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CHANGING NATURALIZATION DISCOURSES FOR NEOLIBERAL MEGA PROJECTS UNDER AKP RULE

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CHANGING NATURALIZATION DISCOURSES FOR NEOLIBERAL
MEGA PROJECTS UNDER AKP RULE: CASES OF 3rd BRIDGE, 3rd
AIRPORT AND CANAL ISTANBUL

A Master's Thesis

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CANAL ISTANBUL

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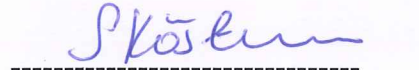
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ABSTRACT

CHANGING NATURALIZATION DISCOURSES FOR NEOLIBERAL MEGA PROJECTS UNDER AKP RULE: CASES OF 3rd BRIDGE, 3rd AIRPORT AND CANAL ISTANBUL

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This thesis elaborates on the question of how Justice and Development Party's (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) articulation of legitimization discourses for mega projects such as 3rd Bridge, 3rd Airport and Canal Istanbul changes in line with the rising opposition at both domestic and international levels. The thesis utilizes Historical Marxist Geography's insights to indicate the issues to be legitimized about the neoliberal urban practices; such as gentrification of cities, strengthening of class-relations, rent seeking motives behind urban management and exclusion of majority from the decision-making procedures. While Marxist geographers argue that the elites articulate legitimization discourses based on economic development, environmental sustainability and urban security promises; they tend to ignore the socio-political context. This thesis directs attention to the socio-political atmosphere to analyze how AKP elites articulate their naturalization discourses. The historical

process of AKP's construction of hegemony over domestic politics led to the emergence of strong opposition since 2013. The evolution of the Party's articulation of the opposition and further othering practices against it will be analyzed to demonstrate how AKP has articulated these developments for the legitimization discourses of neoliberal mega projects. To understand the changes in legitimization discourses, the Critical Discourse Analysis will be employed on the speeches given by AKP elites between 2010-2013 - in the absence of widespread opposition - and after 2013, when the government had started to face strong opposition in domestic and international arenas and pursued further othering practices against alleged enemies.

Key words: AKP, discourse, hegemony construction, neoliberal urbanism, opposition.

ÖZET

NEOLİBERAL MEGA PROJELER İÇİN AKP DÖNEMİNDE DEĞİŞEN TAABİLEŞTİRME SÖYLEMLERİ: 3. KÖPRÜ, 3. HAVALİMANI VE KANAL İSTANBUL ÖRNEKLERİ

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Bu tez, 3. Köprü, 3. Havaalanı ve Kanal İstanbul gibi mega projeler için Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) meşrulaştırma söylemlerini yurtiçi ve yurtdışı boyutlarında artan muhalefet doğrultusunda nasıl değiştirdiği sorusunu ele alıyor. Tez, Tarihi Marksist Coğrafyanın görüşlerini, neoliberal kent uygulamaları hakkında meşrulaştırılacak sınıf ilişkilerinin güçlendirilmesi, kentsel yönetimindeki rant arayışı ve çoğunluğun karar alma usullerinden çıkarılması gibi konuları göstermek için kullanıyor. Marksist coğrafyacılar seçkinlerin meşruiyet söylemlerini ekonomik kalkınma, çevresel sürdürülebilirlik ve kentsel güvenlik vaatlerine dayanarak ifade ettiklerini belirtirken, sosyo-politik bağlamı görmezden gelme eğilimindedirler. Bu tez, AKP elitlerinin tabiileştirme söylemlerini nasıl

kurguladıklarını analiz etmek için dikkatleri sosyo-politik atmosfere yönlendiriyor. AKP'nin iç politika üzerine hegemonya inşasının tarihi süreci, 2013'ten beri güçlü bir muhalefetin ortaya çıkmasına yol açtı. Partinin muhalefeti nasıl anlamlandırıldığı ve buna karşı uyguladığı ötekileştirme faaliyetleri, AKP'nin bu gelişmeleri nasıl neo-liberal mega projelerin yasallaştırma söylemlerine entegre ettiğini göstermek için analiz edilecektir. Meşruiyet söylemindeki değişiklikleri anlamak için, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, yaygın muhalefet olmayan 2010-2013 yılları arasında ve güçlü bir muhalefetle karşılaşmaya başladığı ve sözde düşmanlara karşı daha çok ötekileştirme politikası uyguladığı 2013 ve sonrası dönemlerdeki, AKP seçkinleri tarafından verilen konuşmalara uygulanacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: AKP, hegemonya inşası, muhalefet, neoliberal şehircilik, söylem.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANAP	Motherland Party
AKP	Justice and Development Party
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DSP	Democratic Leftist Party
DYP	True Path Party
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EU	European Union
FETO	Fethullahist Terrorist Organization
FP	Virtue Party
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MG	National Vision Party
MHP	Nationalist Action Party
MNP	National Order Party
MUSIAD	Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
RP	Welfare Party
SP	Felicity Party
TOKI	Mass Housing Administration

CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION

Istanbul has become one of the flourishing finance centers in the world, which is what 10th National Development Plan sets for the vision of Istanbul.¹ Large amounts of infrastructure and transportation investments, numbers of regeneration projects taking place in Istanbul and the process of creation of self-images for the city can be thought as practical evidences of this vision of transforming Istanbul into a global finance center. Construction of the Third Airport - which will be the biggest airport in Europe and among top 5 in the world -, the Third Bridge², the Marmaray, - which bridges two continents under the Bosphorus -, Canal Istanbul, Avrasya Tunnel and the enormous number of urban transformation projects are among examples of such investments and projects.

Istanbul, along with other metropolitan cities in developed and developing countries, which can be referred to as geographies of “actually existing neoliberalism”, experiences the reflections of neoliberal economic rationale on urban management (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). These reflections can be exemplified as a desire for high level of investment, regeneration projects, public-private entrepreneurship, destruction of public spaces, valorization and devalorization of

¹) Turkey’s 10th National Development Plan 2014-2018 published in Ankara in 2013, pp: 156-158.

Retrieved from:

[http://www.mod.gov.tr/Lists/RecentPublications/Attachments/75/The%20Tenth%20Development%20Plan%20\(2014-2018\).pdf](http://www.mod.gov.tr/Lists/RecentPublications/Attachments/75/The%20Tenth%20Development%20Plan%20(2014-2018).pdf)

²) This Bridge was named “Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge” who is the father of Suleiman the Magnificent and the first Turkish Caliphate of the Ottomans after his conquest of Egypt and domineering of holy lands and relics.

lands, construction of gated towns and excessive rent motives behind urban management in the last decade (Swyngedouw *et al.*, 2002; Peck *et al.* 2009). Together with the internationalization of finance and economic transactions, similar reflections has also affected the city management and economies. As identified by Banarjee-Guha, “the urban is being redefined just as dramatically as global with new orientations in urban activities and their role in the national and global economic changes” (2016, 67). Cities are becoming more and more similar to each other with the desire of branding uniqueness. The idea of competitiveness for attracting creative class and investments into cities formulates the foundations of the urban management in the neoliberal world (Fainstein, 2005; Evans, 2003; Kavaratzis, 2004). However, this rationale is causing many negative repercussions on cities’ socio-economic developments. These negative repercussions also have global characteristics just like the global patterns of neoliberal urban practices.

In line with the common negative repercussions of neoliberal practices on cities, decision-makers both at the local and national levels pursue more or less similar legitimization discourses for the implementation of neoliberal rationale on urban scales. These discourses are mainly referring the motivation of economic development through attracting tourists, investments and providing economically and environmentally self-sustained cities as a result of public-private entrepreneurship and threat-free, secured cities (Harvey, 2007; Ranney, 2001; Cardew & Searle, 2000; Brand 2007; Crump, 2002). At this juncture, Istanbul’s experience under AKP era constitutes a prosperous case in terms of analyzing changing legitimization discourses under the changing socio-political environments.

This thesis focuses on the dramatic change in articulation of naturalization discourses for three mega projects since 2013 in line with the rising opposition and

power struggle in Turkish socio-political context against AKP.³ This attempt will contribute to the literature on Istanbul's neoliberal urbanization in two ways. The first contribution will be to present the merits of Critical Discourse Analysis in understanding the significance of attributing meanings to neoliberal urban projects. The reason for tracing the "how" question on the process of conducting urban policy and attributing meanings to urban projects, derives from AKP's success in getting consent of the half of the citizens in Turkey both in national and local scale. Furthermore, the literature dealing with Istanbul's neoliberal urbanization only concentrates on the results and motivations behind the neoliberal urbanization; and not AKP's meaning articulation process for neoliberal urban practices.

Second contribution will be to examine the effect of socio-political atmosphere, which refers to emergence of hegemonic and widespread opposition on AKP's articulation of legitimization discourses for the neoliberal mega projects since 2013. As pointed out by Dikec, there is not just one single neoliberal urban governance and urban governance is subjected to transformation in each states' restructuring processes (2007, 31). These two contributions are interdependent, since discursive articulations should always be dependent to the specific context. The analysis of the process in which AKP attributes meanings to neoliberal mega projects will necessitate the inclusion of socio-political environment into the analysis, together with the international political economy explanations.

Second chapter, theoretical framework, concentrates on the background which enables to comprehend power hierarchies behind the neoliberal urban management, and how these power hierarchies serve the benefits of small groups at

³) By saying naturalization discourses, it points out the discourses articulated for the smooth working of the neoliberal urban policies through trying to conceal the existing power hierarchies in the substance of the urban politics.

the cost of the deepening of the socio-economic inequalities, gentrification of the city and social exclusion (Heynen & Swyngedouw, 2003). Going into the details of power hierarchies in urban scale, a critical literature review on global trends in urbanization - namely neoliberal urbanism - will be one of the main concerns of this chapter. In this part, the role of the abstract category of the state in relation to the capitalist mode of production, universal category of global capital accumulation processes, the bond between neoliberalism and urbanisation, the naturalization attempts of the neoliberal urbanism and the category of space as a geographical manifestation of the capital accumulation processes will be scrutinized with the Historical Marxist Geography lenses. Similar urbanization experiences from the world will be touched upon to demonstrate the global patterns of neoliberal urbanization and legitimization discourses for these practices.

In the next part of the second chapter, the literature dealing with Istanbul's experience of urbanization will be under inquiry to display similarities with the global dynamics. After the careful elaboration on the critical literature dealing with both general experience and Istanbul's experience of neoliberal urbanisation, it can be suggested from the literature that Istanbul has been on the road of global neoliberal urbanization dynamics. Literature on Istanbul's urbanization concentrates on the reflections of the global neoliberal urbanization patterns on AKP government's urban policies and governance of the public spaces, housing problems, large infrastructure and urban regeneration projects. As suggested by Historical Marxist Geography theory, urban governance⁴ strategies of AKP government is not

⁴) Neoliberal urban governance can be thought as the dissemination of neoliberal governance into the urban management. Jessop characterizes neoliberal governance or neoliberalism as a discursive project with political, economic and ideological implications. Politically, it necessitates the elimination of state from economic and social spheres, economically, it refers to the necessity of

the consequence of the will of providing facilities for the public. However, the literature on this subject is not in a position to give satisfactory explanation for the question of how AKP government has been adopting the neoliberal urbanism discourse in its own intervention area through taking social and political atmospheres into the account; - especially when the government has faced with strong opposition from both domestic and international levels.

Third chapter stresses on the socio-political context which affects AKP's articulation of against alleged enemies discourse in legitimization of the neoliberal mega projects. This context refers to the process of emergence of the hegemonic widespread and organic opposition against AKP. In order to understand this context, firstly, the background of AKP government and the Turkish socio-political and economic atmosphere, which made it possible for AKP to come to power, will be touched upon. This background also eases the understanding of the emergence of widespread opposition since 2013. Secondly, the history of AKP's consolidation of hegemony at the domestic realm will be analysed through pointing out its consolidation of power in political elections, military and judiciary. By doing so, AKP's strategies that contribute to its construction of hegemony over domestic politics will be studied under AKP's economic policies, foreign policies and identity politics in a performative relationship. Fourthly, the reasons for the emergence of oppositions both at domestic and international realms will be addressed as a result of the Party's othering practices by constructing its hegemony over Turkish socio-political environment. Gulen Movement will also be analysed as a rising challenge against AKP's hegemonic existence. The process of Gulen Movement's turning into a challenge against AKP has roots in party's hegemony construction over the

privatization, deregulation of finance and any kind of economic transactions and ideologically, it emphasizes self-sustaining civil society and individuals (2002, 453-455).

domestic politics and this power struggle has also constituted a serious threat to AKP's hegemony since 2013. Furthermore, AKP's discursive attitude towards the opposition at domestic and international levels will be identified to link it with AKP's legitimization discourses for these mega projects since 2013.

Fourth chapter concerns AKP's changing patterns of legitimization discourse articulation for the neoliberal urban mega projects: 3rd Bridge, 3rd Airport and Canal Istanbul. A professional press follow up was conducted for Cumhuriyet and Sabah Newspapers between 2010-2017. In order to grasp the changes in the discursive construction of these mega projects, the Critical Discourse Analysis will be conducted to the speeches given by AKP's elites on these projects since 2010, the year when the 3rd Bridge and 3rd Airport were publicized.⁵ The Canal Istanbul project was also announced in 2011 right after the publicizing of these two projects. The time period starting from 2010 and to the very beginning of 2017 will be divided into two periods; 2010-2013 and 2013 onwards to point out the role of the rising opposition to AKP government from both domestic and international actors. This comparison will enable to acknowledge the significance of rising opposition and further othering practices to the perceived domestic and international threats for the articulation of legitimization discourses of the neoliberal mega projects.

There are two important sets of intentions behind conducting Critical Discourse Analysis. The first is to present a linkage between socio-political context in times of opposition and the legitimization of three mega projects in Istanbul. The second is to deconstruct the naturalization discourses through the analysis of related news from an opponent media organ by pointing out the marginalized voices and

⁵ In 2011, the Canal Istanbul Project will have also be publicized. In order to indicate a specific time, 2010 when two of three chosen projects have been publicized has been determined.

inequalities deriving from the implementation of these mega projects. By doing so, the linkage between macro and micro level analysis of the power relations taking place in the urban spaces will be established.

To do so, firstly, the introduction of the Critical Discourse analysis, its merits and shortcomings together will be presented. Secondly, the Critical Discourse Analysis of AKP elites' speeches pertaining to the chosen mega projects will be conducted through dividing these speeches into two different time periods; 2010-2013 and 2013 onwards. This analysis suggests that whereas AKP has been utilizing economic development and environmental sustainability legitimization discourses suggested by the Historical Materialist Geographers between 2010-2013, the government also incorporates the against alleged domestic and international enemies discourse since 2013. In the last section of this chapter, the consequences of these mega projects in line with the naturalization/legitimization discourses will be analyzed to identify how the naturalization discourses have been triggering already existing inequalities deriving from the power hierarchies, with the attempt of concealing them.

CDA constitutes a complementary role to understand AKP government's success in gaining the wider public support in conducting neoliberal urban policies in three mega projects - namely 3rd Bridge, 3rd Airport and Canal Istanbul - contrary to all negative repercussions. The complementary role for CDA becomes a necessity because the identified discourses of economic growth/development, environmental sustainability and urban security by Historical Marxist Geography are not able to represent the whole picture for AKP's articulation of legitimization discourses for these mega projects since 2013. Although facing with oppositions is not something unique for Turkey among other neoliberal states in the world, AKP's articulation of

domestic and international opposition as alleged enemies for the sake of so-called strengthening of Turkey, and this articulation's reflections on the legitimization discourses for the neoliberal mega projects are worth to be analyzed.

Historical Marxist Geography has the merits of pointing out the macro level explanations of the capitalist economic structure's repercussions on the built environments, class relations, deepening of socio-economic inequalities and exclusion of majority from the decision-making procedures on cities. These explanations also facilitate the case of Istanbul in terms of excessive implementation of urban regeneration projects, mega projects together with the complementary legislative and administrative changes as facilitators for the smooth implementation of neoliberal urban policies. Although the literature on Istanbul's neoliberal urbanization experience under AKP period also indicates that Istanbul is on the same path with the global dynamics of the neoliberal urbanism in terms of practices and results, this does not necessarily correspond the question of how AKP has succeeded in legitimization of this process - especially when it was faced with the explicit opposition and power struggle.

Since 2013, AKP government has reconstructed its own reading of others and selves both at the domestic and international levels. One of the most common characteristics of AKP's 'others' is the domestic and international threats which are the extension of each other. Furthermore, what makes one 'other' is their unwillingness on Turkey's strengthening in the international affairs with its integrated society, rising economy and increasing political influence in the Region. Some repeating terms and phrases have been identified as a discursive othering practices since 2013. Firstly, at the domestic level, two kinds of discourses have been pursued under the labels of 'parallel structure', 'FETO', 'betrayal gang', for the

previously called Gulen Movement and ‘çapulcular’ -freebooters- for the Gezi Parki protestors. Secondly, at the international level, some phrases and terms have been identified to point out the global extensions and supporters of the identified internal threats/enemies. These are ‘foreign powers’, ‘interest lobby’ and ‘mastermind’; as these phrases implicitly or explicitly target the European Union, and the United States at the state level and global economic powers at the global non-state actor level.



CHAPTER II:

**THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK: EXISTING POWER RELATIONS IN
SPACE**

This chapter constitutes the theoretical framework which allows to formulate this thesis' research question through problematizing the neoliberal governance and its reflection on the management of urban scales. As this thesis questions the changing legitimization discourses of AKP government for the three neoliberal mega projects in Istanbul, this chapter is concerned with what makes these neoliberal mega projects problematic and subjects to be legitimized or naturalized by the decision makers to get the consent of the public. This chapter pursues to present a groundwork to have a perspective on how and why urban governance is being conducted in a specific manner for the favour of whom or what and at the risk of what.

In this chapter, firstly, the reason behind the preference of utilization of the Historical Marxist Geography's stance in grasping the social power relations in urban realms will be presented, because the consolidation and representation of the social power relations in the spatial configurations is significant to understand how political power and hegemony exercise in urban scales. Without any reference to the existing power relations and their reflections on the urban governance, the analysis of the neoliberal urban governance cannot be completed properly. Secondly, the neoliberal transformation in urban governance will be presented through pointing out the link between economy and urbanization, and how cities become even more significant in the working of neoliberal rationale. Thirdly, the identified naturalization and

legitimization discourses developed by decision-makers to implement neoliberal urban policies will be analyzed with the lenses of Historical Marxist Geography. Through presenting examples of neoliberal urban practices from the developing and developed world, the global characteristics and patterns will be addressed.

In the last part of this chapter, the literature on Istanbul's experience of neoliberal urban governance, its historical evolution and repercussions will be laid out to locate Istanbul's experience on the global picture. The similarities in terms of repercussions on the social fabric, existing power relations and inequalities arising from them, and the implementation of policies will signal the fact that Istanbul has similar global neoliberal governance patterns with other cities that are experiencing neoliberal urbanization. However, it has been noticed that the literature on Istanbul is concerned with the results and historical evolution of the neoliberal practices of AKP government, and the discursive construction of the legitimization strategies for the neoliberal practices has not been identified in the literature.

2.1. The Need for a Historical Marxist Geography

Historical Materialist Geography attaches great importance to the analysis of social power relations - including social and political nexus of power - in order to present who is benefited and who is excluded from urban management due to its way of theorising and understanding of geographical knowledge with emancipatory interests. Together with its theorising, this theory has a great deal of theoretical apparatus to give a reasonable explanation for the working of urban management system as it is. In this part, in order to present this theory's merits in studying urban governance and understanding the social power relations in space, theory's way of

producing geographical knowledge, the relationship between the capitalist mode of production and urban management will be covered.

2.1.1. Historical Marxist Geographical Knowledge and Theorising

To start with, the core of the Marxist knowledge and its way of theorising is significant to have a sense of the Marxist Geography's merits in studying urbanization and space. Being one of the outstanding authors in the literature, Harvey tries to give an historical account of the geographical knowledge (2001). By doing so, the author emphasizes the significance of tracing the history of society and societal practices in order to grasp comprehensive understanding of the history of the discipline of geography. Harvey insists on the fact that 'geographers lost their *raison d'être* as synthesizers of knowledge in its spatial aspect. The more specialized they became, also, the more they distanced themselves from the process of construction of popular geographical knowledge' (2001, 113). That is, contrary to correlating geography with the facts of nature, Harvey suggests questioning the ever-changing validity and reliability of geographical knowledge with reference to the significance of recognition of the changing socio-economic configurations.

Moreover, Harvey is strongly against the positivist approach of testing theory. Instead, he clarifies that 'theory should be understood as an evolving structure of argument sensitive to encounters with the complex ways in which social processes are materially embedded in the web of life' (2005, 61). Harvey's attempt of provoking 'being in a state of doing theory' rather than 'testing the grand theory' has been getting him closer with Lefebvre's objective of liberating Marxism from dogmatism through including everyday life into the Marxist theorizing. This liberation proposes a new set of transformative possibilities such as discursive

understanding and daily-life practices. (Harvey, 2005, 66; Kipfer, Schmid *et.al.*, 2008, 290; Kipfer, 2008, 199).

In a quite similar line, Heynen and Swyngedouw criticize the neutrality claims in studying of urban environments. They emphasize the indispensability of having an emancipatory interest in studying urban politics which aims ‘acquiring the power to produce urban environments in line with the aspirations, needs and desires of those inhabiting these spaces’ (2003, 915). One of the most noticeable claims of Urban Political Ecologist is their approach to the way of analysing the social power relations through taking material, discursive, economic, political and cultural factors into the account to grasp the nexus of power and the social actors carrying it. These actors ultimately decide who will have access to or control over and who will be excluded from access to or control over resources or other components of the environment (Heynen and Swyngedouw, 2003, 911).

As deduced from the aforementioned dedication to studying urban scales and possibilities, historical geography and urban political ecology prioritize the necessity of considering multiple actors and motives behind the power (can be thought as inter-subjectively constructed through discursive and material arrangements), which has capacity to shape the urban spaces. However, comprehending all the nexus of power and social actors behind the global urbanization patterns through solely the utilization of universal categories is not simple. Therefore, this elaboration directs attention to the significance of case studies in advancing theorization through distinguishing each case and process as unique in itself in terms of social, political and economic power relations. At the same time, universal categories can be utilized as intermediary tools in analysing complexities behind the local, national and global power relations shaping urbanization patterns in the localities.

As indicated by Kipfer, Schmid *et al.*, Lefebvre acknowledges that studying urban can be thought as a level of analysis which is mediating level between the realms of everyday life and the global level. Therefore, the analysis of urban level should be subjected to the analysis of multiple scales; global urban networks, national urban systems and regions (2008, 290). This understanding of taking urban as a level of analysis, which has been affected by both global and local power dynamics such as international capital, globalized finance systems, international competition, regional and national development plans and capitals, requires the integration of methodological approaches. This integration will eventually enable to comprehend the dialects between global and local. Therefore, this thesis aims to benefit from the merits of historical geography in identifying the underlying problems behind the urbanization phenomenon and its consequences on the socio-economic nexus of power, through taking Turkish socio-political and economic context into consideration.

2.1.2. The Problem of Overaccumulation

After touching upon the general view on the geographical knowledge and theorising of urban scale from the literature, in this part of the chapter, the problem of overaccumulation in Marx and Harvey will be scrutinized in the light of the discussion on the relationship between space and urbanization. Most of Harvey's writings have been devoted to the explanation of how investments on urban scale and infrastructure have been utilized to postpone the capitalist over-accumulation crises. Harvey prefers to place the bourgeoisie will of continuing capital circulation at the heart of the motives of urbanization. Therefore, it can be evaluated that Harvey's critique of the production of geographical knowledge is twofold. The first is against the claims of neutrality and value-free of geographical knowledge in the positivist

realm. The second critique targets the Marxist authors who disregard the significance of spatiality in the capitalist mode of production.

Harvey indicates the necessity of rereading of Marx's theory of accumulation under capitalist mode of production because of the reason that there has been a long tradition of ignorance of the spatial dimension by the Marxist authors (2001, 237-267). Harvey attempts to integrate the process of the production of spaces with the Marxist theory of capital accumulation. This engagement provides an overview over dialectical relationship between the capitalist mode of production and the production of space. This relationship derives from the fundamental premise of the capitalist mode of production, which is capital accumulation. Being motor of the economic growth, capital accumulation necessitates a dynamic and continuous expansion of capitalist mode of production in scale. Therefore, this type of production continuously shapes and reshapes the environment in which we live in.

The critical point here is that while the internal logic of capitalist mode of production necessitates the continuous capital accumulation for the sake of capital accumulation, this attitude creates a continuous proneness to the overproduction crises internally. In order to overcome these overproduction crises, Harvey mentions four ways of mediating crises. These are 'penetrating of capital into new spheres of activity', 'creating new social wants and needs', 'facilitating and encouraging the expansion of population' and 'expanding geographically into new regions through increasing foreign trade and exporting capital' (2001, pp. 241-242). That is, while expansion of the geographical scale has a significant mission for the circulation of capital and overcoming of the overproduction crises as a consequence of the capital accumulation, space and spatiality constitute barriers to be overcome.

To make it clearer, it will be beneficial to take a look at how Harvey has concluded that urbanization has become a way a spatial and temporal fixation for the very internal contradiction of the capitalist system.⁶ Harvey summarizes the core principles of the circulation of capital with ten points. The first point refers to the fact that circulation of capital is directly linked to the expansion of commodities, which is the phenomenon of growth. Secondly, growth accomplished by the inclusion of the living labor power should be redistributed through unequal basis. Thirdly, so acquiring of profit is a result of the exploitation of living labor. Fourthly, class relation is the inevitable consequence of the capitalist mode of production among those who gain profit and those who sell their labor. Fifthly, class struggle over wage rates and labouring conditions constitute the fundamental spirit of social relations under the capitalist mode of production. Sixth, technological dynamism and progress become inevitable forces of the capitalist mode of production to secure profits, competition and class struggle. Seventh, capitalist mode of production necessitates continuous investment of capital and labor power to fuel technological dynamism. Eighth, the circulation of capital is existentially unstable and prone to the crisis because ‘the system has to expand through the application of living labor in production whereas the main path of technological change is to supplant living labor, the real agent of expansion, from production’ (2001, 315). Ninth, the state of over-accumulation appears when surpluses of capital and labor could not be absorbed any more. Finally, surpluses which cannot be absorbed anymore became devaluated, diminishing the real income of laborers, standards of living and security (2001, 313-316).

⁶) Most of Harvey’s writings try to give an account of the abstract relationship between the mode of production and urbanization patterns through consulting Marx’s universal categories and suggesting that these categories should be studied through integrating spatial manifestation of the system as the realm of concrete and the particular.

Abovementioned elaboration on Harvey's way of summarizing the core principles of capital accumulation indicates the significance of economic growth, continuous investment, expansion, and the state of over-accumulation crisis. In relation to these principles, what Harvey proposes is the temporal displacement and spatial fix for the permanent internal contradictions of surplus capital, posed by technological progress and growth. The author emphasizes the significance of long-term investments in the process of temporal displacement, designed as a solution to the internal contradiction of capitalist system. These long term investments can be thought as 'the production of science and technology, and the provision of social infrastructures of education, healthcare, social services, judiciary, state administration, law enforcement, military protection' and railroads, highways and port construction (2001, 319). The process of conversion of the capital from short term investments to the long run has been accomplished through the use of credit and fictitious capital. As a second way of postponing capitalism's over accumulation crisis, Harvey suggests the necessity of elaboration on the spatial fix, which corresponds to the geographical expansion and restructuring. The former supports Marx's theory of colonialism which depicts the spatial fix as the violent projection of the contradictions of capitalism onto the world stage (Harvey, 2001, 308), and the ideas of Thunen and Hegel suggesting geographical expansion as a way of stabilizing capitalism through eliminating internal contradictions to reach the state of mature civil society (Harvey, 2001, 286). The latter refers to the 'creative destruction' which occurs within the same geographical scale through valorization, devalorization, rent and large amount of infrastructure investments (Harvey, 2007).

As indicated before, Harvey strongly has the will of displaying the relationship between internal contraction and characteristics of capitalist mode of

production, and its reflections on the urbanization patterns. To illustrate, Harvey states that the organic bond between urbanization and capitalism can be understood through recalling urbanization ‘as a class phenomenon’ (2008, 24). In connection with this claim, he gives examples of urbanization of Paris under Hausmann’s project and other examples from USA, China and Britain as a way of overcoming crises of capitalism resulting from stagnation in capital accumulation (Harvey, 2008). This kind of urbanization politics can be correlated with excessive investments on infrastructure construction and housing sector in the context of temporal displacement and production of new spaces for the sake of sustaining capital circulation.

2.1.3. The Role of State in Historical Marxist Geography

The relationship between the capital circulation, accumulation, capitalist crises and urbanization was touched upon through elaborating Harvey’s writings. Beyond this relationship, it is essential to not to ignore the actors and processes in Harvey’s theorizing. Due to the fact that this thesis elaborates on the question of how AKP government in the last decade has conducted accelerated motives of urban policies with its own way of attributing meaning to urban and articulating legitimization discourses; Historical Marxist Geography presents a debate on the state role in the urbanization processes. Therefore, in this part of the chapter, the role of state discussion of Marxist Geography in the implementation of urban policies will be given a coverage.

For some Marxist authors, the state can be depicted as a facilitative actor in the organization of social relations in accordance with the will of bourgeoisie with its sole right of use force and legislation. As being the spatial manifestation of capitalist

greed, cities and the phenomenon of urbanization became areas of research in which states facilitate the balance. This inherently favours the less, who hold the capital in hands over the many, who is deprived of means of production. As Marx pointed out:

The guarantee of private property rights in means of production and labor power, the enforcement of contracts, the protection of the mechanism for accumulation, the elimination of barriers to mobility of capital and labor and the stabilization of the money system all fall within the field of action of the state (Harvey, 2001, 274).

It can be evaluated that state plays a role in providing suitable instruments for sustaining public goods and services and social and physical infrastructure for the continuation of the capital circulation and accumulation. The so-called neutrality of the states provides an arbiter mechanism between the dominating and dominated classes. Moreover, the states' ability of getting consent from the subordinated class with its institutional capability of creating hegemonic ideology is worth mentioning. The current political system - bourgeois social democratic state as Harvey calls it - has been arranged in accordance with the bourgeois interests through adapting democracy, freedom, protection of right of property, equality, separation of power and check and balances. This kind of system not only facilitates continuation of the capitalist mode of production, but also prevents total autonomy of the state from the bourgeois' interests as so-called arbiter.

This relatively simplistic view over the state as reducible to facilitator of capital accumulation will be more elaborated and questioned. To start with, apart from the already agreed theorisation of the state in Marxist thinker, Harvey addresses the importance of discussing 'to what degree states are autonomous entities'. He points out the fact that different historical social experiences can lead to various interwoven relationships between superstructure and economic bases. For example,

Harvey indicates that “reading Marx, it is very difficult to imagine the birth of capitalism without the exercise of state power and the creation of state institutions which prepared the ground for the emergence of fully-fledged capitalist social relations” (2001, 281). That is, their coming into being is not prior to one over another. The relationship between them has been dialectical and their emergence has been simultaneous. Also, Harvey says that ‘the notion that capitalism ever functioned without the close and strong involvement of the state is a myth that deserves to be corrected’ (2001, 282). Furthermore, different political systems in different countries and power politics within the domestic levels suggest the necessity of historical analysis of various cultural and political traditions through taking states’ institutions as ‘constantly in the process of being reshaped and refashioned’.

The question is put forward by Harvey’s suspicious analysis of the possible differences in states’ role and involvement in the process of capital circulation and accumulation in the process of urbanization depending on their various political and cultural systems. This needs to be considered in detail as this view slightly points out the significance of studying the socio-cultural environments in which the states attribute meanings to spatiality and urban. The necessity of analysing the distinctive feature of how each state has been naturalizing the relation between capitalist mode of production and urbanization, class interest and urban policies, directs attention to examine the processes of how urban policies come into being in a specific way. Therefore, this thesis aims to fill this gap through transcending the abstract category of state to an institutional body as an inter-subjectively created living social entity.

The issue of assuming state as a sole arbitrator of the urbanization processes which ensures the geographical mobility of capital, temporal displacement and spatial fix for the internal contradictions of the capitalist socio-economic relations is

not that clear in Harvey's studies. For example, Harvey is not in favour of Lenin's theorising of reducing space relations and geographical structure to the theory of state. Instead, he suggests that "our task is to construct a general theory of space-relations and geographical development under capitalism that can - among other things-, explain the significance of and evolution of state function (local, regional, national and supranational)" (2001, 326). However, the author cannot go beyond taking state as a guarantor of flow of capital through the construction of telecommunication system, transport systems and whole set of social and physical infrastructures with its legal institutions (2001, 330).

Lefebvre manages moving beyond the barrier of over determination of capital-state relations. Lefebvre's distinctive stand in the Marxist school of thought suggests alternatives to connect historical geographical theorizing with everyday practices and discourse analysis. Lefebvre's readings of Hegel and Marx lead him on the concept of concrete abstraction. Stanek elaborates "Lefebvre demonstrates that space is an abstraction which became true in practice produced by material, political, theoretical, cultural and quotidian practices" (2008, 70). In Stanek's reading of Lefebvre, the author is seemed to claim a dialectical relationship between the space and the capitalist mode of production. While production of space is the result of the capitalist spatial practices, space itself ensures the continuity of working of the capitalist economic system. (2008, 62-79).

Merrifield suggests that Lefebvre can be 'conceived as a spatialized Marxist humanist' because he recognizes planners, technocrats, bankers and constructors as beneficiaries of modernity through profiting financially and politically from modernization; and to do this, they promise people economic growth and security as long as they sustain controlling their freedom (2006, 61). Moreover, Lefebvre

indicates a new discourse of politicians, technocrats and planners. This discourse aims to manage unmanageable contradictions of capitalist mode of production, and is called urbanism. Through this discourse which orchestrated by the state, “the urban question henceforth becomes a political question; class issues are now explicitly urban issues” (Merrifield, 2006, 67).

Kipfer indicates that Lefebvre prioritizes everyday life politics as an urbanized form of hegemony rather than a statist form, insisting on strict base-superstructure relationship. That is, although “the state itself is an instrument, site, result of the struggle for hegemony as a totalizing form of institution and doctrine”, Lefebvre draws attention on the fact that ‘the state is itself central to hegemony to the extent that everyday life is suffused by the state-like and the state-like in the formation of everyday life was mediated spatially (Kipfer, 2008, 197). Furthermore, Lefebvre indicates that:

Everyday life is central to the reproduction of capitalism insofar as it is saturated by the routinized, repetitive, familiar daily practices that make up the everyday in all spheres of life; work, leisure, politics, language, family life, cultural production. Everyday life is the best guarantee of non-revolution because it refers to what we take for granted, what seems self-evident and inevitable, irrespective of whether we like it or not (as cited in Kipfer, 2008, 199).

From the abovementioned quote and Lefebvre readings of Stanek, Kipfer and Merrifield, it can be concluded that Lefebvre prioritizes the analysis of everyday politics in sustaining of capitalist socio-economic relations over the statist hegemony discourse. Although the author admits the agency of state and its discourse through legal and institutional arrangements, Lefebvre seeks to get rid of the over determination of the capital on state actions. Again, it is hard to agree on how Lefebvre theorizes the state in relation to the urbanization patterns and capitalist

mode of production. It seems that not reducing state as a mere reflection of the capitalist class is not a satisfactory response to where states position themselves in the process of urbanization. Therefore, how a specific state positions its urbanization processes both in global political economic dynamics and its own domestic affairs through taking various cultural, political and economic characteristics of states and societies shall be questioned.

2.2. Neoliberal Transformation and Space

After concentrating on the need for a materialist geography in studying Istanbul's urban experience due to this approach's merits in terms of production of geographical knowledge, this part focuses on the relationship between neoliberalism and urbanization. There has been a large community of scholars who emphasize the correlation between the hegemonic rise of neoliberalism and the current urban planning patterns in the cities (Harvey, 1989, 2007, 2012; Lovering, 2010; Jessop, 2002; Miraftab, 2004; Scott, 2008; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Smith, 2002). In this literature review, it is possible to come across with the identification of what neoliberal discourse is, how neoliberalism and urbanization patterns are closely related with each other and what kind of naturalization discourses have been designated for the smooth implementation of neoliberal urbanization patterns. In this part of the chapter, through touching upon these three issues in the literature, it will be aimed to analyze the global dynamics that have been created and have been creating the neoliberal urbanization phenomenon.

Analyzing the atmosphere in which neoliberal economic and political hegemonic discourse came into being is crucial to link neoliberalism with the urbanization patterns and planning. Scott states that "in the early 1980s, at the very

moment when this gloom seemed to be reaching its peak, intimations of an alternative model of economic organization and development started to appear in various places” (2008, 553). ‘This gloom’ refers to the failures of the Keynesian welfare systems in sustaining economic growth. According to Esser and Hirsch, transformation from Fordism - which depends on mass production - to the post-Fordism has an impact on the rising importance of new industries like information-communication technologies and cultural products industries in the 1980s which have enormous effects on the cities’ appearances and planning (1989).

According to Jessop, neoliberalism is a discursive project which has political, ideological and economic repercussions. Economically, this neoliberal project emphasizes the inevitability and merits of privatization, deregulation of finance and all kind of economic transactions, internationalization or globalization of the trade, abolishment of state-provided public services and welfare facilities, and preferring private sector in sustaining public needs. Politically, this project aims to supposedly eliminate state failures in economy through proposing public-private partnership in which state takes all the risks and the private counterparts receive all the profit. Finally, ideologically and socially, the neoliberal project reorganizes state-civil society relations and emphasizes the necessity of self-sustaining civil society and individual rights and freedoms with a liberal tone (2002, 453-455).

Harvey claims that “the fundamental mission of the neoliberal state is to create a good business climate and therefore optimize conditions for capital accumulation” (2005, 19). Brand indicates that neoliberalism as an ideology places emphasis on the necessity of shift from state to the market in all aspects of the entrepreneurship including urban planning (2007, 618). This phrase also leads to the consideration of the state’s position in the neoliberal political economic order.

Brenner suggest that “the newly emergent form of the state mode of production appears to signal: an intensified role for the state in developing the productive powers territory and in producing new spatial configurations” (2008, 243).

The idea of correlating the changing economic philosophy with the changes in urban planning in cities derives from the idea of what Scott notes: “city is a distinctive social phenomenon whose internal organization is, in one way or another, an expression of wider social and economic forces” (2008, 549). This analysis contributes to understanding of the city’s place in the neoliberal economy and explains the link between the urban planning patterns and the rise of the neoliberal economic order. Besides, the previous elaboration on the importance of spaces for overcoming of the internal crises of the capitalism and the security of capital circulation directs the scholars’ interest to the correlation with the changing economic order and urbanization patterns.

Brenner and Theodore try to give an account of neoliberalism effects on the urban level through showing seven major characteristics:

1. the heightened importance of the city-region as a key spatial scale in the global economy and the rise of urban competitiveness;
 2. the multi-scaling of government;
 3. the restructuring of local government and the introduction of private sector management techniques;
 4. new forms of governance and the promotion of an enterprise culture;
 5. restructuring of labor markets;
 6. privatization and marketization; and
 7. the rise of the service sector and the cultural economy
- (as cited in Brand, 2007, 618).

Jessop conducts a study which intends to comprehend the implication of neoliberal economic and political framing on the cities through analyzing the report

entitled *World Report on the Urban Future 21* (World Commission 2000). He asserts that cities are being designed to become ‘engines of economic growth’ and promoter of international competitiveness (2002, 465). Secondly, this report suggests that instead of believing in welfare state apparatus, city dwellers should promote their own well-being to overcome inefficiencies in the welfare system. Thirdly, to increase city’s competitiveness in the global realm, cities need to pursue liberalization, deregulation and privatization. Lastly, the report underscores the importance of ‘good governance’ in cities among public-private and civil society for the sake of ‘protecting interests’ of market forces (2002, 466). Brand’s and Jessop’s studies are quite significant in terms of their emphasis on the changing patterns of understanding the good governance of the cities as a result of the shift to the neoliberal economic rationale.

According to Sager, the concept of neoliberalism and its implications are crucial to understand the urban planning theory, because neoliberalism explains the transformation of local administration and bureaucracy in which urban planners work (2011, 149). This transformation that Sager addresses was also mentioned by Brand and Jessop. Moreover, Smith implies that the relationship between state and market over urban planning reveals the fact that private investments on urban planning have been welcomed and guaranteed by the governments since the adaption of neoliberal policies (1988).

2.3. Neoliberal Naturalization Discourses

This part of the chapter deals with the prominent naturalization discourses developed by the governments or/and dominant actors from both developing and developed world, who are the decision makers that benefited from neoliberal urban

management. Naturalization discourses points out the discourses articulated for the smooth working of the neoliberal urban policies through trying to conceal the existing power hierarchies in the substance of the urban politics. By articulating naturalization discourses, on the one hand, the dominant actors sustain their power of controlling and exercising the spatial configurations. On the other hand, normalization of the inequalities for those who are excluded from the decision making process concerning urban management and articulation of some benefits for the dominated groups who will not benefited from the profits will facilitate the smooth working of the system. There are three different discourses which will be presented in this chapter: economic development / growth, environmental sustainability, and urban security.

2.3.1. Economic Development/Growth Discourse

In the literature dealing with the link between the neoliberalism and urbanization, it is agreed on that development / economic growth discourse is one of the tools for the legitimization of the neoliberal urbanism which requires the state's exclusion from the public settlements and policies in the cities and guarantee of private investments security by the state (Harvey, 2007; Fainstein, 1991; Begg, 1999; Miraftab, 2004; Molotch, 1976). As indicated in Sager's one of the papers, urban economic development includes 'city marketing, urban development by attracting creative class, economic development incentives and competitive bidding' (2011, 152). Furthermore, Sager thinks that neoliberal economic growth seeking urban policies are entrepreneurial and derive from 'the belief in competition' (2011, 157). According to He and Wu, neoliberal urbanism refers to 'the renaissance of urbanism and the rapid process of urban-centered wealth accumulation' (2009, 284). That is, economic development/growth in the neoliberal urban rationale requires attracting

enormous investment, mobile financial markets, business friendly environment, cultural diversity to promote competitiveness for the city (Evans, 2003; Hannigan, 2003; Ranney, 2001). These suggestions correspond to the change in the production relations and economic activity. That is, the emergence of the ICT economy emphasizes the significance of the reproductive economic activities over the industrial production.

Kavaratzis stresses on the importance of city marketing, branding “for achieving community development, reinforcing local identity and identification of the citizens with their city and activating all social forces to avoid social exclusion and unrest” (2004, 70). However, the branding of culture and cultural reputation have a capacity to gentrify the city through excluding its dwellers from city-center for the placement of business and cause social problems because of the gentrification of the city (Bayliss, 2004; Zimmerman, 2008). The transformation from citizen to the consumer in the city is also another point for the critique of neoliberal urban policies (Schöllmann et al., 2000; Clarke, 2007).

The other face of the neoliberal urban economic development is related with the attraction of ‘creative class’ into cities for the sake of increasing city’s competitiveness, creativity and entrepreneurial activity (Florida, 2005). However, the critiques to the theory of creative class derive from the negative effects of this class on the city and its dwellers through making cities similar to each other and increasing the income inequalities in the cities (Romein & Trip, 2009; Fainstein, 2005). Indeed, there are some scholars who claim that there is no such a correlation between creative class and developing sustainable economic development (Hoyman & Faricy, 2009; Krätke, 2010). The ideal of attracting the creative class, investment, tourists

determines the way of preferable economic activity, which is excessive branding activities and entertainment industry.

Harvey indicates that “although neoliberalism has had limited effectiveness as an engine for economic growth, it has succeed in channeling wealth from subordinated classes to dominant ones and from poorer to richer countries” (2005, 22). Also, he states that “neoliberalism has not proven effective at revitalizing global capital accumulation but it has succeed in restoring class power” (2005, 29). In the same line of critique, Gleeson and Low point out that “effective privatization of development control in local governments threatens to reduce public participation and accountability in planning, whilst also increasing the risk of decisions that contradict local community interests” (2000, 18). This study seeks to the utilization of these lines of critique which address the redefinition of the economic growth, determination of those who benefit from the assumed economic growth, and costs to attain neoliberal economic growth ideal.

In order to get familiar with the promotion of economic development discourse for the rapid adaption of the neoliberalism in urban management, it will be practical to look at some examples from the world. He and Wu address the China’s rapid neoliberalization of urban management since the open door policy put into practice in 1978 in the case of Shanghai. The authors emphasize that although the effectiveness of neoliberalism in sustaining economic growth is still in question, “Chinese government institutionalizes growth as the primary goal of the state to fight poverty and underdevelopment” and promote growth-first approach to urban development (2009, 299). Furthermore, Banerjee-Guha examines the National Urban Renewal Mission initiative launched in 2005 by the Indian Central Government. He argues that “this direction in urban policy in search of economic growth and

competitiveness not only embodied the new politico-economic regime introduced in 1991, but also emerged as a catalyst of urban and political change in the country” (2016, 70). However, according to the author, the result is the “heightening gentrification, and conversion of a larger city space for elitist consumption” (2016, 67).

2.3.2. Environmental Sustainability Discourse

Environmental sustainability discourse is one of the complementary naturalization discourses of the neoliberal urbanism which the literature has analyzed. Cardew and Searle claim that the discourse on the protection of environment goes hand by hand with the legitimization of the neoliberal urban planning. They think that local participation and environmentalism were contradictory with the implication of the neoliberal urbanization ideology (2000, 358). To overcome the contradiction with changing understanding of economic development and growth during the 1970s, governments enacted the environment protection laws to sustain the feeling of public participation to the urban planning process (2000, 362). The authors give the case of New South Wales as an example of promotion of environmentally friendly urban projects to make the opposition communities believe in local participation. They address that “the trend emerged in the 1970s with a change in direction in economic planning and a strengthened planning system enjoying wider community support and facilitating its participation, following enactment of the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 19” (2000, 362).

Brand recognizes two explicit links between environment and neoliberal urban development policy. Firstly, the competitiveness requirement of a clean-green

city image to attract investment, leading sector professional workers, tourists. Secondly, the need to demonstrate a city's sense of global responsibility through the adoption of environmental initiatives and participation in international urban environmental programmes constitute a legitimization strategy to regulate "social activity and individual behaviors" (2007, 618-620). He suggests that:

Being a green citizen implies being submissive to the demands of the neoliberal governance and the dictates of individualized and marketized social relations, with the environment constructed as a dispositive for social regulation and an ethical template of subjection. The social space of the city – the most distant from and the most radical transformation of ecological space – is where such governmental practices and political effects are at their strongest (2007, 629).

Brand's emphasis on the environment utilizes the linkages between the branding activity and the attractiveness of the green as a sign of being environmentally friendly in the branding activities for the rising the cities' competitiveness. Moreover, the environment can be elaborated from the lenses of Foucauldian governmentality in the Brand's article.

Bakker questions the relationship between neoliberalism and environment through touching upon the meaning and place of the nature in the neoliberalism's understanding. He mentions a debate going on between advocates and proponents of the neoliberalism. The former claims that having environmental governance, neoliberalism tries to green the capitalist mode of production and paves the way for sustainable economic growth. The latter discusses that the neoliberal environmental governance is a way to protect to the interests of the market and serves no purpose other than deepening socio-economic inequalities (2010, 715).

2.3.3. Urban Security Discourse

According to the literature that criticizes the urbanization under neoliberal political economic rationale, securitization of under-development in the inner city has become one of the main legitimizing tool of neoliberal urbanism. This securitization process provides means with private investors to conduct public housing and ‘gated town’ projects through excluding poverty from the inner city and replacing it with middle classes and creative investments (Candan & Kolluoglu, 2008; Crump, 2002; Sager, 2011; Samara, 2008). This securitization process includes giving justification for urban renewal projects and excluding poor from the inner-city for the sake of rising city’s competitiveness and economic development.

Samara claims that policing is situated in relation to the shifting meaning of security, the city’s emphasis on economic growth and attempts to develop the townships through a law-enforcement-driven urban renewal process (2010, 197). According to the author, the result is far from providing urban security. Indeed, this kind relationship between police, poor and urban security discourse deepens the inequality and insecurity in the urban (2010, 199). From this point of view, it can be inferred that security discourse focus on the crime threat deriving from the poverty in the inner-city is conducted for the sake of protecting neoliberal urban economic development.

Crump seeks to denaturalize the reasons of the deconcentration of the poverty from the inner-city. He states that urban planners blame the concentration of the poverty in the inner city as a cause of social problems like joblessness and crime (2002, 582). However, as Goetz indicated, ‘deconcentration opens up valuable land for redevelopment intended to bring the middle and upper classes back to the inner

city' (cited in Crump, 2002, 582). Again, exclusion of the poor and the deepening of social classes have been naturalized by securitizing the poverty to implement neoliberal urbanism. In order to analyze the demonizing of poverty in the inner-city, the author studies on the case of Minneapolis, Minnesota public housing projects and the discourses articulated for the necessity of public housing project. The author gives the speech of Minneapolis Mayor in 1995 for the demolition of concentrated poverty:

It represents one giant step toward dissolving the concentrations of poverty in MinneapolisWe know that poverty by itself doesn't cause urban problems. It's the concentration ... that eventually strangles those neighborhoods economically, making it impossible for residents to have access to jobs, good schools, health care, transportationThese are living conditions that can and too often do, foster hopelessness, despair and antisocial behavior (2000, 589).

However, what author claims is that these discourses have not been articulated for the eradication of poverty from the city, but for creating valuable lands for the construction of new profitable housing developments for the mixed-income groups (2000, 593).

2.4. Istanbul's Experience of Urbanization in the Literature

As identified in the previous part of this chapter, in order to catch up with the global, national and local dynamics behind the accelerated motion of urbanization, it is indispensable to take local, regional and national levels of analysis into the consideration together with the global universal categories of abstracts, such as capital circulation, accumulation, production of space and dialectical relationship between state and capitalist class' interests. The analysis of the nexus of power in localities in relation to global political economic dynamics provides an advantage of getting informed on the concrete social realities in the local.

In this part of the chapter, main target will be the elaboration on the literature dealing with the urbanization patterns in Istanbul. This part constitutes a transition from the general literature on urbanization to a specific one. Therefore, this part paves the way for comprehension of what is taken as significant in the Istanbul's experience of neoliberal urbanization in the recent years. This will contribute to realizing to what extent global discussions on neoliberal urbanization resembles with the literature concentrating on the specific case of Istanbul's experience of urbanization. Furthermore, pointing out the negative repercussions' of neoliberal practices on urban scale in Istanbul will contribute to understanding the necessity of articulation of legitimization discourses to stay in power and get the public consent for AKP.

The literature on Istanbul's experience of urbanization deals with the link between adaptation of neoliberal economic model and changes in the urban governance. The changing patterns of state-led investments, land policies, the changing Turkish state's role in the urban development from informal land management to the housing market and the power shifts between the central authority and the local governance in urban governance are the issues which are discussed on the urban governance in Turkey. Furthermore, new commodification processes and commercialization policies on Istanbul as a way of becoming a global city to make competitiveness possible constitute a place in the literature.

2.4.1. Neoliberal Economic Model and Urbanization

It can be suggested that the literature on Istanbul's experience of urbanization prioritizes the significance of city's place in the economic transformation. As a result of this, urban areas and their governance are evaluated as complementary bodies of

the changing economic governance. This idea is quite in direction with the global literature on the relation between economy and urbanization. Specifically, it is possible to come across with so many references of Turkey's neoliberal economic turn and changes in state's role in urban management, informal land policies, housing and real estate markets and representation of Istanbul's self-images. Therefore, urban governance has become an area of performing the neoliberal economic discourse and governance in the eyes of the literature, which is quite familiar with the global literature dealing with the relationship between neoliberalism and urbanization.

Keyder points out the historical evaluation of how Istanbul has become a place where state takes the initiative of making Istanbul "a privileged location of new generation of large-scale and private enterprises" since 1970s. He claims that Istanbul was a disregarded geography by the previous governments who were in favor of investing in Ankara and were antagonistic sentiments towards the idea of autonomous urban management based on the institutionalization of market operations (1999, 11-12). Furthermore, Keyder admits that 1980s were the turning point for Istanbul's urban transformation with the adaptation of structural adjustment policies, economic liberalization and privatization of public goods (1999, 13). Therefore, it can be said that the most significant change in Istanbul's urban management is the transformation from populist state urban management to the market-led urban governance over the time from a general outlook.⁷ Populist tone

⁷) By referring to populist tone, it does not necessarily mean Turkey has pursued welfare regime in urban management and planning until 1980s. However, the lack of market-led initiatives and private rent motive in the urban management and public-private partnership was creating an atmosphere in which state and the common good are the basics of urban management rationale. For example, Turkun states that "In the early 1970s due to the increasing number of migrants and their growing electoral influence, various measures were taken to integrate them into the system by giving their houses de facto and de jure legal status"(2011, 63).

has been described as “incomplete commodification of land” (Kuyucu and Unsal, 2008, 1483).

Keyder describes the period starting from the mid of 1980s as vanishing Istanbul’s relatively homogenous character which resulted from the ending of peripheral Fordism, protection of national economy and new pressures and demands from the land market and property regime. This has constituted a suitable ground for the social exclusion which refers to “a failure of social integration at economic, political and cultural levels – a market phenomenon reinforced by failures in the welfare regime and by the lack of cultural integration” (2005, 128). Together with the abolishment of populist tone and moving toward to the post-Fordism in urban policies led to the emergence of global market oriented and gentrified city image. According to the author, this emergence of global market effects on the land and housing markets has been pushing to the commodification of the urban scales to compete in the global area. The effect of this competition and commodification of urban scales were mostly felt in the welfare regime and consequently in social solidarity, inclusion and poverty (2005, 130-133).

Kuyucu and Unsal acknowledge that although transformation to the neoliberal urban governance is a global trend, they give credit to the local dynamics and actors in the implementation and outcomes of these processes. In their analysis of the global picture of neoliberal urbanization patterns and Urban Transformation Projects, they recognized that there has been a new urban governance in which local governments have entrepreneurial roles together with the private partners. They indicate that “inner-city slums become prime targets for large projects. Since such projects are risky due to the big start-up investments and uncertain future returns,

private capital demands the involvement of public agencies in order to mitigate risk” (2008, 1483-1484).

As a local reflection of the global neoliberal urban governance rationale, Kuyucu and Unsal point out the laws enacted during AKP reign regarding to urban governance. The most important one is the New Municipality Law in 2005 to authorize district municipalities to implement transformation projects in derelict, obsolescent and unsafe parts of cities (2008, 1484-85). In their field research, the authors realized basically two problems in the implementation of Basibuyuk and Tarlabasi urban transformation projects. First one is the absence of objective criteria in the Municipality Law and the second one is the exclusion of the public participation from the project implementation processes (2008, 1489-1490).

As Kuyucu and Unsal emphasize, Turkey has been experiencing a radical shift in urban governance from populist to a neoliberal tone since 2001 (2008, 1479). The authors’ claim derives from their study on Urban Transformation Projects and the management of informal lands and housing. The reason for indicating 2001 as a turning point despite the fact that the neoliberal shift has started in 1980s in Istanbul can be evaluated in line with what Turkun suggests on urban management: “the presence of one powerful party, AKP, with the ability of this party to change laws without the necessity of making concession to other political parties or public opinion has led to a dangerous concentration and centralization of power” (2011, 62).

As can be seen from the example of these two urban transformation projects, the reflections of the global neoliberal urban governance are totally interwoven with each other. Meaning, it is not unfair to indicate that there has been a change in the Turkish state’s role in the administration of the previously informal lands, housing

markets and welfare policies. It seems clear that although the Turkish state is still effective in channeling of the neoliberal urban governance through enabling local urban authorities as a risk mitigant for big start-up investments, giving them entrepreneurial roles with the private partners and enacting laws which ease the involvement of private investments in the large urban transformation projects, the Turkish state's effectiveness has been shifting its axis of priority. That is, Turkish state is active in the sense that the state favors the private enterprises' involvement in urban management and not in the sense of providing welfare regime in housing policies.

It can be made an inference that changes in the Turkish state's effectiveness in the urban governance lead to the changes in the informal land and housing policies and representation of self-images of the cities. Being familiar with the global discussions on the neoliberal urban governance and the significance of the capital in the transformation of urban scales to economic motors, the literature on Istanbul's urban governance leads the discussion to the similar issues. Since 1980s, the Turkish state has been pursuing neoliberal economic policies. Finally in AKP period, the suitable atmosphere has emerged for the transformation of urban governance from populist tone to the neoliberal one. According to the literature, this fact can be analyzed through the urban transformation acts and housing policies; specifically TOKI's (Mass Housing Administration) activities and status, and the world city discourse of Istanbul. Although attempts to activate neoliberal rationale in the urban management has started in 1980s, the real emerge of hegemonic neoliberal discourse

without alternative voices in central and local actors coincides with AKP's coming to the power.⁸

Keyder gives the story of historical transformations of the land and housing policies in the Turkish territory from the Ottoman rule, Republican period, 1950s and finally to the 1990s in which the effects of the globalization can be felt. There has been a path to the fully state controlled land and housing policy to the self-regulating market controlled one (1999, 143-152). According to Keyder, as a part of adjustment process to the neoliberal turn and transnational capital flow, in order to meet the needs of the global markets, lands in the context of creation of space have becoming subject to legal development framework "which in turn, made possible the increasing impact of capitalist enterprise in housing and, interdependently, the emergence of large construction firms" (1999, 153).

As related with the changing patterns of land management as a consequence of adjustment process to the global market and international competitiveness in Turkey since 1980s, the issues of urban regeneration projects and public housing have been given a wide coverage by the literature on Istanbul's urbanization experience. Especially, with AKP's seizure of power in 2002, the legal arrangements regarding TOKI's status and municipality laws have enabled acceleration of initiatives to become integrated to global dynamics of urban governance under the dictation of the transnational capital relations.

⁸) Between 1980s-2000s, there have been different Mayors from different political parties with different ideological backgrounds. However, the neoliberal discourse was unsettled at these periods of time. Furthermore, the different political parties' attitude towards neoliberal rationale in urban management was not fixed. For example, as described by Keyder, In 1980s, Bedrettin Dalan who was Mayor from ANAP (Motherland Party) was implemented neoliberal measures in his tenure. However, in 1989 elections, he gave rein to Nurettin Sozen who was from Republican People's Party and social democrat because he neglected the public while embracing the market. Furthermore, the Republican People's Party also started to accept new world order and came near to European Parliamentary Left and replaced Nurettin Sozen with Zulfu Livaneli (1999, 26).

2.4.2. The Rising Importance of Urban Competitiveness

Dogan stresses the significance of marketing of cities and representation of self-images of the cities in order to attract tourists and investments in order to sustain competitiveness in the global economy (2010, 8-11). The urban regeneration projects of Sulukule, Tarlabası, Fener, Balat and Süleymaniye are evaluated as examples of cleaning of cities and beautifying areas for the cultural heritage exhibit (Dogan, 2010, 11-13). However, the former inhabitants of these districts are out of the concern of these regeneration projects. Public housing projects can be suggested as a solution for the former residents of these districts. Again, this does not benefit the former residents as much as it benefits urban developers and investors. This problem of branding “city’s cultural diversity” by destroying the elements that promote cultural diversity has been also located in the global literature on neoliberal urbanism.

The studies dealing with the urban regeneration and public housing projects make references to the significance of branding cities to make them as creative and competitive as possible to attract international investments. The strategy of making cities competitive for sustaining economic development and taking them as “growth machines” for the national economic growth enable cities to be put to the national security agenda and justify the commodification processes of urban scales through the abovementioned urban projects. As indicated by Stokes, “localities, cities and regions are becoming the key operators in an emerging global economy of signs and commodities” (1999, 127). The discussions on the creative city, cultural economies and marketing strategies of cities to promote success in inter-urban and inter-regional competition is also on the agenda of the literature.

Candan and Kolluoglu state that “Kuçukcekmece’s proximity to the airport, its natural assets, and its capacity to host potential future international events such as the Olympic Games are all highlighted to prepare the city for the “world” and to justify various urban transformation projects” (2008, 20). This addresses the importance of city’s images that are designed to exhibit the city and the necessity of increasing the competitiveness of Istanbul to be host country for the Olympic Games. Being a host country for the Olympic Games was correlated with the economic development/growth which utilizes the justification of the urban transformation of Kuçukcekmece.

Finally, the global phenomenon of creating self-images of uniqueness for cities can be seen in case of Istanbul’s self-images of religiously affluent city. As Stokes mentions, the practices of signifying Istanbul as “cosmopolitan melting pot and global melting point in which the best Eastern and Western cultures can flourish” can be taken as an example of marketing of Istanbul’s uniqueness and tolerance (1999, 126). Furthermore, Keyder emphasizes the imagining attempts of Istanbul as a modern city, Islamic city or as a bridge among cultures since 1980s (1999, 26). Uysal also suggests that findings and analysis point out the fact that tolerance to different religions, being meeting point of three Abrahamic religions and religious aspect of civilization and urban life have been used for branding of Istanbul as unique in religiously affluent sense (2013, 228-232).

2.5. Conclusion

Studying Marxist approaches in urbanization has merits in terms of its critical perspective in producing geographical knowledge and political-economic structure of urbanization. Marxist perspective concentrates on the explanation of the

repercussions of the capitalist economic structure on built environments through the utilization of its own theoretical frameworks and concepts, such as overaccumulation crises of capitalism, and the flow of capital, and so on. Its theoretical framework and concepts allow thinking on the greater picture of base-superstructure relations and class relations in the political economy of urban development and neoliberal urbanization discourses. However, its ability to envisage the political and cultural dynamics of the process of attributing meanings to urban and spatiality is not well-grounded, because of the absence of state as a living entity in its theorizing. However, the authors like Lefebvre and Jessop try to incorporate Marxist paradigms with everyday practices and the socio-political construction of hegemonic discourses in studying the urbanization phenomenon.

In the Historical Marxist Geography literature, there are basically three discourses of neoliberal urbanism defined in order to naturalize the social inequality and class interests: economic growth/development, environmental sustainability and urban security. It is not coincidental to realize similar insights in the literature dealing with Istanbul's experience of urbanization in the last decades. This literature heavily emphasizes on the fact that there has been a shift from populist tone to a neoliberal one in urban planning, housing and land policies in Turkey with the introduction of global capital and market into urban management dynamic, which is a rent-oriented perspective on management of public land, informal housing and mega urban projects over social welfare. Moreover, increasing importance of urban competitiveness and what Harvey calls "entrepreneurial urban governance" are main subjects of the literature on Istanbul's urbanization patterns (1989).

As can be deduced from the literature on Istanbul's experience of urbanization, Turkish way of urban governance is quite on the same path with the global dynamics

in accordance with Marxist Geography insights in urbanization. All the public housing problems, urban regeneration and prestige projects and branding activities in Istanbul point out harmonization of Turkey's experience of the urbanization with the rest of the world. All the legal arrangements during AKP rule are seen as complementary and accelerator features for the already existed transformation of urban governance to the neoliberal understanding. However, the attention given to AKP's conducting of legitimization discourses for the neoliberal practices on the urban scale does not seem accurate to comprehend the discursive sources of the legitimization of neoliberal hegemony. Furthermore, this articulation, in our case regarding three mega projects, differs from the rest of the world when faced with the opposition from both domestic and international levels. This difference stems from the inclusion of against alleged internal and external enemies discourse articulated by AKP. Therefore, this leads us to study further on AKP's construction of hegemony on the domestic level and its othering practices in this process in order to realize the this process' reflection on the articulation of legitimization discourses for the chosen three mega projects in Istanbul.

CHAPTER III:

AKP'S HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF HEGEMONY OVER TURKISH DOMESTIC REALM

In order to understand the inclusion of against alleged enemies discourse into the legitimization / naturalization discourses for the neoliberal mega projects, it is necessary to have a glimpse of the Turkish socio-political context of the emergence of widespread opposition against AKP since 2013. Although a detailed analysis will be given in the next chapter, AKP's discourse on neoliberal mega projects heavily stresses on the existence of internal and external enemies and AKP has presented these mega projects as a sign of the strength of Turkish state. AKP's main target group in its speeches are Gezi Parki protestors and FETO (Fethullahist Terrorist Organization) in the domestic level and 'mastermind', 'interest lobby' and 'Western powers' in the international level. Because of this reason, Turkish socio-political context will be analysed through focusing on the main alleged enemies in AKP's legitimization discourses for the mega projects.

The main purpose of this chapter is to conceptualize the significance of the processes of AKP's construction of its hegemony over Turkish domestic realm as a reason for the emergence of explicit and growing oppositions and challenges against the government. Furthermore, AKP's utilization of self and other dichotomy through redefining the 'us versus them', in relation to the oppositions and challenges faced, will be analyzed to link these socio-political developments with the changing

legitimization discourses. Specifically, AKP's othering practices since 2013, the year faced with strong opposition, facilitate the understanding of the significance of discursive construction of legitimization of these mega projects. Furthermore, the analysis of the changing domestic and international environments in which AKP operates and how AKP articulates and narrates these changes will facilitate the realization of these changes in the articulation of the legitimization discourses.

Throughout this chapter, the first step will be to identify the political, socio-economic conditions which form a basis for the rise of AKP in the Turkish political arena and AKP's construction of its party identity before 2002 elections. This process is important to understand AKP's staying in power for a long time. Party's ability of benefiting from the socio-political and economic atmosphere in Turkey led up to AKP's construction of its hegemony over domestic realm. Secondly, AKP's historical experience of constructing its own hegemony over the Turkish politics through seizing power over political elections, military and judiciary will be presented as a complementary process for the rise of opposition since 2013. In this part, economic policy, foreign policy and identity politics pursued by AKP to consolidate its power will be studied as co-constitutive elements. This process has a specific characteristic in terms of realizing the othering practices of the Party which eventually led to the emergence of strong oppositions from both domestic and international actors since 2013. Thirdly, the exclusionary results and othering practices employed by the government will be discussed to explain the rising opposition against the government. To link the power struggle with FETO and oppositions at the domestic realm with the changing legitimization discourses for these three mega projects, AKP's articulation of these opposition and challenges, and

reflexes developed against these developments in the domestic and international levels will be captured.

3.1. Rise of AKP in Turkish Political Scene and AKP's Background

This section will address the socio-political environment which paved the way for the rise of AKP in the Turkish political arena through pointing out the Party's politics of defining itself as 'conservative democrat'. Both the Party's defined identity and the Turkish socio-political environment are significant for the analysis of the process of AKP's consolidation of power over Turkish domestic realm since 3 November 2002 parliamentary elections. To understand AKP's success of getting 34.3% of total votes and almost two third of parliamentary seats in 2002 elections, which will be the beginning of AKP's hegemony construction, the analysis of how AKP has located itself in the Turkish political scene will be a starting point for this chapter.

3.1.1 Turkish Political Environment before the 2002 Parliamentary Elections

In order to analyze the socio-political environment before 2002 parliamentary elections, this section will focus on the brief history of rise of political Islam in Turkey since 1970s, the neoliberal economic restructuring of Turkey since 1980s and the legitimacy and representation crisis in 1990s. All these developments in modern Turkey's history are linked with the rise of AKP in Turkish political scene: firstly, AKP was born out of the Islamist Virtue Party (FP) on 14 August 2001, secondly AKP would pursue the neoliberal economic model which was introduced by Motherland Party (ANAP) in 1980s, and lastly the coalition governments and the legitimacy crisis of 1990s would create an opportunity for a brand new political party which was never seen in the Turkish political arena before.

The first Islamist Party in modern Turkish history was National Order Party (MNP) that was established in 1970 under the leadership of Necmeddin Erbakan. Since its establishment, this political party was closed down four times in 1971, 1980, 1998 and 2001, and reborn under different names. From the last closure, two different ranks have emerged. The first one was ‘innovationists’ who would establish Justice and Development Party (AKP) and the second one ‘traditionalists’ who would establish Felicity Party (SP) (Ozbudun, 2006, 546). In order to understand the roots of AKP and the political Islamist base of Turkish electorate that keeps Islamist political ideology alive since 1970, the brief history of political Islamist parties and their visioning will be addressed.

Although AKP has defined itself as ‘conservative democrat’, the political Islamist roots of AKP was the reason for seeing the rise of AKP in 2002 as a revival of political Islam in Turkish modern history. In order to realize the differences and nuances of AKP’s defined identity and political Islamist parties’ identity, it will be beneficial to take a look at to the Islamist parties’ ideologies briefly. For example, Ozbudun describes RP’s (Welfare Party) version of democracy as only a mean to establish the ‘order of happiness’, RP’s version of economy as an ‘Islamic-inspired just order’ which is different from capitalism and socialism, and RP’s third-worldist foreign policy including anti-American, anti-Zionist and anti-European Union discourses (2006, 545). Although this does not necessarily mean that RP, its descendant FP and its ancestors have pursued ideologically biased policies, their discourse on their parties’ point of view was based on Islamist sentiments. Gumuscu and Sert state that “the MG (National Vision Party) has never explicitly declared that its ultimate goal is the establishment of an Islamic state ... Instead, it has implicitly

used Islam as its main reference and employed Islamic notions and symbols to communicate its Islamist identity” (2009, 954-955)

Second development in Turkish modern history which also paved the way for the rise of AKP in the Turkish political arena was the birth of neoliberal ideology. The neoliberal turn in Turkish modern history dates back to the military government between 1980-1983 and Turgut Ozal’s government between 1983-1991.⁹ This neoliberal turn can be associated with “reducing the state’s role in the economy”, implementation of export-oriented growth policy instead of import substitution industrialization and “growth of SMEs in the Anatolian periphery along with the policies of exchange rates and lower wage regime” (Keyman&Gumuscu, 2014, 31). Also, Boratav calls the period between 1980 and 1988 as “the first golden age of bourgeoisie under neoliberalism” in Turkey (2015, 3). The emergence of new economic class and “a strong shift from a vision of society which was heavily statist, towards one characterized by neoliberal free-market individualism” would form a basis for the rise of AKP and the Party’s break from previous Islamist parties’ definition of their identities (Keyman&Gumuscu, 2014, 23). Furthermore, together with the globalization of Turkish economy and economic liberalism, “second generation bourgeoisie” have started to deepen its economic relations with the EU countries (Gumuscu&Sert, 2009, 963; Bozkurt, 2013). Therefore, AKP would distance itself from its descendant political Islamist Parties’ belief in “greater state presence in the economy which did not match well with what the expanding devout bourgeoisie asked for” (Gumuscu&Sert, 2009, 963; Gumuscu&Sert, 2010, 58).

⁹⁾ There is an immense literature on the neoliberal turn in Turkey starting from 1980s. It is possible to see this transformation in Boratav, 2015; Karataşlı, 2015.

The neoliberal turn has started to be effective in Turkey in 1980s. This transformation's negative repercussions on economy has started to be felt in Turkey since the early 1990s. Together with the economic problems, the increasing globalization of Turkey in 1990s led to the emergence of identity-based conflicts which gradually challenged the legitimacy and representation of coalition governments in 1990s. Boratav states that "the trade union movement made an effective comeback in 1989 accompanied by mass mobilizations against the neoliberal model. Turkey moved into coalition governments during the following years and 'populist' policies shaped relations of distribution" (2015, 3). Bozkurt argues that the creation of accumulation through state-led internationalization of capital in 1980s reached its limits with the beginning of 1990s (2013, 379). The detailed analysis of the economic regressions and economy policies in 1990s is beyond the scope of this thesis.¹⁰ However, during the 1990s, Turkey was faced with series of economic crisis and regressions together with the rising identity-base conflicts.¹¹ As stated by Keyman and Koyuncu:

Since the 1980s and especially in the 1990s, the emergence of new actors, new mentalities and the new language of modernization, as well as democracy as a global point of reference in politics, has made culture and cultural factors an important variable in understanding political activities. It has become apparent that in the 1990s the strong state faced a serious difficulty to respond to the new societal problems and demands, especially those articulated of identity-terms and asking for the protection of social and political rights, as well as the recognition of the ethnic and religious differences. The strong state turned out to be too strong in its attempt to impose itself on society, and too weak in governing its society effectively (2005, 109).

Together with globalization's negative effects on Turkish economy, identity-politics and the changing international environment have led to the legitimacy and

¹⁰) For detailed analysis, please see, Oguz, 2009; Cizre-Sakallioglu & Yeldan, 2000.

¹¹) The identity politics especially the rise of Kurdish questions during 1990s is a separate and complicated issue to be covered by this chapter. For more information on this issue, please see Cizre 2001; Kirisci, 1998; Yegen, 1996.

representation crisis in 1990s. With the end of the Cold War, Keyman and Gumuscu address that “Turkey had to face a more uncertain and risky international environment which at the same time offered greater room for manoeuvre through new foreign policy initiatives” (2014, 24). However, the economic instability, rising identity conflicts and political instability constituted a barrier for the realization of new opportunities in the Region covering the Balkans and Central Asia with full of newly independent states. Missed opportunities in the international realm and foreign policy in 1990s also became an intervention area for AKP’s active foreign policy to strengthen its election campaigns. All these developments in Turkey in 1990s in terms of economic problems, rise of Anatolian bourgeoisie, the new possibilities in the international environment and identity-based conflicts paved the way for AKP’s rise in Turkish political arena and manifestation of its identity along with these developments.

3.1.2. Manifestation of AKP’s Identity before 2002 Elections

Although it can be assumed that AKP has its roots in its descendant’s Islamist political parties, according to the research conducted by Foundation for Social, Economic and Political Research, only 27,4 per cent of AKP’s voters in 2002 parliamentary elections had voted for FP in 1999 parliamentary elections. 21,9 percent had voted for Nationalist Action Party (MHP); 9,2 percent had voted for ANAP; 7,3 percent had voted for DYP and 6,9 percent had voted for DSP (centre-left party) (2002, 70-71). This research suggests that the substantial voter base of AKP was composed of the former centre-right party’s voters and Islamist FP’s voters. Ozbudun suggests that “AKP coalition is based on the support of much of the rural population, artisans and small traders in the cities, urban slum-dwellers, and the

rapidly rising Islamist bourgeoisie” (2006, 547). Insel describes AKP as “the representative of the new middle class”(2003, 297).

Keyman and Gumuscu suggest that the rising socially conservative businessmen in the Anatolia -as a result of the support given by the state in 1980s and 1990s- established Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association (MUSIAD) in 1990 (2014, 31-32). Although this group of businessmen have been expressing their attachment to Islamic values and sentiments in social life, they also have been asking for smaller state and further integration with EU and world economies (Keyman&Koyuncu, 2005). Therefore, as suggested by Keyman and Gumuscu, “RP’s statist, anti-Western and confrontational discourse conflicted with the interests of the rising businessmen class” (2014, 32). The rise of this new middle class, their interests and the international environment starting with the Helsinki Summit in 1999 have a significant place to understand AKP’s defining of party identity and the rise of AKP in Turkish political arena; because AKP has successfully “governed these processes” through reflecting them in its own party identity (Keyman&Gumuscu, 2014, 29).

AKP’s constitution¹² and AKP’s Development and Democratization Programme¹³ emphasize democracy, human rights and rule of law. Furthermore, in economic terms, AKP prioritizes free-market and state as a regulatory in the market. On the basis of its programme, AKP emphasizes the significance of good relations

¹²) AKP’s constitution can be accessed via the link provided below:
<https://www.akparti.org.tr/site/akparti/parti-tuzugu>

¹³) AKP’s Development and Democratization Programme can be accessed via the link provided below:
<http://acikerisim.tbmm.gov.tr:8080/xmlui/handle/11543/926>

with the United States, European Union, NATO, Central Asian states and Islamic countries. Especially taking its programme into consideration, Ozbudan stresses that

AKP seems hardly distinguishable from a liberal or conservative democratic party. Although the party describes itself as ‘conservative democrat’, there is very little emphasis on conservative values in the programme, except for the passages supporting family values and emphasizing the need to strengthen the family (2006, 548).

It seems that AKP prioritizes economic liberalism, free market, Copenhagen Criteria, conservatism on the social and cultural spheres of lives but not in politics in defining its Party’s identity. AKP has interpreted the socio-political context of Turkey in 1990s along with its political Islamist past and neoliberal economic policies of Ozal, and the post-Cold War international environment to present the Party identity in the pre-2002 parliamentary elections. AKP’s defining of identity in line with being democratic, conservative and liberal paved the way for its rise in the Turkish political scene.

3.2. Consolidation of AKP’s Hegemony over Domestic Realm

The more AKP has become powerful, the more its relation to democracy has become instrumental and majoritarian. Its electoral hegemony helped the party to successfully challenge the balance of power between the state and the government, evident in the process of civilianization; yet the same electoral hegemony also allowed the party to monopolize power and eliminate checks over it (Keyman&Gumuscu, 2014, 44).

This process is significant in order to understand the emergence of explicit opposition manifestation since 2013, because AKP has monopolized its power over all the state mechanisms with its electoral success and left almost no democratic channel for checks and balances. The groups which were not given any democratic mechanisms started to express their unrest with mass protests in 2013 Gezi Parki protests. Furthermore, AKP’s monopolization of power over state mechanisms is significant to point out the outbreak of Gulen movement’s activities in 17-25

December Operations and 15 July Coup Attempt in 2016, which are the main domestic tensions occurring in the post 2013 era. In order to elaborate on the process which gave AKP electoral hegemony over Turkish political scene, AKP's policies in economic, social and international realms will be addressed. Furthermore, this electoral hegemony will ease AKP's construction of hegemony in every segment of the state mechanism like military and judiciary.

In the first term, between 2002 and 2007, the literature agrees that AKP tried to accomplish its promises of ensuring liberal market economy and consolidating human rights for the harmonization with EU legislation (Gumuscu&Sert, 2010, Keyman&Gumuscu, 2014). In this period, as argued by Kirdis, AKP presented harmonization with the EU and possible EU membership as a vehicle for economic and structural reforms. He states that "AKP appointed its Minister of Economy at the time, Ali Babacan, as its Chief EU Negotiator in order to signal the Turkish electorate the Party's awareness of the link between the EU membership, structural reform and a stable economy" (2015, 183).¹⁴ With its success in economic growth, low inflation and budget deficit, and laws enacted for the EU harmonization, accession talks officially began in 2005.¹⁵ In this period, AKP government kept the promises for economic growth and EU accession with economic growth and human rights, freedom and civilian democracy measures. By doing so, AKP was able to be the strongest candidate of 2007 parliamentary elections. According to this election's

¹⁴For details, please see in 2002 AKP Election Manifesto" Retrieved from: https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/eyayin/GAZETELER/WEB/KUTUPHANEDE%20BULUNAN%20DIJITAL%20KAYNAKLAR/KITAPLAR/SIYASI%20PARTI%20YA%20YINLARI/200304063%20AK%20PARTI%20SECIM%20BEYANNAMESI%202002/200304063%20AK%20PARTI%20SECIM%20BEYANNAMESI%202002%200000_0000.pdf

¹⁵For details of the EU harmonization process, please see Turkish Republic of Ministry of EU Affairs website: http://www.ab.gov.tr/index_en.php

results, AKP's votes increased to 47% percent.¹⁶ As a result of having the majority of parliamentary seats in this election, AKP also guaranteed the Presidency of its candidate; Abdullah Gul. By doing so, the government increased its influence over Turkish political scene. Furthermore, in June, 12, 2011 elections, the votes of AKP reached 50%. The success of AKP in three consecutive elections brought the term "electoral hegemony" which was described as "increasing gap between AKP and the opposition parties in terms of their capacity of winning elections, and the increasing frustration of the supporters of the opposition parties" (Keyman&Gumuscu, 2014, 34).

Keyman and Gumuscu suggest that AKP's strategies which enable the party to establish electoral hegemony are four-folded. These are market-oriented and reform-based politics, philanthropic and regulated neoliberalism, service-based politics and proactive foreign policy (2014, 37-38). As also mentioned before, on the one hand, active privatization programme and free-market economy have increased AKP's success in economic growth. On the other hand, AKP has played an intermediary role in distribution of wealth through investing on health system, nation-wide housing programme, large infrastructure programme including construction of roads and railways.¹⁷ Finally, the strong economy enabled AKP to pursue proactive foreign policy with the increasing emphasis on soft power.¹⁸

Keyman and Gumuscu stress that:

AKP successfully presented a new nationalist discourse based on Turkey's economic performance and closely intertwined with its increasing visibility in

¹⁶Retrieved from: <http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/docs/2007MilletvekiliSecimi/turkiye/milletvekilisayisigrafik.pdf>

¹⁷) For detailed analysis on developments in health sector in Turkey under AKP reign, please see in Bugra&Keyder, 2006; Yilmaz, 2013. Furthermore, for detailed analysis on public housing policies of AKP, please see in Marschall, Aydogan&Bulut, 2016; Ozdemir, 2011;

¹⁸) For detailed information on AKP's understanding of soft power, please see in, Kalin, 2011.

global politics. As such, the party managed to transcend the cleavage between the global and the national while the opposition parties and their constituencies developed nationalist reactions to the increasing momentum of globalization in Turkey (2014, 43).

AKP's success in its proactive foreign policy - at least until the outbreak of Arab Spring - can be evaluated as a result of the opportunities in the international and global environment arising from the end of the Cold War and harmonization process with EU. Furthermore, the strength of the Turkish economy, AKP's success in political elections, consolidating its power over Turkish domestic affairs and lack of strong opposition in the domestic realm brought about the party's active engagement with the proactive foreign policy. For example, shuttle diplomacy implemented by Turkey between Syria and Israel in 2007-2008, the Mediation for Peace initiative launched by Finland and Turkey in 2010 under the UN auspices and trilateral cooperation mechanism established by Turkey for Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina can be evaluated as the reflections of Turkey's active involvement into the international environment. However, the political turmoil right after the outbreak of the Arab Spring in the Middle East would constitute a challenge for AKP's proactive foreign policy strategy's success. As already been stated, the opportunities in the international environment could turn into a risk to be handled with.

After presenting AKP's strategies which enable the party to establish electoral hegemony, AKP's construction of its hegemony and monopolization of power in the state segments will be addressed to link these exercises with the emergence of strong oppositions against AKP since 2013. Starting from the second term in offices, AKP has started to pursue the policy of ending up the duality between state and government.¹⁹ The election of Abdullah Gul, who was AKP's

¹⁹) The discussion on the duality between state elites and government in Turkish politics dates back to the 1950s. For more information, please see in Ozbudun, 2000. State elites refer to the group of people

candidate for the new President of Turkey in July 2007 elections, was the beginning of AKP's struggle with the military and judiciary. In this struggle, the government has also approached the Gulen movement. Gumuscu states that "AKP-Gulen alliance was established to end military tutelage in particular and undermine secular establishments in general" (2016, 7).²⁰ Gumuscu also asserts that

AKP-Gulen alliance weakened all sources of potential checks and balances democratic and undemocratic alike over the executive: the secular military, judiciary, mainstream media, and civil society. Paradoxically, their success has not only led to AKP's political hegemony and Gulenist colonization of the state but also a bitter power struggle between former allies. This power struggle in turn undermined both democratic politics and state's governance capacity in Turkey (2016, 9).

The alliance between AKP and Gulen Movement eased AKP's control over the state apparatus. Firstly, AKP concentrated on the reducing the military's influence in Turkish political arena through three main phases. As suggested by Keyman and Gumuscu, these are "legal reforms that cut back the institutional power of the military in decision-making, political de-legitimization of military intervention in politics, and criminalization of such interventions" (2014, 46). Especially the "Ergenekon and Balyoz –*Sledgehammer*- cases which were resulted with the retirement and on-duty of high-level military personnel were the main attempts to diminish secular characteristics of military. Paradoxically, the civilianization of Turkish politics under the name of the harmonization with the EU and democratization resulted with the diminishing of the secular wings of the Republic. Secondly, AKP has targeted the Constitutional Court.. In 2010, AKP took the constitutional reform which includes "election of a new Council of Judges and

in military, judiciary and civilian bureaucrats as the defender of secular state since the transition to the multi-party system.

²⁰⁾ Gulen movement can be described as a religious formation during 1970s along with the emergence of political Islam in Turkey. However, Gulen Movement was more interested in Islamization of individuals and society at least at first. For more information on the history of Gulen Movement in Turkey, please see in Yavuz, 2003; Dogan, P. & Rodrik, D. 2013.

Prosecutors (HSYK) and new members to the higher courts” to the referendum and it was accepted (Keyman&Gumuscu, 2014, 46).

Contrary to its claims earlier, AKP has not concentrated on the democratization, human rights, economic reforms and proactive foreign policy. Conversely, AKP’s conservatism did not remain limited with the social and individual values and spread to the secular institutions of the Turkish Republic. Furthermore, the alliance between AKP and Gulen Movement has ended up with the total exclusion of Gulen Movement from Turkish political arena as a result of growing power struggle between the Movement and AKP (Gumuscu, 2016). As also stated by Erdogan, AKP “has given to the Movement whatever they asked for”.²¹ This conflict led to the Movement’s attempt of Coup in 15 July 2016.

As a result of excessive intervention to the secular establishments of Turkish Republic, secular groups in Turkish society has started to feel threatened by AKP’s policies. Not only its construction of hegemony over Turkish secular establishments but also AKP’s project of its own “acceptable citizen, which a religious Sunni identity” and othering discourses against the secular segments of the Turkish society led to the social polarization in Turkey (Keyman&Gumuscu, 2014, 53). Especially, starting from 2007, AKP has pursued an identity policy that can be called ‘oppressed majority’. The existence of this kind of group in the Turkish society was not something new historically. However, the evolution of the voicing this group’s existence in the Turkish society by AKP government started after their second term in office. While in the first term of the Party, more inclusionary discourse was adapted towards the liberals and seculars at home and moderate policies towards the EU accession, the second term can be more associated with the attempt of being the

²¹)Erdogan’s speech is available on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-m9NL8xz_Hw

representative of the historically suppressed conservative majority in the domestic realm and Muslim suppressed people at the internal level.

Furthermore, in the international realm, since 2011, AKP has started to pursue more ambitious policy thanks to its increasing political dominance at home. As Yesiltas states, AKP turned its back to the “defensive geopolitics” and moved to the “Islamist and Islamist geopolitics” with culturally, strategically and historically defined spheres of influence which are the Middle East, Caucasus, Balkans and North Africa (2013). For example, Prime Minister’s 2011 General Elections victory speech indicates:

AKP’s victory was the victory of the oppressed and that it was much of a victory for Istanbul as it is for Sarajevo, as much of a victory for Izmir as it is for Beirut, as much of a victory for Diyarbakir as it is for the West Bank and Gaza and that the winner today is not only Turkey but also the Middle East, Caspasia, and the Balkans.²²

AKP turned into a hegemonic actor in the Turkish political arena through constructing its hegemony over every segments of state and check-balances. AKP’s these practices have eventually led to the growing discontent of the secular segments of the Turkish society. Furthermore, the alliance and the power struggle between the Gulen Movement created a strong challenge against AKP’s very existence since 2013. Therefore, in the next section, the intent will be to present the results of AKP’s hegemony construction process and AKP’s reflexes against the rising oppositions and challenges from both domestic and international realms. It is significant to state that there are many groups who are expressing their discomfort with AKP’s policies since 2013. However, in line with the legitimization discourses for the neoliberal mega projects, AKP heavily emphasized on some actors over others. Therefore, to

²²⁾ Retrieved from: <http://t24.com.tr/haber/erdoganin-3-balkon-konusmasinin-tam-metni-74-milyonun-hukumeti-olacagiz,150677>

link the rising opposition and power struggle in socio-political context and legitimization discourses for neoliberal mega projects, Gezi Parki protests as an organic widespread opposition to AKP, and the Gulen Movement as the biggest challenge to AKP's very existence will be analyzed as a result of AKP's construction of its hegemony over Turkish political system. Due to AKP's reading of these domestic actors as the international extensions in the legitimization discourses for neoliberal mega projects, the international challenges against AKP will also be stressed.

3.3. The Results of AKP's Hegemonic Practices since 2013

Although there has been opposition and criticism against AKP's hegemonic practices in Turkish domestic affairs,²³ the first explicit manifestation of AKP's hegemonic practices on the Turkish society and Turkish political scene was the outbreak of the Gezi Parki Protests in the summer of 2013. This protest was the real challenge for AKP in the domestic realm with the characteristics of revealing thousands of peoples' dissatisfaction with the party and its policies both at the domestic and international levels. It was the first time AKP's unrivaled dominance over domestic politics were questioned. The underlying reasons for outbreak of such a mass opposition can be analyzed as consequences of AKP's othering practices at the domestic level.

AKP's evolution into a hegemonic and dominant actor through the years in power eventually led to social polarization. Before the outbreak of Gezi Parki Protests, some policies and discourses of AKP were criticized as AKP's intervention

²³) As suggested by Esen and Gumuscu, the veto players (military and judiciary) as acting tutelary powers were the main opposition or the organizers of the opposition since 2010 (2016, 4-5). However, after AKP's gradual pacifying the veto players in Turkish political scene, new organic, spontaneous and strong public opposition emerged.

to the private lives of many and Turkish social fabric. Especially, the law on abortion ban, three child discourse, sexist discourses and restriction on alcohol sales with religious explanations created discomfort among some parts of the Turkish society.²⁴ One triggering dynamic of this mass protest can be contextualized under the social restlessness resulting from AKP's othering practices and discourses at the domestic level. Furthermore, AKP's absolute power over military, jurisdiction systems, parliamentary elections and majoritarian understanding of democracy led to the partial exclusion of the opposition groups from the Turkish political scene.

The other side of the medallion was AKP's foreign policies' reflections on the domestic politics. The Gezi Parki Protests and the Arab Spring coincided with each other. The interesting thing is while Turkish government were supporting the uprisings in Egypt and Syria in the name of respect for human rights and democracy promotion, the government had to face with the masses who were dissatisfied with the undemocratic and unsecular policies of AKP at home. Kirdis suggests that AKP's policies of supporting Sunni groups in Syria and Egypt against other ethnic and religious groups have created a fearful atmosphere in which some have felt threatened by the Islamist outlook of AKP at the international level (2014). At the same time, AKP's ambitious and unconditional support for Syrian opposition against Ba'ath regime and Turkey's day by day increasing involvement into the Syrian civil war have started to constitute one of the reason for rising of the security threats in the Turkish borders. Twin cars explosion in Reyhanli on May 2013 was an example of

²⁴) Retrieved from: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/erdogan-kurtaj-yasasini-cikartacagiz-1089484/>
<http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/erdogan-is-isten-gecmeden-en-az-3-cocuk.ZEQhCeWHVKS061EDhd72Ng>
<http://siyasihaber3.org/yaz-aylarinda-tavan-yapan-erdoganin-cinsiyetci-soylemleri>
<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/erdogan-icki-icen-alkoliktir/siyaset/detay/1717637/default.htm>

the Syrian civil war's echoes on Turkey. This led to the questioning of AKP's dominance and success in the domestic level. (Kirdis, 2014).

AKP utilized the critiques coming from EU against disproportionate use of force against the Gezi Parki protests in a way to justify its own policies both at the domestic and international arenas. AKP's articulation of the mass protests over the country resulted in further othering practices through blaming the protestors' for being part of a greater game to prevent "New Turkey" from being powerful in the global level and mentioning that this game was designed by foreign powers and namely "interest lobby".²⁵ These actors' aim was to damage Turkish economy and to doom Turkey in a weak position in the world politics. As inferred from the discourses, this demonstration was an extension of an international conspiracy and the protestors were not aware of the fact that they are puppets of interest lobby, who are uncomfortable with the rising power of Turkey. Gezi was articulated by government as: AKP has been in an attempt to prove that Turkey has been accomplishing a good job for both its own country and the suppressed Muslims in the world. However, some groups in the world are not in a position to let Turkey become stronger in the world politics because their interests are not in harmony with Turkey's interests any more²⁶. By doing so, starting from 2013 with the outbreak of Gezi Parki protests, AKP has articulated the strong opposition against government to legitimize its own power through attributing enemy characteristics to the opposition

²⁵) Retrieved from:

<http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/erdogan-faiz-lobisinin-neferi> oldular,hRBnD9YIYkeh fPQCWqTF4g
http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2013/06/130611_erdogan_gezi_konusmasi

²⁶) Retrieved from:

http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2013/06/130611_erdogan_gezi_konusmasi

groups. In the next chapter, it will be seen that this articulation will also be apparent in the legitimization discourses for the mega projects.

Aftermath of Gezi Parki Protests, the other significant development was the 17-25 December Operations and 15 July Coup Attempt in the Turkish political scene. Although the historical development of these issues are beyond this thesis' scope, in terms of their characteristics of reflecting rising challenge against AKP's hegemony constitutes a case to be analyzed. The historical background and historically changing status of this religious movement is way complicated and speculative to be dealt with in this research. However, the intent is to present the process of this movement's turning into one of the major existential threats to the national security of Turkey in AKP's elites' discourses.

As already been stated in the previous section, AKP cooperated with the Gulen movement to consolidate its hegemony in the state apparatus. However, after the 17-25 December Operations, it became clear that there is a major fraction in the distribution of power between AKP and Gulen movement. From the speeches articulated by the government officials, it can be seen that this movements was leached into the Turkish state service as a peaceful and trustworthy group of religious people, who are followers of Fethullah Gulen. The imputation of 'betrayal gang'²⁷ by the government officials several times implies that the group had been trusted once for some reason, then it was understood that they were not working with the government for the interests of the country. The claims and accusations by the

²⁷⁾ Retrieved from: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/erdogan-dan-paralel-yapi-aciklamasi-ankara-yerelhaber-1125892/>

government officials point out that they adhered to ‘foreign powers’ and have been their pawn for a long time.²⁸

According to the official statements and speeches, the time to take the action for this group for the first time as a manifestation of their true intent of toppling the government and weakening the country was 17-25 December Operation in 2013. This Operation refers to series of criminal investigation commenced with Financial Crimes and Battle against Criminal Incomes Department against key people in the government who were suspected to be involved in money laundering. The scope of this asserted corruption was the transfer of gold and money to Iran via Turkey’s government-controlled Halkbank as part of a strategy to bypass United States-led sanctions on Iran.²⁹

In the dates in between 17-25 December, 91 people were detained and in the investigation, 26 of them were arrested by the court in total.³⁰ Immediately, the government reacted to the investigation through commencing a purge in police forces, media organs, and academicians. On 25 December, the Prime Minister Erdogan reshuffled the cabinet and changed 10 ministers and according to Celik, government spokesman, four of them offered their resignation to the Prime Minister on 22 December.³¹ On 31 December, Babacan alleged that this Operation is a small Coup attempt to the government.³² On 4 January 2014, President Gul stated that

²⁸) Retrieved from: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdogandan-onemli-aciklamalar-25416599>

²⁹). Retrieved from:

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/01/06/why-turkeys-mother-of-all-corruption-scandals-refuses-to-go-away/>

³⁰) Retrieved from:

http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/21119/Operasyonda_toplam_tutuklu_sayisi_ve_isimler.html

³¹) Retrieved from: <http://www.aksam.com.tr/siyaset/huseyin-celik-4-bakan-istifasini-sundu-sahidim/haber-270751>

³²) Retrieved from: <http://t24.com.tr/haber/babacan-yolsuzluk-operasyonu-mini-darbe-girisimi.247289>

there cannot be a separate or parallel state within the state.³³ Furthermore, the Prime Minister Erdogan claimed that this attempt is an act of conspiracy seeking to label the government as a corrupter and to prevent Turkey's further strengthening.³⁴ Together with the domestic side of the securitization processes of Gulen movement with series of accusations and reactionary measures against its suspected members in branches of the state, the international dimension of the Operation were not bypassed by the government elites' statements. Not surprisingly, the corruption and money laundering claims had direct links with the United States because the claim was based on breaking the trade ban with Iran through bypassing the United States. From this point of view, Erdogan's accusation of this investigation as a part of international conspiracy to weaken Turkey's position in the world politics started to be heard. On 22 December speech, Erdogan publicly asserted that this Operation has international dimension as well as domestic dimension and he did not see any harm to warn ambassadors anonymously about doing their own business and to remind that otherwise Turkey does not have to keep him in the country.³⁵

As another point of critique, the European Union has also been targeted by the government for the official statements released concerning the government's operations against media branches of the Gulen movement. The official statements of the European Commission, Parliament and Council were concerning the violation of freedom of press, civil rights and democracy by AKP government right after 17 December. Actually, the European Union implied that the accession procedures could get hindered by AKP's reading of the 17-25 December Operations because the

³³) Retrieved from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140304231839/http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2014/01/04/devlet-icinde-devlet-olamaz>

³⁴) Retrieved from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140305065337/http://www.gazete5.com/gazete-mansetleri/sabah/2014-01-05>

³⁵) Retrieved from: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ulke/mizde-tutmayiz-25418951>

Union claimed that this Operations should have been evaluated in the light of freedom of press, civil rights and acted according to principles of democracy.³⁶ In this regard, this Operation and its aftermath constitutes a good case to analyze how EU has become one of the targets as a point of reference for AKP's othering practices.

Especially, Erdogan's reaction to the EU's criticism is quite worthwhile to see how Erdogan reads the European Union's positioning in relation to Turkey in the light of its evaluation of 17-25 December Operation. Addressing the European Union, he states:

Take the headline you want and explain how you wish about the developments taking place in Turkey but we set our own direction and our route. Those who are brandishing in a manner of governess, you must understand that old Turkey is not there anymore. So tell me, they are going to give democracy lesson to Turkey, indeed, Turkey is going to give you one. Take Egypt and let's teach humanity through Syrian case. You go first and give the account of the rising racism, discrimination and Islamophobia in EU.... Turkey is not your whipping boy. As EU, you first must look into the mirror. You must question yourself. Those who preferred to stay in silence do not have a right to say anything to Turkey who let 1.600.000 Iraqi and Syrian refugees to be sheltered in its territories. ... With all due respect, Turkey is not going to wait on EU's door to be welcomed. We are in a cognition of becoming a nation, if you appreciate this, you can welcome us to the Union. Otherwise, that does not make any sense. They are also uncomfortable with our words. There is an understanding of international justice. When will you shout out the justice? You support the Coup Attempts ³⁷

These speeches were beyond being only a response to EU's criticism. Lots of dynamics together with this Operation led to Turkey's reveal of how a dramatic change of perception towards the EU is taking place in AKP elites' discourses. AKP started to articulate the problems or developments with EU in line with the rising opposition against itself and power struggle in the domestic arena after 2013. The

³⁶) Retrieved from: <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/gorus/turkiye-ab-iliskilerindeki-cikmaz>

³⁷) Retrieved from: <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/erdogan-ab-once-aynaya-baksin>

explanations and evaluations shared by Erdogan point out that Turkey is facing with many challenges in both domestic and international affairs and these developments have naturally led to the new configurations of who is the friend and who is the enemy.

The enemy discourse for both Gulen movement and its supporters in the international area starting with the 17-25 December Operation continued and peaked up with the Coup Attempt on 15 July 2016. For a brief overview, this attempt was carried out by a fraction within the Turkish Armed Forces through seizing the control of some key places in Ankara and Istanbul. However, the forces loyal to the state has defeated them. The government's immediate reaction was to accuse the Gulen movement as a terrorist organization and responsible for the Coup Attempt. When taking the previous imputed activities of the Gulen movement into the account, the government directly targeted the Fethullah Gulen as the leader of the terrorist organization and the Coup Attempt. As expected, FETO turned into the most serious threat to the national security of Turkey. On 20 July 2016, the President Erdogan announced the State of Emergency for 3 months. Laying off from jobs and arrestments immediately commenced.

The one and only agenda item has become this Coup Attempt, its responsible, supporters and linkages. The government and the President argued that Turkey has just grabbed a new spirit, identity and meaning of true democracy which were the gain of this unfortunate and evil-minded event. While Turkish new national identity and 'Yeni Kapi' spirit were rearticulated and redefined, Gulen and his supporters were not part of this 'New Turkey' spirits. Instead, they are the others at the domestic level and the European Union and the United States are the others at the international level for their insincere condemnations to the ones who are behind this Coup Attempt

and their non-recognition of the Gulen Movement and his supporters as terrorist organization.

There are lots of speeches who are directly targeting or referring anonymously both the European Union and the United States as the mastermind of what is happening in Turkey in terms of terrorist attacks and economic recession as caused by the ‘interest lobby’s’ pressures on the ‘New Turkey’. This phrase has also been articulated and publicly heard right after the Coup Attempt as if trying to indicate that this happenings were the first signs of being against to the ‘global power games’; which are played by the Western powers on Turkey because Turkey does not resign itself to the interests of the Western powers anymore.³⁸

3.4. Conclusion

It can be suggested that since 2013, AKP is facing with an explicit and strong opposition, and power struggle in the domestic affairs as a result of its hegemonic practices at the Turkish political system since its coming to the power in 2002. Although there has been opponents of AKP’s foreign and economic policies and AKP’s undemocratic practices, aftermath of 2013 was the milestone for AKP in terms of the emergence of opposition and power struggle against its very existence. The most symbolic indicators are Gezi Parki Protests, 17-25 December Operations and 15 July Coup Attempt in AKP elites’ discourses. As can be deduced from AKP elites’ discourses on these subjects, AKP prefers to articulate these oppositions and

³⁸) Retrieved from:

<http://www.takvim.com.tr/guncel/2016/08/03/dis-mihraklar-darbenin-arkasinda>
<http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/gokce-aytulu/dis-mihraklar-geliyor-1136842/>
<http://www.birikimdergisi.com/haftalik/7969/ust-akil#.WJRrCfmLTDC>
<http://odatv.com/erdoganin-parmagiyla-gosterdigi-ust-akil-nedir-biliyor-musunuz-2703151200.html>
<http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/faiz-lobisi-acimasizca-emmaeye-devam-ediyor>
<http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1334495-cu-mhurbaskani-erdogan-sorulari-yanitliyor>
<http://www.ensonhaber.com/erdogandan-faiz-lobisi-elestirisi-2013-06-07.html>

tension not in reconciliatory manner but in a way of triggering already existing differences and disagreements through attributing enemy sentiments against any oppositions. Furthermore, AKP has incorporated domestic opposition and power struggle with the critique faced with from international levels. It indicates that AKP tends to exercise further othering practices against the growing oppositions and power struggle to legitimize its own policies and existence in Turkish politics. AKP is reading any opposition and criticism raised against itself as an indicator of the existence of enemies and threats both in domestic and international levels against Turkey's further strengthening. In the next chapter, the materialization of these sentiments into the legitimization discourses for neoliberal mega projects will be presented.

CHAPTER IV:

**CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF URBAN MEGA PROJECTS IN
ISTANBUL**

In this part of the thesis, the Critical Discourse Analysis of three urban mega projects (3rd Bridge, 3rd Airport and Canal Istanbul) will be conducted through the analysis of the speeches given by Prime Ministers, the President and the official spokesman of the political party since 2010. The first two mega projects were announced in 2010 and the latter in 2011. The time period from 2010 to the very beginning of 2017 will be divided into two time frames: 2010-2013 and 2013 onwards. The changes in the legitimization discourses for these mega projects in line with the changes in the domestic and international realms against the government will be analyzed for these two time frames. The changes in the legitimization discourses for these mega projects gain meaning in the context of AKP's evaluation of the post-2013 socio-political context.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part presents the epistemology and ontology of the poststructuralist discourse analysis. Secondly, the Critical Discourse Analysis of these three mega projects will be conducted. The changing articulation of the legitimization discourses for the neoliberal mega projects will be identified through the inclusion of power struggle and rising opposition in the domestic level, covering against alleged enemies from both domestic and international levels. In the last part of this chapter, together with the analysis of the opponent media organ's news on abovementioned three mega projects, these

legitimization discourses will be deconstructed to reveal the attempts of concealing the injustices and inequalities triggered by these projects' implementation.

4.1. Epistemology and Ontology of Post-Structuralist Discourse Analysis

To have a glimpse of the ontological root of poststructuralism, it can be argued that “language is ontologically significant” for poststructuralist theorizing (Hansen, 2006, 16). Through adapting a linguistic ontology, poststructuralism argues that discourse, as a social practice with political and cultural affinities, constitutes the social world and is constituted by the other social practices. As also suggested by Mutlu and Salter, “language is political, social and cultural: discourse analysis is the rigorous study of writing, speech and other communicative events in order to understand these political, social and cultural dynamics” (2013, 113).

In relation and as a consequence of the linguistic ontology, poststructuralism adapts discursive epistemology, which implies that the focus on the research agenda is to conceptualize the discursive construction of identities and policies as a mutually constitutive entities. The research puzzle is to identify how discursive identities and policies are articulated and rearticulated over competing discourses, and how they can be used to justify existing power relations. At this juncture, being ‘critical’ comes into play. To be precise, according to Wodak, “Critical Discourse Analysis takes a particular interest in the relation between language and power” (2001, 1-2). As Van Dijk has identified, CDA seeks to bridge the theoretical gap between macro level and micro level analysis. Macro level analysis deals with the inequality, dominance and power relations between social groups. Micro level simply refers to the everyday practices of reproduction of inequality, domination and power relations in society.

Kress articulates the basic assumptions of the Critical Discourse Analysis; “language as a social entity with not only individually expressed meanings but also social or institutionally established sets of systematic meanings”. He takes the text as the units of language in communication, and the readers in relation to these texts are not silent and passive. Finally, the science of language has similarities with the language of institutions and so on (1989). According to Van Leeuwen:

Discourse itself as social practice, discourse as a form action, as something people do to, or for, or with each other. And there is a discourse in the Foucaultian sense, discourse as a way of representing social practice(s), as a form of knowledge, as the things people say about social practices(s). Critical Discourse Analysis is or should be, concerned with both these aspects, with discourse as the instrument of power and control as well as with discourse as the instrument of the social construction of reality (1993,193).

As can be deduced from the quotation given above and Kress’ articulation, Discourse Analysis and CDA are not different from each other in terms of their theorizing and basic assumptions. The nuance among these is CDA’s acknowledging being ‘critical’ through adapting the notions of power and ideology. However, it does not necessarily mean that Discourse Analysis ignores the power relations. Instead, poststructuralism pursues the aim of deconstructing truth claims which were in a continuous process of re/production by the hegemonic social powers or actors. Because of the fact that Critical Discourse Analysis acknowledged being ‘critical’ in the sense that perpetual questioning of “what constitutes knowledge, how discourses are constructed, how ideology functions in social institutions and how people obtain and maintain power within a given community (Kress, 1989).

As important as reflecting on the power relations, reference to specific context is one of the inevitable characteristic of the Critical Discourse Analysis due to its assumption; “all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context” (Meyer, 2001, 15). The notion of context in terms of

containing political and ideological components of the society has an important place in Critical Discourse Analysis. As addressed by Meyer, “the meaning of one part can only be understood in the context of the whole, but that this is in turn only accessible from its component parts” (2001, 16).

Although the CDA presents the merits in studying discursive constructions of identities and realities, one must not underestimate the methodological questions to be dealt with while adapting the CDA as a method for the analysis of empirical cases. Because of this reason, main challenges against the CDA and main reflections on these challenges will be presented in order to raise awareness on the methodological difficulties that arise in the utilization of the CDA.

One of the most common critiques against the CDA is the bias that arises due to the interpretative characteristics of the method. For example, Widdowson claims that there have been two problems concerning the method. The first one is researcher’s ideological commitments and the second is the selection of the data and text which will supposedly support the preferred point of view (1995). The response raised by Fairclough argues that the open-endedness of the results is one of the principles of the CDA and this method requires the beforehand acknowledgement of the researcher’s commitment and position explicitly (1996). In addition to this response, this criticism also brings the deeper methodological debate in social science: the question of the possibility of performing any value free research agenda. Therefore, in order to overcome the criticism of being biased, the researcher must give attention to clarifying one’s own position at the beginning of the interpretation and analysis of the text and data, and then present a valid justification for the data collection.

Another critically significant issue is the utilization of this method as a complementary tool of connecting data and preferred theoretical field, as using a tool as a method requires the chosen tool's ability to link theory with the observations or empirical data. As stated by Hansen, "without theory there is nothing but description, without methodology there is no transformation of theory into analysis" (2006, 1). However, herein, a problem comes up: poststructuralism's non-engagement with the explicit methodological discussions results from the fact that any discussion on the methodology is explicitly or implicitly tied with the positivist forms of science. Therefore, the CDA can be utilized as an approach and a complementary component of research rather than a single method by itself.

As a result of not being a method by itself, CDA does not offer a set of criteria for the data collection process and the operationalization of the data. Indeed, some authors do not emphasize on the collection of data. Although whether this situation is an advantage or disadvantage for the sake of research is open to discussion, contrary to the lack of fixed set of criteria, there are still some authors who present an alternative way of selecting data and its operationalization. As a general argument, it can be deduced that context, text surface, and the rhetoric are the elements that almost all authors emphasize for the operationalization of the data. This can be evaluated as a facilitative tool for the formulation of the researcher's own way of setting criteria for his/her research agenda.

4.2. Conducting Critical Discourse Analysis on Three Mega Projects

This part of the chapter can be divided into the three parts. In the first part, as an introductory section, the technical details of these mega projects will be presented in order to comprehend the importance of attributing meanings to the material

realities; because both the material characteristics and meanings articulated for these projects construct the essence of the mega projects. The second section of this part will analyze the speeches delivered by AKP elites and covered by Sabah Newspaper through dividing the time period into 2010-2013 and 2013-2017 in order to elaborate on the changes in naturalization discourses for the implementation of these mega projects. Finally, at the last section, with the contributions of the opponent media coverage, Cumhuriyet Newspaper, the marginalized voices will be analyzed to acknowledge the negative repercussions of these mega projects on already disadvantaged groups and power hierarchies with the lenses of Historical Marxist Geography to bridge macro and micro levels of power relations taking place in the urban scales. By doing so, the thesis intends to accomplish the analysis of the significance of socio-political context on the legitimization process of the neoliberal mega projects.

4.2.1. Introductory Notes on the Mega Projects

This part will present the technical details of the 3rd Bridge (Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge), 3rd Airport and the Canal Istanbul projects to have an introductory insight about them. The reason behind choosing these projects for the analysis derives from the fact that especially the Canal Istanbul and 3rd Bridge have the highest budget among mega projects implemented in Istanbul. Furthermore, together with the 3rd Bridge, these three projects have become the most highly debated issues in the media in terms of both their significance as articulated by AKP government and their negative repercussions as criticized by the opponent groups in Turkish political scene.

4.2.1.1. 3rd Bridge (Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge)

Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge is a bridge to transit over the Bosphorus strait for rail and motor vehicles, to the north of the two current bridges in Istanbul. This project was announced in April 2010 and the Bridge was completed in 26 August 2016. The Bridge is the tallest suspension bridge in the world and also one of the world's widest. It connects Garipce on the European side and Poyrazkoy on the Anatolian side in Istanbul. The Ministry of Transport, Maritime Affairs and Communications is responsible for the execution of the project. The budget or investment sum of the project is 4,5 billion TRY including Northern Marmara Motorway. The consortium consists of five constructors which are ISDEM Yapi, ESA Insaat, Saryapi, Astaldi Group and Ictas Construction. The procurement model is Build-Operate-Transfer.

4.2.1.2. 3rd Airport

The third Airport Project was announced in October 2010 and 55% of the construction has been completed as of 2017 June.³⁹ The Ministry of Transport, Maritime Affairs and Communications is responsible for the execution of the project. It is located in Arnavutkoy, on the north of the European side of Istanbul. The airport is planned to be the largest airport in the world with the annual capacity of 150 million passengers and one of the five largest airports in the world for any type. It will be the third international airport to be built in Istanbul after Istanbul Ataturk Airport and Sabiha Gokcen International Airport. The consortium consists of five construction firms including Cengiz, Kolin, Limak, MAPA and Kalyon Construction. The procurement method is Build-Operate-Transfer. –The tender for construction

³⁹) Retrieved from: <http://www.sabah.com.tr/galeri/turkiye/3-havalimaninin-yuzde-55i-tamamlandi>

and 17-year operational contract of the facility was held on May 3, 2013. The project is made up of four construction stages. The first stage of construction is planned to be finished within 42 months of the handover of the area. Total project cost is expected to be approximately 7 billion Euro, excluding financing costs. It has been guaranteed 342 million passengers for 12 years.

4.2.1.3. Canal Istanbul

Canal Istanbul Project was announced to public in April 2011. The expected investment sum is around 5,5 billion dollars. The project will consist of commerce, residence, transportation and tourism uses. Canal Istanbul is designed to be an artificial sea-level waterway, which is being built on the European side of Istanbul, connecting the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara, and hence to the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. Canal Istanbul would bisect the current European side of Istanbul and thus form an island between the continents of Asia and Europe (the island would have a shoreline with the Black Sea, Sea of Marmara, the new canal and the Bosphorus). The new waterway would bypass the current Bosphorus and it aims to minimize shipping traffic in the Istanbul Strait. The project is intended to be completed in 2023, the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic. The route has not yet been announced to the public but the authorities indicated that they are still working on the determination of the best route and the tender process.

4.2.2. Naturalization Discourses for these Three Mega Projects

The speeches on these three mega projects delivered by AKP elites were collected from one partisan and one opponent newspapers. These are respectively Sabah Newspaper and Cumhuriyet Newspaper. As a result of a professional press

follow up, 260 news about 3rd Bridge, 98 news about 3rd Airport and 67 news about Canal Istanbul were identified in Sabah Newspaper and 213 news about 3rd Bridge, 81 news about 3rd Airport and 32 news about Canal Istanbul were identified in Cumhuriyet Newspaper. While the mainstream media adapts a supportive tone to the government's discourses on urban mega projects, the opponent media organ tries to represent marginalized voices concerning the results of these mega projects. The latter will also be assisting to conduct CDA in terms of addressing reproduction and sustaining of hegemonic power relations and social inequalities with regard to the implementation of these projects.

The key words for the press follow up were 3rd Bridge, 3rd Airport, Canal Istanbul, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who was first Prime Minister then President since 2014 August, Ahmet Davutoglu who was the Prime Minister between 28 August 2014 and 22 May 2016, Binali Yıldırım who was first Minister of Transportation, Maritime Affairs and Communication between 2002-2013 and 2015-2016 and Prime Minister since May 2015, Yasin Aktay, Huseyin Celik, Besir Atalay and Omer Celik who have been the official spokesmen of AKP for the time period starting from 2010 up to day.

4.2.2.1. Legitimization Discourses between 2010 and 2013

As a result of the professional press follow up, totally 425 news have been identified for the determined key words. Some of the news are repetitive, as in some speeches more than one mega project was mentioned. With the elimination of the repetitive news, there are 290 news identified between 2010 and 2017, and 88 of them are before 27 May 2013 which is the beginning of Gezi Parki protests. Furthermore, in some news, only introductory statements regarding tender processes,

opening and progress of these mega projects are included and some are columnists' statements covered without mentioning AKP elites' statements. After the careful elaboration of the results of the press follow up, 70 news were identified as relevant for this research. 15 news out of 70 are in the period covering 2010-2013. In the period between 2010 and 2013, two legitimization discourses were noticed. These are similar to the discourses suggested by the Marxist Geographers: economic development and environmental sustainability.

In the Marxist Geography literature, as a naturalization discourse, economic development discourse promotes a competitive environment for the large infrastructure projects. Attracting the investors to the city planning has become one of the main goals of sustaining economic development in the cities. According to the literature, rising investment, employment and GDP per capita and promoting the city as place for investors and creative class are the key reference point for justification of neoliberal urban governance in the eyes of the public. In Turkish case and specifically for these three projects, the government has been conducting an economic development discourse in line with the global neoliberal urbanization dynamics between 2010 and 2013 in the absence of explicit opposition.

As an example to this kind of discourse, the construction of the 3rd Bridge created an employment opportunity for at least 10 thousands people directly and 50 thousands indirectly. Similarly, employment for 80 thousands people during the first stage of the 3rd Airport construction and for 120 thousands people after the opening of the first stage to service were promoted by AKP elites. Furthermore, the government claimed that the economic development is only possible through the realization of these kind neoliberal urban projects and fair distribution of the acquisition. AKP elites point out that these kinds of projects have a significant effect

on the rise of GDP per capita.⁴⁰ For example, Yildirim asserts that “We will do our best to provide fair distribution of income. We will conclude the globally coveted projects one by one”.⁴¹

Another important component of the economic development discourse is the contribution of these projects to attracting investment and tourists through making Istanbul a center of attraction and finance. These mega projects are assumed to be an indicator of safe investment climate in Turkey and as necessary facilities to attract further investments. For example, it is suggested that Canal Istanbul project will be the new brand of the city and will attract many tourists.⁴² In order to sustain the economic competitiveness of the cities, AKP government included the “branding of cities” in its top agenda for achieving the New Turkey ideal. It shows that the realization of these mega projects was promoted as an indicator of economic development of Turkey. The candidacy to the 2020 Olympics Games was also emphasized many times as a prestige and a brand for Istanbul to attract tourists and investments. Therefore, these mega projects were also articulated as facilitative instruments to become an Olympics City.⁴³ For example Erdogan claims that:

We will have brought the most modern airport of the world to Turkey, not only with the size but with the social infrastructure. I hope that when the airport is completed, it will become a very important center between East and

⁴⁰⁾ The related news can be accessed via the links provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2012/05/13/buyuk-ruyada-son-10-gun>

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2013/01/24/istanbula-dunyanin-en-buyuk-havalimani>

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/oguz/2012/01/11/3-koprunun-b-planlari>

⁴¹⁾ The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/05/23/ekmeginizi-buyutecegiz-ekonomiyi-genisletecegiz>

⁴²⁾ The related news can be accessed via the links provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2011/04/28/istanbula-ikinci-bogaz>

⁴³⁾ The related news can be accessed via the links provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/spor/tum-sporlar/2012/02/19/olimpiyat-istanbulu-bastan-yaratacak>

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/spor/tum-sporlar/2013/03/24/herkes-hazir>

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2013/01/24/istanbula-dunyanin-en-buyuk-havalimani>

<https://www.pressreader.com/turkey/sabah/20130530/282123519048316>

West and North and South. With this airport, Turkey's trade will be more revitalized and the economy will grow even more.⁴⁴

The literature which problematizes the link between neoliberal urban governance and environmental sustainability suggests that governments pretend as they care for the sustainable environment premises in urban planning discourses through enacting environment protection laws to gain public consent to the neoliberal urban planning. However, the literature suggests that these attempts are not driven by the will of environment protection, but by the will of branding the attractiveness of the cities through being environmentally friendly and green to sustain cities' competitiveness in terms of attracting creative class and investments. Furthermore, the environmental sustainability discourse is utilized to show that the wider public's environmental concerns are taken into the consideration in the urban planning.

In the speeches of AKP elites, the focus is given to the necessity of mega projects. For example, for the 3rd Bridge, the excessive traffic problem in the two bridges in Istanbul is articulated as there is no alternative to the construction of the new bridge. However, on choosing the best route, the elites do not deny the fact that one of the most important criteria was to designate ideal route on the public land as much as possible to cut the expropriation expenditures. Although 45% of these public lands are composed of forestry lands, the government promised to plant 10 trees for each tree uprooted. The act of tree planting and the number of trees to be planted were presented as a sign of the government's environmental friendliness. Indeed, the preference of the route which was allocated on mostly public land was articulated as non-rent seeking search for the projects. Yildirim states that:

⁴⁴) The related news can be accessed via the links provided below:
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2014/06/08/havalimani-degil-zafer-aniti>

%75 of the area to be expropriated on the destination belongs to the public. Therefore, firstly, a rent is not a question. The second one is the tree you know. The corruption of nature, which was abandoned as a result of the operation of the coal mines in the area surrounding Kilyos. This area will be rehabilitated and reintroduced to Istanbul through the passage of this corridor.⁴⁵

Another example is the justification of the Canal Istanbul project through pointing out the danger in the strait traffic for Istanbul's security. Indeed, the disaster in the Mexican Gulf can also be considered as a lesson learnt for Istanbul because 150 million tons petroleum have been passing through the Istanbul and Canakkale Straits annually and the tanker traffic in the straits are getting heavier each year. In order to eliminate the danger of tanker accident in Istanbul, Canal Istanbul project was proposed as a necessity. One of the merits of this project was evaluated to decrease the risk of accident in the Straits through lessening the traffic concentration.⁴⁶

Apart from the articulation of the discourses on environmental sustainability as a necessity and tree planting as a solution for what was lost at the end of the projects, the attractiveness of being a green city was also mentioned in the speeches of the elites. Especially, the green living quarters which will be created via the Canal Istanbul, the 3rd Bridge's civilizational ve environmentally friendly aspects were presented by AKP elites. Furthermore, in the scope of the 3rd Airport project, the provision of green areas and social infrastructure will make the project desirable for Istanbul according to AKP elites.⁴⁷

⁴⁵) The related news can be accessed via the links provided below:
http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2010/04/29/iste_3_kopru_guzergahi

⁴⁶) The related news can be accessed via the links provided below:
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2011/11/18/bogazlari-tankerlerden-korumaliyiz>
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2011/04/28/istanbula-ikinci-bogaz>

⁴⁷) The related news can be accessed via the links provided below:
http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2010/04/29/iste_3_kopru_guzergahi
http://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2010/10/25/bakanliktan_3_kopruya_agaclandirma_sartli_onay
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/webtv/turkiye/3-havalimani-2018in-ilk-ceyreginde-biter>

The analysis of the speeches suggests that there are signs of environmental sustainability arguments for the naturalization of the three mega projects in Istanbul. Although it has been argued that the green areas were promoted as a result of these mega projects, it does not reflect the main argumentation of the necessity discourse of these mega projects. In speeches, the environmental issues were articulated as an inevitable excuse because of the necessity of these projects. Indeed, the officials do not hesitate to compare the profit and negative impacts on the environment and they claim that the profit is bigger than the negative impacts on the environment and the negative impacts can be moderated with little intervention.

4.2.2.2. Legitimization Discourses between 2013 and 2017

This section of this chapter will present two distinctive naturalization discourses for the implementation of these mega projects. These are economic development and against alleged enemies discourses. They are considered to be distinctive because their articulation heavily depends on the Turkish socio-political context of growing opposition from both at the domestic and international levels against the government and power struggle. AKP's construction of its hegemony in the previous decade has led to the emergence of opposition and power struggle and articulation of further othering discourses since 2013. This part intends to indicate the reflections of these developments on the naturalization and legitimization of these mega projects' implementation. Through the link between rising opposition, power struggle and the mega projects, the issue of how these mega projects have become a matter of national security in Turkish context with AKP's narratives will be examined.

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2011/05/07/erdogan-meydani-teroristlere-cetelere-birakmayacagiz>

Although economic development discourse was utilized in the first time frame, different meanings attributed to the economic development as a naturalization / legitimization for these mega projects will be stressed on. This attribution was driven from the changing socio-political context of Turkey and AKP's reading of these changes. In order to make sense of these meanings attributed to economic development understanding, it is significant to remember AKP's reading of the internal and external oppositions and power struggle. As mentioned earlier, these alleged enemies were identified to have unrest with the strengthening of Turkish economy by AKP elites. Because of this reason, demonstration of its strength through the realization and announcement of these mega projects have a significant place in AKP's way of legitimization of these mega projects.

In this context, the discourse of rising and strong Turkey with its economy through the realization of these mega projects as a sign for the Turkey's economic development was heavily emphasized in the speeches of AKP's elites. The link between mega projects and strong economy was established through the strong emphasis on the successive progress in the mega projects in Istanbul in terms of their completion or tender processes. It was claimed that these mega projects cannot be completed, commenced or even dreamed by third world countries. Only a developed state with strong economy can accomplish and commence such projects. As it is now, these projects will upgrade the Turkey's position in the Region and in the world after their completion.⁴⁸ In the opening ceremony of the 3rd Bridge, Erdogan stated that "These nation will get what it deserves. To reach the level of contemporary civilizations is not possible by just talking. Instead, it is a matter of action and

⁴⁸). The related news can be accessed via the links provided below:
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/05/20/gecikme-olmayacak-kongre-aksami-gorevi-verecegim>
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/08/26/erdogan-3koprunun-acilisinda-mujdeleri-siraladi>

practice”.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Erdogan claims that “I hope that the first part of the third Airport will be completed by the first half of 2018. All of these developments – referring to 3rd Airport, Marmaray and Avrasya Tunnel- will ensure Turkey’s reputation all over the world”.⁵⁰

Especially after the period starting from the Gezi Parki Protests, in consequence of the dollar’s appreciation against the TRY and down grading of Turkey’s credit rating by the international credit rating agencies, AKP elites have developed a counter-argumentation over the mega projects through claiming that if an economic recession were to exist in Turkey, in reel economical terms apart from psychological and geographical reasons there would have been problems confronting the faith of these mega projects. The success and stability in the infrastructure investments like the mega projects is a proof for the world that Turkey has not been struggling with economic problems. The successive progress in these mega projects are the signs of Turkey’s success in overcoming the politics against Turkish economy in the financial markets. These mega projects and the success of their process were articulated by the government as the victory of growing and developing country in the international arena.⁵¹ For example, Erdogan points out that:

We are looking at the real economy. We are taking measures to promote production, employment, export, branding, high technology and quality. We opened the Osmangazi Bridge and Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge. We opened

⁴⁹) The related news can accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/08/26/erdogan-3koprunun-acilisinda-mujdeleri-siraladi>

⁵⁰) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/oguz/2016/03/04/lobinin-kontrolune-girersen-basaramazsin>

⁵¹) The related news can be accessed via the links provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/09/30/cebine-uc-bes-kurus-koy-istedigin-notu-ai>

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/09/03/ekonomi-tikir-tikir-isiyor>

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/oguz/2016/03/04/lobinin-kontrolune-girersen-basaramazsin>

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/07/25/basbakan-darbe-girisiminin-ekonomiye-etkisini-acikladi>

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/10/12/firatin-dogusu-icin-geregini-yapariz>

the Avrasya Tunnel on December 20th. My recommendation to Credit Rating Agencies is to come and visit the tunnels.⁵²

Another naturalization discourse for the mega projects in relation to economic development is their contribution to Turkey's national dignity and self-esteem. Especially, their specific characteristics of being the biggest, largest and tallest in the world were articulated as a matter of source of pride for Turkish society explicitly. The articulated discourse of where Turkey used to be was emphasized by AKP elites as a sign for Turkey's rising self-esteem in the international arena through connecting Black Sea and Marmara Sea with Canal Istanbul project, constructing the world's one of the biggest airport and the world's one of the biggest bridges. These were narrated as a victory of Turkey's economy and developments to be proud of by the Turkish nationals as citizens of a strong state which successfully implements such mega projects. For example, pertaining to Third Bridge, Erdogan states that "This project which costs 3 billion dollar will shine like a star as a pride chart of our nation. Among many characteristics, this projects will be an example of environmentally friendly civilization project".⁵³

This discourse has also a specific meaning in Turkish context. Particularly due to the economic crisis throughout 1990s and the early 2000s, IMF debts, continuous disappointment in the EU accession process, Turkey had not been in a position to recover its lack of self-confidence in the international arena for a long time. From this perspective, AKP government has heavily been emphasizing the importance of these mega projects in terms of their positive effects on the Turkey's dignity in the international realm. As a specific example, Prime Minister Yildirim

⁵²) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:
<https://www.pressreader.com/turkey/sabah/20160930/281479275906083>

⁵³) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:
<https://www.pressreader.com/turkey/sabah/20130530/282123519048316>

says that “the foreigners have constructed the first and second Bridges and we were in the subcontractor position. Now we are the contractors of the Third Bridge and the South Koreans are in the position of the subcontractor” (2016)⁵⁴. Furthermore, former Prime Minister Davutoglu’s speech in the opening of the Third Bridge refers the bridge as a “board of pride and honor project for Turkey” (2016)⁵⁵

The last legitimization discourse for the mega projects over the economic development concept derives from Turkey’s claim of becoming representative of the Islamic religious community. Turkey’s success in the implementation and commencement of these mega projects were articulated as a source of trust and confidence for the historically and culturally defined tied communities in the international arena and as a source of threat for the others. Although this discourse, compared to other components of economic development, was not promoted by the government, it was also found significant due to its linkage with the against alleged enemies discourse. For example, during the 13th meeting of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation in Istanbul in April 2016, the President Erdogan took the participants on Strait excursion. Within the scope of this excursion, the President also introduced the Third Bridge which was in a preparation process for opening ceremony as a source of trust and confidence for Turkey’s accomplishment of setting up a connection route to Pekin (2016).⁵⁶

The components of against alleged enemies discourse can be divided into two integral components. The first component deals with how these mega projects were

⁵⁴) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/08/21/artik-onlar-bizim-taseronumuz>

⁵⁵) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/03/07/davutoglu-muhur-vurduk>

⁵⁶) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/04/14/erdogan-konuk-liderlere-3-kopruyu-gosterdi>

articulated against the internal threats and how these mega projects become a matter of success story against the threats who are supposedly uncomfortable with the strengthening of Turkish state. The second component stresses on the external threats in the same context through indicating the explicit and implicit linkage between the external and internal threats. This part of the naturalization discourse for the mega projects points out the significance of internal and external opposition for the legitimization of the neoliberal policies taking place in Turkey since 2013.

To begin with, the discourse on against alleged enemies was articulated in relation to the internal actors, who are Gezi Parki Protestors, supporters of 17-25 December Operations and 15th July Coup in Turkey. The main argument is that these mega projects are quite significant for Turkey in every sense. Therefore, these groups of internal actors who are threatening the national security and worrying about the further strengthening of Turkey are strongly against the implementation of these mega projects along with many other developments in Turkey. From this point of view, AKP elites stresses that although there are many attempts like Gezi Parki Protests, 17-25 December Operations and 15th July Coup Attempt, which try to sabotage these mega projects and overall development of Turkey, AKP will accomplish the successive development in these projects as a sign of the government's determination of fighting with any threat against Turkey's national security. At the same time, AKP government articulated that these internal threats to national security are against the implementation of these mega projects. This means that these mega projects are playing an important role in Turkey's development and they should be evaluated as a matter of national security.

To give some examples, this part will include the direct quotations from AKP elites' speeches. Targeting the Gezi Parki Protests and 17-25 December Operations,

and 15th July Coup Attempt, the President Erdogan states that “despite all the obstacles, mega investments continue” (2016).⁵⁷ Furthermore, at the opening ceremony of the Avrasya Tunnel, President Erdogan stated “now that it is time for Canal Istanbul, we do not let the terrorism captivate our agenda. Therefore, we do not postpone the mega projects” (2016).⁵⁸ In another speech, Former Prime Minister Erdogan blamed the 17 December Operation as an extension of the failure in Gezi Parki Protests in the name of ‘treason’ and he identified 9 reasons behind this conspiracy. One of them has been claimed as sabotaging the 3rd Airport tender (2013).⁵⁹ Although there are many examples in this regard, this part will be concluded by the statements of Former Prime Minister Davutoglu:

Whether it is those who are saying no to all these mega projects to frustrate the development or whether it is those who are willing to drag Turkey into chaos with terrorist actions, against all these, due to our strong political will and vision, we have enough strength and capacity to overcome them (2015).⁶⁰

Secondly, in the component of against alleged enemies discourse, the external threats were identified by AKP elites’ speeches in relation to these mega projects. As already been stated in the third chapter, AKP government has been exercising further othering practices since 2013 with the emergence of opposition. These othering practices are especially targeting the ‘West’, ‘foreign powers’, ‘interest lobby’ and ‘mastermind’ who are supposedly feeling threatened by the rise of new Turkey. AKP government addresses the similar link with the implementation of these mega projects and the external threats to Turkey’s strengthening through articulating that

⁵⁷) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/12/10/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-konusuyor>

⁵⁸) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:

<https://www.pressreader.com/turkey/sabah/20161221/282514363184541>

⁵⁹) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2013/12/26/ekonomik-suikast>

⁶⁰) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2015/10/20/baglanti-yollari-2016da>

the external powers are uncomfortable with these projects' as these projects will strengthen Turkey's hands. At the same time, AKP articulated these mega projects as honor projects due to their characteristics of being victory symbol against the many odds which have been developed by the external threats to prevent the implementation of these projects and further development of Turkey. It is significant to state that almost in all speeches, AKP elites are positioning the external threats as either the supporter or the leader of the internal threats in Turkey.

As a result of the analysis of the speeches given by AKP elites in the context of these three mega projects and the articulation of against alleged enemies discourse, the exchange rates policy pursued by the interest lobby which was linked with the West and the foreign powers, the EU's critique of AKP's policies of declaration and extension of the State of Emergency, proposing of execution for the agenda, war on terror and restrictions on press and EU's policies against members of subversive organizations recognized by AKP government were identified as the basis of the articulation of the against alleged external enemies.

In order to clarify these linkages, it will be beneficial to give some examples from the speeches of AKP elites. Through referring the Gezi Parki Protests, the President Erdogan states that:

In a short period of time, the game was deciphered and the provocateurs became in a fix. Who was behind them? Foreign powers...They wanted to destroy the rise of Turkey. (In reference to the foreign powers' thoughts) Are you going to construct bridges? Are you going to do underground systems in the sea? Are you going to build car systems under the sea? No, you cannot take this step without letting you do it. But, what did happen? The game was revealed and we did not stop. Look, after they have done this, the Osmangazi Bridge, Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge and Avrasya Tunnel were opened. They are mad about these developments, so they are jealous. (In reference to foreign powers' thoughts) Are you going to construct the world's number one airport, right? We are going to devalue your currency. (He replies) Bring it

all. Again, this nation is born from its own ashes and strangulate you. We have no worries about that (2017).⁶¹

Furthermore, former Prime Minister Erdogan says that “no one will have the power to block these mega projects. I know that some are uncomfortable with the rise of Turkey in Balkans, Middle East, Africa and Asia” (2014).⁶² For 3rd Airport Project, President Erdogan also explicitly makes a correlation between its size and the enmity towards it through referring the warrant that was issued for the 3rd Airport’s bidding firms’ arrest in the scope of 17-25 December Operations.⁶³ Especially, the speech given by the former Prime Minister Erdogan during the groundbreaking ceremony of the 3rd Airport constitutes a great deal of elements which are articulated for the legitimization of these mega projects in relation to against alleged enemies discourse. He states that

While Turkey was breaking its own shell, defeating its ill fate and achieving a phenomenal success, those who occupied the streets (Gezi Parki protestors) were used openly to prevent the blessed march of Turkey. They were so unwary that their concern was neither tree nor sapling nor seed. They were supposing themselves as leftist, environmentalists, nationalitarian, anti-capitalist Muslims such a thing came out, dissenter but they could not able to understand that they were used only as a pawns in an anti-Turkey action. At least those involved in this action did not understand how they were used. However, on December 17th, an organization that was well aware of the betrayal turned out to be a gang. An organization that rented itself to the enemies of Turkey and attacked all the national values of Turkey. Here are the businessmen who won this big airport project with a bid. They wanted to pick them up. To stop that offer. The goal was not corruption. The aim was to prevent Marmaray, the fast train, the third bridge, and most of all - this project. They gave the operation an image of corruption. They slandered their true intentions. But they actually attacked the big project of Turkey so they attacked Turkey. We destroyed those pitfalls with Allah’s help. (2014)⁶⁴

⁶¹) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2017/01/20/hansin-raporlari-bizi-baglamaz#>

⁶²) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2014/03/18/ekonomiyi-bozdurtmayiz?paging=false>

⁶³) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2014/06/08/havalimani-degil-zafer-aniti>

⁶⁴) Ibid.

As can also be deduced from the quotations given, AKP government has succeed in articulating a legitimization or/and naturalization discourses for these mega projects in relation to the alleged enemies since 2013. In this way, the existence of these mega projects and their completion have been put on the national security agenda. This legitimization discourse has distinctive characteristics in terms of AKP's utilization of rising opposition as a result of its exclusionary policies and power struggle with FETO to construct its hegemony over domestic politics in Turkey.

4.3. Critical Projection on the Naturalization Discourses for These Three Mega Projects

Critical engagement with the discourse analysis of AKP elites' legitimization discourses for these mega projects necessitates the denaturalization of the legitimization discourses. The intent is to reveal AKP's concealing attempts for the negative repercussions of these projects through legitimization discourses. In this part, the Historical Marxist Geography lenses will be utilized to denaturalize the legitimization discourses for the projects. Together with this theoretical perspective, the insecurities created by AKP in order to legitimize the projects will be analyzed through taking Cumhuriyet Newspaper's critiques into account. As a result of the professional press follow up, there are 81 news related with 3rd Airport project, 213 news related with 3rd Bridge and 32 news related with Canal Istanbul identified in Cumhuriyet Newspaper in years between 2010 and 2017. However, there are some repetitive news as one news may focus on more than one project. Furthermore, some of the news consist of only introductory statements regarding the developments in these three mega project. Some of the news are out of the context because critiques are concentrated on personality of AKP politicians. In total, 46 news have been

determined as having beneficiary arguments for the denaturalization of the legitimization discourses.

Through the utilization of the Historical Marxist Geography lenses and the critiques given by the Cumhuriyet Newspaper, two different areas for the denaturalization of the discourses have been identified: the discourses of environmental sustainability and economic development. Together with denaturalization attempts in these two realms, the critical lenses will be developed to analyze those who become insecure with the legitimization discourses for these mega projects in the name of against alleged enemies. By doing so, this analysis attempts to denaturalize the produced and reproduced power hierarchies behind the implementation of these projects in the light of who is benefited and who is marginalized most.

Firstly, although AKP elites claim that the routes for these projects were determined after the careful elaboration of alternatives to choose the most environmentally friendly one, the deeper elaboration suggests that the expansion of the city should not be directed to the north side of the city, as in the case of 3rd Airport and Canal Istanbul. As already stated by Calik, Vice President of the Chamber of City Planners, the reason behind this suggestion derives from the fact that all natural water resources are located in this part of the city. Furthermore, settlement areas in this part of the city will suffer from the destruction of ecosystem and environment (2011).⁶⁵

One of the most important signs showing the environmental considerations are set aside by the government is the changes in Environmental Impact Assessment

⁶⁵)The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:"
<http://www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com/katalog/192/sayfa/2011/5/12/6.xhtml>

(EIE) law and by-laws. In the 6th and last regulation published in the Official Newspaper on 3 October, “Projects which have been taken to the public investment program before 23/6/1997 and of which planning phase has been started and procurement process has started or which initiated production or operation processes as of 29/5/2013 and the structures and facilities required for their realization” were excluded from the scope of EIA as they were in the previous regulations that were canceled.⁶⁶ According to Kinay, Izmir Branch Chairperson of the Chamber of Environmental Engineers, “The most unfavorable changes regarding the EIA were carried out after 2002. The EIA process, exemptions, facilities excluded from the scope and temporary items have been tried to be turned into procedures with the changes made up to daylight” (2013).⁶⁷ Furthermore, on 8 October 2013 the law on EIA got through. It states that “The mega projects with enormous environmental impacts such as the Third Bridge to Istanbul, the Third Airport, the Gebze-İzmir Highway, Ilisu Dam to flood Hasankeyf and nuclear power plants were excluded from the scope of EIA”.⁶⁸ In the light of these legislative arrangement on EIA and the critiques, it might be suggested that AKP government has bypassed any possible legislative barrier to put these mega projects into practice through covering the negative impacts of these projects on the environment.

Secondly, the denaturalization attempt will be directed on AKP government’s legitimization discourse of economic development over these mega projects. This part mainly focuses on the issue of rent-seeking behaviors on the determination of

⁶⁶) The related regulation can be accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2013/10/20131003-3.htm>

⁶⁷) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com/katalog/192/sayfa/2013/10/17/8.xhtml>

⁶⁸) The related law can be accessed via the link provided below:

https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/Tutanak_B_SD.birlesim_baslangic?P4=21998&P5=H&page1=143&page2=143

these mega projects' routes, the relationship between the tenderers and the government and the non-transparent contracts in terms of the guarantees given by the Treasury to the tenderers. These are the main issues that constitute the main agenda for critique of how the government proposed naturalization discourses for economic inequalities arising from the implementation of these three mega projects.

On the issue of the rent-seeking behaviors, the critique comes on the necessity of these projects at the first place. For example, in the case of Canal Istanbul Project, after the announcement of the Project by the government, according to the news released in Cumhuriyet Newspaper, the land prices in Silivri Municipality which is one of the offered routes for the project has increased by 50% (29.04.2011).⁶⁹ Akguc suggests that "The lands purchased by the Ulker Group in the Third Bridge route should be questioned. The problem is not in the reception of the Ulker Group, but in the advance notice of the project" (2013).⁷⁰ From the idea of every road creating its own density, the solutions for the traffic problem in Istanbul with the introduction of the Third Bridge are also in question. The most feasible and comfortable solution to the traffic problem lies in the railways and underground transportation facilities. However, they do not give as many opportunities as the roads for generating rent in cities. In a way, the transportation system and the city scales are being utilized to run the neoliberal economic system which favors the economic elites under the name of public service and necessity.

Another critical point is the relationship between the tenderers and the government. Although the critiques to working of the neoliberal form of economy

⁶⁹) The Cumhuriyet Newspaper does not have free archive and the related news could not be reached via internet search.

⁷⁰) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:

<http://www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com/katalog/192/yazar/15474%C3%96Z%C4%B0T%C4%B0N+AKG%C3%9C%C3%87/2013/7/28.xhtml>

suggest that there has been an eternally supportive relationship between the political and economic power holders, it is hard to make such a distinction between these two. However, in the case of these mega projects, the government does not even feel the need to cover such a relationship. Like many other infrastructure projects, the winning consortium consists of same firms and the government officials do not hesitate to announce the winning firms as patriots explicitly as if they are giving offer to these projects for pro-bono work. Particularly, during the 17 December detentions, because of the arrest warrant for the winning firms of the Third Airport tender, the former Prime Minister questioned the responsible prosecutors' patriotism. This kind of criticism given by the Prime Minister can be evaluated as leaving no room for the monitoring of these mega projects' processes in any level. Furthermore, according to the Cumhuriyet news, "Many contractors did not enter the highest tax payers list. The contractors of 3rd Airport and 3rd Bridge were not present neither on the corporation tax payers list nor individual taxpayers list who declared the income tax" (2016).⁷¹

Another point for the critique is related with the lack of information regarding the contracts signed between the government and the winning firms about the guarantees given by the Treasury for the winning consortium. However, this does not necessarily mean that the terms of the contracts cannot be accessed. The point is about the lack of press conferences on the true nature of these contracts and projects. The problem arises with the government officials' articulation of the non-involvement of the state budget to these mega projects. However, the Public Banks' involvement in these mega projects as financial guarantor is directly linked with the

⁷¹)The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:
http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/ekonomi/566734/ihaleleri_kapan_AKP_liler_vergide_yoklar.html

involvement of the Treasury. Because of this reason, AKP elites' non-transparent articulation of the terms of contracts leads to the lack of public information on these mega projects' true nature. According to Cumhuriyet news, "The Prime Minister and investor group argued that the project would be carried out without Treasury support. However, because public banks are in the process and represent public, 3.5 billion euros of credit was vouchered without letting citizens know" (2015).⁷²

Furthermore, another problem derives from the existence of many sub-contractors in these mega projects. According to Toker, "Big companies that have gained tenders get the main business done by the small companies whose names are not known so much. Subcontracting is a necessity and its proportion changes to the size of the project and its development" (2014).⁷³ This situation also triggers and creates inequalities in terms of right extortion and cruel working conditions. Moreover, the information gained through informal means suggests that the existence of cheap labor force in these mega projects - especially from Asia - is another problem for the working conditions and the Prime Minister Yildirim's promise of providing decent employment for Turkish citizens.

Thirdly, the denaturalization of the against alleged enemies discourse for these mega projects present that legitimization of the projects reproduces further insecurities for the others who are excluded. Any critique to these mega projects was articulated as a threat to the national security of Turkey and put the individuals as other/threat agenda to be overcome. In order to naturalize and legitimize these mega projects, AKP government is not hesitating to put these mega projects under the

⁷²) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:
<http://www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com/katalog/192/sayfa/2015/10/20.xhtml>

⁷³) The related news can be accessed via the link provided below:
http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/koseyazisi/160563/Bir__Cozum_Ortagi__Olarak_Hayrat_Vakfi.html

national security agenda at the cost of reproduction of insecurities for the others both at the domestic and international levels. It can be argued that the already existing others have been reproduced over these mega projects. For example, even individuals become under risk of being treated as other if they are suspicious about the necessity of these mega projects. Therefore, it can be inferred that the naturalization discourse of against alleged enemies for these three mega projects have been triggering the already existing insecurities for others who do not support these mega projects.

4.4. Conclusion

In the light of the CDA of AKP elites' speeches on these three mega projects, AKP government has been utilizing naturalization discourses for the implementation of neoliberal urban policies like economic development and environmental sustainability in the same line with the rest of the neoliberal world between 2010 and 2013. With the opposition faced both from domestic and international levels and power struggle with FETO since 2013, distinctive naturalization discourses were articulated by the government at the risk of deepening social polarization and exclusion. It has been identified that while the same political party has been operating in Turkish political context and two of these mega projects were announced in 2010 and one of them was publicized in 2011, there has been clear differentiation in presenting and articulating legitimization discourses for these projects since 2013. Although nothing has changed regarding the substance of these projects between 2010 and 2017, the legitimization discourses for them have drastically changed in line with the changes in the socio-political context in Turkey. In the last part of this chapter, AKP's legitimization discourses were denaturalized to indicate the negative repercussions of these mega projects on environment, economic equity and security.

CHAPTER V:

CONCLUSION

Turkey has been experiencing neoliberal urban governance under the AKP government and the negative repercussions associated with this experience are quite in the same line with the global patterns in the rest of the world pursuing neoliberal urban policies. However, this does not necessarily mean that there is one single legitimization process of these policies in the whole world, regardless of the context. In this thesis, the intent is to present a picture of how rising opposition in the domestic realm, the further othering practices against the opposition and power struggle in domestic level are components of the naturalization discourses for the neoliberal mega projects.

The motivation behind this interest derives from the lack of studies in the literature dealing with the processes of AKP's discursive articulation of legitimization for the neoliberal urban policies. Most of the valuable studies concentrate on the negative repercussions of AKP's policies on already marginalized social groups as a result of the reproduction of power hierarchies with the implementation of neoliberal policies in Istanbul. Furthermore, although critical geographers acknowledge the significance of the specific socio-cultural environment on the naturalization / legitimization of the neoliberal urban governance; in the literature, there have not been many studies dealing with the discursive construction of the legitimization of neoliberal practices on urban. Because of these reasons, it is found necessary to study Turkish context for the analysis of the discursive

articulation of naturalization discourses for the neoliberal policies in relation to the construction of hegemony and power politics over domestic realm. Furthermore, although Marxist Geographers point out the importance of empirical studies and discourse analysis, they do not concentrate on empirical cases. This thesis tried to enrich the literature through the introduction of Turkish case with a specific interest in the articulation of legitimization discourses.

After the introduction of the question, in the second chapter, the theoretical framework which allows us to study the necessity of the naturalization discourses for the political authorities' adoption of the neoliberal urban policies was presented. The Historical Marxist Geographers' conceptualization of the current patterns of neoliberal governance on urban scales has provided the groundwork to 'why it is needed to analyze the legitimization discourses' and 'what makes neoliberal urban policies in need of specific legitimization practices by the decision makers'. This theoretical framework argues that neoliberal governance on urban scales has nothing to do with the rising living standards and increasing global capital accumulation; but is related with the restoration of class relations, sustaining and strengthening of already existing power relations and dominance, and deepening of social inequalities and exclusion. Because of this reason, in order to prevent any strict opposition to working of neoliberal urbanism, there have been strong naturalization discourses to ensure overall running of the system over the urban governance.

At this juncture, the necessity of alternative approach becomes apparent. Although this theoretical framework allows us to formulate the question of the necessity for naturalization/legitimization discourses for the neoliberal urban policies, it concentrates more on the abstract categories of the state, elites, capital accumulation, base-superstructure relations and material bases of the process in order

to reflect on the global dynamics. However, the articulation processes of the legitimization discourses require concentration on specific context analysis, taking socio-political environment into the account together with the material realities.

In order to conceptualize Turkish context, third chapter intends to give an account of socio-economic and political context in which AKP came to power and historical process of AKP's consolidation of power at the domestic politics through taking control over military and judiciary systems and sustaining its hegemony over political elections. In this scope, this thesis presents the chronology of AKP's othering practices which have led to the emergence of unrest and opposition in both at domestic and international levels since 2013. Furthermore, the rise of the power struggle with FETO was analyzed as a result of the AKP's hegemony construction process. The reflections of the excessive articulation of 'the us' and the construction of enemies have been identified in the changing legitimization discourses for neoliberal urban policies; which are in our case, Third Bridge, Third Airport and Canal Istanbul projects.

Following the elaboration on a specific context of AKP government's constructing its hegemony, the fourth chapter provides the introduction of this context by conducting CDA of AKP elites' speeches on the legitimization of these three mega projects. The discourses between 2010 - 2013 are quite compatible with other cases in the world in terms of the emphasis given to economic development/growth, public-private partnership and some nationalist connotations. Another discourse has come to the scene since 2013, against alleged enemies discourse. This discourse was built on the specific context in which Turkey legitimizes the implementation of these mega projects as a sign of Turkey's

strengthening against the external and internal others who are uncomfortable with this growth.

The last section of the fourth chapter concentrates on the denaturalization of these discourses to point out the inequalities and missing points intended to be covered with the speeches delivered by the AKP elites. As a result of this analysis, it has been realized that AKP government's legitimization discourses for these mega projects are reproducing insecurities for the articulated others both at domestic and international levels. Over these mega projects, the West and the Gezi Parki Protestors and FETO supporters have been further articulated as others and threats to the Turkish national security. Any individual, regardless of being a part of these groups, if against these projects, was put under the name of the ones who does not want to further strengthening of Turkey. Together with insecurities triggered by the naturalization discourses, there are other problems regarding the implementation of these mega projects which have not been given coverage by AKP elites. These are related with these projects' negative repercussions on environment and living environments, non-transparency about the role of the treasury in these projects, the rent-seeking patterns behind choosing the routes for these projects, relationship between the government and winning consortium of these projects' tender and the proliferation of the sub-contractors with these projects.

It can be suggested that the negative repercussions of the neoliberal urban projects in Istanbul are more or less similar to other examples in the developing world who are pursuing neoliberal urban agenda. Indeed, unless a serious and widespread opposition arises against the neoliberal populist governments like AKP, these political actors also pursue similar legitimization discourses for the practices of neoliberalism on urban scales. However, as Turkish case suggested, when a

neoliberal populist regime is faced with a serious opposition from both domestic and international levels as a result of exclusionary practices in the process of sustaining its own hegemony over domestic affairs, it can tend to upgrade its othering practices and articulate new legitimization discourses for neoliberal projects on the basis of alleged enemies from inside and outside opposition.

Finally, this thesis contributes to the literature dealing with the neoliberal urbanization of Istanbul under AKP. The contribution is studying the discursive construction of legitimization discourses for the neoliberal mega projects. There are valuable resources on AKP's motivation of implementing neoliberal practices on the urban scale. However, this thesis also questions the process of attributing meanings to the neoliberal urban projects. By analyzing the process of discursive construction of legitimization of mega projects, the link with Turkish socio-political context has been established. This linkage contributes that the growing oppositions from both domestic and international realms, and power struggle have changed the Party's way of articulation of legitimization discourses for these mega projects since 2013 through the inclusion of against alleged enemies. This suggests that the neoliberal government AKP tends to articulate more aggressive legitimization discourses for these mega projects when feels itself threatened by the domestic and international oppositions. Neoliberal populist regimes in the developing world like India under Modi rule can also pursue more aggressive legitimization discourses along with populist sentiments when it faces with both internal and international pressures. The drastic change in legitimization discourses for neoliberal projects in Turkish case in line with the rising opposition in both realms might suggest that the mega projects with their neoliberal nature can be articulated as a proof of success and victory against any possible alleged enemies. This indicates that in times of political and

economic stability, neoliberal populist regimes might pursue similar discourses suggested by Marxist Geographers. However, rising opposition from both domestic and international levels might lead to inclusion of alleged enemy sentiments to the legitimization discourses.



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