).

10 participants were selected purposively from among the participants who founded the social movement and took an active part in it, being members of the

solidarity organization founded in the neighborhood at the beginning of the movement. The participants of the study were that part of the residents of the 487-3 parcel of Tokatköy neighborhood which is subject to urban transformation, who developed a contestation against the forced urban transformation and formed a social movement. They all had their houses demolished by the urban transformation. Selection criteria were such that they all had their houses demolished by the urban transformation just before the interviews for this study were conducted, all of them having a lifetime of at least 10 years in the neighborhood at the time of the demolishing of their houses. They were selected purposefully from among the participants of the social movement by the initiator of the movement and proposed to the researcher who directed him in terms of gender, age, occupation, and education so that the selection be an inclusive one.

The researcher asked all participants about their intention and approval to take part in the study. All the participants signed a Participant Informed Consent Form (Appendix D). They were all informed about the confidentiality of the study and explained that their anonymity would be ensured. Each participant received a copy of the consent form from the researcher. The researcher also explained to them that they can finalize their participation in the study any time they intend to do so. All participants were given pseudonyms to be used in the study to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. No incentive was presented to the participants by the researcher.

Demographic variables of the participants are presented in Table 1 followed by a summary of the personal life stories of the participants.

Table 1. Demographic Variables of Participants

| Participant | Sex | Education level | Occupation | Age | Marital status | Number of Children |
|-------------|-----|-----------------------|------------------|-----|----------------|--------------------|
| Devrim | M | Primary school | Worker | 50 | Married | 1 |
| Eylem | W | High school | Part-time worker | 36 | Divorced | 3 |
| Yalçın | M | Middle school | Worker | 60 | Married | 2 |
| Sevgi | W | University | Cinema director | 30 | Lone | - |
| Behice | W | Primary school | Part-time worker | 52 | Married | 3 |
| Mahir | M | 2-year College | Yacht captain | 39 | Lone | - |
| Aziz | M | High school | Worker | 56 | Married | 3 |
| Deniz | M | High school | Worker | 41 | Married | 3 |
| Zehra | W | No school, illiterate | Housewife | 70 | Widow | 4 |
| Halet | W | High school | Part-time worker | 58 | Married | 3 |

Devrim, born in Tokatköy, is one of the four children of a worker father and a housewife mother. His parents came to Tokatköy in 1976 from Bulancak, Giresun, a Black Sea city of Türkiye. The family built their house in the 1980s. He could complete primary school only due to the economic constraints of the family. He has been a worker in various jobs, all at Beykoz. Her mother has done sewing work at home in Sarıyer, on the other side of the Bosphorus. He is 50 years old, married to a housewife, and has a 17-year-old daughter who was preparing for the university entry exam during the demolishing of their house for urban transformation. After the demolishing of their house by the state for urban transformation, they live in a rented house.

Eylem, also born in Tokatköy, is one of the three children of a worker father (retired from a bank) and a housewife. His father came to Tokatköy in 1980 from Bulancak, Giresun. She finished religious high school and opted not to continue to university. She was married but divorced from his husband recently, a process which has been speeded up by the effect of urban transformation. She is 36 years old, and was a housewife until she was divorced. She works in a school as a worker for

cleaning, a job which will not have permanency. She is looking for another job. They built their own family house in Tokatköy. After the demolishing of their house by the state for urban transformation, they live in a rented, physically inadequate house, with his two children, his father, mother, and grandmother.

Yalçın was born in Bulancak, Giresun in 1966 and came to Tokatköy with his family. He is one of the four children of a worker father who entered the historical leather shoe plant at Beykoz municipality (Beykoz Deri Kundura), which was closed in later years as a part of privatizations. His mother was a housewife. He finished middle school. Married, he has been a worker during his lifetime, mainly in jobs at Beykoz. He has one son and one daughter, both university graduates. As the elderly son, he inherited the house he lived in Tokatköy from his father. He is a worker at the canteen of a school in Tokatköy, but the school is subject to be empowered for earthquake risk reasons, thus he is faced with the risk of unemployment. After the demolishing of their house, they live with his wife in a rented house which has problems with humidity.

Sevgi was born in Tokatköy in 1993. She is the youngest unique daughter of a worker father (Beykoz Deri Kundura) and a housewife mother. She had two elderly brothers, one of whom lost his life earlier. Her family came to Tokatköy from Bulancak, Giresun in 1978. She finished her university education in İzmir. Her living elderly brother also graduated from university. They built their family house in Tokatköy. She is not married, and has no children. Earlier, she worked in several jobs. She is an activist of the Tokatköy Solidarity Organisation.

Behice was born in Sarıyer, another Bosphorus municipality of Istanbul, but on the European side and in front of Beykoz municipality which had a close, frequent, socioeconomic connection with Sarıyer. She is 52 years old, and came and

settled in Tokatköy through marriage. Directed to confection by her mother, after primary school, she left middle school to work for 17 years. She married to Aziz in Tokatköy, they lived in Aziz's family house built by this latter's father. She has three children, two sons, and one daughter, the former university graduate and the latter, a student in the piano department of a university. She and her husband rented a flat near Tokatköy after the demolishing of their house by the state in the urban transformation and live there together with their three children.

Mahir's family is one of the oldest in Tokatköy, his great-grandfather having migrated to Tokatköy from the lands in former Yugoslavia in the Ottoman period and rented land to make extensive agriculture there, sending cereals to various parts of Istanbul. He was born in Tokatköy, has lost his father while he was a child. He has an elderly sister. He studied at university in the motor department. They lived in Tokatköy in the family house they built. He is working as a yacht captain in Istanbul. After the demolishing of their house, they rented a flat at Ümraniye and lived there together with his mother. He is lone and has no children.

Aziz, born in Tokatköy in 1967, is the son of a worker father at a leather shoe factory (Beykoz Deri Kundura) and of a housewife mother. His father is an Alawite from Sivas, İmranlı. They are two brothers and an elderly sister, Aziz being the middle one. He has been working in the computer software sector for years. He has been heavily engaged in amateur football since childhood. He is a graduate of high school at Beykoz. He is Behice's husband.

Deniz, also born in Tokatköy, is 41 years old. He is a child of a large family with a stepfather and uncles. Graduated from vocational high school at Beykoz, where he worked as a technician in the automotive sector, he tried but closed her own business in the fast food sector due to financial difficulties. He inherited the

house he lived in from his father in Tokatköy. He is now a worker again, is married to a housewife, and has two daughters, 17 and 9 years old, one in high school, the other in primary one. After the demolishing of their house, they rented a flat at Beykoz.

Zehra, 70 years old, born in Bulancak, Giresun, could not go to school due to lack of it in her village, hence an illiterate. She came to Tokatköy with her family when she was 18 years old. She married a worker at the leather shoe factory (Beykoz Deri Kundura) who died 12 years ago. She lived as a housewife. They had four children, a son and three daughters. The former was a university graduate, one of the three girls went to primary school, the other to high school, and the last one to religious school. Together with his husband, they purchased a piece of land in Tokatköy and built their house, now demolished. She now lives with her daughter after the demolishing of her house.

Halet is 58 years old. Born in Tokatköy, she is the aunt of Mahir. She lost her mother to cancer while at primary school in second grade and then her father two years later. His grandparents gave her a house in Tokatköy where she was married and had three daughters. She finished high school at Beykoz, worked at her family business, a pen shop, and then a cafe for 14 years. Later, she received nonformal education in elderly care and worked in this job for 10 years. She moved to the city of Tekirdağ, closer to her daughters, renting a house together with her husband.

3.3 Data collection

Interview was preferred as a data collection method since they would provide the participants' descriptions of their experiences. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were used to obtain in-depth data about the informal learning

processes of the participants. This, as a technique of data collection in qualitative research, provides also the opportunity to extract rich and detailed data from the responses of the participants.

Data collection instrument

A semi-structured interview guide (APPENDIX B and APPENDIX C) was developed by the researcher for data collection, making use of the guides used in similar former studies (Leloğlu, 2001; Seçkin, 2008; Bahadır Kuruş, 2021; Sarkan, 2021) and with the help of the thesis advisor and the thesis committee members. The researcher made use also of the news that appeared in the press about the urban transformation in the neighborhood and the social movement developed in response to it while preparing the guide.

Pilot study

Before the interviews with the participants of the study, a pilot interview was done with one participant of the movement using the interview guide. The pilot study confirmed that the interview guide worked well in terms of clarity and understandability as well as functional in obtaining rich information for the study.

Data collection process

Focusing essentially on the experiences of the participants during the social movement, interview questions aimed at revealing the background and characteristics of the relationship of the participants with the neighborhood they lived in, the effects of the urban transformation upon them, and their ways of participation in the social movement. Interview questions are supported by probing questions (education level, marital status, etc) to know the participant better in person.

To the evolving character of the interview flow in qualitative research, after the first part of the interview based on open-ended questions, the researcher

proceeded with a more flexible, conversational format with the participants to get more detailed data. Several probing questions were also directed to the participants to extract further information about their conception of the experiences they lived, in terms of learning in particular. All the interviews were conducted face-to-face by the researcher in person in the solidarity organization in the Tokatköy neighborhood that the participants founded at the beginning of their social movement. This provided a suitable, quiet, and familiar place for the participants for conversation. Upon consent of all the participants, all the interviews were audio recorded and their full transcription was done afterward by the researcher (APPENDIX D and APPENDIX E). Interview durations changed between 30 minutes and one and half an hour depending on various participants. The researcher's interview in person with all the participants in the neighborhood subject to urban transformation enabled the researcher "to see the actual specific situation and informants in person" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 163).

3.4 Data analysis

The researcher started analyzing the data from the first interviews to make the subsequent interviews richer in terms of data collection and illuminating and nurturing each interview. All the interviews were transcribed verbatim, the audio re-listened together with the initially transcribed text checked a second time, and once done, all the texts were re-read several times, to comply with Bainger's (2011) direction (APPENDIX F). As data in former and subsequent interviews were read and compared, the researcher looked at "recurring patterns that characterize the data" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 25). This enabled the researcher to construct different categories to classify each different bit of information. These categories, in turn,

were worked to be exhaustive, congruent, and sensible (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015) while worked also to be reduced in number (Creswell, 2013) as much as possible to elucidate findings for the study's research questions. The findings of the study were classified then under the emerging themes and subthemes.

3.5 Position of the Researcher

Since my youth, I have felt close to the social struggles, especially the struggles of the working class, and took part in them. The developments regarding workers' struggles for their rights have been topics that I constantly follow in my daily life. Today, the urban transformation is an important and widespread area of social struggle where the working class defends its rights. Thinking that the adult learning experiences and outcomes of the movement developed by the working-class families in Tokatköy in response to the urban transformation would be important for the future struggles of the working class, I intended to investigate these experiences from a perspective of adult education/learning also in addition to my position in and near to social struggles.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

In this chapter, the findings of the study to discover the informal learning experiences and the outcomes of these experiences of the participants of the social movement will be presented. The findings are obtained as responses of the participants to the interview questions. Yet, before revealing the findings the context as described by the participants will be presented to set the stage for the research setting of the study.

4.1 Beykoz, Tokatköy: Case Context

Beykoz is a municipality of Istanbul in the Bosphorus towards opening to the Black Sea, and Tokatköy is a neighborhood of Beykoz municipality, distanced some 30 km from the city center. The neighborhood was a village at the beginning of the twentieth-century in whose lands extensive agriculture was done, and products were sent to the city center and other municipalities. It is known that in the last years of the Ottoman state, some Bosnian people came and settled in the village. “Our great grandfather was farming here, it was called Tokatköy Farm, they were already engaged in agriculture at that time... There is a huge amount of agriculture going on all over Istanbul, here are the fields, and agricultural products go to various districts of Istanbul” (Mahir). They rented land and made agriculture. A leather shoe factory was established in 1810 at Beykoz during the Ottoman state which employed the nineteenth and twentieth centuries until it was closed at the end of the past century. Later in the twentieth century, people mainly from the Black Sea region of Anatolia came and became workers at the leather shoe factory and settled in Beykoz. “Then,

more immigration comes and people from Giresun begin to arrive here” (Mahir). A considerable part of Tokatköy residents also were workers in the leather shoe factory.

These workers settled in Tokatköy and bought land from third persons who owned the state land in some way or another. They constructed independent shanty houses on these pieces of land and solved their housing problem in this way. These were one-story houses with gardens, an outer living space, with some land enabling them to make garden agriculture to meet some part of their family’s needs. Later, as their children grew up, they added, second, third, and even some fourth floors to provide flats for their children. These houses, from the very beginning, were constructed with considerable economic constraints slowly. It was a great happiness for these workers’ families to have constructed them and to live in these houses, together with its gardens, in extended families, with family members from two or three generations. In case the children did not live with them, their flats were rented to outsiders, providing an income for the family. The great majority of these working-class families were traditional ones with men as workers and wives as housewives.

These workers’ families constructed not only their houses but also the neighborhood itself with its streets, electricity and, water system when the neighborhood was not yet recognized as a human settlement by the municipality in the initial years but only afterward. “Of course, it was the people of the place who made it a neighborhood. The roads were opened by the people, by giving money, the electricity poles were brought by them, and the sewers were built by the people, that is, people did everything that made it possible to establish a life there. Frankly, it was our people who turned it into a cultural neighborhood, my father, my father's friends” (Sevgi). The construction of the neighborhood’s public space was also financed by

the families themselves. “The man had a gold tooth in his mouth, he removed his gold tooth, he brought electricity to the neighborhood, that's how this neighborhood developed” (Zehra).

These workers’ families lived a happy family and neighborhood life together with their neighbors. It was a neighborhood life based on daily solidarity in all aspects of social life, from child care for each other’s children to mutual aid. “With your neighbors...you would take care of their child, they would take care of your child” (Halet). This was a life of neighborhood where no security concern was felt, doors being left or keys given to neighbors whenever there was a need to go out of somewhere. “When I went to work, we could leave the keys with a neighbor, assuming there was no one at home” (Mahir).

These workers’ families made all the necessary payments to the state and the municipality such as tax etc from the very beginning of the construction of their houses. They were promised titles of their houses for decades by many political parties during election campaigns. These titles were given to the house owners of a large part of the parcels in Tokatköy, with one exception: 487-3 parcel. The workers’ families living in their houses in this parcel of Tokatköy were not given their titles. The recent urban transformation was applied exactly in this parcel of Tokatköy, which sparked the social movement in the present study.

Finally, the houses in this 487-3 parcel were demolished at midnight on 1 September 2022 as part of a forced urban transformation applied by the municipality and Ministry of Environment and Urbanism, causing serious material and spiritual hardships for them. At the time of the demolishing of the house, there were, at this 487-3, a parcel of 82 thousand square meters, nearly 230 houses with 660 owners of rights with a population of residents totaling 1700. At the very beginning of the

urban transformation, of these 660 owners of rights, some 180 did not sign the consent form of the municipality but later 80 of them signed. Afterwards, with the start of the social movement, initial participants persuaded some owners of rights to draw their signatures and non-signing residents reached a total of 300 people. In the fall of 2023, that is after 14 months of the demolishing of the houses, the social movement participants decreased to some 70 owners of right.

The themes and subthemes that emerged as a result of the data analysis of the findings are presented below.



Table 2. Themes and Subthemes

| Themes | Subthemes |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Portrayal of houses, life, and urban transformation in the neighborhood | Construction of the houses |
| | Life in the neighborhood |
| | Urban transformation in the neighborhood |
| Participation in the social movement in response to the urban transformation | Before the social movement |
| | Beginning of the social movement |
| | Emergence of the social movement |
| Learning during the social movement | Motivation for learning |
| | Learning from the knowledgeable people |
| | Learning about the importance of learning and education, and self-directed learning |
| | Learning about the urban transformation, and social movement |
| | Learning about the state and the state apparatus |
| | Learning about the legal issues and process |
| Changes in the daily lives of the participants | Changes in the financial condition |
| | Changes in the social condition with the neighbors, between the family members, and new acquaintances |
| | Changes in the psychological condition |
| Changes in the opinion of the participants | Changes in the opinion on state organs at the central and municipal levels |
| | Changes in the opinion on the ruling party |
| | Changes in the opinion on the urban transformation |
| | Changes in the opinion: critical thinking, questioning and self-criticism |

4.2 Portrayal of houses, life, and urban transformation in Tokatköy neighborhood

In this section, the findings of the study related to the houses, the lives of the participants, and the urban transformation in the Tokatköy neighborhood will be presented.

The following subthemes emerged from the data obtained in response to the interview question related to the houses and the lives of the participants in these houses: i. Construction of the house, ii. Life in the neighborhood, and iii. Urban transformation in the neighborhood.

4.2.1 Construction of the house

The findings show that the characteristics of the construction processes of the houses have been quite similar for the participants' families. All of the participants' houses were built through the purchase of a piece of land either by a grandparent, a parent, or themselves from third persons who owned the state land illegally. The families did the rough construction of houses as shanties, completing the remaining part of the construction over many years due to economic constraints. These latter were overcome by each family in its way.

Devrim, born in Tokatköy after his parents came from Bulancak, Giresun to settle in Tokatköy, was a child during the initial rough construction. This coincided also with the leaving of the school both for himself and her sister to enable the other son and the daughter of the family to go to the school.

We purchased a piece of land from a person and made agriculture on it for a while. Then, my mother said to my father, 'Let's build a house'. During that period, I started working and my sister also started working. Under the conditions at that time, we made one of us give up the education and the other of us could go to school. Our eldest and youngest went to the high school. We built a shanty in one night. I never forget that even though we slept that night on the soil, we felt like in a palace. We slowly built the interior of the house that way. When my mother intended to live in another flat, we built a loft

upstairs. There is no money in your pocket while doing it, it's about borrowing money from the neighbor, that is, we even lay out the bricks. And when those people move into homes like that, their happiness is priceless, indescribable. (Appendix F, 1).

The construction of the houses necessitated a constrained budget management for the family, including the management of the family's nutrition. Besides, this brought about overtime work for an extra income for the worker member of the family in a job. This overtime work, in turn, affected the participation of that member of the family in the household work. Thus, Eylem who was also born in the neighborhood after his parents came from Bulancak, Giresun to settle in Tokatköy, pointed out the same constraints from a different aspect, extending her explanation of the hardship to her adulthood and motherhood.

It's been 45 years since my father came here. They buy land here. That house was built while my father was working at the bank. My mother used to describe it like this: 'I would go to the market and buy three different types of fruit. I would divide the fruits into three. They will be eaten immediately, they will be eaten later, and they can be eaten much later. My father, for example, never worked at home physically, he always had to work overtime and earn money, so he used the salary for the family's monthly expenses. The house was built with overtime income. I built the 4th floor myself. It was such a difficult process because I was in debt. I was pregnant while building this house, I had a premature birth and I lost my baby. I had to go back to work after 21 days because there was a debt on that house. Because you can't get leave, I was working in the market, the workplace calls, you have to go. (Appendix F, 2).

It was the same for the father of Sevgi who was born also in Tokatköy after her parents came there to settle from Bulancak, Giresun.

According to what my family told me, after all, my father was working the night shift as well as during the day, and he was working in a very dirty environment, in the department called the tannery. I know it was done with hardships. (Appendix F, 3).

Similarly, Yalçın's family who came and settled in Tokatköy from Bulancak, Giresun also when he was a child, bought a piece of land and built a house.

We migrated to Istanbul from Giresun, Bulancak in 1978. My late father entered as a worker in the shoe factory. We bought land from there for housing purposes. We built ourselves a shanty. (Appendix F, 4).

The construction of the house, due to these economic constraints, had to be the physical work of the families themselves, men in particular who worked already in hard jobs in the factories and alike which deteriorated their health. The cost of the flats for the children was met with these latter's contribution also. Behice who came to the neighborhood from Sarıyer to marry Aziz whose father, an Alawi who came and settled from İmranlı, Sivas, witnessed and lived this process as follows.

Thanks to my father-in-law, he built a 3-storey house and I lived on the ground floor. My father-in-law was a dialysis patient. He wanted to build a room for all his children. Believe me, he would go to the dialysis, would come and build the attic with tubes in his arms. Believe me, I see blood in front of my eyes. It's gushing from his arms like this. 'So let it be my effort' because he did not have the financial power... He pulls the cement to the third floor with his strength, not with a crane, but with his physical strength. That's how these houses were built, with difficulty. Of course, to renovate, you have to work a little more constantly, the resources do not allow. Let's say, let's have the curtains made in the kitchen, and a bathroom renovated, in this way, we have equipped our houses. (Appendix F, 5).

In the case of an early loss of the husband, this process necessitated the participation of the housewife and the mother of the child in the labor force, even abroad. Mahir's mother, who lost his husband when his son was a 10-year-old boy, left him behind to the relatives in the neighborhood and went to Germany to acquire some income to finance the construction of the house. Mahir, whose grandfather came from Bosnia and settled in Tokatköy at the beginning of the last century and who was born also in Tokatköy, described this hardship as follows.

This house was built in 1990. It was made in difficult conditions... How to say...A month, a little, a month, we got the kalebodur [a ceramic brand], the bath was done, it was done for a month, something was done, it was such a process, I mean it was done under very difficult conditions. I know that in difficult conditions. After my father passed away, my mother had only one pension. Can you imagine? She even went to Germany and worked. (Appendix F, 6).

In some other participants' cases, they were their grandparents who lived these hardships for the next generations. Deniz's owning a house with her wife and two daughters was thanks to his grandfather's similar efforts.

My grandfather bought the land from the landowner, and then, when my late grandfather was working in the factory, he produced briquettes for construction work on the land. He constructed the houses later in the 1980s and gave one house to each one of his five sons and five daughters...saving tooth and nail, using old means, working day and night. (Appendix F, 7).

In some cases, the rough construction was given to the constructor, enabling the family to outsource the hard physical work of the construction. Zehra, a 70-year-old illiterate participant who lost her husband due to the occupation disease he got during long years of tannery work at the state's leather shoe factory, summarized the construction of their house as follows.

We purchased that place and built a house. We built it with our power, giving the rough construction to the contractor and my husband doing the fine workmanship. (Appendix F, 8).

In some cases, the house to be lived in has not been constructed anew, but it required still considerable construction work. Thus, Halet, Mahir's aunt, who was born also in the neighborhood and lost both his mother and father in her early childhood, described the reconstruction of her house that she inherited from her grandparents as follows.

We had a nearly 100-year-old stone house where my father, my aunts, myself, and my children were born. Later, that house started to seem too small for us, it was a slum, so we decided to strengthen it, to put concrete. (Appendix F, 9).

4.2.2 Life in the neighborhood

All the participants lived in extended families in these houses which had gardens enabling social intimacy between the neighbors. All the participants expressed that their families lived a nice and very happy life in the Tokatköy neighborhood. They

emphasized that the social relationships between the neighbors were very good and were based on solidarity and sharing.

Yalçın lived in this house since he was 12 years old.

We had a happy life. It lasted for forty years. We built a house like this with four floors, four brothers stayed there for forty years. We had a house with a garden in a nice neighborhood. Everyone used to have their weddings in our garden. My mother used to give something to everyone. (Appendix F, 10).

In this neighborhood life, which was based on mutual trust, the residents were like a big family.

We were happy and we were more comfortable economically and more peaceful. We had a garden and my mother and father made agriculture there. Let's say it was a good life, because of the neighborhood environment, the neighborhood culture, the neighbors, and the keys at the door, everyone can easily enter each other's houses. We were all like brothers and sisters. We would go from that house to that house. It was a family life, it was a big family. (Sevgi, Appendix F, 11).

The garden and the trees were important factors which beautified this life.

If you should see our garden, we have photos... Our garden was very beautiful, our flowers and trees were perfect, sir. We were very comfortable with our neighbors here. Everyone knew each other here. (Mahir, Appendix F, 12).

Some participants had their workplaces united with their houses, making the whole life much easier. For instance, Deniz's workplace was on the ground floor of his house.

It's such a paradise, just imagine, you work as a tradesman downstairs, you live upstairs, and it all belongs to you, if your wife shouts from the window, you say ' Yes, lady, I have a family order. (Appendix F, 13).

Independent houses with their gardens made possible a more socialized life possible in the neighborhood giving also a way to a culture based on sharing. This was a collectivistic daily life based on intimate relationships.

Our life was very good and our neighbors were good. It was so beautiful, I don't see such a life right now. When we did something, we would sit and eat together. Our gentlemen would go to work in the morning, we ladies would do the housework, we would let our children out and we would sit and watch. (Zehra, Appendix F, 14).

For Halet, her house with its garden was such a lovely living place.

Believe me, when it was summer, I had old cabinets with doors, they would go out to the garden, we would take out extra plates, you would plant things in the garden, good or bad, and we would not cook in the kitchen, we had a fountain, we had a pergola in our garden, we had vines, we had a plum tree, a fig tree, a peach tree, you would plant them on one side, we would spread out the rugs, our cushions would make you enjoy the summer very comfortably. We were going out, I was planting flowers, we had roses in the garden, I mean, how can I say it, you live a village life in a big city, you have your own house in the metropolis. (Appendix F, 15).

Life in Tokatköy was not only one of the close neighbors because not only the independent houses but the whole neighborhood was built jointly. Life started that way and continued that way.

Of course, it was the people of the place who made it a neighborhood. The roads were opened by the people, by giving money, the electric poles were brought by them, and the sewers were built by the people, that is, people did everything that made it possible to establish a life there. Frankly, it was our people who turned it into a cultural neighborhood, my father, and my father's friends. (Sevgi, Appendix F, 16).

The collectivistic character of this life was reflected in the friendship which was a true one.

When my husband was sick, may God bless this brother, where could I take him as a woman? The man had a gold tooth in his mouth, he removed his gold tooth, and he brought electricity to the neighborhood, that's how this neighborhood developed. (Zehra,17).

If I was drinking my tea, the person in front of me would bring a cookie to the tea. You would take care of his child. He would take care of your child. Is there any death related to your treatments? Believe me, there would be no cooking in that house where there was a funeral for a week. Everyone would do something. (Halet, Appendix F, 18).

4.2.3 The urban transformation in the neighborhood

The demolishing of the houses and the whole neighborhood by the state with the recent urban transformation, which was constructed with so much labor, sacrifice, and great economic constraints, together with destroying such a happy life in the

neighborhood has been a very serious blow, traumatic and devastating for all the participants.

For Devrim whose happiness to sleep, even though on the soil, of their own family house, the demolishing of that very same house was unbearable to watch.

Now, having lived through those days and coming to these days and having your house demolished, I couldn't watch my house being demolished. I locked the door and left, I mean, I didn't come back after that because I couldn't watch it being demolished like that. (Appendix F, 19).

It was similar for Mahir also:

I am 38 years old, I have a habit that comes with those 38 years. Everything we had was there. But men came and demolished it, so it's a big problem. They put us through very difficult times here. (Appendix F, 20).

Deniz described the brutality of the demolishing act as follows.

While the former mayor was not forcing anyone here, the actual mayor came here and demolished the houses of people he did not feel sorry for. When you came with a battering ram to destroy houses with 4800 police officers, you threw people to the streets... Forced evacuation of a house with life in it, unprecedented in the world.... (Appendix F, 21).

4.3 Participation in the social movement in response to the urban transformation

In this section, the findings of the study about participation in the social movement will be presented. These findings are classified under three chronological subthemes:

i. Before the social movement, ii. The beginning of the social movement iii. The development of the social movement.

4.3.1 Before the social movement

One of the findings of the study is that long before the urban transformation became an agenda in the neighborhood, there had been anticipation by one resident. Eylem's father who worked at a private bank had stated at that time that the urban transformation would come sooner or later to their neighborhood also and for this

reason, they needed to prepare themselves, to do something, to found an organization. Thus, the actual social movement which started in response to the recent urban transformation has been thought of previously by some residents even though it could not have been go beyond an idea. Eylem described this as follows.

Since 10- 12 years ago, my father has always said 'Let's establish an organization, let's do something, the transformation will come to these places, they will not leave this place to us'. He has been working on it for a very long time. 12-13 years sure. There was a voluntary lawyers organization at Taksim, and he went and met a lot. (Appendix F, 22).

Much later, upon the announcement of the urban transformation project in 2021, the residents of the neighborhood exhibited various attitudes/responses from negligence and indifference to the search for more information about the details of this project. One of them, Devrim, did not take it seriously and was one of the indifferent ones at the very beginning whereas Behice tried to get more information from the municipality.

Meetings were being held, but I did not attend the meeting or anything. (Appendix F, 23).

I went and talked to them one on one, what will you give us, what will happen, what rights will we have? (Appendix F, 24).

However, the efforts of the residents to get information from the municipality remained fruitless. Instead, the municipality imposed to the residents a consent form to sign. Sevgi, who turned out to be one of the activists of the social movement of the then very near future, described this imposing attitude of the municipality as follows.

We tried to meet with Beykoz Municipality. We met with the deputy mayor and they all have one thing on their lips: Sign it. (Appendix F, 25).

However, this did not receive acceptance from the great majority of the residents.

The forcing to sign that consent form could not get a response from the residents. As Mahir said:

First, nobody signed this. (Appendix F, 26).

The residents developed an attitude of “passive resistance” by not signing the consent form. The municipality’s response to this has been to increase the level of its attitude of imposition to force the residents to sign by sending them notifications to discharge their houses. This sending of notifications was accompanied by threats. As both Sevgi and Behice mentioned, the threat was in the form of losing the rights to the new flats after the urban transformation was to be finished and getting only “rubble money”.

They started threatening us. If you don't sign, you will receive rubble money. (Appendix F, 27).

The engineer said, 'If you don't sign, you will lose your rights. You will be paid for rubble, they will send you away, they won't give you your rights.' You know, he scared us like that. (Appendix F, 28).

For those families whose ownership of the houses was on the previous generation, children were forced and threatened by their parents.

I did not sign. Constantly threatened my children to sign by telling them to go and sign and take it to their mother to sign. (Zehra, Appendix F, 29).

The threats and the notifications of the municipality, creating fear among the residents, achieved their aim and a considerable part of the residents signed the consent form in fear of losing their rights to their houses. Thus, the municipality succeeded to a certain extent in creating a bowing attitude in many residents vis-a-vis the urban transformation.

This time, out of fear, of course, they encouraged people to sign. (Behice, Appendix F, 30).

So, Behice’s husband, Aziz, went to the urban transformation office and signed the consent form.

Then, I went down to Ortaçeşme and we signed. (Appendix F, 31).

When Mahir and his mother went there, they saw that a queue was formed for those who came to sign.

We went there, everyone was in a queue there, people were scared. (Appendix F, 32).

However, some individual residents developed a resisting stance from the very beginning. One of them, Eylem's father who had proposed to get organized years ago, objected to signing the consent form at the very beginning quite clearly and precisely.

My father said, 'I will never sign'. (Appendix F, 33).

Another resident of the neighborhood, Zehra, an illiterate widow of 70 years of age, did not sign either.

I did not sign. (Appendix F, 34).

However, those who did not sign the consent form were quite small in number.

4.3.2 The beginning of the social movement

The encounter with a resident, named Harun, who was born in the neighborhood and who is knowledgeable person about the urban transformation processes in general, supplied some of the residents with the information that they have some rights and that the signing of the consent form of the municipality is equivalent to giving up all their rights legally. Harun's explanation to them created an awareness of the presence of their rights that they did not know until then and led to a certain awakening. With Harun's proposal, that part of the residents withdrew their signatures of consent form through the notary. As Mahir and Aziz described, respectively.

We have a friend here, Harun. He understands construction works and works in such a job...he knew more about the technical issues. We started from there. Then we withdrew the signatures. (Mahir, Appendix F, 35).

After listening to Harun, we listened to it once, there was no second listening, he gave a speech for half an hour, we decidedly went there, we did not stop to withdraw the signature, we stood behind him, people we trusted led the way, we all withdrew our signatures. (Aziz, Appendix F, 36).

Drawing their signatures of consent forms meant no more compliance with a submissive attitude on the part of these residents and their adoption of a contestation stance vis-a-vis the municipality.

This contestation marked the beginning of the social movement developed by a part of the residents of the neighborhood in response to the forced urban transformation.

Eventually, this meant a division within the residents of the neighborhood into two main camps: Those who signed the consent form and said “yes” to the municipality and those who did not sign and said “No”. The former part of the residents continued to adopt a bowing attitude vis-a-vis the municipality and by signing the consent form they agreed with it, some of them discharging their houses themselves.

Three more houses opposite us had their houses demolished first themselves when this project started. (Aziz, Appendix F, 37).

As to the residents who drew their signatures, they adopted a resisting attitude.

4.3.3 Emergence of the social movement

The contesting residents, who turned out to be transformed into the participants of a nascent social movement, founded a solidarity organization in the neighborhood. Yalçın, who is a worker, became one of the activists of the movement.

We came together with our sincere neighbors, that is, our compassionate and decent neighbors. We got organized a little. We established an organization. We hired a lawyer. We entered the path of struggle. (Appendix F, 38)

The social movement expanded rapidly and reached around a hundred people, one-sixth of the total owners of rights of houses in the neighborhood where a total population was 1700.

We started to organize a little more. Sometimes, there were 100 people, so we started to get crowded. We became like an organization. (Mahir, Appendix F, 39).

The participants undertook some social actions. One of them was held in front of the municipality. As Sevgi, another activist of the movement, described.

We were in front of the municipality, a group of 200-300 people, we went and told our demands, we had many demands, we wanted the rental assistance to be adapted to today's conditions, we wanted the consent to be signed mutually in the presence of a notary, we wanted the prices of the new flats to be certain, we had many requests, that is, we wanted to eliminate uncertainty. (Appendix F, 40)

Other women participants too were among the most active ones.

We made our voice heard, that is, we announced it to the press and television. (Behice, Appendix F, 41).

Some women in the neighborhood, upon a visit of the vice president of state to the neighborhood for a wedding, tried to meet him.

We met with the president of the parliament. The vice president of the state, we stopped him on the wedding day. Here, one of our daughters told him. (Halet, Appendix F, 42).

With the foundation of the solidarity organization and the development of the social movement, the interaction of the participants with Harun, who now became the initiator of the movement, became permanent. Also, the participants invited the lawyers to the organization to learn about their rights and possible legal steps they can take in response to this imposed urban transformation.

Lawyers came and started giving us information. (Devrim, Appendix F, 43).

The participants realized a division of labor for the work of the social movement.

Devrim too took an active part in the movement.

We distributed tasks among friends. I followed the street work, making withdrawing the signatures, and informing our friends, and the press. Others, more knowledgeable ones, like the initiator, shoulder the relationship with the lawyers. We gave the legal duty to our friend Harun. (Appendix F, 44)

Participants of the social movement gathered regularly in the solidarity organization after work hours and on the weekends.

We had an organization in the neighborhood, we were always there, and we were talking there. (Mahir, Appendix F, 45).

We made room for it, we used to come there from work every day and gather there. We started to gather. By the way, we gathered every evening, for general meetings on the weekend...we continued the meetings until the houses were demolished. (Aziz, Appendix F, 46).

The organization provided a space for exchanging ideas, creating decisiveness for the struggle, and evaluating the process of the social movement. This popular process had also a democratic character in contrast to the imposing attitude of the municipality. As three participants pointed out,

Everyone came up with an idea. (Mahir, Appendix F, 47).

‘Let's stand tall’. (Aziz, Appendix F, 48).

We constantly gathered and checked whether we were continuing or falling apart. (Eylem, Appendix F, 49).

Some of the activists even acquired a strong sense and a consciousness of getting organized and struggling. Reflecting on these meetings. Devrim said that they:

.... had a deficiency in that they were open to everyone so that the opposers knew in advance all the steps the participants of the social movement planned to take. (Appendix F, 50).

The participants opened lawsuits against the forced urban transformation. They obtained various stays of execution about the urban transformation, which meant stopping the probable demolishing of their houses. As Yalçın said:

We canceled the zoning plans here, stay of execution. (Appendix F, 51).

Meanwhile, however, the municipality cut the electricity, gas, and water of the houses to force the participants to discharge their houses and to adopt a submissive attitude.

These tyrants kept us without electricity, water, or natural gas for three or four months. (Yalçın, Appendix F, 52).

They cut off people's electricity and water. (Mahir, Appendix F, 53).

Later on, one court canceled all the stays of executions the social movement obtained in the court, and one midnight, around five thousand policemen sieged the neighborhood and started the demolishing of the houses in the morning which lasted the whole day. There have been some dispersed and weak clashes between the participants and the policemen and some detentions. Sevgi described this as follows.

Before they came to our house, they came to the house next to us where a family lived. There was a big chaos there, just like when E's brother's house was there...His brother lives in that house, and they took him, the police, and five people jumped on him and pinned him to the ground. (Appendix F, 54).

Demolishing of their houses meant the end of a phase of the resistance of the participants in response to the urban transformation and it left its place to another phase of the social movement which continued mainly as a legal process to protect their rights.

4.4 Learning during the social movement

The emergence of the social movement created a favorable milieu for the participants so the lived experiences in this movement brought about informal learning experiences for them.

In this section, the findings of the study about the informal learning experiences of the participants of the social movement will be presented. The following subthemes emerged from these findings: i. Motivation for learning ii.

Learning from the knowledgeable people, iii. Learning about the importance of learning and education, and self-directed learning, iv. Learning about the urban transformation, and the social movement v. Learning about the state and the state apparatus, vi. Learning about the legal issues and process

4.4.1 Motivation for learning

One of the findings of the study has been that preserving their rights to their houses was an important motivation for the participants which led them to these informal learning experiences.

For Mahir, his legal rights were the top items to know in this social movement in response to the urban transformation.

We need to know our legal rights. (Appendix F, 55).

Likewise, not losing their rights was a driving force behind their investigation of some of the participants.

You are looking at the consent form, yes, something is strange, frankly, we were afraid of losing our rights, so we investigated. We were afraid of losing our rights, so we investigated. (Eylem, Appendix F, 56).

For some other participants, meetings constituted the source for learning their rights.

When we started to gain knowledge in the meetings after we learned that we had some rights, we decided to continue. (Devrim, Appendix F, 57).

4.4.2 Learning from the knowledgeable people

Some participants mentioned the lack of knowledgeable people in the neighborhood, who could potentially be the learning resources for them. They also linked this to the social class situation of the residents. Mahir and Yalçın both emphasized the sociocultural aspect of the deficiency of the social and human capital

of the neighborhood, which has been rendered vulnerable in the face of such socioeconomic processes as the urban transformation.

There are no teachers here, some nurses, neither a doctor nor a judge lives here. (Mahir, Appendix F, 58).

There are no lawyers, doctors, or engineers here...working people, poor people. (Yalçın, Appendix F, 59).

Nevertheless, the emergence of knowledgeable people from outside of the neighborhood had a crucial role in the learning experiences of the participants of the social movement. One of these, named Harun, is a former resident of the neighborhood who was born there. His parents had a house in the neighborhood but he had not lived in the neighborhood for many years. He worked in the construction sector. Harun became the initiator of the social movement and led it afterward.

Devrim, Halet, Mahir, and Aziz altogether highlighted this crucial role, respectively.

If it weren't for knowledgeable people, we would be left alone in this process. Harun gave us information. Since most of us do not know these things, we have made a lot of progress through Harun and the lawyer. (Devrim, Appendix F, 60).

There is Harun, he made his explanations to us very consciously. (Halet, Appendix F, 61).

We have a friend here Harun. He also understands construction works and works in such a job... He said it can't be like this. He said they were doing it wrong. Okay, we don't understand either, but he knew more about the technical issue. So, what comes out here is reading, reason, and science, he [Harun] was involved in that and he knew it... He was our chance... Harun said this time let's unite (Mahir, Appendix F, 62).

May God bless Brother Harun. He enlightened us a lot and I trust him very much. What would we do without brother Harun? I didn't understand the events at all yet...I went and brought all of them, after listening to brother Harun, we listened once, there was no second listening, he gave a speech for half an hour, we determinedly went, we did not stop to withdraw the signature, we stood behind it, people we trusted led the way... And we always listened while they were talking. I listened to them for 6 months. There was a 180-degree change in my mind when Brother Harun spoke. We also learned that no matter what he told me I had right there. If we didn't know Brother Harun, maybe we would have admitted too. (Aziz, Appendix F, 63).

Another crucial source of learning for the participants has been the lawyers. One participant, Zehra, received information from a lawyer, who is a friend of his son, on her initiative before the social movement began. Afterward, when the social movement was set forth, she continued to receive information from the lawyers at the solidarity organization.

His lawyer friend came and said, ‘My auntie, I saw this article, they will do it. The time ends tomorrow afternoon. You have sued me now. You have no right after. I asked if I can win. ‘You can win, auntie. You can take it to the court’ he said... Sometimes the lawyer comes and gives information, like this. (Appendix F, 64)

Besides Zehra, five other participants mentioned the crucial role of the lawyers in terms of their learning experiences.

We have a right of possession, which we learned from our lawyers during this process, we did not know this. Lawyers came and started giving us information. We predicted that nothing would be given to us here. They did not grant us any rights in the consent form they extended to us. Everything is open-ended. Since most of us do not know these things, we have made a lot of progress through Harun and the lawyers. (Devrim, Appendix F, 65).

Thanks to the lawyers, they became intermediaries, [they informed] that notification will come, the last possibility is then the signature. (Eylem, Appendix F, 66).

Now we have come to a legal point, we have canceled the zoning plans. Now, since the reserve plans are related to the zoning plans, our lawyers said that they will probably be canceled by the 15th of November. (Yalçın, Appendix F, 67).

Thanks to our lawyers, we became aware... (Behice, Appendix F, 68). So that you won't be upset, he tells you that he gave you one of the TOKİ residences in Tuzla, Zeytinburnu, Kastamonu, or Giresun, says go and live there, says that nothing will happen and won't give, and also says that it will put you in debt, this information is from the lawyers. (Deniz, Appendix F, 68).

4.4.3 Learning about the importance of learning and education, and self-directed learning

The participants highlighted various aspects of the importance of learning as a result of the social movement they developed in response to the urban transformation. The signing or not of the consent form experience in the actual urban transformation was one of the most important milestones of the process. As they at first signed and then, having been persuaded that this was a mistake and having withdrawn their signatures, some of the participants related this with reading carefully any document to be signed. This latter came out to be an important learning in their minds.

The only thing we have learned is to read, we need to consult somewhere, that is, we need to exchange ideas, research, and read what we are going to sign a thousand or two thousand times. (Devrim, Appendix F, 69).

We saw that nothing can be signed without reading it, we saw that nothing should be done by heart, we saw that education is a must, we saw how dangerous gossip is. (Deniz, Appendix F, 70).

Mahir, the only 2-year college student among the participants, emphasized the importance of reading in general to get informed:

We need to read, we need to know. That's why, for example, I bought and read a book on urban transformation, I can say that it added that to me. We need to know, that no matter what urban transformation or something else happens to a person, we need to read it and research it... This is the education, reading, and knowledge that urban transformation has brought to me... These things don't happen with religion and faith... reading is very important. (Appendix F, 71).

Moreover, Devrim, one of the activists of the social movement, evaluating the actual state of the social movement they created in response to urban transformation, pointed to their inadequate knowledge about the urban transformation at the very beginning of it, and stated that in case otherwise, their resistance would be in a better situation. By doing so, he retrospectively supposed that being informed better on

time could create more favorable conditions for them in the face of the urban transformation.

Maybe if we knew what urban transformation was and how it was done, maybe by not signing from the beginning and explaining the situation to our friends and neighbors, that is, we would all oppose it and not even sign a single consent form. (Appendix F, 72).

Another finding of the study has been related to the importance of formal education in the face of such factors as urban transformation. The deprivation of formal education corresponded to a state of vulnerability in the face of such facts as the urban transformation, which could be overcome with formal education.

We are four siblings, two girls and two boys. Under the conditions at that time, we had to make one of us give up reading, and only one of us could study, and the two siblings had to be taken out of school... I candidly want him [his son] to go to the university. Because we want them to receive the education we could not receive. Because in Turkey the only is education education education, nothing else, so we have to study. Because in this process, we learned so many things we never knew. The next generation should at least act knowing what they know consciously” (Devrim, Appendix F, Appendix F, 73).

A part of the learning experiences of the participants in the social movement has been in the form of self-directed learning both collectively and individually. Collective self-directed learning has been initiated by the participants themselves as they planned and received knowledge from the initiator and the lawyers in the organization as mentioned above. Besides, the activists of the social movement searched for knowledge individually. Yalçın, one of the activists of the movement, made an investigation through social interaction. He contacted people from the ruling party about other urban transformation projects applied in Istanbul. He summarized this interaction as follows:

I examined these a little more. This urban transformation work carried out by the ruling party is not a work that belongs here, they do this throughout Turkey. So, we researched it, and I asked for information. The President in his neighbourhood, for example, hears that he has done a good job in his neighborhood in Üsküdar. Because when I met with the highest authority

among them... They have prepared such a consent form for all of them except Üsküdar district. (Appendix F, 74).

Another self-directed learning experience had an individual character but with a more collective determination. One activist, Sevgi, searched for more knowledge about the urban transformation to be able to meet the needs of the social movement.

This corresponded to an adult educator role for her towards the participants.

I needed to inform people because when they came here, I needed to be able to answer questions such as how should urban transformation be done with the zoning plan, what you experienced, how these processes continued, and frankly, I felt the need to educate myself in this way. I looked at examples of how urban transformation is done in the world, there are articles, and there are foreign sources. I started to learn concepts that did not interest me before, that I had not learned or did not know the meaning of a zoning plan, what a reserve structure is, which case is filed in which court, how cases proceed, what is a stay of execution, I learned things like that. (Appendix F, 75).

4.4.4 Learning about urban transformation, and the social movement

A further finding of the study in terms of the learning experiences of the participants has been a strong awareness of a probable gentrification threat that has been brought about by the urban transformation. This may be due to the centrality of the issue of their rights for the participants in terms of being able “to return” to the neighborhood, that is to receive a renewed flat in it after the urban transformation. This may have been nurtured by the municipality also since this latter, in dialogues with some of the participants, is reported to have expressed to them this gentrification.

They did something like ‘If you can't pay, you can sell. Sir, you can walk and leave’. How will I buy this building? How will we buy this house? My concern is that I will not be able to return to this neighborhood. (Yalçın, Appendix F, 76).

Aziz too had an identical concern:

Now we are wondering if we will be able to buy our house. (Appendix F, 77).

The awareness about probable gentrification has been accompanied by an awareness also about the social class character of the urban transformation due to the class character of the gentrification which comprises a social exclusion. Devrim elaborated on this as follows.

We realized that the green space here would be given away to the rich and we fought. You won't be able to pay what you owe... it won't let you live here... I learned that they put people in Giresun where they were born or wherever they came from in the first place, they came from Trabzon and sent them to Trabzon... Not only do we want to live in those buildings, but everyone wants to live in nice, solid buildings, but that won't let you live here. You won't be able to pay what you owe. 'Leave it to the rich. 'Istanbul is not yours, it is mine. You go and live in your village, whatever you do, live wherever you want'. (Appendix F, 78).

Behice drew attention to the forced aspect of gentrification.

What I understand from here is that they officially kicked the people of Tokatköy out of here. In other words, they forced the people of Tokatköy out of their homes, considering their interests, and took away their right to live and their culture of life by force. (Appendix F, 79).

Devrim extended his awareness to the class character of the sociocultural change brought about by the urban transformation to the destruction of the neighborhood culture:

I realized that the only thing that was destroyed here was the destruction of the solidarity of the neighborhood culture. People will not know each other in concrete blocks, away from the social environment, from home to work. They tried to set up a system for us like white-collar people live in. (Appendix F, 80).

Mahir developed a supposition that the urban transformation was through an oppressive method in Tokatköy but such a thing would not be probably doable in a neighborhood like Etiler because the people at Etiler were not poor and those in Tokatköy were. This reasoning corresponded to a long-established consciousness about the social class situation of the Tokatköy neighborhood people.

We are poor people. If we had the financial power, this wouldn't happen. Can you go and do this at the Etiler Maya site now? (Appendix F, 81).

Two participants, Eylem and Halet, acquired information about the details of the urban transformation when they learned about its presence in other districts of Istanbul as well as in other cities when they faced the urban transformation themselves as a concrete experience. Visiting other neighborhoods of Istanbul in which there were actual urban transformation projects in implementation and also social movements like the one at Tokayköy provided the opportunity to exchange experiences of struggle as well as a general development of consciousness to struggle in the future beyond specific localities.

When you enter the society, you realize that the problem is not yours, it is just in many places, it is in Izmir, it is in Adana, it is in Ankara, it is just that we could not communicate because we were not aware of it. (Eylem, Appendix F, 82).

For example, we went to Tozkoparan, and our friends there also came here and we consulted about what could be done and how it would happen. You are sharing your destiny with those who experienced this incident...taught me to fight. If I am experiencing this today, we will fight against something that happens somewhere else if necessary. (Halet, Appendix F, 83).

Before living the urban transformation experience concretely in Tokatköy, Sevgi did not have any idea about it. However, the experience she faced brought about detailed learning about the urban transformation.

Before that, urban transformation did not mean anything to me because there was no definition had any meaning in my life or that I was researching or what it was for me, but when we got into it, this definition started to form...Over time, we learn that yes, electricity, water, etc. are cut off in urban transformation, but they are cut off in risky areas, and that is, if the house, or rather the living space, is in a reserved structure to prevent explosions, water leaks, etc. that may occur in the future after being completely evacuated, this is impossible. There is no such thing, because the area must be empty. (Appendix F, 84)

One of the learning experiences of the participants has been related directly to the social movement itself. The social movement taught the participants to be in solidarity, in unity and to struggle.

I learned unity and solidarity. We have to fight for our rights. In order not to be defeated, in order not to be defeated by the oppressor, we will always struggle. I wish not to remain silent against injustice, that is, we will always be in the face of injustice. (Behice, Appendix F, 85).

We learned to help people in bad situations and to show solidarity with each other. We learned to struggle. We learned to be patient, we learned that you won't get anything without resistance and struggle. (Yalçın, Appendix F, 86).

What it taught me is that this whole neighborhood needs to sit together and support each other without being divided. Because without unity you can't achieve anything. (Devrim, Appendix F, 87).

Moreover, Devrim reflected critically on the social movement they developed.

One of the deductions he made is about the divided versus the united state of the residents.

This was the only thing we could not achieve. If we had been united, we would not have come to this situation and we would not have submitted to rent transformation under the name of urban transformation. If all the people of the neighborhood were united, they wouldn't be able to remove a single nail from here. You have to be united in society and be one fist, all the people of the neighborhood have to fight. (Appendix F, 88).

The social movement led also to the acquisition of certain values in social struggle.

This time, I don't know, maybe it taught me that feeling of brotherhood... that sincerity. (Mahir, Appendix F, 89).

The social movement developed in response to the urban transformation created an awareness of the necessity of a general awakening for the people. One participant expressed this as if it were a final call to the people.

The biggest lesson to learn from here is that people need to wake up, you woke up here, you woke up, you didn't wake up, we are devastated. (Deniz, Appendix F, 90).

4.4.5 Learning about the state and the state apparatus

The experience of social movement in response to the urban transformation led the participants to informal learning experiences in political, social, and economic domains.

One of these is related to the ruling party since the ruling party was the one who applied the forced urban transformation through both the municipality and ministry.

According to Halet, the ruling party deceived even its voters and this fact constitutes a learning experience that includes a loss of trust and respect for the actual government by its voters.

The current government deceived even the party members who supported it. These people learned this too, that everything is a lie, when other interests were gone, everyone could do things to each other. We have learned this... It taught me that I have neither respect nor trust in the current government system. (Eylem, Appendix F, 91).

Likewise, another participant emphasized the attitude of the government vis-a-vis its voters after the elections and drew attention to the politicians' replacement of people with money. They even left their sacred, religious values for rent, that is money. He stated his distrust of politicians and their attitude vis-a-vis the money and their religion:

Here's where the rent turns, people are not taken into account at all...the government does not know you after it gets your vote. What we learned a lot was like this, we got to know people, Sir, we got to know these politicians, the distrust of politicians, this rent, you know, in the face of money, they don't know anyone, they even abandon the sacred ones. (Yalçın, Appendix F, 92).

On the other hand, the neighborhood life was not used to the presence of police presence and intervention in the past years. Therefore, the implementation of the urban transformation with the siege of the neighborhood by thousands of policemen has been a surprise for the participants. One of them did not know even the location

and the numbers of the police stations in Beykoz municipality. She noticed only recently the extent of the presence of police apparatus in the municipality where she was born.

Since we were unfamiliar with such things, I didn't know where the police station was at Beykoz, turns out there were three of them. (Sevgi, Appendix F, 93).

4.4.6 Learning about the legal issues and process

The legal dimension of the social movement being one of the most important for the participants to preserve their houses, people like judges, lawyers, and prosecutors were subject to an evaluation of the learning by the interviewees. Their decisions and stance in favor of the participants were recognized by them.

We have seen that this country is a power that cannot be destroyed. Because in this country, there are lawyers, judges, prosecutors, and people who live honorably and with dignity in difficult times. (Deniz, Appendix F, 94).

As underlined above, the legal dimension of the social movement was a crucial one for the participants. This brought into question the relationship of the existing law to the rights of the owners, that is to what extent the law will support the preservation of these rights. The participants experienced that in case the law did not support them, they were driven to despair. One participant generalized that the law does not support poor people.

The only thing we have learned is that if there is no law, you cannot do anything, that is, the law does not apply to poor people. (Devrim, Appendix F, 95).

4.5 The changes in the daily lives of the participants

In this section, the findings of the study about the changes that the urban transformation and the social movement that was developed in response to it brought

about in the daily lives of the participants will be presented. The following subthemes emerged among these findings: i. Changes in the financial condition, ii. Changes in the social condition with the neighbors, between the family members, and new acquaintances, iii. Changes in the psychological condition.

4.5.1 Changes in the financial condition

The financial conditions of the participants changed as a result of the demolishing of the houses by the urban transformation since many participants living in their own family houses earlier had to rent houses which deepened the critical money issue in their lives. As Mahir explained:

Money came to the fore for me this time because you have to earn money to pay your rent...because I'm a tenant now if you were unemployed today, you would have to pay rent, you don't have that luxury. (Appendix F, 96).

Since the participants' social class situation as workers' families is determined by economic constraints, being obliged to pay rent created an even more difficult economic condition for their lives. As Behice said:

Where did we go? To the low-rent units. We are currently struggling to survive in those rent corners. So, you are forced to pay these rents. This is the most difficult situation for us. (Appendix F, 97).

In addition, these houses are of lower quality. The houses that Yalçın and Eylem had to rent have their respective quality problems:

I rented a house in such a fake place, it's such a damp thing, that's the forced economy. (Appendix F, 98).

We rented a house of this size, one room more, that is, it is very small, 5 thousand liras, it does not even have natural gas, and my parents and my grandmother will come with me in the winter. We will have six people living in this house, so we are not happy with our situation at all. (Appendix F, 99).

Moreover, Eylem's family life conditions worsened not only in terms of housing but also in general. She was living some problems in her marital relationship with her

husband and this led to a divorce in which urban transformation has also been influential:

I just got divorced, unfortunately, this process was very supportive in terms of the divorce. (Appendix F, 100).

After she divorced her husband, she had to find a job that nevertheless does not have permanence, creating a situation of economic instability for a sole parent with children of primary school age. She explained that

I was a housewife and had to work... I work in a school as a cleaner, I work under İŞKUR, İŞKUR employed me for nine months and there is no permanency in this job. (Appendix F, 101).

4.5.2 Changes in the social condition with the neighbors, between the family members, and new acquaintances

The urban transformation, demolishing the houses in which extended families were living, dispersed these families to different houses and neighborhoods, thus creating a social deterioration in terms of intra-family relations. Behice described the situation as follows:

Now they tore us apart everywhere, that is, they divided the family. Or rather, they separated the mother from her child, the brother from her brother. In this way, they separated the grandmother from her grandson, that is, they grabbed us and threw each of us somewhere. (Appendix F, 102).

In the newly rented flats, life is more difficult socially for the participants who used to live in independent family houses. Again Behice explains how she becomes obliged to make a warning to her children:

My daughter was playing the piano and could freely turn it up even at the fullest volume. But now, oh girl, don't make any noise, oh girl, be careful, oh girl, walk slowly, oh son, don't make any noise, it's always a warning, it's very difficult. (Appendix F, 103).

Similarly, her husband Aziz who used to live in his family house, now says he has to be more careful not to make noise.

First of all, it was a warm family building, shout as you wish, go out at night, and have breakfast in front of the door. We are at rent, we are suffering a lot...I'm a tenant now, I live on the middle floor, and I'm slowly walking. (Appendix F, 104).

The urban transformation brought about deprivation of the previously existing important social supports and solidarity resources for daily life which existed in the Tokatköy neighborhood but disappeared now. Mahir explained this as follows:

Currently, I live in Ümraniye. This urban transformation happened, and then we moved there, but the apartment I live in now is a huge apartment building. How many flats are there? Right now there is no one I can trust and leave my keys to. (Appendix F, 105).

This is even worse for Eylem who has two primary school children, and has some health problems. She described this deprivation of social support from neighbors as follows:

I don't know the person next door to me. I got sick last night. To whom should I leave the children? How bad would it be if I were to go to the hospital? To whom can I entrust my daughter? I have no one around me to leave my children to. Whereas in the former neighborhood, I was calling the tenant from downstairs at 3 or 4 a.m., saying, 'Sister, I'm going to the hospital', she was responding, 'Go, I'll come'. (Appendix F, 106).

The division of the residents of the neighborhood into two opposite camps about the urban transformation extended to all social relations in the neighborhood and has been reproduced not only between decades-long neighbors but even within families, between family members from all generations with all the disagreements, tensions, relational ruptures that it brought with it.

According to Eylem, before the forced urban transformation, the social relations in the neighborhood "were excellent". (Appendix F, 107).

However, now that they have fallen apart, their neighbors call them terrorists:

We are terrorists because we do not support and our next-door neighbors are the first to say so. (Appendix F, 108).

Some neighbors solidarised even with the police who came to demolish the houses instead of solidarising with their lifetime neighbors. Mahir criticized them as follows:

Some of my neighbors said to sting them, some of my neighbors said to bring them, my garden is available, he had their cars towed to his garden, I wouldn't do this, for example, I would close it that day... he gave space to the police's cannons, he helps them while they are looking for a place, we suffer there. (Appendix F, 109).

Those neighbors, who shared daily life in all its aspects for decades throughout their entire lifetimes, lived the sudden disappearance of mutual trust and values like solidarity. Eylem describes this situation as follows:

There is no trust anymore, it's over, you know the thing about 'you can't even trust your father', we are at that point now, and I certainly don't trust anyone anymore. (Appendix F, 110).

Likewise, the degradation of the relationships went so far as to the point of complete ruptures as Halet explains:

Believe me, some of them did not let us in through the door, we talked to these people through the door and those people are no longer in my life... I took them out of my life when we were together at a funeral or the wedding. (Appendix F, 111).

In turn, this rupture has reached such a high level that while, previously, neighbors solidarised when there was a deceased neighbor, "Is there death? Believe me, there would be no cooking in that house where there was a funeral for a week" (Halet, Appendix F, 112), now, according to another participant, "our next-door neighbor died, we went to his funeral, we should express our condolences or not. People have come to the point where they say even if he died, it's good" (Eylem, Appendix F, 113).

According to Eylem, the deterioration of social relations between neighbors had also a strong moral aspect. Thus, she concluded that

The biggest mistake done to the people here is that they killed humanity. (Appendix F, 114).

The forced urban transformation, and the struggle in response to it, created effects on the families of the participants in two opposite directions. One of these has been in the form of weakening family coherence even to such a degree to create dissolution of families whereas the other is towards strengthening.

The urban transformation created considerable disagreements between members of many families from various as well as the same generations. Many families had considerable discussion processes between members from opposite tendencies in their internal lives. For instance, Eylem said that

Frankly, I was going to sign, my brother said the same thing, and my father said, 'I will never sign'. (Appendix F, 115).

For Eylem, the urban transformation accelerated life processes which led even to divorces.

I just got divorced, unfortunately, this process was very supportive in terms of the divorce. (Appendix F, 116).

For others, various family members fell into disagreements. Devrim observed that

Many of our neighbors became enemies, relative to relative, father to son. (Appendix F, 117).

Yalçın had the same observations. He said that

Uncle and nephew got into a fight, between mother and child within the family. (Appendix F, 118).

For some families, the process led to sharp ruptures between family members. Deniz stated this with some anger:

My father betrayed me, my father lied to me. (Appendix F, 119).

For other families, the forced urban transformation and the social movement in response to it strengthened the ties between family members. For those who witnessed other families living dissolution, being together in a family was the most

important. This comprised also an observation that property issue constitutes an effect of dissolution for the families. Aziz explained this as follows:

There has not been the slightest negative change in our family ties. We are very attached to our family and we are not in a fighting mood in the family. It is like we're more loyal to each other. As long as I'm with my family. Property is a story I swear it is zero. (Appendix F, 120).

The urban transformation, while bringing many old social relationships to a definite rupture, the social movement against it created new social acquaintances. Aziz described this frankly when he said:

I never trusted any of the Bulancak people here in the beginning... These sell the man. These are the ruling party supporters... This [organization] is my home. I have adopted this place as my home now. (Appendix F, 121).

The social movement brought about friendship among its participants. Mahir described the relationships in the organization as follows:

Here's what we earned. Here's what happened. Here we still sit with our neighbors wholeheartedly, here you have it, you can eat dessert, you can chat, you can talk. So, this gave birth to sincerity and there is more warmth between people. This is what we gained, I mean, it's a big deal, let's say we gained friendship together. (Appendix F, 122).

On the other hand, the urban transformation has created a serious blow to the trust in the social relationships in the minds of the participants. Two participants explained this situation by using the same expressions:

It was a 'you won't even trust your father' situation. (Devrim, Appendix F, 123).

There is no trust anymore, it's over, you know the thing about you can't even trust your father, we are at that point now, I don't trust anyone anymore. (Eylem, Appendix F, 124).

Zehra also shared the same view:

You should not trust anyone in this life, I have learned this... Don't trust anyone yet, brother, I learned this and learned a lot from it. (Appendix F, 125).

4.5.3 Changes in the psychological condition

The urban transformation created in the lives of the participants strong emotional and psychological negative effects on the participants' entire families, including children. Even before the demolishing of the houses, constant fear about an imminent attack on them created a bad situation for the children's and the parents' psychological health. Devrim describes the problem as follows:

Disorders in children's psychology. 'Dad, are we going to be demolished today? It impressed me. No one could sleep, everyone's psychology was disturbed. (Appendix F, 126).

Demolishing of the family houses that they built in family years ago was so insupportable for the participants that they could not watch it. Again Devrim described this moment as follows:

I, myself, couldn't watch my house being demolished...I locked the door and left, I mean, I didn't come back after that because I couldn't watch it be demolished like that. (Appendix F, 127).

In some, the demolishing of the houses caused apparent psychological problems that were non-existent before. Aziz explained this as follows:

I'm talking to myself, I experienced a little psychological thing...Our psychology, our family thing is broken...I also started having a speech disorder, I didn't have it before, but I still have it, and I talk to myself when I come here. (Appendix F, 128).

Some participants could not get used to being detached from the old neighborhood they had been living in since their birth. Mahir was among them. He complained as follows:

...I swear, I still can't come to my senses, it's so bad, it's not like you know, it has a material dimension, but it also has a spiritual dimension, I mean, it's so bad now that I'm going there, Ümraniye, it doesn't feel like my home at all...I have an anxiety disorder. (Appendix F, 129).

Likewise, Yalçın's psychology also is badly affected. He summarized by saying:

Our psychology is upside down. (Appendix F, 130).

After moving to a new neighborhood, Eylem's child could not get used to the new living milieu since this meant a change in the friendships he was used to both in the neighborhood and the school. Eylem explained this as follows:

The child had to go to another school for about 45 days after the demolition. The child left the school crying every day. He left the neighborhood, home environment, circle of friends, the school, all gone. So, I understood that people can change like this. (Appendix F, 131).

4.6 Changes in the opinion of the participants

One of the aims of this study was to find out the changes in the opinions of the participants, if any, as a result of participating in the social movement. The study findings reveal that social movement in response to the urban transformation led to changes in the views of the participants as i. Changes in the opinion on state organs at the central and the municipal levels, ii. Changes in the opinion on the ruling party iii. Changes in the opinion on the urban transformation iv. Changes in the opinion: critical thinking, questioning, and self-criticism

4.6.1 Changes in the opinion on state organs at the central and municipal levels

One of these changes took place in the area of the administrative entities which have been the main actors who put the urban transformation into application in a forced manner like the central state and the municipality.

The state, hitherto thought to be untouchable, has turned out to be an entity about which a lawsuit could be opened now.

One participant, Zehra, an illiterate woman participant who never went to the school, did not even think during her lifetime that she could open lawsuits against the state and win it. But the forced urban transformation made her think about opening it. She consulted a lawyer if she could open such a lawsuit against the state and if she

could win. Upon the positive response of the lawyer, she opened a lawsuit against the urban transformation.

I asked if I could win, ‘Auntie, you can win’, he said, ‘you can take it to the court’. (Appendix F, 132).

She was the very first resident who opened such a lawsuit against urban transformation without thinking in the least to sign the consent form of the municipality.

Zehra’s change of thinking, which had a moral aspect also about opening a lawsuit against the state, has a background related to her husband. She expressed that his husband, upon his occupational disease that he was caught due to the working conditions in the state’s leather shoe factory, was advised by the doctor that he could open a lawsuit against the state for this illness, but he rejected to adopt such an attitude vis-a-vis the state, identifying himself with the state.

My husband had an occupational disease from the factory, the doctor told him to submit the petition. He said to my husband, ‘Take the state to the court’. My husband said, ‘Who is the state, who am I, I am the state, I cannot take the state to court’. (Appendix F, 133).

The trust of some of the participants in the state judicial system increased because of the decisions of the courts in favor of the participants of the social movement.

Frankly, my trust in the courts has increased because I started to think that there are people who can make the right decisions and are not afraid of being pressured by the government (Sevgi, Appendix F, 134).

One participant made a distinction about the character of the police after the houses were demolished with the siege of the neighborhood with five thousand people one early morning on 1 September 2023.

The people no longer have police, the government has police. (Halet, Appendix F, 135).

Likewise, before urban transformation, some participants did not feel the need to think about a municipality in general, what it is, and what was it for. The forced urban transformation caused a thinking process about the municipality and it turned out to be from an ordinary public authority, serving society for public services, to an oppressive one now for them.

I didn't feel the need to think too much about the municipality. The municipality had a meaning for me as a public institution that helps collect garbage, collects taxes... Now it has moved away from that meaning, on the contrary, it is an institution that tries to take over the place of people who try to beautify the place they live in... The municipality seems to me to be a dysfunctional institution right now. (Sevgi, Appendix F, 136).

4.6.2 Changes in the opinion on the ruling party

Many participants have been the traditional voters of the ruling political party which won the last election also after several consecutive election victories. Since the recent elections brought to power this ruling political party, and the urban transformation was being applied by that party who had set up the government, this party was eventually one of the actors of this forced urban transformation as well. The fact that this ruling party's government applied such a brutal urban transformation for its voters, was quite an unexpected fact for the participants.

One participant, who has been a pro-ruling party resident in the neighborhood, expressed her astonishment about the stance of the municipality (from the ruling party also) towards people who have been pro-ruling party like her.

It is very interesting that the municipality is so stubborn and ignores us so much, I said to the architect in that municipality, we are partisan, this side is not what it seems, our side is not what it seems, you are not working according to here, something is strange, this is not normal. (Eylem, Appendix F, 137).

The same participant expressed her astonishment in the face of her dialogue with the district chairwoman of the ruling party.

I told the district chairman, we were promised the title deed, and he said 'Promises cannot be kept in politics', I said, 'God, I have two children, don't give me the chance to be involved in politics'. (Eylem, Appendix F, 138).

Another participant, who was a voter of the ruling party, lived a mental confusion. He preferred to rationalize his vote to the ruling party for the municipality, saying that his vote to this party in the municipal elections was in fact for the president of the state and that he relied on him but questioned if this latter was deceived by people in his entourage.

We did not sign the municipality mayor, we voted for the president of the state here. (Deniz, Appendix F, 139).

This questioning revealed that the president of the state was a person to rely on for him but that if he was deceived by his entourage, then this pointed to some kind of desperation.

You, the president, didn't you know these men? Did the people next to you also deceive you? Who will we lean on? (Deniz, Appendix F, 140).

4.6.3 Changes in the opinion on the urban transformation

The participants of the social movement developed their understanding of urban transformation and adopted a positive attitude toward the concept of urban transformation. By the urban transformation, they usually meant a "transformation of the place", which would enable them to stay in their neighborhood, without being forced to leave it, and as a result, they would receive a renewed flat, even though smaller in size, with some payable amount by them, in some way or another. As to the current application of the urban transformation, they labeled it as "rental transformation" because it was based on the production of rent.

Something about the capitalist system that we did not know and that we experienced during these processes was reflected to us not as urban transformation but as rental transformation. (Devrim, Appendix F, 141).

They posited this “rental transformation” in contrast to the urban transformation concept they suggested. This latter was supposed to have a democratic method of realization in contrast to the former which is applied by force and without taking the residents as interlocutors.

If our houses were to be transformed, we could reach an agreement by talking, not like this. (Eylem, Appendix F, 142).

One participant expressed her approach to urban transformation so that she sought a democratic process in which the residents of the neighborhood should be recognized as interlocutors.

Why do I say No? Because he did not address us... We wanted to meet, we went and gathered in front of the municipality, you know, come and meet with us, listen to our statements, listen so that we can find the truth by mutual agreement. (Behice, Appendix F, 143).

Zehra, who lived the forced urban transformation directly as a personal experience, had also a change of view of the urban transformation. The one on the television and the one she lived directly were quite different.

Earlier, I had seen it on some television and was wondering why she was screaming. It looked beautiful, but it turned out that the background was worse. (Appendix F, 144).

4.6.4 Changes in the opinion: critical thinking, questioning, and self-criticism

As religion and religious thinking and values had an important place in the thinking of the participants, it was natural to observe the effect of this in their thinking about the experiences they had as a result of the recent urban transformation. The thinking of the participants, who shared the same religious beliefs and values as the people in the municipality who applied the forced urban transformation, led to a questioning of these peoples’ sincerity of their religious beliefs.

In the face of money, they do not know anyone, they abandon even the sacred ones, and we have come to know them for rent. (Yalçın, Appendix F, 145).

Their questioning and reaction are reflected in religious terms also. Meaning the afterlife in the religious belief, Eylem said that

They are very easy here, of course, they won't be easy anywhere else. (Appendix F, 146).

Zehra expressed her reaction in religious terms:

'I made a zoning peace agreement, this is the title deed in your hands', he said, I will hug his throat and his collar in the afterlife. (Appendix F, 147).

The attitude of the municipality mayor was in contradiction with the sacred books in the opinion of Deniz:

While we were dealing with the demolition here, he went and participated in entertainment areas, picnic areas, what do they say, he participated in those festivals, I mean such dishonesty, such lack of [sacred] books. (Appendix F, 148).

Some participants did not make do with criticism towards the central state, the municipality and, the ruling party, but they did a self-criticism also.

One participant, Deniz, questioned his vote in the municipal elections by saying:

...But they brought us such a municipal mayor that although we did not sign for him, we voted for the state president here, but then, it means we would have thought carefully. (Appendix F, 149).

The same participant, thinking critically about himself this time, concluded that he did not live a human degradation during this process.

What I see is that they could not impair/ruin/destroy my personality and character. (Appendix F, 150).

Eylem too made a self-criticism. while describing the change that the urban transformation created in the social relationships between neighbors. She claimed that she became more selfish after the urban transformation.

No one has anything to do with anyone anymore. People have come to the point where they say even if he died, it's a good thing. If there was an

earthquake in Istanbul today, we are not in a position to say what happened to anyone. Unfortunately, we became a little selfish. (Appendix F, 151).

The urban transformation and the social movement in response to it taught some participants to question. For one of these participants, Eylem, not questioning was a mistake. Moreover, according to Eylem, not only herself but other people too are questioning now and they lived through a process of change of mentality.

We learned to question... We learned to question, we had to learn. It was necessary to question, we did not do this, we made a mistake. People will question everything now and they do. No mentality is the same anymore. (Appendix F, 152).

Halet, confesses that she did not know about the urban transformation before, but now she learned and learned also to question it.

I did not know about urban transformation. I learned this and learned to question about this issue. (Appendix F, 153).

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The present case study aimed at investigating the informal learning experiences of the participants in the specific context of the social movement that they developed in response to the forced urban transformation in the Tokatköy neighborhood of Beykoz municipality of Istanbul. This study revealed the process of transformation of the people, and the community from a compliant one to a resistant one through the informal learning experiences in the process. In this chapter, the findings of the present case study in terms of these informal learning experiences and the outcomes of these learning experiences will be discussed with the relevant literature. Yet, before starting the discussion a brief background of the movement and participants of the case will be presented to set the stage for the discussion on informal learning.

5.1 Background

The participants, as working-class people, had been living in the Tokatköy neighborhood, for decades until the recent urban transformation. Most of them were born there in the houses their parents and themselves constructed on pieces of land purchased from third persons, without being able to receive from the state their houses' title deeds for long years. This allowed the state to apply the urban transformation in an imposing manner for the owners of these houses, resulting in the demolishing of these houses by force and the discharge of the participants from the neighborhood.

The residents who did not admit the imposing attitude of the state created a social movement to resist the forced urban transformation in search of their rights to

their houses. During this resistance, they set up a solidarity organization with a space in the neighborhood. This provided the participants a space to gather frequently each day and night for weeks and months to discuss and elaborate on the development of their resistance, exchange views, and plan the next steps to be taken. Even though initially, the participants obtained states of executions from the courts which would stop the urban transformation, with the later cancellation of these, their houses were demolished with the intervention of thousands of policemen one midnight.

For all these participants of the study, this social movement was the first one in their lives. Moreover, almost all of them, with few exceptions, have been voting for the ruling party which is characterized by a strong Islamic religious tendency for decades both in the general as well as the municipal elections. Since the participants were poor working-class families, most of them were receiving material aid from the municipality. They had developed a dependency on this economic aid from the state central and municipal institutions under the government of this ruling party. Besides, they shared the same religious beliefs and values as the people who had worked for years in these institutions. However, they were the people in the administration of the state and the municipality who forced urban transformation. On the other hand, this authoritarian way of urban transformation coupled with Islamism has not been limited to this case but has been a widespread practice for years (Karaman, 2013; Lovering and Türkmen, 2011; Bayhan and Caner, 2017).

The forced urban transformation has been thus an unexpected state of affairs for the participants, confronting them with a new life experience for which they were not ready and prepared in many respects, organisationally and intellectually besides others. In these circumstances, the participants of the social movement struggled to resist the urban transformation with the sources they could access immediately.

Thanks to these sources, the participants could develop a social movement in response to this urban transformation through informal learning experiences.

5.2 Informal learning experiences of the participants in the social movement

Social movements generate learning for their participants about the content of the particular practical issue around which they are formed. As Choudry and Vally (2018) pointed out, depending on the particularity of the problem of the social movement under question, this content can be quite varied such as issues of class, race, gender, environment, and so on. The present study reveals that the issues related to the content of the urban transformation constituted a considerable part of the informal learning of the participants during the social movement. Likewise, (Duguid, Mundel, Schugurensky & Haggerty, 2013) pointed out the occurrence of a broader understanding of social realities on the part of the participants of the social movements. Similarly, Seçkin (2008) found out that the participants of the social movement against gold mining did not know much about the issue initially, yet, only after it became a burning issue for them they gain an understanding of gold mining through informal learning.

In many instances, social movements are driven by vital needs or interests that affect the participants directly. The risk of harm or social exclusion is one of the important motives for people to set up social movements (Chollett, 2013). Urban transformation is a policy that includes a risk of gentrification for the residents who live in the neighborhoods that are subject to the implementation of this policy. Aksümer (2010) pointed out that gentrification is an integral part of the urban transformation policies in general. In the past, the residents of some neighborhoods in Istanbul developed social movements in response to the urban transformation

practices. The present study shows that the participants' informal learning experiences during the social movement have been driven by the development of fear and awareness about the presence and the prevention of such a similar gentrification risk for themselves. Likewise, Seçkin (2008) found that the participants of the social movement against gold mining in Kaz Mountains had a similar fear "of being obliged to get out from their village" and that this "played an important role in opposing miners and participating in the movement" (p. 74). In addition, in an earlier study, Leloğlu (2001) had similar findings about the motives of the participation in the social movement such as the possible harms of the mining to the living area of the participants. In her study, Balta (1999) also indicated such a fear of getting out from the residence as a motive for participation in the social movement.

In the present study, it is revealed that since gentrification meant the purchasing of newly constructed flats by new people who have more material wealth, the participants experienced a germination of the class character of gentrification in their minds. The study shows that with the proceeding of the urban transformation project, the participants started to acquire an awareness that the main purpose of the urban transformation in its actual form is the production of rent rather than remitting newly constructed houses to them. It can be claimed that, while formerly the participants were seeing the urban transformation consisting of a simple renewal of their houses, with the advancement of the urban transformation project, they came to understand that the urban transformation is not just such a simple renewal but rather a process which may end with their exclusion from the neighborhood for good perpetually. In this respect, it can be said that the development of such an awareness

in the participants corresponds to the Freirian concept of gaining critical awareness (Freire, 1970).

Urban transformation implementation in general is characterized by leaving the details of the project unknown to the residents of the neighborhood. Aksümer (2010) pointed out that the uncertainty and the lack of clear knowledge about the details of urban transformation are an integral part of urban transformation projects in general. Similarly, the present study shows that the uncertainties about the details of the urban transformation project played an important role in leading the participants toward a social movement. The fact that the urban transformation, according to the municipality's explanations to the participants, included going into debt for them together with the fact that the exact amount and the payment duration were left uncertain, created a fear in the participants that they would not be able to pay this amount and to return to the neighborhood once the new flats are constructed. The present study reveals that throughout their social movement, a part of the participants' efforts and actions concentrated on the clarification of the amount and the payment duration of the debt. This production of and access to accurate knowledge as well as learning about the details of the urban transformation project implementation was vital for the participants to ensure their return to the neighborhood after the completion of the urban transformation. In this way, the participants aimed to obtain some practical knowledge about the implementation of the actual urban transformation project. In addition, the study shows that this practical knowledge production has been an important element in their assessment evaluation about the direction they intended to give to their social movement and the decision-making processes they were executing. This is consistent with the previous literature in that such a production of knowledge and its informal learning are a basic

feature of social movements learning (Choudry, 2019; Hall, 2006). Similarly, Seçkin (2008) found that the participants of the social movement in Kaz Mountains against gold mining were not provided with accurate information and they struggled to produce and access this information during their movement.

Learning technical and legal issues about the social problem under question is a general characteristic of social movement learning. The present study shows that during the social movement, the participants acquired knowledge about the technical and legal aspects of the urban transformation. To the extent that the preservation of their rights to their houses was a practical issue, the participants' intellectual efforts concentrated on finding and generating technical and legal possibilities to ensure this preservation. This informal learning embedded in the effort of the participants to find the best possible ways to defend their rights and to develop their movement can be described as "learning through strategizing" in which the participants work "to equip themselves with effective strategies to find out how to achieve" their goals (Foroughi, 2013, p. 45). Such efforts made them involved in informal learning experiences as in the case of the participants of the social movement against gold mining (Seçkin, 2008).

By its very nature, a social movement is usually a contestation by its participants related to a specific social issue (Foley, 1999). Eventually, this contestation has both a practical and conceptual character. The participants of the movement, while developing a practical objection, negate also the conception adopted by the opponents of the social movement about the specific social issue of this latter. The present study reveals that the participants developed their conception of the urban transformation and contrasted it to the actual one that has been implemented by the municipality. The participants underlined that they are not

against the policy of urban transformation itself in general but to the actual imposing form of it, which they qualified as “rental transformation”. In this sense, the participants conceived their conception of urban transformation as free of rent production and gentrification. As far as the actual urban transformation constitutes a concrete content of learning of the urban transformation, the participants also developed an “unlearning” of the dominant (Foley, 1999), actually implemented the concept of urban transformation, and posited their conception against it. Such an “unlearning” is pointed also by Atta and Holst (2023) when they state that “A positive outcome of unlearning is when participants rid themselves of knowledge that is not helpful to their participation and replace it with new knowledge” (p. 182). This can also be qualified as instrumental learning in the sense that this conception of urban transformation provided the participants with a meaning that helped them to reject prevailing hegemony and build a movement (Saguy & Ward, 2011; Walter, 2012). In addition, the present study shows that such an unlearning on the part of some participants took place on other issues as well. For instance, it is revealed in the study that the urban transformation forced some participants to open lawsuits against the state in the pursuit of their right to their houses whereas until then, the state was an entity against which opening a lawsuit was even unthinkable. It can be said that this pointed to informal learning in the political domain. Moreover, this conception of urban transformation also corresponds to what Atta and Holst (2023) described as a learning which raises individual and social consciousness in the sense that it increases “people's understanding of their social, political, and economic realities” (p. 180).

Social movement learning is characterized not only by knowledge learning but also by the acquisition or the change of values and attitudes. During social

movements, the participants acquire or adopt various values, attitudes, and behaviors. Schugurensky (2000) indicated that this occurs in the scope of tacit learning which is another category of informal learning that he refers to as “the internalization of values, attitudes, behaviors, skills, etc. that occur during everyday life” (p. 4). This social movement created a new everyday life for the participants and this brought about the acquisition of values, attitudes, behaviors, and skills which are peculiar to this social movement. For instance, friendship, unity, and solidarity among the participants, sensitivity to social issues as well as the persistence for struggle developed through tacit informal learning. This is consistent with the earlier studies on social movement learning in which it is indicated that learning in the context of these movements comprises the creation of a climate of solidarity (Foley, 1999). (Serrat et al., 2016) pointed out this learning in the social domain as the development of “a growing appreciation of the value of deeper friendships with members of their community” and “a sense of belonging and ‘fit’ with their community” (p.177). This has been indicated also by Atta and Holst (2023) as a type of informal learning on community development and engagement whose examples were identified in earlier studies in the form of exercising solidarity (Ollis & Hamel-Green, 2015; Roy, 2012; Woodin, 2007) and building community (Harris, 2002; Serrat et al., 2016; Woodin, 2007).

In addition, the present study shows that the social movement brought about a change of attitude in the participants from indifference to sensitivity to social issues similar to the urban transformation in other parts of the city and of the country as well. For some participants, this was in the form of self-criticism about their previous disinterest and insensitivity to such social issues, hence the development of a critical awareness of the social reality they live in. Similarly, it was discovered that the

participants of the Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement experienced a change in behavior and attitudes during their struggle against gold mining and became more sensitive to similar social struggles (Seçkin, 2008).

The present study reveals that to the extent that this was the first one in their lifetimes, by setting up this social movement, the participants learned what is a social movement and how it is set up. In addition, the participants learned also skills to manage such a movement in the form of making a division of labor among themselves based on the various needs of the movement, to plan social actions, and so on. The acquisition of such skills has been pointed out earlier as instrumental informal learning (Ilsley, 1990). Ross-Gordon and Dowling (1995) also indicated this informal learning as changes in skills and abilities related to working with others while Foroughi (2013) described it as a learning path in the form of “learning by doing” (Foroughi, 2013, p. 46). Likewise, Atta and Holst (2023) also classified this type of informal learning in social movements as “practical or instrumental learning” (p. 180). Moreover, founding an organization and being a member of such an organization also was the first experience in their lifetimes that brought about learning the notion of getting organized. The study shows that this learning brought about with it a change in the lifestyle of some of the participants who left their jobs for several months for militant activist work in the interest of the social movement.

Social movement learning embraces usually a questioning of the hitherto learned or accepted. The fact that the actual urban transformation has been put into effect by the ruling party in such an imposing manner as to demolish the houses of the participants and also that the participants have supported this very same ruling party for long years with their votes in both the general as well as the municipal elections has been a quite surprising fact for them. The study reveals that this

situation led the participants to develop a critical stance for the ruling party and its executives. Besides, the participants not only supported the ruling party with their votes but shared the same religious thinking with this party. The study shows that this situation also created a shaking and questioning in the thinking of the participants about the sincerity of the ruling party's religious adherence because the urban transformation materialized through the use of force to demolish the houses. This is consistent with earlier studies in terms of informal learning in the political domain as Ilsley (1990) indicated that this is a critical learning in so far as it comprises an analysis of one's politics, values, and priorities, and those of society.

This questioning has also a dimension directed toward the self. During the social movements, people question not only their opponents but also themselves. Activists question their practice. As Kim (2011) pointed out this is a process of "self-questioning and self-answering" (p. 324). Similarly, the present study shows that the participants questioned themselves and their attitudes in certain respects. The present study reveals that the participants criticized themselves in terms of their initial compliant attitude vis-à-vis the urban transformation in its proposed and imposed form by the municipality. Atta and Holst (2023) described this as a self-education process for social movements, with the participants reflecting on their own experiences.

Learning creates an awareness of the importance of learning and knowledge acquisition in the learners. Schugurensky (2000) states that a learner becomes aware of his/her learning in the case s/he experiences incidental learning. Through the acquisition of knowledge during the informal learning experiences in the social movement, the participants developed an awareness of the lack of knowledge and the importance of learning. Some participants admitted that the lack of knowledge as

well as the lack of formal education made them more vulnerable to the urban transformation. In addition, the study shows that the urban transformation project created an awareness in the participants about the lack of social and cultural capital in the neighborhood, especially in the form of knowledgeable/informant (“movement intellectuals”) people to confront such a project and to defend their rights. Thus, the participants had to find this capital elsewhere outside the neighborhood.

Learning in social movements does not only comprise knowledge assimilation. These social processes have also an emotional dimension. Emotions are an important factor in the way the participants of social movements act and learn. Atta and Holst (2023) observed that “Learning is both driven by emotions and an emotional process” (p. 183). The present study shows that the lived experiences of the participants during the social movement were full of emotions like fear, anxiety, anger, despair, hope, and trauma. As mentioned before, the fear of being expelled from the neighborhood had been decisive for the participants to initiate the social movement to defend their rights. During the whole social movement, the participants experienced both good and bad developments like state of executions and cancellation of state of executions, getting news that their houses would be demolished and the real demolishing of their houses. All this made this social struggle process heavily full of such emotions as anxiety, anger, hope, and despair. This is consistent with the findings of the earlier studies which pointed out that “oppressed populations could repurpose the feeling of rage and anger toward injustice and use it to facilitate their learning about themselves and their lived realities and how they can change those realities while at the same time building feelings of community and connectedness (Bowles, 2006; Woodin, 2007)” (cited in Atta & Holst, 2023, p. 183). The present study’s findings are in line with the

assertion that “emotions either triggered, mediated, or enhanced the learning process in social movements” (Atta & Holst, 2023, p. 183). The present study also shows that the emotional dimension of the process of social struggle against urban transformation has been especially strong as regards the radical social changes that occurred in the relationships between yesterday’s close neighborhoods as these were divided into two opposite camps that approve and disapprove of the urban transformation. The present study revealed that the urban transformation has been traumatic in terms of these decades-long social relationships between the residents of the neighborhood of which the participants are a part.

Learning in social movements manifests informal characteristics extensively in terms of its means and ways of attainment as well. In the present study, the means and ways of learning of the participants of the social movement were also informal under various forms of this type of learning.

Livingstone (2001) defines informal learning as “any activity involving the pursuit of understanding, knowledge skill which occurs outside the curricula of educational institutions, or the courses or workshops offered by educational or social agencies”. As to Foley (1999), social movement learning is “largely informal and often incidental” (p. 3). Similarly, the present study shows that the learning of the participants of the social movement has been realized without any presence of an educational institution and a curriculum.

Social movements constitute contexts for the learning experiences of their participants. Marsick (2018) pointed out that this contextual characteristic makes the learning of adults mostly informal. In the present study, it is revealed that the social movement created a new social situation in the neighborhood which, in turn, brought

new life and informal learning experiences for the participants in all main spheres like home, family, and the neighborhood.

A social movement is built, above all, upon a practical issue or problem that the people are confronted with. This makes informal learning in these movements to a large extent a practical character also, which has been indicated in earlier studies on this type of learning (Livingstone, 2001). Likewise, the present study shows that the learning processes of the participants were to a large extent practical in so far as they struggled to find a satisfying solution to their practical problem of the preservation of their rights to their houses. All of the informal learning of the participants in the study emanated entirely from the practical purpose of the participants of the social movement.

Social movements are also, above all, full of human interactions since these are movements composed of people in the pursuit of specific practical aims. Embedded in the daily collective life experiences of the social movement, learning experiences are determined by and dependent on human interaction to a great extent. This characteristic of social movement learning can be considered a relational one (Marsick, 2018; Garrick & Boud, 2000; Hall, 2005). Similarly, the present study shows that the social relationships in all spheres of societal life (home, family, community) in the neighborhood constituted the exclusive sources of the informal learning processes of the participants throughout the social movement.

The relational character of informal learning is of particular importance in the context of social movements in terms of the formation and development of these movements as well. This is the case for the interaction between people who are called “movement intellectuals” (Hodgen 1925; Holford 1994; Freire 1972) and the participants of the social movement. Movement intellectuals can be described as

those people who are in a position to initiate and lead the movement due to their capacity to provide knowledge for the participants. The present study indicates that major informal learning from interactions with knowledgeable (informant) people occurred during the social movement and this has been a major learning path for the participants who gathered with the initiator and the lawyers in the organization. Some participants learned about their rights through observing and listening to the discussions in these meetings, a learning path described as “learning by observing” in the literature (Foroughi, 2013, p. 46). Similarly, according to Atta and Holst (2023), learning in social movement “does not happen spontaneously or in isolation from others; it is the product of specific people’s actions concerning others that are pedagogical in nature whether consciously so or not. Therefore, there are people in movements who educate through what they do in the movement” (p. 185). Moreover, this specific form of informal learning had a decisive impact on the initiation and further development of the social movement. Likewise, Seçkin (2008) reported that “accessing knowledge at the beginning days of the movement has played a significant role in changing villagers’ initial thoughts and being opposed to the gold mining operations in the region” (p.74).

The present study also indicates that,, informal learning of the participants through their first interaction with the initiator of the social movement, was incidental at the very beginning. Consequently, it gained a self-directed collective learning character which comprised intentionality in the subsequent development of the social movement with the incorporation of both the initiator and the lawyers in planned meetings for needs of knowledge and related steps of actions to be taken. This conforms to that aspect of informal learning which is conceptualized as deliberative in the literature (Eraut, 2004).

The relational aspect of informal learning in this social movement is apparent in the self-directed learning efforts of the individual activists of the movement who looked for knowledge about the various technical and legal details of the urban transformation to generate knowledge for the rest of the participants. In this respect, the study also shows that some of the activists assumed the role of adult educators in the social movement.

Finally, the Tokatköy Neighborhood Assistance and Solidarity Association founded by the participants became a space of learning since many meetings, discussions, and interactions in the movement took place in this space. Foley (1999) investigated the neighborhood houses in two Australian cities as being sites of struggle and concluded that these sites were at the same time spaces of informal learning for the participants. Similarly, the present study shows that the organization set up by the participants functioned as an informal learning space for them. As Lindeman (1926) asserts adult learning is a continuing process of evaluating experiences, the participants of the movement meet in the learning space of the social movement organization for a continuous evaluation of the experiences in the light of the progress of the movement.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the conclusion, the implications, and the limitations of the study will be presented.

6.1 Conclusion

The present study investigated the informal learning experiences of the participants during the social movement in response to the urban transformation in the Tokatköy neighborhood of Beykoz municipality of Istanbul as well as the outcomes of these learning experiences.

The informal learning of the participants during the social movement is based on a very significant practical purpose: preserving their rights to their houses during the urban transformation process. This learning emerged due to the development of an awareness in the participants that the urban transformation may result in the loss of these rights and their exclusion from the neighborhood, that is gentrification.

During this process, the participants' conception of urban transformation changed from conceiving urban transformation just as a simple renewal of the houses to one that urban transformation involved the production of economic rent that would lead to the exclusion from the neighborhood if they can not afford to pay for the renewed ones. This informal learning experience thus comprised an awareness of the production of rent as a characteristic of urban transformation for the participants. Against this "rental transformation", they labeled, the participants developed their conception of urban transformation that would maintain their rights for their houses without any risk of gentrification. The participants exhibited a considerable effort to

acquire information about the substance of urban transformation policies and practices on the one hand, and the ways and means to prevent any possibility of gentrification on the other.

The formation of the social movement was the most important practical outcome of the informal learning of the participants. It was also this social movement that opened the way to new life experiences in which further informal learning was embedded and acquired by the participants. The social movement itself, with its solidarity organization established by the participants, provided a milieu for the participants to interact, exchange ideas, and plan new actions in the context of the social movement.

The social relationships that emerged among various actors and the participants were the main source of informal learning. The knowledgeable/informant people like the initiator and the lawyers were two such important sources of informal learning that enabled them to pursue their rights through various processes, including legal ones. As regards the latter, the state became an entity about which a lawsuit could now be opened, a fact unthinkable until then for many, which corresponded to informal learning in terms of values, attitudes, and views on the part of the participants.

In their search for the preservation of their rights, the participants were driven to new sources of learning. This was in the form of seeking knowledge from people in other neighborhoods where similar urban transformation projects had been and were being executed. Some of the participants established this interaction individually in the form of individual self-directed learning while others visited these neighborhoods in groups. Self-directed learning was a way, especially for the

activists of the movement who felt the need to accumulate and provide knowledge for the movement.

An important outcome of the learning experiences of the participants was an awareness of the importance of learning in societal life. On the eve of the social movement, the participants experienced the desperation caused by the lack of knowledge and the submissive attitude in the face of the urban transformation that they had adopted. However, with the acquisition of knowledge from the initiator and then from the lawyers, this desperation left its place in the subsequent empowerment of the participants. This created an awareness in the participants about their lack of knowledge as well as lack of social and human capital in their neighborhood which could empower them in the face of such policies as the urban transformation.

Finally, for all the participants, the social movement they formed in response to the urban transformation was their first experience of social struggle. Until this movement, all participants were passive citizens. This social movement changed the position of the participants into active and critical citizens, defending their rights in the face of such entities as the state, the courts, etc. With this social movement against urban transformation, the participants learned new knowledge and skills. Consequently, they changed. Through the informal learning experiences during the social movement, the participants witnessed attitudes, values, and behaviors such as resistance, solidarity, unity, and friendship in the context of a social struggle. The social movement instilled in the participants the notion of getting organized in an organization and a social movement for their rights.

6.2 Implications of the study

As the present study showed, since informal learning plays a crucial role in the formation of social movements, scholars in the social science fields investigating these movements can get valuable information from such research on informal learning. In addition, those stakeholders in society at large, like social movement activists and social institutions who are directly involved in the practice of social movements can benefit from such studies on the informal learning of adults.

6.3 Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research

This study serves to add to the literature on the informal learning of adult people in the specific context of a social movement formed in response to an urban transformation in a particular neighborhood of a municipality of Istanbul. The phenomenon under study is a bounded one. Also, only ten participants out of several dozen have been interviewed. Therefore, the study is subject to limitations arising from the specific context of a neighborhood with its peculiarities. The context of the study is a working-class marginal neighborhood that has a low socioeconomic status with a high dependency on the ruling party both materially and spiritually. The participants had no previous social struggle and political organization experience in their lifetimes. These specific context peculiarities may have limited the learning of the participants. As Atta and Holst (2023) pointed out “the movement's context affects the types of activism of the movement” and “researchers need to study the relationships between the goals of a movement, the worldviews of a movement’s members, and the movement’s sociohistorical circumstances” (p. 184). Also, the following indication fits well with the present study in terms of the specific characteristics of the social movement under study: Some social movements “face or

emerge in contexts with less favorable conditions for learning and education and must create them as they begin to respond to existing injustices and inequalities” (Atta & Holst, 2023, p. 185). For future research, specific aspects of socioeconomic status, the economic dependencies as well as the political and ideological affiliations of participants should be taken into account in terms of finding out the learning potential of the context of the study. Finally, the interview was the only source of data for the present study. Studies utilizing ethnography as a research method would provide a more in-depth and rich understanding of the dynamics of informal learning in a social movement context.

APPENDIX A

CONSENT FROM THE ETHICAL COMMITTEE

T.C.
BOĞAZIÇI ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ BİLİMLER YÜKSEK LİSANS VE DOKTORA TEZLERİ ETİK İNCELEME
KOMİSYONU
TOPLANTI KARAR TUTANAĞI

Toplantı Sayısı : 41
Toplantı Tarihi : 01.03.2023
Toplantı Saati : 14:00
Toplantı Yeri : Zoom Sanal Toplantı
Bulunanlar : Prof. Dr. Feyza Çorapçı, Doç. Dr. Arhan S. Ertan, Doç. Dr. Senem Yıldız, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi
Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ayşegül Metindoğan
Bulunmayanlar :

Erdal Ulvi İçil
Eğitim Bilimleri Bilimleri

Sayın Araştırmacı,

"Informal Learning in The Struggle Against Urban Transformation in a District of İstanbul" başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığımız SBB-EAK 2023/23 sayılı başvuru komisyonumuz tarafından 1 Mart 2023 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.

Bu karar üyelerin toplantıya çevrimiçi olarak katılımı ve oy birliği ile alınmıştır. Onay mektubu üye ve raportör olarak Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen tarafından toplantıya katılan bütün üyeler adına e-imzalanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla, bilgilerinizi rica ederiz.

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin
SOHTORİK İLKMEN
Öğretim Üyesi

e-imzalıdır
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin Sohtorik
İlkmen
Öğretim Üyesi
Raportör

SOBETİK 41 01.03.2023

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS IN ENGLISH

Please provide the following information:

Your place and date of birth:

Your educational status:

Your profession/job:

How many years have you been living in Istanbul and Tokatköy?

Your marital status?

Do you have children? If so, how many?

Do/did they receive training?

- 1) Could you please tell us briefly about yourself and your family?
- 2) Could you tell us about your house and life, which is subject to urban transformation in Tokatköy?
- 3) Could you please tell us about your participation in the movement against urban transformation?
- 4) Did you learn anything throughout the movement?
- 5) Has urban transformation and the movement against urban transformation made any changes in your daily life?
- 6) Has there been a change in your thoughts since you joined this movement?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS IN TURKISH

Lütfen belirtiniz:

Doğum yeriniz ve tarihi:

Eğitim durumunuz:

Mesleğiniz/işiniz:

Kaç yıldır İstanbul'da ve Tokatköy'de yaşıyorsunuz?

Medeni durumunuz?

Çocuğunuz var mı? Varsa, kaç tane?

Eğitim alıyorlar mı/aldılar mı?

- 1) Kendinizden ve ailenizden kısaca bahseder misiniz lütfen?
- 2) Tokatköy'deki kentsel dönüşüme konu olan evinizden ve yaşamınızdan bahseder misiniz?
- 3) Kentsel dönüşüme karşı harekete katılımınızdan bahseder misiniz lütfen?
- 4) Hareket boyunca bir şeyler öğrendiniz mi?
- 5) Kentsel dönüşüm ve kentsel dönüşüme karşı hareket gündelik yaşamınızda bir değişiklik yarattı mı?
- 6) Bu harekete katılmanızla birlikte düşüncelerinizde bir değişiklik oldu mu?

APPENDIX D

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Supporting Institution: Boğaziçi University

Title of Study: Informal learning in the struggle against urban transformation in a district of İstanbul

Project Coordinator: Assoc. Prof. Havva Ayşe Caner

E-mail address: XXX@boun.edu.tr

Phone: Ayşe Havva Caner: 0XXX XXX XX XX

Name of Researcher: Erdal Ulvi İçil

E-mail address: XXXXX@boun.edu.tr

Phone: 0XXXXXXXXXX

Dear Participant,

Erdal Ulvi İçil, Boğaziçi University Educational Sciences master's student, within the scope of his master's thesis and under the supervision of Faculty Member Assoc. Prof.H. Ayşe Caner is conducting a research project titled “Informal learning in the struggle against urban transformation in a district of İstanbul”.

This study aims to determine and investigate the informal learning processes of those who take part in the social movement against the urban transformation project and its implementation in Beykoz Tokatköy, İstanbul. Informal learning can be defined as learning that takes place spontaneously and often without the person being aware of it, not in an educational institution such as primary school, secondary school, high school or university, but in a non-institutional environment, in a person's daily life, which may not be for learning purposes.

If you agree to participate in the study, interview questions will begin. The interview takes approximately 60 minutes. The interview will be held face to face.

The interviews will be held at the Beykoz Tokatköy Neighborhood Assistance and Solidarity Association Office (Established: 22.07.2022). (The address and contact information is as follows: Tokatköy Mahallesi Sultanaziz Caddesi No: 184 Beykoz/İstanbul. President of the Association: XXX XXXX. Phone: 0XXXXXXXXXX).

Interviews will be recorded upon your approval via a voice recorder. If you do not approve audio recordings, the interview will be recorded by taking notes. In this research your personal information will be kept confidential. The information received from you will be kept in an encrypted file on the researcher's personal computer. Your name will not be taken in the interviews and you will be given code

names instead of your own names and the data will be analyzed with these code names. Access to the data will be open only to the researcher. The data will be analyzed in aggregate and anonymously. This research will be conducted for a scientific purpose and the data will be presented only in scientific environments (conference, congress, etc.).

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. If you participate in the study, you will not receive any payment. If you participate, you will also have the right to withdraw your consent at any stage of the study without giving any reason. In this case, the sample we received from you will be destroyed. The research we want to do is not expected to pose any risk to you.

Please ask if you have any questions about the study before signing this form. If you would like additional information later, please contact Project Coordinator (Phone: 0XXXXX XXX XX XX). You can consult Boğaziçi University Social and Human Sciences Master's and Doctoral Thesis Ethics Review Committee (SOBETİK) via the email address sbe-ethics@boun.edu.tr from da (+90) 212-359 6810) regarding your rights regarding research.

I understand what was told to me and what was written above. I have/do not want to receive a copy of this form (in this case the researcher keeps this copy).

Please indicate your decision regarding the following options regarding voice recording approval by checking the box:

- I agree to be audio recorded.
- I do not agree to be audio recorded.

I agree to participate in the study.

Participant's Name- Surname:

Signature:

E-mail address*.....

Date (day/month/year): /...../.....

*If you would like to know the results of the research, please share your e-mail address with us.

* If you do not have the opportunity to sign this form digitally, please write "I understand what has been explained to me and what is written above. I have received a copy of this form / I do not want to receive a copy (in this case the researcher will keep this copy). Please write "I agree to participate in the study".

APPENDIX E

KATILIMCI BİLGİ ve ONAM FORMU

Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Araştırmanın adı: İstanbul'un bir semtindeki kentsel dönüşüme karşı toplumsal mücadeledeki katılımcıların enformel öğrenme süreçleri

Proje Yürütücüsü: Doç. Dr. H. Ayşe Caner

E-posta adresi: XXX@boun.edu.tr

Telefon: 0XXXXXXXXXX

Araştırmacının adı: Erdal Ulvi İçil

E-posta adresi: XXX@boun.edu.tr

Telefon: 0XXXXXXXXXX

Sayın Katılımcı,

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri yüksek lisans öğrencisi Erdal Ulvi İçil, yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında Öğretim Üyesi Doç. Dr. H. Ayşe Caner'in danışmanlığında "İstanbul'un bir semtindeki kentsel dönüşüme karşı toplumsal mücadeledeki katılımcıların enformel öğrenme süreçleri" başlıklı bir araştırma projesi yürütmektedir. Bu çalışmada İstanbul Beykoz Tokatköy'deki kentsel dönüşüm projesine ve uygulamasına karşı gelişen toplumsal harekette yer alanların enformel öğrenme süreçlerini belirlemek ve araştırmak amaçlanmaktadır. Enformel öğrenme ilkökul, ortaokul, lise, üniversite gibi bir eğitim/öğretim kurumunda değil, kurumsal olmayan bir ortamda, kişinin gündelik yaşamı içinde, öğrenme amaçlı olmayabilecek, kendiliğinden ve çoğu zaman kişi farkında olmaksızın gerçekleşen öğrenme olarak tanımlanabilir.

Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde görüşme sorularına başlanacaktır. Görüşme yaklaşık 60 dakika sürmektedir. Görüşme yüz yüze yapılacaktır.

Görüşmeler Beykoz Tokatköy Mahallesi Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği Ofisi'nde (Kuruluşu: 22.07.2022) gerçekleştirilecektir. (Adresi ve iletişim bilgisi şöyledir: Tokatköy Mahallesi Sultanaziz Caddesi No: 184 Beykoz/İstanbul. Dernek Başkanı: Özge Kanbur. Telefon numarası: 0539 339 88 03).

Görüşmeler onayınızla ses kayıt cihazı ile kayıt altına alınacaktır. Ses kaydına onay vermek istemezseniz sizinle yapılacak görüşmeler not tutularak kaydedilecektir. Bu araştırmada kişisel bilgileriniz gizli tutulacaktır. Sizden alınan bilgiler araştırmacının kişisel bilgisayarında şifreli bir dosyada tutulacaktır. Görüşmelerde isminiz

alınmayacak ve kendi isimleriniz yerine size kod isim verilecektir ve veriler bu kod ismiyle analiz edilecektir. Verilere erişim sadece araştırmacıya açık olacaktır. Veriler toplu halde ve anonim olarak analiz edilecektir. Bu araştırma bilimsel bir amaçla yapılacaktır ve veriler yalnızca bilimsel bir ortamda (konferans, kongre vs.) sunulacaktır.

Çalışmaya katılmanız tamamen gönüllülük esastır. Çalışmaya katılmanız durumunda size herhangi bir ücret ödenmeyecektir. İstedığınız zaman çalışmaya katılmaktan vazgeçebilirsiniz. Bu durumda sizden almış olduğumuz örnek imha edilecektir. Yapmak istediğimiz araştırmanın size risk getirmesi beklenmemektedir.

Bu formu imzalamadan önce, çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız varsa lütfen sorun. Daha sonra sorunuz olursa, proje yürütücüsüne (Ofis Telefonu: 0 212 359 4615) sorabilirsiniz. Araştırmayla ilgili haklarınız konusunda veya şikâyetleriniz için Boğaziçi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Kurulu'na (SOBETİK) Kuruluna sbe-ethics@boun.edu.tr mail adresinden ya da (+90) 212-359 6810 nolu telefondan danışabilirsiniz.

Bana anlatılanları ve yukarıda yazılanları anladım. Bu formun bir örneğini aldım / almak istemiyorum (bu durumda araştırmacı bu kopyayı saklar).

Ses kaydı onayı ile ilgili olarak aşağıdaki seçeneklere ilişkin kararınızı kutucuğu işaretleyerek belirtiniz:

Görüşmede sesimin kaydedilmesini onaylıyorum

Görüşmede sesimin kaydedilmesini onaylamıyorum

Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Katılımcı Adı-Soyadı:

İmzası:

E-posta adresi*:

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):/...../.....

*Eğer araştırma sonucunu öğrenmek istiyorsanız lütfen e-posta adresinizi bizimle paylaşınız.

* Eğer bu formu dijital bir şekilde imzalama imkânınız yoksa, bu formun size gönderildiği e-mail adresine cevap olarak "Bana anlatılanları ve yukarıda yazılanları anladım. Bu formun bir örneğini aldım / almak istemiyorum (bu durumda araştırmacı bu kopyayı saklar). Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum." şeklinde yazınız.

APPENDIX F

QUOTES IN TURKISH

1) Biz bir arsa aldık şahıstan ve belli bir süre ekip biçtik tarlayı. Sonra annem ‘ev yapalım artık’ dedi babama. O süreçte de ben çalışmaya başladım kızkardeşim de çalışmaya başladı. O zamanki şartlarla okuma şeyi birimizi feragat ettirip birimiz okuyabildik. En büyüğümüzle en küçüğümüz lise okudu. Bir gecede gecekonduyu yaptık. Ve hiç unutmuyorum o gece toprakta yattığımız halde saray gibi gelir mi orası, saray gibi geldi. Yavaş yavaş evin içini o şekilde yaptık. Annem ayrılmak isteyince üst kata da bir çatı katı yaptık. Yaparken cepte para yok, konu komşudan borç alarak yani tuğlasını bile biz dizerek. Ve o insanlar o şekilde evlere geçtiklerinde yani mutlulukları paha biçilmez bir şey yani tarif edilmez.

2) Babam buraya geleli 45 sene. Burada arsa alıyorlar. Babam bankada çalışırken yapılmış o ev. Yalnız annem şöyle tabir eder: ‘Pazara giderdim üç çeşit alırdım meyveyi’ der. ‘Meyveleri üçe bölerdim. Hemen yenecekler, sonra yenecekler, daha sonra yenilebilecekler’. Babam fiziki anlamda mesela evde hiç çalışmamış, hep mesaiye kalıp para kazanmak zorunda kaldığı için bankadan aldığı maaşla evi geçindirip mesai ile de ev yapılmış. 4. katını kendim yaptım. Borcum olduğu için o kadar zor bir süreçti ki. Bu evi yaparken de hamileydim, erken doğum oldu bebeğimi de kaybettim. Evin borcu var diye ben 21 gün sonra işbaşı yapmak zorunda kaldım. Çünkü izin alamıyorsunuz, markette çalışıyordum, işyeri çağırıyor, mecbur gitmek zorundasınız.

3) Ailemin anlattığı kadarıyla işte, sonuçta, babam gece vardiyasında da çalışıyordu, gündüz de çalışıyordu ve çok pis bir ortamda çalışıyordu, tabakhane denilen bölümde. Zorluklarla yapıldığını biliyorum.

4) 1978 senesinde Giresun Bulancak kazasından İstanbul'a göç ettik. Kundura fabrikasında Rahmetlik babam İşçi olarak fabrikaya girdi. Bir arsa aldık oradan işte barınma amaçlı. Kendimize bir gecekonduyu yaptık.

5) Kayınpederim sağ olsun 3 katlı bir ev yapmış alt katta oturuyorum. Kayınpederim diyaliz hastasıydı. bütün çocuklarına bir göz oda yapayım diyerekten inanın diyalize giderdi, gelirdi o kollarında tüplerle çatı katını yapardı. İnanın gözümün önünde. Kanlar böyle kollarından fışkırıyor. Yani ‘benim emeğim olsun’ çünkü maddi gücü de yok. Çimentoları üçüncü kata çekiyor o ipleri kendi gücüyle vinç değil de kendi beden gücüyle. Yani bu şekilde bu evler yapıldı, zorluklarla. Tabii, tadilat yapmak için hani biraz daha böyle sürekli çalışman gerekiyor imkanlar el vermiyor. Hani diyelim mutfağına perdelerini yaptırayım, bir banyosunu tadilat yaptırayım, bu şekilde, yani evlerimizi donattık.

6) Bu ev 1990 senesinde yapıldı. Zor şartlarda yapıldı. Bir ay küçük küçük bir ay işte kalebodur'unu aldık yapıldı işte banyosu yapıldı bir ay bir şeyi yapıldı işte böyle bir süreçti yani çok zor şartlar altında yapıldı. Çok zor şartlarda yani onu ben biliyorum. Babamı kaybettikten sonra, bir tek emekli maaşı vardı işte. Düşünebiliyor musunuz? Annem hatta Almanya'ya gitti çalıştı.

7) Dedem oranın toprak sahibinden toprağı satın alıyor sonra üzerinde toprağın üzerinde rahmetli dedem fabrikada çalışırken işten çıkışta inşaat için işte briket ı imal ediyor. Evleri daha sonda 1980'lerde inşa ediyor ve beş oğlu ile kızına birer tane ev veriyor... eski imkanları kullanarak dışından tırnağından biriktirmiş gecesini gündüzüne katmış.

8) O yeri aldık ve bir ev yaptık. Kendi gücümüzle, beyim de ustaydı, kaba inşaatını müteahhite verdik, ince işçiliğini beyim yaptı.

9) Taş evimiz vardı orada neredeyse hemen hemen bir yüzyıla yakın, babam, halalarım, ben ve çocuklarım orada doğduk. Bu sefer aşağıdaki ev bize küçük gelmeye başladı, orası gecekonduydu, dedik ki, biz bunu sağlamlaştıralım beton atalım.

10) Mutlu bir hayatımız vardı. Kırk yıl sürdü. Bunun gibi 4 kat böyle bir ev yaptık, dört erkek kardeş burada kırk yık kaldık. Güzel bir mahallede bahçeli bir evimiz vardı. Herkes bizim bahçede düğününü yapardı. Annem herkese bir şey verirdi.

11) Mutluyduk. Ekonomik anlamda da daha rahattık daha huzurluyduk. Bahçemiz vardı annem babam orda tarımla uğraşıyordu. Güzel bir yaşamdı öyle söyleyelim çünkü mahalle ortamı, mahalle kültürü, işte komşuluklar, anahtarlar kapıda, herkes birbirinin evinin içine rahatça girebiliyor. Hepimiz kardeş gibiydik. O evden o eve giderdik. Bir aile yaşamıydı, büyük bir aileydi.

12) Bahçemizi bir görseniz fotoğraflarımız var...Bahçemiz çok güzeldi, bizim çiçeklerimiz, ağaçlarımız mükemmeldi hocam. Biz burda böyle komşularımız çok rahattık. Burda herkes birbirini tanıyordu.

13) Böyle bir cennet, yani düşünsenize, alt katta esnafılık yapıyorsunuz, üst katta oturuyorsunuz, hepsi de size ait, eşiniz camdan bağırsa, 'buyur hanım' diyorsun, işte bir aile düzenim var.

14) Hayatımız çok güzeldi, komşuluğumuz çok iyiydi. Çok güzeldi, öyle bir yaşamı ben şimdi görmüyorum, biz bir şey yaptığımızda oturup beraber yerdik. Sabahtan beylerimiz işe giderdi biz hanımlar evin işini yapardık çocuklarımızı da dışarı salardık gözetlerdik otururduk.

15) İnanın yaz olduğu zaman benim eski kapaklı dolaplarım vardı o bahçeye çıkar fazladan tabaklarımız çıkar bahçeye bahçede iyi kötü bir şeyler dikiyorsunuz mutfakta yemek yapmazdık çeşmemiz vardı bahçemizde çardağımız vardı asmamız vardı erik ağacımız incir ağacımız vardı şeftali ağacımız vardı bir taraftan ekiyorsunuz kilimleri yayıyorduk minderlerimiz yazın keyfini çok rahat çıkarıyorduk. Çiçekler dikiyordum, güllerimiz vardı bahçede, yani nasıl diyeyim büyük bir kentte hem bir köy hayatı yaşıyorsunuz metropolde kendi eviniz yani.

16) Orayı bir mahalle haline getiren tabii ki oranın insanları oldu yollar insanlar tarafından açıldı para verilerek işte elektrik direkleri kendileri tarafından getirildi kanalizasyonlar yine insanlar tarafından yapıldı yani orda bir yaşam kurmayı

sağlayan her şeyi insanlar yaptı açıkçası orayı bir kültür bir mahalle haline getiren bizim insanımızdı babamlar babamın arkadaşları.

17) Benim beyim hasta olduğunda allah şu abiden razı olsun ben bir kadın başıma nereye götürebilirdim? Adamın ağzında altın dişi vardı altın dişini söktü mahalleye öyle elektrik getirdi öyle gelişti bu mahalle.

18) Ben çayımı içiyorsam karşımdaki bir kurabiye getirir çayın yanına onun çocuğuna siz bakardınız sizin çocuğunuza o bakardı tedavilerinizle ilgili ölüm mü var inanın bir hafta o cenaze olan evde yemek pişmezdi herkes bir şey yapar.

19) Şimdi o günleri yaşayıp da şu günlere gelip evinin yıkılması ben şahsi olarak evimin yıkılmasını seyredemedim yani kapıyı kitledim çıktım gittim yani ondan sonra daha uğramadım çünkü onun o şekilde yıkılmasını seyredemezdim.

20) Ben 38 yaşındayım o 38 senenin getirmiş olduğu bir alışkanlık var. Herşeyimiz ordaydı. Ama adamlar geldi yıktı yani büyük problem. Çok zor süreçler yaşattılar bize burda.

21) Önceki belediye başkanı kimseye burada zorla iş yapmazken şimdiki geldi burda acımadığı insanların evlerini yıktı. 4800 polisle yaka paça koçbaşıyla evleri yıkmaya geldin milleti zorla sokağa döktün. Dünyada görülmemiş içinde yaşam olan bir evi zorla boşaltmak.

22)10-12 sene öncesinden beri babam sürekli “işte bir dernek kuralım işte bir şeyler yapalım buralara dönüşüm gelir bunlar bize buraları bırakmazlar” tarzında konuşuyordu zaten çok uzun zamandır. İşte çok uzun zamandır uğraşılıyor 12 13 sene garanti. Taksim’de gönüllü avukatlar derneği varmış çok gitti görüştü.

23) Toplantılar yapılıyordu işte, ben toplantıya falan katılmamıştım.

24) Gittim bire bir konuştum hani bize ne vereceksiniz, neler olacak, hani ne gibi haklarımız olacak.

25) Beykoz Belediyesi ile görüşmeye çalıştık. Belediye başkan yardımcısıyla görüşüldü ve hepsinin ağzında tek bir şey var: İmza atın.

26) Buna önce kimse imza atmadı.

27) Bizi tehdit etmeye başladılar imzalamazsanız moloz parası alacaksınız.

28) Mühendis bey tuttu eğer dediler imzanızı atmazsanız haklarınızdan olursunuz haklarınızdan olursunuz. size moloz parası verilir sizi gönderirler haklarınızı vermezler. Hani bu şekilde bizi korkuttu.

29) İmzalamadım ben. Benim çocuklarıma sürekli tehdit amacıyla imza atmaları için git imza at götür annene imza atsin.

30) Bu sefer korkarak tabii insanları teşvik ettiler imza atmaya.

- 31) Sonra Ortaçeşme'ye indim ve imzaladık.
- 32) Bi gittik herkes orda kuyruk oluşmuş korktu insanlar.
- 33) Babam dedi ki 'ben asla imza atmıcam'.
- 34) İmzalamadım ben.
- 35) Burada Harun diye bir arkadaşımız var O da bu İnşaat işlerinden anlıyor böyle bir işte çalışıyor teknik olayı o daha çok biliyordu. Oradan başladık biz. İşte sonra imzaları geri çektik.
- 36) Harun'u dinledikten sonra biz bir sefer dinledik ikinci bir dinleme olmadı yarım saat bir konuşma yaptı kesinlikle gittik hemen imzayı geri çekmeye hiç durmadık arkasında durduk güvendiğimiz insanlar öncülük yaptılar hepimiz imzalarımızı çektik.
- 37) Karşımızdaki 3 tane ev bu proje başlarken ilk önce evlerini yıktırdılar.
- 38) Samimi böyle komşularımızla yani merhametli düzgün komşularımızla biraraya geldik. Biraz örgütlendik. Bir dernek kurduk. Bir avukat tuttuk. Mücadele yoluna girdik.
- 39) Biz birazcık daha bir örgütlenmeye başladık. Bazen 100 kişi oluyordu yani insan kalabalıklaşmaya başladık. Bir örgüt gibi olduk.
- 40) Belediyenin önündeydik 200-300 kişilik bir grubumuz gittik taleplerimizi söyledik birçok talebimiz vardı işte kira yardımlarının günümüz şartlarına uyarlanmasını istedik muvafakatın karşılıklı noter huzurunda imzalanmasını istedik yeni darelerin fiyatlarının belli olmasını istedik birçok isteğimiz vardı yani biz belirsizliği ortadan kaldırmak istedik.
- 41) Sesimizi duyurduk yani basına duyurduk televizyonlara duyurduk.
- 42) Cumhurbaşkanı yardımcısı ile görüştük. Düğün günü onun önünü kestik. Brada ben ve bir kızımız ona anlattık.
- 43) Avukatlar geldi ve bize bilgi vermeye başladılar.
- 44) Görev dağılımı yaptık arkadaşlar arasında. Ben sokak işleri işte bu imza çektirme olayları arkadaşlara bilgi vermek basın şeylerini ben takip ettim. Harun arkadaşımıza hukuki görevi verdik.
- 45) Mahallede derneğimiz vardı bizim hep ordaydık biz orda konuşuyorduk.
- 46) Oraya biz yer açtık her gün oraya zaten işten gelen oraya gelir orada toplanıyorduk. Toplanmaya başladık. Bu arada her akşam toplanıyoruz hafta sonu genel toplantı. Evler yıkılıncaya kadar toplanmaya devam ettik.
- 47) Herkes bir fikir ortaya attı.

- 48) Dik duralım.
- 49) Biz sürekli toplanıp devam mıyız yoksa dağılıyor muyuz diye check ettik.
- 50) Toplantıların bir zaafı herkese açık olmasıydı böylece karşı taraftakiler bütün adımlardan önceden haberdardı.
- 51) İmar planlarını burada iptal ettirdik yürütmeyi durdurma.
- 52) Bu zalimler üç dört ayı bizi elektriksiz susuz doğal gazsız bıraktı.
- 53) Elektriklerini sularını kestiler insanların.
- 54) Bizim eve gelmeden önce hemen yanımızdaki ailenin oturduğu eve geldiler. Orada büyük bir kargaşa oldu, E abin evinin orada olduğu gibi. Polis onu aldı, beş kişi üzerine çullandı ve yere yatırdı.
- 55) Yasal haklarımızı bilmemiz gerekiyor.
- 56) Muvafakatnameye bakıyorsun evet bir şeyler garip haklarımızı kaybetmekten korktuk araştırdık.
- 57) Toplantılarda işte biz bilgi sahibi olmaya başlayınca, bazı haklarımız olduğunu öğrendikten sonra, devam etmeye karar verdik.
- 58) Öğretmen yok burada, birkaç hemşire çıkar, ne bir doktor ne bir hakim yaşamıyor burda.
- 59) Burada ne hukukçu var ne doktoru var ne mühendisi var emekçi insanlar gariban insanlar.
- 60) Bilgili insanlar olmasa biz şu anda yani yapayalnız kalırdık bu süreçte. Harun bizi bilgilendirdi. Çoğumuz bunları bilmediğimiz için Harun ve avukatlar aracılığıyla bayağı ilerleme kaydettik.
- 61) Harun var o çok bilinçli bir şekilde bize açıklamalarını yaptı.
- 62) Burada Harun diye bir arkadaşımız var o da bu inşaat işlerinden anlıyor böyle bir işte çalışıyor falan bu iş dedi böyle olmaz bunlar yanlış yapıyor. Tamam bizim de kafamıza yatmıyor ama teknik olayı o daha çok biliyordu. Yani burada ne çıkıyor akıl ve bilim okumak çıktı hocam o işin içindeydi de biliyordu o bizim şansımız oldu Harun bu sefer dedi ki biz birlik olalım.
- 63) Allah razı olsun Harun bizi çok aydınlattı ve de çok güveniyorum Harun abi olmasaydı biz ne yapardık? Ben olan biteni anlamamıştım hepsini gittim getirdim Harun'u dinledikten sonra biz bir sefer dinledik ikinci bir dinleme olmadı yarım saat bir konuşma yaptı kesinlikle gittik hemen imzayı geri çekmeye hiç durmadık arkasında durduk güvendiğimiz insanlar öncülük yaptılar ve biz onlar konuşurken hep dinledik ben 6 ay dinledim onları Harun'un konuşmasıyla kafamda 180 derece

değişiklik oldu. Bir de şeyi öğrendik ne olursa olsun benim orada hakkımın olduğunu anlattı. Harun abiyi tanımasak belki de biz de kabul etmiştik.

64) Avukat arkadaşı geldi 'teyzem ben bu yazıyı gördüm' dedi 'bunlar yapacaklar yarın ikindiye kadar süre bitiyor' dedi. 'Şimdi dava ettiniz ondan sonra bir hakkın yok' dedi. Kazanabilir miyim dedim 'kazanabilirsin teyze' dedi 'mahkemeye verirsin' dedi.

65) Bizim bu süreçte avukatlarımızdan öğrendiğimiz bir zilyet hakkımız var bunu bilmiyorduk. Avukatlar geldiler ve bize bilgi vermeye başladılar. burda kesinlikle bize bir şey verilmeyeceğini öngördük. Bize uzattıkları muvafakatnamede bize hiçbir hak tanımıyorlardı. Her şeyin ucu açık. Çoğumuz bunları bilmediğimiz için Harun ve avukatlar aracılığıyla bayağı ilerleme kaydettik.

66) Avukatlar sağolsun aracı oldular tebligat gelecek en son ihtimal artık imza [diye bilgi verdiler].

67) Şimdi hukuki bir yere kadar geldik biz imar planlarını iptal ettirdik. Şimdi rezerv planlarını imar planlarıyla alakalı olduğu için işte bu Kasım'ın 15'ine kadar bizim avukatlarımız dedi ki işte büyük ihtimalle onlar da iptal olur dedi.

68) Hatta sana senin gönlün kırılmasın diye sana der ki Tuzla'daki Zeytinburnu'daki Kastamonu veya Giresun'daki TOKİ konutlarından birini sana verdim git orada yaşa der diyor hiçbir şey olmaz vermez de diyor bir de seni borçlandırır diyor bu bilgi avukatlardan.

69) Öğrendiğimiz tek şey var okumak kesinlikle bir yerlere danışmamız lazım yani fikir alışverişi yaparak araştırarak ve imza atacağımız şeyi bin defa iki bin defa okumamız gerekiyor.

70) Hiçbir şeye okumadan imza atılmayacağını gördük ezbere iş yapılmayacağını gördük eğitimin şart olduğunu gördük dedikodunun ne kadar tehlikeli bir şey olduğunu gördük.

71) Okumak gerekiyor bilmek gerekiyor. Onun için ben şimdi mesela kentsel dönüşüm kitabı aldım okuyorum yani bana onu kattı diyebilirim. Bilgi sahibi olmamız gerekiyor ne olursa olsun kentsel dönüşüm ya da başka bir şey bir insanın başına geliyor bunu okuyarak araştırarak okumak gerekiyor. Kentsel dönüşümün bana kattığı eğitim, okumak ve bilgi. Bu işler böyle dinle imanla olmuyor.

72) Belki de bu şeyde bilseydik kentsel dönüşümün ne olduğunu nasıl yapıldığını belki bu şekilde en baştan imza vermeyerek arkadaşlarımızla komşularımızla anlatarak durumu şey yapabiliirdik yani karşı gelirdik hepimiz tek bir imza bile atmayabiliirdik.

73) Biz dört kardeşiz iki kız iki erkek. O zamanki şartlarla okuma şeyi birimizi feragat ettirip birimiz okuyabildik iki kardeş mecbur okuldan alındık. [Oğlumun] Üniversiteye gitmesini canı gönülden istiyorum. Çünkü bizim alamadığımız eğitimleri onların almasını istiyoruz. Çünkü Türkiye'de tek eğitim eğitim eğitim başka bir şey değil yani okumak zorundayız biz. Çünkü bu süreçte o kadar hiç

bilmediğimiz şeyleri öğrendik ki. Gelecek nesil en azından bilinçli olarak bildikleri bilerek hareket etsinler.

74) Ben bunları biraz daha inceledim bu iktidar partisinin bu yapmış olduğu bu kentsel dönüşüm çalışması buraya ait bir çalışma değil bunlar Türkiye genelinde böyle yapıyorlar Yani onu biz araştırdık, ben sordum bilgiyi. Cumhurbaşkanı kendi mahallesinde mesela biz duyuyoruz şeyde Üsküdar'da kendi mahallesinde güzel bir çalışma yapmış. Çünkü ben bunların en üst makamıyla görüştüğüm zaman Üsküdar Mahallesi hariç hepsine böyle bir muvafakatname hazırlamış bunlar.

75) İmar planı ile kentsel dönüşüm nasıl olması gerekiyor siz neler yaşadınız bu süreçler nasıl devam etti gibi sorulara da cevap verebilmem gerekiyordu açıkçası kendimi de eğitmem eğitime ihtiyacı da hissettim bu şekilde. Dünyada kentsel dönüşüm nasıl yapılıyor diye bunun örneklerine baktım işte makaleler var yabancı kaynaklar var bizimki gibi olmadığı kesin. Daha önce ilgimi çekmeyen öğrenmediğim ya da bilmediğim anlamlarını bilmediğim kavramları öğrenmeye başladım imar planı nedir rezerv yapı nedir hangi dava hangi mahkemede açılır işte davalar nasıl ilerler yürütmeyi durdurma ne bunun gibi şeyler öğrendim.

76) Ödeyemezsen satarsın efendim yürürsün gidersin gibi şey yaptılar. Ben bu binayı nasıl alacağım? Bu evi biz nasıl alacağız hani benim endişem bu mahalleye geri dönemeyeceğim.

77) Acaba evimizi alabilecek miyiz mevzusu var şimdi.

78) Burdaki yeşil alanın zenginlere peşkeş çekileceğini farkettilik mücadele ettik. Borçlandığım şeyi ödeyemeyeceksin... burda seni yaşatmayacak... şunu öğrendim gerçekten insanları artık doğdukları yere veya işte ilk başlangıçta nerden geldiyse Giresun'da gerçeği giriyorsun Trabzon'dan gelmişler Trabzon'a göndermek sadece biz o binalarda oturmak değil herkes ister güzel sağlam binalarda oturmak da burda seni yaşatmayacak. Borçlandığım şeyi ödeyemeyeceksin 'zenginlere bırak' İstanbul senin değil benim sen gidip köyünde ne yaparsan yap nasıl geçiniyorsan geçin.

79) Ben buradan şunu anlıyorum yani resmen Tokatköy halkını buradan kovdu yani kendi çıkarlarını gözeterek kendi menfaatlerini gözeterek Tokatköy halkının bir şekilde evinden zorbalıklı çıkarttılar yaşam hakkını zorla elinden aldı yaşam kültürünü.

80) Şunu fark ettim burada yıkılan sadece mahalle kültürünün dayanışmanın yok edilmesi idi. İnsanlar beton bloklar içinde birbirini tanımayacak sosyal ortamdan uzak evden işe işten eve. Beyaz yakalıların yaşadığı gibi bir sistem kurmaya çalıştılar bize.

81) Fakir halkız biz. Sen şimdi gidip Etiler'de Maya sitesinde bunu yapabilir misin?

82) Toplumun içine girince anlıyorsunuz sıkıntı sizde değil sadece birçok yerde var İzmir'de de var Adana'da varmış Ankara'da varmış sadece biz bundan haberdar olmadığımız için iletişim kuramamışız.

83) Mesela Tozkoparan'da biz de gittik oraya oradaki arkadaşlar da geldi buraya istişarede bulunduk neler yapılabilir nasıl olacak yani bu olayı yaşayanlarla kader

birliđi yapıyorsunuz. Mücadele etmeyi öğretti bugün ben bunu yaşıyorsam başka bir yerde olan bir şeyde onlarla gerekirse mücadele de edeceğiz.

84) Ondan öncesinde kentsel dönüşüm benim için bir anlam ifade etmiyordu çünkü hayatımda bir anlamı olan ya da araştırdığım ya da benim için nedir bir tanım yoktu açıkçası ancak içine girdiğimizde bu tanım oluşmaya başladı... Zaman içerisinde şunu da öğreniyoruz evet elektrik su vesaire kesilir kentsel dönüşümde ama riskli alanda kesilir o da ev daha doğrusu yaşam alanı tamamen tahliye olduktan sonra ileride oluşabilecek patlama su kaçağı vesaire bunları önlemek için rezerv yapıda ise bu imkansız böyle bir şey yok çünkü alan boş olması gerekiyor.

85) Şunu öğrendim birlik beraberliđi. Hakkımız için mücadele etmek zorundayız yenilmemek için zalime yenilmemek için daima mücadele haksızlığa karşı da susmamayı diliyorum yani haksızlık karşısında daima olacağız.

86) Kötü durumda olan insanlara işte yardım etmeyi birbirimize dayanışmayı öğrendik efendim mücadeleyi öğrendik.

87) Bana öğrettiđi şey eđer ki bu mahalle komple hep beraber oturup ayrışma dan birbirlerine destek vermesi gerekiyor. Çünkü birlik olmadan hiçbir şeyi başaramazsın.

88) Bizim başaramadığımız tek şey buydu birlik olsaydı bu hale gelmezdik ve kentsel dönüşüm adı altında rantal dönüşüme de boyun eğmezdik. Bütün mahalle halkı bir olsaydı burdan bir çivi sökemezlerdi. Toplumda birlik olmak tek yumruk olmak zorundasın.

89) Bu sefer ne bileyim o kardeşlik duygusunu belki öğretti o samimiyeti.

90) Buradan çıkartacak en büyük ders insanların uyanması gerekiyor artık burada uyandın uyandın uyanmadın yıkıldık.

91) Mevcut iktidar kendisini tutan partilileri bile kandırdı. Bu halk bunu da öğrendi her şeyin yalan sözde başka çıkar ilişkileri gittiđi zaman herkes birbirine şey yapabildi bunu öğrenmiş olduk... Mevcut hükümet sistemine ne saygım ne de güvenim olduğunu öğretti.

92) Rantın döndüğü yerde insanlar dikkate alınıyor... hükümet sizi tanımıyor çok öğrendiğimiz şöyle oldu insanları tanıdık Efendim bu siyasileri tanıdık siyasilerin güvensizlik bu rant hani bu para karşısında Bunlar kimseyi tanımazlar kutsalları bile terk ederler rant için bunları tanımış olduk.

93) Böyle şeylere yabancı olduğumuz için hani ben polis karakolunun Beykoz'da nerede olduğunu bilmezdim međer 3 tane varmış.

94) Bu ülkenin yıkılamayacak bir güç olduğunu gördük. Çünkü bu ülkede şerefli namuslu haysiyetli yaşayan avukatı da var hakimi de var savcısı da var insanı da var.

95) Öğrendiğimiz tek şey var kanun yoksa hukuk yoksa hiçbir şey yapamıyorsun yani hukuk halka garibana işlemiyor.

96) Para benim için ön plana çıktı bu sefer çünkü mecbursun yani o kirayı ödemeye para kazanmaya. Çünkü ben şimdi kiracıyım bugün işsiz kalsan kira ödemen gerekiyor senin öyle bir lüksün yok.

97) Nereye gittik? Kira köşelerine. O kira köşelerinde şu anda yaşam mücadelesi veriyoruz. Yani bu kiralari da zoraki ödüyorsun. Bu bizim için en zor bir durum.

98) Ben böyle uyduruk bir yerde ev tuttum, işte böyle bir rutubetli bir şey, işte mecbur ekonomi.

99) Kiraya çıktık, şu kadar bir ev, bir oda daha fazla, yani çok küçük 5 bin lira, doğal gazı bile yok, ve kışın annemler de gelecekler yanıma babaannem de var. Bu evin içinde altı kişi yaşayacağız, yani bu hiç memnun değiliz halimizden.

100) Yeni boşandım, boşanma anlamında bu süreç çok destekledi maalesef.

101) Ev hanımıydım ve çalışmak zorunda kaldım... Bir okulda çalışıyorum temizlik görevlisi olarak, İŞKUR bünyesinde, dokuz ay çalıştırıyor İŞKUR ve devamı yok bunun.

102) Hepimizi bir yere parçaladılar yani aileyi böldüler. Daha doğrusu, anneyi evladından, kardeşi kardeşten. Yani bu şekilde babaanneden torununu ayırdılar, yani tutup bizleri her birimizi bir yere savurdular.

103) Kızım piyano çalıyordu ve özgürce son sesini bile açabiliyordu. Ama şimdi, aman kızım, ses yapma, aman kızım, dikkat et, aman kızım, yavaş yürü, aman oğlum, ses yapmayın, hep ikaz, çok zor.

104) Bir kere sıcak aile binasıydı, istediğin gibi bağır çağır, gece çık kapının önünde kahvaltı yap. Kiraya girdik çok eziyet çekiyoruz... Şimdi kiracıyım, orta katta oturuyorum yavaş yavaş geliyorum.

105) Şu anda ben Ümraniye'de yaşıyorum. Bu kentsel dönüşüm oldu, sonra oraya taşındık, ama ben şimdi yaşadığım apartman kocaman büyük apartman. Orda kaç daire var? Şu anda güvenip de anahtarımı bırakabileceğim kimse yok.

106) Ben yan binamdaki insanı tanımıyorum. Geçen akşam rahatsızlandım. Çocukları kime bırakacağım? Hastaneye gidecek olsam ne kadar kötü bir şey? Kız çocuğu kime emanet edebilirim? Çocuklarımı bırakacak hiç kimsem yok etrafımda. Ben gecenin 3ü 4ü kiracıyı çağırıyordum alt kattan, 'ya abla ben hastaneye gideceğim, git' diyordu 'ben gelirim'".

107) mükemmeldi.

108) Desteklemediğimiz için teröristiz ve bunu söyleyen ilk önce kapı komşularımız.

109) Kimi komşumun onları sokması, kimi komşum dedi ki getir dedi benim bahçem müsait, arabalarını çektiydi bahçesine. Ben bunu yapmazdım mesela, kapatırdım...o

gün polislerin tomalarına yer verdi, onlar yer ararken onlara yardımcı oluyor, biz orda acı çekiyoruz.

110) Güven yok artık bitti hani babana bile güvenmeyeceksin olayı var ya artık ondayız tamamiyle kesinlikle güvenmiyorum hiç kimseye artık.

111) İnanın, kimisi kapıdan içeriye sokmadı, kapıdan konuştuk bu insanlarla ve o insanlar benim hayatımda yok artık...düğünde ölümden bir arada olduğumuz hayatımdan çıkardım onları.

112) Ölüm mü var? İnanın, bir hafta o cenaze olan evde yemek pişmezdi.

113) Kapı komşumuz öldü, cenazesine gittik, işte baş sağlığı dilesek mi dilemesek mi? Öldüyse de iyi oldu diyecek duruma geldi insanlar.

114) Burda insanlara yapılan en büyük yanlış insanlığı öldürmeleri.

115) Ben açıkçası imza atacaktım, abim aynı şekilde, babam dedi ki 'Ben asla imzalamam'.

116) İlk önce boşandım, çok büyük etkisi oldu maalesef.

117) Çoğu komşularımız, akraba akrabasına, baba oğluna düşman oldu.

118) Amca yeğen birbirine girdi, anne ile evlat arasında, aile içinde.

119) Benim babam bana ihanet etmiş benim babam bana yalan söylemiş.

120) Aile bağlarımızda en ufak bir olumsuz değişiklik olmadı. Ailemize çok bağlıyız ailede kavga modunda değiliz. Birbirimize daha çok bağlandık. Ailemle birarada olduğum sürece. Mal mülk var ya gerçekten hikayeymiş ya yemin ediyorum mal sıfırmış.

121) Ben burdaki Bulancaklıların hiçbirine hiç güvenmedim başında... Bunlar adamı satar...Bunlar hükümet partisinden yana...burası (dernek) benim evim. Ben burayı artık evim benimsedim.

122) Bizim kazandığımız burada ne oldu işte hala biz işte komşularımızla canı gönülden oturup işte burada işte tatlı yiyebiliyorsun sohbet edebiliyorsun konuşabiliyorsun. Yani bu samimiyeti doğurdu insanlar arasında daha bir sıcaklık oldu. Bunu kazandık yani, hep birlikte dostluğu kazandık.

123) 'Babana bile güvenmeyeceksin' durumu oldu.

124) Güven yok artık bitti hani babana bile güvenmeyeceksin olayı var ya artık ondayız tamamiyle kesinlikle güvenmiyorum hiç kimseye artık.

125) Bu hayatta kimseye güvenmeyeceksin ben bunu öğrendim. Kimseye güvenmeyeceksin kardeşim çok ders çıkardım bundan da.

126) Çocukların psikolojilerindeki bozulmalar. ‘Baba bugün yıkılacak mıyız?’ Çok etkiledi. Kimse uyuyamadı, herkesin psikolojisi bozuldu.

127) Şimdi o günleri yaşayıp da şu günlere gelip evinin yıkılması ben şahsi olarak evimin yıkılmasını seyredemedim yani.

128) Kendi kendime konuşuyorum, biraz psikolojik şey yaşadım...Psikolojimiz, aile şeyimiz bozuldu...Bir de bende konuşma hastalığı başladı, daha önceden yoktu, hala var, buraya gelirken de kendi kendime konuşuyorum.

129) Kendime vallahi hala gelemiyorum yani çok kötü bildiğiniz gibi değil yani bu maddi boyutu da var ama bir de manevi boyutu var yani ben şimdi o kadar kötü ki oraya gidiyorum Ümraniye’ye hiç bana benim evim gibi gelmiyor orası bende kaygı bozukluğu oluştu.

130) Psikolojimiz bozuldu.

131) Çocuk yıkımdan sonra 45 gün kadar başka okula gitmek zorunda kaldı. Çocuk her gün ağlayarak çıktı okuldan. Mahalle ev ortamı arkadaş çevresi gitti okul gitti. Yani insanların böyle değişebileceğini anladım.

132) Kazanabilir miyim dedim ‘kazanabilirsin teyze’ dedi ‘mahkemeye verirsin’ dedi.

133) Benim beyim fabrikadan meslek hastalığı olduğu için, doktor yazdı dilekçeyi ver dedi beyime. ‘Devleti mahkemeye ver’ dedi. Beyim ‘devlet kim ben kimim devlet benim ben devleti mahkemeye veremem’ dedi.

134) Mahkemelere güvenim arttı açıkçası çünkü gerçekten doğru karar verebilen veren ve hükümet baskısı yemekten korkmayan insanlar da varmış diye düşünmeye başladım.

135) Halkın polisi yok artık hükümetin polisi var.

136) Belediyeye de çok fazla düşünme ihtiyacı hissetmemiştim. Belediye benim için hani çöp toplanmasına yardım eden, vergi alan işte yaşadığımız yeri düzenlemekle görevli bir kamu kuruluşu olarak benim için bir anlamı vardı. Şu an öyle bir anlamdan uzaklaştı, aksine, yaşadığı yeri güzelleştirmeye çalışan insanların yerini elinde almaya çalışan bir kurum... Belediye benim için işlevsiz bir kurum olarak görünüyor şu an.

137) Belediyenin bu kadar inatlaşmaları bu kadar bizi yok saymaları çok ilginç, o belediyedeki mimara dedim, bu tarafçısız ya bu taraf görüldüğü gibi değil bizim taraf buraya göre çalışmıyorsunuz bir şeyler garip bu normal değil.

138) İlçe başkanına dedim bize tapu için söz verildi ‘siyasette bazen verilen sözler tutulamayabiliyor’ dedi bana yarabbi dedim iki çocuğum var siyaset nasip etme.

139) Gerçi biz belediye başkanına imza atmadık burada devlet başkanına oy verdik.

140) Sen, başkan, bu adamları tanımıyor muydun? Bu senin yanındakiler de mi seni kandırdı? Biz kime sırtımızı dayayacağız?

141) Bizim bilmediğimiz daha sonra işte bu süreçlerde yaşadığımız kapitalizm sisteminin bir şeyi de kentsel dönüşüm olarak değil rantsal dönüşüm olarak bize yansıdı.

142) Bizim evlerimiz dönüşüm mü olacaktı olsaydı bu şekilde değil konuşa konuşa anlaşabilirdik.

143) Neden hayır diyorum? Bizimle görüşmedi. Bizler görüşmek istedik belediyenin önünde gittik toplandık hani gel bizimle görüş bizim söylemlerimizi dinle dinle ki doğruyu bulalım karşılıklı anlaşarak doğruları bulalım.

144) Bazı televizyonlarda görüyordum daha önce niye bağırıyor diye düşünüyordum. Çok güzel görünüyordu ama arkası beter imiş.

145) Bu para karşısında bunlar kimseyi tanımazlar kutsalları bile terk ederler rant için bunları tanımış olduk.

146) Burda rahatlar başka yerde rahat olamayacaklar tabii.

147) İmar barışı çıkardım bu sizin elinizde tapudur' dedi onun gırtlığına yakasına ahirette sarılacağım.

148) Biz burada yıkımla uğraşırken kendisi gitti eğlence alanlarında piknik alanlarında şeylere katıldı ya ne derler o şenliklere katıldı ya yani böyle namussuzluk böyle kitapsızlık.

149) Bize öyle bir belediye başkanı getirdiler ki gerçi biz belediye başkanına imza atmadık burada devlet başkanına oy verdik, o zaman ama demek ki iyi düşünmek gerekiyormuş.

150) Gördüğüm şey şu benim kişiliğimi karakterimi bozmadılar.

151) Artık kimsenin kimseyle bir alakası yok. Hani öldüyse de iyi oldu diyecek duruma geldi insanlar. Bugün bir İstanbul depremi olsa acaba o da ne oldu diyecek durumda değiliz artık. Maalesef bencilleştik biraz.

152) Sorgulamayı öğrendik... Sorgulamayı öğrendik, mecbur olduk yani öğrenmeye. Sorgulamak gerekiyordu, biz bunu yapmadık, yanlış yaptık. Hiçbir zihniyet artık eskisi gibi değil.

153) Kentsel dönüşümü bilmiyordum. Bunu öğrenmiş oldum ve bu konu ile ilgili sorgulamayı öğrendim.

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