



Sustainability Dilemma of Urban Change Policies

Kentsel Değişim Politikalarının Sürdürülebilirlik Çıkması

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Öz

1960'lı ve 70'li yılların ardından tüm dünyada kapitalizmin yenilenen modelleri eşliğinde kentsel alanlarda teknolojik ve dijital gelişmeler, ülkelerin gelişmişlik düzeyinde yeni yaşam alanlarını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Küresel kapitalizm ve sermaye, dönemsel krizden çıkış yolu için neoliberal politikalarla küresel kentsel alanlarını 'post fordizm' ile şekillendirirken diğer yandan güneye doğru yönelen 'çevresel fordizm' hızla büyümüşür. Ulusal ve uluslararası düzeyde 70'li ve 80'li yılların 'büyümenin sınırları' ve 'ekoloji' kavramları üzerinden doğan 'sürdürülebilir büyüme' eksenli kentsel politikaların gelişimi, sürecin olumlu algılanmasına neden olmuş ve adeta meşruiyet sağlamıştır. Kapitalizmin finansallaşmaya dayalı sermaye birikimi modeli olan neoliberalizmin kentsel alanda araçsallaştırdığı piyasacı ve rekabete dayalı 'dünya kenti' politikaları, giderek daha da katılaştıran demokratik sürecin içinde, mimarlık ve planlama gibi disiplinleri çıkarları doğrultusunda yönlendirmiştir. Sermaye grupları 70'li yıllarda yaşanan kriz sürecinde kendini yeniden onarıırken diğer yandan neoliberalizmin 2008 küresel finansal krizi ile olagelenler, yeni yıkım ve kronik krizlerin doğmasına yol açmıştır. Gözlemler yanında literatür eksenli bu çalışmanın bütününde sanayi kentlerinin ortaya çıkışından itibaren tarihsel süreçte öne çıkan ekonomik, yönetsel ve mekânsal alandaki politik pratikler günümüze taşınmıştır. Çalışmada 70'li yıllar ve sonrasında neoliberal kapitalizmin çevre odaklı politik eksenine gelen sürdürülebilirlikle ilgili birlikteliği, sistemin işleyişi içinde oluşturulan kavramsal çerçeve ve kategorik yaklaşımlar temelinde sorgulanmıştır. Konu ile ilgili olarak özellikle 1980'ler sonrası İstanbul kentsel alanında merkezi ve yerel politikalarla ilgili gelişmeler ve neoliberal uygulamalar, küresel gündemle birlikte değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışmada neoliberal kapitalizmin olmazsa olmaz politik eksenine dönüşen sürdürülebilirliğin kategorik yorumlarının, sistemin sorunlarını çözmekten çok görünmezliğine katkıda bulunduğu görülmektedir. Araçsallaştırılan kentsel politikaların vazgeçilmez aracı haline gelen sürdürülebilirliğin bütüncül kavramsal çerçevesi oluşturulduğunda, kuramsal çerçevede sürdürülebilirliğin çıkmazlığına ilişkin sonuçlar ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu aşamada daha büyük çoğunlukları temele alan evrensel nitelikte çok disiplinli makro politik siyasaaların kuramsal gelişimi de sürecin en önemli sorunu haline gelmektedir. Bu nedenle çalışmada sistemin devamlılık öngörüsü halinde kapitalizmin temel politik aracı haline gelen sürdürülebilirliğin kuramsal çerçevesine katkı verilmek istenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Değişim, Kentsel, Politika, Sürdürülebilirlik, Yönetim.

ABSTRACT

Following the 1960s and 70s, technological and digital developments in urban areas, in conjunction with the renewed models of capitalism across the globe, have given rise to novel living spaces at the level of development of countries. While global capitalism and capital have shaped global urban areas with 'post-fordism' and neoliberal policies as a means of resolving periodic crises, it has concurrently led to the rapid expansion of 'environmental fordism' directed towards the Global South. The emergence of 'sustainable growth' policies, rooted in the concepts of 'limits of growth' and 'ecology' prevalent during the 1970s and 1980s, at both national and international levels, engendered a favourable perception of this process, thereby legitimising it. Conversely, the neoliberalism-driven 'world city' policies, underpinned by a marketist and competition-based model of capitalism, have been instrumentalised in the urban sphere to align disciplines such as architecture and planning with the interests of capital accumulation. This has occurred within the context of a democratic process that has become increasingly rigid. While capital groups were able to repair themselves during the crisis process in the 1970s, the 2008 global financial crisis of neoliberalism led to the emergence of new destruction and chronic crises. This literature-based study utilises observations to analyse the political practices in the economic, administrative and spatial domains that have assumed prominence in the historical process since the

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emergence of industrial cities, and their progression to the present day. In this study, the association of neoliberal capitalism with sustainability is called into question. This is important because neoliberal capitalism became the environment-oriented political axis in the 1970s and after. The study uses a conceptual framework, and categorical approaches created within the functioning of the system to do this. The study evaluated developments related to central and local policies and neoliberal practices in the urban area of Istanbul, especially after the 1980s, in the context of the global agenda. The study demonstrates that the utilisation of categorical interpretations of sustainability, which has emerged as the indispensable political axis of neoliberal capitalism, serves to perpetuate the invisibility of the system rather than address its underlying issues. The establishment of a holistic conceptual framework for sustainability, which has emerged as a pivotal instrument in the realm of instrumentalised urban policies, has given rise to a deadlock within the theoretical framework concerning sustainability. At this juncture, the theoretical development of universal, multidisciplinary macro-political policies grounded in larger majorities emerge the most pressing issue in the process. The present study aims to contribute to the theoretical framework of sustainability, which has become the main political tool of capitalism in the case of the system's continuity projection.

Keywords: Urban, Change, Policy, Management, Sustainability

INTRODUCTION:

It is acknowledged that the concepts of city and urbanisation are inextricably linked. The definition of human settlements as cities is predicated on the evaluation of changes in a specific combination of variables related to the phenomenon of urbanisation in its entirety (Tekeli, 2011:17). The fundamental elements of these variables, which are indicative of this phenomenon, escalate during the process, thereby prompting the transformation of urban areas. Consequently, the phenomenon of urbanisation emerges as a salient agenda item. The variables that stand out among the basic elements are related to the efficiency levels of definitions such as production, size, density, heterogeneity and integration. Furthermore, an urban area is defined as a settlement that is differentiated, stratified and specialised, that has an economic order and that changes by interacting with its environment at whatever stage it is in (Kıray, 1998:82). In parallel with these definitions, the practices that direct urban change become evident based on the elements and theories of the city and urbanisation phenomenon.

Theories are defined as hypotheses and laws that are related to the field in which they are formulated, and which form scientific theories and predictions about that field of existence (Tunalı, 2020:17). Despite the challenges posed by theories concerning the phenomenon of the city and urbanisation in the early and late capitalism periods, with solution proposals that challenge the system in the historical process, parallels with the functioning of the system have been observed. It is not possible to consider the urban management policies formed based on these theories used by the political class as independent from this process. However, these practices have demonstrated varied developments throughout the historical period. In the early modern period, the repair of the system following the periodic problems and their aftermath was primarily driven by new urban policies that were developed to renew economic models. In the neoliberal period of late modernism, the renewed economic model has been perpetuated through approaches to sustainability and related concepts, which have been complemented by cultural politics and have become almost untouchable. Following the economic crises experienced, environmental policies have become the driving force of cultural policies, which constitute the ideology of neoliberalism on a global level, legitimising this period. The conceptual and theoretical framework of the study is based on the development of 'sustainable growth' following the growth and limits of growth approach of environment-oriented neoliberal policies used to direct urban change from the 1970s to the present. The micro-scale categorical approaches of these concepts and their extensions, which determine macro-politics, contribute to the system's exit from the economic crisis rather than the production of the right urban politics. This is particularly evident in the context of neoliberal practices that have emerged in peripheral economies. Consequently, the urban politics of central and local administrations concerning architecture and planning has been maintained on a political plan that is far from criticism due to the argument of sustainability with legal support. However, the 2008 global financial crisis and the subsequent decline in democratic developments at the level of administration have led to a continuation of this process, resulting in an escalation of urban poverty issues.

The 'growth and its limits' approach, which was discussed at the international level in the 1970s, and the 'sustainable growth' policies, especially after the 1980s, have determined periodic development. A substantial corpus of national and international literature has been dedicated to the subject, albeit with a predominant focus on micro-scale categories. In the latter part of the 20th century and the ensuing years of the 21st century, theoretical developments, including universal anti-urbanism, have emerged in approaches ranging from the formation of a planet where urban boundaries will disappear with urban gentrification, settlement and physical environment indexes on a macro scale, to different geographical and spatial contexts. Urban policies formulated based on these theories have predominantly interpreted and applied concepts such as urban planning, urban design, conservation, renewal, reclamation and transformation in accordance with the economic and cultural politics of the period. Technological developments have provided the global capital and finance world with the opportunity to reproduce the way out of cyclical crises through postmodern urban policies that cause spatial upheavals in social life. The 'sustainability' approach of urban politics, with its conceptual definition that affirms the process, has become imperative for development. This has resulted in a proliferation of categorically applied sustainability measures. However, this result, which is in accordance with the functioning of the existing system, has remained far from being a correct theoretical approach. The conceptual analysis of 'sustainable growth', which guides the policies of central and local governments, is of great importance. In this regard, novel macro policies, to be formulated in conjunction with diverse academic disciplines specialising in urban studies, are poised to direct solutions that serve the interests of the general population.

1. Methodology and Theoretical Framework

This study does not constitute a specific investigation into sustainability. Rather, it concerns the utilisation and theoretical framework of the concept of sustainability within the primary axis of urban change and policies. The evaluation of academic studies on articles and publications on urban change policies and sustainability was conducted through a comprehensive review of national and international literature, utilising academic field-based search engines. The conceptual and categorical attributes, along with the quantitative status, of recent publications on urban politics and sustainability, are encompassed within the conceptualisation section of the study. The evaluation systematically analysed two distinct historical periods. The first period pertains to the classification of early modernism-modernism. The second period pertains to the literature data in the late modernist period. The classification of these periods was facilitated by the utilisation of the 'Table of Periodic Variables in the Production of Urban Space' (see Figure 1), a comprehensive data set developed by the author. In the initial period, characterized by early modernism and modernism, the developmental phase of capitalist modernity witnessed the preservation of periodic variations in urban politics, which were aligned with democratic attributes at the socio-economic and administrative levels. In the subsequent period, known as late modernism or neoliberal capitalism, the discourse shifts to the sociocultural politics of this era, marked by legal changes and the emergence of sustainability-based theories and policies. These developments profoundly influenced the processes of architecture, planning, and design, which emerged as the primary instrument of urban policy. Furthermore, the evolution of urban policies defined for Istanbul's metropolitan area by central and local governments after the 1980s is examined and assessed within the context of historical change.

The subject is approached through the dialectic of the part-whole, incorporating abstractions about the whole. Historical and material approaches are not evaluated as entirely deterministic. The theoretical underpinnings of urban politics, ecology, and sustainability, as delineated within the conceptual framework of the study, are examined through the lens of sustainable growth. The study interrogates this conceptual and theoretical framework by unveiling the characteristics of two distinct periods that led to the study's classification. The commonalities in the policies of governments in urban

areas from developed economies to peripheral economies, as well as the different results, require association with the data of social structures and spaces. The cultural politics of the renewed mode of production, new social values and actors' visibility, symbolism and image production in the field of architecture and planning in urban space are discussed based on the policies of central and local governments.

2. Conceptualization of Sustainability in the Context of Urban Change Policies

The evolution of policies concerning the management of urban change has given rise to a variety of solutions across historical periods. In the contemporary context, decision-making processes and the policies of central and local governments in increasingly metropolitanized, rapidly developing, and changing urban areas have come to reveal urban policies. These periods will be carried forward to the 19th and 20th centuries and the 21st century. Urban policies in the 19th and 20th centuries have undergone a transformation, giving rise to novel practices in response to the challenges encountered in the capitalist economy. The transformations in urban policies and practices, stemming from the differentiation of modes of production in urban areas from the late 20th century to the 21st century, have been conceptualized as a shift from modernism to postmodernism. This transition has been accompanied by the rise of consumption culture at both the local and general levels, shaping urban policies and practices. Moreover, following the late 20th century, the concept of sustainability emerged as an indispensable focal point for urban policies, a departure from the preceding period. The ongoing development of sustainability-related concepts within the multidisciplinary framework of urban policies continues to shape the agenda.

The quantitative data concerning research on the use of both concepts, separately or in combination, has increased steadily in recent years. A comprehensive analysis of 2,511 articles on "sustainable development" published in the Web of Science database between 2000 and 2019 was conducted. The analysis revealed a marked increase in the utilization of the concept since 2007, with a notable surge in its popularity during the 2018-2019 period. Furthermore, a national journal dedicated to urban policies and sustainability has published 28 issues since 2010, featuring a total of 351 academic articles (İdeal Kent Dergisi). Additionally, there are noteworthy international journals that are distinguished by their emphasis on qualitative data. A notable example is the Cities: The International Journal of Urban Policy and Planning, which is dedicated to the publication of international articles within the domain of urban policy and planning, with a particular emphasis on sustainability and urban development. Since 1985, another journal has been publishing international and interdisciplinary articles on high-impact urban policy and planning issues (Urban Policy and Research). The journal (Urbanization, Sustainability and Society) is another publication that focuses on applied research on the sustainable development of cities around the world and on issues such as social impacts, health, education and social equity in urban areas. However, a significant limitation of these studies is their narrow focus on technologies and technologies that are oriented towards the categorical fields of disciplines. A paucity of studies has been observed in the conceptual domain of sustainability in the context of urban politics, and the formulation of pertinent research questions has remained deficient.

In the 18th century, modernism emerged as a product of the Enlightenment project. The development of modernism has been influenced by several key variables, including the quality of infrastructure, the mode of production, the use of reason, advancements in science and art, the democratic identity of the nation state and its institutions within the superstructure, and other pertinent factors. In addition to its universal identity in the historical process of modernism, the instrumentalization of reason and the development of technical approaches have limited the understanding of human freedom provided by the Enlightenment over time (Tekeli, 2009: 16). The changes in the substructure and the differentiations in the metanarrative that emerged because of the interaction of modernism with scientific and social developments have led to the classification of this process as either early or late

periods. As illustrated in Figure 1, the data from the periodic variables table in the production of urban space is related to these periods (Güneş, 2024:78). The table reveals interconnections between historical periods, thereby demonstrating relational outcomes. The literature data on urban politics (Figure 1) are regarded as the production relations and theoretical qualities related to infrastructure, as well as the development of administrative units and policies and the definitions of traces in urban space.

PERIODS	INFRASTRUCTURE	MODE OF PRODUCTION	THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT
EARLY MODERNISM (1763/1848/1945)	EARLY CAPITALISM	PRE-FORDISM	CLASSICAL THEORIES
MODERNISM (1914/1945/1968)	LATE CAPITALISM	FORDIST PRODUCTION	CHICAGO SCHOOL
LATE MODERNISM (1968...)	NEOLIBERALISM	POSTFORDISM PRODUCTION	CRITICAL AND POSTMODERN THEORIES

Figure 1. Table of Periodic Variables in Urban Space Production (Created by the Author)

3. Urban Policies in the Process of Capitalist Modernity

In this section, the historical formations of early and late capitalism will be defined within the framework of urban policies.

3.1.1763-1848-1914 Periods

Urban policies, which integrate theoretical approaches and practices across all historical periods, also reveal the mode of production and democratic quality of the period in which they are implemented through their spatial organization, encompassing the political structure of power, ethnic groups, social stratification, and class structure (Castells, 2014:110). In the historical process, local administrative units have been observed as "sites" dating back to the Sumerians of the ancient period, "Municipals" of Rome with autonomous identity, and city states defined as "Polis" in accordance with the ideal politics of Ancient Greece. Following the development of feudal periods, communal or local governments, in which commercial classes were active especially in the 12th century, turned into intermediate institutions because of the emergence of nation states in the 16th century. In the economic profile of early modernism, the starting point in relation to production infrastructure dated back to the 18th century. The process of accumulation, facilitated by the development of workshops through international trade and the use of ports, as well as the introduction of steam engines (1763), a significant catalyst of the industrial revolution, led to the emergence of industrial capitalist modernity. Subsequently, the development of the capital accumulation process, industrial capitalist relations of production based on factories in British cities, developed within the conditions in and around the Atlantic Basin. The 19th century witnessed the culmination of this trend, driven by persistent colonial and imperial practices (Clark, 1996:79-83). In the subsequent century, the advancements in transportation and communication, along with the significant disparities in technology, propelled the development of capitalism and the circulation of capital to the global scale. Consequently, transformations not only in temporal domains but also in urban landscapes following the latter half of the 19th century have been remarkable (Katznelson, 2019:173).

The advent of local governance within the historical context is evident in the medieval feudal order. During the 12th century, the merchant class and the elite mass engaged in a struggle against the overlords and the kingdom, leading to the establishment of autonomous governments in the 13th and 15th centuries. These governments addressed issues such as personal freedom, private trial, criminal laws, and land ownership. In the 17th century, the regionalization of dependencies on the center emerged among princes. Noteworthy is the opposition of I. Kant and J.J. Rousseau to the concept of local governments as intermediate institutions. After this period, there was a shift from the perspective that local governments were entities that constrained the authority of the monarch (as articulated by J. Bodin and Montesquieu) to the assessment of a hierarchical system from a "utilitarian" perspective

(as sponsored by J. Turgot and J. Bentham). The term "municipality" emerged in the context of the French Revolution, specifically in the constituent assembly. Subsequently, the British House of Commons, under the influence of the "utilitarian" philosopher J. Bentham, adopted the concepts of local government and municipality in 1835 to regulate all public services within the framework of central authority. In the 1860s, the German philosopher Rudolph Gneist conceptualized the expansion of the powers of the local unit, including expropriation and tax regulation on behalf of all public services (Keleş and Yavuz, 1983:3-7). In the 19th century, with the influence of liberalism, local governments and private or voluntary organizations were regarded as instruments of freedom. The contributions of French thinkers such as Weber in the early 19th century, as well as the autonomous municipalism movements in the USA, were instrumental in shaping the conceptualization of local government as local services or local bureaus. In the United States, the establishment of autonomous municipalism occurred on a dual axis, founded on the law and the constitution, aligning with the principle of self-government in Missouri and other states during the 1870s (Keleş and Yavuz, 1983:11-13).

The spatial traces of the period under consideration are the rapid development of political centers and ports because of the early modern urbanization process of Europe from the Mediterranean to Northwestern Europe from the 16th century to the mid-18th century. Until the mid-19th century, significant urban growth remained elusive. However, London maintained its financial character, the distribution of many products, and the maintenance of trade throughout this period. From the 1800s to the 1900s, the population of London grew from 1.1 million to 6.7 million. The advent of large-scale developments, originating from the central and port cities of England and extending to the urban areas in the countryside, signaled the impending urbanization that would subsequently unfold in Europe and the USA. The urban layout, characterized by industrial and manufacturing zones on the outskirts of cities, service and commercial units in the center, large and multifunctional buildings, and local or central government buildings with national identities, was replicated in many regions worldwide, albeit with slight variations. In the process of organizing production in new industrial cities such as Chicago and Pittsburgh in the USA, Lille and Saint-Etienne in France, and Essen in Germany, which were established in the coal basins and railroad connections of many cities, the distinction between housing and workplace in accordance with the geography of class in urban space emerged (Katznelson, 2019, :216-222). The external sovereignty character of the political capitals of the early modern period was replaced by the processes of reproduction of accumulation in the 19th century (Merington, 1975: 88). While 19th-century cities were shaped by the factory and working-class axis, the market-oriented nature of production completely differentiated rural and urban areas.

The assumption of "one truth" in the solutions of early modernism began to diverge with new inputs after 1848. The definition of the historical framework of the modernity project for the validity of its institutional identity has been an important part of literature. Discussions have persisted regarding the validity of multiple modernities (Tekeli, 2011:102). Modernism emerged as an urban phenomenon in the process of transforming into capitalist modernity by combining multiple understandings, and, conversely, the space of art was ultimately cities. Concurrently, significant advancements in the realm of modernism emerged in response to the pressing issues of migration, destitution, and poverty that accompanied the industrial revolution. These developments, underpinned by theoretical evolutions and practical applications within urban contexts, marked a pivotal turning point in the late 19th century. A notable example of this evolution is the urban renewal works initiated by Haussmann in Paris during the Napoleonic III era (1853), which were guided by the principles of safety, circulation, and health. These initiatives have persisted into the 20th century, underscoring the enduring relevance of urban planning and development in addressing societal challenges. Subsequent contributions include Daniel Burnham's "White City" concept for the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, Ebenezer Howard's

"Garden City" theory and practices (1898), and Tony Garnier's "Industrial City" theory and practices (1903). These theories and practices significantly influenced spatial development and urban policy in the early modern period (Harvey, 2014: 39–43).

3.2. 1914-1945-1968 Periods

The most significant development of this period, during which capitalist production underwent a transformation into monopolistic and international relations, was the introduction of the fordist production system. On an international scale, the imperial presentations of the states dominated by Britain, France, and the USA were characterized by the London and New York-centered characteristics of this period. The advent of this new industrial age, characterized by the proliferation of manufacturing processes with an increasingly international character, was precipitated by the burgeoning urban population and the consequent surge in demand driven by industrial production (Clark, 2004: 81). The technological application and specialization of Fordist production and standard mass production targeting consumption have been among the most significant developments of the 20th century economy. This transition was concomitant with a shift in economic thinking, marked by a transition from protectionist and state-oriented policies in the 17th century to more liberal economic policies in the 18th century. During the 19th century, and continuing through the early 20th century, the prevailing economic theory of capitalism posited that the state should play a supportive role in facilitating market operations, with the notable exception of the defense sector. However, the classical economic theory proved ineffective in addressing the economic crisis of 1929. In response to this crisis, Keynesian economics emerged as a new theoretical framework. Keynesian economics emphasized the role of the state in implementing fiscal policies aimed at stabilizing the economy. This period, which lasted until the 1970s, witnessed the integration of Keynesian economic principles with the fordist production model, thereby shaping the economic model that would prevail over the subsequent decades. In addition, the devastation of the First and Second World Wars contributed to the continuation of the economic model in terms of housing needs and urban renewal. After the Second World War, institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which were established with the international Bretton Woods agreement, and Keynesian policies in many countries led to a period of minimal problems until the 1970s (Öztürk, 2012). During the same period (1914-1970), in the other socialist economic model camp of the world, the USSR and its countries, which were mobilized by the state, maintained their competitive position with capitalist countries through the development of public identity and economic growth. Economic data from different systems continued to influence each other. In the 1970s, the USSR surpassed the United States in the category of different sectors that demonstrated national capabilities (Harrison, 2017: 96).

In the late 19th century, French socialists and Proudhon advanced the concept of localism towards a form of "functional federalism." However, a subsequent period of reduction of local powers emerged as a central concern. To ensure the survival and continued strength of the political republic and the revolution, France reverted to a centralized structure in the 1940s. This transition was accompanied by the appointment of local administrators by the central government. The equilibrium of political authority between central and local administrations was established on the foundation of the social structure, economic model, and the efficacy of the political values of the central government (Keleş and Yavuz, 1983:13-14). The early 20th century marked a period of accelerated growth in the expansion of local governments, coinciding with the internationalization of capitalism and significant developments in urban spatial structures. The municipal socialism movement, pioneered by Fabian socialists (Sidney and Beatrice Webb) in England during this era, found a parallel in the United States under the rubric of autonomous municipalism. In the United Kingdom, notable advancements occurred in the domains of democratic representation, the augmentation of municipal services, and the establishment of local resources with the involvement of the central government. A similar process

occurred in the United States, where the definition of public and social services provided by municipalities, along with the establishment of the necessary powers and resources, was initiated in state constitutions. In the 20th century, a notable characteristic of local governance was the proliferation of a pluralistic identity of services, a development that coincided with the expansion of the domains of responsibility, as Keynesian practices became prominent on the agenda following the 1930s. Concurrently, the UK witnessed the development of practices characterized by a greater emphasis on public involvement, while continental Europe exhibited practices analogous to the Bismarckian concept of subsidiarity. A second salient finding is that, except for underdeveloped-developing countries, the urban population in developed countries surpassed the rural population during this period, thereby accentuating the urban character of local units. A third result is the development of a technocratic understanding that superseded the political character of local governments (Keleş and Yavuz, 1983:7-9).

The spatial traces of the period in the urban area have witnessed very important developments. The 20th century witnessed pivotal urban phenomena, including population shifts and migration patterns, which, in conjunction with the logical positivism-oriented approach of modernism between the two world wars, established a foundation for the subsequent interweaving of modernist architecture with technological and scientific advancements following the Second World War. Consequently, the Modern Architects' Congress, which endured until the 1970s, formulated practices and concepts that delineated a rational and constrained framework for interpreting cities and dwellings as "a machine to live in" (Harvey, 2014:46). The most significant reflection of the Congress on urban areas was the zoning approach, which addressed housing, work, transportation, and recreation. After this development, regions with disparate levels of advancement came to be characterized by multicenter metropolises and megapolises, accompanied by suburbs, satellite cities, transition zones, ghettos, and substantial slum areas (Güneş, 2021:113). During the 1950s, economic growth and expansion in Britain, France, and the United States were predominantly driven by population growth. In contrast, in Canada, Central and South America, these processes were more closely associated with the development of commercial contact points. In these countries and others that could capitalize on overseas opportunities and provide raw materials and trade, urban areas experienced rapid growth, with limited development on the peripheries. After this initial phase, the geographical scope expanded to encompass Asia and Africa. Conversely, Tokyo was incorporated into the list of significant urban areas after New York and London (Yücel, 2020:205).

Following the advent of the 20th century, cultural approaches experienced a decline in efficacy within the evolving zoning technique, a trend that culminated in its obsolescence by the mid-20th century. The process that led to the emergence of cultural zoning studies became intertwined with "urban survey-analysis-plan" studies and found application within the domain of administration during the modernist era (Yücel, 2020:210). The advent of the 20th century marked the rise of a positive-based approach, which gave rise to a comprehensive planning approach within the domain of urban planning. This approach entailed the integration of zoning and social studies through the discipline of urban and regional planning, culminating in the implementation of master plans in the aftermath of World War II. These developments in the field of planning in the 1940s began to take place in the urban policies of central and local governments. While the interventionist policies of the state, in accordance with the war period, imposed limitations on the private sector and investments, the Keynesian model of a mixed economy was also implemented to continue this process. Despite the increased autonomy of the urban planning discipline, it proved ineffective in providing effective guidance during this period. However, from the 1950s to the 1970s, a comprehensive planning approach emerged as a significant response to mounting demands and social challenges, including post-war housing and escalating competition. This approach played a pivotal role in shaping the policies of central and local governments. This planning technique and approach, which was believed to ensure development and

control in the public interest, began to be criticized both in terms of its economic understanding and policies after the 1960s. Subsequent planning methodologies, namely progressive and defensive planning, emerged as a critique of the comprehensive approach. Concurrently, while Marxist approaches criticized the modernist comprehensive approach in the 1970s in terms of social classes and the common good, the neoliberal pioneers of late modernism began to criticize the modernist approach with increasing momentum based on its hierarchical oppressive character.

4. Urban Policies in the Process of Neoliberal Capitalism

In this section, the historical formations in the neoliberal capitalism processes and the urban policies of Istanbul, which constitutes the sample area of the study, in the neoliberalism process will be defined.

4.1. 1968-1980-2008 and Later Periods

The urban politics of the period were determined by environmental and ecological concerns, as was the economic crisis that followed the urban political movements of the 1968s around the world in the 1970s. To overcome the crisis experienced after the 1980s, global capital directed the newly formed environmentally oriented neoliberal political economy based on "sustainable growth". Liberalization of the economy, growth of the private sector, regulation but shrinking of the state, privatization of natural resources in the name of efficiency, increasing commodification were the basic inputs of the new era. In particular, the theoretical developments of 1968 criticized the functioning of the system and established the approach that emphasized consumption, and in the continuation of the process it was integrated with neoliberal policies. After 1980, in the process of shaping the policies of central and local units, in addition to the postmodern and deconstructivist approaches of the period that determined the evolving understanding of planning and architecture, urbanization theories such as planetary urbanization, postcolonial urbanization, and unification theory shaped the agenda in the 2000s and beyond. In the UN (United Nations) or EU-identified international meetings on urbanization, climate change, and settlements in the 70s and 80s, it was observed that with the contribution of theoretical developments, the conceptual framework of sustainability, which was perceived positively, was created to facilitate the functioning of neoliberalism. The postmodern understanding of the period, the interpretation of individualism, and the consumption approach led to the construction of brand and image-based business centers. These business centers included closed spaces with privatized commercial identity, luxury residences, and hotels, which resulted from the liquidation of public spaces. In response, central and local governments have implemented urban policies such as new urbanism, gentrification, and new architecture, all within the context of global competition. In the context of urban settlements, new development zones, and suburbs, governments have widely implemented a multi-part planning approach through tools such as urban design and transformation.

The countries and regions that exhibited the earliest manifestations of neoliberalism included Latin America, the USA, the UK, South Africa, and the post-1990s Eastern Bloc. The initial phase of neoliberalism persisted until the East Asian crisis in the mid-1990s. From the mid-1990s until the global financial crisis of 2008, neoliberalism experienced its most 'mature' period. This period was characterized by the consolidation of the central political administrations of the United States and the United Kingdom, resulting in a neoliberal system that appeared to lack viable alternatives (Filho, 2021: 43–77). The period following the global economic crisis of the 1970s saw the emergence of a discourse centered on environmental and growth-related issues. The notion of sustainability emerged from earlier discourse on "Development without Excluding the Environment" at the Stockholm Environment Conference in 1972 and the Club of Rome's "Limits to Growth" in the same period (Club of Rome, 2024). The concept of sustainability was formally introduced in the 1982 World Union for Conservation

of Nature (IUCS) document and subsequently defined in its contemporary sense in the 1987 World Environment and Development (WCED) organization's Our Common Future report. Prior to this development, the concept of "non-growth" was also discussed from 1972-75 with the approach of French Andre Gorz. Subsequently, from 1995 to 1999, the French economist Dominique Meda further elaborated on the concept of "non-growth," transforming it into the broader concept of civilization. In 2015, a study against the notion of "growth" was conducted by the French economist Jean Gadrey (Ataman, 2020: 103). Nevertheless, these developments did not have a significant impact on neoliberal policies. It has been observed that, following the 1980s, growth policies have been increasingly guided by the 'sustainability' approach of the environment-oriented neoliberal economy, which has been on the international agenda. In the aftermath of the global crisis of 2008, research continued the concept of 'sustainable growth' in accordance with policies such as environmental protection, neutral carbon and green contracts, especially climate change and disasters, with the contribution of Keynesian practices, albeit with a different approach from neoliberal policies. In the pursuit of solutions to the recurrent crises, there has been a concurrent development of policies that have a pronounced effect on urban areas, with the aim of ensuring the sustainability of capitalist production. A number of these have been brought to the agenda with numerous conferences, especially in European countries, from international Habitat meetings to the Rio Declaration, from the European Urban Charter to the Paris Climate Change joint decisions, and from Urban Resilience to the European Green Charter (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2024). In considering the developmental periods associated with the subject, diverse political phases have been witnessed prior to and following the 2008s at the international level within the domains of architecture, design and planning, as well as urban administration.

The 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Environment and Man, convened in the context of mounting environmental concerns during the early 1970s, addressed the findings of the Club of Rome's 'Limits to Economic Growth' and the pursuit of a harmonious equilibrium between economic advancement and ecological considerations. After this, in 1976, the Habitat I Conference was convened in Canada. After these events, the repercussions of late modernism in the urban regions of developing countries, including population, industrialisation, environment, food, transportation, and notably housing issues, culminated in a declaration on the continuity of the functioning (Ökten and Ökten, 2018:413). In the process of restoring the system, it was observed that the policies regarding the solution of the basic problems created by growth until the 80s included mostly ecological concerns (Ökten and Ökten, 2018:413). The seminal 1987 report by the World Commission on Environment and Development provided the first definition of the concept of 'sustainability'. The report defined sustainability as 'development without compromising the needs of today and the future'. The 1992 Rio Conference was a process of approval of many principles, including forestry, climate and biodiversity, as well as environmentally sensitive action plans. The concept of sustainable development was further advanced at the Istanbul Habitat II conference in 1996, which expanded its reach from the economic sphere to encompass administration and urban planning. Another development of equal importance to the association of sustainability and settlements was the approval of the countries at the New York meeting of 2000 by making a study called Agenda 21. In 2001, under the auspices of the United Nations, the World Urbanisation Forum and the Johannesburg conference in South Africa in 2002, the challenges of sustainable development, global environment and poverty were once again collectively assigned responsibilities (United Nations, 2024). The second declaration of the European Urban Charter, the first of which was made by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg in 1992, was reorganised with additions in 2008. Building upon the foundations laid by the initial decisions, the subsequent ones established definitions concerning the quality of the physical environment, the promotion of local cooperation, the fostering of cultural cohesion, the safeguarding of personal integrity, and the promotion of equal rights within the context of sustainability. A notable development was the decision

to seek the approval of local governments rather than national governments for the first meeting's decisions. The Second Council published a 'manifesto for a new urbanity', which included the participation of urbanites in local governance. This document advocated for urbanisation at the local level, emphasising a micro-scale approach grounded in sustainability. Furthermore, a call was made for the establishment of defence and resistance capabilities within the framework of common definitions and rules regarding the issues posed by these constructions.

In the aftermath of the global crisis of 2008, which had its genesis in the United States of America (USA), there has been an augmentation of new contents in both international and EU (European Union)-based urban policies. Notable examples of this include the concepts of urban resilience and green growth. The prevailing 'sustainability' approach, which in a sense anchors the neoliberal economic and cultural politics and influences urban policies, has maintained its dominance during this period. For the first time since the 1980s, questions concerning the neoliberal approach have been raised in both centre and periphery countries. The 1992 Millennium Development Goals were re-conceptualised as a new document in Rio de Janeiro in 2012, with the inclusion of developing countries in accordance with sustainable development goals. The year 2015 saw significant developments, with meetings held on various dates and locations under the auspices of the UN, addressing disaster risk reduction, development financing, 17 sustainable development goals, and ultimately, the Paris climate agreement. The agenda was formally concluded in 2030 with the establishment of institutional mechanisms to facilitate the implementation of sustainable development goals on a global scale (United Nations, 2024). In 2016, the European Urban Agenda for EU countries was introduced as the Amsterdam Pact. The documents adopted an integrated approach to sustainable urban development and contractual cooperation of local governments for climate and energy. The document was also influenced by the UN's 2030 goals and the results of the Habitat III summit held in 2016 on sustainable cities and communities and the new urban agenda. The common vision, inter-city cooperation and harmonised definitions of Habitat III determined the framework of the new urban agenda. In 2019, the European Green Charter, adopted by the EU, set the agenda. The European Green Charter is a sustainable, green-oriented transformation study for the 2050 projection of urban development policies. This study also includes the continent's first climate-neutral target for those years. The document is of particular significance as it outlines targets for sustainable industry and transport, clean energy, biodiversity, zero pollution and social approaches in construction and renovation. However, the consequences of the December 2019 crisis document, which served as a litmus test for the efficacy of these measures, were profoundly felt by humanity in the form of the global pandemic that ensued in early 2020.

4.2. Neoliberal Period and the Development of Urban Policies in Istanbul

In this section, the periods of development are determined as the years (1973/1980) -(1994/2002), (2002/2008) -(2008/2020) and the present day, which are intertwined in Istanbul, together with national and international data after the 68s. The historical periods are analysed at the economic and administrative level, and functional changes of spatial traces are also included.

4.2.1. (1973/1980) -(1994/2002) Period

In the aftermath of the global economic crisis of 1973 and the 24 January 1980 decisions and the military coup, a new economic system was initiated in Turkey, encompassing a free financial system, exchange rate regulation, facilitation of foreign capital, free movement of goods in lieu of an import substitution system, and export incentives coupled with market liberalisation. The Law on Encouragement of Savings and Acceleration of Public Investments (R.G.17.03.1984/2983), a key regulatory framework, initiated privatisation practices that would subsequently emerge. A seminal development was the abolition of the law on the protection of the Turkish currency by the ruling ANAP

party in 1989, a move which liberalised capital movements and introduced convertibility in the country. This action marked the integration of the country into the neoliberal economic paradigm (Boratav, 2019:313). After these developments, urban lands and their environments underwent transformation into rent-generating domains for international or national capital groups in diverse investment sectors. While the interest of capital in land and the planning process was already significant in the pre-1980 period, it has been carried to a much larger scale in the new period and attracted great interest. The 24 January stabilisation programme was supported by loans from the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the WB (World Bank) and the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development). However, despite relative improvements in the budget, inflation and crises could not be prevented (Firat, 2009: 504).

The interaction between neoliberal economic and cultural-political factors reached peripheral countries just before the 1990s. One of the most significant approaches to understanding the causes of capitalist production crises in the neoliberal period has been defined as 'financial and economic crises caused by the slowdown and unexpected return of capital transactions from the central economies to the periphery' (Boratav, 2019:314). The crises of 1994, 1998 and 2001 are the most appropriate examples of this phenomenon. The social democratic and political Islamist policies in power during this period, like the previous and current liberal approaches, developed their relations with neoliberal understanding and the global economy, and developed methods to make their programmes common at both central and local levels. The 1994 crisis was implemented with the support of the IMF and the WB, and the decisions of the April 5 Stabilisation Programme were key. Inflation reduction programmes were prepared in January 2000-2001, but the Turkish economy was shaken by the November 2000 and February 2001 crises. In the aftermath of these crises, a new era commenced, marked by the initiation of a novel IMF-backed programme, entitled 'Transition to a Strong Economy'. This programme entailed the establishment of macroeconomic policies, encompassing implementation and structural transformations, including monetary, budgetary, exchange rate, and central bank policies (Firat, 2009:510).

Zoning Law No. 3194 (R.G.03.05.1985/3194), which constitutes the legal framework of the planning and building order of the 1980s and beyond, has in a sense been the directive of architecture and planning policies. The law was justified by the recognition of deficiencies in the efficacy of planning processes, particularly in addressing the issue of construction that contravened legal provisions and the accelerating rate of urbanisation. Consequently, a new era commenced, during which local administrations were granted greater flexibility and expediency in implementing master and zoning plans. Concurrently, the period between 1981 and 1984 saw the issuance of Mass Housing Laws numbered (R.G.8.7.1981/2487) and (R.G.2.3.1984/2985), and the promulgation of Tourism Incentive Laws numbered (R.G.16.3.1982/2634) in 1982. In 1983, the Law on Cultural and Natural Heritage (R.G.23.7.1983/2863), the Environmental Law (R.G.11.8.1983/2872) and the Bosphorus Law (R.G.22.11.1983/2960) were enacted successively in accordance with prevailing political considerations. In 1984, the Law on the Establishment of Metropolitan Municipalities numbered (R.G.27.6.1984/3030) was issued, which resulted in a transformation in the dimension of local governments. In 1985, in accordance with the European Charter of Local Self-Government as established by the Council of Europe, it was observed that localisation policies within the country were also affected. Concurrently, although the authority of Regional and Environmental Plans remained under the jurisdiction of the relevant ministry, there was an endeavour to utilise alternative local planning powers in 1987, which did not yield the desired outcomes.

Coastal Law No. 3621 was also enacted in 1990. These legal provisions served to constrain the extent of local authority, whilst concomitantly fostering neoliberal practices at the national level. A significant development was Law No. 4046 (R.G.24.11.1994/4046), which facilitated the privatisation process,

leading to substantial public investments and the establishment of partnerships. Another significant area in the provision of urban financing is the post-1980 tax revenue arrangements provided to local governments. Local government revenues have exhibited substantial growth, attributable to shares from the general budget (R.G.2.2.1981/2380), the Municipal Revenues Law (R.G.26.5.1981/2464), and amendments made to the Law on Real Estate Tax. Despite fluctuations in the proportions of general budget tax revenues over time, the rates stipulated by the Law on Municipal Revenues have exhibited an increase from 12 per thousand to 37 per thousand of GNP (Gross National Product) in the 2000s compared to the 80s. Concurrently, the proportion of total tax revenues accruing to local governments escalated from 45 per cent in the early 1980s to 68 per cent in the 2000s (Kurtuluş, 2006:49).

Istanbul was presented with the opportunity to become an international city through the implementation of neoliberal policies following a prolonged period of inactivity. The central and local administrations of the 1983-89 period provided significant support for the process through their organisation and publicity, which was in accordance with the cultural politics of the period. During this period, significant transformations took place, including the relocation of industrial areas out of the city centre, the transformation of *gecekondu* (informal, temporary housing) into new settlements, and the relocation of CBD (Central Business District) areas, shopping malls, hotels, and mixed buildings (Öktem, 2011:31). The most significant development of this period was the construction of the 2nd Bosphorus Bridge (Fatih Sultan Mehmet), and the motorways provided the orientation of the new development areas of the city towards the north. In the period following the 1990s, in addition to the ring roads completed in the urban area, major infrastructure investments such as rail systems made significant contributions to the functioning of the market through the public sector. Consequently, suburbanisation, characterised by the expansion of housing policies from the city centre to the periphery, as well as the emergence of new housing developments along the city's coastline, and the transformation of shantytown areas into high-standard housing, has led to the formation of a completely new urban formation.

4.2.2. (2002/2008)- (2008/2020) Period and Present

Following the implementation of the IMF- and WB-backed Transition to a Strong Economy Programme, the AKP government, which came to power in 2002, adopted changes to the economic framework. These changes included floating exchange rates, narrowed fiscal policies and inflation-indexed policies. Concurrently, the financial sector underwent a process of liberalisation, financialisation and deregulation in accordance with macroeconomic objectives, while the nation's monetary and interest rate variables were influenced by external factors (Yeldan and Ünüvar, 2016:11-28). Concurrently, the period witnessed the formulation of sustainability policies aligned with neoliberal economic principles, underpinned by a consumption-based growth model that was conducive to financial inflows into the country and the escalating competitive environment. Following the period of transformation spanning from 1980 to 1998 and again from 2000 to 2003, the AKP government sought to re-legitimise neoliberal practices in 2003 and subsequently. The government, self-identifying as 'new conservative', deviated from the priorities of political Islam, instead implementing the requirements of the neoliberal economy through the Emergency Action Plan and associated programmes. Following the enactment of the Metropolitan Municipality Law in this period, the area under the jurisdiction of Istanbul increased three- to fourfold. A significant development was the privatisation of services through the establishment of numerous companies by local governments. This development has been a significant factor in the adoption of neoliberalism, a political and economic ideology that emphasises the role of the private sector in promoting growth. The ruling administration has also adopted this approach, implementing the metropolitan cities model as a strategy to achieve growth (Öktem, 2011:35). However, it is important to note that the growth rate in the country has declined from 9 per cent to 2 per cent since the end of 2007, following the financial crisis.

The 2008 crisis was primarily effective in the financial world and eventually influenced the real sector as well. When developed countries such as the USA and Japan began to be affected, the crisis assumed a global dimension. In this period, fiscal policies were reinvigorated to resolve the crisis. Following 2013, monetary expansions were regulated on a global scale, while from 2016 to 2021, growth was sustained in urban areas, aligning with the neoliberal economic framework of the nation. The 2018s marked a new phase in the crisis, with Europe, Japan and China experiencing growth problems. The crisis reached developing countries, including Turkey, by the end of 2019. The subsequent pandemic further exacerbated the situation (Eğilmez, 2020:97). Two significant elements of the neoliberal prescription that ensure sustainability have postponed the impending challenges. The first of these was widespread privatisation, and the second was the postponement of public-private partnerships and the borrowings spread over the process to later periods. These two instruments contributed significantly to the sustainability of public deficits. The consequences of the 'growth despite everything' policy resulted in an exchange rate and inflation crisis, which was exacerbated by the pandemic. Nevertheless, the consumption patterns fostered by urban policies within the neoliberal economic framework have contributed to the resolution of the issue (Boratav, 2022:617). It is evident that numerous practices perceived as conducive to sustainability can, in fact, result in adverse outcomes with respect to urban policies.

In tandem with advancements in the domains of vision and planning, legislative developments proceeded at a rapid pace. The ruling party's role in local administration in Istanbul, which it had been in power since 1994, continued after the 2000s until 2019. The Istanbul metropolitan sub-regional master plan report dated 1995 was renewed in 1999, and the vision of a world city with a 2023 projection and transformation programmes for Istanbul were defined. This programme encompassed numerous project approaches, including the integration of a giant metropolis with the world, the establishment of a competitive city, the development of central business districts (CBDs), mega urban transformation, and the creation of prestigious spaces. However, during the 1999 earthquake and economic crises, these nearly 500 projects and implementations found limited space. The AKP government, which had previously won the central administration and then the local administration, privatised the planning works by transferring them out of the competent units of IBB with BİMTAŞ (Boğaziçi Peyzaj İnşaat Müşavirlik Hizmetleri) and IMP (Metropolitan Planlama ve Kentsel Tasarım merkezi), which subsequently became independent companies under the name of Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Bureau. The work programme of the AKP government, in accordance with the IMF and WB indexed programme of transition to a strong economy and the emergency action programme they created, first completed and renewed many laws on local governments created in the 80s. The neoliberal policies directed towards urban areas have undergone comprehensive restructuring, encompassing both the implementation process and the generation of revenues.

The implementation area and powers of local governments, and the urban transformation powers of municipalities in the 2010s have expanded with new additions to 5393. The law in question also provides for the establishment of a consultative 'City Council' open to institutions. In 2003, the amendments made to the Tourism Incentive Law also supported the process. In 2005 (R.G.16.6.2005/5366), the scope of the central government's responsibilities was significantly expanded through the introduction of the legal framework for public-private partnerships for urban transformation and sectoral investments, as outlined in the legislation enacted for the revitalisation of degraded areas. The 1/100000 Environmental Plan was prepared by IMP in 2006 but was cancelled by the court in 2008 after objections. However, by the end of that same year, the plan had been renewed and approved by the IMM Assembly, subsequently entering into force in 2009. Concurrently, studies at a scale of 1/25,000 were also pursued (Öktem, 2011:36). Nevertheless, following the formulation of the 2009 plans and the amendments to the zoning law, the ground was prepared for the construction of the 3rd Airport, 3rd Bridge and Canal Istanbul. In 2014, the 3rd Airport in Silivri was relocated to its current location in the north, and a 1/25000 scale plan amendment was made for the 3rd Bridge with the North Marmara motorways. In 2012, the law on 'Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk'

(R.G.16.5.2012/6306) almost resulted in the transfer of the powers of local governments to central governments (Başarmak, 2024:135).

The Spatial Plans Regulation was implemented on 14 June 2014 (R.G.14.6.2014). The regulation defines a spatial strategy plan as a high-scale plan that determines social, economic and sectoral policies in accordance with the country, region and environmental scale. It directs the urban development of environmental and master plans and reports. The concept of spatial strategy plan was officially established with the subsequent amendment (R.G.10.12.2018/7153). Significant developments in this area include the Zoning Peace Law (R.G.18.5.2018/7143), which introduced renewed zoning amnesty, and the laws on the unlimited nature of reserve areas (R.G.9.11.2023/7471), which have facilitated urban transformation. In 2020, Canal Istanbul was incorporated, along with other revisions, in the 1/100,000 scale environmental plan (Ibb-İpa, 2024). Moreover, the rate of DOP (Regulatory Partnership Share) of Article 18 of the Law No. 3194 on the public's obligations regarding infrastructure, in accordance with neoliberal policies, was increased from 25% to 35% after the 1980s. This process was subsequently followed by a series of further increases, with the rate first rising to 40% (R.G. 3.12.2003/5006) and ultimately reaching 45% (R.G. 4.7.2019/7181). Despite its significance in the realm of urban financing, the public is precluded from benefiting from the value increases engendered by planning and public investments. However, the most recent amendment has legalised the principle of the public benefitting from value increases in voluntary collective applications, albeit in a limited capacity (R.G.20.02.2020. /7221).

Approaches to urban transformation projects, both in the slum areas and in the empty city centre, and in accordance with the superstructure of the ruling politics, directed the urbanisation dynamics of the period (Tekeli, 2009:202). Since the late 1990s, because of construction processes and privatisation in accordance with the world city ideology of neoliberal policies, practices from the 1980-2000 period have been carried to wider areas. Following the 2000s, the urban macro-form of the Istanbul metropolis underwent a transformation, becoming a substantial urban region extending beyond its boundaries. Initially, the extent of fringing on the peripheries first overflowed into the periphery, then from Kocaeli to Tekirdağ, and subsequently exceeded the districts of Gebze and Çorlu. High-rise business centres of the capital groups developing on the Zincirlikuyu-Maslak axis, sheltered housing estates in the surrounding areas, residences in urban centres and residential areas suitable for gentrification have gained weight in areas such as Kadıköy, Fatih, Beşiktaş, Şişli, Bakırköy, Sarıyer. Furthermore, there has been rapid development of luxury residences in and around the axes, including Zekeriyaköy-Demirciköy, Kemerburgaz-Göktürk, and Ataköy-Bahçeşehir, which are near the area in question. Furthermore, the establishment of business centres in the service and new finance sectors has occurred in areas such as Altunizade, Kozyatağı, Ümraniye, Ataşehir and Kartal on the Anatolian side, primarily in the latter part of the 2010s. Concurrently, in these regions and the development axes surrounding them, such as Çamlıca, Beykoz, Pendik and Kurtköy, there has been a continuation of dot blocks, gated communities and numerous new housing applications. A notable development has been the transformation of some urban construction projects into mixed-use structures, incorporating functions such as accommodation, housing, and residence, in addition to shopping centres (Güneş, 2024:76). Areas suitable for special education in new development areas or in the urban centre, and tourism investments suitable for urban visual-oriented brand projects, have also been prominent construction processes during this period (Güneş, 2024:76). In recent periods, there has been a marked increase in the construction of buildings intended for special education in newly developed areas or in the urban centre. Furthermore, there has been a significant focus on tourism investments that are deemed suitable for urban visual-oriented brand projects. These developments have become the prominent construction processes of this period. Following the completion of the North Marmara motorway and the third bridge (Yavuz Sultan Selim) in 2016, the process of opening settlements in the north, as outlined in environmental and master plans since the early 1980s, has been largely completed

5. Findings

The study presents a comprehensive analysis of the economic and administrative historical process and spatial manifestations of urban macro-politics at the global level. It demonstrates the significant contributions of different disciplines in a typical metropolis such as Istanbul, particularly in the context of the historical process and the neoliberal period. The macro analysis of global urban policies in the historical process and urban policies of the neoliberal period in the metropolis of Istanbul has yielded two distinct sets of results, presented in two separate tables within a relational context. Given the focus of the study is on macro policies, an analysis of micro policies is not included as a separate entity. The outputs of the analysis table of the urban macro politics of modernism in the historical process are illustrated in Figure 2.

GLOBAL URBAN POLICIES	PERIODS		
	EARLY MODERNISM 1763/1848/1914	MODERNISM 1914/1945/1968	LATE MODERNISM 1968 AND BEYONDS..
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT			
INFRASTRUCTURE	EARLY CAPITALISM	LATE CAPITALISM	NEOLIBERALISM
MODE OF PRODUCTION	PRE-FORDISM PRODUCTION	FORDISM PRODUCTION	POSTFORDIST PRODUCTION
THEROTICAL MODEL	MERCANTALISM AND LIBERALISM	KEYNESIAN MODEL	MONETARIST POLICIES
	SAY LAW	INTERVENTIONIST POLICY	FREE MARKET
ADMINISTRATIVE	LOCALISM-INSTITUTIONALISATION	PUBLICNESS OF LOCALISM	PRIVATISATION OF LOCALISM
DEVELOPMENT	LOCALISM AND AUTONOMISATION	CENTREISATION OF LOCALISM	PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP
SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT	INDUSTRIAL URBANISATION	URBAN ZONING	SUSTAINABLE GROWTH
	URBAN GROWTH	COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING	GLOBAL URBANISATION

Figure 2. Table of Urban Macro Policies in the History of Modernism (Created by the Author)

The table displaying urban macro policies (Figure 2) was constructed using data from the production table of urban space in Figure 1. It illustrates the evolution of policies, as well as the historical periods that are intertwined with each other. The table illustrates the economic, administrative, and spatial macro-policies of various historical periods that have shaped the trajectory of architectural and planning practices. In delineating these periods, the table situates the advent of industrial production as a foundational moment in the early modernist era, the rise of Fordist production as a pivotal point in the modernist epoch, and the emergence of urban political movements in 1968 as a defining inflection point in the late modernist age.

An examination of the historical evolution of capitalist modernity in the early and modernist periods reveals that, while the 19th century was marked by the emergence of new ideas and institutions, the 20th century witnessed profound transformations in urban policies. The 20th century bore witness to the chronic crises of capitalist modernity, as well as the wars and the public policies of the newly established socialist political orders, which had an impact on the differentiation of modes of production. In contrast to the liberal policies of the 19th century, the functioning of capitalist order was supported by interventionist and public policies in which states came to the fore, especially after World War II. This transition, which predominantly manifested in developed countries, coincided with a pronounced shift in the focus of administrative developments within urban areas. In response to the development of industrial urbanisation and growth, universal policies, urban planning and zoning approaches emerged, which would affect the century of the modern period and produce mainly transportation, migration and environmental problems over time. Concurrently with the political developments that impacted the global landscape in the late 1960s, a notable development was the

inadequacy of the Keynesian model, which had previously addressed the prevailing economic challenges, when a new crisis of capitalism emerged in the early 1970s, paving the way for global development. This period of capitalism is often termed 'neoliberalism' in academic discourse.

The present study focuses on the nexus between neoliberalism and urban administrative macropolitics in the context of globalisation, financialisation and the advent of flexible practices within the domain of computer and virtual technology in the digital era. It is important to note that neoliberalism cannot be considered as a continuation of classical liberalism as it emerged before the First World War, nor can it be viewed as a refinement of Keynesian policies that emerged in the aftermath of the Second World War. Since the early 1970s, neoliberal practices, characterised by monetary policies and financial accumulation through the politics of privatisation and liberalisation, which withdraw the state, have become the contemporary version of capitalist production and social reproduction with the new technological and cultural form that has emerged from the crisis. A notable shift has been the prioritisation of capital groups over public assets and institutions at both the central and local levels of government. Neoliberalism, predicated on the premise of urban competition, has engendered an individualistic conception of self and society through the implementation of micro-policies, thereby fostering a cultural environment conducive to consumerism. It is therefore important to note that the conceptual apparatus that has been most instrumental in providing the appearance of neoliberalism on the environmental policies of the 1970s and 1980s was the intensive meeting agendas at national and international level within the framework of approaches related to 'sustainability'.

In the context of urban policy development during this period, the concepts of sustainability and sustainable growth assumed a more pronounced emphasis on their categorical and technological dimensions across various domains. These developments resulted in a favourable perception of the system's functionality, thereby legitimising the process. The prevailing theoretical discourse has come to portray neoliberal capitalism and its associated policies as the sole viable option. Additionally, central and local governments exhibited a democratic outlook for a period, albeit to a limited extent. However, in the aftermath of the global crisis, neoliberalism has exhibited a tendency towards more authoritarian developments, and neoliberal policies have begun to encounter legitimate challenges. The global crisis was distinct from previous periods of capitalism in that it was caused by the accumulation of fictitious capital, particularly in developed countries. In the aftermath of substantial financial losses, states were compelled to employ a combination of monetary and interventionist measures at the central level, including 'austerity'. A recovery in industry and infrastructure was achieved through private capital and public partnerships, but this was followed by the 'great recession' in late 2018 and 2019. However, the advent of the pandemic engendered a confluence of this situation with a new crisis.

The macro analysis outputs of the historical process of urban administrative macropolitics in the Istanbul metropolis, which is the axis of the study, and the change in the central and local administrative structure and economic outlook are determined in the table (Figure 3). The analysis of the Istanbul metropolis during the neoliberalism period Figure 3 and the outputs of the table of the historical macro policies of modernism in Figure 2 have revealed relational results. The sustainability-oriented macro-political outputs of late modernism after 1968 have collectively guided Istanbul's post-1980 economic, administrative and spatial policies despite political differences.

When the history of Istanbul's neoliberal period is analysed, it is evident that the 'World City' urban competition and efficiency approach, which is the ideology of these policies, has had a profound impact on the development of the metropolis. The policies outlined in Figure 3, which were determined in the economic sphere, were informed by the sustainable-oriented neoliberal policies of the late modernism period, as depicted in Figure 2. The economic infrastructure has been bolstered by decisions taken at both the central and local government levels, in accordance with the process

during the capital's restoration period. During the period of transition and adaptation to neoliberalism, sustainable neoliberal programmes such as the decision to implement convertibility, the transition to the Strong Economy and the Emergency Action Period were important developments at the beginning of the period. Despite the occurrence of crises that led to interruptions in periodic development, the 'growth against all odds' approach persisted following the global financial crisis of 2008. Nevertheless, the impetus for growth has progressively diminished. Despite the diversity of governmental administrations, there has been a notable convergence in the implementation of neoliberal policies.

		PERIODS	
İSTANBUL			
NEOLIBERAL URBAN		(1973-1980)-(1994-2002)	(2002-2008)-(2008 AND BEYONDS)
POLICIES			
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	24 JANUARY DECISIONS	TRANSITION TO A STRONG ECONOMY, ACTION PERIOD	
	IMPORT LIBERALISATION	PUBLIC PARTNERSHIPS, PRIVATISATIONS	
	TRANSITION TO CONVERTIBILITY	2008 FINANCIAL CRISIS/GROWTH AGAINST ALL ODDS	
	PUBLIC OFFERINGS PRIVATISATIONS	2019 GROWTH AND PANDEMIC CRISIS/INFLATION	
	NEOLIBERAL ADJUSTMENT/ 94 VE 2001 CRISES	MONETARIST AND KEYNESIAN INTERVENTIONS	
MANAGERIAL DEVELOPMENT	ARRANGEMENTS FOR MUNICIPLA REVENUE INCREASE	1999 İSTANBUL/WORLD CITY VİSİON 500 PROJECTS	
	PUBLIC HOUSING AND TOURISM PROMOTION LAWS (3030) METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY LAW	MUNICIPAL AND PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP LAWS INCREASE IN SHAREHOLDING RATE	
	CULTURAL NATURAL PROTECTION ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS (3194) ZONING LAW AND FAST PLAN MAKING PROCESS	İBB 2009 ENVIRONMENTAL PLAN APPROVALS, REVISIONS 2012 'DISASTER...' AND 2014 SPATIAL PLANS LAWS	
	COASTAL AND PRIVATISATION LAW	2018 ZONING PEACE 2023 RESERVE AREAS LAWS	
	LOCALISATION EFFORTS IN GOVERNANCE	CENTRALISATION DECISIONS IN ADMINISTRATION	
SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT	İSTANBUL VİSİON IN GLOBAL COMPETITION	İSTANBUL'S TRANSFORMATION INTO A MAJOR URBAN AREA	
	TRANSFORMATION OF SLUMS, MIXED BUILDINGS	TRANSFORMATION PROJECTS SUITABLE FOR POLITICS	
	2ND BRIDGE CONSTRUCTION, NEW MİA, GENTRIFICATION	DEVELOPING MİA DISTRICT AND SHELTERED MIXED BUILDINGS	
	RING ROADS, NORTH ORIENTATION, HOUSING II.	NEW FINANCIAL MİA AND CLOSED SITES	
	INFRASTRUCTURE WORKS, RAIL SYSTEMS	COMPLETION OF THE 3RD BRIDGE AND OPENING TO THE NORTH	

Figure 3. Urban Macro-Political Table of Istanbul Under Neoliberalism (Created by the Author)

As demonstrated in Figure 3, the establishment of neoliberal administrative policies in Istanbul is indicative of the macro-political characteristics of late modernism, as illustrated in Figure 2. A significant administrative development during this period was the acceleration of planning processes and localisation processes through metropolitan municipality and zoning laws. However, it was also observed that a significant number of public powers were privatised in the process of localisation. The formulation of incentive laws for culture and tourism, urban transformation projects, and the Istanbul city vision initiative have contributed to the advancement of sustainable neoliberal policies at both the central and local government levels. Notably, legislative frameworks have streamlined the process of urban development, paving the way for the creation of new or renovated urban land. Central and local privatisation laws, public-private partnerships and tender processes have become open to the use of private capital. The present study investigates the increasing preference of both private and international capital for investment in the Istanbul metropolitan area and its immediate surroundings, due to the high value of urban rents. Despite this being at odds with the neoliberal ideology, particularly in the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008, it has been observed that a significant number of administrative developments have undergone a shift from localisation to centralisation. Consequently, the authority of local administrations, particularly in the domain of urban planning, has been progressively constrained through legislative developments such as urban transformation. A further salient paradox of neoliberalism, evident in the intertwinement of economic and political spheres, pertains to the issue of authoritarianism. Neoliberal capitalism, with its emphasis on environmental sustainability, has been observed to perpetuate this impasse, extending its reach beyond its own sphere to encompass other aspects of society and the environment.

The macro-politics of globalisation and sustainability in the spatial content of late modernism, as illustrated in Figure 2, has exposed and directed the variables of urban growth based on neoliberal policies for the Istanbul metropolis, as demonstrated in Figure 3. In this period, the most significant interventions in the urban area of Istanbul have been transport infrastructure, including bridges and rail systems, with the harmonious coexistence of economic infrastructure and administrative superstructure. The completion of the second and third Bosphorus bridges, ring roads and Istanbul Airport has effectively completed the opening of the metropolis to the north. The area of the metropolis has increased by more than threefold compared to the pre-1980 period, and a significant number of construction processes have taken place on both sides of the metropolis in accordance with the 'world city' ideology of neoliberalism. These processes have included the development of new CBD areas, gated communities, mixed buildings, residences, hotels and privatised public spaces such as second residences, with prestigious designs competing on both sides. The implementation of legal reforms, coupled with the evolution of urban design and planning policies, has led to a notable transformation in Istanbul's urban landscape. The city has evolved into a substantial urban region characterised by a polycentric structure, exhibiting a tendency to extend towards the periphery. In the context of a developing metropolis such as Istanbul, the macro-politics of crises experienced parallel with issues including growth, protection, ecology, climatic change and pandemics by local and central governments worldwide, within the framework of capitalist modernity, has been realised in an environment of positive perceptions created by the concept of 'sustainable growth', which is almost untouchable. Since the 1980s, this concept has become the *sine qua non* of policy in national and international meetings organised in the name of the neoliberal economy, from macro to micro scale.

It has emerged as an alternative model to nature, encompassing the creations, existence style and categories of all artistic and technical fields, as well as real, formal, human sciences within the design world. The concept of sustainability is regarded as a general principle that governs the effective functioning of all design models. In the economic literature, definitions of sustainability include the objective of safeguarding the natural environment in the long term (Uysal, 2013:114). The World Environment Commission (1987) defined sustainability as the continuity of the present into the future and the future into the present, ensuring the needs of humanity are not compromised. However, the question arises as to the feasibility of achieving this in a world characterised by the presence of clearly delineated boundaries and unlimited accumulation. It is acknowledged that there are evaluations which posit that the juxtaposition of growth and sustainability is an oxymoron (Rees, 1997: 306). The prevailing understanding of sustainability has become the dominant approach in the continuation of the system that created the ecological problem. The various crises that have beset the planet are inextricably linked to the lifestyles engendered by design models. Consequently, the sustainability of the production and consumption approaches embedded within global capitalism's design models for the reorganisation of social life should be subject to rigorous scrutiny, and the concept's contingent nature should not be used to legitimise the process. It is acknowledged that neoliberal policy instruments, such as clean energy and clean growth, as referenced in the extant literature, are insufficient to address the challenges faced by urban areas without a comprehensive consideration of economic functioning and production relations that facilitate sustainable growth (Şahinler, 2023: 111).

RESULTS:

In examining the historical process, it is evident that there has been an evolutionary transition from urban states to state cities. This transition has been characterised by the differentiation of economic models, administrative formations and spatial traces, which have emerged in response to the shifting production relations. Consequently, these urban areas have been shaped to accommodate the emerging social order. The multidisciplinary process of architecture, planning and urban formations necessitates the evaluation of related fields together in the conceptualisation of changes. The results of this study are shared using exemplifications of observations from developed and developing countries.

At the onset of the 19th century, the industrial capitalist mode of production came to be defined as the transformation of the 'invisible hand' into the law of markets (Say's Law), with this definition being grounded in classical-neoclassical and liberal theoretical approaches. The prevailing theoretical assumption of this era was that supply was in accordance with demand and crises were deemed to be entirely unwarranted. However, the predictions of this theoretical approach were not confirmed in the continuation of the process. As Harvey states, the first example of the capital accumulation crisis of capitalist modernity in France in the 1860s was sought to be solved with urban renewal policies in this period (Harvey, 1989). In administrative terms, approaches leading to autonomy and functional federalism were observed. Notably, the concept of municipalities was employed for the first time in local units established in the provinces. Concurrently, democratic developments in local governance emerged. The 19th-century imprint on urban space became accentuated with the advent of urban growth, factories, the working class, 'misery dwellings' and planning problems. This period also resulted in the establishment of a distinct distinction between rural and urban areas.

The early 20th century witnessed the establishment of a social order, developed through the contributions of capitalist modernity and the Fordist mode of production. However, this order was subject to disruption by the economic crisis that materialised in the USA in 1929, subsequently recognised as the 'Great Depression'. During this period, the socialist bloc remained outside the purview of the global capitalist crisis until the Second World War. The crisis, which classical economic theories were unable to resolve, was addressed through the implementation of Keynesian interventionist fiscal policies. Concurrently, the nascent modernism's rudimentary grasp of architecture and urban planning evolved into the notion of 'design for the poor', acquiring a standardised and thus universal character. The repercussions of the two world wars resulted in the establishment of public-oriented policies that deviated from the Keynesian and Fordist production approach, thereby ensuring the maintenance of the lowest and adequate level of living. From the beginning of the 20th century onwards, local governments have become more prominent and have expanded their legal opportunities in terms of both their revenues and public duties. However, in the aftermath of the wars, it was observed that the powers of central governments increased. In the aftermath of the wars, both central and local governments began to utilise urban and regional planning techniques in their research and master plan initiatives, within the paradigm of comprehensive urban planning. One of the most significant outcomes of this era was the surpassing of the urban population by the rural population, a development that coincided with urban expansion and migration. During the 1960s, the comprehensive plan approach was the subject of criticism, with a phased and defensive planning approach being adopted. At the same time, urban design began to be understood in a fragmented way in legal processes. Concurrently, the modernist tenet 'less is more' was repudiated by counterculture and new urban political groups.

Following the economic crises of the 1970s, neoliberalism – the original period of capitalist modernity that enabled the system to be restored – has set the agenda. Neoliberalism has evolved in the 21st century, with its urban policies predicted on private capital and competition driven by the withdrawal of the state. This ideology has been defined as the development of metropolitan urban areas and within the 'less is boring' approach. While the initial phase of capital accumulation was characterised by monetary policies and privatisation in the economic sphere, and by a post-political culture, subsequent phases witnessed the emergence of decision-making processes at the national and international levels concerning the 'limits of growth' and environmental issues. In contrast to the early modernism and modernism periods, the sustainable growth approach, which is predicated on environmental concerns and is encompassed in the content of nearly all urban policies during the late modernism process, serves to legitimize neoliberalism through its limited and technologically oriented micro-scale policies. The spatial and administrative traces of the urban policies created in the continuation of this unique process turned into a global crisis in 2008, especially in developed

countries, on the scale of securitisation and financialisation. The 'growth against all odds' approach was maintained following the global financial crisis of 2008. In such periods, the utilisation of future-oriented borrowing and public-private partnerships has been demonstrated to be an effective strategy for the sustainability of the economies of both centre and periphery countries. As evidenced by the periodic outcomes of the Istanbul study, despite divergent political interpretations, it is evident that the urban management policies necessitated by neoliberal politics have been executed with legal contributions, thereby giving rise to competitive and competitive spatial developments within the context of expanding and increasingly concentrated central powers. The most frequently employed instruments of these urban policies have been associated with the disciplines and practices of architecture and urban planning throughout historical periods. However, it is important to note that the limited and categorical approaches employed in the formulation of sustainable policies are insufficient to address the various climate-related challenges faced by the planet and the escalating urban poverty prevalent in urban areas. This is due to the failure to address critical theoretical developments and practices that contribute to the system that engenders the problem, due to a lack of viable alternatives.

The conceptualisation and interpretation of sustainable growth and development issues has received comparatively less attention in literature than technological approaches. Concurrently, discourse on 'non-growth' has persisted; however, these methodologies have proven ineffective in establishing a comprehensive agenda to address contemporary challenges, nor have they been incorporated into the existing agenda. Moreover, the depletion of the planet's natural capital is a recurring theme in literature, despite the abundant natural resources available. The problem is not confined to a geographical area and necessitates a multidisciplinary process. The system's inability to produce a solution to its chronic crises, compounded by its employment of concepts that evoke a positive perception, such as 'sustainability', further exacerbates the situation. The positive, discursive environment engendered by these conceptualisations sustains the hope for a resolution. As evidenced by the historical process, architecture and planning policies at the central and local administrative levels must eschew the instrumental approach that merely repairs the problems of capital in cyclical crises. The discipline of architecture and planning, a pivotal domain of the problem, must evolve to facilitate collaborative processes with other disciplines through the establishment of a harmonious universal and local approach. It is imperative to initiate novel conceptual dialogues and theoretical explorations concerning sustainability for the system in its entirety, encompassing the issues engendered by the systemic operation of capitalist modernity. In considering the issue of profit or infinite growth, which is the fundamental motivation of capitalist modernity, and the limited comprehension of sustainable growth, it is sufficient to identify micro-solutions to the functioning of the system on a local scale. This results in the interrogation of problems with incorrect concepts in the formulation of urban policies. It is imperative to adopt a need-oriented sustainable 'non-growth' or 'shrinkage' approach to the limited natural capital that must be sustained with macro policies on a universal scale and in accordance with the aesthetic origin of the design concept. This is the problem of protecting the use value of commodities related to multiple demand. The theoretical alternative to the sustainability of an area such as 'non-growth' or 'shrinkage', which is also the subject of economic studies, should be brought forward by integrating with urban politics. The etymological root of the word 'ecology' in ancient Greek is 'the science of home, close environment'. Human history is set to give rise to a paradigm of 'wealth' that does not destroy its 'home'.

Compliance with Ethical Standard

Conflict of Interest: [EN] The author(s) declare that they do not have a conflict of interest with themselves and/or other third parties and institutions, or if so, how this conflict of interest arose and will be resolved, and author contribution declaration forms are added to the article process files with wet signatures.

Ethics Committee Approval: There is no need for ethics committee approval in this article, the wet signed consent form stating that the ethics committee decision is not required has been added to the article process files on the system.

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