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MODERN METROPOLIS AND DAILY PRACTICES WITHIN SPACES OF
ENCOUNTER: METROBUSES OF ISTANBUL

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Modern Metropolis and Daily Practices within Spaces of Encounter: Metrobuses of Istanbul

Modern Metropol ve Karşılaşma Mekanlarında Gündelik Pratikler: İstanbul'un Metrobüsleri

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
ABSTRACT	x
ÖZET.....	xi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Research Question.....	3
State of the Art	6
Rationale of the Research	10
Methodology	11
Scope of the Study	20
CHAPTER ONE: THEORETICAL FRAME.....	23
1.1. Empirical Conceptions of Space	24
1.2. Space and the Social.....	33
1.3. Space and the Political	50
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL FRAME.....	64
2.1. Urbanism and Industrialization: An Overview	65
2.2. Istanbul: A City of Heritage.....	75
2.2.1. Early Modernizing Attempts.....	76
2.2.2. Neoliberal Urbanization after 1980.....	81
2.2.3. Public Transportation	92

CHAPTER THREE: EVERYDAY LIFE IN ISTANBUL	97
3.1. Everyday as Lived and Imagined.....	99
3.2. Spatial and Temporal Commodification	109
3.2.1. Rationalization	112
3.2.2. Growing Homogenization.....	116
3.3. Abstraction of Lived Experience	124
CHAPTER FOUR: THE METROBUS	138
4.1. “Metrobus Is a Need Now”: Necessitating Transit Mobility	141
4.2. “Seat Wars Every Day”: Spatial Practices	156
4.2.1. Strategies and Tactics.....	162
4.2.2. Atmospheric Feelings.....	178
4.2.3. Lived Practice of Mobility	187
4.3. “Do you see the level of alienation?”: Transit Experiences.....	196
CHAPTER FIVE: ENCOUNTERS AND TOGETHERNESS	210
5.1. Spatial Encounters.....	212
5.2. Dissolving Togetherness	219
5.2.1. Social Differentiation	226
5.2.2. A Particular Differentiation: Estrangement of the Elderly Individuals	245
5.2.3. Insecurity	252
5.2.4. Otherization.....	264
5.2.5. Indifference	273
5.3. Possibilities in Togetherness	285
CONCLUSION.....	310
Nostalgia, Commodification and Abstraction in Everyday Life.....	314

Speed-Distance Efficient Mobility: Lives in Transit	315
Differentiation, Insecurity and Indifference: Fragmentation of the Social	316
Encountering Diversity: Visibility and Proximity as a Public Practice	319
REFERENCES.....	323

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Justice and Development Party
ANAP	Motherland Party
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease of 2019
IBB	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality
IETT	İstanbul Electric Tram and Tunnel Company
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
TOKİ	Mass Housing Development Administration
TUIK	Turkish Statistical Institute
UN	The United Nations

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The metrobus line seen from Google Maps as unicolored and satellite images	12
Figure 2: The transit metrobus line in E-5 corridor seen from Perpa station	14
Figure 3: Famous transfer area of Zincirlikuyu in the European side during rush hour	15
Figure 4: Famous transfer area of Uzuncayir in the Anatolian side during rush hour	16
Figure 5: 29 interlocutors interviewed before and during the COVID-19 quarantine	18
Figure 6: The Garden City (left) and the Radiant City (right)	73
Figure 7: Istanbul from Galata tower: 1850s and 1875 respectively	77
Figure 8: Satellite images of Istanbul taken in 1985, 2002 and 2020, respectively	85
Figure 9: Fikirtepe satellite images before and after the urban transformation projects. Taken in 2010 and 2020 respectively	89
Figure 10: Examples of initial transport lines viewed from Google Earth	93
Figure 11: Metrobüs route compared with the initial lines viewed from Google Earth	94

ABSTRACT

Modern individuals live with the city. Nowadays, the content of this experience is significantly realized in metropolitan areas. Inhabitants practice in the spatially and temporally regulated, organized, and appropriated structure of the metropolis. An individual's practice as an inhabitant and then as an urban citizen is constructed through a city-appropriated essence. With its vast areal scale and planning paradigm of neoliberal governmentality, the metropolis enframes inhabitants' private but also public practices in its spatial structure that corresponds to market principles. Consequently, metropolitan inhabitants growingly become subjects of a homogenous consumption that prevailed in the spatial structuring of life practices. As they become more consumers than producers in the city, they are growingly losing their ability to relate and belong. Hence, the essence of togetherness is significantly actualized through the daily routines of embodied spaces for diverse and distant inhabitants of the metropolis.

As a notable example of the condition, Istanbul's metropolitan growth comes to the fore. Following the developmental planning paradigm, Istanbul has become one of the biggest metropolises in the world by eventually introducing its famous transportation system to meet growing demands for spatial-temporal maximization of mobility, the metrobus. In this light, the dissertation aims to analyze the idea and practice of togetherness realized in everyday practices of encountering spaces in Istanbul. The metrobus, as an important space for the plural and diverse encounters, has been selected as the subject of inquiry. Through field research conducted with semi-structured in-depth interviews between 2019 and 2020, the dissertation will present Istanbul's spatial essence in the constitution of everyday life practices and the socio-spatial characteristics of transit mobility for regular metrobus passengers. The entangled layers of ordinary practices and regular transit mobility in Istanbul to make sense of socio-spatial togetherness will be questioned through encounters and interlocutors' perceptions of being with others, hence togetherness.

Keywords: Istanbul, Social Space, Everyday Life, The Metrobus, Togetherness.

ÖZET

Modern bireyler şehirle birlikte yaşarlar. Günümüzde bu deneyimin içeriği büyük ölçüde metropollerde gerçekleşmektedir. Sakinleri, metropolün mekansal ve zamansal olarak düzenlenmiş, organize edilmiş ve sahiplenilmiş yapısında pratikler gerçekleştirir. Kamusal pratikler, aynı şekilde, metropolün geniş ölçeğinde yeniden yapılandırılır. Bireyin bir sakın olarak ve ardından bir kent vatandaşı olarak pratiği, kentin ona mal ettiği bir öz aracılığıyla inşa edilir. Geniş ölçeği ve neoliberal yönetimselliğin planlama paradigması ile metropol, piyasa ilkelerine tekabül eden özgün mekansal yapısı içinde yaşayanların özel ve aynı zamanda kamusal pratiklerini çerçeveler. Sonuç olarak, metropol sakinleri, gündelik yaşam pratiklerinin mekânsal yapılanmasında egemen olan homojen tüketimin öznelere haline gelmektedir. Şehirde üreticiden çok tüketici haline geldikçe, ilişki kurma ve ait olma yeteneklerini de giderek daha fazla kaybederler. Dolayısıyla, birlikteliğin özü, metropolün farklı ve uzak sakinleri için somutlaştırılmış alanların günlük rutinleri aracılığıyla önemli ölçüde gerçekleşir.

Bu durumun önemli bir örneği olarak İstanbul'un metropoliten büyümesi ön plana çıkıyor. 1980'lerden sonra süreklilik içinde hüküm süren planlama paradigması ile dünyanın en büyük metropollerinden biri haline gelen İstanbul, hareketliliğin mekansal-zamansal maksimize edilmesine yönelik artan talepleri karşılamak için ünlü ulaşım sistemini yani metrobüsü kullanıma sundu. Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın amacı, İstanbul'daki karşılaşma mekanlarının gündelik pratiklerinde gerçekleştirilen birliktelik fikri ve pratiğini analiz etmektir. Çoğul ve çeşitli karşılaşmalar için önemli bir mekân olan metrobüs, araştırmanın saha çalışması olarak seçilmiştir. Tez, 2019-2020 yılları arasında yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmelerle gerçekleştirilen saha araştırması yoluyla, İstanbul'un gündelik yaşam pratiklerinin oluşumundaki mekansal özünü ve düzenli metrobüs yolcuları için toplu taşıma hareketliliğinin sosyo-mekansal özelliklerini ortaya koyacaktır. Sosyo-mekansal birlikteliği anlamlandırmak için İstanbul'daki sıradan pratiklerin ve düzenli toplu taşıma hareketliliğinin iç içe geçmiş katmanları,

karşılaşmalar ve muhatapların başkalarıyla birlikte olma, dolayısıyla birliktelik algıları üzerinden sorgulanacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İstanbul, Toplumsal Mekan, Gündelik Yaşam, Metrobüs, Biraradalık.

INTRODUCTION

The year 2007 corresponds to a demographic milestone. For the first time in human history, the world's urban population equaled the rural. In the following year, more than half of the world's population, 51%, lived in urban areas. According to the UN's estimations, by 2050, approximately 70% of people will live in cities. What could be evaluated as mere progress signifies a crucial change in the constitution of individual life practices. The modern dweller has become an urban dweller. As Henri Lefebvre discussed, urbanization acknowledged urban society as a general idea and practice. Setting the process almost as natural, it constructed a developmental logic by establishing a "socio-economic reality" through the modern city. So that in the age of globalization, we have been introduced to a new phenomenon- the metropolis- the city of global modernity. According to the OECD data, global population rise has concentrated mainly in metropolitan areas, with more than 400 million growth since 2000 (UNFPA, 2007; Lefebvre, 1996, p. 81; OECD, 2020, p.6). Once these numbers were heavy enough for entire nations, they became common determinants of global metropolises. So, the world has been urbanized, but it is also giving way to growing metropolises.

Globalization, modernity, and the city weave together. As metropolises gained disproportionate size and enhanced importance, they became "world cities" and formed interregional and supranational networks. Such that the world's landscape is significantly metropolised. Rather than individual cities, the metropolis now structures the "building block of both national and global economies" (Short, 2012, pp. 6; 23). The globalizing aspect is crucial since the patterns of growth and decline are linked to the global redistribution of economic activities. For Lefebvre, the city is an "oeuvre", a feature which contrasts with the irreversible tendency towards money and commerce" (66). However, from the design of streets, housing, and transport, to the arrangement of collective spaces, even the physical aspects that make up the modern city affects the socio-political experience that could be lived. Thus, the crisis Lefebvre envisioned in the modern city is related to explicit forms

of rationality, i.e., bureaucratic, economic, and state ideology becoming an apparatus. The modern city faces double pressure from “the state and industrial enterprise” (Lefebvre, 1996, pp. 66, 128-129; Sennett, 2005, p. 3). In the condition of global modernity, rapid developments in communication and transportation have resulted in what Marx called the annihilation of “space with time.” Once fixed and seemingly natural spatial boundaries are eroded. Thus, “the double pressure” on the city has multiplied as the ideologic actors began interplaying with the global apparatuses of transnational capital. Therefore, the systemic production endemic to the metropolis also alters the regulation of the built environment. The metropolis reaches a different scale with its vast landscape, population, spatial-temporal pace, and organization. Metropolitan areas generate complex and dense layers of homogeneity and segregation because the built environment frames activities, people, and things, in space and time, on an unprecedented scale (Howarth, 2006, p. 106). Urban dwellers are now constructing social and political experiences in the practice of being metropolitan inhabitants and its appropriated spatial and temporal context.

In this regard, space is not a simple container of life. How space is conceptualized is also a product of political, economic, social, and cultural processes. For Lefebvre, the space of the Ancient City as an *oeuvre* was absolute, almost organic to human need, and stood for the use-value. It had been a direct expression of the relationships that founded the social organization. On the other hand, abstract space was produced for the exchange value, and it has been the modern destination within the history of space. Modern city planning that concentrated upon expertise was, in fact, constitutive of the capitalist mode of production in the modern city. With growing quantification and homogeneity, urban space became merchandized like a commodity. Instead of use-value, the exchange value has become the common determinant in the conceptualized space. Thus, capitalist abstract space is appropriated in material and ideological terms (Lefebvre, 1991a, pp. 53, 337). However, the production of space does not imply a linear or singular essence because space is lived before it is conceived. This makes space constitutive, a constant state of becoming. While modern urban projects are deterministic in

planning regulation, the spatial and temporal structure of the city is lived by the inhabitant, who constitutes an experience below. Thus, individuals practice a contestable and unsteady relationship between freedom and determinism in the built environment. They autonomously try to shape their surroundings; however, they are themselves, to some extent, limited and determined by these surroundings (De Meyer et al., 1999, p. 57). Consequently, as modern individuals live with the city, the socio-political experience they constitute is intensely realized in the confines of the city. To encounter, to contact, and the practice of togetherness undertake spatial dimensions in both constructive and deconstructive terms. Because rather than a mere site of consumer zone, the city reflects on the socio-spatial totality of the dwellers. The city may leave itself to market principles, but it does not come across as a mere organization of capital and ideology. In the confines of everyday, individuals continue to practice and experience. Hence, the question must regard articulating the totality of relations in the city, which constitutes itself as a socio-spatial structure.

Research Question

As the modern city is significantly enhanced toward the metropolis, the metropolis itself became an inevitable dimension in the local and global socio-political order. Then, the span of individuals' socio-political experience, i.e., space, everyday life, and making sense of togetherness, must scrutinize the question of the city, particularly from a metropolitan perspective. Cities are not merely economic and demographic categories; they constitute. As the world is giving way to a metropolitan landscape, we must begin considering the socio-political and socio-spatial constitution realized in the metropolis. On an extensive scale like the metropolis, experience is deeply framed because everyday practices leave minimal space for spontaneity. Inhabitation, transportation, production, and consumption are spatially regulated. The socioeconomic organization encloses an inhabitant's regular daily mobility on a vast spatial and temporal scale. The in-between space that relates inhabitants is equally structured through the dominancy of economic and political configurations; hence it is equivalently enframed. The metropolitan

space is significantly abstracted on the exchange value, and the rational-economic triumph in urban regulation eroded chances in the plurality of spatial encounters and interactions. As a result, the socio-spatial essence is significantly fragmented.

To illustrate the arguments, Istanbul's growth into a metropolis comes forth. It is a striking example because starting from early modernization strategies, the process that gave Istanbul a modern outlook leaped to a new level with a new pace after the 1980s. The city's historical journey is a representation of the material-rational expression of the modern condition aimed at transforming Istanbul into a global city. The post-1980 process displayed a continuity in the metropolitan aims, and with the AKP municipality having the support of the central government, they were eventually initiated. Istanbul underwent rapid transformations starting in the mid-2000s, mainly through urban transformation projects. The pace and scale have been tremendous, so Istanbul alone absorbed 89% of Turkey's \$22 billion investment in 2007 (Islam, 2010, p. 60). The redistribution of space under renewal projects affected the social geography of Istanbul. They facilitated automobile ownership, displaced residents, restructured the cultural architecture of diversity, generated gentrification, and increased fragmentation. Economic inequality brought social groups into their own living spaces. Valorization of urban space in Istanbul deprived social space of its spontaneous, heterogeneous, and inclusive characteristics realized in everyday praxis. Organized practices framed by socio-economic differences tend to dominate Istanbulites' experience of the mundane. Throughout the process, structural needs were aligned with growing transportation demands, and as a result, Istanbul's most famous public transport, a 52km line of bus rapid transit, the metrobus, was introduced.

In light of the arguments, this work embraces the city as a site of encounter and contact, a realm of everyday experiences within embodied spaces. Hence urban space for this work structures social processes and relations and is shaped by them. Taking the city with its communal dimension, one of the most critical questions becomes the role of urban space in social interaction. Specifically, the question is whether encountering spaces experienced in everyday practices generate

subjectivities in togetherness, or rather practices in these spaces develop a sense of apathy out of automatization and regularity. It is because, on the one hand, the metropolis deepens socio-economic segregation with the triumph of neoliberal governmentality. On the other, it homogenizes inhabitants to the extent that daily practices growingly take place in a much similar spatial and temporal enclosure. Residents of different classes and cultural affiliations increasingly find themselves in likeness when their temporal and spatial enframe of everyday mobility is considered. In the broadest sense, this is related to increasing routes, density, and crowd intensity they face while completing daily obligations. For this reason, Istanbul's famous bus rapid transit, the metrobus, becomes a crucial example of this question. It is a conceptual example of mobility because it has been introduced and is still used to maximize spatial-temporal efficiency in public transport. Its demographic circulation is immense on a 52km line, and when these are combined, it becomes one of the few spatial grounds for the city's diverse, plural, cross-culture, and cross-class encounters. However, its regular use equally deviates inhabitants from the essence of socio-spatial togetherness by constituting an abstracted practice entangled with spatial-temporal consumption. Living Istanbul as a regular metrobus passenger erodes the spontaneity of public encounters and dissolves the interacting and relating essence of togetherness.

To sum up, this work takes the ordinary in the quotidian as its framework. It specifically analyzes the bus rapid transit as a socio-spatial structure for public encounters to question the idea and practice of togetherness. The main question centers on the socio-spatial essence realized in the idea of togetherness in Istanbul. As the site of inquiry, Istanbul's bus transit system, the metrobus, has been selected for its importance as an encountering space in Istanbul. Although the metrobus mainly represents the instrumental essence and practice of rapid-transit mobility, it continues to be among the few spatial examples of plural, diverse and unexpected encounters in a 16 million metropolis as Istanbul. Overall, the research question of this work is designed as follows: How do spatial encounters realized in everyday practices affect the idea of togetherness in Istanbul?

State of the Art

Considerations of space in a historical-social framework have been a crucial contribution of Henri Lefebvre's systemic inquiry. In *the Production of Space*, he analyzed the interconnection between spatial transformations and the mode of production. His theorization gave way to the idea of space as a social product; hence, we could deliberate upon our physical perceptions, systemic conceptions, and actual experiences of space in the urban mode of togetherness. Lefebvre's space grounds the essence of social organization. In this light, his famous spatial triad reveals that the material production of space is linked to the conceptual production settled through urbanization. Still, space as a social product continues to be lived through meaning and subjectivity. In other words, the spatial triad explains the constitutive moments of spatial production and reveals that space is a social aspect that is perceived, conceived, and lived in the urban mode of production (Lefebvre, 1991a). The theoretical framework that elaborates on space at the center of social practices, space as the subject of power, space as a political ground that relates and separates us, and overall, space at the center of our dialectical relationship with the everyday world revealed more profound implications to contemplate and to imagine the possibility of change in the urban context. In this regard, our praxis in the urban mode of togetherness generates an equivalently critical inquiry for our everyday considerations because everyday life in the modern world constitutes the realm of spatial-temporal cognition and practice. For this reason, Lefebvre's early critique of everyday life already indicated the significance of urban in social thought; however, his criticism also set forth problematic approaches to the everyday, which overlooked the spatial. Since capitalism was intersecting in space and everyday life, this led him to the social production of space, and overall, the two aspects presuppose one another. Likewise, Michel De Certeau's critical theory of everyday life defines moments and practices of the ordinary. As the "spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities", the inhabitant as a pedestrian of the mundane "actualizes some of these possibilities". These possibilities are realized as the pedestrian invents discoveries by transforming or abandoning spatial elements. The

phenomenon of everyday life for De Certeau was also entangled with the triumph of Western rationality through the process of urbanization. His term for the condition was the "concept city", to which he equivalently embraced a concern against growing rationalism. Nevertheless, vivid possibilities in De Certeau's everyday constitute a real power to overcome the urban frame by transforming the lived from below. In this light, the act of walking revives the poetic language enmeshed in the city because "the long poem of walking manipulates spatial organizations, no matter how panoptic they may be" (De Certeau, 1984, pp. 98, 102).

In this light, the production of social space is realized by human action and social practice because social space appropriates places to the relations of production. The dialectical ground of this relationship is unfolded in the context of everyday life, implicating them in our socio-political investigations of the city. Consequently, a critical line of spatial theories has been presented by prominent scholars through Lefebvre's framework of social space, both in theoretical unity and in praxis. David Harvey focused on the spatial organization of capitalist production in modern urbanism in explicit Marxist critique. Accordingly, social practices create spaces where these practices are restricted, enabled, and modified. So, the ground for the question of space lies in human practice. For Harvey, capitalism, in its competitive essence, built its own spatial landscape. By appropriating the capitalist accumulation drive, this spatial structure brings along the division of labor and uneven development. Therefore, capital accumulation becomes the determinant of the production of space and reflects the capital in spatial relations (Harvey, 1973). For Doreen Massey space could not be thought and limited to the systemic condition because space is, in fact, the product of relationships. Spatial relations describe the complexity of networks and connections from the local to the global. Production of space is linked to its relational nature, which makes it inevitably social and in the process of being made. Flows, movements, possibilities, formations, and deformations create a relational space from which we can draw countless stories. She embraced Lefebvre's third moment in spatial production,

lived space, and envisioned constitutive possibilities as opposed to the developmental framework (Massey, 2009). Finally, Edward Soja, following Lefebvre's triad, also elaborates on three related moments of spatial production. He presents constitutive moments in spatial thought instead of fixations in materialistic conceptions. His famous concept of "Third Space" is the constitutive space in which the structuring of the world takes place. Overall, through a reinterpretation of Lefebvre's spatial triad, Soja proposes trialectics, which unfold spatial dialectics. These are Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace. For Soja, critical thinking must embrace spatial thought since social reality itself is critically and ontologically spatial (Soja, 1996).

The constitutive meaning that space undertakes makes it a significant concept for various practical inquiries as well. A vast amount of literature has used Lefebvre's groundbreaking theory of social space and his sociology of everyday life. They cover a series of topics, including public space, right to the city, politics of space, planning, sustainability, and urban citizenship in various practical cases. These, first and foremost, are undertaken through the question of the city in the contemporary age. Among major publications, spaces of collectivity, praxis, and public space come to the fore (Merrifield, 1996; Kohn, 2001; Amin, 2008; Charnock, 2014; Cassegard, 2014; Wohl, 2017). The elaboration of space's ability to link the social, phenomenal, and symbolic dimensions in socio-political experience has been a critical framework. The culture of collectivity, civic affirmation, dissolution, and contestation in the city with its appropriated public spaces and their realization continues to be crucial subject matter for spatial imaginations and discussions. For instance, Stacey Hunt (2009) discusses the segregated reorganization of public space in Bogota through the elimination of street vendors and the "culture of informality". The article presents an intriguing example of the reappropriation of public space through a segregated state-led ideology of the capital. Likewise, the spatial practice of citizenship elaborates on changing loyalties and capabilities in the globalized world and presents a critical reading of the concept. Nick Ellison (2013) investigates the spatial-temporal fragmentation of practices of citizenship in

globalization through the questions of identity and belonging. In a relatively more particular inquiry, Susan Bickford (2000) argues that the spatial architecture of urban life provides a hostile environment for developing democratic imagination and participation. Modern urban and suburban life erodes the possibility of reaching a genuine public space where multiplicity and diversity are equally practiced. The singularity in their conceptualization growingly challenges the democratic essence of public practices in the city. In a more intriguing particularity, Anna Secor (2004) explores how citizenship is experienced interchangeably through the spatial practices of everyday life through a focus group of Kurdish-identified migrant women in Istanbul.

Following publications in spatial analyses contain inequalities, segregation, and the right to the city (Dikeç & Gilbert, 2002; Purcell, 2002; Mitchell, 2003; Harvey, 2008; Merrifield, 2011; Mayer, 2012; Schmid, 2012). The case examples in each study vary, but a significant amount concentrates on the practices and regulations of microsites in cities, ranging from squares to specific neighborhoods and districts. These works mainly derive Lefebvre's theory through his concern for space and urban life under capitalism. As the spatial production appropriates the representation of the exchange value, the city as an *oeuvre* gives way to the capitalist city. Hence, these works concentrate on the inhabitant's rights and challenges in becoming a producer in the neoliberal city. In a close linkage to the debate of the right to the city, urban citizenship publications come to the fore (Purcell, 2003; Dikeç & Gilbert, 2008; Liette & Dikeç, 2008). The right to become the producer and to fully involve in the use of the city connects, for instance, the capability to access public space. Participation between diverse groups and individuals as a right in the city brings forth the importance of urban citizenship. Finally, the field of spatial mobility embraces the constitutive aspects of spatial production and practice in the city as well. Like the case of the metrobus as a socio-spatial constitution, the social production of space embraces the production of mobility and its appropriated systemic variables. The spatial and temporal context of movement has been subjected to some notorious theoretical and practical works (Urry, 2000; Urry & Sheller, 2006; Cresswell, 2006; Bissell, 2010; Wilson, 2010;

Jensen, 2011). These novel approaches moved from the fixed, dead, and functional perceptions of movement; and laid a multilayered texture of the form, meaning, and power enmeshed in the settings of mobility.

Rationale of the Research

As the brief review illustrates, eroding barriers in the global world did not scale down our fundamental questions; however, the importance of multilayered analyses continues to grow. It is perhaps even more essential to consider the significance of experiences and perceptions as micro-aspects for understanding such macro determinants. As the world's landscape is significantly framed through global cities, the theoretical and practical link between the local and global is more profoundly revealed in the confines of the city. In this regard, the literature on space, city, and everyday life presents crucial analyses for our fundamental socio-political questions. For instance, elaborating on the question of citizenship inevitably undertakes the dimension of urban citizenship because the life span and practice of the modern individual are realized in the city. On the other hand, the city's scale, demography, central and local governance, planning policies, and regulations may constitute differences in participatory practices, hence the idea and practice of citizenship. Then, the actualization of public sphere theories in the city, making sense of citizenship in the urban form, and increasing segregation or apathy all somehow refer to the general problem of the city as a socio-spatial organization. This work inevitably connects itself with these crucial questions. However, instead of starting from a direct socio-political representation, such as the question of segregation, participation or identity realized in the city, it aims to grasp the socio-political essence constituted through daily and ordinary practices actualized in the socio-spatial structure of the city. Hence, the main problem concentrates on the perception of togetherness among inhabitants generated through everyday encounters of embodied spaces. Because inhabitants' experience of the city, others, and things are significantly actualized through the organized patterns of mobility. Therefore, I believe that the course of the ordinary in the context of everyday life through the spatially regulated metropolis presents an essential ground for growing

considerations of participation, citizenship, and political togetherness in the city. Hence, spatial patterns in making sense of the socio-political togetherness are the most direct contribution of this work. In particular, this study contributes to the existing literature, first, by analyzing the social essence of the metrobus as an encountering space and second, by presenting the holistic relationship between everyday life and transit mobility for the idea and practice of togetherness of Istanbulites as regular metrobus passengers.

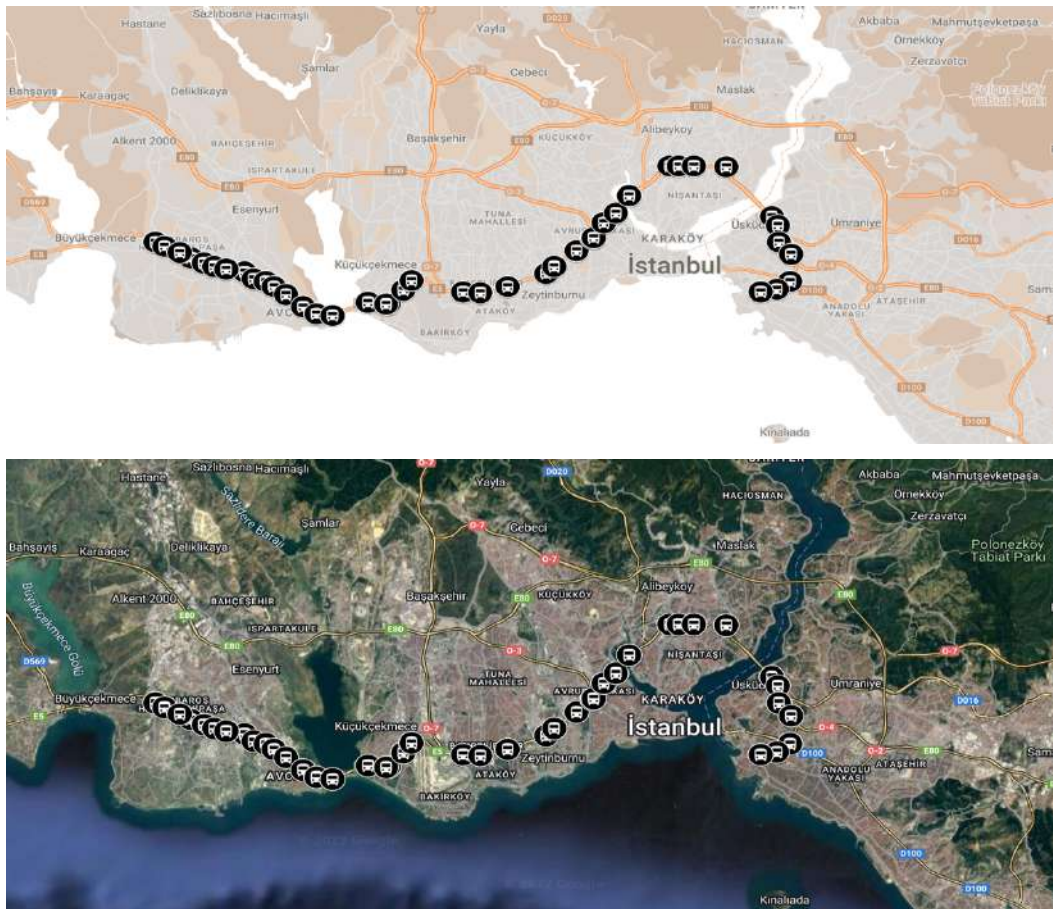
Methodology

As someone born, raised, and continues to live in the city, Istanbul has always been more than home to me. The cultural essence of Istanbul has also constituted the woman I grew into not only as a metropolis but also through the discoveries I made with the city. The importance of socio-political arguments that structured this thesis concerning the city and space will grow further; however, they were also derived from my concerns for the city that I had intense sentimental ties and developed my subjectivity. Also, I am a metrobus regular. My experience gave me various questions, although I could not formulate them as solid socio-political questions before my Ph.D. Still, even during those days, the massive circulation I saw everyday made me wander through the meaning of living in transit. To me, it was clear that these practices eviscerated the subjective and authentic essence that individuals could constitute. Automatized movement in vast numbers aligned with Istanbul's metropolitan structure concerned and exhausted me profoundly to which I could make an extensive inquiry by analyzing such ordinary practices of Istanbulites in my dissertation.

In this light, my dissertation is based on a fieldwork in Istanbul, particularly the city's famous bus rapid transit, the metrobus. As a bus rapid transit, the metrobus travels on prioritized roads from Asian to European parts bi-directionally. It first started to operate between the Topkapi and Avcilar line, in an approximately 18 kilometers route in 2007. A year later, the line extended to Zincirlikuyu with 25 stations. As temporal efficiency prevailed among these neighborhoods, the Anatolian side of the route was added to the project in 2009. Hence, the journey

between Sogutlucemesme and Avcilar was reduced to almost an hour, which was a considerable gain considering the 35 km of length in Istanbul's dense traffic. The final stage of the Avcilar-Beylikduzu route was opened in 2012, finalizing the famous metrobus line of 52 km with 44 stations. This final line operated on several routes separated by letters for almost a decade. The most famous of them were 34 AS, 34 BZ, and 34 Z, traveling between Avcilar-Sogutlucemesme; Beylikduzu-Zincirlikuyu; and Sogutlucemesme-Zincirlikuyu, respectively. However, in 2021, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality reorganized bus names per final destinations instead of letters. Still, a passenger getting on from Sogutlucemesme could easily travel to Beylikduzu by making one metrobus interchange either in Zincirlikuyu or Avcilar. In this light, its popularity is unprecedented because of this strategic line and spatial-temporal maximization. The 52 km journey between Sogutlucemesme and Beylikduzu takes approximately 100 minutes.

Figure 1: The metrobus line seen from Google Maps as unicolored and satellite images.



As Figure 1 shows, located on the E-5 highway, the metrobus almost cuts the city through a long, parallel line. The E-5, on the other hand, has an important place for the Istanbulites social life and transportation. It has a strategic location within the city for education, trade, finance, industry, health, and mobility. In this 52-km transit route that avoids traffic, the metrobus intersects with many different socio-economic areas of Istanbul. On the European side, it starts the journey from Beylikdüzü, a remote but flourishing district of Istanbul with dense housing development, to the second largest district of slums and migration flows in Kucukcekmece, to some industrial neighborhoods like Haramidere and Merter, to densely populated areas of lower-class inhabitations of Yenibosna-Sirinevler, and the financial centers for national and multinational companies, Zincirlikuyu-Mecidiyeköy. Through the Bosphorus, the shorter Anatolian route begins with six stations. From some old Istanbul neighborhoods such as Altunizade and Acibadem to Fikirtepe, once an old slum neighborhood transformed into gentrified residences, and finally to Söğütlüçeşme-Kadikoy, a central district for Istanbul's secular-global lifestyles (Gündüz, 2013, p. 240).

Consequently, along with its efficiency, the spatial diversity and scope of the metrobus line are significant, making it one of the virtual spaces of encounter in Istanbul. This is crucially tied to the city's neoliberalization proliferated under urban transformation projects. Dense housing in the city generated an expansion in urban development. For an inhabitant who lives in the edges of either the European or Anatolian sides and works in the central business district in Levent-Maslak, the metrobus almost comes as an obligation. As the city continues to grow toward the edges, similar situations as probabilities have grown into challenging realities for most inhabitants. Istanbulites hardly have proper choices to decide on where they live and especially where they work. The first is related to the hardening socio-economic conditions reflected in the city's valorized central and devalorized peripheral districts. Connected with the first, the latter, i.e., working conditions, is related to Istanbul's conceptual planning paradigm, which proliferated after the 1980s. The paradigm intensifies class distinction through appropriated employment districts. Thus, centralized and clustered areas for industry, trade and business

generates a crucial need and demand for long transit routes and interchanges between diverse areas. As much as it is needed, the metrobus also generate a growing interdependency of highway mobility for inhabitants. In 2019, an average of 296 million passengers used the metrobus. This number makes an average of some 800 thousand daily passengers. As of January 2021, the monthly passenger number of the metrobus during the week has been calculated as 10 million 75 thousand. This figure goes down to 733 thousand during the weekend. This last data alone shows the extent to which the metrobus is primarily used as a means of rush hour and commuting (IPA, 2021).

Figure 2: The transit metrobus line in E-5 corridor seen from Perpa station.



I, too, first started using the metrobus in 2014 due to its strategic line for interchange between Uzuncayir and Zincirlikuyu. Nowadays, I use it between Sogutluceme and Perpa stations to avoid the traffic during rush hour like other regulars. I assume this almost makes me a veteran for its long-lasting regularity. Still, like my case, many Istanbulites nowadays find it practically impossible to move in the city more efficiently than the metrobus. The inevitableness of travels in the city, specifically across the continents, made metrobuses a binding site of encounter in which an ordinariness in regularity prevails. When the number of passengers with an immense circulation is added, the metrobus presents itself as a crucial example of conceptual mobility in which strangers meet and practice in the spatial and temporal

structure of metropolitan everydayness. Equally important to me was the experience I had when I first started using it before my Ph.D. as an employee in the private sector. I remember the concussive experience I had in Uzuncayir because of the crowd intensity. Still, I also generated a swift adaptation because of my rush hour regularity, i.e., growing automatization that I detected in my conduct. Living and moving in such a temporal and spatial practice generated critical questions for me as an inhabitant of the metropolis. Hence, my curiosity about the question of ordinary as the practical ground of social experience in the city directed my interest to fieldwork I conducted in Istanbul's metrobus.

Figure 3: Famous transfer area of Zincirlikuyu in the European side during rush hour.



I started with field observation in January 2019, and until March 2019, I made bi-directional metrobus journeys from Sogutluceme in various lines and transfers. As being a regular myself, the metrobus was familiar to me as a public transport except for the route after Halicioglu station. Also, as an observer, the use of the metrobus was significantly different than using it as a passenger because I was genuinely attentive, unlike my adapted passengering experience. Thus, my bi-directional trips, i.e., from Sogutluceme to Beylikduzu and then again back to Sogutluceme, lasted approximately 2 to 3 hours based on my route. The longest took 3,5 hours on the course Sogutluceme-Zincirlikuyu-Beylikduzu, while the shortest was around 2 hours between Sogutluceme and Besyol without any interchanges. Overall, I took ten trips with changing destinations, transfers, and especially hours. Rush hour

journeys have been my priority in the morning and evening, and I also made hour shifts in them. For instance, I completed two routes as early as 6:30 and 7:00 in the morning. However, I also completed two late morning and early evening routes to observe the metrobus outside the rush hour. My morning and evening routes have been proportional to changing hours and destinations. I kept a field diary and wrote my notes after each of them. As refreshing as these moments were, this personal writing experience inspired me significantly. I shared some parts from these notes in the fourth chapter, The Metrobus.

Figure 4: Famous transfer area of Uzuncayir in the Anatolian side during rush hour.



After field observation, I started working on my primary method for the inquiry. According to Patton, qualitative findings are reached through three forms of data collection: interviews, observation/experimenting, and written documents. I was interested in the perceptions, perspectives, and practices that inhabitants constitute from below. Mainly, Istanbulites living through such regulation and moving through the metrobus had been my subject of inquiry. Hence, in-depth interviews were the most suitable qualitative method since "interviewing allow us to enter into the other person's perspective" (Patton, 2002, pp. 3, 342). Between 2019 to 2020 spring, until the COVID-19 quarantine, I conducted 20 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with regular metrobus passengers with snowball sampling. In the case of a mobile space, snowball sampling provided an efficient way of reaching

regulars. The homogeneity target in my field research had been “being regular metrobus passenger”. For this reason, the risk of bias had been minimal. With the cost-efficient snowball sampling, I could reach more regulars with diverse travel routes through their own diverse social networks. A second reason for snowball sampling was the problem of finding volunteers from the metrobus. The intense and rapid circulation of passengers almost makes daily conversations undesired nuisances. My effort in asking passengers their ideas for a possible interview in random sampling had been blotted out if not felt out of place. Although millions use it, paradoxically, the metrobus as an interviewing ground was unsuitable because, unlike a trader, for instance, working in Perpa, metrobus passengering is all about rapid circulation. Since I conducted in-depth interviews that lasted an average of 1 hour, as a mobile space with individuals constantly on the move, the metrobus proved to be unsuitable for accessing passengers who had to be regulars – passengers who use it at least 3 to 4 days both morning and evenings. Connected with the first, i.e., the rapid circulation of passengers, I also felt slightly insecure about sharing personal information with strangers who merely get on and off the metrobus.

Consequently, I turned my efforts to social media accounts and acquaintances to find regular metrobus passengers as interviewees. Then, through their networks, I could reach some diverse and willing interlocutors for a significant time. Sensitivities regarding the metrobus use were absent during these contacts; hence whomever I approached for a possible interview responded positively whenever they had the available time. For instance, there was an extremely busy doctor, so we could not arrange a meeting despite some rescheduling. Apart from that, metrobus regularity corresponds to dynamic mobility in Istanbul; hence, interlocutors are predominantly manual and skilled laborers and university students who inevitably share a busy aspect in mobility. In this regard, making sense of socio-spatial interaction of everyday inhabitants required a plurality of respondents from different statuses and cultures. My main criterion for interviews was diversity to represent the metrobus demography. My categories to enhance diversity were age, profession, gender, and the metrobus route. Snowball sampling, as Noy argues,

is represented through "stemmata," and this sampling process enabled me to generate route diversity in the metrobus use. In this sense, it has been a "respondent-driven" sampling, but most notably, for my inquiry, it showed its own merits by rendering me to reach interlocutors who intersect in the far edges of the city, such as Beylikduzu or Avcilar. The dynamics of the snowball sampling partook in "organic social networks", which generated unexpected and far-reaching characteristics that would be otherwise difficult for me to reach (Noy, 2008, pp. 329; 331-332). So that I was more than content with this first phase for being able to meet the diversity criterion. Students between 19 to 23, white collars ranging from 23 to 46, and a few blue collars over their 40s have been among the interlocutors. They have almost been proportional in gender. For their metrobus routes, I was also able to reach a solid diversity because their regular courses ranged from Sogutluceme to Zincirlikuyu, Mecidiyekoy, Sirinevler, Avcilar, and even up until Beylikduzu.

Figure 5: 29 interlocutors interviewed before and during the COVID-19 quarantine.

Age	Gender	Occupation	Metrobus route	Regularity (per week)
26	Male	Software Engineer	Uzuncayir-Zincirlikuyu	5 days
46	Female	Cleaning Worker	Sogutluceme-Uzuncayir	6 days
20	Female	Student	Beylikduzu- Uzuncayir	5 to 6 days
39	Male	Industrial Designer	Sogutluceme - Zincirlikuyu- Beylikduzu	5 to 6 days
30	Female	Architect	Sogutluceme - Zincirlikuyu	5 days
38	Male	Copywriter	Sogutluceme - Mecidiyekoy	5 days
23	Female	Student/Part-time Employee	Altunizade-Zincirlikuyu	6 to 7 days
25	Female	Pilates Instructor	Avcilar-Zincirlikuyu	5 days
31	Female	Research Assistant	Acibadem-Halicioglu-Bahcelievler	4 to 5 days
27	Male	Video Editor	Cevizlibag- Mecidiyekoy- Sogutluceme	6 to 7 days
26	Female	Banker	Sogutluceme- Zincirlikuyu-Cevizlibag	5 days

30	Male	Metallurgy Engineer	Uzuncayir-Mecidiyekoy	5 days
40	Male	Electrician	Buyukcekmece-Zeytinburnu	6 days
30	Female	Inspector	Sogutluceme-Avcilar	3 to 4 days
46	Male	Worker	Haramidere-Zeytinburnu	6 days
46	Male	IT Specialist	Uzuncayir-Halicioglu	5 days
28	Male	Developer	Sogutluceme-Zincirlikuyu-Beylikduzu	7 days
22	Female	Student	Avcilar-Sefakoy-Zincirlikuyu	6 days
19	Female	Student	Sogutluceme-Zincirlikuyu	4 days
53	Female	Housewife	Mecidiyekoy- Uzuncayir	3 to 5 days
33	Male	Customs Consultancy Employee	Zincirlikuyu-Yenibosna	5 days
23	Female	Media Worker	Sirinevler-Mecidiyekoy	6 days
26	Male	Cargo Operation	Avcilar-Sogutluceme	6 to 7 days
31	Male	Biologist	Beylikduzu-Bayrampasa	4 days
36	Female	Dental Technician	Sogutluceme-Zincirlikuyu	5 days
38	Female	Healthcare Officer	Beylikduzu-Bayrampasa	6 to 7 days
27	Male	Vehicle Maintenance Technician	Sogutluceme-Ayvansaray-Avcilar	6 days
26	Female	Lab Technician	Uzuncayir-Bayrampasa	4 days

At the beginning of 2020, the interviews were 20 in total. After a brief break, I decided to proceed and complete my fieldwork. I was planning to contact tradesmen around Perpa station to increase class diversity; however, soon after COVID-19 broke out. Turkey, like global examples, swiftly has been quarantined. Due to the long-lasting quarantine, I had no choice but to proceed with online interviews. I tried to continue my effort in generating more class diversity and thus reached out to some Facebook groups of cargo and post employees. Unfortunately, I did not receive a positive response. It was partially related to the worsening conditions of the pandemic as the public agenda in Turkey was dominated by dire consequences for health and the economy. Then, I had to proceed with available social media

accounts to spread the news. The tricky part during the quarantine was finding active employees or inhabitants who continued to use the metrobus even though it might have been limited. This led me to several healthcare professionals, a housewife who was a caregiver, a media employee, and several others in the service sector. Conducting online interviews was equally challenging because I had to consider available sources of online communication among interlocutors. Not all of them had Zoom accounts, and some did not feel comfortable connecting via other applications, such as Facebook calls. Although it came as unexpected, I can clearly say that WhatsApp saved the day for me. It was a bit strange; however, I had the chance to conduct some productive WhatsApp interviews with three interlocutors without the camera and three others with the camera. I conducted the remaining interviews via Zoom, hence, with additional nine online interviews from June to October 2020, I completed my field study with an overall 29 interviews.

Scope of the Study

This work is structured into five main chapters. The first chapter presents the theoretical framework through the linkage from empirical to social space and, in particular, the question of space for the idea of the political. Space connoted the absolute and the fixed until the so-called “spatial turn” in the mid-20th century. Kant’s transcendental theory, on the other hand, attributed the concept of the mental as a category of the mind. This strict division between the material and mental conceptualizations gave way to a concrete ground of criticism, starting with Henri Lefebvre’s social space. The theoretical background is essential in understanding the spatial as a locus of social organization. The discussion concerning the political in the chapter presents the practical dimensions of social space in the axis of power and the creation of a world between political subjects.

The second chapter displays the historical background of spatial production proliferated with urbanization. The critical theory of space in a socio-political context requires understanding its historical production. The historical background, in this sense, reflects the theoretical ground more comprehensively because, although they may surpass their time and space, ideas are also historical products.

Urbanization, too, generated a developmental planning paradigm through the modern city, which growingly subjected space to market principles. In this conceptual design, space was more conceived than lived, yet the spatial configuration in the city continued to constitute inhabitants' practices and experiences. Thus, the chapter analyzes urbanization as a global process and then presents the case study of this work, Istanbul, as an example of the process. Modernization of Istanbul, starting with the late Ottoman period until the AKP government, presents a historical account but at the same time discusses continuities and symptomatic determinants in making Istanbul a "global city", namely, a metropolis.

The third chapter marks the first layer in the fieldwork analysis and is entitled *Everyday Life in Istanbul*. The general problem of the metropolis and its spatial configuration is first and foremost experienced in the confines of everyday life. For this reason, the interlocutors' ideas and practices of everyday life in Istanbul unfold the framed experience they regularly have. To a significant degree, their everyday practices in Istanbul led them to become regular metrobus passengers. Growing challenges of population, crowd, and traffic generated greater needs for efficient means of mobility. The regularity of such ordinary practices becomes a spatial and temporal cost for the interlocutors, which they solve through the bus rapid transit. Everyday life, in this frame of experience, is significantly abstracted.

The fourth chapter analyzes the metrobus as a socio-spatial structure through the interlocutors' passengering experiences. This extensive analysis shows the centrality of the metrobus in Istanbulites' everyday mobilities, characteristics of the rapid transit conduct, and the question of "transitiness" growingly enclosing their mobility experience in Istanbul. As daily practices centralize the need for metrobus speed over extensive distances, the interlocutors growingly produce dependency, undertake characteristics of "metrobus profiles", and generate similar spatial typologies. In their perception, the metrobus represents instrumental consumption as opposed to Istanbul's ferries, an ideal example of the lived in mobility. As a

result, they experience what an interlocutor called "transitiness" as growing alienation through the metrobus in Istanbul.

The final chapter of the work combines the everyday and metrobus layers of the fieldwork to analyze the idea of togetherness based on such regular and ordinary encounters in Istanbul. Having a regular daily experience in vast mobilities through the metrobus with others significantly devours the essence that could be derived from socio-spatial togetherness. Although their perception of encounter in the metrobus displays the vehicle's plurality as a public transport, the enclosed and framed aspect of daily experience realized in metrobus crowds dissolve togetherness. Metrobus grounded public experience generates indifference and reproduces differentiation and insecurity toward the unknown. Nevertheless, through some interlocutors, the chapter also elaborates on possibilities in the idea of togetherness toward a more constructive essence. Simply put, despite prevailing negativities, the metrobus manages to transform strangers from different classes and cultures into a visible and practical reality by enhancing their proximity. Hence, although such empathetic threads remained limited, the metrobus, in a metropolis like Istanbul, somehow revives a public essence toward differences by at least making them visible. After this final chapter of the work, I will close the inquiry with a brief presentation of the findings in conclusion.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL FRAME

The idea and concept of space is strikingly interdisciplinary. Space is entangled with substance, with time, but also space is about perceptions realized through location, distance, and patterns. Existence, too, inevitably relates to the being's spatial and temporal relation. Thus, the permeation of space in every aspect of thought makes it a critical but complex concept to analyze (4-5). Space is loaded with physical, philosophical, and geographical discussions; hence, it often changes meaning as we perceive and define spatial relationships of things differently. Distances, patterns, and shapes take on different appearances and can be expressed differently from different spatial perspectives. In this regard, the theoretical background of space which primarily stems from empirical conceptions is crucial for revealing its historical-intellectual heritage. In fact, the idea of space in a socio-political context is relatively new and was evoked by the so-called "spatial turn" in the mid-20th century. The striking point of this "turn" is that the "social space" was mainly aroused by a critical reflection on the legacy of empirical conceptualizations (Sack, 1980, pp. 4-5; 55). The legacy that comprehended space in physical categories through conceptual separations and analyses fueled a reaction regarding the social essence of space. At the same time, the linkage from empirical to social space gives a solid ground for understanding the critical ground of spatial conceptions from Newton to Lefebvre. Considering socio-spatial experience in the city, the lineage from positivist into normative theorizations opens a critique for the tension between determinism in modern city planning and the constitution of subjectivities who experience below. Consequently, the theoretical chapter will present spatial theories in three interlinked layers. Empirical space will display the ground of positivist conceptions. These have been the first steps in spatial definitions, which are embodied in physical categories of substance and time. As a critique against such abstract and physical conceptualizations, the social theory of space will present prominent discussions starting with Lefebvre elaborating on space as a central locus in social organization. The idea of the political in spatial

thought will provide a particular emphasis on the axis of power and publicness to further ground the discussion in the confines of the city.

1.1.EMPIRICAL CONCEPTIONS OF SPACE

Physical-mathematical origin of spatial thought continues its relevance and importance; however, considering the subject matter of this work, their dominance in spatial thinking generated a critical reflection that gave way for the first time to the idea of space central to the things social and political. In this regard, approaches of modern urban planning to space as a commodity or a container where inhabitations take place could also be evaluated in a similar critical line. Because what the current paradigm appropriates in the city generates a twofold constitution for the inhabitants who live in the city. They become entangled parts of this top-down structuring, but at the same time, they continue to reflect themselves and possibly restructure them from below. Hence, the question of ordinary experience in the modern city emerged from such critical thought processes of social space. In this light, to display the linkage, this chapter will briefly present the prominent empirical conceptualizations of space from Newton and Leibniz with initial definitions such as physical, psychological, absolute, and relative spaces. Then, the chapter will evaluate the Kantian critique of Newton and his intuitive theory, which sustained space as a transcendental form of the mind. The Bergson critique of Kant, on the other hand, will show how space, compared to time, had extremely been fixated on as absolute and immobile. As the final point of discussion, Simmel's socially embedded space will show how space, for the first time, was considered more than an intuitive or an absolute fixation. The Simmelian discourse of space as a shared aspect of being together was genuine until Lefebvre's theory of social space broke through. Hence the chapter will be closed with a summary of the Simmelian approach to the social essence of space as an essential linkage from empirical to social conceptualizations.

A simple line of differentiation emerges between physical space and psychological space. Psychological space implies the regular operation of the mind, physical space

is attributed to the external world independent of the existence of the mind. It describes a feature of the universe (O'Keefe & Nadel, 1978, pp. 6-7). Put differently, physical space connotes the space of the physical world having geometry for its language. As Sack elaborates, "the appropriate description of physical space is the familiar abstract three-dimensional Euclidean geometry" It defines the physical space of geographers and the framework "in which their facts and events are supposed to be located" (Sack, 1980, p. 7). The second level of distinction is to be found within absolute vs. relative space. Absolute space exists independently and embodies the concept of a container "within which material objects can be located". In contrast, relative space denotes relations between "objects or sensory inputs" that are not spatial, hence its existence is not independent of objects (O'Keefe & Nadel, 1978, p. 7). Absolute space means that space can exert physical effects. On the other hand, relative space assumes that space can be acted upon and hence cannot exert physical effects. In his famous *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, Newton discussed that physical space existed external to and independent of all conscious beings. Its form in this sense is absolute, and it can demonstrate influence on physical bodies:

'...because the parts of space cannot be seen, or distinguished from one another by our senses, therefore in their stead we use sensible measures of them. For from positions and distances of things from anybody considered as immovable, we define all places; and then with respect to such places, we estimate all motions (Newton, 1846, p. 79).

Absolute space was not directly accessible to senses, still, Newton felt that the existence of absolute space could be inferred from its effects upon the matter from certain forms of motion. He thought that in its nature, "absolute, true, and mathematical space remains similar and immovable without relation to anything external" (77). For Newton, the ultimate validity of absolute space was physical rather than psychological. Accordingly, absolute-physical space existed without objects or their extension, and relative-psychological space was an approximation. The Cartesian influence upon Newton made him see space as a thing-in-itself

existing independently of the matter. Space in this absolutist view becomes a universal container of objects/phenomena having independent existence (Newton, 1846, p. 77; O'Keefe & Nadel, 1978, p. 11). In opposition to Newton, Leibniz developed a relational conception of space. Space is not an independent or absolute entity, but the power of objects or events taking place in it makes the space active. Hence, we see in Leibniz both as an abstract and concrete conceptualization of space. Space is "something merely relative", because it defined "an order of coexistences". Hence, in criticism to Newton's central premise of space as an absolute thing-in-itself, Leibniz wrote that "space is nothing but an order or set of relations among bodies, so that in the absence of bodies space is nothing at all except the possibility of placing them". For Leibniz, space and time should not be thought of as containers in which objects reside and move, but as an abstract structure of relations in which they can be embedded. In other words, space and time must be thought of as abstractions according to these relations because regarding time, he made a similar argument and wrote "times, considered without the things or events, are nothing at all" (Leibniz, 2007, pp. 9-10). Consequently, Leibniz's space, as Lefebvre discusses, "is absolutely relative – that is, endowed both with a perfectly abstract quality which leads mathematical thought to treat it as primordial (and hence ready to invest it with transcendence) and with a concrete character (in that it is in space that bodies exist, that they manifest their material existence)" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 170).

On the other hand, as he discussed in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, Immanuel Kant developed a transcendental approach and argued that both space and time are not absolute as Newton or relational as Leibniz claims. However, they exist as "a priori" forms of intuition, a category of the mind. In other words, space and time were "two pure forms of sensible intuition, serving as principles of a priori knowledge" (36). For Kant, then, Newtonian physics was accurate of the physical world but could not be grounded in sensation. Although space is absolute, it is not a property of the physical world but an "innate organizing principle of the mind". We construct a "conscious manifold" through space and time that we derive from the physical

world (Kant, 2007, p. 36; O'Keefe & Nadel, 1978, pp. 17-18). Given that Kant's space and time are not things to be perceived, instead, as innate forms of our mind, they organize the content of experience, and thus they constitute the ways of perceiving:

Well now, what are space and time? ·There are three candidate answers, namely: 1) Space and time are actual beings. 2) They are properties of things or relations amongst things, which things have whether or not they are intuited. 3) They are relations that attach only to the form of intuition, and thus to the subjective constitution of our mind. If our mind were left out of the story, these predicates couldn't be ascribed to anything at all (Kant, 2007, pp. 37-38).

According to Kant's theory of knowledge, propositions could be classified in two different ways: the first, following their origins, and the second by the means available to validate them. If there was any knowledge independent of all experience, we call *a priori* knowledge distinct from empirical knowledge whose sources are *a posteriori*, namely, in experience. Consequently, for Kant, space is not "an empirical concept that has been derived from outer experiences". It is a necessary "a priori representation" as a pre-condition for the possibility of appearances; hence it is not a conceptual construct. It must already exist as a foundation for all external experiences, and its representation is pure intuition. His epistemological basis indicated that space could not be annihilated with empirical concepts. In his words, "take your experiential concept of body and remove, piecemeal, everything empirical that it contains—color, hardness or softness, weight, even impenetrability—and you'll find that the body has vanished but the space that was occupied by it remains, and you can't get rid of it" (6). This makes space for Kant, transcendently ideal but also empirically real. Space and time are real, but at the same time, they are the forms of intuition and not relations between things as they exist in themselves. Hence, transcendental idealism implies that both are subjective forms of sense experience. Space has been separated from its contents and even when devoid of its contents, space becomes a reality without quality

because “space isn’t a property of or set of relations amongst things in themselves”, space is “the form of all appearances of outer sense” (Kant, 2007, pp. 6; 38-43).

Kantian version of space, in this sense, has been given as a homogeneous extension. Because “we are representing ourselves in one space and other representations also in diverse spaces, but all are one and the same space. Thus, space is essentially one and homogenous” (Saju, 2014, p. 27). In opposition to this view, Henri Bergson comes to the fore. Bergson distinguishes “pure duration” from homogeneous space in which material objects are juxtaposed. His most considerable criticism of Kant was the distinction between time (duration) and space. Accordingly, Kant’s major fault was apprehending time as a homogeneous medium, not pure duration but time intervened by space. However, to understand time as pure duration, one had to quit thinking of it spatially; to strip off time from the spatial. Simply put, we can apprehend pure duration in which the conscious states flow when we avoid representing it in space (Çifteci, 2017, p. 106). Bergson’s concepts of qualitative vs. quantitative multiplicity clarify this distinction. For Bergson, conscious states and their multiplicity were radically different from material objects. For instance, when we count fifty sheep, we count fifty identical sheep – concerning that they are all sheep – based upon their spatial juxtaposition. Bergson writes: “it is in space that such a juxtaposition takes place and not in pure duration. In fact, it will be easily granted that counting material objects means thinking all these objects together, thereby leaving them in space” (Bergson, 2001, p. 77). Hence, this quantitative multiplicity was inevitably spatial for Bergson. On the other hand, for Kant, counting to five or fifty did not necessarily depend upon material positioning:

Perception is empirical consciousness, i.e., consciousness in which sensation occurs. Space and time can’t be perceived, because there are no sensations of them; they are pure, merely formal, intuitions; but the objects of perception—or ‘appearances’, as I also call them—are not like that (Kant, 2007, p. 206).

According to Kant even internal situations – based upon sensation – have a magnitude in relation to an external situation. This was strongly criticized by Bergson because the qualities of conscious states which “are associated with the notes of a tune” are removed when “our understanding tries to count them”. In other words, conscious states in multiplicity are attributed to pure duration and most importantly they “cannot be counted without symbolization in space”. Hence, on the one hand characteristics of pure duration “converge on the concept of the multiplicity of the conscious states”, and on the other, this makes pure duration qualitative and heterogeneous in character. Thus, while quantitative multiplicity, homogeneity and juxtaposition were attributed to the spatial; qualitative multiplicity, heterogeneity and success were attributed to the temporal or pure duration (Park, 2009, pp. 302-303). For Bergson change implied novelty and he equated it with temporality. The spatial, on the other hand, was equated with representation. As Massey elaborates, “his overwhelming concern with time” generated crucial consequences for the conceptualization of space. He did not de-prioritize space, however by associating it with representation, he deprived space of dynamism. Space was “counterposed to time”. For Bergson, time was often conceptualized like space, and thus we “misunderstood the nature of duration ... when we spatialized it”. In this outlook, space is somehow a lesser dimension than time. “It is the material/phenomenal rather than the abstract; it is being rather than becoming... It is the subordinated category ... defined simply by lack of temporality and widely seen as, within modernity, having suffered from de-prioritization in relation to time”. Thus, space is reduced to stasis which fixes (Massey, 2005, p. 21-22; 29-30). Such conceptualization of space has been summarized brilliantly by Foucault in the “Questions on Geography”:

A critique could be carried out of this devaluation of space that has prevailed for generations. Did it start with Bergson, or before? Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, and the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic ... If one started to talk in terms of space that meant one was hostile to time. It meant, as the

fools say, that one ‘denied history’, that one was a ‘technocrat’ (Foucault, 1980, p. 177-178).

In a similar outlook, most geographers until the mid-20th century have considered space to be a neutral container. Like in the positivist sciences, space is defined and understood through Euclidean geometry and for analytical purposes. Just as geography was reduced to the classification and representation of factual material description of the earth’s areal surface, space was treated as the domain of the fixed, and the undialectical. According to the “empirico-physical” conception, space could be read, understood, and analyzed outside of human existence. Hence, space was not considered to have an active role in our social lives. It was “regarded as a backdrop against which human behavior is played out” (Soja, 1989, p. 36-37; Hubbard & Kitchin, 2011, p. 4). It is possible to say that the legacy of this empirical-physical category of space for social sciences has been its critical re-conceptualization. The quantification of Earth’s surface through concepts such as distance-direction-connection generated a reaction after the mid-1900s. However, prior to social conceptions, another prominent name’s categorization of space needs to be clarified.

Dating back to Bergson’s era, the scientific-analytic outlook toward space seemed to dominate. An important exception could be Georg Simmel’s sociology of space, a category between spatial determinism and social constructionism. In his famous chapter *Space and the Spatial Ordering of Society*, Simmel first evaluates conceptions of space in a twofold manner. Space has often remained “the form, in itself ineffectual,” still, he emphasized that the “spatial importance of things and processes” were not entirely “unjustified”. Hence, while space was “only the human way of binding unbounded sensory affections into integrated outlooks”, Simmel, at the same time, argued that social interaction among individuals is also “experienced as a realization space”. The latter argument emphasizes the spatial dimension of social processes, whereas the first could be considered his evaluation of the Kantian category of space. Taken together, Simmel assumes that space does not merely indicate an a priori form in the “possibility of being together”. It becomes a shared

aspect through “being-together of individuals” (Simmel, 2009, pp.543-545). Social configurations are practically embedded in the spatial context, but for Simmel, this should not be confused with the real causes of “social processes.” Therefore, he indicates that space is somehow socially structured, yet he does not treat space as a social construct. “It retains a reality of its own” (Lechner, 1991, p. 196). His characterization of space clarifies this in-between position of determinism and constitution. Accordingly, the first aspect of space is exclusivity, referring to the exclusive occupation of space, its uniqueness. This means that social configurations vary to the extent that they require exclusive occupation of their space. His examples in this quality vary from national to local structures to emphasize how the pattern of exclusivity “constitutes the transition to the further stage of the spatial relationship of groups” (Simmel, 2009, p.547). The second aspect is divisibility, the existence of boundaries that contribute to the integration of society because “bounded space makes social order more concrete” (197). Hence, for Simmel, boundaries are not spatial but sociological facts because they simultaneously separate and unite people who are more than the boundaries of a physical body: “a society, in that its existential space is encompassed by keenly conscious borders” (Lechner, 1991, p. 197; Simmel, 2009, p. 549).

The third aspect relates space to settling or fixedness, suggesting a spectrum of variations or the ways space offers social forms. This aspect highlights, for instance, how certain social relationships are arranged regarding immobile material objects. The emphasis he makes concentrates on the relationship between spatial settling and social formations. To clarify these variations, Simmel contrasts the meaning of the more universalistic settling of Rome for Catholics with that of a localized Jerusalem for Jews. The Temple of Jerusalem constituted what he called local individualization. However, its destruction severed that bond. Due to “the result of that loss of locality that the sociological tie had formulated” the social configuration was altered when the synagogue took over the central site in Jerusalem: “the effective bond among the Jews withdrew ever more from the religious factor to the racial” (565). The fourth aspect is about distance. We can position all social

interactions on a scale of closeness and remoteness. Configurations also vary to the extent they span the distance. Simmel exemplifies this aspect with social antagonisms, and he claims that the state of conflict draws its (previously distant) elements closely together, primarily through the common enemy (Simmel, 2009, pp. 564-565; Lechner, 2009, p. 197). Finally, space is about mobility or movement. We can give the association of high mobility with low levels of differentiation and solid integration as an example. His examples in this final aspect are given through migrant or nomadic groups and travelers. The emphasis in this aspect is on the essence of space and movement. Because according to Simmel, “the character of social construction is formally determined to a high degree by how often their participants meet” (Simmel, 2009, p. 600). This also means that in addition to the influence that spatial relationships generate among people, space alone does not indicate a social construct but is symbolic of those relationships. Put differently, the consequence of the spatial existence generates a symbolic dimension. Simmel saw that events had to be spatially located, but his emphasis was more on its content, revealing a particular social or psychological energy. In this sense, interaction among people represented the fulfillment of space (Skoric et al., 2013, pp. 590-592; Lechner, 1991, p. 197).

The empirical-physical conceptualization of space as absolute in Newton, as relative in Leibniz toward a transcendental critique with Kant and finally to Bergson as a representative and static fixation were displayed in this chapter. The critical linkage in these prominent names aimed to briefly analyze the historical-intellectual heritage of spatial conceptualizations. Comprehending a concept in its historical heritage also reveals the ground for which it stands. Thus, the critical linkage in spatial theories until Simmel shows the genuine origin of space from its empirical to the social conceptualization and sheds light on its interdisciplinary content. Finally, as the closure of this transition, Simmel’s illustrations in the chapter indicate that to understand different forms of sociation, one must consider the spatial context. These thoughts did not leave an immediate legacy partly because Simmel, rather than offering a theory in the conventional sense, revealed a series of

ideas and insights (Fearon, 2004, p. 3). Yet he outlined the relevance of space to his sociological analysis. Although the empirical nature of spatial categories persisted, we have rediscovered this relationship. Henri Lefebvre not only presented a theory for the spatial, but he also opened a fundamental and critical ground for our ordinary, daily, urban, and collective mode of experience embedded in our socio-spatial existences. Because despite the “spatial turn”, determinants in the practical lives of modern city dwellers could still be linked to this empirical-physical heritage. As long as modern cities regulate, organize, and distribute urban space, critical reflections become even more essential for inhabitants who continue to experience in them. From a different angle, the solution to growing mobility demands in Istanbul also indicates the persistency of Cartesian modes of approaches. The metropolitan mentality in mobility prevailed through the efficiency paradigm, resulting in the bus rapid transit such as the metrobus. As a result, inhabitants’ experience of mobility has been significantly framed by the fixated spatial essence of the metrobus. This problematization is best grasped through Lefebvre’s groundbreaking theory of the production of social space.

1.2.SPACE AND THE SOCIAL

The idea of space in the confine of experience could be best imagined in the city. Our practices with others and things are inevitably spatial as much as they are temporal. Time is fluid, and we grasp its fluidity through clock-time, yet at the first outlook, the spatial seems to be fixed. We occupy spaces; we use and consume them. On an ordinary day, an Istanbulite regulates his/her temporal organization of the day and uses the city's spaces accordingly. The metrobus is a typical example of this relationship. Istanbulites maximize their temporal needs through metrobus-provided spatial consumption. The spatial mobility of the metrobus and the distances that inhabitants must take growingly lose consideration under the maximization of bus rapid transit. However, the equally important point is that their adapted practices in this frame generate crucial outcomes regarding their socio-spatial experiences with others and things in Istanbul. Hence, consideration of the spatial in a social context is as essential as it is required because the spatial

dimension of life is profound in the city. While the Cartesian essence in modern city planning significantly determines spatial experiences, inhabitants continue to reproduce their spatial relationships by making them reciprocal. In this regard, this chapter will present discussions of the social space through the ground that Henri Lefebvre put forth. After an extensive analysis of Lefebvre's social space, the chapter will elaborate on his heritage through prominent names in spatial theories. The political economy of space in Harvey, the relational constitution of space in Massey, and finally, space at the center of critical social thought in Soja will be presented.

The question of space in relevance to society and the things social continued to remain a void by the mid-20th century. Although Simmelian illustrations gave a distinct outline for such linkage, they could not overcome empirical-physical conceptualizations. The persistency of space in physical categories, according to Doreen Massey, was related to the intellectual weakness of the tradition. Because this tradition exposed geography to the wave of positivism and quantification. Hence, the understanding of geography had been "strictly scientific" in a positive sense (Massey, 1984, p. 2-3). However, in the 1970s, a radical critique was launched against these quantified and absolute conceptions of space. Accordingly, space could not be apprehended as a separate realm of analysis. It could not be evaluated independently of the social context; hence, it was impossible to talk about spatial causes and relationships distinctly. Instead, references were made to the spatial form of social causes and associations. The so-called "spatial turn" has opened new insights and analyses in social sciences, and beyond any questions, this legacy belonged to Henri Lefebvre's spatial articulations:

Not so many years ago, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning: the idea it evoked was simply that of an empty area ... To speak of 'social space' therefore, would have sounded strange ... With the advent of Cartesian logic, however, space had entered the realm of the absolute. As Object opposed to Subject, as *res extensa* opposed to *res cogitans*, space came to dominate, by containing them, all senses and all bodies ... Such

were the terms in which the problem was couched for those philosophers who came in Descartes' wake – for Spinoza, for Leibniz, for the Newtonians. Then Kant revived and revised the old notion of the category. Kantian category, albeit relative, albeit a tool of knowledge, a means of classifying phenomena, was yet quite clearly separated from the empirical sphere: it belonged to the a priori realm of consciousness and partook of that realm's internal, ideal and hence transcendental structure. (Lefebvre, 1991a, pp. 1-2)

It is significant that Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* starts with the discussion above, with an inquiry into various meanings that space undertook. As discussed, from early geometrical attributions to Cartesian division, space had been formulated based on extension, thought of in terms of coordinates, like Euclidean geometry. For Lefebvre, the geometric space of this sort was abstract since the experience of space was removed and replaced with scientific quantification, i.e., "abstracted from the Cartesian grid of coordinates". On the other hand, Kant's categorization added more complication by a priori structuring of experience (Elden, 2004, pp. 187-189). These concepts for Lefebvre revealed the lack of a unified theory. Hence, he aimed to discover a theoretical unity between fields, which were apprehended separately, just like the conceptualizations of physical, mental, and social space. These are distinguished not only by disciplines such as philosophy and mathematics, but also by functionalist urbanism which assigns daily practices to specified zones through their functional organization – work, housing, leisure time, etc. The theoretical unity aimed to overcome "the distance that separates 'ideal' space, which has to do with mental (logico-mathematical) categories, from 'real' space, which is the space of social practice". For Lefebvre, the abstraction was apparent in this categorization because in practice, "these notions of space involve, underpin, and presuppose the other" (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 14). Hence, he theorized space as the shared aspect of all social practices because Lefebvrian space lies at the center of social organization. However, within the tradition of philosophical-epistemological fetishization of space – as he called it –

the mental realm came to envelop the social and physical ones. Space for Lefebvre is also an abstraction, but it is at the same time concrete. Lefebvre writes:

(Social) space is a (social) product ... Is this space an abstract one? Yes, but it is also 'real' in the sense in which concrete abstractions such as commodities and money are real. Is it then concrete? Yes, though not in the sense that an object or product is concrete. Is it instrumental? Undoubtedly, but, like knowledge, it extends beyond instrumentality ... Social space will be revealed in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by the philosophers and mathematicians) on the one hand, and physical space (as defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of nature) on the other (Lefebvre, 1991a, pp. 26-27).

Space then is both a mental and material construct, a production. It is not a simple production of materiality. The production reveals Lefebvre's concern with praxis and it is broader than the economic production of things. It includes the production of society, knowledge, and institutions. Production "embraces a multiplicity of works and a great diversity of forms, even forms that do not bear the stamp of the producer or the production process" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 68). Space is both outcome and means of action, it is both product and work. Space consists of natural but social objects and their relations to one another, a set of relations. In this sense, he envisions a multi-layered texture. His Hegelian inspirations revealed themselves with the concept of production, with the act of producing. Production in Hegel exceeds materiality with the absolute Idea producing the world, the nature producing the human being and the human being producing the "history, knowledge and self-consciousness – and hence that Mind which reproduces the initial and ultimate Idea" (68). This broad scope of production inspired Lefebvre because "it is not restricted to manufacturing; it is open and has a certain breadth" (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 68; Stanek, 2008, p. 65). Hence, space had to be thought of in dialectical terms, of its social production – rather than in pure Cartesian or Euclidean terms – and as Charnock stresses, "Lefebvre's methodological contribution is to highlight

the anti-representational orientation of Hegelian Marxism” (Charnock, 2014, p. 2). He aimed to overcome the strict duality between the material and the mental. The matter was not the embodiment of cognitive structures, and the mind was not a reaction to the matter. For Lefebvre, the mental and the material belonged together. “It is the fusion of the idealist and materialist notions that enables an idealist and materialist approach to the questions of life and lived experience” (Elden, 2007, p. 102). Therefore, Lefebvre revealed the limits to formal logic and models of urbanism in which particular social and spatial practices are overlooked within abstracted representations of the planned society. The dialectic method offers an understanding of the actual movement, and it exposes the form of the non-dialectical consciousness of the society, the ideology. His triad unfolds the constitutive moments of the material and the mental entangled in the production process. Yet, the constitutive moments of social production of space are in a state of becoming since spatial practice for Lefebvre is lived before it is conceptualized (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 34). Consequently, the experience of space was related to historical conditions and the mode of production, enabling the construction of space in different moments. The Hegelian moments, generality, particularity, and singularity have been invoked within the perceived, conceived, and lived spaces. Lefebvre, in this way, “intended to stress their tight bond... to the three moments of the concrete universal” (Stanek, 2008, p. 65):

What I shall be seeking to demonstrate is that such a social space is constituted neither by a collection of things or an aggregate of (sensory) data, nor by a void packed like a parcel with various contents, and that it is irreducible to a 'form' imposed upon phenomena, upon things, upon physical materiality (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 27).

Two critical implications in this matter are given regarding social space’s production. First, Lefebvre indicates the disappearance of the physical (natural) space as the origin of the social process. Although it is not just vanished from the scene, the natural space has become “lost to thought”. Nature has become the raw material of social systems that forge their own particular spaces. The loss of nature

has caused what one may call a destructive construction. At the same time, Lefebvre states that every society and every mode of production produces a space of its own. This, on the other hand, illustrates how space is not and cannot be a “void packet of contents”. In this regard, each society or more accurately each mode of production presents its own distinctive space "as an object for analysis" (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 31). With the advent of capitalism, social space came to contain three interrelated levels: reproduction of the biological, labor power, and the social relations of production. Because social relations inevitably possess “a spatial expression: they project themselves into the space, they are written there”. Thus, social relations become parts of the process that produces the space (Saju, 2014, p. 80). Moreover, social space contains specific representations of these interrelating reproductions. It is possible to say that space for Lefebvre embraces a multitude of intersections since “human space and human time lie half in nature, and half in abstraction. Socially lived space and time, socially produced, depends on physical and mental constructs” (Elden, 2004, p. 190). His famous triad indicates how space is produced through relationships and separations, presences, and absences. Then, for Lefebvre, space is not a pre-given and regulatory component; it is ready to be occupied; it is both material – rooted in existing relations – and in a constant state of becoming. Hence, we can say that the social entity and its environment are constituted in relation to each other (Tonkiss, 2005, p. 3; Roth, 2009, p. 211).

Social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such 'objects' are thus not only things but also relations. As objects, they possess discernible peculiarities, contour and form. Social labour transforms them, rearranging their positions within spatio-temporal configurations without necessarily affecting their materiality, their natural state (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 77).

The significance of Lefebvrian theory lies in this multilayered unification. As discussed, for Lefebvre, the experience of space is related to historical conditions enabling the construction of space in different moments (Stanek, 2008, p. 65). His

distinction between absolute and abstract space clarifies the historicity which led to the capitalist mode of spatial production. Absolute space “was made up of fragments of nature located at sites which were chosen for their intrinsic qualities”. Through the urges of need and daily life, it has emerged organically. On the other hand, abstract space, which “took over from historical space,” instead of a use-value stands on the exchange value and is “the dominant form of space, that of the centres of wealth and power” (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 48-49). Abstraction is presented as a historical process to reveal the relation between capitalist accumulation and rationalization. His famous spatial triad traces the history of space and introduces spatial transformations related to the mode of production. Space is the “primary locus of lived experience,” but Lefebvre analyzes how our perceptions, conceptions, and lived experiences of space invariably change (Watkins, 2006, p. 211; Wilson, 2013, p. 367). His triad points out the correlative dynamics of such spatial experience. Lefebvre writes:

The project I am outlining, however, does not aim to produce a (or the) discourse on space, but rather to expose the actual production of space by bringing the -various kinds of space and the modalities of their genesis together within a single theory (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 16).

His theoretical attempt puts forth the constitutive moments of spatial production and thus presents an analysis of genuine plurality to make sense of our everyday world. Space, then, is viewed in three ways: spatial practice (perceived space), representations of space (conceived space), and representational spaces (lived space). This schema also reflects a unity between physical, mental, and social space. Spatial practice defines our everyday practices reinforced by routines, the daily or urban realities – the routes and networks that link up the places set aside for work, “private” life, and leisure. It is the physical form, a space that is generated and used. Hence, this space-related behavior is non-reflexive, and it produces its own preconditions in a circular process. Representations of space are the instrumental space of planners, technicians, engineers, architects, and it is the ideological, cognitive aspect of space. The representations of space with physical models and

plans enable it to be read. The action within this sphere is not autonomous, “it is tied to the relations of production and the order which those relations impose” (33). It reflects behaviorism because of the conditions of capitalism. It cognizes the mental form in which space is conceived abstractly; hence our reaction to space in this mode is geometric (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 33; Wilson, 2013, p. 367). Between conception and perception, Lefebvre gives us the notion of the lived, representational space. This concept sees space as produced over time, and through its use, spaces are invested with symbolism and meaning, space as real-and-imagined (Elden, 2004, p. 190). These stand for spaces that are directly lived through images and symbols, which complement cognition. This aspect of space can undermine the prevailing order and its discourses. On other words, it is “premodern images of space that call given societal conditions into question. It is a matter of impulses and notions that give some idea of pre-capitalist, non-homogenized and fragmented space” (Löw, 2008, p. 28). So, the difference between representations of space and the representational one depends upon consistent and non-consistent practices:

Representations of space are certainly abstract, but they also play a part in social and political practice: established relations between objects and people in represented space are subordinate to a logic, which will sooner or later break them up because of their lack of consistency. Representational spaces, on the other hand, need obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness. Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their source in history - in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 41).

Through Lefebvrian space, we read a linkage between spatial meaning, spatial form, and the built environment. Our physical perceptions are intertwined with abstract conceptions, and space in this structure remains open to symbolic meaning (Watkins, 2006, p. 210-211). To illustrate, a park is conceived, designed, and produced through labor, technology, and institutions, but the meaning of the space

is adapted and transformed as it is lived by social actors and groups. Accordingly, the perceived, conceived, and lived space; in the social production of social space implies that the same spaces may be reproduced, represented, and experienced in different ways. On the one hand, it is what we perceive physically, materially, as concrete, and on the other, it is what we conceive geometrically, mentally, as abstract. This involves space's social and political production, wherein Lefebvre's Marxist aspirations are apparent. Like Marx's conception of labor, Lefebvrian space too as an abstraction becomes true in practice. Because for Lefebvre, concrete abstraction realizes itself socially in the social practice. In this sense, it is a social abstraction, that has a real existence. This at best revealed itself through the conceptualized space and inevitably reflected upon the lived space and lived experience. Then, within a socio-spatial practice, representations of space combine ideology and knowledge, and this is how they tend to dominate. Because "social space... subsumes things produced and encompasses their interrelationships... social space is what permits fresh actions to occur while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others" (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 71).

The production of social space in this sense is realized by human action and overall, by the social practice. Social space then assigns appropriate places to the social relations of production and the relations of reproduction. These two sets of relations, production, and reproduction are inextricably bound up with one another (Saju, 2014, p. 80). Then, growing abstraction of social practice has been coincided with the triumph of representations in the modern city through "written forms". "The emergence of the new" in Europe was marked by the conceptualized town "when representations of space derived from the experience of river and sea voyages were applied to urban reality. The town was given written form – described graphically. Bird's-eye views and plans proliferated" (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 296). Consequently, capitalism produced its own abstract space, in material, ideological and representational terms. In this sense space is also loaded with class struggle, but it is no longer necessarily a struggle against the capital; rather, it is against the reduction of inhabiting to habitat, and against the production of space as determined

by anything other than generalized self-management that is based on mutual recognition of difference and particularity (Charnock, 2014, p. 4). For this reason, just like the state itself, space becomes a realized, a concrete abstraction. So, “space permits the economic to be integrated into the political. There are at least two ways to take this forward - either to develop a political economy of space, where space is yet another commodity examined; or in thinking through a politics of space” (Elden, 2004, p. 192). Lefebvre’s genuine contribution gave way to the latter because the breadth of his spatial theory critically presented the possibilities entangled with the becoming aspect of spatial production. Yet, he at the same time needed to construct the basis for the systemic production of space:

His ‘global concept of space’ was a recognition of the spatial interconnections between locations of work, habitation and consumption in advanced capitalism ... Lefebvre recognize that this supposedly revolutionary way of producing space served the economic and political system. This new unity of space was in fact accompanying and facilitating the unity of the processes of production, distribution, and consumption ... (Stanek, 2008: 69-70).

Following Lefebvre’s spatial theory, David Harvey concentrated on the spatial organization of capitalist production in modern urbanism in explicit systemic criticism. Space, also for Harvey, is not a pre-given component; neither is it absolute; instead, social practices create spaces in which these practices are constrained, enabled, and altered. Hence, he rejected that space functioned as a container devoid of social effects. Space for Harvey is

neither absolute, relative or relational in itself, but it can become one or all simultaneously depending on the circumstances ... the answers lie in human practice. The question ‘what is space’ is therefore replaced by the question ‘how is that different human practices create and make use of distinctive conceptualizations of space?’ (Harvey, 1973, p. 13-14).

Thus, the laws of competitive capitalism construct its own spatial landscape, including physical and social infrastructures. This spatial construction appropriates the capitalist drive for accumulation, bringing the division of labor and uneven geographical development. For this reason, capital accumulation becomes the determinant of the production of space or the production of space in capital's own image. Specifically, both the spatial and the temporal have evolved in the historical production process. In the modern era, they have been compressed only to feed the dynamic of capital accumulation. Modern capitalist societies eliminated spatial barriers by this dynamic because "the general trend is towards an acceleration in turnover time and a shrinking of space horizons" (Harvey, 1990, p. 425). This was the rational-mathematical conceptualization of space-time. Technological developments, bureaucracy, and scientific development, which are public visibility of progress, are replaced by capitalism, and the priority, which was given to individuals, is given back to capitalism. Harvey evaluated space as a commodity in the capitalist economy in conformity with power and knowledge.

Space and time as concepts are social constructions. They are always a primary means of both individuation and social differentiation. The definition of spatial units ... defines fields of social action which have wide-ranging impacts on the organization of social life. Indeed, the very act of naming geographical entities implies a power over them ... As Edward Said so brilliantly demonstrates in his study of Orientalism, the identity of variegated peoples can be collapsed, shaped and manipulated through the connotations and associations imposed upon a name by outsiders. Ideological struggles over the meaning and manner of such representations of place and identity abound (Harvey, 1990, p. 419).

Since capitalist accumulation brings different places into the same economic universe, the particularities of the place, too, erode within capitalism's universal generalizations. In this sense, the relativity of space is a product of social and historical practice, and historical-geographical materialism shapes social space along with time. The capitalist epoch within this history has had a potent effect

because capitalism has been revolutionary with respect to its objective definitions of space and time. The turnpikes, canals, railways, telegraph, radio, television, transport technologies, and telecommunications, the entire reorganization of spatial relations and representations have altered the objective relations of space-time and forced us to new material practices and expressions of space (Harvey, 1990, p. 424-425). Along with it, capitalism fixes space to overcome and manage inevitable crises. The geographical separations between places of production and consumption, land market's reconfiguration of the built environment, new markets for abroad investments, and territorial governances to facilitate local accumulation are all examples of spatial fixation to counter capitalism's contradictions. Space in this sense is instrumentalized for capitalist accumulation. Overall, space for Harvey is produced within capitalism, and it expresses the system's inner contradictions. In this way, Harvey directly inserts space into the Marxist theory of capitalism (Hubbard & Kitchin, 2011, p. 237; Sheppard, 2008, p. 124-125).

While acknowledging the Marxist foundations underlying the sociology of space, Doreen Massey moved away from essentialist Marxist accounts of uneven development to a more relational concept. In response to Harvey's account of space-time compression, she contended that places are not just bounded locales, nor are they being eroded and rendered placeless by globalization. Instead, places are made up of flows and movements. They are simultaneously local and global. Their social, cultural, and economic relations stretched out across the globe; they were shaped by structural processes and retained local particularities. She emphasized the effects of culture, politics, history, mobility, globalizing tendencies, and diversities. "The notion of a progressive sense of place ... provided a multi-scalar, relational means to understand the cultural complexity... situating locales and communities within globalizing processes while not being subjugated to them" (Kitchin, 2016, p. 814). For Massey, flows, movements, possibilities, formations, and deformations make space relational, in which we can cut across a myriad of stories. Massey embraced Lefebvre's representational space, and contrary to the stories of development, she envisioned a constitutive aspect. For Lefebvre,

“representational space is alive: it speaks”; thus, it embraces action, and the lived situation. Lefebvre sees them as “essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic” (Massey, 2009, pp. 16-17; Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 42). The emphasis is upon the lived experience as a dimension that presents the multiplicity of the world that we daily engage and make sense of. Massey’s dedication to understanding things relationally gave her conceptualization of the social and the spatial together. Thus, space for Massey, is defined as the product of relations, including the absence of such relations. It defines a complexity of networks, links, and connections from micro to macro levels. Hence, space is in fact a product. “It is produced through the establishment or refusal of relations. This also implies as a logical consequence, that space is in its very nature social”. Multiplicity is a natural characteristic of the space and like Lefebvre, for Massey space is also in a process of being made (Hubbard & Kitchin, 2011, p. 303; Massey, 2009, p. 16-17). Consequently, Massey too rejected space as a neutral container, instead she has developed rich accounts of space that are productive of the formations and deformations making up the social world. Space is understood as an open and ongoing production. Against the representational or fixing conceptualizations, she generated three counter propositions of space:

... First, we recognize space as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny. Second, we understand space as the sphere of the possibility, of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity. Without space no multiplicity; without multiplicity, no space. If space is indeed the product of interrelations, then it must be predicated upon the existence of plurality. Multiplicity and space as co-constitutive. Third, we recognize space as always under construction. Precisely because space on this reading is a product of relations-between, relations which are necessarily embedded material

practices which have to be carried out, it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed (Massey, 2005, p. 9).

Space then unfolds as interaction, which makes it the social dimension. But this is not exclusively human sociability, rather it defines engagement within a multiplicity. “It is the sphere of the continuous production and reconfiguration of heterogeneity in all its forms – diversity, subordination, conflicting interests” (Massey, 2005, p. 61). For instance, taking a train is not to travel across a dead flat surface of space. Instead, this is the way we cut across a myriad of stories going on. The materiality of space in this sense cannot be distinguished from its abstracted production. For Massey, this links space with politics because politics in the modern sense inevitably becomes spatialized. On the one hand, space is loaded with power relations; and on the other, the relational aspect of space generates its own political possibilities that are experienced daily. Massey’s fascination with the ‘Occupy London’ movement illustrates the latter. In this light, when space is understood as an ongoing production, a dimension which presents the multiplicity of the world, a constitutive aspect contrary to static stories of development, the world itself will be imagined in a different way, and it will present us further political questions (Massey, 2013).

Imagining the world differently in both social and political ways inevitably made spatial thinking a crucial dimension. To place spatiality at the center of critical social thought, on the other hand, was an ambitious attempt by Edward W. Soja. His skepticism against mainstream social sciences paved the way. Accordingly, mainstream positivistic approaches failed to describe the reasons behind geographies of uneven development. With his aspirations from Marx, Foucault, and Lefebvre, he attempted to spatialize critical social theory. His search for a “postmodern critical human geography” was a reaction against historicism and its mainstream social sciences (Hubbard & Kitchin, 2011, p. 380). Because it was historicism itself that obstructed the spatial thinking in Western critical thought:

I wish to give an additional twist --- by defining historicism as an overdeveloped historical contextualization of social life and social theory that actively submerges and peripheralizes the geographical or spatial imagination ... this definition ... identifies historicism with the creation of a critical silence, an implicit subordination of space to time that obscures geographical interpretations of the changeability of social world (Soja, 1989: 16).

Soja directly challenged traditional social theory's emphasis on history and temporality. He asserted that critical social theory had actively repressed and denied spatiality. Space and the spatial in this tradition have not been acknowledged nor appropriately explored. Instead of taking spatiality into account, Soja aimed to place it at the center of every element of the social theory. In this light, according to Soja, critical spatial thinking concentrates on three principles: "a) The ontological spatiality of being (we are all spatial as well as social and temporal beings) b) The social production of spatiality (space is socially produced and can therefore be socially changed) c) The socio-spatial dialectic (the spatial shapes the social as much as the social shapes the spatial)" (Soja, 2009, p. 1). Socio-spatial dialectic must be seriously considered because

we do recognize that geographies we live can have negative and/or positive consequences on everything we do. Foucault captured this by showing how the intersection of space, knowledge, and power can be both oppressive and enabling. Building on Foucault, Edward Said states the following: 'Just as none of us are beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings' (Soja, 2009, p. 2).

The capitalist epoch of our day privileged the spatial over the temporal. Since the spatial is socially constitutive, critical social theory must take space seriously if it

wants to make sense of the society. Because for Soja, rather than time, space now obscures and hides things. “The demystification of spatiality and its veiled instrumentality of power is the key to making practical, political, and theoretical sense of the contemporary era” (Soja, 1989, p. 61). Against the totalizing effect of modernism, Soja’s space offers the possibility for multiplicity, fluidity, un-fixedness. Thus, it is constitutive of plurality. Likewise, his famous conception of “Thirdspace” is the constitutive domain out of which the structuring of the world takes place. Soja defined Thirdspace as “an-Other way of understanding and acting to change the spatiality of human life” to the extent that it could enable “a critical spatial awareness” directed to understand “the rebalanced trialectics of spatiality-historicity-sociality (Soja, 1996, p. 10). In this regard, his reinterpretation of Lefebvre’s unified theory is genuine. For Soja *the Production of Space* was “the most important book” regarding “the social and historical significance of human spatiality” and its imagination (8). His trialectics, on the other hand, was a spatial dialectic instead of the temporal dialectics of Hegel or Marx, and aimed at “ontological, epistemological and theoretical rebalancing of spatiality, historicity and sociality as all-embracing dimensions of human life” (10). Hence, he proposed a spatial dialectics in spatiality, spatial thinking and spatial imagination as a reinterpretation of Lefebvre’s triad. The centrality of space for Soja is so profound that even the “social reality is not just coincidentally spatial, existing in space, it is... ontologically spatial. There is no unspatialized social reality” (Soja, 1996, p. 8, 10, 46). Therefore, his critique against modern historicism presupposes the existence of the Thirdspace. Like Lefebvre’s lived space, Thirdspace emphasizes a distinct mode in this critical-spatial awareness to transcend the material-mental duality of tradition. Following Lefebvre’s triad, Soja presents his trialectics; Firstspace, Secondspace, and Thirdspace.

Firstspace defines the real, material world and its physical space. It is “fixed on the concrete materiality of spatial forms”. Firstspace consists mainly of concrete spatial forms, but they are also socially produced as outcomes of human activities. In Lefebvre’s terms, this is the perceived space, concrete geographies of our life-

worlds. In the Secondspace, the reality is understood through representation, linked to Lefebvre's conceived space. Secondspace, for Soja, conceived in "thoughtful representations of human spatiality in mental and cognitive forms", hence, the reality is understood through representation, linked to Lefebvre's conceived space. Overall, Secondspace perspective is the interpretation of reality of the world, or the Firstspace through 'imagined' representations of spatiality. As being mental spaces, these belong to the planners and urbanists who model and conceptualize the space. Thus, the representations of power and ideology are in these dominating mental spaces (Soja, 1996, p. 10). Finally, Soja's Thirdspace defines the space that people construct through social practices. It contains other real and imagined spaces and belongs to the inhabitants. Thirdspace is the space of the directly lived, resembling Lefebvre's lived space. For Soja, only in Thirdspace "everything comes together". In this light, As Soja explains, "anything which fragments Thirdspace into separate specialized knowledge or exclusive domains – even on the pretext to handling its infinite complexity – destroys its meaning and openness". Exceeding conceptualizations, Thirdspace, in this sense, is capable of understanding spaces of the periphery and margins and are the chosen spaces for struggle and emancipation (Soja, 1996, p. 56-57).

Consequently, the shift from the fixed, or following Lefebvre, the empirical-physical conceptualizations gave space a necessary social apprehension. Social space is understood within social action, practices, and relationships. Hence, the question of praxis in the ordinary, the quotidian, and the city cannot be fully grasped without the spatial dimension of life and experience. The space as the locus of social organization is constituted by the city, which also defines a socio-spatial structure. In this regard, the economic and political discourses inevitably shape and organize the space; however, it is the inhabitants' spatial relations that actualize, contest and converge these top-down approaches. For an Istanbulite, spatial practices could display the economic, social, political, and symbolic essence of experience realized in diverse neighborhoods, routes, and regulated spaces for work, inhabitation, and consumption. Istanbulites live the city spatially and, at the same time, reveal its

social, political, and economic determinants from below. Hence, although the social space embraces the economic and political aspects, the idea of the political in the spatial dimension of life must be further considered.

1.3.SPACE AND THE POLITICAL

In capitalist societies, the spatial organization of the city is profound. Like the systemic production of abstract space, capitalist society regulates the city by assigning appropriate functions to city spaces. Working and living spaces, road networks, consumer spaces, and even public spaces in the capitalist city are politically and economically appropriated. Hence, at first look, the political in spatial practices and relations imply the macro determinants of the city, i.e., its rationalized planning paradigm. However, the intriguing aspect of this picture could be revealed through the mundane. Even the routinized conduct of the quotidian is entangled with this socio-economic restructuring. From class to cultural practices, from private to public practices, the inhabitant, without much contemplation, is significantly regulated through the spatial configuration in the city. In this regard, the question regarding space and the political will first display the idea of the political in spatiality. Second, it will analyze the essence of power and togetherness in spatial settings through two prominent thinkers: Foucault and Arendt.

'Change life!' 'Change society!' These precepts mean nothing without the production of an appropriate space... So long as everyday life remains in thrall to abstract space, with its very concrete constraints; so long as the only improvements to occur are technical improvements of detail; so long, in short, as the only connection between work spaces, leisure spaces and living spaces is supplied by the agencies of political power and by their mechanisms of control - so long must the project of 'changing life' remain no more than a political rallying-cry to be taken up or abandoned according to the mood of the moment (Lefebvre, 1991a, pp. 59-60).

As Henri Lefebvre writes, the change in the community is inevitably spatial. It is not to say that spatial production lies at the heart of change; rather, it implies the

inescapable spatial dimension of change. Like his apprehension of the social in its spatiality, for Lefebvre, the spatial is also inevitably political because “space is the ultimate locus and medium of struggle and is, therefore, a crucial political issue”. As Elden points out, space in the social context reproduces the class structure. Planning is not a scientific/technocratic specialization as it was often assumed before the “spatial turn”. Urbanization allocates social space according to class, and it is the social and political forces that produce social space. Likewise, capitalism’s growing hegemony in the globalized world market cannot be considered without thinking about its flexibility in “constructing and reconstructing the relations of space and the global space economy” (Elden, 2007, pp.106-108). Consequently, as long as the state and the capitalist system organize and rationalize the space for social production, and as long as the space itself is the actualized realm for social practice, the spatial then connotes the things political. Despite the absence of spatial conceptualizations, the political question regarding space can be traced back to the ancient world. As Lefebvre writes:

even the city of the ancient world cannot be understood as a collection of people and things in space; nor can it be visualized solely on the basis of a number of texts and treatises on the subject of space ... For the ancient city had its own spatial practice: it forged its own - appropriated - space. Whence the need for a study of that space which is able to apprehend it as such, in its genesis and its form, with its own specific time or times (the rhythm of daily life), and its particular centers and polycentrism (agora, temple, stadium, etc.) (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 31).

The previous discussion concerning absolute and abstract space is a great example given by Lefebvre for the spatial practice of the ancient Greeks. In the ancients, absolute space as an organic totality sometimes contained nothing. By nothing, Lefebvre implied the functional use of particular objects filling space. The ancient temple, Pantheon, as a “secret dwelling-place of divinity and thought” certainly had its aspects “but no façade”. This means that a “visitor may walk all the way around”, however he/she would not perceive the place as an “‘object’ that can be grasped

otherwise than by means of a thought-process capable of perceiving it as a totality". The temple was appropriated as a form endowed with meaning. The argument is also valid for the Agora. Unlike Romans, ancient Greeks did not have a "clothing" for the construction. However, with the Romans, a novelty occurred. Functional use of space had presented itself in the essence of construction and in a particular form that actually clothed their structures. The Agora was empty and had to be so since the Athenian citizens held their assembly (ecclesia) there (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 237-238). In Ancient Greece the order was the structure itself to which they appropriated the most suitable form. Hence, their organic bond in spatial settings revealed the use-value of the form. However, even the Romans "saw only a decoration which might be removed, omitted, displaced, or replaced by something else (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 238). Therefore, with the path of forming a structure through its used and appropriated function to the "decoration" that could be replaced or removed, the modern era has established a fundamentally different spatial constitution in the everyday world. In light with the arguments, a contemporary categorization for the spatial and the political could be formed. As the previous chapter displayed, socio-political conceptualizations of space started from the 1970s onwards. Two prominent names came to the fore during this era: Michel Foucault and Hannah Arendt.

Although Michel Foucault did not directly generate a spatial conceptualization, his elaborations of power, knowledge and discourse opened significant sideways considerations of space. So that, the spatial turn of 1970s cannot be considered without Foucault's critical assessments of space. To begin with, the spatial for Foucault is about power. This stems from his genuine assessment of the concept of power. Because for Foucault, power is "always already there, that one is never 'outside' it, that there are no 'margins' (141). Power is co-extensive with the social body, its relations are interwoven with other kinds of relations such as production, family, kinship and sexuality. Since these relations also play a conditioning role. Most importantly, the interconnections that these relations have, delineate general conditions of domination. Hence, we should not simply expect to see "a primal

condition of domination, a binary structure with 'dominators' on one side and 'dominated' on the other". Foucault's critical interpretation of power indicates "a multiform production of relations of domination which are partially susceptible of integration into overall strategies" (Foucault, 1980, p. 141-142). The power is dispersed and space, too, in observation and knowledge interconnects with power. Through a study of the hospital architecture in the second half of the eighteenth century, Foucault wanted to understand how the medical gaze was institutionalized and how it was inscribed effectively into social space. By analyzing different architectural projects of the time, Foucault noticed that the problem of "the visibility of bodies, individuals and things, under a system of centralized observation, was one of their most constant directing principles". Since the hospitals needed to avoid undue contact, contagion, physical proximity, and overcrowding, while at the same time ensuring ventilation and circulation of air; they divided space up and kept it open, carefully separating the individuals under observation (Foucault, 1980, p. 146). Hence, space in the eighteenth-century medicine world be used to acquire knowledge and to ensure surveillance. The architectural arrangement of the medicine world provided isolation and individualization of the patient, making the practice of control, care, observation, and medical knowledge possible. A specific kind of spatial or architectural arrangement was conducted to establish particular types of social praxis and relations. Therefore, as the locus of medical discourse and practice, the clinic, above all, has a unique architectural arrangement that makes discourse and practice possible (Grbin, 2015, p. 307). While Foucault tended to see this arrangement genuine to the medicine system of the era; his studies over the penal system showed how the same theme was re-organizing all the great projects of prisons. The famous Panopticon model also operates on spatial isolation but have deeper implications. At the center of this specific model is

a tower, pierced by large windows opening on to the inner face of the ring. The outer building is divided into cells each of which traverses the whole thickness of the building. These cells have two windows, one opening on to the inside, facing the windows of the central tower, the other, outer one

allowing daylight to pass through the whole cell. All that is then needed is to put an overseer in the tower and place in each of the cells a lunatic, a patient, a convict, a worker, or a schoolboy ... In short, the principle of the dungeon is reversed; daylight and the overseer's gaze capture the inmate more effectively than darkness (Foucault, 1980, p. 147).

Through this spatial arrangement, the prison in the transparent cell is in a constant consciousness that he is being watched. In this way, he internalizes the power of control since, after some time, it becomes irrelevant whether he is being watched. The prisoner of the Panopticon is overwhelmed by this impersonal power, and as a result, he starts to control himself. Hence, the prisoner internalizes the norms of power in this unique design through self-control. According to Foucault, Bentham did not just invent the name of the Panopticon; instead, he invented “a technology of power designed to solve the problems of surveillance” (Foucault, 1980, p. 148; Grbin, 2015, p. 308). In this light, Foucault revealed how the spatial arrangement of clinics and prisons operate by power/knowledge. Put differently, in the case of prisons and clinics; architecture becomes spatial dimension of power. The point, as Foucault writes, is that the eighteenth-century architecture growingly concerned on the urban questions through the disposition of space for economico-political ends. Normalizing values, a certain way of functioning, and overall, a certain way to constitute has spatially been established. Knowledge of space and spatial command has been used for functional efficiency. Hence the production of space for Foucault is not neutral, rather it defines specific aims for the exercise of power. So that, “a whole history remains to be written of *spaces*-which would at the same time be the history of *powers*- from the great strategies of geo-politics to the little tactics of the habitat, institutional architecture from the classroom to the design of hospitals, passing via economic and political installations”. Power as a network as an everyday aspect has spatially been there, but it was further systematized through modern architecture. However, as discussed, reinterpretation of space in the social and political context has strikingly been late. The problem of conceptualization has been stated by Foucault as well: “it is surprising how long the problem of space

took to emerge as a historico-political problem” This, once again, reminds us of the dominance of Cartesian approximations in spatial theories (Foucault, 1980, p. 148-149). Consequently, for Foucault, space reveals the domains in which power and social phenomena become visible. His concept of heterotopia highlights the latter.

Heterotopias imply the difference of one space from all other spaces in a certain culture. At first sight, heterotopias may resemble spaces of resistance, constructed by anomic groups. They may be spaces of resistance, but for Foucault a heterotopia is more than that. So, if utopias console, heterotopias disturb. An important feature of these genuine spaces is that they do require some sort of expulsion from mainstream society and its habits. He lists six principles of heterotopology with a variety of examples: boarding school, cemetery, cinema, sauna, garden, library, festival, resort, guest room, motel, brothel, colony, boat, etc. “The spatiality in heterotopology is thus certainly dynamic” (Saldanha, 2008, p. 2083). These dynamic spaces of ‘other’ have two types: crisis and deviant heterotopias. The first type comprises “privileged or sacred or forbidden places” for individuals who—compared to the society— “live in a state of crisis”. In a Foucauldian outlook, the state of crisis is constituted through their relation to society. Coming of an age or a state defines the crisis, hence places like a boarding school or honeymoon hotels in which “manifestations of sexual virility were in fact supposed to take place ‘elsewhere’” are the examples of this type. But for Foucault, crisis heterotopias are disappearing in our society, mostly replacing themselves with deviant heterotopias. As the name reveals, in deviant heterotopias, deviant behaviors of individuals are concerned. They are deviant “in relation to the required norm or mean” which attributes normally and abnormally apprehended types of behaviors. Cases of this are rest homes, psychiatric hospitals, prisons, and retirement homes. Between these transiting types one can add “mutating” heterotopias. Because “a society, as its history unfolds, can make an existing heterotopia function in a very different fashion; for each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society” (Foucault, 1984, p. 4-5). His famous cemetery example illustrates the mutation. Until the eighteenth century, the cemetery was placed at the heart of the

city, within the church's sacred space and with a hierarchy of tombs. But in modern civilizations, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, while everybody had their private boxes of decay, the cemeteries were located at the outside border of cities.

In correlation with the individualization of death and the bourgeois appropriation of the cemetery, there arises an obsession with death as an 'illness' ... during the nineteenth century, the shift of cemeteries toward the suburbs was initiated. The cemeteries then came to constitute, no longer the sacred and immortal heart of the city, but the other city, where each family possesses its dark resting place (Foucault, 1984, p. 5).

In this sense, the genuine aspect of heterotopias is not related to their intrinsic heterogeneity. Instead, the external difference from the rest of the society is the aspect that makes places heterotopic. They are counter-sites. For instance, global capitalism, too, could be considered heterotopic because it brings "disparate elements together". Thus, heterotopology exposes the relationship that certain places have with the whole, with the society (Saldanha, 2008, p. 2083-2084). Like Bentham's panopticon, Heterotopias can invoke change because they offer new ways to organize spaces. Historically they can constitute the spatial normal and abnormal. Still, the spatial character of the heterotopia has the capacity "to herald a general momentum, a temporal break, or memorization of tradition". It is, in this sense, an essential essence of European modernity and "its break with traditional time" (Saldanha, 2008, p. 2084). Museums and libraries are sites of this kind, belonging to nineteenth-century western culture. As Foucault writes, (they) "have become heterotopias in which time never stops building ... the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all tastes ... the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, this whole idea belongs to our modernity" (Foucault, 1984, p. 7).

Overall, with Foucault's heterotopias, we once again read a deconstructive construction against static captures of the spatial. Heterotopias, in this sense, do

stand in relation to all society. They are spaces of different layers of meaning or relationships. On the one hand they reflect the totality of society's ordering as being spaces of disturbance. On the other, they may be reclaimed by the acclaimed norms of society, just like the case with mutating heterotopias. Nevertheless, these counter-sites represents, contests, and inverts all other conventional sites, hence they represent a relational space of paradoxes. Precisely for this very reason they cannot be thought in terms of resistance or discord solely. To that end, we may state that heterotopias illuminate "an imaginary spatial field, a set of relations that are not separate from dominant structures and ideology, but go against the grain and offer lines of flight" (Johnson, 2006, p. 87). To read space through concepts of power and heterotopia indicates its politically productive essence. In the first outlook, space reflects the changing forms of power in modernity. Space becomes one of the dimensions of complex, multiple, and shifting relations of power to which individuals are subjected. Either through the naturalization of norms or disturbances, the spatial is placed within the socio-political structure. Heterotopias – which define the latter – open counter-spaces for various post-structuralist relations. Space's relational construction, however, undertakes a much more central theme with Hannah Arendt politically. Although Arendt did not deal with space, particularly like Foucault, her approach to things political gave a genuine understanding of space that relates to and separates us.

Politics for Arendt is based on human plurality. Among her designation of worldly activities (*Vita Activa*), 'action' is the only activity that goes directly between men and hence corresponds to the human condition of plurality. It is because "men, not Man, live on the earth and inhabit the world. While all aspects of the human condition are somehow related to politics, this plurality is specifically *the* condition of all political life" (Arendt, 1998, p. 7). To live among men, is thus, possible through action and speech, and it springs from the natality and our own initiative to begin something new, i.e., spontaneity. In this sense, to act is to take an initiative and since beginnings possess the characteristic of unexpectedness; man can perform the improbable; the unexpected is expected from him. Speech on the other hand

corresponds to distinctness, as of living as a unique being among equals, it is the actualization of the human condition of plurality. Hence action and speech are closely connected. The inherent tendency here is to disclose the agent together with the act (Arendt, 1998, p. 177-178). In this light, action is the only activity which cannot be imagined outside the society of men, it depends on the presence of others. It was the rise of the polis which gave man a second life in addition to his private life; his *bios politikos*:

Of all activities necessary and present in human communities, only two were deemed to be political and to constitute what Aristotle called the *bios politikos*, namely action and speech, out of which rises the realm of human affairs, from which everything merely necessary or useful is strictly excluded (Arendt, 1998, p. 25)

It is because for the Greeks, the home and family represented the place of the biological, of the management of needs; it was the place in which the means of survival was conducted. Hence it was the space of strict hierarchy and inequality. The private sphere was, therefore, dominated by the necessities of life. The polis was the realm of freedom and of equality. To master the necessities was in this sense the precondition of freedom in the polis. Thus, the concept of freedom belonged exclusively to the polis, to the political (Arendt, 1998, p. 32-33). “Freedom is understood negatively as not being ruled or ruling, positively as a space which can be created only by men and in which each man moves among his peers” (Arendt, 2005, p. 117). The creation of such a realm of action and speech would also create a political domain. This is the space of appearance for Arendt, “the space where I appear to others as others appear to me” (Arendt, 1998, p. 198).

... wherever human beings come together a space is generated that simultaneously gathers them into it and separates them from one another. Wherever people come together, the world thrusts itself between them and it is in this in-between space that all human affairs are conducted (Arendt, 2005, p. 106).

Thus, the human condition of plurality is for Arendt a space-making plurality, for its political relevance and for this reason Arendt places “work” as a higher worldly activity different from that of “labor”. Because such worldly in-between requires the establishment of concrete and abstract spaces so that the highest human activity, “action”, can be realized. Political space of plurality, of this highest activity for Arendt is the public space. She therefore gives a strict distinction between private and public realms, which corresponds to the domains of household and of the political respectively. Equality as being among peers and plurality as revealed in human spontaneity are characteristics of the public space. Still Arendt is clear about the concrete basis of such a space, since “this public space does not become political until it is secured within a city, is bound to a concrete place” (Arendt, 2005, p. 123). The abstract idealization of the political space has been concretized within the city, within the actual environment of the dweller. As Dikeç analyzes, space has a double function in Arendt’s conceptualization of politics: “it provides a domain where issues of public concern emerge and are debated, and where individuals act in the presence of one another. Space, then, puts them into a political relation”. The spatial in this sense provides a stage for disclosure. For the act must be revealed distinctively with the agent. The individual’s distinctiveness has thus been disclosed in relation to others through action and speech. “This spatialization at once relates and separates – relates because it brings individuals together in this common space Arendt calls ‘space of appearance’, separates because it is in this space that acting and speaking individuals disclose their unique ‘who-ness’ as distinct from others” (Dikeç, 2012, p. 672). However, with modernity Arendt discusses, we see a new phenomenon: the social realm. It is the blurring distinction between the private and public, so that political communities are perceived in the image of a family, a gigantic and nation-wide administration of housekeeping (Arendt, 1998, p. 28). According to Dana Villa, the rise of the social does not only stress “the public sphere’s loss of integrity”. The social realm is also Arendt’s concern for “the loss of an authentically private sphere”. Because the social realm generates inauthenticity by devouring the essence of both the public and the private. The needs of life eliminate disclosure by action and speech; it causes a reality “in which

action is submerged in a tide of conformist behavior and interiority takes the place of individuality” (Villa, 1996, p. 148).

Then, the loss of authentic spaces of plurality, “excludes the possibility of action, which formerly was excluded from the household”. The spatial mixture of the public and private, new spaces of modernity blurred the distinction between them and imposed “innumerable and various rules, all of which tend to ‘normalize’ its members, to make them behave, to exclude spontaneous action or outstanding achievement ... Society has conquered the public realm and distinction and difference have become private matters of individual” (Arendt, 2005, p. 40-41). The social realm replaced action with behavior, and social behavior has become the standard for all regions of life. In this sense, it is not only the blurring of the distinction between the private and the public but also the transformation of the public into a sphere of necessities centered upon the activities to sustain life. In this light, Arendt calls modern communities societies of laborers and jobholders. The more the public is eroded under the embraced spaces of the social, the more our capacity for action and speech loses its quality. The so-called irrelevant becomes a private matter in the social because public significance is restricted to necessities. Hence, the difficulty with mass society is that “the world between its members has lost its power to gather them together, to relate and to separate them” (53). It is as if all people were members of one family so that the characteristics of what belonged to the private in the original sense have been carried to the public (Arendt, 1998, p. 41-58). Modern urbanism and its spatial configuration for leisure, work, home illustrates the socializing aspects of authentic spaces. Not only the public space has materialistically eroded, but the spatial activities of the inhabitant evolved to sustain life. Thus, for Arendt, the space of appearance can be constituted if we have plurality as a political relation. It “comes into being wherever men are together in the manner of speech and action . . . disappears not only with the dispersal of men but with the disappearance or arrest of the activities themselves” (Arendt, 1998, p. 199). This is a precondition for freedom as well. Because freedom in Arendt is not cannot be a political end to achieve. Rather it is the substance and

meaning of all things political. So that, “individual in his isolation is never free; he can become free only when he steps out into the polis and takes action there ... Its place of origin is never inside man, ... it is rather in the space between human beings, which can arise only when distinct individuals come together. Freedom has a space, and whoever is admitted into it is free; whoever is excluded is not free” (Arendt, 2005, p. 170). Spatially, the political enables it, for a common public space would meet a politically organized world, in which free men could insert themselves by word and deed. It is because, “without a politically guaranteed public realm, freedom lacks the worldly space to make its appearance” (Arendt, 1961, p. 149).

Thinking with Arendt, one cannot help but to question the challenge directed to the spaces of private, public, and emerging social, specifically in terms of modern dwelling. To prevent the alienation of the inhabitant, the city with its vast spaces requires common spheres in which a particular type of belonging becomes possible. This is to say in the Arendtian sense that a life without speech and action is dead, because it is no longer lived among men. The alienation of the modern dweller, hence, leads to his/her death, because in the isolation the dweller no longer internalizes action as an activity; but replaces it with mass-behaviorism, with predictability. Since it is not just “to live” that Arendt strikingly illustrates, but at the same time to live with action and speech among others. This is even existent with the early Roman language. As Arendt notes, they have used the words “to live” and “to be among men”; likewise, “to die” and “to cease to be among men” as synonyms (Arendt, 1998, p. 8). The space, for Arendt, thus has more meaning than mere occupation. Action and speech go on between men, they are mostly concerned with an in-between that varies with each group of people. In addition to their revealing character, most of the words and deeds are about some worldly reality. It is because the realm of human affairs consists of the web of human relationships which exists wherever men live together”. The relationship is at the same time decisive of the agent and with that of the act because according to Arendt, “the disclosure of the “who” through speech, and the setting of a new beginning through

action, always fall into an already existing web where their immediate consequences can be felt” (Arendt, 1998, p. 183-184). The occupation of the in-ness, in this sense, creates a variety of webs of relationships with new beginnings. The space of dwelling enhances its possibilities. Overall, for Arendt political action initiates the “space of appearance” that relates and separates individuals. It is the space where action and speech enable the unexpected and the new. As Dikeç analyzes, this “is also a medium, creating an order of relations between and a domain of experience for individuals in their distinctiveness and plurality” (Dikeç, 2012, p. 672).

Space is an essential aspect in the creation of worlds. What the Ancient Greeks lived was reproduced through the city-state in its spatial setting. Space in its use-value was imagined and lived in a state of becoming. In this regard, changing perceptions in spatial settings also reflect each society's political perceptions and practices. The equally important point is that these perceptions and practices continue to reproduce spaces. In this regard, space is enmeshed with power relations; it is produced and practiced on the axis of power. On the other hand, space constitutes the ground for political action and speech; the city as a socio-spatial structure actualizes this political existence. Through Foucault and Arendt, the political idea in space takes a more concrete ground, and for instance, the inhabitant of the modern city is crucially subjected to the possibilities and restrictions that these aspects in space constitute. Although the inhabitant ideally must become the producer in the city, the power axis of space often encloses and frames the practices of the inhabitant. Likewise, the appearance of the inhabitant for action and speech depends on the spatial possibility of the public sphere for plural and spontaneous encounters in togetherness.

* * *

To recapitulate, the chapter presented a discussion from empirical to social and political conceptions of space. The intellectual history of spatial theories displayed the lineage from Newton to Lefebvre with a changing discussion from physically

absolute, to social and dialectic conception of space. Accordingly, the idea that "space contains" in an absolute and physical form was contested by a groundbreaking turn that evoked the social dimension in spatial thought. So, space does contain; however, at the same time, it reciprocally constitutes. It constructs the praxis in subjectivities and is continually reconstructed by those experiencing it. The city is physically performed and conceptually designed. Yet, it is lived by the inhabitant who continues to adapt, disrupt, and recreate spatial moments in daily experience. Thus, Lefebvrian heritage of social space generated a crucial field of inquiry into the city as a socio-spatial structure. As a more concrete dimension of this condition, the idea of the political presented space as an axis of power and constitution in the praxis of the city and also as the public ground of visibility for the *zoon politikon*, the urban citizen. To elaborate further on the social and political in space and spatiality also depends on an understanding of the historical background of the modern city. Like the systemic production of space, the city as a reality has been historically produced and become a crucial determinant of capitalist restructuring. Although humans have lived in cities, our becoming modern city inhabitants has been a striking capitalist production through the conceptualized phenomena of "urbanization". The next chapter will elaborate on industrialization and urbanization to reveal the problematized essence through its historical production.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL FRAME

According to Eric Hobsbawm, the historian must reveal an understanding of the past and make sense of the changes that humans, institutions, and societies live because the past is “a permanent dimension of the human consciousness, an inevitable component of the institutions, values, and other patterns of human society” (Hobsbawm, 2013, p. 10). The ideas discussed in the theoretical framework, too, constitutes the historical heritage that paved the way for changes Hobsbawm emphasized. After all, as the history of ideas constructs traces of people who lived, experienced, and contemplated at different times, history reveals the framework in which these ideas are formed. In this regard, in critiquing the modern city as a spatially and temporally appropriated regulation, one must consider the phenomena as a historical product. Specifically, urbanization conceptualized and capitalized the city, and neoliberalization metropolised the city as a relatively recent phenomenon. As an important example of this phenomenon, Istanbul followed a similar path of modernization in the late 19th century and, eventually, became a metropolis following the neoliberalization process after the 1980s. Consequently, this chapter will elaborate on the historical journey in making the modernized concept-city. As the paradigm revealed itself through industrialization in the 19th century, the chapter will first present the entangled relationship between industrialization and urbanization. Then, concerning the subject matter of this work, the chapter will analyze the modernization process of Istanbul, starting from Ottoman modernization until the 1980s. From the 1980s onward, the neoliberalization and metropolisation of Istanbul will be discussed through the characteristics of liberalization, privatization, structural adjustment, and internationalization of the capital. The final discussion in the chapter will focus on the history of public transportation in Istanbul and clarify the path toward the production of the metrobus.

2.1. URBANISM AND INDUSTRIALIZATION: AN OVERVIEW

Thinking of the city historically, the Neolithic example of Catalhoyuk always comes to my mind. Settled more than 9000 years ago in Konya; Turkey, Catalhoyuk is believed to be an egalitarian Stone Age society. The houses were built back-to-back, they had roof access with ladders, and they were clustered together. Having no signs of any distinctive house and rooftops as effective streets have been seen as signs of an egalitarian form of urban living for almost 2000 years.¹ Having been fascinated by Catalhoyuk and probably will continue to be, my actual point, as Soja notes, is that the city as a historical-social-spatial phenomenon had a long journey from the Neolithic city of Catalhoyuk to the antique and medieval cities. In modern terms, each form of settled life laid down a heritage of “urban” experience. Socially and politically, they revealed practices, conducts, habituations so long as the city established itself as the basis of community. Because as Lefebvre rightfully states, “the development of society is conceivable only in urban life, through the realization of urban society” (Translated in Soja, 2003, p. 26). From a different angle, one could say that what made Socrates a “stinging fly” that woke the Athenian society up was not the means of Athenian democracy only. The socio-spatial organization of the city made everyday encounters an ordinary possibility for him. Athenian city-state spatially and temporally had not been regulated. The community's needs and the citizens' organic bonds produced the social space that was lived rather than consumed. In addition to his genuinely philosophical way of life, Socrates' encounters and examinations with ordinary citizens upon the streets, particularly in the Agora - at the heart of the Athenian city, were spatially and temporally possible. It reflected an association with subjects of common concern, implicating a common life. The lack of “everydayness” also enabled the city-state to constitute a plurality in socio-spatial practices. So, the question is whether encountering, debating, and questioning nature of the city-state, symbolized on Socrates' philosophical path, would remain the same if the city life had been spatially and practically structured as a much more closed system? Alternatively,

¹ For details see UNESCO Word Heritage, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1405/>.

the question is how the city as a socio-spatial community defines the life practices of everyday inhabitants.

Putting aside abstract questions, we can say that up until the Industrial Revolution, the city was already a reality in itself. Still, there have been some fundamental impacts of the industrialization process. So that as Soja notes, the insertion of a large-scale manufacturing industry into the city has been the primary trigger of the third Urban Revolution (Soja, 2000, p. 76). Although cities have long accumulated riches through commerce, the source of wealth has diversified. Landed property or agricultural production was degraded under emerging urban capitalists enriched by commerce, banking, and usury. In fact, “the country and the institutions that regulate their relations tended to constitute themselves as network of cities, in which cities overall were linked through roads, seaways and commercial relations”. We began to live under the network of cities, so long, cities overall were linked through roads, seaways, and commercial relations. Time brought a symbiotic relation between urbanization and industrialization processes on a vast scale. The scope was extended so deeply that industrialism was defined as a fundamentally urban mode of production (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 66-67). As the cities gained autonomy from nature’s whims, the process continued with increasing populations. Space, too, has been made in different ways. Because rational configuration in the city established a particular spatial order and efficiency, embodied in planning, zoning, and regulation. Thus, the city as an entity spans the characteristics of modern social and economic structures. For instance, according to Simmel, modernization of cities also required exact and integrated ways of control over space. Traffic signals were the emblematic way of it. Likewise, the money economy changed the outlook of the property so that valorization has moved toward the commercial zones in modern cities. Matthew Gandy, on the other hand, with an analysis of Baron Haussmann’s technocratic reworking of the French capital fabric in 19th century Paris, revealed more profound implications of Parisian sewer construction. This has been a much more complex process of cultural change as cities and citizens began to embrace industrial capitalism's scientific, technological, and economic fruits. For “the

growing scientific and technological sophistication of the built environment necessarily alters our relation with nature and the organic world ... since the subterranean environment is not only a technological construct, but also ‘a mental landscape, a social terrain, and an ideological map’” (Pile, 2005, p. 18; Gandy, 1998, p. 24). Although powerful planners, administrators, architects, and politicians of modern cities often structure the space to advance the state ideology of consumer capitalism, outcomes surpass such scientific and technocratic intentions.

[L]andscape represents an historically specific way of experiencing the world developed by, and meaningful to, certain social groups. Landscape ... is an ideological concept. It represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature (Cosgrove cited in Kong, 2008, p. 15-16).

In this light, progress reveals more profound implications than mere technological developments. As Lefebvre writes, progress is an optimistic idea, and it often lacks dialectical understanding. Our lives genuinely have progressed and most visibly on a material basis (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 229). At the same time, the perception of progress generated an urban consciousness which equivalent the discussion of why landscape is an ideological concept. However, as Eric Hobsbawm states, the world before industrial revolution had been much limited in every scale. Even the word “urban” was ambiguous. Back in the 1789 it included only two of the European cities that met the current usage of the concept in scale, London which had more or less a million population and Paris which amounted only about a half million (Hobsbawm, 1996, p. 11). Thus, among other things that paved the way for the Industrial Revolution, the population boom had a rather genuine impact on the birth and rise of the urban. As Hobsbawm called it was a “rapid general increase in population”. As Britain’s previous agricultural change preceded the industrial revolution, population rise followed because industrialized economy needed labor and the source of this need had been the “former non-industrial sector ... in the

form of immigration”. These were the first stages in rising labor power for petty the producers (Hobsbawm, 1996, p. 47-48).

A striking analysis in the matter is presented by Fredrich Engels from the 18th century urbanization of England. Engels’s observations regarding the working class in England reveals the interrelation between industrialization and urbanization at first-hand. Engels successfully traces the beginning of cotton industry from 1770 onwards. In his words, “by 1834 nearly a million and a half human beings were supported by this branch”. In fact, Engels gives us the very first example of the power of industry for the modernizing city. Lancashire, according to Engels, has been the origin of the cotton industry, and overall, it has transformed the entire country into a “busy, lively region, multiplying its population tenfold in eighty years and causing giant cities such as Liverpool and Manchester” (Engels, 2010, p. 313). By 1830, there were nearly 100 steam-powered textile factories in Manchester, and once the large cotton warehouses and the new factories were established, the inner city became much denser. These cities became the take-off zones of industrialization because wealth accumulation went hand in hand with urbanization. The urban mode of production simultaneously revealed the spatial segregation of the emerging new classes. On the one hand, manufacturing concentrated wealth upon the city, and on the other, the wealth of the emerging industrial city was bestowed upon the few. For Engels, the population had risen drastically since manufactory demanded workers more than ever; the small village had grown into a town and a town into a larger scaled-city. The result was great cities such as Liverpool or London monopolizing the commerce of England. The wealth and human power were concentrated, yet this was not equivalent to the entire population. The proletariat had been the central human power of this wealth; still, they were both physically and socially peripheral to the city life. The class division had been intensified within the spatial organization of the great cities. “Workers and the reserve army in the densest and most haphazardly jumbled inner zone, the new "middle-class" bourgeoisie settled in the more regularly gridded second ring, and the upper bourgeoisie in a suburban commuting zone of gardenized villas and

countryside estates” (Soja, 2000, p. 81). Class segregation, concentration of the masses and the exclusion of workers from central spaces of the city life also masked the diversity among inhabitants:

The hundreds of thousands of all classes and ranks crowding past each other, are they not all human beings with the same qualities and powers, and with the same interest in being happy? And have they not, in the end, to seek happiness in the same way, by the same means? And still they crowd by one another as though they had nothing in common, nothing to do with one another, and their only agreement is the tacit one, that each keep to his own side of the pavement (Engels, 2010, p. 329).

Engels elaborates on the new social condition of insecurity, mobility, poverty, and exclusion. Great cities had been great in capital accumulation, yet this was due to new divisions and isolations. Even though Engels highlighted the conditions of the working class, he also examined the everyday experience of urbanization. His discussions concerning city life give much more to think about. Especially to us, modern inhabitants of metropolises, because what he saw in the emerging industrialization of the city warns for a new way of daily conduct in these great cities. The atomization of society:

The brutal indifference, the unfeeling isolation of each in his private interest, becomes the more repellent and offensive, the more these individuals are crowded together, within a limited space. And however much one may be aware that this isolation of the individual, this narrow self-seeking, is the fundamental principle of our society everywhere... The dissolution of mankind into monads, of which each one has a separate principle, the world of atoms, is here carried out to its utmost extreme (Engels, 2010, p. 329).

Urbanization marks clustered isolation. Just like the tacit agreement on walking through an organized pavement, the industrial city aggregates ordinary inhabitants through their socio-economic concerns and establishes growing barriers between

them. It must be noted that for Marx and Engels, the historical process could be achieved in these modernizing cities. In other words, the interrelation between industrialization and urbanization would make modern cities public spaces of class confrontation. Nevertheless, Engels' concern with the human experience and the cultural meaning of the modern city placed urban life as something more than an analysis of economic categories. One of them was the contradictory tendencies of capitalism embedded in the modern city. Engels calls it a "social war" in which "the stronger treads, the weaker underfoot". These cities have been the centers of both wealth and poverty, luxury, and degradation. Slums of poverty were placed close to rich palaces, yet they remained invisible as a separate territory, almost removed from the sight of the upper classes. More importantly, dwellings of the working class have been degrading. Houses were poorly built with limited living spaces in irregularity. Streets, on the other hand, had often been dirty and unpaved. High in numbers, significant crowds of people lived and spent their daily activities within small and limited spaces of poverty. Hence, the proletariat had been physically and socially peripheral, yet they had also been central to city life as a workforce. Engels' observations of industrialized city life reflected class divisions based on spatial configuration. However, their exclusion from the public spaces of city life has masked this diversity (Engels, 2010, p. 329-331; Ellison, 1983, p. 399-401).

Within the emerging industrial city, on the one hand, economic conditions determined living conditions on a spatial basis, and on the other, existing configuration reproduced and/or restructured its own spatial relations. Invisible barriers continued to establish diversities. This was very much related to the economic categories, yet with Engels, we also understand its meaning through social experience. To the question regarding the spatial organization of the city, we may claim that human activity is accordingly organized. As Engels has recognized, the Industrial Revolution did not only mark the beginning of an economic restructuring, but also a spatial one. This implies the appropriation of the industrial logic to the society as a whole, something more than materialistic appropriation. Lefebvre's definition of "urban fabric" clarifies the process of complete

urbanization. It supports the degraded form of the urban way of life, the urban society. Simply put, urban life penetrates the countryside, establishing complete urbanization with its objects and values through the urban fabric. In other words, from cars to fashion, from television to modernized furniture, industrialization extended its effects on a global scale and transformed village life as well. It is the domination of the city over the country. In Lefebvre's words, "the urban fabric grows, extends its borders, corrodes the residue of agrarian life ... as this global process of industrialization and urbanization was taking place, the large cities exploded, giving rise to growths of dubious value" (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 4). Consequently, the aspects of industrialization and urbanization define an inseparable process insofar as the capital represents itself in the built environment, as a physical landscape created in its own image. "Where there is a pre-existent network of old cities, industry assails it. It appropriates this network and refashions it according to its needs" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 70). So, smaller cities or provinces have almost become dependencies of metropolises. Like the general trend which valorizes the city center and de-valorizes the peripheries, this image has been revoked with demographic changes, gentrification, and overall changing lifestyles and values. Harvey highlights that modern cities have growingly produced marginalization, disempowerment, alienation, and degradation. A trend that has been worsened compared to early industrialized examples. In his words, "in the late nineteenth century, the bourgeoisie at least had some notion that cities were important places and, therefore, that urban reform was necessary" (Harvey, 1997, p. 17). We, in fact, saw examples of such reforming attempts. One of them was the Garden City presented by urban theorist Ebenezer Howard.

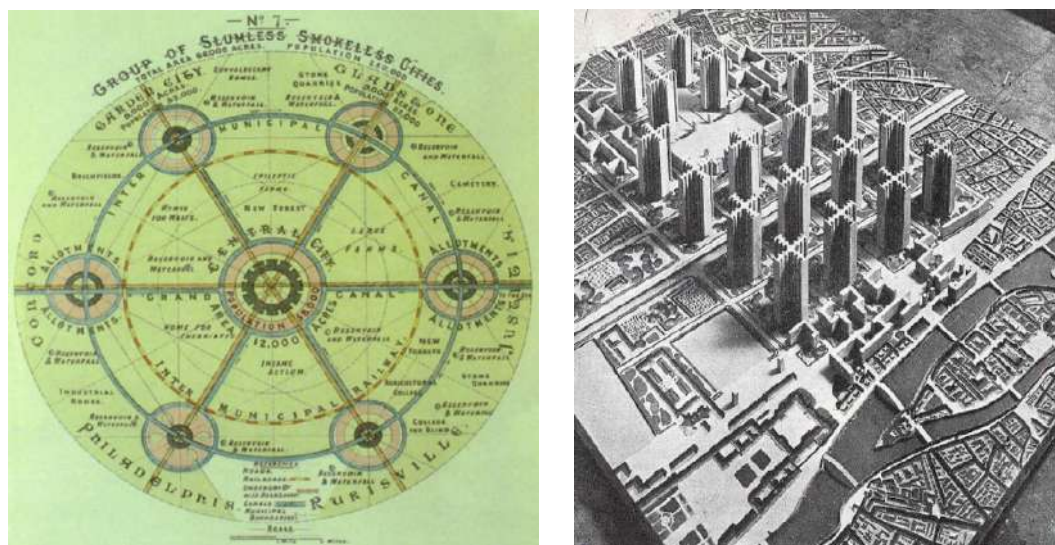
What Howard saw in late nineteenth-century London was a series of wrongs, especially in terms of the living conditions of the poor. Diversity and inequality for Howard were, at the same time, an urban phenomenon. Hence, his understanding of change was inevitably urban. As a solution The Garden City has foreseen the decentralization of the city into groupings of 32.000 people, each confined by an agricultural greenbelt. The town and the countryside in this structure have been

combined as a new urban form. Thus, he aimed to restructure the city's spatial organization in harmony with nature. Because for Howard, what has also been unhealthy was the detachment of the city residents from nature. Hence, clustered garden cities would make up a “social city” with self-sufficient small towns surrounded by a greenbelt and large areas of land reserved for agriculture. Industry in this structure was to be in its planned preserves. Between the belt and the city center, there were forests and parks and residential and commercial properties. Finally, the center contained cultural places held in common. Briefly, it was a green and harmonious city that has been composed of rings upon a vivid center of common use. The public authority was to control the town. The right of municipal ownership of the land and the greenbelt was inalienable. This was designed to prevent speculations in land use. He wanted to “prevent it from ever becoming a city” (18). In Jane Jacobs’ words, “Howard set spinning powerful and city-destroying ideas” because he thought that to deal with the functions of the city, one had to separate and eliminate all specific-simple uses and arrange them in “relative self-containment”. Howard focused on the provision of healthy housing and conceived trade as a regular, standardized supply of goods to serve a self-limiting market (Jacobs, 1961, p. 18-19). Some argued that Howard’s ultimate aim was to establish a synthesis of capitalism and socialism. Instead of pitting labor against the capital, he aimed at social individualism, whose hallmark was a new socioeconomic form of cooperation. While “Howard hoped the Garden City would spawn cooperative economic enterprises, he advocated maximum individual control over use of individual parcels within the broad outline of the plan” (Richert & Lapping, 1998, p. 126). However, decentralized designs became a guide in dealing constructively with the big cities themselves.

In time, the dream of great cities created recipes that were devised to undermine them. Hence, plans and paradigms for emerging industrial city generated almost an “anti-city” theme in thought and in practice. In Jacobs' words, “the man with the most dramatic idea of how to get all this anti-city planning right into the citadels of iniquity themselves was the European architect Le Corbusier”. Radically different

than Garden City, Le Corbusier's vision foresaw mainly skyscrapers constructed within a park. The irony is that while decentralists and their Garden City were radically different from the Radiant City, Le Corbusier constructed his dream of limitless individual liberty from the image of the Garden City. For Jacobs this was nothing but "liberty from ordinary responsibility... – nobody was going to be tied down". He worked to make the city life more practical for high densities, an initiation of a functioning planning paradigm with super-blocks and project neighborhoods. His approach was an extension of his former Plan Voisin and aimed for a more rational urban environment. Radiant City had a vertical architecture, and almost everything was planned to be symmetrical and standardized. The automobile had become an integral part of the scheme with dedicated routes. There was a business district at the center, and it was connected to residential and commercial zones via underground transit. As Jacobs notes, his city "looked like a wonderful mechanical toy" with bold symbolism. Despite the cries of the decentralists and advocates of the Garden City for extensive institutionalization, mechanization, and depersonalization; the Radiant City have become almost irresistible to planners and designers of modern urbanization (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 21-23).

Figure 6: The Garden City (left) and the Radiant City (right).



Whereas at the beginning of the 20th century, the city had still an importance for efficient organization of life; the second half of the century increasingly witnessed

the loss of such concerns. Just like Le Corbusier's rational designation, things seemed to be settled under capital-based functionality. For Harvey, "capital no longer concerned about the city and the coalition between big capital and bourgeois reformism has disappeared" (Harvey, 1997, p. 18). Another change has been upon the economic role of cities. It is no longer the case for industrialization, no longer about the large-scale manufacturing. On the one hand, it is due to the rise in postindustrial service sector and on the other the decentralization of production to peripheral regions. If we add the emerging new technologies, then it is possible to say that big cities have become vivid centers for various activities of the service sector. Ready to take off for the needs of consumers, they have become important commercial centers and heartlands for international corporations with all sorts of expertise and specialization. Hence, from conventional "land, labor, capital" triplite; it has shifted into a kind of a hub for the mixed activities of global flow of the capital (Amin, 2003, p. 116-119). The so-called urban reality restructures the experience of the urban and ironically what happens to be the reality nowadays have become nearly the only way for us to comprehend our surroundings. Existing structures shape our mentality, but they also shape our ability to think or imagine of alternatives. On May 1 demonstrations in London, 2000; a protester had a banner, which has become quite popular ever since: "Replace Capitalism with Something Nice!" A cry for "something nice" against an apparently defaulted system tragically reveals how a systemic reality can become an ultimate for the life and for the mind. In this light, what Le Corbusier's Radiant City added to the system was its missing idea of a reality for an architectural basis, and what this basis gave to the system was an end to establish a harmony between economy, polity, and city-life as the modern reality. An end that has transformed the societal, the very idea of togetherness. So that, even today, when we think of the problems of the urban condition, unintentionally we find ourselves as rationalists searching solutions to what appears to be functional problems. The Garden City as a utopia, precisely, for this reason, is notable. Even though it gave rise to a fundamentally different ideal, and its seemingly communitarian aspects are also open to criticism, its existence must be remembered as an anti-systemic alternative. Having said that, the next

chapter will take Istanbul as its subject and will track her story briefly, through the history of globalizing modernity.

2.2. ISTANBUL: A CITY OF HERITAGE

Located on the Bosphorus Strait, Istanbul has a long political, cultural, and strategic history. For 1,500 years, it had been the capital of the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman Empires. To that end, it also had been a significant cultural-commercial capital. The city's long history with its genuine geographic landmark made it a home for thousands of years of intersections. Even today, a wanderer would surely see the city's cultural diversity; the surviving fragments lay together upon streets, different layers of history are hidden beneath the foundations of buildings, and they are all accompanied by global lifestyles. Istanbul was the European Cultural Capital in 2010. Being born and raised in Istanbul, I can frankly say that a day spent in the historical peninsula or vivid streets of central districts or across the Bosphorus makes you witness the colorful soul of the city. But one can also detect the actualization of Radiant City's skyscraper utopia. Although lacking its calculative order, Istanbul has been through a series of rapid transformation projects in the past two decades. The reorganization of consumer spaces accompanied the housing development. On the one hand, these projects grew the concretion in the city and, on the other, severely damaged the city's cultural texture. Gentrified districts, enormous blocks of buildings, residential compounds, and increasing consumer spaces like shopping malls had all their share in this transformation. The nostalgia reveals itself through the circulation of photos belonging to the "old Istanbul". The old heritage continues to transform, but the problem has been its rapidity. If we start its story with early modernization attempts in the Ottoman Empire, what Istanbul has become in one century does not have the chance to compete with what happened only in a couple of decades with the dominance of neoliberal policies. To that end, the globalizing modernity in Istanbul can be analyzed within two periods by taking the 1980s as a milestone. Hence, this chapter will first summarize its urbanization process and then present the effects of neoliberal policies starting from 1980 onward.

2.2.1. Early Modernizing Attempts

As Murat Gül notes, up until the mid-19th century, Istanbul had been somewhat chaotic, overcrowded, and poorly administered. But starting from there and through governmental implementations for modernization, Istanbul too began to improve. In a consumerist fashion, the city was already an important port for trade; however, increasing commercial transactions between the Ottomans and foreign powers generated the need to improve central and infrastructural regulations. Then, the state prepared some important planning proposals, and for instance, the economic center was moved from the traditional marketplace to European-style commercial buildings in Galata. This was followed by increasing Western-style shops for different sorts of imported goods and entertainment. New buildings for banks, hotels, clubs, restaurants and even apartments have been established, but these were limited to districts like Galata and Pera. Istanbul did not have the opportunity to modernize as a strategic port city in its entirety. In other words, as the imperial power resided, Istanbul obeyed rules other than purely capital in logic. This, as Keyder points out, had to do with the Empire's weak economic foundations. So, in terms of cultural-commercial diversity, Istanbul was rich, and as a port city, it was strategically located. Yet, compared with other 19th century urban centers, it did not reach an architectural-environmental durability created by the bourgeoisie accumulation. Districts like Galata and Pera, where mostly foreigners and socio-economically rising non-Muslims resided, became "other sides" compared with the city's old neighborhoods (Keyder, 2007, pp. 12-13). Nevertheless, in 1855, the Ottoman Empire established its first municipality in Istanbul, with a mayor appointed by the Sultan and a city council consisting of 12 representatives. Tasks undertaken by the municipality were regulating and collecting the taxes, cleaning the city, and repairing and constructing the roads. This was followed by the establishment of a fire department and regulations on transportation. The most ambitious of them was the famous Karakoy-Galata railway tunnel designed by French engineer Eugene Henri Gavand in 1875 (Gül, 2009, p. 43-52). These attempts did not create a large-scale urban autonomy for Istanbul. Like the spirit of

modernization, Istanbul, too, was being regulated from the top-down. Economically, the lack of exports evolved the city into a consumerist style. In Karpat's words, Istanbul became a semi-colonial post for exchanging goods.

Figure 7: Istanbul from Galata tower: 1850s and 1875 respectively(<http://www.eskiistanbul.net/>).



Through the centers like Galata and Pera, life in Istanbul has been dominated by Europe. Culturally, preservationist reactions prevented improvements from being embraced by locals. The dichotomy between the shops and goods of Pera and old neighborhoods, hence, the dichotomy of lifestyles became explicit. Yet, Istanbul's growth continued. The city's population rose from 359.000 in 1829 to 895.000 in 1884; from that, it grew to 1,116,946 in 1897; and finally, by the First World War, namely between 1914-1916, it was 1,600,000 (Karpat, 1985, p. 95-103). Drastic demographic changes starting from the mid-19th century have not been coincidental. Like Engels' analyses, these resulted from trade growth and expansion of economic opportunities after the Crimean and 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War. Capital flow was accompanied by skill flow. Additionally, emigration from the Caucasus and the Balkans began to transform the city into a center of culture and enterprise. New businesses that the entrepreneurs establish attracted poor people and peasants, creating a kind of working class in the city. The entire population of

Istanbul went through a substantial change in terms of ethnic, social, and religious composition in the 19th century. By the middle of the century, the people of Istanbul were living in 455 neighborhoods. While 318 of them were located inside the city, 137 were located outside the city walls. According to Karpat, sources indicate that the number of immigrants increased from 30,000 in 1880 to 200,000 in 1906 (Karpat, 2015).

With the establishment of the republic, modernization as a significant policy has been chiefly reflected in city life. Like their ancestors, Kemalist elites' top-down modernization program inevitably required the reorganization of urban spaces under the new secular order. As the newly established capital, Ankara has become the symbol of modern and secular lifestyles. In contrast, Istanbul's "cul-de-sacs, crooked street pattern, timber buildings and cosmopolitan character, symbolized the physical and social corruption and degradation of the old system". The goal was to modernize the city, and to that end, urban planner Henri Prost was invited. Prost aimed to create wide boulevards to connect the city's major centers with a modernized transportation system consisting of viaducts, bridges, and tunnels. In line with the Kemalist ideology, public spaces in Prost's plan aimed for secularization by transforming former public squares that had mostly been formed around mosques. Ideologically driven as a top-down regulation, Prost's plan had been evaluated as more of a beautification sort of modernization (Gül & Lamb, 2004, p. 61,74). Due to economic difficulties, they could not all be implemented; nevertheless, new apartment blocks started to reorganize the city along Taksim, Harbiye, Macka, Nisantasi, and Sisli. On the Anatolian side, permanent residential areas have been established between Kadikoy and Pendik with the development of Kiziltoprak, Goztepe, Erenkoy, Bostanci, Maltepe, and Suadiye. Until the Second World War, Ankara was the new capital's hold over the national economy, so industrialization attempts did not focus on Istanbul. As Ankara became the symbol of modernized national identity and unity, the imperial capital of the Ottoman and the Califate, Istanbul, was disgraced. There had been three decades of economic

expansion through the post-war economic parameters, which were based upon a national development through state-protected import-substituting industrialization.

From 1950 to 1970, Istanbul became the primary locus of a new generation of large-scale private manufacturing enterprises, encouraged through financial incentives and state-imposed quotas and tariffs. So that, by 1973, 44% of all private manufacturing establishments employing more than ten workers were in Istanbul, which indicated overall 51% total employment in the entire private industry (Keyder & Öncü, 1994, p. 395). These developments brought new immigration flows to the city. This was also related to the transition to agricultural production and increasing mechanization. As traditional farmer classes began to disintegrate, new job opportunities for the large numbers of migrants were required. But Turkey's capital accumulation was not adequate for large-scale investments in infrastructure or housing. Istanbul inevitably began to experience the emergence of urban slums and the expansion of peripheral neighborhoods characterized by petty commerce and small manufacturers. (Tekeli, 2010, p. 36). As the population increased from such flows, pressures for new demands emerged. After the 1970s, the construction of bridges over the Bosphorus and their associated peripheral highways provided the background for developing a multi-centered city. As the periphery areas were increasingly transforming into slums or shanty dwellings, the urbanized middle class was getting "apartmentized". The density of urban settlement was increasing, and as a practical strategy, "property development" (yapsat) was introduced. Instead of individually licensed constructions on individually owned parcels, this strategy enabled multiple licenses on a singular parcel of land. Hence it was possible to share the expenditures. A small-scaled contractor was purchasing the land from its owners in exchange for several apartments and was constructing multi-story apartments. The remaining apartments in the building were being placed on the market. It was a simple win-win strategy with rapidity, and it contributed to the density of apartment settlements. It became a practical strategy for the scarcity of settlement against rising demands. The government introduced a similar spontaneous transportation solution to cope with

the population. Increasing demand for transportation produced “minibus” services that were initiated by small-scaled entrepreneurs at the service of groups with low and middle income. They became popular, and since local authorities did not have sufficient sources to enlarge public transportation, they embraced minibuses by regulating their routes and stations (Tekeli, 2009, p. 17). Until the 1980s, urbanization showed similar patterns, the spread of the city along roads and highways, high density in the urban settlement, and the shifting of central business areas towards neighborhoods with high income.

Tekeli defines the process as populist modernization and according to him three factors had been influential. The first is the restructuring of the Istanbul’s central business districts, the second is the new distribution of industry, and the third is the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge and ring roads. These have been essential steps in the city’s socio-spatial restructuring, and as discussed, these have mainly been reflected in accommodation regulations and the population boom. For Gül and Lamb, neither the early republican plans nor Prost’s urban project foresaw such trends in immigration. In fact, these modernizing plans were based on the discouragement of rural emigration to the cities since they avoided even the consideration of flux of emigrants to Istanbul. Because to accommodate these groups in line with the norms of the modernity project, it was necessary to make significant investments in housing and urban infrastructures. However, Turkey's capital accumulation processes were far from realizing such an investment in this period. As Tekeli analyzes, the state needed to cheapen urbanization costs. This could have created adequate job opportunities for those who came to the city; hence, the development of the slum has become one way to do it. Urban elites could not create a new framework of legitimacy compatible with the capacities of those who came and settled in the city. Modernity, in their perspective, had a certain apprehension that did not allow such regulations. The imminent solution was to send these groups back to the village. However, the impracticality of this idea became clear in time, and instead, the state decided to develop zoning amnesties (imar affi). These amnesties did not bring a new framework of legitimacy to the

slums; they merely amnestied their emergence that occurred at a particular time and place. With the development of industrialization in Istanbul, new waves of immigration began. Consequently, the distribution of industry and the distribution of slum areas were parallel. The first slums started in Zeytinburnu. Mecidiyeköy, Kuştepe and Gültepe slums provided labor to the Levent and Bomonti industrial zones. The first significant slum development around Kadıköy was in Fikirtepe, which would later become one of the most critical and controversial zones of urban transformation. The numbers also reveal the trend because the declining population of Istanbul after the two World Wars rose from 938,000 in 1950 to 1,467,000 in 1960; and it had increased from 2,849,000 in 1970 to 4,643,000 in 1980 – which was 10.4% of the entire population (Gül & Lamb, 2004, p. 77; Tekeli, 2015).

2.2.2. Neoliberal Urbanization after 1980

Conceptually, neoliberalism is frequently used and studied with an emphasis on market-based institutional and management changes, especially after the 1980s. In general, the concept has been adopted to describe the organizational, political, and ideological regulation of capitalism imposed through the institutionalization of free-market doctrines. Notably, neoliberalism, rather than state withdrawal, produces a complex restructuring of state-economic relations in which state institutions are actively mobilized to promote market-based regulation (Brenner & Theodore, 2005, p. 102). Therefore, this study uses neoliberalism as policy orientations and regulations realized through decisive state intervention to expand market mechanisms because as an on-going process neoliberalization has also been significantly urbanized. Recent studies on cities indicate the importance of the city in neoliberal discussions² and one may consider global urban discourses a significant example because they reflect the urban ideology of neoliberal globalization. The cities of both early capitalist and late capitalist countries have developed many large urban projects to achieve the economic success indicated by

² For a detailed discussion on neoliberalism and the city, see Pinson & Journal 2016, Peck et al. 2007, Harvey 2007, Brenner & Theodore 2002, and Gough 2002.

this discourse, attract capital, and create the necessary structural environment to become an international tourism and finance center. During the preparation process, the urban planning system has been flexibly reformed, and public-private partnerships were established. Instead of public concerns, these rearrangements growingly focused on the private sector in practice. Cities have been advertised and marketed like any other commodity in capitalist society (Öktem, 2006, pp. 55-56).

In this light, what happened after the 1980s in Istanbul can also be understood as a process both under economic liberalization and globalization. Some key aspects of the process have been liberalization, privatization, structural adjustment, and internationalization of the capital. From investment areas to consumption patterns, the lines of the material world started to be drawn by the logic of the capital, which increasingly integrated itself into the trends of globalization. This created tension between the social space, a commonly shared aspect of societal relations, and the urban space that established itself as a means of accumulation. The state, throughout the process, acted like an entrepreneur that aimed to manage the capitalist market. Hence public and private actors both produced policies and approaches of “competitiveness” and “entrepreneurism” for cities and regions. In this light, the spirit of “growth” attributed utmost importance to spatial transformation for local development. Economic liberalization also meant attracting foreign capital, and as the population concentrated on the Western coast, Istanbul once again became an important investment area. Istanbul regained most of its functions that were lost during earlier eras. Throughout the 80s, it received the highest state finance since the early Republican period. Examples of the phenomena lay within the policies of governing parties after the 1980 Coup D’état. The Motherland Party (ANAP) promised a market model free of government intervention that would reward initiatives. Their divergence from rural discourses attracted the urban marginal who could dream of making something of it. The first example of these attractive initiatives came with the residential property market. ANAP governance allowed shantytown dwellers to convert their houses into multi-story apartments, which gave them significant wealth. Such high hopes in generating self-made men were

successful enough to cover for declining wages of the workers and worsening the income distributions, but as Keyder and Öncü note, this has been the essence of urban populism as practiced by ANAP (Keyder & Öncü, 1994, p. 399; Ünsal & Türkün, 2014, p. 21-22).

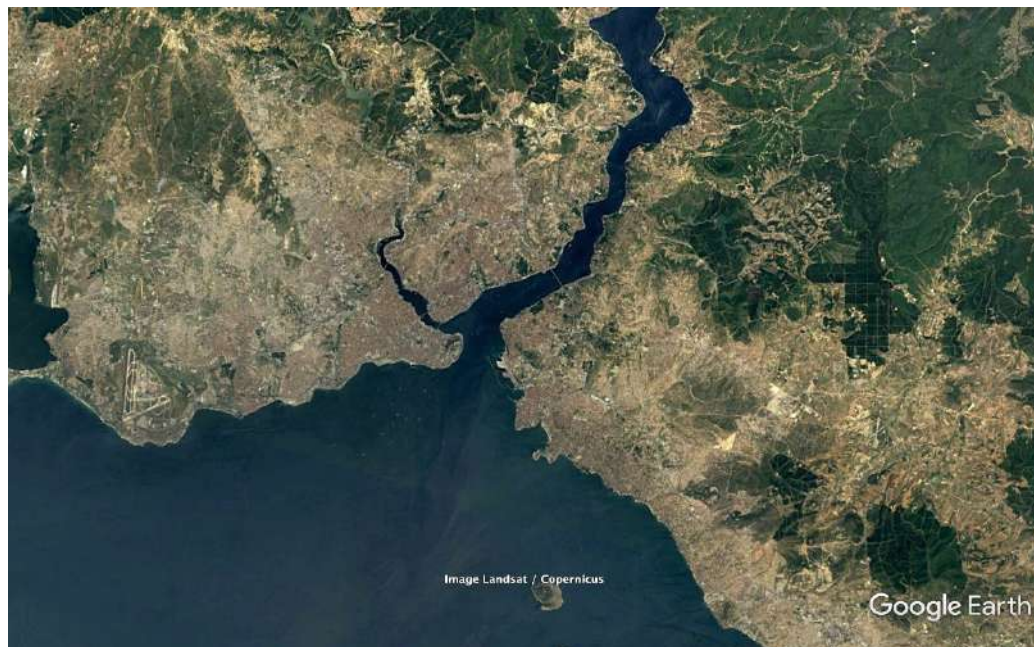
The spirit has been making Istanbul a global city. Although the primary lines of these projects have been in real estate and tourism, they were initial attempts at Istanbul's integration with the global capital. To that end, the government established a two-tier metropolitan system. In 1984 ANAP presented a modification to centralize metropolitan functions under the mayor's authority for Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. The date also marks the rise of mayors as influential political figures. The first mayor of the new system was Bedrettin Dalan (ANAP), and in line with the global city projections, Dalan initiated a series of projects that embraced privatization. These included luxurious offices, residential compounds, hotels, and shopping malls (Swiss and Ciragan hotels, Akmerkez, and Galeria), making of Buyukdere-Maslak axis an international finance center (later, it shifted to the Zincirlikuyu-Maslak axis), planning another one in Altunizade, the establishment of luxurious residential projects alongside the Bosphorus and the green peripheral areas of the city. It has marked the beginning of a significant socio-spatial transformation because Dalan also initiated restructuring projects for cultural consumption. Some of them have been the demolition of 19th-century neighborhoods, replacement of old and small-scaled manufacturers from central districts, and touristic beautification of the historical peninsula. Another aspect of this process has been allocating increasing tax revenues to municipal administrations. In 1983, a total of 6.4% of tax revenues of the local governments accelerated to 13.3% in 1990. For Istanbul, national taxes and foreign credits became an important source. Between 1983 and 1989 the amount was 900 million dollars, and the entire developmental logic of global capitalism gave Istanbul an annual population rise of over 300.000 (Öktem, 2006, p. 57; Keyder. 2007, p. 25-26).

Although it has been debated often in recent years, the TOKI (Mass Housing Development Administration) was established in this era. The singular establishment of apartments and their integration within urban settlement was directed through small-scaled contractors. After the 1980s, the spreading of the urban area belonged to strong actors and large-scale corporations. Hence, growth was achieved with new institutional regulations, and the mass housing model has been very effective. During the 80s, it functioned as a fund to subsidize lower-middle-income housing as Mass Housing Funding. Its primary task was financing. Namely, as a central agent, it is designed to encourage private initiative in housing construction. The fund became a significant category of preferential credit during the 80s so that a considerable amount of potential house owners had no recourse except the fund. Most of the beneficiaries have been the so-called fixed-income groups. They often joined cooperatives of high-rise apartment dwellings. These groups were mainly located around the newly constructed highways or on the periphery. However, in the following years, the “public good” was neglected, and the Fund’s projections were directed to the middle classes instead of low-income groups (Türkün et al, 2014, p. 93-94; Keyder & Öncü, 1994, p. 403-404).

As becoming Turkey’s showcase in the global arena, Istanbul indeed became an internationalized and innovative trade region; however, structural problems in continuity also dates to this era, to the neoliberal and globalizing policies of 1980s. What Dalan neglected had been the people intensified with increasing fluxes of migrations. Istanbul became an attraction for capital and investments, but the cost has been negligence of the public good and the people’s expectations. Increasing residential and business skyscrapers, new living and consumer spaces that generate important discussions upon gentrification and spatial differentiation have been landmarks of this process. For instance, gated housing compounds emerged during this era and became a significant trend in the housing market. The self-contained, privatized, and separate communities promised security and exclusivity. Initial ones have been in Gokturk-Kemberburgaz to the north and Bahcesehir-Buyukcekmece to the south. Today they can be found in almost all districts due to mass urban

transformation projects. The interesting thing is that, after Dalan, Istanbul first had a social democrat mayor and then three more from Islamist-conservative spectrum until recent elections; yet, the prominent understanding of urbanization in all cases continued to feed itself from similar tendencies. For instance, although Sözen had been skeptical of globalization, his impact had been minimal. The Social Democrat Party too embraced the economic policies of the globalization project, but through a weak attempt, they tried to combine them with social policies. To that end, Sözen's era had also been somewhat disappointing. However, he halted some major urban projects to start a financial investigation, which generated discontent among the central ANAP government and the capital. The most famous example is the partial demolition of the Park Hotel below eight floors from the already constructed eighteen floors. For being a failed attempt at a third way, Sözen could neither please the advocates of globalization nor the people in search of an alternative way of urbanization (Öktem, 2006, p. 57; Keyder, 2007, p. 25-26).

Figure 8: Satellite images of Istanbul taken in 1985, 2002 and 2020, respectively (Google Earth).





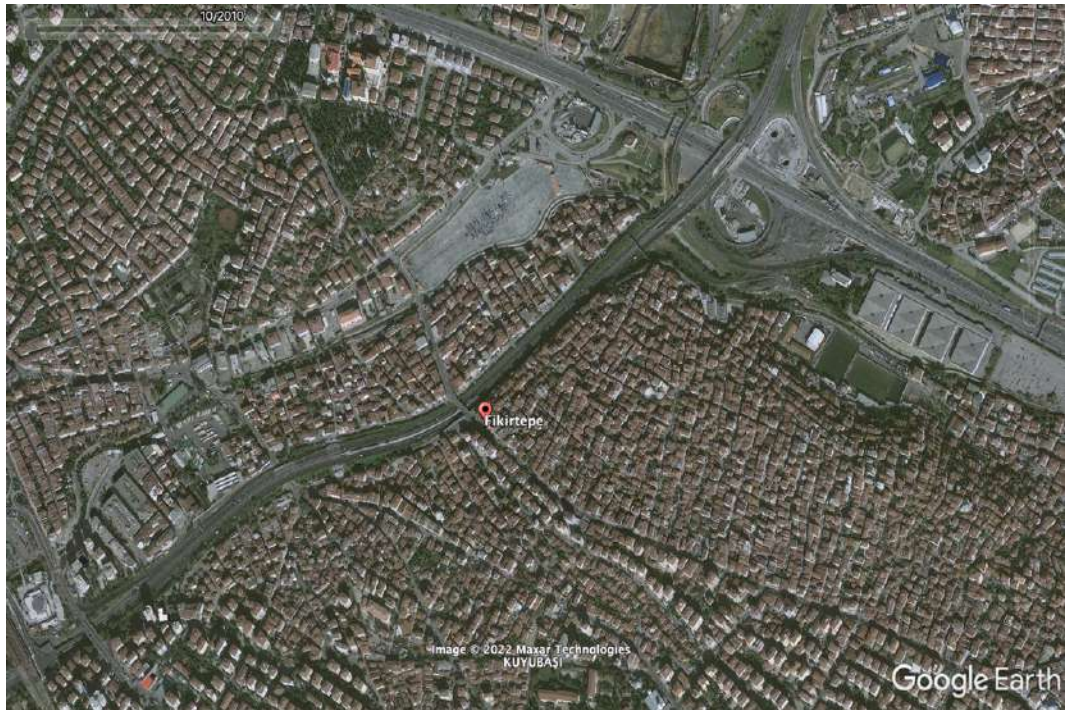
The 1994 local elections have also been a landmark because, starting with Recep Tayyip Erdoğan from the Welfare Party of the time, similar cadres have governed Istanbul from the rightist-Islamist spectrum for more than two decades. Although Welfare Party's national and local success has been chiefly associated with their famous rhetoric for a “just order” (*adil düzen*) and development, the case of Istanbul revealed a relatively quick shift from developmental to a free-market model with a

transparent privatization strategy. The vision of Istanbul as a global city and the initiation of necessary spatial arrangements have been prevalent ideas. The urban transformation has been the main instrument to achieve these visions and policies. For instance, Welfare Party presented the Taksim-Dolapdere project in 1998. The project was first discussed by the ANAP government. It aimed to create an international business center in the area, yet the Welfare Party lacked the necessary support of the capital and thus could not proceed. Another one was presented by Ali Müfik Gürtuna of the Felicity Party in 1999 as a mega transformation project for Istanbul. Even though it also lacked the necessary support, the project targeted the year 2023 and envisioned a large-scale urban transformation, a Eurasia corridor, green corridors from north to south, an informatics valley, etc. Following the victory of the AKP government, all the necessary economic and political support was met. So that according to the AKP, the future of Turkey was dependent on the future of Istanbul, and to that end, Istanbul had to be a global city strong enough to compete with others. This required the improvement of touristic, economic, financial, and cultural sectors. Simply put, entrepreneurship, marketing, local development, strategic planning, and urban transformation have been essential for the AKP government. So urban transformation projects in Istanbul were not initiated merely for flagship projects, but they were enlarged by targeting slums and ameliorating construction plans. TOKI's authority has been enhanced, and it has become the leading actor in transformation projects. For public and private actors, construction has become a significant source of capital accumulation. A series of transformation projects intensified the settlements; Bakirkoy, Bagcilar, Sariyer, Beykoz, Cekmekoy-Dudullu, Fikirtepe, and Kartal have been among famous districts. Oruç et al. define the process as "Manhattanization" to the extent that they have been treated as luxurious commodities in isolation from their surroundings. Stripped of their cultural and social value, these new residential buildings are constructed based on profit maximization for the investors. This alone gave way to the erection of ever taller residences, and for instance, in Fikirtepe, many of these residential buildings have approximately 300 to 400 flats. This alone makes the

establishment of social ties nearly impossible, hence growing isolation (Oruç et al, 2017, p. 184).

On the other hand, Sulukule, Tarlabasi, and Balat have been among the most controversial ones. Displacement of the locals from urban centers generated gentrification, which further contributed to culture-class homogenization. As Istanbul became a prospering real-estate market a wide range of projects were initiated. They were not only against informal buildings or the ones with loose structure. Some were initiated based on the Law No.5366 “Law on Conservation and Revitalization of Deteriorated Historical Buildings”. Sulukule case has been a very controversial application of it. Located in the historic district of Fatih, Sulukule is a historic neighborhood, which until recently, was home to Istanbul’s Roma community. The renewal reflects the classical patterns of Istanbul’s urban transformation. It usually replaces the poor inhabited segments with rich ones; in this sense, these projects are typical examples of gentrification. The housing structure is accordingly designed in gated and so-called modern styles and often in the form of housing estates or residential compounds. These estates, in various examples, are constructed with their social facilities, coffee houses, shopping centers, restaurants, fitness saloons, hairdressers, etc. In others, the secure and gated estates are inhabited by the typical private auto-subject who reaches such social facilities with their automobiles. The housing project in Sulukule was designed in villas. The culturally authentic streets and buildings with colorful Roma minority were replaced with monolithic luxury villas whose legal status has always been contested. Hence the transformation of Sulukule is an important example of spatial dissolution. Former residents filed dozens of lawsuits during this process. By the time the first decision of cancellation was declared, Sulukule was utterly demolished. Another was concluded in August 2019, and the renovation project was canceled for the second time. The court stated that the project did not comply with law no. 5366, public interest and that there was no 'conservation.' The legal process continues for the residents who appealed (Karaman & İslam, 2012, p. 236; T24, 2019).

Figure 9: Fikirtepe satellite images before and after the urban transformation projects. Taken in 2010 and 2020 respectively (Google Earth).



From a different angle, urban policy over the slums (*gecekondu*) in this period, also reveals the underlying logic.³ The aim was to redevelop informal housing stock, increase earthquake resistances and to promote a planned urbanization. These projects dedicatedly started against the slums and these dwellers were rapidly dissolved, but as the property values increased, Istanbul became a prospering real-estate market. Specifically, after the 2000s, municipal and central authorities embraced a similar communication style for the renewal of slums. These have been examples of “urban sprawl” if not a “public security” problem backed up by urgency due to earthquake regulations. As Türkün et al. note, the view toward slums in this period is stricter and more exclusionary than ever before. The problem of slums, which would be resolved through demolition and rebuilding, was addressed as a problem of modernization and regulation. TOKI and mass housing projects had once again played an important part, and the speeches of Erdoğan Bayraktar, the head of the Mass Housing Administration at the time, emerged as an exemplary expression of this strict view. Bayraktar defined slum areas as crooked settlements of drugs, terrorism, lack of education, and sickness at an urban transformation conference in 2007. Thus, the idea of slums as areas integrated with crime loaded transformation projects with positive meanings, claiming that it will reduce urban violence. On the other hand, these regulations made a radical transfer of tenancy and property rights in urban lands from the lower classes to the upper, and from public property to private property. The slums of the metropolitan area and the slums in the old city centers are some of the primary sources of this transfer. From this point of view, gentrification is the expected and desired result of urban transformation. The state undertook this ideological task through replanning and overshadowed its discourse with sustainability, development, and improvement goals (Türkün et al. pp.106-109; Güzey, 2012, p.71).

Consequently, the city's green areas have also been affected by metropolitan growth and not due to the slums but rather to the embraced reconstruction policies—

³ Due to the lack of space and time, this work could not go into a detailed explanation of the *gecekondu* debate in Turkey; however, for further discussion on the relevant literature, see Kıray 1972, Karpat 1976, Buğra 1998, Erder 2013, Adaman & Keyder 2006.

Istanbul's visage has been growingly framed by tall-rise buildings and gentrified gated and residential communities. Skyscrapers in business centers along the Maslak-Zincirlikuyu-Levent axis continued to grow, and new consumer spaces have been established with increasing shopping malls. According to the 2019 annual report, there are 454 shopping malls in Turkey and 147 in Istanbul (Euronews 2020). The globalization trend also popularized luxurious five-star hotels and held international events and festivals annually. Upgraded upper-income neighborhoods for extensive global lifestyles and cosmopolitan consumers, newly created spaces of culture, and leisure have all been similar policies for socio-spatial restructuring. Expectedly, the population rise has also been significant; from 4,741,890 in 1980, it rose to 7,309,190 in 1990; from that to 10,033,478 in 2000, and by the end of 2020, it has been recorded as 15,46 million (Öktem, 2006, pp. 57-59; Türkün et al., 2014, pp. 100-103).

Neoliberal urban policies intertwined with the global city rhetoric have extensively transformed Istanbul's cultural and class texture. The socio-spatial disintegration has also been an important field of inquiry for the matter. Changing production and employment patterns strengthened inequalities, and differences in their socio-spatial context thickened. Consequently, cities have increasingly been compartmented and spatially differentiated, but on the other hand, each compartment is being integrated with itself through living, working, and socializing practices (Evren, 2007: 14). In other words, living, working, moving and overall experiencing in Istanbul is growingly undertaking homogeneously differentiated practices. This inevitably produces disintegrated yet internally homogenous communities, increasingly losing cross-class and cross-cultural contacts. Gated communities as residential estates contributed to these problems significantly. As such, the metropolitan growth and planning paradigm inevitably increased mobility demands and public transportation services. So-far discussed symptoms of Istanbul's neoliberalization could also be approached through the changing and evolving services in transportation. The next and final discussion of this chapter

will briefly elaborate on Istanbul's history of public transport until its famous bus rapid transit, the metrobus.

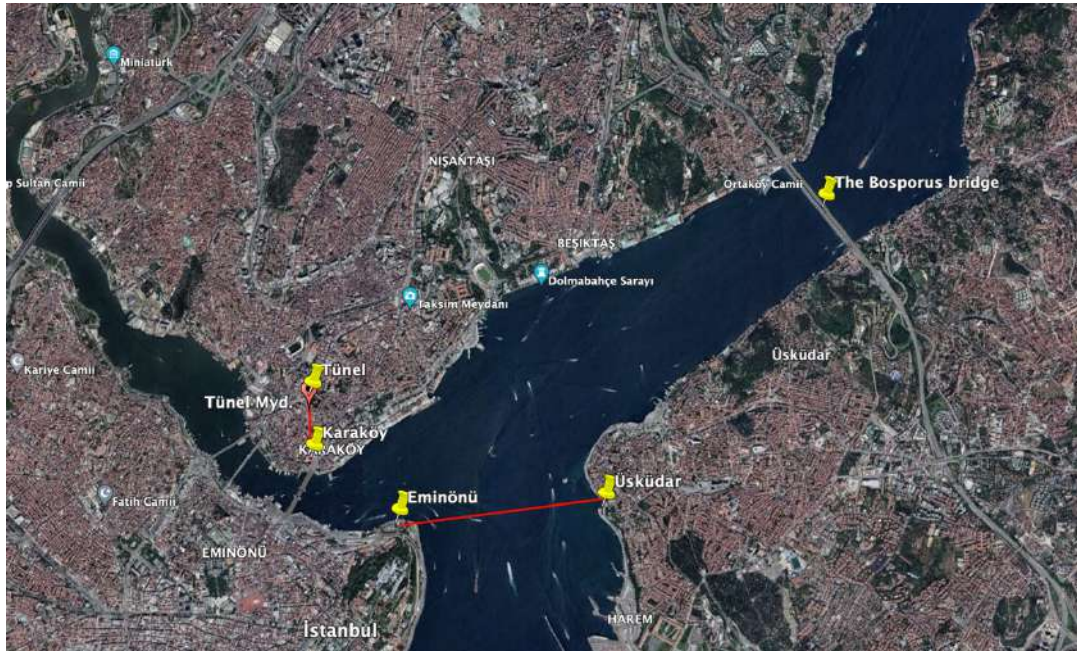
2.2.3. Public Transportation

Istanbul's growth into a metropolis generated complex structural needs for inhabitants' mobilities as well. The growth and development of the city in specific directions necessitated transportation services and investments in new and developing settlements. This has been a reciprocal process since constructing new transportation axes also accelerated the urban structuring concentrating around them. Consequently, with the spirit of modernization, a rather slow but persistent change in the urban structure of Istanbul have been initiated and it has also been felt upon the city's transportation. Although as early as 1850, ferries started daily tours between Eminonu and Uskudar; land transport had been provided by horse-drawn carriages. The first step toward modernization came with the introduction of tramway systems. After the establishment of Dersaadet Tramway Company (1869) horse tramways first used in 1871; the Tunnel – one of the earliest metros in the world – was opened in 1875 between Karakoy-Galata and finally in 1914 electric tramways followed (IETT History, 2020).

A rather significant step came fifteen years later when buses for the first time were put in service. It was significant because buses began to outshine the railway and the seaway. Policies were mainly directed to motorized transportation and interrelatedly, Istanbul's urban structure has increasingly been appropriated to motor-car transportation with growing amounts of projects on highways, tunnels, crossroads, bridges, and so on. In the 1980s, because of the investments made by both the state on highways and IETT in bus transportation, the rate of people's preference for sea vehicles in urban transportation and the number of passengers decreased significantly. With the opening of the Bosphorus Bridge in 1973, the European and Asian sides of Istanbul were connected by the highway. The Bosphorus affected the location of investments and settlements in the city. These investments brought along the problem of traffic, which is still an important

problem for Istanbul. To find a solution to the increasing traffic density of Istanbul, a second bridge over the Bosphorus was built and the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge was put into service in 1988 (Karakoç, 2015).

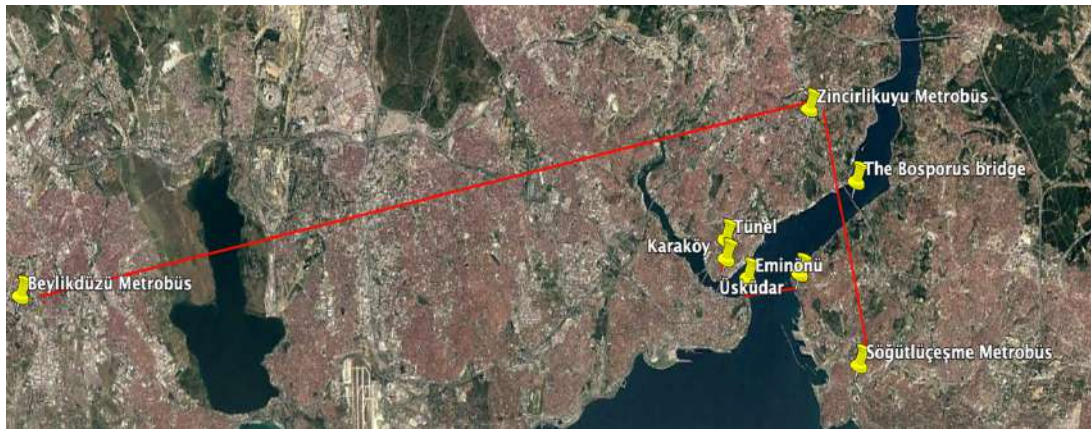
Figure 10: Examples of initial transport lines viewed from Google Earth.



In line with the growing metropolitan structure, new metro projects were initiated after 1989, and the first subway line, M1, was put into service between Atatürk Airport and Yenikapi. In time the line was expanded, and similarly, M2, Taksim-Levent line was opened in 2000. As of 2021, 8 subway lines have been put into service under the name “Metro Istanbul” (Karakoç 2015; Metro Istanbul, 2021). However, conventional buses along with minibuses have been mostly dominant. For instance, by the end of September 2020, total number of registered cars in Turkey was as near as 24 million. Almost 20% of that number, specifically 4 million 306 thousand of them belonged Istanbul. Ankara and Izmir followed Istanbul with 2 and 1,5 million respectively. Istanbul alone amounts almost as much as 20 cities’ registration rates. With an estimated population of almost 16 million, the density of Istanbul as a metropolis is beyond comparison in Turkey. And “by the early 2000s, when public transportation qualitatively and quantitatively fell far behind the

growing mobility needs driven by the population growth and economic development, the government initiated the planning and construction of a number of public transit systems” (Alpkokin & Ergun, 2012, p. 59). The most striking one was the metrobus.

Figure 11: Metrobüs route compared with the initial lines viewed from Google Earth.



As a bus rapid transit, the metrobus travels on prioritized roads from the Asian to European sides of the bi-directionally. The first section of the metrobus was first opened in 2007 as an 18-km line. In 2012, it reached its current length of an officially 52 kilometers with 44 stations. Its popularity today is unprecedented due to its strategic line. Because the metrobus is also a very important transfer bus for business and trade districts and its transit route generates a critical efficiency of time especially for the rush hour. In 2019 an average of 296 million passengers used the metrobus (TUIK, 2020; Gül, 2009, p. 1; IETT History, 2020). This number makes an average of some 800 thousand daily passengers. The demand for the metrobus has been in proportional growth, thus making it almost irresistible for daily mobility in Istanbul. Consequently, modernization process in Istanbul generated a similar development pattern between urbanization and transportation. As this chapter indicates, a rather interesting part is that these processes underpinned one another. Urbanization after the 1980s generated a developmental logic which primarily targeted certain axes and districts in Istanbul. Consequently, mobility in the city was directed toward these lines and it generated immense needs

for cost-efficient and practical solutions in transportation. As the motorization process outshined alternative modes in mobility, Istanbul's main highways and transfer areas became centralized paths of mobility for the inhabitants. Hence, the historical process that transformed Istanbul into a metropolis, steadily generated its own needs in everyday mobilities. Such underpinning dichotomy is an essential representation in understanding the correlation between the spatial structure of Istanbul, the dynamics of everyday life constituted by this structure, and the significance of the metrobus in this entire organization. Consequently, from urban planning to transportation, the modernization process in Istanbul generated an organized and functionalized metropolitan paradigm growingly centered on private interests of market mentality.

* * *

Considering Lefebvre's critique of the systemic dominance in the modernized city, the chapter first presented a historical account of the urbanization process for its practical reflection. The reorganization of the city for systemic appropriation generated a conceptual paradigm revealed with the modern city. Early examples of this paradigm, such as Le Corbusier's design of the Radiant City, inevitably became a pervasive reality in growing world cities. Then, in particular, the chapter displayed the historical process realized in Istanbul, which could be approached as a prominent example of the process. From the Ottoman period of modernization to the early Republican era, the pace that gave Istanbul tremendous change began after the 1980s. The continuities in the aim of the metropolis were also discussed through changing municipal and central political structures. However, such top-down approaches to the city's development are lived by the inhabitants below through its over-intensified structure of differences. Since inhabitants' practice and experience of everyday life, mobility and togetherness do not unfold the abstract idea of Istanbul. They represent what Istanbul has become throughout this historical heritage - a metropolis with a population of almost 16 million. In this light, from the next chapter onward, this relationship will be analyzed and discussed through the field research findings. Specifically, the meaning of everyday as the

automatized practice of mundane in the metropolis, transit mobility as it is increasingly necessitated due to this metropolitan everyday, and finally, the experience and idea of encounter and togetherness in this enclosing framework will be analyzed and discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

EVERYDAY LIFE IN ISTANBUL

According to Lefebvre, everyday life in capitalism has been organized as a consumer zone. As a contribution to Marxism, he placed everyday life instead of economics and tasked himself to deal with it. Marxism is already entangled with the “critical knowledge of everyday life”; however, it does not offer what Lefebvre calls “complete critical knowledge of everyday life”. He emphasized the growing scope of capitalism outside of economics and the need to understand everyday life in the context of what makes us “social and human beings” altogether. For instance, everyday life must consider leisure as much as work itself since there is “alienation in leisure just as in work” (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 17; Elden, 2004, pp. 110-115). Consequently, Lefebvre calls modern everyday “everydayness” and embraces the modern implications of the consumer society which eviscerates the meaning from various aspects of life. Ideally, everyday life constitutes the ground where we dialectically relate to the natural and social world, where we can develop and realize subjectivity. However, everyday life has transformed with modernity by reflecting the premises of capitalist exchange value. Differentiation between social, labor, and private activities generates a fragmented essence. The unique circularity of nature and life has become something that technology, work and production regulate, design and control (Kurtar, 2013, pp.207-208). Everyday life has been critically shaped by economic-technological imperatives that commodify space and time and hence, modern everyday is “the space-time of voluntary programmed self-regulation” due to the evolving “bureaucratic society of controlled consumption,” a method that replaced spontaneous self-regulation. For this reason, everyday life generates a closed circuit and devours authentic experiences. The inhabitant has been transformed into a conditioned being in the close circuit of consumption-production-consumption. To that end, with Lefebvre, alienation is directed to the everyday expanding beyond what was purely economic. In Elden’s words, it is “an application of Marx's notion of alienation to Heidegger's understanding

of *Alltaglichkeit*: everyday life is such that man is alienated” (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 72-73; Elden, 2004, p. 113).

On the other hand, Michel De Certeau favored more of spontaneous possibilities. De Certeau’s everyday life is “peopled with moments and practices”. Yet, his inquiry also embraced a solid concern with extensive ambition of rationalism and everyday as a phenomenal realm. In his words, through the functionalist organization in the “Concept-city” “space becomes the blindspot in scientific and political technology”. Everyday life and practices in this schema concerns with the general operational logic which has been successfully concealed by the Western rationality. For De Certeau, the language of power is in itself “urbanizing” (De Certeau, 1984, pp. xi, xii, 95). However, the practitioner in the city lives and experiences down-below “below the thresholds at which visibility begins”. This is how a place is transformed into space because space is a practiced place. “The street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers” (117). In the modern city, the triumph of abstractions surpasses the actual and concrete; their totalizing power also dominates potentially lived experiences. “This is how the Concept-city functions; a place of transformations and appropriations ... it is simultaneously the machinery and the hero of modernity” (De Certeau, 1984, pp. 94-95; 117). For this reason, daily actions and practices that make of the operational combination gains prominence, for their potentiality in resisting dominant structures and powers. Practices of everyday, then, “will be an urban unconsciousness” (Highmore, 2002, p. 157). Everyday individuals are “trailblazers in the jungle of functionalist rationality”. They trace “indeterminate trajectories”, that are meaningless since they do not conform with the constructed, organized, and fabricated space through which they move. Although these trajectories too include the usage of established languages and prescribed “syntaxes”, they remain heterogeneous to the system of their origin. Hence, practices of everyday life can “escape without leaving the dominant social order” (De Certeau, 1984, pp. 34-36). In this regard, Lefebvre’s triad is also reflected through everyday, particularly

through experiences of the inhabitants that make up everyday and once again through often conceptualized but also potentially autonomous lived forms.

Consequently, this chapter will analyze everyday inhabitants' experiences of Istanbul, first, through the relationship between what is lived and what is imagined; second, through the commodification of space and time. During the interviews, interlocutors reflected an apparent duality between their idealization and experience of Istanbul. The difference primarily revealed itself with nostalgia. Hence the quotidian was represented by the interlocutors as a nostalgic longing against the regulated and consuming aspects of their practices. Second, inhabitants' temporal and spatial relationship in Istanbul displayed premises of commodification through the enclosing routines of the everyday. Rather than establishing a constitutive experience practiced with others, inhabitants growingly consume the spatial and temporal in Istanbul based on their exchange value like any other commodity. Due to this fixation, interlocutors reflected growing homogenization in their experience of everyday life in Istanbul. Finally, as an overall outcome of these two aspects, this chapter will question the abstraction of everyday for the inhabitants and alienation as an everyday phenomenon. Everyday life in Istanbul reveals the rationalized and consumerist essence that dominates inhabitants' relationships with themselves, with others, and with the things surrounding them.

3.1. EVERYDAY AS LIVED AND IMAGINED

For some, the process of urbanization in Istanbul is considered as a success story. In no more than two decades, Istanbul has transformed into a sophisticated metropolis from a middle-scaled city with almost 16 million inhabitants, as a center for various employment sectors, an attraction for globalized lifestyles, and a vivid landscape in which the historic and modern meet. Structural adjustments, primarily through construction projects, promoted the functional rearrangement of the built environment to meet the growing residential, consumption, and mobility needs in a rather value-based planning paradigm. On the other hand, the content of everyday began to be constructed by necessitated activities. To cope with the progressing

metropolitan phenomenon, Istanbul's inhabitants feel enclosed by the growing need for mobility in limited timetables with the immensity of crowds to complete daily checklists. They are obliged to work, study, take care of regular chores and move from one point to another throughout the day with growing distances. However, with each activity that is either working, shopping, commuting, or even socializing, inhabitants increasingly lose sight of spontaneity, unexpectedness, and being together in plurality. The common essence inevitably shifts towards necessity by constituting a functionalized cognition. Consequently, the progressive aspect of the metropolitan structure generated a significant cost in the social aspects of life (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 229; Elden, 2004, p. 115; Wilson, 2013, p. 366).

In this regard, living in a metropolis demands the organization of everyday; and throughout the interviews, I have listened to everyday stories of rush with a prominent consuming aspect. Interlocutors' overall idea about Istanbul was dominated by necessity and obligation. The rushing moments deprived them of possibilities and spontaneous discoveries, hence, for many, the everyday image of Istanbul was about catching up with something. An interesting outcome of these perceptions was the duality between attachment and detachment. Interlocutor's imagined aspect of the everyday was often different from what they lived. In other words, for the question of "life in Istanbul," interlocutors presented a dominant picture of hardships; nevertheless, almost like a sentimental tie, they also expressed a somewhat surviving attachment to the city. For this reason, everyday life stories of the interviews primarily showed an attachment for what Istanbul could be and sometimes a nostalgia for what Istanbul had been. Interlocutors reproduce their attachment to the city either through nostalgia or through such possibilities. However, while talking about their everyday routines, they expressed clear negations of what they are experiencing; hence, at the same time, they are reflecting on growing detachment. In this regard, Istanbul's growth or the so-called progress has also been somehow costly for the interlocutors:

Life in Istanbul had been better. Although certain things have progressed ... I mean I can travel faster with the metrobus. I can even calculate the

duration of my travel. It is that much precise. But, despite this progress, life had been better in Istanbul before ... Now it is too sharp and too crowded. Today Istanbul is not a place to live but it is a good place only to browse around...” (**Female, 38, Healthcare Officer**).

As the interlocutor stresses, efficiency does not always mean qualification. She appreciates the temporal progress in her mobilities. In a metropolis, catching up with something comes as an apparent demand and to be able to organize time spent on roads is an essential qualification. However, this alone does not generate an overall gratification for her despite the progressive aspect. “Too sharp and too crowded” implies mechanization of the quotidian for her, so that, “life had been better” in former times. She did not specify what “former” actually meant but she emphasized it as a counterstatement for her current experience of Istanbul. So that, nowadays, the interlocutor does not cognize the city as a place to “live” but rather as a place to “browse around”. She added, *I mean, if my loved ones weren't here, I definitely wouldn't want to live in Istanbul*. As to why, she repeated her sentiments of negation through the challenges that Istanbul forced on her. Istanbul is *incredibly crowded*. She emphasized how she can listen to herself and be content in another city but not in Istanbul. She said, *even when I go to the seaside..., there are so many people there that you can never relax and instead feel stressed*. As she also indirectly implied, the city, at the same time, forms our lifespan. Ideally, it is not the sum-total area for needs only. It is the sphere of our sociation. The feeling of familiarity, our ability to relate and to appropriate with others, and our surroundings are crucial aspects of establishing some attachment. In Lefebvre’s illuminating words, the city creates nothing and “yet it creates everything. Nothing exists without exchange, without union, without proximity, that is, without relationships”. Despite technical and functionalized structuring, the city “constructs, identifies and delivers the essence of social relationships” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 117). Consequently, Istanbul has also been productive of such feelings for most interlocutors. Although metropolitan life is filled with various challenges, inhabiting, for the interlocutors, does not imply solely technical or functional necessities. Love and even ties of

affection have often been emphasized. These, for some interlocutors, are solid emotional bonds:

I love Istanbul very much. Life here is all about the rush, it is difficult and painful. But I love, rather I adore Istanbul. I can't drift apart ... I can't live anywhere but Istanbul (**Female, 36, Dental Technician**).

The interlocutor's affectionate bond with Istanbul has been the most optimistic and unspoiled relationship among the interviewees. Despite her seemingly minor everyday burdens, her imagination and experience of the city are still vivid and colorful. However, throughout the stories of Istanbul, almost with all the interlocutors, a counterstatement followed their attachment to the city. In other words, "I love Istanbul, but..." has been the major premise within interlocutors' perception of Istanbul. They have mostly been stated in similar manners: *Istanbul is beautiful, but difficult...* (Male, 46 IT Specialist); *Life in Istanbul is beautiful, but your financial situation must be really good ...* (Female, 46, Cleaning Worker); *I am not sure why, but I do have this love bond for Istanbul. But I also don't love Istanbul because of the traffic, crowds, density...* (Male, 26, Software Engineer); *I actually love Istanbul, but it is too crowded, it is too difficult to even reach somewhere. I am getting too exhausted...* (Female, 26, Banker); *Istanbul is a beautiful city, okay, but it seems more difficult to me rather than beautiful* (Male, 46, Worker). These twofold sentiments almost have a fragile balance. Negative perceptions about the quotidian in Istanbul are very much entangled with the positive ones. This is also related to the content of everyday because even their imagination of everyday routines is loaded with the burdens and hardships that Istanbul actualizes. A clear example of this argument is the homogenized idea of having a constant struggle among extensive crowds. In other words, the moment they imagine everyday life in Istanbul, they immediately think about crowds. While Istanbul is truly very crowded, the abstracted conception of "crowd" becomes a determinant of their everyday perceptions, even when they do not directly experience these crowds. Given that, daily challenges of Istanbul are real, and they are unavoidable for inhabitants because they must bear them in mobilities of

obligations. Combined with their seemingly surviving bond that they have with Istanbul, it generates a push and pull factor, as one interlocutor stated:

Life in Istanbul is actually beautiful, but it is also difficult. I love Istanbul, it has a unique aura. There is this ‘push and pull effect’ in Istanbul. The city attracts me in a way but after spending some time it pushes me away
(Female, 23, Media Worker).

She summarized the meaning of this push effect with an opposite example during the COVID-19 quarantine days. Istanbul is a beautiful city, when it is not so much crowded: *Actually, Istanbul was the best during the Corona period because no one was going out and it was empty... you look around, an empty Istanbul, it is so beautiful...* She is pulled by the vivid “soul” that she sees in the city, but her everyday practices constitute the opposite because of daily challenges. In her experience the beauty of the city also fades away because *you are not even noticing the beauty of it in these immense crowds while rushing*. In this regard, the attachment for Istanbul has also been altered as an idealized form of love. It has not entirely vanished as the responses display, yet it is increasingly fading away due to such hardships. Thus, interlocutors’ perceptions generated a significant dichotomy of Istanbul. Through them, I often felt like I was listening to stories of two different Istanbul. An Istanbul with a beautiful landscape full of possibilities and pluralities and another Istanbul that dictates impossibilities in a somewhat circular motion of mechanization. Generally, after they stated their sentiment toward the city, they often continued to share daily struggles when I asked them about their everyday routines in Istanbul. “Istanbul is beautiful, but...” has been a shared example of the sentimental aspect that these twofold perceptions presented. However, whether out of longing or reproach, “Istanbul as it is” was the prominent idea in various stories of the interlocutors when it was about negating a particular experience:

I think living in Istanbul was nice before maybe when I was younger. Its energy, the crowd outside all the possibilities felt more pleasant... But now, it's not a city I would ever want to live in. It is just difficult. There is

no order. It makes me feel so messy and nervous (**Female, 25, Pilates Instructor**).

The striking part in her story is that she considered herself relatively “old” when she considered her Istanbul experience. Because she added, *Istanbul ages people fast. I feel like it*. Hence, “Istanbul as it is” has generated a significant level of consumption in her. As a 25-year-old inhabitant, she already feels aged by the energy, crowd, or things that one could merely label as fun at her age. *In my opinion, the traffic, the crowds, and the intolerance of people started to give real weariness*. She is appealing to a time before to emphasize her changing state of mind and experience of Istanbul. Interestingly, in some other comparisons, statements of attachment also implied former times. What “before” meant for the interlocutors varied. For some, former times were yet another abstraction because they did not concretely talk about these times except blurred images of them. For instance, an interlocutor shared the image of *horse carriages*, from *the old days*, when mobility in the city was more pleasant, i.e., more “lived” (**Female, 30, Architect**). She emphasized this image to represent the abstraction nowadays she experiences in mobility. Hence, these old times were like a representation of what today Istanbul is not anymore. Thinking through the possibilities of Istanbul, some interlocutors emphasized these images to underline the change that they observed:

It is a city surrounded by historical texture, very authentic and romantic indeed. For example, Balat was an excellent example of that authenticity, in my opinion. But now, it looks as if it was surrounded by fences and put there by human hands. It doesn't feel natural anymore... Things have changed for worse. For example, Rome is a city that I love very much, I walk there looking up, but I can't do that in Istanbul anymore. Too many buildings everywhere, ugly concrete buildings. Unfortunately, the authentic and romantic perception of Istanbul broke down a bit in my mind (**Male, 27, Video Editor**).

Interlocutor's romantic perception is the ground for him to say how "things have been better" but at the same time how "things could have been better". The example of Rome perhaps is somewhere between this romanticized perception and the change he saw in Istanbul. Balat as a historic neighborhood in Istanbul often circulates through photographs to somehow highlight the old cultural texture of the city. Hence, either concretely or imaginatively, somehow, nostalgic sentiments may generate an altered but still a type of engagement. In a similar vein, İpek Türeli analyzes the relationship between nostalgia and photography through distinguished photographer Ara Güler's Istanbul photographs. Güler's some of the most notable works are from Istanbul in the 1960s when Güler was working as a photojournalist. She discusses this representation as a cosmopolitan nostalgia in which modernization of Istanbul generated "a sense of loss" and the idea that Güler already captured this "lost Istanbul". This nostalgia causes a relatively clear-cut dichotomy between what has been "innocent" and what is now "corrupt" in Istanbul. As Türeli states, prominent ideas are often derived to evoke compassion without a concrete engagement (Türeli, 2010, pp.300-303). Like the horse carriage example, for instance, a 26-year-old interlocutor who was born and raised in Istanbul mentioned how she wanted to see farming fields in Istanbul. So, instead of mere buildings and concretized structures she wants to see fields with people actually farming and producing; hence she is constructing a sentimental longing. Without a practical engagement, she is generating a nostalgic engagement for another Istanbul:

I don't want to see buildings everywhere anymore. I wish I could see some fields around. Green fields in which people could farm and produce. There shouldn't be this much concrete structures (**Female, 26, Banker**).

The power of an image that has not directly been experienced by her becomes a representation of what could be lived. Istanbul for the interlocutor presents a concrete challenge not only with its scale but also as a cold entity that cuts ties with nature. In fact, Le Corbusier too was thrusting "built volumes into abstraction, separating them from the earth by means of piles and pillars, on the pretext that he

was exposing them to open air and sunshine”. However, the immediacy of the links between people, society and nature has been broken. With growing homogenization, social and natural content was lost (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 337). Thus, representations of nature in the urban context do not generate real ties with nature. Still, it is intriguing to see how sentimental longing for a 26-year-old Istanbulite constructed an imaginary content enmeshed with nature as such. A representation of the rural, farming fields is thought of and imagined by her as an idealization. Additionally, she somehow altered the commonly established relationship between the urban and rural. Nevertheless, nostalgia is at the same time a significant feeling in evading existing challenges. Since dreaming of farming fields may function as a distraction for an inhabitant who must face extensive, crowded mobilities every day in Istanbul’s concretized highways. Interviewees who made such comparisons, either concrete or imagined, often derived them from negative experiences. Since for some other interlocutors, nostalgia functioned under the aforementioned “pull” factor. The city once they felt belonging is the city of the past, and they revive that attachment through nostalgic appropriation. Hence, some of the interlocutors went back as far as to their childhood and defined “before” as a comparison with their childhood memories:

I remember my childhood ... We were children of the neighborhood. Safe, intimate and real... We were close neighbors... As if that was another Istanbul. I don’t know how to put it... But today Istanbul is different, I don’t feel the way I felt before.... (**Male, 38, Copywriter**).

I love Istanbul, it is the city I was born ... but there are grave differences between the Istanbul I was raised and the Istanbul I live today. I mean the Istanbul I experience today is too exhausting for me. I only have negative opinions now... (**Female, 31, Research Assistant**).

Türeli’s emphasis on “loss” was expressed by the interlocutors in similar statements. Childhood memories of Istanbul, or rather, Istanbul as experienced by the interlocutors years ago during their childhood, was a powerful attribution of

longing. In retrospect, interlocutors expressed what they have been missing in Istanbul today and used these moments to emphasize the difference. According to Sedikides et al., the longing for the past is often triggered by adverse effects such as loneliness. While its triggering effect is negative, nostalgia appeals as a social emotion. Symbolic ties “momentarily become part of one’s present” (Sedikides, 2008, pp.304-306). In fact, etymologically nostalgia originated from Greek words of *nostos* and *algia*, meaning, *return home* and *longing* respectively. Nostalgia means *homesickness* or *longing for home*. In this sense, nostalgia may function as a distraction as well. By appealing to a past that may exist or may be constructed, it helps to buffer oneself from socio-economic hardships, insecurities, and anxieties. In this sense, it may revive its etymological essence with the feeling of belonging and ease that one could attribute to longing against hardships (Kaya, 2019, p. 5-7). Consequently, the first respondent implies a relative loss of familiarity and belonging. He further emphasized his loss through the changing planning paradigm in Istanbul: *We used to go to Taksim, from there to Karakoy, Tunel, etc. But you know, the transformation in Taksim ruined it. They literally ripped its soul. So, we are not going anymore* (Male, 38, Copywriter). On the other hand, the second response is more relevant as a function because she is differentiating her exhaustion through a distinct moment or feeling represented by the past. As a common ground for these interlocutors, as well as for some others, nostalgia is often felt against Istanbul’s worsening conditions in planning, restructuring and enlargement, which are mostly related with the past decade’s urban transformation projects. These projects did not only reflect neoliberal landscape, but at the same time, with renovation and even beautification projects they caused almost all the available land to be concretized. Intensification has been a crucial determinant in making comparisons with former times. At the same time, it is related to Istanbul’s economy. Particularly, increasing economic hardships that ordinary inhabitants struggle. While Istanbul’s density is challenging the inhabitants’ spatial and temporal possibilities, the city’s economy is transforming possibilities to mere probabilities for most of the inhabitants. These altogether alter the perception of Istanbul from a colorful, vivid, and plural city of opportunities into a dull,

automatized and homogenized metropolis of limitations. An interlocutor's example in the matter is striking:

I have friends who compliant of expensiveness in Istanbul, who spend too much time on the roads in traffic from home to work... I want to give an example, imagine you are living in Pendik but your work is at Mecidiyeköy. ... Life in Istanbul will be like a torture then. Getting on and off, morning and evening... you will have to change 30 transportation vehicles in a day... You will leave at 6 p.m. and you will be home at 9 p.m. You will wake up at 6 a.m. in the morning to go to work... You won't be able to sleep and rest. And all the stress ... to have fun in the city is an economic problem, a burden. So, you will not even have the chance to clear your mind, you will not be able to have fun or simply wander...

(Male, 27, Vehicle Maintenance Technician)

As Lefebvre analyzes, we always had to produce, had to be clothed and fed or housed and had to consume. However, it was not until the nineteenth century the quotidian as such existed. It was due to the advent of competitive capitalism and the expansion of the world of trade. Now the quotidian reproduces imposed roles of the bourgeoisie to the population. The cyclical routine of daily preoccupations such as, private, and public payments, providing necessities on education, work and family etc. make-up of the site of these roles (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 38-41). On the other hand, the example given by the interlocutor is an excellent summary to show how recent regulations of planning and structuring in Istanbul produced a socio-economic devouring effect which is felt upon the everyday. As he stressed, the spatial-temporal challenges mainly produced by neoliberalization are often intertwined with economic burdens. Together, they transform everyday practices into contingent forms of necessitated activities that further enframe individuals. To buffer themselves or reproduce belonging, interlocutors somehow appealed to possibilities that Istanbul as an image represented. In other cases, they derived this appeal from a concrete and sometimes imaginary nostalgia of Istanbul. The next

chapter will analyze Istanbul's spatial-temporal enframing upon interlocutors as an essential aspect of this appeal.

3.2. SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL COMMODIFICATION

For Lefebvre, the relation between space and time had to be considered together because they “are the indispensable coordinates of everyday life”. Hence, they “cannot be reduced to the other” (Elden, 2004, p. 170). The metropolitan configuration of the spatial and temporal, in a similar vein, must be considered together, and the findings of this study reveal that in everyday practices of the interlocutors, they genuinely become almost inseparable. The equally important point is that space and time transform into obliged forms that must be calculated, measured, and used accordingly. An essential outcome of this process becomes the consumption of space and time as yet another commodity. Interlocutors consider the exchange value in the space-time relationship established in Istanbul. The exchange value is constructed through Istanbul-appropriated use of them. Namely, the spatial relationship is realized both through the distances to be covered, i.e., the growing scale of the city, and through the value-based planning paradigm, i.e., segregation and enclosure by the settlement pattern. The relationship of time inevitably entangles with the spatial and is daily reproduced through the clock-time use of all these practices. Consequently, during the interviews, interlocutors frequently emphasized an everyday burden resulting from the density of people and things realized through distances and a temporal fixation that accompanied them. In the broadest sense, the outlet of these symptoms was related to the growing scale. As one interlocutor stated, *Istanbul is like a combination of 5 cities* (Male, 26, Software Engineer). The scale of Istanbul has been on growth since the 1980s, but the past decade’s “construction boom” expanded the city tremendously. As discussed, with the state’s support for the enlargement of the construction sector, a series of urban transformation projects were initiated. Given that, almost all the available land in Istanbul has been filled with construction projects. This has been a crucial determinant in ever-increasing densities:

I came to Istanbul in 2005. But surely there is a huge gap between that Istanbul and the one we live today. This is about increasing density, constructions, and crowds. And it keeps growing. Something has been keeping me here I don't know why but I also started to make plans to leave. Because life is too hard. Imagine almost one quarter of Turkey's population is living here, 15 million got stuck in a small space (**Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee**).

Interlocutor's comparison with the early 2000s reveals the problematic aspect of these transformation projects. Systemic reflection of the money economy generated "Manhattanization" on the one hand and constituted the image of an "Istanbul reality" on the other. The shopping mall boom, in this sense, is a crucial example. According to the 2019 report, as mentioned earlier, Istanbul had been first on the list with 147 shopping malls, but the interesting part is that Ankara followed Istanbul only with 38 shopping malls. The difference between first and second ranks amounted to more than three times (For Istanbul's shopping malls, see; Ozorhon & Ozorhon 2014). As the data reveals, Istanbul has become the primary depository for neoliberal projects that have mostly been felt in the everyday. The urban fabric grew, as Lefebvre stated, however, nowadays, the urban fabric is giving way to the metropolitan fabric (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 4). The Pendik-Beylikduzu example below displays an obvious spatial and temporal challenge that is reproduced from this phenomenon:

When I go up to a hill in Barcelona, I can enjoy the view of the city. I mean I can see the whole city. I think this is normal for a city. But here, if I go to the highest building in Pendik I can't even see Kadikoy, let alone Istanbul. Because Kadikoy is in the middle and then there is a Beylikdüzü. Do you understand? ... Nonsense, if you ask me... To make this city livable, the size must literally shrink (**Male, 26, Software Engineer**).

Pendik is a rather far eastern district, whereas Beylikduzu is at the edge of the European side. As the interlocutor explains, the central district of Kadikoy lies near

the Bosphorus in between these two edges. His example stresses the vastness of Istanbul's functionalist essence because if a resident in Pendik wants to drive to Beylikdüzü and if that is the rush hour, then he/she should expect a journey between 2 to 3 hours. The distance between the two districts is approximately 105 km, and every area between these two districts comprises inhabited neighborhoods. Practically, this drive is no less than 1 hour, even outside the rush hour, because growing density is generating ever-increasing traffic jams. Although Istanbul has more of a chaotic than a mechanized order, Le Corbusier's dreams for the modern city are mostly actualized. Valorized districts, blocks of buildings, skyscrapers, "beautification" projects, re-organization of roads, squares, avenues, and surely increasing consumer spaces like shopping malls had their share in this transformation. Beyond any question, an ordinary inhabitant's primary problem with the city is its density, both of people and the building blocks. The interlocutor's understanding of a 'livable' city is emphasized by the distinction of scale between an average city and Istanbul. Regardless of their age and profession, all the interlocutors, in their own ways, expressed similar frustrations with the over-stimuli. The inhabitant starts the day with such images, and these are concrete experiences:

Everyone I see in Istanbul is trying to go to work, struggling to come back home from work. They try to take care of their families ... So many things and so little time and they hardly find leisure time for themselves. Because working hours are too long, Istanbul is too big, distances in this city are too long and everything is taking too much time. So, I look around and all I can see is unhappy and intolerant people (**Female, 25, Pilates Instructor**).

The interlocutor defines everyday life as a "struggle" through a significant spatial and temporal fixation. Her point is that moving through the city as a necessity such as commuting is taking too much time. Hence on the one hand, the size of the city increasing daily distances that must be met; and on the other, living and working spaces based on valorization complicates this dependency. As a result, even leisure

time becomes a problem for the inhabitants. She highlights working conditions as well, emphasizing the spatial-temporal basis that these conditions generate. Commuting as a struggle and completing a weekday as a struggle are entangled with the everyday life that Istanbul constitutes upon them. In addition to the socio-economic basis of everyday problems, life in Istanbul generates Istanbul-oriented challenges that they must face. In a somewhat more direct manner, another interlocutor expressed a similar perception: *Istanbul is tough ... How to put it, the city is almost coming at you. Humans humans humans, everywhere is crowded with people. And also, with buildings. I feel suffocated...In Istanbul, I must even rush to complete my errands* (Male, 46, Worker). The interlocutor's frustration stresses scale-grounded congestion in the city. Hence, even completing everyday errands becomes a space-time-related problem. As a result, everyday life practices growingly generate rationalization and homogenization in what should be spontaneous and plural: the daily conduct of the interlocutors. The following subsections will analyze the production of these symptomatic practices.

3.2.1. Rationalization

As Boutin discusses, although the flâneur moves in spatial and temporal freedom by constructing an authentic meaning, critical approaches reveal it as an oppositional figure. Urban experience in the metropolis “disconnected the flâneur” and transformed him into “a man of the crowd” (Boutin, 2012, p. 128). The flâneur cannot live through the ordinary details by constituting meanings upon them. Istanbul, too, began to be inhabited by the disconnected flâneur. Everyday residents have become rushing figures in the crowds; at the same time, their spatial and temporal relationships inescapably construct rationalized conduct as an everyday phenomenon:

When was the last time I did something without plans and programs?
Without the rush, without the pressure to be somewhere on time? I can't
even remember (**Male, 38, Copywriter**).

Beyond any question, life in the metropolis requires punctuality, as Simmel elaborated. However, Istanbul's inhabitants do not merely make calculations; their rationalization requires precision for calculations. The interlocutor continued; *we have transformed into calculative beings*. His emphasis is on the circular nature of temporal pressure because he defined this precision as *compression*. In a similar vein, a 46-year-old cleaning worker said even a 3-minute delay on the way to work made her very unhappy. She is obliged to consider road maintenance works because that was the reason for the 3-minute delay even with something as punctual as the metrobus: *I am disturbed by this, because I am taking a 3-minute road in 6 minutes. So, I started to leave the house at 6:45 a.m. to be at work on time*. This generates a homogenized cycle of spatial and temporal rationalization. It is homogenized because the moment inhabitants leave home, calculations start regardless of their socio-economic status. A 30-year-old engineer had a bit sarcastic but also a similar outlook about his daily routine. He said, *I don't know, it is maybe because I am an engineer...*, but apparently the exact time that he leaves home in the mornings is an important matter for his way to work. He continued, *if I leave house 7-8 minutes late ... then I prefer the AS line of the metrobus ... Because the AS line travels 7-8 minutes faster than the Z line because of the interchange in Zincirlikuyu...* The letter AS indicates the route between Sogutluceme Avcilar without interchange, whereas the Z represents the route between Sogutluceme and Zincirlikuyu. Hence, the interlocutor implies the transfer he must make in Zincirlikuyu with the Z line to travel to Mecidiyekoy. As his calculation of 8 minutes show, the necessity to be somewhere on time in Istanbul is an actual challenge, and it simply dictates exactness. In this light, rationalization becomes a normalized and adapted phenomenon in metropolitan existence. It functions as the unrecognized ordinary course of things. Hence, Simmel's metropolitan individual grew in numbers:

I can't stop, think, or simply breathe... I can't spare time for myself because I am always in rush to catch something ... I must do this, I have to do that, so I need to make plans and programs ... I live by organizing

things. In Istanbul I always feel like I must catch up with something
(Female, 30, Inspector).

Living through timetables, schedules, and calculations from various distances have been a direct outcome of the interviews. Consequently, interlocutors inevitably transformed into conditioned beings of rationalization. Since their stories of Istanbul and particular daily experiences have been about things that we could name as homogenous, repetitive, and precise. The understandable part is that most of the interlocutors, including young university students, talked about strict, busy, and mostly tiresome daily routines. These have almost been stories about Simmel's individual experiencing Lefebvre's everyday in the pursuit of inevitable satisfaction of material needs and security. Consequently, the pressure of temporal reliability and Istanbul's dense structure leads to passive-aggressive feelings. To bear the limited timetables and avoid extensive crowds, inhabitants' expectation of rationalization increases. Thus, a relatively slow or impractical inhabitant in everyday mobility generates either intolerance or anger. In addition to rationalization, we can say that modern everyday burdens the individual with the negativity of feelings. These are mostly directed to the very idea of other residents in the city, mostly abstracted in the term "crowds". As it will be discussed further under the Metrobus chapter, the conceived in these daily routes and their appropriate atmosphere make it harder for residents to relate or empathize. One interlocutor stated that Istanbul has some sort of *a disorder; the city simply cannot handle these crowds, this population and because of that, people are restless and mostly angry*. His further elaboration reveals an embraced impatience because the negative burden of feelings contributes to intolerance:

In the extensive crowds of the rush hour, everyone looks ready to burst. Sometimes I hesitate to say something like 'would you mind?' ... People have lots of things in their minds. Will I be at work on time? Will I catch the meeting? I didn't pay the bills or maybe they simply have some issues in their home. They don't have any tolerance **(Male, 30, Metallurgy Engineer).**

The interlocutor stresses the entangled relationship between everyday obligations and Istanbul-based everydayness. Someone concerned about monthly bills, who must be at work on time, and who must bear through long distances in immense crowds may be ready to burst against a simple question such as “would you mind”. Life span of everyday inhabitants are mostly filled with obligations that must be followed and completed in strict timelines. Walking through streets, waiting at the stations, traveling with extensive crowds, standing in long lines, etc.; for a city like Istanbul, this is not a simple issue of weariness. They must travel long distances, they must bear with long working hours, they must extract leisure time from what is leftover. Hence, tolerance is mostly eroding in these everyday burdens. We can neither take space as a mere container, nor the everyday as the functional organization of necessities. Istanbul’s realities in this sense transform the socio-spatial aspects of everyday practices. For instance, an interlocutor expressed the feeling of anger that she daily bears, most importantly, toward unacquainted others. Her urban condition is framed by a consuming negativity, and it has been constituted through her “occasioned” expectation of speed and reliability. In this light, everyday practices constitute rationalization out of necessity however, this rationalization generates a cyclical dependency. So that when it is not met by others the inhabitant also embraces an emotional burden of negativity:

Crowds... I am always tired. I leave the work at 5:30 p.m. and the earliest hour that I can be at home is 7:30. Those hours and minutes, they are consuming me ... I try to run all day long. I try to catch up on things and because of that I get angry when people move slowly ... This speed issue is important in Istanbul (**Female, 26, Banker**).

Her apprehension of everyday routine is another example of complex dependency between obligations and the socio-spatial context that the city generates on them. Because through this sentimental approach, she revealed how she is dependent on the rushing aspect, how it becomes an adapted and consuming necessity, and how she inevitably feels angry toward others who are not fast like herself. She is subjected to the enclosure by these circular necessities, which in the end, generate

an actual negative feeling for others who do nothing other than not meeting her speed criteria. Although her feelings have been more intense than other interlocutors, more than half of the respondents shared her perception of these routines regardless of their class-cultural differences. Consequently, in addition to negativity-bearing rationalization, interviews revealed a significant homogenization level for everyday perception among the interlocutors. As Highmore analyzes, “on the one hand homogeneity in everyday life is increased (standardization in work and objects through a general commodification), and on the other, social differences are extended and deepened (intensification of hierarchical differences of class, race, gender, etc.)” (Highmore, 2002, p. 119). Homogenization is mostly revealed with such routines. Differences emerge as socio-economic differences. Yet, for the most part, these two are intertwined. Consequently, growing homogeneity in everyday perceptions have been a second outcome of temporal-spatial commodification.

3.2.2. Growing Homogenization

Ozan Karaman, through an analysis of the urban renewal pattern, that is, “property-led residential redevelopment,” which somehow generated forced incorporation into the neoliberal market, shows how lives in Basibuyuk embraced the “robotic” metaphor. His study shows the tension generated from this model directed toward slum dwellers. As one dweller states, this model fundamentally locked their “everyday lives into the peculiar chronological span of the mortgage” and transformed them merely into “robots,” who must work “day and night to pay the dues” by becoming “TOKI’s indentured servants” (Karaman, 2013, p. 727). Early models in urban renewal have been very controversial as it was discussed in the historical frame. Like Sulukule, Basibuyuk, too, started by directly targeting the slum dwellers. These residents mainly were displaced via mortgage loans with long maturities in the initial phases of transformation projects. Whereas, by the end of the “slum problem,” renewal pattern became an all-pervasive reality in urban planning. Similar to previously discussed Law No.5366, the government secured market-oriented real-estate development via “earthquake risk” through Law No:

6306. Property-led regeneration considers housing, as Koramaz et.al. discussed, through economic concerns “rather than as a ‘social right.’” Their case study over the renewal model in Bakirkoy revealed how single-building renewals were mainly driven by economic interests despite the official approach of minimizing earthquake risks. As the authors discuss, physical, environmental quality and public interest aspect have been greatly ignored by maximizing economic expectations (Koramaz et.al., 2018, p. 193-194). What started as a so-called “necessary” approach against the slums in Istanbul was continued as an overall neoliberal renewal pattern in the past decades. Hence, as the city grew and became even busier, spatial congestion in everyday practices became a growing reality for most inhabitants. Either through economic capabilities generated by gentrified barriers; or through spatial-temporal burdens caused by the metropolitan structure, everyday routinization is almost becoming pervasive in Istanbul for most white and blue collars. For some interlocutors, this is related to the costliness of Istanbul; for others, to the spatial-temporal fixation. However, primarily as a perception and, to a great extent, as a practice, the field research indicated that interlocutors’ daily routines have growingly become homogenous in a closed-circuit. The following responses clarify my point. While the first response reflects upon economic hardships, the second one stresses the challenges of daily routines because of the extreme commodification of spatial and temporal possibilities. The third overall is the example of how these two inevitably intertwine. The problem is that proper “living” in the metropolis now requires a higher level of economic status. In this sense, a housewife, an engineer, and a young student are highly homogenized when it comes to their daily lived experiences. They all have been somehow closed to a small cycle within everyday life that excludes unexpectedness and spontaneity:

To live daily in this city is long gone. Well, if it is about sitting home all day, not going out and eating all along, then yes you can have that kind of daily life. But if you want to go out, travel, visit this or that... Let alone fun, even visiting a relative is too expensive. Without spending anything,

I actually spend 100 TL by only visiting my old father... (**Female, 53, Housewife**).

The interlocutor is emphasizing the economic burden of living Istanbul as an everyday practice. Although Turkey's economic well-being determines her argument in the macro level, the metropolitan essence of urban economy is her main point of critique, i.e., *to live daily is long gone*.

Even though my family also resides in Istanbul, I could see them only 4 times in the past 4 months. Simply because I am getting exhausted. They are in the far European side, and I am on the Anatolian side. Because the campus is on this side (Anatolian)... I can hardly spare any time for myself. I go to work 3 days each week, in the remaining 2, I am at the university. I have responsibilities for work, for school, for my family, for my friends, for my boyfriend and even for my roommate. Sometimes, I feel like I am being divided into 5 or 6 personalities ... I remember the comfort when I lived in a small province in Europe. I was just walking to go somewhere. Here even for the shortest distance I must run, and I must bear with the crowds of either metro or the metrobus (**Female, 23, Student/Part-Time Employee**).

The emphasis in this second argument is similar to the first only in terms of everyday consumption, because the young interlocutor is explaining the impossibility to live Istanbul due to the city's spatial and temporal enclosure and burden.

Abroad people mostly talk about the Bosphorus when they hear Istanbul. But in fact, you get to see a very small part of Istanbul during your life here. The place you work, your home and one or two others that you go during the weekends. I live in the Anatolian side, I only see the Bosphorus through the metrobus, only when I go to work. I don't dine at the Bosphorus; it is an economic problem. So, yes there is a small group that lives well in

this city. But I don't think anyone with a regular salary actually 'lives' the city (**Male, 30, Metallurgy Engineer**).

Finally, as an engineer, the interlocutor's argument is almost making a connection between the above two only to reemphasize everyday consumption as a shared aspect of the three of them. In other words, as a housewife the first interlocutor, at least 3 to 4 days each week, must make regular visits to her old father living in the Anatolian side neighborhood of Maltepe. She is not a caretaker only but also wants to spend time keeping company with her father. This mobility between Mecidiyekoy and Maltepe decides her everyday routine in Istanbul, and she is mainly concerned about its economic burden. So that, it is no longer about having an everyday life in the city, but it is somewhat being enclosed by the financial hardships in her everyday imagination. The second interlocutor is significantly enclosed by time-distance-related problems. In week-based timetables, her life in Istanbul is divided between the European and Anatolian sides. As a 23-year-old inhabitant, she is already consumed by Istanbul's spatial and temporal burdens. Mobility through walking and being somewhere in time with utmost comfort is her comparison of an imagined everyday life. Finally, with the 30-year-old engineer, we can see how economic burdens are inevitably entangled with Istanbul-grounded possibilities. Living Istanbul only through "a small part" and as a salaried worker being unable to live through the "beauties" in the city, such as the Bosphorus, are two crucial dimensions of this enclosure. Economic status that would enable an inhabitant to avoid daily nuisances is higher than something above the average; that is to say, higher than the salary of an engineer. Where you live and where you work is highly functionalized and at the same time is submitted to the logic of market principles. Valorization of districts forces many to reside in the outer skirts; or they simply cannot afford to live near business districts. As David Harvey discusses, it is the geographical separations between places of production and consumption, land market's reconfiguration of the built environment. Space in this sense is instrumentalized for accumulation. For instance, Yetişkul and Demirel approach gentrification as a process of continuous transformation and emergence. Their

analysis of Istanbul's historic neighborhood Cihangir successfully shows different layers enmeshed in gentrification through various actors from local to the national level, power relations, subjectivities, and resistances. The authors' study of gentrification stresses assemblages and their capacity for the territorialization of the neighborhood. Yet, in a somewhat similar pattern, through the Cihangir example, we also observe the effects generated from a slightly indirect attempt at renewal. As the authors also display, transformation projects around Cihangir, including Beyoglu and Tarlabasi, affected Cihangir primarily in prices, rents, spreading consumer spaces such as cafes, restaurants, hotels, etc. (Yetişkul & Demirel, 2018, pp. 3346-3348). This has been the typical process in Istanbul's neoliberal renewal projects. Historical, central, or simply prosperous neighborhoods after these projects are often valorized and one of the primary outcomes is changing smaller and older businesses into often global facilities of chain-stores. Consumer spaces as such directly affect residential areas and their market value, thus, they increasingly introduce homogeneity in residential and consumer spaces. Hence, emergence, and continuity functioned even better in past decades' market-oriented renewal pattern.

Istanbul is ... expensive ... Where you live, where you work, how qualified your life is, etc. all depend on money. Therefore, if you have money in Istanbul, you have a good life. If you are a member of a low-income family and work in the lower segments, Istanbul is not a beautiful city. You can only look and envy things ... For instance, I have a close friend... He lived in Alibeykoy. He used to take the bus from Alibeykoy, travel for 1 hour and come here with millions of people, in crowds. He was getting a low salary. He was paying off a mortgage. He could not find the financial sufficiency to go out with his wife at the weekend and do an activity. So, he was overwhelmed from his life here (**Male, 27, Vehicle Maintenance Technician**).

This example displays the value-based qualification that an inhabitant is subjected. The problem that was revealed during the interviews was the problem displayed by

the aforementioned comparison between a housewife, student and an engineer. The interlocutor's emphasis on having money is getting a higher basis of criteria. In other words, for a metropolis as big as Istanbul to reach average welfare requires ever-increasing high incomes. The overwhelming aspect of everyday life is equivalently becoming a determinant for a growing number of inhabitants. The core premise is, as Lefebvre illuminates, "the middle-class citizen is uneasily aware that in the society of consumption the consumer is consumed – not himself in flesh and blood, who is still as free as the laborer; not himself, but his life-time". (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 94). A respondent's remark in the matter is striking: *There is a challenge here (Istanbul). My main problem here is population, crowds, to try to go or reach someplace. I live in Kozyatağı and why do I have to work in Maslak? But of course, ... The entire software sector is in Maslak, and I have to suffer the rush hour, the crowds and roads ... But why I can't just live my home at 8:30 a.m. and be at work on 9 a.m.?*⁴(Male, 26, Software Engineer). This, on the one hand implies the commodification of urban space in terms of 'business' districts' and on the other, it is closely related with taking matters of urban life merely as technical problems. Hence, Istanbul's spatial and temporal realities are getting entangled with economic realities for a growing amount of the inhabitants. This overall homogenizes the consuming aspect of the everyday. Inhabitants have become calculative beings out of compulsion; however, these temporal and spatial dynamics have a consuming effect upon their everyday:

I come home at 9 p.m. at best. when I leave work at 8 p.m. I have a dog and I have to walk him. Then it is 10 p.m. If I take a shower and have a snack... well it is already 11 p.m. I have to sleep at 11 because I have to wake up at 6 a.m.... You see, I don't have much of a social life (**Male, 40, Electrician**).

⁴ Kozyatağı is a neighborhood of Kadikoy district on the Anatolian side. Maslak is a central business district on the European side. The distance between Kozyatağı and Maslak is approximately 30 km. Mecidiyekoy-Levent-Maslak axis is the notorious contemporary business center of Istanbul.

I live in Maltepe⁵ and work in Maslak ... I spend 3 to 3,5 hours every day on the roads. My shift starts at 8.30 a.m. I work until 5.30 p.m., but I mostly work overtime ... Even when I don't work overtime, I can be home around 7.30 p.m. at best ... I almost do nothing else. I always feel tired. I don't even meet my friends because I don't have the energy to go out and meet anyone. I used to see them every day now I can see them once in a month. Sometimes I fall asleep at 9 p.m. And the next day... It is all the same (Female, 26, Banker).

As a similar example, a 40-year-old electrician and a 26-year-old banker are significantly homogenous in their everyday practices in Istanbul. Although their class differences have not vanished, they are equally framed by the temporal-spatial challenges they must daily bear. This was more powerful in their perceptions of everyday. In other words, "life in Istanbul" had equivalent levels of automatization and consumption in their imagination. Their practices somehow reflect differences in working hours and days; however, living through them enframes them almost equally in intuition and imagination. Because both interlocutors are inescapably submitted to the structural logic that Istanbul constitutes on them. The economic basis of this logic enframes but also presupposes the spatial and temporal as well. Although the 40-year-old electrician has longer working hours, the 26-year-old banker's obligation to do mostly overtime reduces the difference. Most importantly, her hours spent on the road almost doubles the electrician, which crucially contributes to their spatial and temporal homogenization. Both are forced to appropriate temporal use in Istanbul based on their spatial consumption. The holistic outcome of this condition generated a homogenized experience in making sense of their everyday life in Istanbul. In other words, calculation, organization, and functional appropriation of regular practices produced a homogenized consumption: *You see, I don't have much of a social life* (Male, 40, Electrician); *I*

⁵ Maltepe is an Anatolian district of Istanbul on the shore of the Marmara Sea. On the West side of the shore Maltepe neighbors Kadikoy. The distance between Maslak and Maltepe is between 30 to 35 km depending on the highway route.

almost do nothing else ... Sometimes I fall asleep at 9 p.m. And the next day... It is all the same (Female, 26, Banker).

In this light, Lefebvre's attempt for a unified spatial theory that combined mental and material construction in this sense is significant. Although they belong together, it is possible to say that historically, the material presupposed the mental. In other words, although space is in a constant state of becoming, the historical production of space in capitalist economy has been hegemonic. Istanbul's so-called realities taking the imaginary, alternative or simply ideal possibilities away. Interlocutors mostly feel compressed in a circuit of material needs although they nowadays find the city 'insufferable.' They adapt and keep on simply because they increasingly attach their situation to the 'necessary realities' of life. Perceptions of reality for the interlocutors are significantly getting Istanbul-oriented. According to a 23-year-old media worker nowadays, the consumption inherent in Istanbul's economic hardships has been twofold. Sectoral opportunities are in Istanbul and thus she must live in Istanbul. But due to ever increasing expanses of Istanbul, her work conditions simply do not catch up with the expanses she requires. So, she must work and live in Istanbul but her life in Istanbul is too much of a burden for a proper living. *There is too much pressure. It starts at this very early age... You must start calculations from an early age.* Calculations in the everyday through the commodification of spatial and temporal possibilities generate an actual consumption for inhabitants. It is mostly summed up under one premise: *you can live a quality life in Istanbul if you have money* (Female, 38, Healthcare Officer). Within the perceptions of the interlocutors, a quality and vivid life in Istanbul is reachable only to upper segments due to economic hardships. Hence, above-mentioned remark about "living in Kozyatağı and being forced to work in Maslak" reveals a more serious problem in terms of commodification when the inhabitant is forced to live and bear the hardening conditions in Istanbul. *It is only about working conditions. I mean because of the opportunities in employment and of economic conditions I must live in Istanbul. I am not displeased for living in Istanbul but because of that it must be Istanbul* (Male, 31, Biologist). Faced with the need for

material security, the interlocutors, mostly subjected to a certain path with a certain way of life to satisfy them. However, as Istanbul has been spatially transformed with shopping malls on the one side, gated compounds on the other and in between high-rise business centers; with each identifying socializing, living, and working practices respectively, very few is left for accidental, spontaneous, and undetermined essence of urban experience. Economic capabilities frames most of the inhabitants and enforce them into a certain socio-spatial practice in the quotidian. So that, even unintentionally, they isolate social practices by replacing unexpectedness with organized and planned activities. Inhabitants, as Lefebvre discusses, embrace a “voluntary programmed self-regulation” as conditioned beings (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 72).

3.3. ABSTRACTION OF LIVED EXPERIENCE

The relevance of “abstraction” for the question of lived experience naturally stems from Marx’s early discussion of labor. Marx’s elaboration revealed the systemic detachment of labor from its actual content and the real social practice. As Marx discussed in *Grundrisse*, labor as a wealth-creating activity was discovered in the eighteenth-century in Britain. Work as a mental-physical feature of human’s species-being has not been new. We have always been working. But the very concept of labour has emerged as a historical fact. Simply put, the logic of efficiency required labour to be measured; rationalization in management required it to be quantified. The needs in industrialization did not require the worker as a personality, rather as a category. Hence, “with the abstract universality of wealth-creating activity we now have the universality of the object defined as wealth, the product as such or again labour as such” (37). When one thing appears as common to all, only then the totalizing aspect of abstraction could make labor impossible to be considered alone in a particular form. A means of creating wealth in general, “labor has ceased to be organically linked with particular individuals in any specific form” (Marx, 1973: 37; Stanek, 2008: 67).

Lefebvre's genuine essence in the matter could best be grasped through his famous triad in the production of space. On the one hand, it is what we perceive physically and materially; as concrete, and on the other, it is what we conceive geometrically, mentally, as abstract. As Stuart Elden states, "our mode of reaction to space is not geometric, only our mode of abstraction is". Abstraction for Lefebvre implies a fundamental basis for all-pervasive alienation that eviscerates "the lived" (Elden, 2004, pp. 95-96; Wilson, 2013, p. 366). Thus, abstraction is linked to the decline of everyday as a realm of spontaneity, creativity, and symbolic significance; "human life has progressed: material progress, 'moral' progress -but that is only part of the truth. The deprivation, the alienation of life is its other aspect". Thus, against the theoreticians of progress, Lefebvre wanted to show "the decline of everyday" and "growing alienation" of individuals in the urban phenomenon (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 229). This is how "everydayness" as a category has also been a historical production. Commodification contributes abstraction of what is lived, and everyday life becomes the site of inescapable alienation. For this reason, alienation is no longer confined to the realm of work; rather, it seizes the everyday.

Through the phenomenon of the metropolis, everydayness acquired even more enclosing implications. Metropolitan experience as a daily reality is increasingly losing its genuine ability to relate and comprehend. Life-world's plurality and spontaneity is mostly eroding by homogenizing tendencies. All the same, these tendencies have the characteristic of abstraction as a representational expression of alienation:

There is a young colleague here. The boy travels 2 hours to come to office. He lives somewhere called Güvercintepe. I have never heard of it but apparently it is somewhere above the Atatürk Olympic Stadium. He said he was first using 'dolmush', which takes off every 45 minutes... 45 minutes can you believe it? If he is late, he will have to wait for another 45 minutes. Then after the dolmush he gets on a bus... Imagine the suffering he daily bears. He comes to work at a very early hour with such exhaustion and at work you are expecting efficiency from him... How can

you ever expect efficiency from him? In the evening all the same. After 3 p.m. he starts to feel stressed because of his way back home. He starts thinking about the evening traffic. At least 2 more hours... Istanbul... makes life impossible (**Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee**).

To begin with, the interlocutor's emphasis on his colleague reveals the entangled relationship between commodification and abstraction. The young colleague must embrace rationalized conducts to catch up with the clock time because he is dependent upon Istanbul's socioeconomic landscape, hence his everyday reflects abstraction in the close circuit of mechanized check lists. For if he had the capability to choose between living and working estates, if he could have more spontaneous possibilities for mobility, his temporal fixation on everyday could have been spared. The more rationalized he became, the more homogenously his everyday conduct is framed. Consequently, reflections upon rationalization and homogenization are predominantly related to Lefebvre's elaboration of the modern everyday. Particularly, it connotes abstraction in totalization and a direct outcome of such blasé experiences is alienation as an everyday phenomenon. For instance, similar to young colleague's experience, a modern inhabitant's perception of the route from home to work is often directed to conceptualizations by modern urban planning. The physical touch, or rather, his/her interaction is lost under functionalized paths of efficiency. Within metropolitan reality, the strict and abstracted "reaching to a destination" is particularly dominant in the everyday. This abstraction is reflected upon the lived space and lived experience, simply because, socially lived space and time depend on material and mental constructs. As Heidegger notes, we do not dwell because we have built, but we build and have built because we dwell, that is because we are dwellers. Dwelling implies the totality of our daily relationships based upon authentic experiences and memories. Hence, alienation through abstracted practices prevails as inhabitants become mere consumers instead of producers in the city (Heidegger 1993, p. 350; Elden, 2004, pp. 95-96; Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 337).

For the subject matter, interlocutors with various socio-economic backgrounds have displayed similar typologies for abstraction. Their particular experiences naturally varied; however general symptoms displayed a remarkable similarity. The interlocutors, as regular metrobus passengers, use the metrobus between 4 to 6 days each week, mornings, and evenings. In this regard, their strict daily routine is mostly tied to commuting. They must work, if not study. Weeks are inevitably regulated by the commuting schedules that are time spent at work and on the road. Major premises I explained above, rationalization, homogenization, and consumption inherent in the commodification of space and time also structure the very meaning of what is lived and experienced in these everyday schedules. The question concerns itself with the content of Lefebvre's lived space or Soja's Thirdspace; that is to say, spatial existence of plurality, spontaneity, and authenticity. Ideally, this would be the content of becoming with De Certeau's singularities. However, everyday life in Istanbul significantly connoted abstraction by often devouring these possibilities, and it generated a fixed cartesian sphere for the quotidian under the symptoms mentioned above. During the interviews, the most striking description has been *I am not living this city*. Grammatically, this sentence may sound bizarre; however, the interlocutor meant that although she lived in Istanbul, her daily life experiences reflected the opposite. Although she lacked the term, her description implied a severe form of absence, or rather abstraction. Perspective of the interlocutor clarifies that; the abstraction is experienced through absence in togetherness but also through the absence of interaction with actual surroundings. It is the abstraction of an overall sociality:

All the rush... You are not social when you rush ... for example, you have 25 minutes to go to a hospital and ideally, you can use the time on the road to live, to feel the city. But simply you don't do that. Your mind is occupied with your aim and you go for your aim. You become transit. It's like running. You know when you run, the world around gets blurred and you can't have a clear view of things. Just like that, as if life gives us those blurred images. We don't see anymore, even if we don't run ... I realized

that especially during my weeks ‘I don’t live the city’ anymore. It doesn’t matter which transport I use, where and how I go. I am not interacting with my environment. The only thing that matters is this: I will get off in 10 minutes and I have to run to catch that other bus **(Female, 30, Architect)**.

Her apprehension of “blurred images” reflects the problematized meaning of what is lived in these everyday schedules. Her experience is homogenized under rationalized conduct, and they constitute an alienated routine of cyclical mobility. More importantly, she no longer perceives the quotidian as a realm of spontaneous experience. Istanbul as a conceptualized representation transforms and alienates the very image of her everyday life. Istanbul constructs an abstracted meaning through the quotidian because, as she states, she is not interacting with her environment except through constant calculations. *Becoming transit* defines her detachment from individuals, but also from surroundings that comprise subjects, objects, and practices. All things that constitute a socio-spatial engagement are subjected to her detachment. Hence, Lefebvre’s triad in the production of space embraces the critique of the modern quotidian. The interlocutor’s physical route as a concrete experience is abstracted under the conceptualized mobility because she practices mobility through Istanbul’s ideologic landscape. Together, they produce alienation of the lived, which is reflected in her daily interaction with Istanbul. Hence, the interlocutor's ability to relate herself is becoming harder in her transit mode of existence. Istanbul establishes a structure that tends to silence and fix the myriad of stories. Thus, the interlocutor as a conditioned being is no longer spontaneous. Self-regulation as an innate principle comes through voluntary programming. She summarized this as follows: *The only thing that matters is this: I will get off in 10 minutes and I have to run to catch that other bus*. Through her story, the problematized spatial-temporal basis of this mode is yet revealed. Martina Löw calls it the institutionalization of spaces, and accordingly, “in regularized social practices, these institutionalized orderings are reproduced through action”. Briefly, these actions make up the predictable behavior norms (Löw, 2008: 37). Put differently, when spontaneity is abstracted from action, and when the hegemonic

codes of the spatial surpass the act itself, then the space is institutionalized. Intentionally and unintentionally, we think of spaces within their appropriate norms and act accordingly. These norms can either be structured by the dominant ideology, or they can be relationally constructed. Consequently, abstraction as a dominant mode of representation becomes a crucial example how “alienation is spreading and becoming so powerful that it obliterates all trace or consciousness of alienation” (Lefebvre, 1971: 94). It is the increasing disappearance of representational space into the representations of space. In other words, it is the “devastating conquest of the lived by the conceived, by abstraction” (Wilson, 2013: 366).

I can't communicate with anyone anymore... For instance, I am going to shop; I used to talk with the staff there happily. It would made me happy; we would laugh. I would thank and leave. But now, I have come to see that my social efforts are in vain. Istanbul is consuming me, and I started to change... I, too, don't smile or greet anyone anymore. I am slowly returning to myself, I am withdrawing, and it is making me sad... I can't help but become like others. (**Female, 20, Student**).

Stories as such had a significant proportion during the interviews. Abstraction in everyday life stories did not come in a structured typology; instead, they were dispersed and various. For instance, the interlocutor's emphasis on *change* was not attributed to a particular moment or memory; instead, she gave the example of smiling and greeting to imply her growing detachment in her overall daily interactions. Because she also reflected premises of everyday alienation despite her young age. Her daily schedules were very busy as a university student because she had to travel almost 62 km from Beylikduzu to Atasehir to the university campus, making more than 120 km morning and evening. An unthinkable distance for a city-dweller is the utmost reality for her in Istanbul. Thus, she has inevitably become from someone used to greeting and laughing with unacquainted others to someone blasé out of consumption. This is another example of what metropolitan scale means for Istanbulites, hence, adapting into appropriate conducts has been a

necessary and common reality for the interlocutors: *I used to walk in Bodrum. I must run in Istanbul because Istanbul forces you to move fast* (Male, 27, Video Editor). Regardless of the inhabitants' authentic practices, unframed spontaneities, "Istanbul forces" into rushing. Bodrum-grounded practices had to be transformed because mobility in the everyday life of Istanbul demands speed from the inhabitants. As to why, the interlocutor added: *Because Istanbul is a high-speed city, even our steps are too fast. We are in a constant state of catching up with something and this is the most significant difference from Bodrum*. For this reason, they must calculate and rationalize conducts and thus, growingly homogenize. Hence, issues concerning space and everyday practices, on the one hand are functionalized under hegemonic structures of global modernity, and on the other they are reproduced by the practices down-below, either conforming or inverting these top-down structures. For Istanbul often conformity has been emphasized. *Sometimes I don't even understand how my week ends. I don't even comprehend how time flows ... I lose awareness* (Male, 46, IT Specialist). "Losing awareness" is another example of how abstraction can pervade and interfere with the ordinary course of events. In other words, the more it becomes a "normalized" aspect of daily practices, the more inhabitants embrace it as "ordinary". From a different angle, the 27-year-old video editor explained how he was shocked to learn that almost 60 thousand inhabitants in Istanbul did not actually see the sea. They did not even accidentally come or travel across the sea. He continued; *I came to see that most people here live unwittingly. I mean if there is 10 million living here, only 1 million of them is actually living Istanbul. For the rest it doesn't seem to make a difference whether they live in Istanbul or somewhere else*. He emphasized the closed circuit that most of the inhabitants in Istanbul have. Insufficient time, energy and economic conditions establish barriers for a vivid experience of Istanbul. Only a tiny proportion of the city's 16 million population is actually in awareness – that is, "living the city". The emphasis on *living Istanbul* instead of "living in Istanbul" had been genuinely powerful. And because of that, like the 30-year-old architect, the interlocutor implied how life in Istanbul has transformed into an "unwitting" form. This has been, for the interlocutors, a negative mediation: *Everyone I see in this city*

is very unhappy. There isn't any joy, energy or that light in their eyes. Never, because the city is too exhausting ... And I realized how capitalist this city was, how it is structured upon cheap labor ... how exploitative it is (Male, 27, Video Editor). The consuming essence in everyday life of Istanbul has equally been a powerful outcome. "Not living the city," in the sense, is significantly derived by this consuming structure of everydayness and further contributed to abstraction.

Am I unhappy for living in Istanbul? I don't think so. But we are like robots. that is how I feel when I think of my daily experiences in Istanbul
(Female, 31, Research Assistant).

Living like "robots" was probably a second striking description during the interviews. As discussed in the previous chapter, Karaman's study on Basibuyuk gave the same apprehension from a slum dweller who emphasized his fixed everyday life due to the pressure of his TOKI mortgage payments. He, too, stated that he felt himself like "a robot" (Karaman, 2013, p. 727). The common ground that generated this metaphor between a slum worker and an academic does not stem from their economic and class conditions. However, it is striking to see their perceptions of robotic lives in Istanbul homogenously and stemming from daily burdens. Because she added, *I do not experience Istanbul... I experience work, for instance, but it is a workplace, not Istanbul. It doesn't matter if that workplace is in Istanbul or another city in another country. I experience Istanbul... probably while commuting the most.* Her lack of experience is, thus, based on the enclosing aspect of routines. Her perception is also similar to the comment above: living in Istanbul "unwittingly". In this sense, the impact of economic pressures on everyday perceptions is as abstracted as with the people who circle through daily routines in Istanbul. However, in Lefebvre's words, everyday life is about all kinds of activities and despite their differences or conflicts, it is everyday life that encompasses them. Because "it is their meeting place, their bond, their common ground and it is in everyday life that the sum total of relations which make the human – a whole takes its shape and its form" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 97). Lived spaces are constructed out of interrelations. They can undermine prevailing orders and discourses. A linkage

between space, attachment and authenticity can be established. In fact, modern city in most cases has been reimagined as a site of connection. Doreen Massey has referred this phenomenon as “thrown-togetherness”, while for Sennett a city is a place where people can experience unfamiliar lives, get connected to their interests and so, they can develop a richer, more complex sense of themselves. Micro scale encounters and interactions in the everyday life, such as holding doors, sharing seats, talking to one another as shopkeepers, customers, passengers, regulars in cafes or restaurants and even in a bus queue, are referred by Ash Amin as “small achievements in the good city” (Massey, 2005, pp. 151-152; Valentine, 2008, p. 324). These possibilities and also poaching tactics in the everyday life are still real and have potential; but they are slowly losing their ground:

I think life is about embracement. It is to internalize. But in Istanbul we never internalize things, rather we consume them. Every day and all the time. We consume time, we consume activities, and we even consume the people that surround us (**Male, 38, Copywriter**).

In Gyani’s words, the metropolis “made the urban dweller lethargic”. Everyday life and mentality are determined by the “over-rationalized” and “stimulation-rich” urban culture. Blasé existence in this sense is the price to preserve inhabitants’ “autonomy as modern personalities” (Gyani, 2017, p. 148). Because the metropolis constitutes itself often as “a structure of negative mediation”. To that end, social bonding almost in a deconstructive way establishes itself as anti-bonding (Weinstein & Weinstein, 1993, pp. 121-122). In this regard, the interlocutor almost summarized the main essence of the problematized discussion of this chapter: *But in Istanbul we never internalize things, rather we consume them*. Not being able to produce or relate is, for a city inhabitant, inevitably dominates the consuming and consequently abstracted content of experience. The interlocutor defines consumption almost as a powerful effect as the obliterated traces of alienation. Because in his perspective, we do not merely consume consumable things, but the course of life in Istanbul is constructive of consumption as a daily phenomenon. This includes time, things, activities, and even other inhabitants. Through Istanbul’s

abstracted pattern, direct reaction and interaction are increasingly eroding. Out of necessitated practices, they are increasingly losing the things that make us social beings in the first place. Almost as an example of “anti-bonding”, for a 33-year-old interlocutor, this at the same time meant loneliness in a city with almost 17 million population:

I was born in Samsun. In Samsun, I can reach the furthest place in half an hour. But here, I must leave at least half an hour early than the usual duration. And I spend 1 hour on the road. So, I'm wasting 1.5 hours of time. That's the time when you start thinking. 1,5 hours on the road... The more you think, the more stressful you get. How will I do this, how will this be, and so on ... In Samsun, when I wanted to stop by a friend, I would not use more than 10 minutes. Now it takes eight months or so in Istanbul for me to see a friend who lives in Kadikoy. Because my everyday route does not cross with Kadikoy. And I don't have the time. These things make you lonely. You are always with yourself here, you are 15 million in Istanbul, but you are always alone **(Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee)**.

Abstraction fundamentally alters the ‘sociation’ towards alienation as a daily phenomenon. As the interlocutor stressed, spontaneity does not erode merely for possible activities, but it may permeate into essential socializing moments. Since the interlocutor's life, work, and commuting practices occur on the European side, making an uncalculated social visit to the Anatolian side is challenging for him. His comparison of the condition with his hometown is equally striking. It reemphasizes the inhabitant's constitution with spatial and temporal appropriation: *In Samsun, when I wanted to stop by a friend, I would not use more than 10 minutes*. Samsun, with approximately 1 million 300 thousand population, is located on the northern coast of Turkey, an important Black Sea port. An important Northern city in Turkey does not have a chance to catch up with the scale and population of Istanbul. The distinctive characteristics of Istanbul emphasize the difference between spending minutes on roads and more than one hour as an optimal option peculiar to Istanbul:

But here, I must leave at least half an hour early than the usual duration. And I spend 1 hour on the road. So, I'm wasting 1.5 hours of time.

Overall, automatized, abstracted, and inevitably alienated everyday leads the individual to “not to think” anymore. Comprehension or critical reflection as a fundamental human essence also loses sight within alienated totalization. When consumption is added to feelings of stress or loneliness, it becomes clear why interlocutors prefer not to think, i.e., question anymore. As this chapter emphasized, their life practices are significantly framed by economic capabilities – in the sense that Istanbul decides their working, living and socializing states. But, most importantly, they are framed in the first place in choosing between living in Istanbul or another city. For many of them, employment opportunities are forcing them to live in Istanbul. Hence, stressful self-reflections generate more burden since they do not feel that they have a proper alternative. Although many interlocutors emphasized this burden stemming from stressful thoughts, some, quite interestingly, emphasized the opposite. During the interviews, interlocutors mostly started their stories somewhat adapted manner. They displayed self-reflection only as they began to think about particular questions in their daily practices, but their self-reflections have equivalently been critical. Following responses all highlight an unsettling feeling in their perceptions. All three talked about the necessity for Istanbulites to buffer themselves; hence, not questioning or overthinking is what they needed. This has been equally powerful in all three, so they related this need to the possibility of happiness in this city:

Things just flow like that. After a point, you stop thinking. You never question your situation. Because everyone does the same thing. It is not just me. Everyone must suffer in these roads; everyone must work and must earn money. So honestly, I don't question anymore why I have to spend 2 hours on the roads, why I have to work for 12 hours a day. I am completely tied to the routine ... Afterall If you question, you can't live in this city **(Male, 26, Software Engineer)**.

How far can you go by questioning? If you can't change anything, if you have to follow that routine ... you can't adapt by questioning. In certain matters 'not questioning' actually makes you happy **(Female, 30, Architect)**.

We are humans we think but in Istanbul you shouldn't think too much. If you want to be happy you must adapt. If you keep questioning you certainly be unhappy **(Male, 38, Copywriter)**.

Their emphasis on not thinking equally stresses the importance of leveling, *because everyone does the same thing*. Thus, questioning does not help but to make it impossible to live in the city. To live, and to have some sense of happiness, *you must adapt* because *you can't adapt by questioning*. Three different story makes almost a complete-single story when used as cross-dialogues. Since all three presented almost a common ground: Everyone in Istanbul must follow busy and tight schedules as routines, so, thinking/questioning is meaningless. By questioning one cannot adapt, let alone, live in this city. In this regard, their emphasis is a solid example of how cognitively and practically "normalizing" functions in everyday practices. Space is a social product that is lived through meaning, reaction, and interaction; however, the phenomenon of urbanization generated a built environment, an urban reality. Hence, conceptual subjection of space gradually abstracted the chances of the lived.

Erosion of plural lifeworld and consumption of the inhabitant's lifetime in our concept cities have generated a daily "normal" that is mostly based upon necessity. We surely do experience but the content of our lived experience is increasingly getting subjected to abstractions. It has surpassed our conceptions and began to dominate our directly lived reactions. In the everyday alienation, we have inevitably been homogenized in rationalized mediations and we increasingly feel the need to buffer ourselves by simply "not thinking". From Aristotelian *zoon politikon* to the Marxist species-being; rational-reflexive human essence is significantly enframed in Istanbul-like urban mediations. For Hannah Arendt this condition implied "the

loss of the world”. As such, the rational absorption of modernity generates a certain kind of conformity. It is the age of rational bureaucratization, rather than politics of action; mass society rather than authenticity and it is the realm of the social in which the victory of animal laborans was achieved against the zoon politikon. Thus, spontaneous human action was eroded in the world of isolation and loneliness. Necessity based, consuming and calculative essences of modernity had a devouring effect. An effect that eroded plural worlds of individuality and chances of spontaneity (Arendt, 1961, p. 89-90).

* * *

Istanbul’s inhabitants experience in the context of everyday life. In an often-regulated essence, they move and live through the city's socio-spatial structure. These, in return, reveal inhabitants' subjectivities, practices, relations, and ideas toward others and things in the city because everyday life unfolds the life sphere of its inhabitants. For instance, an inhabitant living in Kartal and working in Maslak is inevitably framed by the weekly mobility between these neighborhoods. On the other hand, mobility is significantly decided by the possibilities of public transport in the city. Hence her/his activities must be practiced through the regulation of Istanbul's metropolitan dynamics. Therefore, the totality of these life practices is realized in everydayness, and they define the ground of experience for the inhabitants. In this regard, the first thing that must be elaborated on was the question of the everyday. Since it is in the context of everyday life, in the particular framework of everydayness, the residents practice mobility, encounter, and be together. Hence, the question of everyday in Istanbul was critical in displaying the inhabitants' spatial and temporal relations and characteristics, especially when this relation is realized as a public practice. Consequently, the chapter analyzed the meaning and practice of everyday in Istanbul lived by the inhabitants through three significant characteristics: everyday nostalgia, spatial and temporal commodification, and abstraction of the lived experience. What unfolded will be presented through the interlocutors' adjusted practice of the bus rapid transit. Hence, the next chapter will analyze the metrobus-grounded practices, experiences, and

constitutions of the interlocutors in the everydayness of Istanbul and will present what these practices reveal in their subjectivities and their perceptions toward others in the context of regulated mobility.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE METROBUS

At 16.50 I was at the Söğütliçeşme station. The crowd was average since my take-off was a bit early for the rush hour... The metrobus got more and more crowded as we moved along, and at Avcılar-Istanbul University station we had no available personal space left... No matter how fast you travel that 40 to 50 kms, the journey itself is tiresome even without the crowds. The scenery is constant. You keep watching the highway with lots of traffic jam. Hundreds of cars in traffic, concrete constructions alongside the road are the only scenery you can get in a metrobus. I think this is also consuming... In a sense we all live the city within automobiles, but that city from a metrobus looks dull, mechanic, and changeless. Nevertheless, people seemed accustomed, except almost all of them were in search of an empty seat, which is understandable considering the density and the length of the journey... In central Beylikdüzü I got off and switched to the opposite direction... The bus was overcrowded but interestingly I managed to hear a conversation between two middle-aged men. One of them was complaining about the crowd and the other said; “Yes but imagine you live in Haramidere, how will you travel to Kadikoy without a metrobus? It is impossible. Metrobus is a need no one can argue about it. But yes, it is also very primitive”. The other one agreed and unfortunately new passengers boarded as we approached to a station, and I lost them.

22 January 2019, Tuesday 16:50-19:40

New modes and means of mobilities emerged through the historical evolution of cities, and our everyday life accelerated in speed and time. The rush hour syndrome of the modern commuter is a clear example. However, as David Bissell notes, commuting meant no more than an average of fifty meters of travel each day in the early nineteenth century. As cities became centers in the flux of “infrastructurally mediated flow, movement, and exchange,” they began to articulate “the corporeal movements of people and their bodies via complex and multiple systems of physical transportation” (Bissell, 2018: xiv; Graham & Marvin, 2001: 8-10). Consequently, Tim Cresswell discusses mobility as a central aspect of Western modernity because

our adjusted modes of mobility also emerged in the historical process. For instance, in medieval Europe, “the vast majority of people stayed pretty much where they were” (10). On the one hand, they lacked transportation means and were mostly tied to the land. On the other hand, even the idea of movement beyond the familiar and the local was feared. The rise of the city accompanied new technologies and began to displace inhabitants from the land. Hence, the practice and notion of mobility began to change. For Cresswell, the word modern in mobilities evoke the image of technologies in adjusted mobility; the car, the train, the plane; but at the same time, it defines “a world of increased movement of people on a global scale” (Cresswell, 2006: 10, 15). Thus, movement is both spatial and temporal. Space and time become the context and the product of movement because the standardization of time accompanies the functional production of space. Time, like Lefebvrian space, has also been extracted from nature, from the “immediate experience,” and it was regulated as clock time. Through timetables and daily schedules, it has been placed “in the world of abstraction—abstraction ruled, for the most part, by the demands of trade and capital” (Cresswell, 2006: 4-5).

In this light, like Lefebvre’s theory of space, mobilities research also embraced a multilayered aspect over the past decades. Because for a long time, the time spent on the road was assumed to be “dead time” since practices of movement were often considered functional necessities within the everyday. New approaches to mobilities bring social, spatial, and cultural concerns together and analyze them within a set of relations that constitute subjects, spaces, and meaning. The social production of mobilities generates a ground for the spatial-temporal form, but at the same time, it unfolds a realm for symbolic meaning (Sheller, 2011: 1). For John Urry and Mimi Sheller, this requires a new paradigm for mobilities. Accordingly, “time spent traveling is not dead time”. The new paradigm, in this regard, displays that “being on the move can involve sets of ‘occasioned’ activities”. Hence, different modes of travel are also “forms of material and sociable dwelling-in-motion, places of and for various activities” (Urry & Sheller, 2006: 213). With an emphasis to such “occasioned” activities, Urry and Sheller bring a variety of

possibilities and show the ways in which “various kinds of moves make social and material realities” (Sheller, 2011: 7). Since even the perception of ‘where’ is actualized through the alignment of materiality, vision, and inhabitation. The variety in human and non-human encounters contributes to them. To unfold meanings and perceptions, David Bissell reevaluates the concept of social embedded in mobility. Social implies more than interactional configurations of bodies and their performances. So that, even with the passivity and the lack of intentional, active practices, “intense negative effects still have the capacity to temper the lived experience of being with others” (282). On the other hand, for Anne Jensen, mobility is enmeshed with spatial settings and are subjected to diverse forms of power. Like Cresswell, she also stresses the social condition of mobility as a “general principle of modernity”. Thus, unconscious aspects of spatialized mobility are connected, and both are presented as a channel of power-ridden practices (Urry & Sheller, 2006, p. 214; Bissell, 2010, p. 282; Jensen, 2011, pp. 255-256). Hence, the social aspect in the spatial-temporal movement brings forth a multilayered texture of the form, meaning and power enmeshed in the settings of mobility and a more comprehensive understanding for private and public subjectivities.

Consequently, this chapter inquiries about the essence of regular metrobus passengering and aims to reveal the meaning and perception it socio-spatially unfolds. Regular metrobus use in the everydayness of Istanbul generates critical questions for the constitution of subjectivities and public experiences of inhabitants. From their apprehension of the metrobus as a major need in Istanbul to various spatial practices, this chapter questions the spatial-temporal impact of the metrobus on the outlook of regular passengers who significantly rely on its transit efficiency in their everyday lives. Because in Istanbul, to avoid crowds or the traffic on the roads has become shared aspects of everyday mobilities particularly for commuters. In fact, out of the 29 interviews that I conducted, all 29 of the interlocutors emphasized a practical need for the metrobus. This was the only finding for which there were no exceptions. However, the shared aspect of “need” is significant for

revealing the normalization of metrobus as a daily necessity. Thus, to provide an extensive analysis of socio-spatial aspects that the metrobus presents, first, I will discuss the metrobus as an everyday need. From the idea of mobility as a socio-spatial practice to the necessitated maximization of space-time, the metrobus as a need will display the constriction of regulars' experience through growing dependency. Second, I will analyze the metrobus-grounded spatial practices and bring forth enclosing and molding dynamics of the spatial experience that it constitutes. Finally, I will examine the abstracting essence that first, this dependency, and second its spatial practices construct on interlocutors, i.e., its alienating effect. Taken together, the meaning of the metrobus experience in everydayness exceeds the mere instrumentality of means-ends reasoning and establishes a cognitive and practical constitution for the interlocutors as socio-spatial beings.

4.1.“METROBUS IS A NEED NOW”: NECESSITATING TRANSIT MOBILITY

I started the day with the usual routine, but that routine broke down at the Sogutlucemes station. Simply because I encountered a massive crowd. Not the usual rush-hour crowd, extensive crowd. So that I couldn't even go through the turnstiles. People were pushing one another to use the turnstiles and literally, they were squeezing themselves in. I waited at the corner outside of the station and then heard someone complaining. It seems that for like 10-15 minutes there had been no single metrobus. Some delay, they said. Maybe it was because of a technical issue, I couldn't figure it out, but the result was shocking. 10 minutes delay of the metrobus generated chaos at the station... This is an important example of what planning and order mean to Istanbul. The city is rapid, people are rapid, so the services need to be rapid. Everything must follow the clock. Especially if it is a vital transportation service, like the metrobus. If you miss the clock; if a technical malfunction occurs, the city and the people fall into chaos. Complaints, scolds, shouts, hustle and bustle...

20 February 2019, Wednesday 08:00-10:30

Hannah Arendt indicates humans as conditioned beings. We are conditioned because whatever “enters into a sustained relationship with human life immediately assumes the character of a condition of human existence”. Our production of the things of this world defines the realm in which we act upon. We construct them and are conditioned by them (Arendt, 1998, 9). City-life posits the individual as a conditioned being as well. Conditioning embraces a diversity of life processes; from everyday conducts, needs, and practices to the very idea of desiring and fulfilling them, we have become increasingly city-bound. Even the most natural need of humans, such as shelter, has evolved through transformative epochs to give us the idea of housing with modern architecture. The life process conditions us primarily upon our needs and the primary aspect of needs relates itself to life-sustaining activities. For Harvey cities are constituted out of flows of necessities that sustain life and they are organized within the everyday as Lefebvre’s closed circuit of consumption-production-consumption emphasized (Arendt, 1998, p. 30; Harvey, 2003, p. 34; Lefebvre, 1971, pp. 72-73). Therefore, modern mobilities inevitably embraced these needs, but the striking thing is that mobility itself has become a necessity by exceeding the mere satisfaction of needs. As John Urry discusses, with the emergence of mobile societies, life is hurried, the self and its everyday has been reshaped. Life is “on the move” now and this is the new “in which the capacity to be ‘elsewhere’ at a different time from others is central” (Urry, 2011, p. 6-7). When compulsory movement like commuting is considered, this capacity becomes a significant determinant of modern everyday.

Istanbul’s metrobuses are notable products of this modern outlook and as the interviews indicated they have become necessitating aspects of everyday mobility in Istanbul. As discussed, the introduction of the bus rapid transit was aligned with the planning paradigm because starting from the early 2000s, growing needs in mobility were proportional to population growth and economic development. The idea of a bus rapid transit outshined the railway projects because it would provide “a high-capacity and high-quality service that would be cheaper and quicker to build than an urban rail system” (795) (Alpkokin & Ergun, 2012: 59; Sutcliffe-Babalik

& Cengiz, 2015: 795). Metrobuses reorganized the public transport because overall “1536 vehicles of intermediate forms of public transportation, partly or fully using the metrobus corridor, were removed” (Alpkokin & Ergun, 2012: 61). Still, metrobuses concurrently reflect the dominance of motorization in Istanbul’s public transport. The daily ridership of highway transport in 2019 was 77%. Railway and seaway were 18% and 4% respectively. These numbers reveal the logic of development for mass transport and the logic of urgent solution presented by the metrobus project (TUIK, 2020; IETT, 2019). With metrobus’ unprecedented popularity, mobility in Istanbul has increasingly become a rapid-transit phenomenon. This has transformed the everyday realities of inhabitants significantly and almost made the metrobus *the most practical transport in Istanbul*:

Metrobus ... The most practical transport in Istanbul. It is fast, it avoids traffic. It keeps going except the bridge and even there it doesn’t lose much ... for me speed is the answer. It is a transit line, it is fixed. Once you get on you keep going ... No surprises. The time of arrival is certain and that’s nice **(Male, 30, Metallurgy Engineer)**.

The metrobus is the answer for *speed*; since it is transit, things are *fixed* with the metrobus, hence, *no surprises*. The interlocutor’s brief response summarizes the practical necessity that Istanbulites compel to. This may be another example of adjusted rationalized conduct and, thus, growing homogeneity among the interlocutors. When the idea and practice of everyday life are enframed by the concept of minimum surprises in *time of arrival*, daily movement transforms into instrumental means-ends reasoning. The reasons behind such constitutions are the symptomatic characteristics of the metropolis discussed so far. With the words of another:

...in Istanbul traffic and time become your answer. The comfort comes with the transit line because it avoids the traffic. The metrobus does that, it is transit and for this reason I find it very comfortable... It has advantages because you are transit **(Female, 25, Pilates Instructor)**.

Interlocutors' positive apprehension of the metrobus came with the functional and practical benefits of the bus rapid transit. Since *traffic and time become your answer*, extensive kilometers of travel that avoids traffic generates the utmost benefits for commuting and rush hour. The *comfort*, the interlocutor, emphasized, does not directly imply the spatial practice, as it will be discussed, but instead, it is about the speed. In this light, the metrobus has become a vital part of "hurried lives on the move". Although the movement is a need, the metrobus has preceded this need to make itself an actual necessity. Hence, the metrobus is generating an interdependency for the interlocutors by constituting itself as the most practical and reliable transport. This constitution significantly dominates the remaining possibilities of mobility:

It is always crowded and chaotic, but apart from that, it has somehow become one of the city's arteries. In other words, how would it be without the metrobus? What would be the alternative? Frankly, I can't imagine it anymore ... Metrobus is a need now **(Male, 27, Video Editor)**.

Metrobus has become like an artery in Istanbul because its transit line provides all the interlocutors a temporal efficiency, and this has frequently been emphasized through the concept of "speed". First, speed implies the bus rapid transit. Metrobus avoids Istanbul's traffic by traveling on its prioritized road. This is a crucial criterion especially for commuters. Second, speed implies saving time spent on the roads and the determinant here is metrobus' strategic route on the E-5 highway. Metrobus is "located on one of the highest demand corridors", the E-5 highway because it provides convenience for crossing the Bosphorus and a clear access to business districts both from the western and eastern sides of Istanbul. Therefore, the corridor route to the E-5 highway was a deliberate choice (Sutcliffe-Babalik & Cengiz, 2015, pp. 804-805). Metrobus is the sum result of cheaper, efficient, transit mobility in the strategic corridor. In this regard, these two aspects are enmeshed with the perception of speed:

There are lots of buses actually, but it is not possible to use them on weekdays because there is too much traffic. So, I have less than 6 stations on my way to work ... Traveling 6 stations by metrobus takes only 15 minutes, but it reaches at least half an hour with those buses. The same distance, but its duration doubles with the bus. Well, it logically seems impossible, but it happens (**Male, 26, Cargo Operation**).

His emphasis on logical amazement is the widespread understanding among the interlocutors for this necessitated reliability. Six stations take 15 minutes with the metrobus; however, this amounts to at least half an hour with the bus in regular city traffic. Perception of speed implies taking the distance based on six stations in less than half an hour. The essence of need embedded in metrobus mobility often revealed itself with similar comparisons. Undoubtedly, for the interlocutors, transit-ness and the strategic line of the metrobus make it significantly attractive; however, interestingly, the latter is not a direct determinant of the former. Simply put, speed as a preference does not always imply avoiding the traffic on the roads. Although it is a robust criterion, the existence of the metrobus often outshines optimal alternatives. Because interlocutors' perception of movement from point A to B is increasingly being constituted by the metrobus speed. Some mentioned that although they could reach alternative lines and were not exposed to direct traffic, they still preferred the metrobus. Travel via metrobus is not only rapid, but it is also exact. Although interlocutors often use transfer lines after the metrobus, they are considerably adapted to the punctuality of the metrobus. Metrobus saves time significantly, and this is a conceivable criterion in a metropolis like Istanbul. However, their reliance is engendering a growing dependency in their conception of mobility.

Transportation is easier with the metrobus. I travel faster. I go on time. I am less likely to be late.... That's why I can't do this with a bus ... Because I know I will be in Kucukcekmece in 30 minutes. I have a 10-15-minute walk from home. Taking that into account, I know that after 35 minutes, I

will be in Kucukcekmece. I calculate and leave home accordingly. That's why I prefer the metrobus **(Female, 38, Healthcare Officer)**.

I am less likely to be late is another aspect of this speed-based dependency because the interlocutor is not having any significant doubts about the duration of her commuting. She *calculates and leaves home accordingly* because it will be only a 35-minute journey in precision. The distance between Beylikduzu and Kucukcekmece is approximately 23 km, and without the metrobus it would not take less than an hour in Istanbul's traffic, let alone exactness. Beyond any question, the metrobus makes normally long distances considerably shorter. With the metrobus it is quite possible for an inhabitant in Beylikduzu to commute Kadikoy even though it takes approximately one and half hours. Because without the metrobus this would take no less than 2 to 3 hours, based on the traffic and density of public transport. *I use compulsorily because I must travel 23 stations. Right from Avcilar up until Zincirlikuyu* (Female, 22, Student). Thus, demand for the metrobus has been in proportional growth as it became a crucial aspect for everyday mobility in Istanbul. From a student's perspective, this relationship is straightforward. Because university campuses in Istanbul are scattered through the city and as she stresses, she must travel through 23 stations from Avcilar which would take hours without the metrobus. Her dependency is unidirectional since she cannot replace the spatial-temporal maximization of the metrobus. In a similar vein, another interlocutor explained this relationship also straightforwardly: *I must work; I must go to work. There isn't any moment of joy in it. This is what I must do. I enjoy sleeping. The later I wake up, the happier I am. That's why I don't see the metrobus with pleasure. The metrobus is just speed for me* (Male, 26, Software Engineer). Pleasure or being content is not related to the essence of metrobus mobility; instead, it defines simple means-ends reasoning for the interlocutor. His preference for the metrobus refers to his routine calculations toward the speed-distance ratio. This implies the Arendtian discussion of hierarchy reflected in needs or necessities (Arendt, 1998, p. 30). They tend to dominate priorities within our daily activities. To sustain lives we must work, to work we must commute and to commute we must generate timetables and

routes. Istanbul's metropolitan structure frames these aspects significantly. Consequently, the strategic route, speed, and efficiency of the metrobus inevitably and conceivably generates dependency:

For example, Çaglayan is an inaccessible place for many people. Especially for those who live in the Anatolian side. But with the metrobus it just takes half an hour. Exactly from door to door. I go from Acibadem to Kadikoy in the same duration **(Female, 26, Trainee Solicitor)**.

The metrobus is simply inevitable, especially for some routes. I have a car but for instance, if I must go to Avcilar I never take my car... In fact, I don't cross to the European side with my car. The metrobus takes me there in one or one and a half hours... It is very punctual and reliable **(Female, 30, Inspector)**.

Traveling from Acibadem to Çaglayan in the same duration as walking the average of 6 km between Kadikoy and Acibadem is a significant example of speed-based perceptions regarding the metrobus. The meaning inherent of this perception is related to the former response about modern obligations. Sleeping more is what makes the interlocutor happy, hence, he calculates his most viable option for mobility. Mobility loses socio-spatial essence as an experience but rather becomes purely instrumental. That is also why the 26-year-old trainee solicitor is using the *door to door* metaphor. The interesting aspect of the second response above is the metrobus preference that dominates the automobile; *if I must go to Avcilar I never take my car*. Throughout the interviews, a couple of interlocutors stressed this preference as well. Simply put, rush hour inclines some to travel with the metrobus instead of personal automobiles. *I hear this a lot. People park their cars and continue with the metrobus. Also, some of them simply leave their car in the garage and use the metrobus regularly* (Male, 39, Industrial Designer). According to Sutcliffe-Babalik and Cengiz, the metrobus is "a major trip generator" for providing direct access to Istanbul's central business district along the Maslak-Zincirlikuyu-Levent axis on the European side. Metrobus became attractive, particularly for

Asian side commuters who must cross the Bosphorus to and from work. *The metrobus shortens my journey by at least 20 minutes because it travels on the E-5 highway* (Male, 26, Cargo Operation). Thus, the metrobus provides efficient direct access to the business district. As the authors state, in Istanbul, commuting from outer skirts to the central business district is the dominant pattern in mobility (Sutcliffe-Babalik & Cengiz, 2015, pp. 796-808). For instance, an interlocutor stressed he had *no other means of transportation* than the metrobus (Male, 40, Electrician). He did not mean an actual lack of transportation in his route, but rather, with the alternatives like conventional buses, *it would take 2.5 hours* for him to come to work. Because he added, *I guess it would take at least 1 hour longer*. This is another example of how speed becomes a keyword for most interlocutors. For instance, the alternative of the metrobus for the interlocutor would mean 2,5 hours on the roads, morning and evening. This would make 5 hours each day, and since he must work six days, it would approximately imply 30 hours spent on the roads. In other words, commuting via metrobus takes 18 hours a week as the fastest means of transportation. The duration reaches almost 30 hours with conventional buses. This has been a principal determinant in my interviews. Thus, the need for the metrobus is deeply enmeshed with the sustainment of life in Istanbul. Hence, the metrobus constitutes a calculative dependency to cope with temporal necessities:

I work in Maslak, there are in fact buses ahead of my house. I can use them. But these buses cross the 2nd bridge and there is always traffic, without exception. I will be in traffic for at least an hour if I am lucky. And probably, I will travel standing. This scares me ... Metrobuses are very crowded, it is even difficult to get on/off, it is not comfortable, yes. But it takes only 20 minutes to travel to Zincirlikuyu. I prefer 20 minutes of density than to stand still in traffic for an hour ... I just want to get out of the traffic as soon as possible and be wherever I am going. That's why I want it to be quick, to end as soon as possible. What's the fastest way? The metrobus. Then it is the metrobus. No need to think **(Male, 26, Software Engineer)**.

The interlocutor's calculative perspective summarizes the relationship between speed, distance, and the use of time. He is complaining about the crowds of the metrobus, yet it is preferable to suffer from extensive crowds for 20 minutes than to stand still in traffic for an hour. Second, he is also revealing the instrumental reasoning behind mobility. He does not need to contemplate since he only wants it to end as quickly as possible. His metrobus-grounded relationship of space-time is enclosed by means-ends reasoning because he must consider the effective use of time as much as he considers the use of space that is based on distance. For Harvey, space-time has evolved through some transformative processes, and the capitalist epoch of our day compresses them. In his words, "the elimination of spatial barriers and the struggle to annihilate space by time is essential to the whole dynamic of capital accumulation". Time and space - in Harvey's time-space compression - do not diminish in quality. The space loses its subjective structure in time and gets trapped in commodification. According to Cresswell, time-space compression could best be formulated by "the effective shrinking of the globe by ever-increasing mobility at speed enabled by innovations in transportation and communications technology" (Harvey, 1990, p. 425; Cresswell, 2006, p. 4). Although natural time has been transformed into clock time, social time in Istanbul has also been constructed upon the compression of space-time: *I moved into a new apartment just to spare myself from 2 hours journey with the metrobus. Now I live within a 50 minutes metrobus journey to and from work, which becomes optimal for an Istanbul resident* (Male, 28, Developer). The interesting part in this quote is growing dependency on the one hand, and on the other, the normalized construction of this dependency. Almost one-hour metrobus travel has become an optimal choice for someone who must live and commute in Istanbul because his daily practices forced him to a two-hour route in the first place. The modern aspect within the production of mobilities evokes the practical use of public transport. According to Paul Virilio "the transportation capacity created by the mass production of automobiles can become a social assault". Since this capacity modified our way of life "by transforming all the consumer's needs" (50). This is an assault because with the rise of urbanism the average of fifty meters of commuting has transformed into two-

hour travels. In other words, automobile constructed necessitated movement as a modern constitution (Virilio 2007, p. 50; Urry, 2000, p. 59). The extent in this transformation is again related to daily needs and necessities. The metrobus was introduced to answer these needs. It presents functional travels within much-needed routes and transfer areas. However, the very existence of the metrobus often eliminates the possibility of an alternative for inhabitants. They become dependent on the transit circuit of speed and time. The interlocutors' calculative practices adapted to this condition significantly. An interlocutor emphasized the metrobus as a major reason behind his decision to move Kadikoy. He lives in Avcilar and uses the metrobus to commute and socialize in Yenibosna and Kadikoy respectively:⁶

I had to choose between Levent and Kadikoy. They are almost the same in commute time. Then I said, ok it should be Kadikoy. Why? Because in Levent I would have to make an interchange to subway, but Kadikoy has the metrobus. No interchanges... I picked Kadikoy ... so, 1 hour, yes, maybe it takes a long time, but ... it is really good to travel without interchanges **(Male, 26, Cargo Operation)**.

His settlement is dependent on his mobility in Istanbul and the conception of clock time transforms him further. According to him, one hour of travel in a single vehicle is adjustable but, more importantly, is needed. In other words, he is already adapted to the idea of one-hour travel as a viable option and has already exceeded it by considering transfer area calculations. From the idea to the practice of that idea, he is significantly Istanbul-bounded when it comes to the realization of them. From a different angle, Torun et al. analyzed the constitutive effects of the spatial form on the walking habits of children in Istanbul. Their assessment provided a significant correlation and suggested that a "one-size-fits-all approach" to the urban spatial structure is insufficient to encourage walking behavior (Torun et al, 2020, pp. 1-2). Walking as behavior is also habituated. Habituation revealed itself as a dependency and a state of enclosure throughout the speed, time, and distance ratio stories

⁶ Avcilar is considerably close to the last station of the metrobus in the European side. Kadikoy here implies the Sogutluceme station of Kadikoy.

regarding the metrobus. Since the metrobus need also became an example of a “one-size-fits-all approach”. And the spatial practice of metrobus becomes a vital determinant in the everyday. For instance, an interlocutor expressed a similar example of dependency because the metrobus is taking away her chances of the pedestrian experience:

I use the metrobus because it has no traffic. I get to work in a very short time. Actually, I can go on foot. It takes maybe 20 minutes by walking, but metrobus is faster. For this reason, I prefer the metrobus (**Female, 46 Cleaning Worker**).

A daily walk that takes only 20 minutes could generate a healthier and more spontaneous experience of mobility – as Torun et al. also suggested. Instead, as she increasingly adapted metrobus reliability, pedestrian possibilities also lost their ground. Hence, it may exceed intentions, but with the emergence of the motor car; division of workplaces, trade areas, and housing became almost inevitable. These changes broadly contributed to long commutes, the necessity of living within road networks, growing dependency as auto-subjects, and the normalization of these divisions. As Urry notes, “automobility necessitates leisure visits to sites lying on the road network; it entraps people in congestion, jams and temporal uncertainties; and it encapsulates people in a privatized, cocooned, moving environment”. Freedom in our mobility generated problems that they aimed to solve in the first place. Thus, the efficiency that the metrobus promised is equally producing a coercive effect (Urry, 2000: 59-60). During the interviews, I have mostly observed this problematized conditioning through temporality.

We are now live in the consumption society. People simply live with a “consume and keep-going” logic, and time is our only truth. There is a real concept of “wasted time”, and I try not to waste my time (**Female, 23, Media Worker**).

“Wasted time” has almost become like a metropolitan cost. Thus, their consideration of mobility must avoid it. Because interlocutors’ metrobus stories

have been filled with similar calculations: “*It takes 35 to 40 minutes from Halicioğlu to Uzunçayır*” (Male, 46, IT Specialist); “*With buses the journey might either take 2 hours or 50 minutes based on the traffic. But metrobus is standard. Maximum change in time is 5 minutes*” (Male, 31, Biologist); “*I calculate all the time it is almost like quantum physics ... 10 minutes, 15 minutes, they do matter*” (Female, 31, Research Assistant). In this light, the nuisance of Istanbul’s traffic or the effective use of time makes the metrobus advantageous because interlocutors use the metrobus primarily for commuting on a regular basis. Accordingly, the metrobus has become an “artery,” especially for commuters in Istanbul. For instance, 9 of the interlocutors who had been regular metrobus passengers before the COVID-19 break continued their regular use throughout the process. Although their apprehension of the metrobus as an “unhygienic” place prevailed, quarantine restrictions contributed to their regularity. This has been defined quite ironically by an interlocutor because, accordingly, *the metrobus is the Wuhan of COVID-19* (Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee). As to why, an interlocutor stated, *there is no need for the pandemic, ... do you know what disease all those people carry in that crowd? Hopped on top of each other, breathing, maybe contagiously sick?* (Female, 53, Housewife). Following the quarantine days until June 2020, the crowd in Istanbul and metrobuses decreased greatly in conformity with the restriction rules. When these pre-COVID regulars had to leave their home during the quarantine days, their primary preference for mobility continued to be the metrobus. Because the same interlocutor also expressed how she felt content: *Metrobuses are empty. Nobody gets on; there is no density. I am happy with this sick thing going on right now.* Similar ideas have been stated by others as well. Ironically, interviews conducted during the COVID-19 quarantine emphasized a positivity for the lack of crowds in the metrobus and the city regarding the pandemic in Istanbul:

Well, for like a year I used my car but then I returned to the metrobus. Because it is very convenient. I used it during this period (COVID-19 quarantine) as well and even used it much more comfortably The

metrobus was also very empty, as most of the people did not leave their home. I traveled very comfortably; I mean during the Corona process **(Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee)**.

The irony is that a global disaster such as the pandemic has become a positive representation of metrobus experience. Although restrictions in Istanbul generated flexible work experiences, they did not eliminate the need to commute entirely. The metrobus then, became a much more reliable public transport, for it presented an unusual comfort for the regulars. In other words, means-ends reasoning in speed-time-distance ratio continued to prevail during the quarantine via metrobus mobility. On the one hand, this exemplifies the power of interdependency generated for regular passengers. On the other, it strikingly shows that Istanbul-specific problems, which are described as heavy traffic and pressure to get somewhere on time, do not alter the choice of metrobus anymore even when these problems are eliminated. Hence, metrobus dependency has exceeded the determinants which constructed it in the first place. Consequently, modern city's growth had been outwards, and it rendered long-distanced locations available and accessible. Living closer to workplaces and an urban structure that makes this possible is no longer the criterion. Hence, this dependency has first been generated through commuting practices since transit journeys to and from work are central in everyday life. The power of efficient commuting as a need constructed this habituation. Because apart from the students, I interviewed, commuting meant an almost obligatory necessity in Istanbul to use the metrobus. Inhabitants spend not only hours on the roads, but they must follow a rigid routine of timetable. They start the day at early hours; they commute long distances; they work a minimum of 8 to 9 hours and commute back. Although the use of time varied, interlocutors' emphasis had been upon similar challenges:

I live in Kocasınan and work in Fulya. I travel almost 33 kms from Kocasınan to Fulya every day. With daily commuting it makes 66 kms. It feels like an intercity journey ... Sometimes to travel between 2 stations takes half an hour with buses in traffic. So, without the metrobus it would

be approximately 2 hours for me to go to work. But with metrobus I travel 16 stations within approximately 35 minutes up until Mecidiyeköy (Female, 23, Media Worker).

Interlocutor's commuting route forces her to travel more than 60 kms in the city. Her mobility is inevitably framed with a calculated essence for that 60 kms she must bear every day. Metrobus is an utmost need for her because the alternative would mean almost 4 hours of commuting. This distance equivalents 16 stations with the metrobus. The dependency in her story is almost inevitable. In other words, she barely has an alternative to defy necessitated mobility and to constitute a socio-spatial experience instead. Bissell discussed commuting as a strange part of our lives is suspended between our practices at home and work. Within its deep routinization we do not consider them among life-shaping activities. In other words, as ordinary as it is, travel and traffic have been rooted in the quotidian to an extent that "it often goes unremarked upon". Although, "spatial practice is lived directly before it is conceptualized, the primacy of the conceived over the lived causes practice to disappear along with life" (34) (Lefebvre, 1991a, pp. 34, 41; Bissell, 2018, p. xv). Disappearance of spatial practice—of life—under the conceived i.e., representations of space imply the functionalist organization of the modern city which nowadays deeply frame the experience of mobility. It is simply *because you can't live in Istanbul without calculations. ... You must have the speed* (Male, 46, IT Specialist). "Having speed" as a determinant of living in Istanbul is itself a powerful representation. Bissell's argument about commuting meets with the disappearance of practice through this representation, i.e., the primacy of the conceived over the lived. Because such temporal calculations determine the mode of experience in the condition of mobility. Lefebvre discusses; "we may be sure that representations of space have a practical impact, that they intervene in and modify spatial textures which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology" (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 42). This also shows the workings of knowledge, wealth, and power in the representations of space and why they tend to dominate. Consequently, the need for this strategic speed dominates the perception of mobility and conditions

the interlocutors to a quantified experience. This may sound like a determinant for commuters alone, however, it is spreading in the quotidian and transforming into a pervasive mode in mobilities. Although commuting has been the strongest determinant in my interviews, even young students talked about temporal conditioning. Speed has also been a clear determinant in their everyday, because ironically, their daily life in Istanbul also consists of routines almost as strict as commuters. From an early age they emphasize an adjusted ordinary with its accommodated conducts distinctively for the metrobus. This is also reflected upon their perception of everyday mobility in Istanbul.

I have completely adapted. I really have ... I use the metrobus almost 5 days every week based on my courses ... I cried to my father a lot before. I always begged him to drive me to Mecidiyeköy. He did so many times. But now... traveling to Halıcıoğlu (from Avcılar) is not a challenge anymore. I am mentally prepared and as I said I am used to it now **(Female, 22, Student)**.

I usually use it every day of the week. Sometimes the weekend as well. I get on at 6:30-7:00 in the morning, and in the evening around 7:00-8:00 for the return ... I must use the metrobus. There is no traffic, the traffic is certainly wearier for long distances. I travel around 3 hours with the metrobus but in the traffic it would take 5 hours. That's why I must use the metrobus... I am adjusted because I don't have an alternative **(Female, 20, Student)**.

Thinking with Bissell and Virilio, it is possible to note that the “unremarked” routinization of commuting devours everyday mobility as almost incognizable with the transit mode of existence. Although the perceptions of the interlocutors in this chapter had certain resemblances, the common ground generated from various practices and perspectives is what makes this necessitated dependency crucial. As the students stressed, the metrobus became almost like an obligation by dominating other possibilities. In this frame, they inescapably adapt to this conduct as they also

became necessary aspects of life in Istanbul. However, an essential question in the matter is the nature and effect of metrobus-based practices. Accordingly, the next chapter will analyze the patterns of spatial practices that the metrobus engenders.

4.2.“SEAT WARS EVERY DAY”: SPATIAL PRACTICES

My route began with 34AS, however, I couldn't travel more than 40 mins because of the heat, lack of air and the odor. Hence, I got off at Merter station and decided to take a 5 mins break. It was weird to take a break at the middle of E-5 highway where the station is positioned. Actually, nobody gives a break at the station for all I have seen was people getting on and off. So, I switched to a BZ and surprisingly the bus had a pleasant air and the crowd was average. Also, the passengers were diverse. There were more young people in the metrobus, mostly looking like university students. Almost all of these young people were in isolation through their smartphones, either playing games or listening to music. Some of them seemed to watch movies or tv series. In fact, all of the people in these busses seemed isolated. Even without smartphones people kept watching the scenery and looked abstracted. Younger people are certainly more energetic but generally, at the end of work hours, they look wearier, even dreary. They seem to be eager to complete the journey and get off. Still, it was surprising to see a young girl offering her seat to an old man out of courtesy. Since I am pretty much sure even at my third route that the most important thing about the metrobus is an empty seat.

24 January 2019, Thursday 17:30-19:45

Michel De Certeau envisioned the everyday through the poetic language of the pedestrian. Because “the act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language”. The city of automobility, on the other hand, is a post-pedestrian one and as Nigel Thrift emphasized, the built environment in the city is now mute, but it is also an “eloquent testimony to automobility”. Thrift describes the automobile as a common feature of the everyday. The motorcar in its variations generated what Urry called as an “enforced flexibility”. We live and travel “in and through an automobilised space-time” (Thrift, 2005: 45-46; De Certeau, 1984: 97). The socio-spatial scope of the automobilized lives embody in the everyday. Urry notes that

automobility does not refer merely to the car. It involves an interconnected movement of humans, machines, and the landscape. Systems, categories, and provisions constitute material things in a stable form. Hence, Urry's emphasis on "coerced flexibility" of automobility embraces the public transport in the city (Urry, 2005: 26-27; Urry, 2000: 60). In the public transport, flexibility often yields coercion because it lacks seat reservations, time guarantees, personal comfort and spontaneous movements. Inhabitants become passengers of the regulated movement. Automobility produces its own practices and stories through the individuals experiencing them. However, as Thrift notes, passenger has a different sensual vehicle than the driver, simply because, the driver "dwells in the car". Unlike the passenger, the driver is integrated into "the praxis of driving". For the passengers, praxis is one-sided and thus limited. The passenger travels through a certain route in the context of daily obligations with unacquainted others. Travel offers an experience through the spatial and temporal form in density often along with anxiety. As Helen Wilson states, "there are clearly a series of rules that work to orientate bodies in particular ways. A series of 'embodied tasks'" (Wilson, 2010: 636, 638; Thrift, 2005: 46). However, these tasks, or rather practices, also embody subjectivation and meaning because spatial experience and the ways they are imagined depend upon practices. Consequently, we have the potential to conform but also to challenge the conceptualized forms of spatial practices. The importance of subjectivities equivalently unfolds through the spatial practices of mobility. Considering the fact that lives are on the move now, it is possible to say that "social life has become locked into the modes of mobility that automobility generates and presupposes" (Featherstone, 2005: 2).

The metrobus offers a somewhat typical bus passengering, except for the vast circulation on the highway. The E-5 highway route is straight and unidirectional. As a bus rapid transit, the metrobus has the size of a bus. However, an average of 800 thousand daily passengers (IBB, 2020) travel in a scarce space, with density on the transit route of the highway surrounded by cars in traffic. This makes the metrobus extensively crowded especially during the rush hour. These crowds and

densities have been the second most emphasized aspect of the interviews in addition to the speed. A student's remarks summarize the perspective; *too crowded... in the crowd, people are literally crushing each other. Sometimes I can't get on and off. That much crowd... Sometimes it is even hard to breath because the crowds make the bus airless... Always cramped travels* (Female, 20, Student). Therefore, a clear practice in the metrobus is to avoid crowds to have some amount of personal space. A direct outcome of this effort is to find empty seats. This has been stated by an interlocutor explicitly:

Metrobus wars every day ... We are trying to rush and find seats, even this alone is very exhausting. In fact, it is seat wars every day... **(Female, 23, Student/Part-Time Employee)**

In a vastly circulated environment with transit speed, regular passengers are significantly limited to seeking an average of comfort by automatically securing a seat. Consequently, although metrobus lines operate effectively, passengers' uneasiness to get on for seated travel generates a vivid and restless picture every morning and evening. In Findıklı's words, to secure himself/herself, the metrobus passenger remains indifferent to the city's stimulus, he/she is unconcerned, tired, and often unhappy; yet despite this depression he/she transforms into an amok runner to find an empty seat. The demand for time, speed and mobility produced a passenger profile that attacks the busses with panic and heedlessly tramples over other people. The level of anxiety in these lines is striking. This, as a result, produces an adjusted apathy, so that while the individual is surrounded by physical intimacy, he/she increasingly abstracts herself/himself from the social burdens, becomes end-oriented and often remains indifferent (Findıklı, 2014: 67-69). These practices are equally important for their constitution of spatial conducts because external and internal stimulus in the metrobus generates a situation where the individual needs to buffer himself/herself from a constantly changing environment. The prevailing spatial practices in the metrobus are, thus, also enclosed by these limitations. Because although the interlocutors' metrobus impressions were dominated by such consuming crowds and densities, they continue to rely on it. Its

necessitated aspect, as discussed, transformed it into a dominant mode in daily mobility. When the spatial practice as a socio-spatial experience is considered, the metrobus significantly alters the dynamics of spatial-temporal experience through this priority. Through the words of an interlocutor: *using the metrobus regularly changes everything about you*. This implies the spatial conditioning of regular mobility via the metrobus. In this light, although the interlocutors stated their apprehension of the mere efficiency for the metrobus, their metrobus-grounded experiences are significantly productive of their spatial-temporal constitution. The interlocutor explained this relationship intriguingly:

Using the metrobus regularly changes everything about you. It should not be viewed as just getting from one place to another. Metrobus has a structure that changes people's character and thoughts. The events you encounter there, the people you see, what you think about when you turn on to yourself... Metrobus really changes you. People who use it as a means of transportation... that is, people who use it from time to time, in a certain range may really see the metrobus as a means of transportation. But this is not possible for us. I use it every day... I come to my house every day, I go to work every day, I also take the metrobus every day. Why should it be different from work or home? This is how you embrace it ... I spend time in the metrobus every day... **(Male, 26, Cargo Operation)**.

The metrobus is a functional instrument for mobility; however, regular usage makes it a direct determinant of everyday experience. Hence, the interlocutor is emphasizing its role in his perceptions and practices. Since in the realm of everyday we perceive, conceive, and live through the practices of the public and private. Even though the metrobus reveals itself as a public experience, our constitution with and through the metrobus generates a personal domain for this experience. Because as he stressed such routinization is the reason *how you embrace it*. Since he is not spontaneously moving through the city, rather the city is deciding his mobility. His perspective of this regularity is the reason why he compared it with his home and work. Embracement, for him, is a simple outcome of this circularity. In this way

the metrobus becomes a socio-spatial aspect of his everyday practices. Consequently, interlocutors' personal conducts and practices have been significantly accommodated because *it's been around for years, and people are used to it now*. According to the interlocutor *there is such a thing as the metrobus profile*. These people are adjusted to the metrobus, they have simply come in terms with it, and *they just go with the flow*. He added; *If they can hold on to something, they hold on, if not, they simply lean on you* (Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee). Density in the metrobus does not imply a simple crowd. During the rush hour, passengers literally squeeze themselves into the bus. Hence, leaning on someone—mostly involuntarily—is as ordinary as it is inevitable. For instance, an interlocutor shared a moment in such a crowd where she got stuck through the door: *While getting off the metrobus, my bag got stuck because of the crowd. The doors are closed, I'm outside, and my bag is inside. I mean, if the bus moves, I will be dragged. Fortunately, the driver noticed, but I was terrified* (Female, 46, Cleaning Worker). The metrobus profile, thus, emerged through habituation – through the practice of passengering embraced in these vast crowds. Relatedly, the most emphasized aspect of the metrobus during the COVID-19 quarantine in Istanbul had been its emptiness and the exceptional comfort these empty travels gave to the interlocutors. In this regard, what the pandemic meant for a regular metrobus passenger was equivalently related to metrobus-grounded perception:

Before the pandemic people were traveling as if they were crushing one another. The metrobuses were too crowded and nobody minded. You could even stand still and travel without holding anything. It was a wall of flesh ... Metrobuses were almost empty during the quarantine. Sometimes I traveled with only several others. Surely it was very comfortable...
(Female, 23, Media Worker).

As she also emphasized, the pandemic generated a conceivable concern for safety. The metrobus crowds naturally generate anxiety for the passengers. Thus, traveling with strangers who may potentially have COVID-19 engendered a norm for social distance because she added; *before the pandemic people simply didn't care about*

the personal space. They were leaning on you, grabbing where you grabbed... But not they are careful, not because of tenderness of course, but because of fear. The metrobus produced this fear during the pandemic based on safety concerns. Traveling with strangers during the pandemic has become a heavier burden for the passengers. The anxiety about the possibility of COVID-19 infection in an environment such as the metrobus contributed to the fear of being surrounded by strangers. In addition to the safety concerns peculiar to the pandemic, the metrobus, like other transports, present the embraced idea of being with strangers. Since the rise of the railway, proximity with strangers has become a characteristic of public transport. Something as the ordinary today was in fact a strange social situation in the early nineteenth century. As Bissell quotes, “Nigel Thrift describes how the sheer awkwardness of having to sit, face to face, opposite a stranger created intense anxiety” (Bissel, 2018: 29). Nowadays, as a common determinant, various passengers from different socio-economic backgrounds travel face-to-face within a scarce space. Unavoidable ‘togetherness’ is naturally loaded with a variety of senses and reactions. Accordingly, public transports encompass complex assemblages and each spatially produces its own relational conducts. Spatial configuration of transportation could suggest “many different kinds of affordances between varied bodies, vehicles and movement-space” (Sheller, 2011: 5). Being on the move also constitutes a certain understanding of our place in the order of things. As Margaret Kohn discussed, “spatial configurations naturalize social relations by transforming contingent forms into a permanent landscape. By providing a shared background, spatial forms serve the function of integrating individuals into a shared conception of reality” (Kohn, 2001: 505). Because the “written form” in concept cities is practiced through the movements of inhabitants. As one interlocutor stressed, *the city, the neighborhood, and the house ... are important. They are shaping me* (Male, 38, Copywriter). Consequently, “the metrobus profile” was not engendered from a “comfortable” experience of mobility. All the negativities that the interlocutors expressed have contributed to the constitution of this profile. Because as an interlocutor expressed, in the metrobus, it is *a stampede... People in crowds... Sometimes I can’t even walk and sometimes I feel suffocated* (Female, 46,

Cleaning Worker). To bear the hardships of the metrobus has become an everyday norm for the regulars. Given that, on the one hand the spatial practice that the metrobus provides is constituting an ordinary normal which is often emphasized as unavoidable. On the other, as the social production of space implies, these practices are relationally constituted as a mode to engage with the everyday world. Metrobus determines mobile conducts to a great extent, yet at the same time it is spatially being determined by the practices of the users, just like the tactical ability to find an empty seat within metrobus' strategic nature. To unfold the varieties of these spatial practices and their meaning in everyday mobilities I will present three levels of analysis; strategies and tactics in the metrobus, atmospheric feelings that it produces and finally a comparison of the metrobus with Istanbul's nostalgic ferries.

4.2.1. Strategies and Tactics

Every 15 to 30 seconds a metrobus approaches and sometimes two to three buses line up. Interestingly, people are very much aware of the spot that the bus door will open and group up accordingly. Most of the passengers are in search of an empty seat and as metrobuses come and go, they move forward in clustered rows; hence aggregate groups of people wait their turn in these lines to travel seated. A simple problem emerges. For instance, I didn't want to travel seated and tried to get on as fast as possible; however, because of these aggregates of people, I missed a bus that had no available seats but had been rather empty. They block the doorway in the queue and thus it was literally impossible for me to break through and board on time. A woman got angry because she barely got on the bus by pushing people. She said: "You don't get on and just stand still there like statues". Such aggregated linings seem to be an unwritten rule embraced by most of the passengers and they are quite practical at its implementation.

21 January 2019, Monday 07:40-09:40

Following Michel de Certeau's theorization, both strategies and tactics have their appropriate places in the everydayness of the metrobus. Through them, an overall picture of the metrobus conduct can be drawn. Because the course of conduct in the metrobus is inescapably determined by the structural characteristics of the bus rapid

transit. Stations, transfer areas, and buses offer a predetermined ground for passenger mobility. However, despite the power of its strategic frame, practical possibilities also exist. Although the first outlook to regular metrobus passengers connotes particular behaviors, they also potentially defy and alter these practices through some tactics of their own. The crucial part peculiar to the metrobus is that most interlocutors practice what we may call “tactics of strategies”. Throughout the interviews, most interlocutors have described and shared what they called “metrobus tactics”. Their direct use of the term has grounded the basis of this discussion; however, their understanding of a tactic was somehow different than De Certeau’s theorization. By tactic, they explained metrobus-limited possibilities for passengering. In other words, what they called a tactic was often a practice derived from the strategic nature of the bus to generate some mediation. It was either to maximize their efficient use or to access a somewhat practical comfort, but these practices developed a manageable adaptation rather than inverting possibilities. Hence, they almost stand between the deterministic nature of the metrobus and the possibilities that subjectivities constitute. Therefore, spatial practices of strategic, tactical nature suggest the constructive essence of spatial production. In other words, these widespread practices in the metrobus are essential in understanding the intense relationship between conceptual mobility and lived mobility.

According to an interlocutor the metrobus has *unwritten rules and most people follow them because everyone is now adapted* (Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee). This is an important example of how practices of everydayness constitute and how they establish conceptions enmeshed in the idea of “normal”. For the examples of early industrialization, Richard Sennett explains how “silence” in a train wagon full of passengers has become an instrument to protect individual privacy. Either through reading a book or watching the scene out of the window, the protection of the privacy has been established. The immediate reflection of this instrument was observed on the streets within the city because a stranger, approaching and talking to a resident was considered to ‘violate privacy’. Thus, it is possible to say that the genealogy of silence in public space has been inherited

from this early era (Fındıklı, 2014: 66). Nowadays, silence is an accustomed idea of public transport. It does not imply a rule; however, remaining silent is not an alien idea anymore. Passengers complying with the practices of public transport abidingly, standing or sitting in a somewhat withdrawn state is a common practice in public transport. However, in the metrobus, the silence almost becomes the companion of strategic mobility because it is a transit corridor on the highway used by many passengers circulating in each station. It almost offers the singular practice of getting on, securing a seat, and getting off by counting minutes. In this sense, silence reflects the instrumental perception of metrobus passengering through immense circulations. The pressure of timetables and crowds engenders cyclical and repetitive modes of behavior. The lived in the metrobus is often framed and limited by its conceptualized practices. Since completing the journey dominates the idea of mobility, silence through the "minding one's own" type of conduct confirms its rationalized instrumentality. With the words of an interlocutor, the people in the metrobus are *simply quiet*:

They do not speak at all. They have earphones mostly... But they always keep an eye open, for the seat, of course. Everyone looking for an empty seat is on guard with an open eye ... Other than that, everyone is closed to their own world. They are indifferent towards other people and things
(Male, 27, Vehicle Maintenance Technician).

The interlocutor is emphasizing the state of withdrawnness that can be observed in busy metrobus travels. People tend *to close to their own world* and often remain *indifferent* except their search for an empty seat. This also exemplifies the circular essence of metrobus practices between getting on-off and finding a seat. According to De Certeau, practices of everyday life can subvert without necessarily changing the dominant social order, these practices can "escape without leaving it" (De Certeau, 1984, pp. xiii; 34). As the interlocutor emphasized, the metrobus in strategic rationality has its own distinguished place with relevant practices. For De Certeau "a strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper". They are self-segregating, for they establish a place of appropriate manners and conventions.

They constitute the place of the subjects against the managed objects and define the hegemonic structure (De Certeau, 1984, pp. xix, 35-36). In a theoretical outlook, when spatially appropriated, strategies resemble the Lefebvrian representations of space. The urban structure with the visual manifestation of rational planning reflects this strategic nature. For Lefebvre, conceptualized space of representations “identify what is lived and what is perceived and what is conceived” (326). This reveals itself through urban planning because it is “the space of today's planners, whose system of localization assigns an exact spot to each activity” (Lefebvre, 1991a, pp. 45, 326). As Urry notes, strategies “involve discipline and regimentation”. They regulate, but also establish an understanding for the proper activity “within and through particular spaces” (Urry, 2000, p. 53). This, again, implies the perception of the “metrobus profile” and its accommodated conducts. As one interlocutor stated, *when the metrobus was first used, everything was better; people were making room for each other, polite, and moving calmly. It was possible to live through the metrobus, but later, everyone went into an adaptation process. They started to develop small tactics* (Female, 25, Pilates Instructor). Consequently, the speed-time-distance relationship of the metrobus offers an instrumental space for the passengers and engenders conformism. Turnstiles, timetables, stations, transfer areas, the corridor route and extensive crowds of passengers contribute to the making up of a conceptual space of strategic nature. Passengers justify their personal conducts “properly” as they become metrobus passengers and inevitably they reflect the strategic nature of this conceptualization.

As if there is a self, and then there is another metrobus self. They are almost distinct personalities. Thank God, I did not transform that much. I mean, I am not an indifferent metrobus passenger who runs, pushes, and stampedes over others. However, there are some changes even with me. Sometimes I realize these rushing moments of my own. Sometimes I do them without noticing (**Male, 38, Copywriter**).

The interlocutor defined regular passengering as a constitution because it generates a subject who *runs, pushes, and stampedes over others*. He is clearly critical of this

subjectivation because he explains a clear relief and says, *thank God, I did not transform that much*. Still, he is also open to this transformation because as a regular passenger he acknowledges *some changes* that he sometimes observes in himself, i.e., *rushing moments of my own*. The course of conduct that he finds himself experiencing may come as unrecognized because sometimes he does them *without noticing*. So long as the proper constitutes itself as “normal practices,” they can begin to escape from cognitive considerations. In other words, a particular aspect of conditioning emerges via the metrobus conduct, and as a result, a certain degree of transformation becomes almost inevitable:

When you think of the metrobus, the first thing that comes to mind is the problem of finding a seat. So, when you think like that, it's obvious that it will condition you right from the start. You will enter a certain environment, a cramped environment, in a hoarding mode. From the moment you wait for the metrobus, you focus on where you will sit... Yeah, I don't normally act like that. So let me tell you, I'm actually ashamed of it. I mean, from running to find an empty seat or a spot (**Male, 39, Industrial Designer**).

In a similar vein, the interlocutor is emphasizing a particular profile and criticizing himself for not resisting in to becoming this profile. Because he clearly expresses how he is ashamed of it since he does not act like that *normally*. The normal here refers to the general aspects of his daily practices other than the metrobus. It is equally striking to see the power of this image for him. Rather than establishing genuine experiences in each metrobus travels, he is thinking and talking through the infamous representation of the metrobus. This has a solid basis of experience for him, however an obvious environment like the metrobus *condition you right from the start*. Georg Simmel evaluated the problem of modern life as a challenge toward the autonomy of individual's existence. With a Nietzschean emphasis, Simmel stated that “leveling” threatened the uniqueness of individuality through the “social-technical mechanism” of modern life, a potential that could “swallow up” the individual's autonomy. These resemble De Certeau's concern for the

regimental essence of strategies, since Simmel warns for the rationalized indifference of the individual derived from increasing logic and isolation (Simmel, 1969: 47). Following these arguments, passengers of the metrobus develop a rational and intolerant barrier against others. While silence as a norm inhabits the metrobus, it also potentially possesses a passive-aggressive indifference. The strategic dependency of the metrobus frames the nature of spatial practice extensively.

Metrobus... makes life a lot easier... But when it comes to that crowded moment, you really don't even want to look at anyone. So, you're in a place where you don't even want to think about what's happening on your left and right. It's a place of detachment... You are trying to find an empty space and a place to sit. So simply, your only stimulus is to calculate the moment and possibility of standing or sitting... I think because I become too much blind toward people and things in the metrobus now (**Female, 26, Trainee Solicitor**).

The stimulus in the metrobus is so dense that regular passengers can only cope with it by adaptation. The interesting part is that over-stimuli devour the passenger's perception and simplify cognition through basic calculations. For the interlocutor, this mode has become almost like blindness. Her perception no longer desires to think and relate to *what's happening on her left and right*. Hence, she described this experience with detachment, i.e., *metrobus is a place of detachment*. Consequently, adjustment implies on the one hand keeping up with the pace, for instance *getting on and off is very difficult. A person with limited mobility, such as an old person, cannot get on the metrobus because you must be fast* (Female, 46 Cleaning Worker). On the other hand, it requires a cognitive change. As discussed, Jensen relates mobility and space to power through the production of “modern selves and modes of being through the very practices that are enmeshed in daily life and in urban policies”. These mechanisms mold mobility as an outlook on life and power induces behaviors as normalization without coercion (Jensen, 2011, pp. 265-267). Both Jensen and De Certeau's

discussions relate to the Foucauldian discourses in which power is enmeshed as a way to appropriate. Accordingly, power does not have margins that is imposed on us but rather it is embedded in discourses, in the everyday norms and practices. It is not mere domination, rather it is dispersed in relations and integrated “into overall strategies” (Foucault, 1980, pp. 141-142). Thus, for Jensen power works through emotions, senses and ambiances; it enables mobile technologies and places to play on wants, needs and desires of urban subjects. Power shows “how governmental practices of normalizing, disciplining, forming modern selves and also rationalities relating to mobility rely on particular measurements, conceptualizations, imaginaries and productions of urban spaces” (Jensen, 2011: 262). The metrobus, too, forms regular passengers as modern selves, i.e., “the metrobus profile”. Since passengers mechanized their metrobus journeys and conformed to its instrumentality through “normalization without coercion”. They have developed a certain outlook through the metrobus and as regular passengers they inescapably normalized it. As the interlocutor emphasized, the metrobus makes life a lot easier. To ease daily necessities, they must cope with the metrobus, simply because it provides the most efficient means-ends relationship. Thus, *we must use it. It wouldn't be anyone's first choice, but there's nothing else to do* (Female, 26, Banker). Although this requires bearing an everyday struggle, the level of normalization is intriguing:

I am an active user; it has been 5 years now and I realize that nothing surprises me anymore. I saw people who had fainted, who had nervous break downs. Even I saw a man who pulled a knife on another. All these things happened in the metrobus. If I tell these things to a stranger, he or she would be shocked, surely. But I have normalized them so much that I just remove my headphones to see the scene and then put them back on indifferently (23, Female, Student/Part-Time Employee).

“Normalization without coercion” is an effective nature that can be attributed to strategies because according to De Certeau the space in strategic realms enables a panoptic practice. It is a place where the eye transforms foreign forces into

observable and measurable objects. In this way these forces are controlled and brought into “scope of vision”. Therefore, strategic spaces conform a Cartesian attitude, there is a specific type of knowledge within these strategies (De Certeau, 1984: 35-36). The metrobus deviates regulars toward this habituation because crowded nature of transit and fixed travels somehow stabilize passengers. To see an argument, to see someone fainted, or as she exemplified, to see someone pulling a knife would shock a *stranger*. However, she is merely gazing idly at a moment of distraction and then puts back her earphones *indifferently* to continue her *normalized* practice of metrobus journey. The routine of the quotidian constitutes a powerful frame in a metropolis like Istanbul to a significant degree. The metrobus as a direct representation of conceptual mobility contributes further. The wants, needs and desires that Jensen emphasized have engendered these conducts as coded to the metrobus and to regular passengering. The metropolitan demand for the metrobus and its centralized place in daily mobility constituted them.

Frankly, people in the metrobus are not very observant. They don't care about each other. Everyone has a phone in their hands, playing with it, they are buried in it. No one looks at anyone, no one makes any eye contacts. It's a very crowded area, but it is very asocial. No one is communicating with anyone. No one is actually visible (**Male, 31, Biologist**).

This is another emphasis on detachment or withdrawnness or a mode of abstraction. *No one making eye contact* is not a simple state of minding one's own business. As he continued, it is a place of *invisibility*, and despite the crowd actually, it is an *asocial* place. In fact, during my field observation, I have often seen similar typologies of metrobus journeys. I particularly recall a moment when I was gazing more than the usual in the metrobus to know the demography. Soon enough, passengers started to stare back at me, which felt disturbing because, unlike the rest, I wasn't standing still idly and watching the people inside the bus. As if I was the disturber of that accustomed ordinary metrobus moment. As Marc Augé states, public transport is suited to a functional space which is “more geometrical than geographical description”. Strategical maps, calculated routes, and a simple

pressing of a button to get on/off offer the user an outline of connected lines with a crowd in a hurry and concentration. Augé defines the concentration as “a fixed notion of a schedule calculated down to the last second” and as “an Olympic sprinter, on attaining an objective” (Augé, 2002: 28; 33). A crowd of aim-oriented people in rapid-transit togetherness inevitably conditions the spatial experience. An interlocutor expressed a direct correlation: *For the metrobus you must significantly lower your expectations. It travels really fast, but you need to lower all of your expectations about comfort. Just like a tradeoff* (Male, 28, Developer). As a simple tradeoff, the strategic nature of conceptual mobility encloses the experience. For a university student this is no less than a marathon because her daily route to and from campus has been one of the longest among the interviews. She takes off every day from Beylikduzu up until Uzuncayir. The distance between these stations is around 46 kms but even after that she must transfer to a bus to finally reach her destination. The metrobus has become a consuming burden for her because it is *a life and death struggle ... So, you must struggle*. She stressed the impossibilities of rush hour travels because sometimes crowds make it *impossible to get on and off because the doors do not open from the crowd*. The challenge of these practices is real; however, the problem is that passengers are also adapting a passive-aggressive style as Findıklı analyzed. Because she added, *I even saw a man trampling on an old woman to get on the metrobus. Such a battle for survival indeed* (Female, 20, Student). The experience of struggle has been directly but also indirectly visible among the interviews, yet they have significantly adjusted to this relationship because *there isn't any other bus in Istanbul to take you to work in such a short amount of time ... right through the highway* (Male, 43, Worker). The constitution of this reality is also related to the disciplining nature of strategies. Therefore, adjustments are not simple ways of coping, but also, they induce a certain conception of the proper, of the normal. Spatially these are constitutive.

Although strategies have a hegemonic nature, it is possible to say that De Certeau's everyday is tactical in character. Tactics presents an opposing stance because they are differentiated by their denotation of the non-powerful. Tactics define a way of

adaptation to the environment, which is fabricated by the powerful, as they “take the advantage of ‘opportunities’ and depend on them”. Tactics, then, conform with unpredictability, something that undermines strategies, so that, a tactic “creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected. It is a guileful ruse”. Thus, a tactic is an “art of the weak” (De Certeau, 1984: 37). If maps in the “Concept-City” are typical forms of fixation, then the act of journey, the experience of a mere walk is what matters in understanding the flux of everyday life. Because although the spatial order in the city organizes an ensemble of possibilities, it is the ordinary walker who actualizes them. The pedestrian inverts those possibilities, increases the number of chance discoveries, no matter how well the order is structured. The vivid language of the everyday becomes visible with De Certeau’s tactical singularities. As Urry writes, tactics “serve to constitute lived space and are improvisational and unpredictable” (Urry, 2000: 53). Although the strong depends on “the certainty of mapping”, the weak counters the rationalist division of the urban space. De Certeau’s tactics are attributed to the pedestrian who constructs the poetic language by choosing between routes and taking short cuts. The pedestrian is the bearer of the stories with each choice that it makes. “The ordinary man” is the hero because he does not produce “proper places”, but rather uses and manipulates the places “produced by others”. It is the pedestrian’s everyday resistance to the “spatialization of domination” (Cresswell, 2006: 47).

When I get on the metrobus, I set up different things in my head. I write a dialogue, a script, and guess what the characters in front of me are like. I must use the metrobus every day, so I thought, why should I waste it? Since I mostly travel standing and can't read a book. Listening to music all the time is too boring for me now. I thought I could do something like this. I've been making my metrobus journeys much better with imaginary dialogues and scripts for the past 6-7 months (**Male, 26, Cargo Operation**).

The metrobus does not offer chance discoveries attributed to the pedestrian. However, as De Certeau states, “every story is a travel story – a spatial practice”.

Consequently, spatial practices inevitably related to everyday tactics (De Certeau, 2002, 72). As the quotes display, a praxis embraced by imagination contests the spatial rationalization. While they are deeply embedded in the spatial and temporal constitution of the metrobus, they use these moments to manipulate the dominant mode of existence. He almost made his own chance discovery because listening to music has become *boring* for him. The distance perhaps he was placing via his headsets has turned into actual practice. Metrobus journeys have become much better for him with imaginary dialogues and scripts. In this regard, the interlocutor constitutes a tactical, hence a somewhat different experience through his metrobus travels. He is invoking possibilities to alter the content of commuting. Most importantly, he constructs his own social practice in the conceptual fixation of mobility. This imaginary aspect of the metrobus conduct was shared by another interlocutor as well: *When I am in the metrobus, I usually put on the headset and try to analyze people. I try to imagine their lives, characters, their challenges... I like to observe people in the metrobus* (Female, 22, Student). Interestingly, she is trying to find some personal spare time in the metrobus. After a difficult or a busy day, the metrobus is turning into a moment for her self-reflection. Considering her long metrobus path of almost 30 km from Zincirlikuyu until Avcılar, she uses that one and half hours to reflect and observe others. Imagination is a self-reflecting and socializing practice for the interlocutor. Like the first story, she transforms the dominant mode of isolation in the metrobus into an experience of interaction. As a subject, she travels in awareness together with others. Although these imaginative tactics have been very few among the interviews, they gain utmost importance considering some of the interlocutors' emphasis on their inability to dream. For instance, an interlocutor showed an open weariness about his daily practices, including the commute via the metrobus. Then, I asked him about his expectations and dreams for an alternative:

In these crowds... I can't even dream of change... We can't change the crowds, the roads. Istanbul is Istanbul. I mean we can't undo the metrobus. There isn't any road available. They had to build differently in the first

place. For instance, in the underground. Maybe it would be costly, maybe it would take years to complete but we wouldn't have suffered this much... In Istanbul, everything is connected so I can't even dream of it anymore... Simply, I don't have any dreams for Istanbul, and I don't dream about it **(Male, 40, Electrician)**.

Dreamless perceptions have been expressed by others as well (Female, 26, Trainee Solicitor; Female, 30, Inspector; Male, 46, Worker). These were expressed through the adjusted and normalized realities in Istanbul. Hence, not all of them directly implied the metrobus, rather they emphasized a perception in totality. Because—as the interlocutor stressed; *in Istanbul, everything is connected*, i.e., everydayness and the centrality of the metrobus. Interlocutors do not lack imaginary capabilities, rather, their perception of spatial and temporal practices broadly in Istanbul and particularly in the metrobus lack imaginary alternatives. In this regard, although they have been limited, imaginary tactics give a vivid and poetic character to the adjusted conducts of metrobus. They counter the orientation guided by habituation. For Wilson such orientations mark “a certain consciousness of what is appropriate conduct”. They, according to Augé, imply a “ritual paradox” because although they are lived individually, they are conformed socially almost as a collective identity—making up of the “metrobus profiles”. Accordingly, to understand these collectivities, one needs to include such singular imaginations and elaborations (Wilson, 2010: 639; Augé, 2002: 30). Therefore, interlocutors also disturb the conformity that they unwittingly comply with. An interlocutor talked about a more intriguing tactic. He said that through some personal observation in the metrobus, he began writing narratives. As a regular passenger, his mobility has been a significant source of inspiration for authentic metrobus stories:

For example, I had a story called ‘Heaven and Hell.’ There is a character who has been very good throughout his life. He is trying to be good and, in a way, preparing himself for the afterlife... He leads a good life, then he somehow dies in a traffic accident and wakes up in the metrobus. He finds himself on the metrobus with the rush hour crowd on Zincirlikuyu. The

person sitting next to him tells him that he is dead... that is an angel, and the angel explains that the metrobus is his hell. This is a story of people who happen to be good in essence but then turn into those bad types of people that we see on the metrobus. This is a story of good people who start to spit on the ground, taunt and disturb women once they use the metrobus. I construct the metrobus as a bit of hell, and when I meet different people, I add them as characters to my story and think about them on my metrobus journeys. Because I love observations, and they make metrobus journeys a little more pleasant for me. In other words, I make my metrobus journeys more enjoyable by watching people and thinking about them (**Male, 27, Video Editor**).

The interlocutor is not only reflecting upon the metrobus, but he is transforming the spatial experience and embracing a critical approach to the metrobus mode of existence. He is inspired by the metrobus experience, hence on the one hand, he is emphasizing “the metrobus profile” represented by the hell metaphor. These conducts have a devouring affect because according to him metrobus passengers are very rude. *The way they communicate with you is rude, the way they say something to you is also rude, even when they think they're being nice to you, they are still rude.* On the other hand, he is using narratives as tactics to buffer himself from the consuming aspect of metrobus travels. *I motivate myself and because of these stories I don't mind these rude behaviours that much.* Hence, he contests them. He is the one to decide what is lived in the metrobus regardless of its strategic, or simply necessitated spatial practices. The lived experience triumphs the dominance of representations. His narratives have been one of the most genuine experiences among the interviews for converting mobility into an experience of genuine possibilities. As De Certeau states stories or narratives work for the transformation of places into spaces (De Certeau, 2002: 75). Given that, tactical practices of the metrobus do not always come as imaginary fictions or narratives, however there is a variety of them. Although they may be less resistant, these tactics are embraced by most of the regular passengers. They are not exactly chance

discoveries, or cross-cut choices simply because the possibilities are limited by the confines of the metrobus. Especially as it gets crowded the space available for tactical practices diminishes substantially. Still, a metrobus regular is clearly aware of the possibilities that can enable him/her some comfort or avoidance from the crowds. Hence, paradoxically these remaining tactics stem from the spatial domination of the metrobus, i.e., practices what we may call “tactics of strategies:”

The metrobus has too many tactics. Maybe it's a personal thing, like standing in the same place and sitting in the same chair all the time. I'm a bit like that, but I hear it from other friends too. You know which door will stand where at the station and you wait accordingly. You even know whether it's the front or the back that a Z or an AS will approach.... You create a plan before you get on. Since I get on from the first stop, Sogutluceme, I usually sit down. If I can't sit, I don't get on. Before boarding, I definitely determine where I will sit because you certainly lose that seat with a little wonder. You must be determined, so there is a preparation process for the metrobus (**Female, 30, Inspector**).

The metrobus presents conveniences together with strategic problems. Hence, other than imaginations and narratives, these practical tactics somehow enmeshes with the strategic domination. In this regard, the interlocutor understands and uses tactics to counter the dominant practices of the metrobus that are limited only to the possibilities of the metrobus. Since, in my interviews, none of the interlocutors expressed a story of direct resistance, such as jumping over the turnstiles. Stations are fixed, buses are fixed, doors are fixed, crowds are fixed, thus, practices can alter domination only to a certain degree. Augé, for the practices of subway explains that “the coded and ordered character” of the subway, of the mobility that it provides “imposes on each and every person codes of conduct that cannot be transgressed without running the risk of sanction, either by authorities, or by the more or less effective disavowal of other users” (Augé, 2002: 29). Still, through tactics De Certeau presents “archival” practices “that can ‘listen’ to the everyday and hear there the tales of repressed activity” (Highmore, 2002: 165). Although, these tactics

may function to smooth the struggles of the metrobus, they at the same time present indirect stories of repressed activities. An interlocutor explained it through patience. *I sleep if I can, if I can find an empty seat... if not I just try to wait patiently for its end... So, you know what miss, it is best to learn to be patient* (Male, 43, Worker). Because extensive crowds in the metrobus generates a direct need to secure personal comfort. However, passengers' passive-aggressive manners transform these needs into "seat wars". Seat-oriented passengers inevitably develop tactical practices to buffer themselves from physical contacts, pushes, scolds, and quarrels. Determination to make preparation even before getting on also stems from the need for avoidance. Repressed activities lay in the challenges that the metrobus offers as a spatial experience.

You need to choose the seat carefully... Decidedly. It gets very crowded, especially in the summer and it is unbearable. I try to get on from the main stations as much as possible because only this way I can find a seat. For instance, if the main station is 2 stops behind my station, first I travel back those 2 stations... I travel backwards first and then take the metrobus from the main station in the right direction. Because standing in that crowd is disastrous **(Female, 36, Dental Technician)**.

The interlocutor's "decidedness" reveals the importance of these conducts because she adjusts and travels in the opposite direction only to transfer to an emptier metrobus. In a noncontradictory environment, her practice could easily be labelled as irrational because she is going backward before she moves forward. This experience is realized because of the hardships that the metrobus gives her, yet she is at the same time challenging them with this tactical practice. Going backward is practiced by the interlocutor as a buffering mediation against the spatial impossibility that the crowds generate. Tactics, then, conform with unpredictability, something that undermines strategies, so that, a tactic "must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches them. It creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected" (De Certeau, 1984: 37). Although strategic limitations also frame such

surprises, through the “tactics of strategies”, interlocutors realize, and practice somewhat authentic possibilities. Some of them come almost like “a guileful ruse”. An interlocutor stated she is making eye contact with the driver so that the driver could stop where she exactly stands. The reason is to meet the doorway:

Now, you know, people are lining up in front of doorways. After some time, officials drew yellow lines as some sort of waiting lines. I think this is crazy, but people developed an instant tactic. They detected the corroded lines and realized that those were the doorways. Why do you think? Because frequent getting on and off corroded the lines and regular passengers realized that! Everyone today knows these things, all those tactics. They have become almost like experts ... However, sometimes the driver skips those corroded lines. The bus stops elsewhere, and we miss the calculated doorway. But there is another tactic. You make an eye contact with the driver, showing yourself to him, giving the impression that you are ready to hop on! I did this a lot. Maybe it was luck but yes, with just an eye contact I made the bus to stop in front of me! **(Female, 25, Pilates Instructor)**

The genuine essence of these tactics lay with the level of adaptation. As a negative mediation, regular passengers feel it as a necessity to adapt to the metrobus' realities. However, their adaptation also resulted in mostly unimaginable everyday tactics to generate a somehow buffering mediation. As she explained, the yellow lines indeed generated tactical conduct for getting on and off the bus. Nowadays, it functions almost like an unwritten rule to wait in lines for the doorways. If someone breaks the line, they are often warned to get back in the queue. However, the genuine aspect of her story is the solution she discovered by making eye contact with the driver. Maybe it was luck, but she explains this as a personal tactic to ease the problem of getting on. Hence, it is an example of subjectivity that is generated through the fixed nature of conceptual mobility. On the other hand, in an entirely rationalized mobile practice, the tactic of making eye contact constitutes a contradictory aspect because the passenger realizes the driver as a personality and

actualizes an interaction for her own rationalized comfort. Hence, tactics of strategies generate various conflicting and subverting practices as well. Another interlocutor explained these constructions as like almost *having an education of the metrobus* (Female, 26, Lab Technician). Discoveries of them contribute exceptionally because an interlocutor stated that she started to set an alarm during her travels. *I know the minute that I will get off the metrobus. I always wind my watch because I sometimes sleep on the bus* (Female, 38, Healthcare Officer). Almost like her wake-up call in the morning, she is also inverting the metrobus into a conditioned space for sleep through a calculated alarm. The importance of the seat, a place to stand still, choosing doors to avoid the crowds, get on and off practices, setting alarms, and apathetic and even isolated modes of passengering are induced by the spatial practice that the metrobus offers. On the other hand, passenger practices adapt, invert, and somehow open slight possibilities in them. Whether these practices are strategic, tactical, or somewhere between the two, they significantly contribute to the experience that interlocutors derive from metrobus passengering.

4.2.2. Atmospheric Feelings

The passengers were mostly aged between 25-45 and male passengers clearly outnumbered female ones. Most of them seemed sleepy and tired. I stood still with 5 males looking like mid-20s to 30s and literally none of them stopped playing with their smartphones until they got off. But surprisingly, I saw fewer people with phones and headphones than I anticipated. There was only one person in the entire bus who was reading a book: "The Social Contract" by J. J Rousseau. Another interesting thing is that while everybody seems to avoid eye contact; any observant gaze attracts attention and people start to make eye contacts with you. As if the behavioral code of the journey is standing still, not interfering and simply watching the scene out of the window or anything other than passengers. So, when I turned right and left more than usual, people began to eye me. It is truly interesting because after some time I kind of felt embarrassed and uncomfortable. The active atmosphere does affect as David Bissell argues.

The strategic nature of rational-transit mobility is often transformed by passengers into a slightly imaginary and sometimes defiant spatial experience through various tactics. The contribution of the atmospheric feelings is yet another crucial aspect of this spatial practice. A tactical solution to avoid a certain crowd, find a seat or select the proper spot to stand often interacts with a series of feelings generated by the existing atmosphere of the metrobus. Such feelings, on the other hand, are important determinants in deciding what is practiced and what is lived. For, life in the metropolis can be fear-inducing, based upon a ‘world of strangers.’ Mundane routine practices, such as avoiding eye contact or ignoring the intimacy of the crowds, may generate impersonal and anonymous norms. Constantly shifting passenger profiles may bind fear and anger together (Tonkiss, 2005, p. 11; Wilson, 2010, p. 636). For instance, most of the interlocutors stressed differences that exist between “normal” and “metrobus” behaviors. Accordingly, a calm character could easily become an aggressive one; or a polite person could show unpleasant behaviours rather easily in the existing atmosphere of the metrobus. David Bissell questions the ways such atmospheres affect mobile spaces. “Affective atmospheres are central to everyday conduct whilst on the move” because these atmospheres “precipitate particular structures of feeling” (272). Through this analysis Bissell reveals how “immateriality of atmosphere might serve as an equally powerful disciplinary force” (282). The perceptions enmeshed in the idea of mobility mostly load passengers before their journey, and the active atmosphere contributes to their further enclosure (Bissell, 2010: 272; 282; Wilson, 2010: 641). Moreover, what is conceived in these daily routes and their appropriate atmosphere make it harder for residents to relate or empathize. With the metrobus, the idea of metrobus travel is crucially connected with the atmosphere that these journeys present. Hence, in addition to the spatial practices as lived and imagined, the atmosphere of the metrobus makes an equivalent contribution to passenger representations. The negative burdens of cognitive feelings generated from the metrobus atmosphere, too, mold subjectivities:

I am not an angry person but sometimes inside there I really get angry. My personal space is violated. This irritates me. I try to remain calm and respectful, but even when I am angry, I am more respectful than many others. People are too selfish and disrespectful. I am used to it, but I bet in normal life they didn't act this way. This is the thing of the metrobus" (Male, 46, IT Specialist).

The interlocutor explains the change he realizes in himself because of the metrobus-induced mobility. The irritation, as he emphasized, makes him angry. Still, at the same time, he stresses how he is somehow resilient to the enclosing effects of the metrobus: *even when I am angry, I am more respectful than many others*. He is making a direct comparison considering the difference between the metrobus and *normal* behaviors that inhabitants display. A similar perspective was shared by another:

I have seen so many arguments and actual fights ... A man waiting in front of the door makes people really angry. But for instance, the same person wouldn't mind a person standing right on the doorway in a restaurant... I think it is due to the tension of the atmosphere (Male, 28, Developer).

In this light, the feeling as a *thing of the metrobus* often results in impatience, and intolerance. Both interlocutors stress the different conducts they observe in "normal" daily life and in the metrobus. *Due to the tension of the atmosphere*, a rather reasonable individual can show excessive reactions. For one of them, this is an adjusted situation; *I am used to it*; but most importantly, both are almost sure that people do not act this way *in normal life*, or within a normal part in their life, e.g., *in a restaurant*. One might call them instant changes because going through crowds and stepping into the crowded bus produce metrobus-appropriated manners, gestures, habits, and even behavioral styles. As Bissell discusses, "irritation and anger emerge as a response to one's own perceived worth." Although interlocutors' experience in the metrobus implies a clear degrading condition, their adaptation

generates internal negativities but growing apathy. Suppose the frustration or anger may produce “either a tolerance of other passengers or a steady gathering force of hatred for other passengers”. In that case, the metrobus-grounded outcome is revealed as a mixture of them. Their tolerance of spatial atmosphere and conduct is demonstrated only through growing apathy, not sympathy. But also, their intolerance is internally reinforced, as they inevitably undertake negative feelings such as anger (Bissell, 2010, pp. 278, 283).

On the other hand, the spatial practice of the metrobus is enmeshed with the imaginary but at the same time concrete representation of the “metrobus atmosphere”. It is imaginary because interlocutors have undertaken a cognitive image of the metrobus. This image reveals feelings as a representation of its atmosphere. It is concrete because when they use the metrobus, when they experience it, imaginary thoughts transform into real practices. As an interlocutor noted, *metrobus changes the way you feel and the way you look at other people. The more I spent time, the more I developed impatience... But you must be patient if you want to bear it* (Male, 46, Worker). For Augé, even the activity of moving from one space-time to another are not simple technical changes. Changing lines and vehicles resembles the way “one changes a symbolic system and practice, changing life at regular hours” (Augé, 2002: 56-57). So, changing life at regular hours could be thought of as changing feelings at metrobus hours. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, interlocutors’ perspectives upon the abstracted “others” mostly summed up in the concept “crowds”, reflect similar types of negativities. On the one hand, this is related to Istanbul’s density. A rather more interesting part stems from appropriated conducts of rationalization. Retirees invading available spots who “obviously” have no business, a rather slow passenger in the doorway, someone who walks slowly, or simply someone who disrupts the mechanized rules of conduct, generates intolerance. I can clearly say that in a way, these two are combined. The density in either transportation or out on the streets makes people hasty to get away as quickly as possible, and thus, makes them quite intolerable toward unrationalized conducts:

Normally, I am a sympathetic person. I can calmly understand a certain unpleasant behavior of another person but in the metrobus... I am often tired and angry. A physical touch or an unpleasant behavior makes me give different reactions **(Male, 26, Cargo Operation)**.

I think when they use the metrobus... when they step in to the metrobus, people instantly develop the feeling of irritation. They are feeling anger toward others **(Male, 30, Metallurgy Engineer)**.

Metrobus is too irritating... Truly sometimes I don't even want to look around. The atmosphere irritates you... Too crowded, travels are always thronged. All you do is to look for a spot to stand or a seat to settle. The only stimulus is that moment when you look for a spot or when you make calculations to find a seat **(Female, 26, Trainee Solicitor)**.

Like previous responses, *anger* and the *feeling of irritation* have been emphasized by all three interlocutors. They explain how regular passengering produces these negative feelings as a burden. As apparent in the second response, it resembles an instant development *when people step into the metrobus*. They emphasize the atmospheric representations that they derive from the image of the metrobus. The trainee solicitor is much more straightforward: *The atmosphere irritates you*. On the other hand, the interlocutors' emphasis on impatience and intolerance is quite interestingly accompanied by an apathic patience. The reason, as others emphasized is that regulars are simply adjusted: *Metrobus blinds you... After some time, you turn blind in the metrobus. You don't see a thing around you* (Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee). Although all the interlocutors emphasized concrete problems emerging from these crowds and thronged travels, the way they handle these things generate a tactical apathy. The interlocutor continued; *no one sees one another because everyone now finds these things as normal... As I said, people are adjusted, just adjusted*. Hence, combined with rationalized conducts of negativities, the atmospheric feelings are also productive of apathy in the metrobus. To bear or simply to see it through are main reasons for regular passengers' adaptation. The

overall outcome is growing blasé existences because according to an interlocutor, *people are more closed up in the metrobus... they do not care. They look and pass-through* (Female, 19, Student). As the interlocutors emphasize, reactions have stabilized in extreme grounds. Either people show negativities through anger and intolerance toward others; or they simply tend to ignore others to buffer themselves up. As to why, an interlocutor gives a crucial correlation between necessities, rationalization, and the spatial practice that metrobus offers:

Everyone is completely end-oriented. Metrobus approaches, doors open, and people push themselves in because everyone follows a schedule. They must catch up with something. And there are people who literally crush down others. Believe me, you cannot see this anywhere else because no one says anything, no one even objects. A guy steps on another's foot says sorry, the other one says ok, and they just move on. There is such an environment in the metrobus. As I said, it is because everyone is end-oriented, and everyone must use the metrobus. So, everyone is adapted because they must do so (**Male, 28, Developer**).

What seems paradoxical here is presented by interlocutors as an inevitable choice. Regular passengers start with being intolerant or angry and proceed with an apparent apathy. Becoming blasé, in this light, is a choice most of the regulars must make. Right from its imaginary aspect, the metrobus represents an automatized and extremely crowded spatial practice. When combined, the metrobus, through image and practice, presents an active atmosphere that contributes to the inevitable adaptation against such hardships. As Bissell explains, “actively choosing to be passive, where apathy as described by Kant as “the state of no passion”, might be a highly desirable disposition “when passions understood not as joy and pleasure but as waves of negative affect”. Hence, as Wilson states, it is possible to say that metrobus, like many public transports but probably exceeding them, demands a certain “giving up of the self” (Bissell, 2010, p. 282; Wilson, 2010, p. 636). The passionless state comes as a personal barrier to prevent further negativities that a regular passenger can endure. Since, spatial practices are first experienced, hence

learned through passengering. Second, hardships of metrobus constitute a practical challenge which alter these experiences in more of a tactical character. Tactics cannot overcome the strategic nature, as it was discussed, however, they present a genuine buffering effect for regular passengers. When combined with the atmosphere, regular passengers cognitively generate an image of a certain frame enmeshed with the metrobus.

I remember, the first time I used the metrobus, I waited for 30-35 minutes in Uzunçayır. Metrobuses were approaching instantly, but I just couldn't get on. Because I was polite, giving way to the people, excusing them. I was trying to understand the crowd, and thus, I could not get on that metrobus. It turns out that there were queues... Everyone was running as they come. Finally, I solved the situation, and I could hop on. After using it a few times, I got used to it completely (**Female, 26, Lab Technician**).

This is a simple but salient example because the interlocutor is displaying a picture of change in perception and practice from an unknown into an experienced metrobus travel. Adaptation for her experience came quick because she *got used to it completely* only after a few travels. Therefore, spatial atmosphere affects, but its effect is deeply connected with the spatial production. Like necessitation of the metrobus as a main mode in mobility, Istanbul's regular passengers are deeply framed by the atmospheric practices that it produces. As Lefebvre writes "representations of space facilitate the manipulation" (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 59). Therefore, the metrobus as a central mode of mobility is in conformity with conceptual production, as the second constituent moment in spatial production i.e., representations of space. The atmospheric effect connotes density, proximity along with temporal and spatial impossibilities, rather than a socio-spatial engagement. The metrobus operates in the way that it was aimed to operate, but this conformity transformed it into a reductive space that generates a one-sided practice in which adaptation becomes inevitable. Hence, "atmospheres are forceful and affect the ways in which we inhabit these spaces". Even though the atmospheric image of the metrobus is powerful, passengers' engagement, hence, actual practices frame their

perceptions and experiences to a great extent. “Affective atmospheres therefore modify passengers' possible field of actions, changing their capacity to feel and act” (Bissell, 2010, p. 272-273).

Metrobus is such an environment... For example, in other cities when you take the bus or when you ask for an address, mostly old uncles and aunts start talking to you. We don't see even those uncles and aunts in the metrobus. Even the elderly in this city have adapted (**Male, 31, Biologist**).

An extensive number of my interlocutors implied “intolerance”, “isolation” and “invisibility” in their genuine ways when I asked them about their metrobus experiences: *More people are closing themselves up ... I see a higher number of people that isolate themselves* (30, Female, Inspector); *People have been too selfish ... They don't see each other anymore* (20, Female, Student); *People are generally indifferent, tired, isolated and they are very unhappy. They do not communicate...* (Male, 27, Editor). This is how the metrobus constructs an atmosphere that deviates passengers from an aggressive mode into an apathic one. Affective atmosphere, therefore, generates a twofold impact upon regular passengers. Although Bissell's evaluation of the affective atmosphere is more of “propensity” rather than a “determining presence”; metrobus experience is revealed as closer to a determinate representation (Bissell, 2010, p. 273). As one interlocutor stated *thinking the metrobus I can't help but to imagine a terrible odor... a horrible marathon* (Female, 20, Student). Ironically, this is yet another *thing of the metrobus* because the image of such generic atmosphere generates a totalizing effect through the representation of negativities enmeshed with the word “metrobus”. Since another mode of mobility in Istanbul has been expressed directly as the opposite experience. Istanbul's famous and nostalgic ferries have been emphasized by a variety of interlocutors as a representation of a “social experience” in mobility:

The atmosphere is unique. In the metrobus, people turn into closed individuals with many obligations, the atmosphere of the ferry does the opposite. It's a more social experience ... The ferry is much different than

the metrobus. I love the ferry ride a lot. For example, one day I was waiting for my friend, she said that she needed 1 more hour, and so, I simply traveled back and forth between Kadikoy and Besiktas⁷ twice. Just because I had time. Because it is a very peaceful journey. Listen to your music, read your book, watch the sea. Otherwise (in the metrobus), you're watching the highway, you smell the sweat. Ferries are more peaceful, more nostalgic and the passengers are also different than metrobus people. There are more social, more empathetic, and calmer people on the ferry
(Female, 26, Lab Technician).

To be more outward, more empathetic, more tolerant have often been attributed to the ferry mobility. As the interlocutor states, *the atmosphere is unique* because even the imagining of these two transports have been fundamentally different among the interlocutors. Whereas the atmosphere of the metrobus closes people up, the ferry does the opposite and reminds people of their sociality. Therefore, the atmosphere of mobility also has the power to challenge the strategic nature of representations. They can undermine conceptualizations –even as a “propensity”– and hence, they may temper the lived for social individuals. The interlocutor’s travel between Kadikoy and Besiktas is a significant example for the tactical possibilities enmeshed in the affective atmosphere. She traveled back and forth twice just because she had the time and just because the travel was peaceful. For this precise reason she implies the differences between metrobus and ferry passengers. Watching the highway in extensive crowds with a bad odor is a concrete reason why the interlocutor thinks that *in the metrobus, people turn into closed individuals*. The atmosphere in this sense can either temper or defy passenger sociation because *the ferry does the opposite. It's a more social experience*. The construction of senses and reactions within proximity is related to the atmosphere as well. Marc Augé defines this proximity as “contractual consensus”. As the concept indicates, the space of public transport is a “contractual space” in which “the cohabitation of

⁷ Kadikoy-Besiktas is a very popular ferry line in Istanbul. It travels through the Bosphorus every half an hour bi-directionally.

diverse opinions” is daily practiced. For Augé, the contractual character is essential, and it reveals itself with insecurities and reactions to aggressive behaviors (Augé, 2002: 44). Whereas the cohabitation in the metrobus embraces often unfolds negativity, the ferry-like consensus is more spontaneous and naturally constructed, hence, reveals the positivity.

4.2.3. Lived Practice of Mobility

With a usual takeoff, my journey started. The crowd at Sogutlucemes was dense, but it was manageable. I was dedicated to using the AS line, yet like my previous examples, it was challenging. I am pretty sure of one thing. I don't like how people push one another to hop on. Since I started to use the line regularly on my way to work, I realized that my tolerance in this matter has also decreased. Imagine a group of people at the station grouped up in front of the bus door. The bus approaches, and you can observe the hastiness as it gets closer. When the doors are opened, everybody dedicatedly runs in. Trying to be polite didn't work out, so I intentionally blocked the doorway with my arm to make myself some space to get on. I am also adapting, sadly ... Around Mecidiyekoy, the bus was full, but people desperately tried to get on. That generated tension because it was impossible to close the bus doors. We squeezed in a bit more, and the problem was solved. At one point, I felt breathless. Because of the density and waiting periods at each station, my journey lasted longer than usual. Feeling exhausted, I arrived at Kadikoy, where I call home. As soon as I got off, I began to feel cheerful. Ultimately, I couldn't help but feel sorry for the long-distance regulars ... To have the metrobus as the only possibility to live in the city is genuinely consuming..

06 March 2019, Wednesday 17:30-20:05

The instrumentality of transport can be altered through what is lived, that is, through the socio-spatial experience that it presents. Although we rely on mobility through the end-oriented idea of reaching a destination, being on the move is inevitably a social phenomenon, as discussed. Altering this instrumentality implies the constitution of the subject, of the individual as a social actor, together with others. Consequently, along with tactics and the affective atmosphere, the social essence

of mobility constitutes an important variable of spatial practices. The comparison of the metrobus with Istanbul's ferry displays itself as a crucial example for the constitutive power of the spatial upon subjects. Like the discussion of active atmosphere, the spatial ordering of things may accommodate cognitive efforts to construct a meaning for what is proper for that spatial setting. Also, like Jensen's discussion of mobile experiences, this is another example of the constitutive setting enmeshed with spatial practices upon our wants and why Lefebvre believed our engagement with the everyday world had crucially been spatial. Considering the comparison between the metrobus and ferry, a salient difference emerges. Interlocutors displayed a clear contrast when they shared their experiences of them. Metrobuses stand at the opposing stance compared to ferries because they present an isolated, abstracted, and mechanic mobile experience. This may even imply a Nietzschean leveling effect, a homogenizing power that devours the uniqueness of the individual and tends to level. Cognitively and practically, spatial experiences can produce behaviors through what is expected or even wanted from a particular mobile practice (Jensen, 2011, p. 265; Nietzsche, 1967, p. 161). An ordering effect may be in power, however, togetherness in a shared space of materiality is a crucial reason that Lefebvre laid down a theory of possibilities and why he believed space to be lived before it is conceptualized. Likewise, Edelman discussed space as "an objectification of whatever shared meaning a particular group of people need to reinforce in one another" (Edelman, 1978, p.2). Hence, even cognitively, Istanbul's ferries are powerful representations of what can be lived instead of what has been instrumentalized:

The ferry is one of my favorite activities in Istanbul. I use the ferry with much joy. For example, I will go to Besiktas from Kadikoy on the weekend. I directly use the ferry. I do not use the metrobus just because it is faster. As you know, the metrobus would be faster than the ferry. But I have no question about that because ferry journeys are very pleasant... Watching the scenery, the beauty of the Bosphorus, traveling peacefully

without the crowds... well, the metrobus is too different from the ferry.
The ferry atmosphere is more humane (**Male, 26, Software Engineer**).

During my field observation, I witnessed a small conversation between two middle-aged passengers. One of them described the metrobus as a need for long-distance travel in Istanbul. The other one agreed, however, defined the experience as “primitive”. “Humane” is the word the interlocutor chose to describe the difference between the metrobus and ferry experience. These genuine words reveal a powerful meaning for the constructive power of spatial mobility because both are transports and both are instruments for us to complete our ends. Although these notions belong to different perspectives, we can still observe a clear divergence from what experience may mean. The moment of the primitive experience was the extreme crowd of the rush hour; lack of air, of personal space, the odor and people pushing themselves in at each station. This most probably generates the perspective of primitiveness. Humane as a spatial experience emphasizes the opposite because in ferries passengers travel in a comfortable space with pleasant air over the sea and often with empathetic conduct. Humanly essence has been the emphasis of experience. An interlocutor’s ironic remark clarifies the difference:

One day I also pushed the crowd to get on into the metrobus. Tragic of me... because you don’t act like that, for example in the ferry... Can you imagine someone running towards the ferry pushing people?

The metrobus always gives me the feeling of necessity. But I think the ferry makes that obligation more social. You can be more extroverted. It means relief to me; spacious. Traveling like a human being (**Male, 38, Copywriter**).

Like humane, proper social mobility was defined as *traveling like a human being*. His ironic question further displays how spatial condition constitutes subjectivities. Running, rushing, and pushing is an ordinary course of action for the metrobus. People’s adaptation, as discussed, has been significant so that they often tend to

ignore such behaviors. The ferry, on the other hand, is an unimaginable space for such conduct despite exceptions. As a ferry passenger, I remember many distinct moments when passengers shared seats, waited in lines to get off, excused one another, were in polite communication by being more outward. Consequently, experiencing mobility through ferry constitutes a somewhat different subject than the metrobus. The devouring effect of the metrobus reminds Heidegger's discussion of the crisis of dwelling. Lefebvre attributed this to losing "inhabiting" to "habitat". The problem within this loss is equivalent to the rise of an excessive measurement mode. Unlike dwelling, this mode in the lived space is also directed to Cartesian approximations. However, the meaning inherent in dwelling had a more direct understanding of lived reaction (Heidegger, 1993, p. 324; Elden, 2004, p. 96). In a theoretical framework, we may say that the metrobus is experienced as a habitat by the interlocutors, whereas ferries are inhabited. An apparent reason stems from the physical experience of mobility. Ferries travel through the Bosphorus while the metrobus uses the highway corridor. With the words of an interlocutor, *you breathe in the sea air, clean air... you feel the nature... seagulls, the sound of water, the sound of birds all at once... Plenty of oxygen. It is very pleasant* (Female, 46, Cleaning Worker). One could hardly compare the experience with a crowded transit bus travel. Her description of the ferry travel almost visualizes the experience by generating a vivid, nature-bound image. The natural content of the ferry experience is concrete, while the metrobus presents a difficult togetherness that is taken away from nature. Interlocutors expressed a clear need for a green, nature-bound urban experience, and in this regard, ferry travel has outshined metrobuses. As Lefebvre stated, in modern urbanization, "nature is also becoming lost to thought," let alone lived experience (Lefebvre, 1991a, p: 31). However, the strict speed-distance reliability and the pressure of rationalization in Istanbul's everyday life often inclining passengers to use the metrobus if they are not obliged to it. Hence, I listened to how pleasant the ferry was but how it inevitably depended on leisure time from a few interlocutors. Therefore, the ferry was more "humane" for the interlocutor, but it required temporal reliability:

Istanbul is entirely built on time. You need that time. You cannot catch up with things because of the time... I love traveling on the ferry, but of course, I can do this because I have the time. It is a social time during the weekend. When I don't have the time... Imagine living in Avcilar, and you must go to work in Gebze⁸. There isn't any choice in that **(Male, 26, Software Engineer)**.

The first chapter covering the metrobus as a necessity revealed a growing dependency toward its speed-distance reliability. Like the interlocutor's argumentation, ferries are also perceived as less practical than the metrobus. He thinks of ferry travel as a humane social practice but, most notably, as an activity of leisure time. His emphasis on "not having time" is not a concrete absence in his temporal existence. Instead, he implies the limited clock-time that he must set primarily via commuting. He emphasizes the importance of rush-hour pressure for the inhabitants. Spending less time on the road comforts him in many ways since it means more sleep, less stress in catching up with daily timetables, hence more reliability. Consequently, daily chores of the quotidian, commuting, and even going to a class in the morning or evening make inhabitants use the metrobus as a taskwork for the week. On the other hand, socializing, spontaneous mobility, and a vivid nature experience direct them to the ferry. The latter is often imagined on the weekends and in leisure time:

I am not rushing to something when I use the ferry. It is a transport where I feel better, where I don't have to run. I mean, ferries are better because that moment of leisure time is a happier moment... Thus, people are happier on the ferry **(Female, 26, Banker)**.

As the interlocutor emphasizes, leisure time is understood more than simply having the time. It is a social time of spontaneity. For Istanbul, this means not having to rush, a moment to embrace rather than use, live rather than consume. Happiness has

⁸ Gebze is a district of Kocaeli province in Anatolia. However, it is also an important business district for the software sector of Istanbul. The distance between them is almost 80 km.

been equivalented to this condition as a solid positive representation. However, despite such positivity, interlocutors who embraced the ferry experience once again emphasized their practical need for the metrobus. The weekday schedules are too tight; hence they must rely on transit maximization. Ferries are viable options for spontaneous experiences, but the rush-hour syndrome prevents regular usage because most of the interlocutors I spoke with live in at least one interchange away from the ferry docks. Since ferries take off every 15 minutes, they become inevitably less practical. An interlocutor's remarks summarize these perspectives: *I was taking the metro-ferry-bus trio, but the metrobus is shortening the time significantly. It is a huge gain* (Male, 46, IT Specialist). The gain represents the reduction of time spent on the road. It is a gain because, like other salaried employees, he must extract that time from his lifetime. Therefore, the social aspect of the ferry has often been compared with the obligatory aspect represented by the metrobus. In a city where 3 minutes of calculations matter, dynamics of mobility become a crucial part of rational preferences.

I mean, to use the ferry I must first go to Besiktas from here (Mecidiyekoy) and after the ferry I must take the metro in Kadikoy. It is too much... takes too much time. Metrobus on the other hand, is 5 minutes away. It is more practical **(Female, 58, Housewife)**.

The interlocutor lives in Mecidiyekoy, and she must travel through the Bosphorus to visit her father's home in Maltepe. Taking the ferry, as she explained, requires at least three interchanges and doubles the time spent on the road. The metrobus comes as a reliable choice and a more practical and less costly option. She walks for 5 minutes, takes the metrobus, and makes only one interchange. Such determinants make the metrobus a vital transport in speed-distance maximization. However, preferences are not always as straightforward as they have been for the interlocutor. Sea travel possibilities in Istanbul, like walking or biking, depend on the district and neighborhood. In the outer skirts or toward the inner parts of the North, ferry travel becomes almost like an impossibility for practical transportation. Although interlocutors believed ferries to present better socio-spatial experience in mobility,

some stressed their inability to use them regularly. An interlocutor living in Buyukcekmece and working in Zeytinburnu⁹ shared his sincere attachment to the sea. He explained, *I feel utterly relieved when I see the sea; I spent my life on the sea. I can't live without seeing it. I mean everyday no matter what time it is, no matter how tired I am, I always go down the shore to see the sea* (Male, 40, Electrician). However, for him, commuting early in the morning and late in the evening through the ferry is simply not a possibility. Although Buyukcekmece is on the shore of the Marmara Sea, options for sea travel are almost non-existent. This once again reminds the dominance of motorized transport in Istanbul. Hence, inhabitants' experience of the quotidian and mobility generates a calculative frame that eliminates alternatives to be lived. In this regard, he added, *I wish I could start my day with sea travel. All the stress, all the exhaustion, would go away. I would start the day positively and would spend the rest of it differently than I do now... I wish I had the chance.* Habituation comes through obligations, and mobility often loses its socio-spatial variables even as an image or a representation. As discussed in the historical chapter, Ebenezer Howard's Garden City was defying urbanization, so Jane Jacobs observed the model as a "city-destroying" idea. One of his main aims was to create a natural bond in city life, hence, the greenbelt. For Howard, detachment of inhabitants from nature had been a symptom of modern urbanization, and he considered the condition unhealthy. For Lefebvre, nature was, in fact, "being murdered by 'anti-nature' - by abstraction, by signs and images, by discourse as also by labour and its products" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 18; Lefebvre, 1991a, pp.70-71). In a city where two sides of the Bosphorus meet, the interlocutor explains his longing for sea transport. He longs to start his day as such, for it could have been a positive day. A metropolitan reality is dominating Istanbul's landscape since the motorized transport and cost maximization are eliminating alternative modes in mobile experiences. In Lefebvre's fascinating words, "the rational is naturalized, while

⁹ Buyukcekmece is a district on the edge of the European side of Istanbul, farther than the terminal station of the metrobus, Beylikduzu. The distance between Buyukcekmece and the central interchange station for the business district, Zincirlikuyu is almost 50km. Zeytinburnu is also on the European side of Istanbul, but it is relatively distant from Buyukcekmece. The distance is approximately 35 km, and sea travel between them is not a possibility.

nature cloaks itself in nostalgias which supplant rationality” (Lefebvre, 1991a, p: 30). I listened a variety of comparisons and the interesting part is that Istanbul’s ferries does not only represent a social experience in mobility, but both consciously and unconsciously they represent “old Istanbul”, an image of emotional positivity:

I want to make a (conceptual) separation between travel and transport. A travel feels like a social activity... but transport lacks that relational aspect... When did we make mobility so much transit? I think because of urbanization, but in the old days, people were using horse carriages, they were simply walking; they were wandering, having a break in the city... We lost that relational aspect in this transit condition... No interaction. Let alone communication, even a visual-cognitive perception is an experience... In the metrobus we cross the Bosphorus... the sea is beautiful... but people do not see it anymore. Instead of watching, they are just taking pictures to upload them to Instagram... On the weekends, if I must cross the Bosphorus, I use the ferry. To experience the beauty of the Bosphorus... The ferry is a travel or a journey **(Female, 30, Architect)**.

Metrobus belongs to the new generation... The metrobus takes you all the way to Avcılar. In the old days we used to take the ferry from Kadıköy to Eminönü or Sirkeci, use the tram there all the way to Topkapı. From Topkapı to Avcılar with a bus. Metrobus brought new things. We don’t have that ferry or tram condition anymore... I mean, on the ferry... you don’t have a smartphone at hand. You watch the scenery, the sea. You watch the seagulls even feed them maybe. You watch other passengers or read a newspaper. That is a thing with ferries, you can see and watch things. A spacious, peaceful space... Not anymore, not with the metrobus **(Male, 30, Metallurgy Engineer)**.

One of the most genuine perspectives among interviews has been the conceptual separation above; travel and transport. The interlocutor experiences mobility as an everyday phenomenon that is enclosed by the conceptual planning in Istanbul

because she believes it is due to *urbanization*. It is transit; there is no interaction and nothing relational. This is how she evaluates transport. In her comparison with travel, she generates nostalgia as both a sense of loss and a sense of longing for something she does not have (Kaya, 2019, p: 7). Since she is also referring to *horse carriages* just like *wandering* and *walking* as an idealized form. Unlike transport, a simple walk, a spontaneous wander, and having breaks while embracing things connote travel. While she cannot do that, she reminds us of the past in which cities have been smaller, and mobility has been *relational*. As a transit transport example, metrobus lacks a *visual-cognitive perception*; hence, it is not an *experience*. In the second story, nostalgia is more apparent because he evaluates the metrobus as a transport of the new generation, thus, it connotes a distinct type of experience. The interlocutor is most probably emphasizing the enclosing state of metrobus experience in which the focal point is upon the idea of achieving a certain end within a limited timetable. Unlike the ferry, it is often consumed rather than lived. As the first story emphasized, simply wandering is a possibility through the ferry conduct. Because *that is a thing with ferries, you can see and watch things*. Interestingly a prototype is also apparent for the ferry conduct, just like *the thing of the metrobus*. Together, these stories show the conceptual difference thought about and extracted from travel and transport. For Lefebvre, transportation was among the examples of sectoral homogenization and fragmentation of space. Because “these models are presented as the product of objective analyses, described as ‘systemic’, on a supposedly empirical basis”. The so-called empirical basis of urban planning reduced society “to an endless parade of systems and subsystems,” thus, it is gradually eroding the chances for any social object to “pass for a coherent entity” (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 311). For Stanek, this implies a totality that, for instance, includes “the one-sided perception of space by a driver or the reductive use of space in functionalist urbanism” (Stanek, 2008, pp. 69-70). If Istanbul had built its transportation on alternative means than motorized transport, the content of experience might have been more plural. Nostalgia might have been less “reflective” (Kaya, 2019, p: 6). However, as both stories show, metrobus mobility

is constructing a transit mode of experience in which the modes of measurement often replace the sociality of the subject.

4.3.“DO YOU SEE THE LEVEL OF ALIENATION?”: TRANSIT EXPERIENCES

It still surprises me to see how well the people are adjusted to these transit journeys. Rarely they get distracted. They often standstill at a certain spot if not seated and watch the scenery if they don't have phones at hand. And very few people in this group had phones, also few headphones. Everyone is waiting quietly and abidingly until their destination. For instance, an older man started to move towards the gate as we approached to a station. But another one stood in his way looking like the mid-30s. I couldn't hear properly but the older man touched his arm from his back, and I believe asked him to give way. Because in crowded metrobus getting off can also be challenging and the older man seemed to be hasty. The younger one didn't say anything, do anything, didn't even look back and just kept standing still. The older man calmly asked 2 more times to make sure the younger man heard him, and in the third attempt he said, "oh, will you also get off?", the younger man just nodded, didn't say anything, and didn't even look him in the face. That was an interesting communication style where one part clearly ignored the other but still, they did communicate.

25 January 2019, Friday 07:05-09:40

From the conceptual nature of spatial production to its generic power for the constitution of subjects, a vital means of transportation like the metrobus generates an important question upon the essence of experience. Since, for regular passengers, the metrobus becomes a solid determinant in everyday experience. As discussed, an interlocutor emphasized the significance of the metrobus in his life by comparing it with his work and home. Like going to work or coming back home, he uses the metrobus every morning and evening throughout the week, thus, he termed *embracement* (Male, 26, Cargo Operation). A transport that is an inescapable part of everyday experience has an image that is almost represented like home. Although it does not represent the privacy or candor that is often thought with home, the

metrobus becomes a determinative aspect of everyday for regular passengers just like home. The social aspect of this context opens significant questions for the experience of modern mobilities. Most importantly, as the spatial structuring of cities constitutes the milieu of modern inhabitants, questions about the object inevitably connect with the questions regarding the subject (Çoruh & Uluoğlu, 2018, p. 165). Through a historical-critical inquiry, Foucault wondered how we understood and formed a relationship with ourselves and other subjects and how we constituted the frame of our experiences. His discussion of critical ontology had been substantial in questioning how subjects constitute themselves and act in a specific manner, i.e., through knowledge, power, and self-activities. Hence, Foucauldian self-experience is associated with activities. In other words, “the subject should be understood as a position and a situation from which the relationship with the self is formed”. In the everydayness of the modern world, this may imply behavioral codes and values that we apprehend as normal conduct. Like Lefebvrian representations of space and De Certeau’s strategies, Foucauldian critical ontology connotes the constitution through knowledge/power, through activities shared with others, and finally through the self-comprehended experience (Tirkkonen, 2019, p. 456). What representational space meant to Lefebvre was experienced through De Certeau’s ordinary walker, through the tactics that generated the lived in the quotidian. Ideological or rather conceptual representations meet De Certeau’s disciplining strategies because it is the everyday walker who shapes and give meaning to space which is dwelt rather than what is conceptually designed (Urry, 2000, p. 53). Consequently, Istanbul’s metropolitan needs paved the way for the metrobus, which mainly produced a fixed state in mobility. In this intimate relationship with others, subjects constituted a genuine mode of experience enclosed by the object i.e., the metrobus. The metrobus conduct growingly constitutes an essential dimension for the experience of the social subject:

One day, because the station was so crowded, I think someone crashed the man or he just lost his balance, but a man fell on the road... Somehow the man fell, the metrobus could not stop in time and the man died. I felt that

someone was run over by the vehicle that I was in, so we felt like we drove over something. It was so tragic and traumatic but there was nothing you could do... I still shudder when I think of it, but I got off at Perpa. Because of the incident, the first aid crew came right away and the metrobus road was blocked. So, what did I do? I simply switched to a bus and came to the campus and went on with my life. I mean... I hated everything, including myself, but I couldn't do anything for that man. What did I do? I kept doing what I normally do... Simple as that. The next day, I forgot what had happened and took the metrobus again... It's very interesting, isn't it, because if you experience this in another life, maybe in another city or in another vehicle, it will probably be traumatic. Maybe you will not travel with the metrobus again, but it doesn't happen here. The next day, I took the metrobus again. Do you see the level of alienation? (**Female, 31, Research Assistant**)

This story has been the most severe memory that was shared by an interlocutor. She witnessed a truly traumatic and a very tragic accident. Although she showed obvious emotions when she shared it with me, she was also aware of her apathic adjustment, and she made a critical self-reflection. Overall, the paragraph above has been an important example of how a mere Cartesian mode of consumption can alter social-moral experience. Interlocutor's experience is constituted first through Istanbul-originated demand for spatial-temporal reliability, second through the adjusted conduct generated by the metrobus reliability. These variables significantly frame her mobile experience; hence, her experience of the self is enclosed by the abstracted mode that she finds herself experiencing. Her most intriguing statement in this context was, *I kept doing what I normally do... The next day, I forgot what had happened and took the metrobus again*. Her everyday practices must adapt because she must follow a timetable. However, the adjustment level in her traumatic experience is genuinely striking. It only takes a day for her to move on. Her cognitive faculties almost jumped over the incident. Although she did not erase the memory; as she emphasized, the Istanbul-metrobus duo has a

particular impact on this abstraction. *In another city or a vehicle*, most probably, the ordinary course of conduct would be her traumatization. Still, *it doesn't happen here*, i.e., it is not expected in Istanbul with the metrobus. She is defining an experience in which her cognitive image fades away and she lives through abstraction. Lived experience, Lefebvre stated, “is crushed, vanquished by what is ‘conceived’” (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 51). As discussed, Istanbul’s metrobus is calculative in essence and its efficiency-based mobility provides a different experience than *a travel* or *a journey*. Metrobus does not provide an experience of travel, rather it is a transit transport. The interlocutor’s apprehension of metrobus mobility is also instrumental. Although public transport represents instrumental vehicles for mobile practices, she implied instrumentality through social experience; *the metrobus is entirely instrumental. The only non-instrumental vehicle in this city is the ferry*. Thus, her abstracted experience also eliminates a basic humane feeling of trauma in utmost instrumentality. Her awareness gave a genuine definition for her abstraction in totality, alienation. She finds herself in an alienated state. Since the definition comes after her critical self-reflection of the accident, i.e., her indifferent *normalization* of it, we see that her emphasis of alienation is as striking as it is accurate. Because as discussed, alienation signifies a detachment from the praxis in which “genuine creations are achieved”. These creations, as Goonewardena states, “produce the human” through the process of “becoming human” as an actualization of “humanity’s species-being”, i.e., human consciousness in the production of the objective self and the activities within (Goonewardena, 2008, p 128). The interlocutor is alienated from her sensory-practical consciousness, she is alienated from the activity that constitutes a relationship in totality with life. She frequently emphasized her experiences with the word *robotic*. The choice of this word alone gives a solid idea for the essence of her consideration of everyday. In the moment of trauma, she unconsciously buffers herself by keep doing what she usually does without interruption, her *robotic* everyday practices. The constitution of the conscious self is undermined by the stimulus of the modern everyday she unconsciously embraces. Through the

enclosure she experienced, she showed symptoms of detachment from the social-moral self-consciousness, let alone creativity.

Paul Virilio argues that the nature and logic of the speed limit and technology determine the perception of the world. Evolution of the technological speed increasingly determines people's direct perception of the world. Thus, it becomes difficult for the individual to conceive itself as a meaningful subject with agency. He wrote, "...everyday laws on the "speed limit" within the city walls remind us of the continuity of displacement, of movement, that only the speed laws modulate" (Virilio, 2007: 31). Perception of speed is modulated through modern temporal needs, and it becomes a determinative aspect for our cognitive considerations in the quotidian. Just like a web, the interlocutor's consideration of alienation is constructed through the devouring aspects of everyday in Istanbul and reached its climax via metrobus passengering. Her abstraction becomes all-pervasive and generates a totality because she added, *sometimes I don't even remember how I left home and got on the metrobus and arrived at the university. I mean, I move in complete unawareness. I do not travel in cognition.* Hence, although we have normalized the idea of spending weekly hours on the roads, their dependency is gradually consuming spontaneity, heterogeneity, and socio-spatial dynamics of mobility. In a similar vein, the interlocutor does not consider the metrobus mobility as a meaningful experience, *you can't have an experience in the metrobus, I mean metrobus is not an experience, I don't think it is.* She implied the transit mode of experience coherent with the bus rapid transit structure of the metrobus. *I mean it is not something that I can experience. I act without knowing, in a robotic way. There is no experience in that.* To experience, one must live and cognize. Her emphasis upon inexperience does not eliminate the consideration of activity, rather it eviscerates the content of activity to be lived. Hence, as a striking assertion, she experiences alienation through abstraction. She automatically detaches from the social content of public transportation. She loses reflectivity as a spontaneous agent of praxis. This constitution is generated both through her self-comprehension and through her relationship with other things:

The moment I take the metrobus, I just unconsciously close myself up. I read, listen to music, watch something... I am always preoccupied with something, and my entire attention is with that occupation. I don't even think about looking around to people. Sometimes I get distracted, and I realize that we have crossed the Bosphorus. I don't think of looking to the view anymore. Maybe only once a week... I just pass through (**Female, 31, Research Assistant**).

Passing through without cognition reaches its climax with the traumatic accident she encountered. Her habituation is constructed upon passing through because she uses the metrobus at least five days each week; for commuting between Acibadem-Halicioglu and between Acibadem-Bahcelievler to visit her grandmother.¹⁰ The distance between these two routes is 15 and 25 km respectively. She considered her commuting path between Acibadem-Halicioglu relatively easy, as a short trip. However, her morning-evening and sometimes weekend rhythms are almost as fixed as anybody with an everyday routine based on to-do lists. Metrobus is a needed part of these routines; however, she also evaluated it as *a different type of teleportation*. She felt herself teleporting while taking those distances and added, *that distance almost feels like nothingness, I mean entirely blurred. Something very robotic*. Her comparison of "nothingness" is as striking as it is thought-provoking. Her abstraction is giving her the feeling of teleportation as if the distance she takes is nonexistent. As to why she emphasized everyday routinization once more. Modern city life posits itself as a busy and often cyclical routine in the quotidian. To live through a spatial and temporal fixation may enclose us. For the interlocutor, the overall outcome of this praxis is to become blasé and feel alienated because *when you do something as a routine every day, you start doing it robotically*. This last observation is significant in pointing out alienation as an abstracted praxis of everyday conduct and its coherence with transit experience.

¹⁰ Acibadem is a central Anatolian neighborhood of Kadikoy, and it is close to Sogutluceme station. Halicioglu is a European neighborhood and from Acibadem it takes 10 metrobus stations to travel. Bahcelievler is farther and it takes 19 stations from Acibadem toward the European side of Istanbul.

Routinization is a solid determinant of conceptual mobility in Istanbul. This, as a result, constructs experience as an apathic transit-ness in an alienated form:

To travel via transit vehicles like the metrobus... makes transportation very asocial. Even my interaction with the environment is subzero. I do not interact during my inner-city travels. All I want is to catch that bus in 10 minutes, so that I don't miss and must wait for another **(Female, 30, Architect)**.

A second story that inspired the discussion in this chapter had an equivalent self-reflection, except the trauma. Still, the 30-year-old interlocutor's thoughts were embraced by a clear negation. Negativities stem from her everyday burdens because like other stories, she must follow a fixed timetable. As a regular passenger, the interlocutor spends on average 1 to 1,5 hours on the metrobus, along with its interchange areas. She wakes up at 7 a.m. in the morning, reaches her office at 9 a.m. and by around 8 to 8:30 p.m. she is back home. She uses the metrobus to commute 5 days each week. She uses the metrobus occasionally on the weekends when she must work overtime. She is an architect, and her spatial and temporal mobility frames her life cycle during the weekdays. Her office routine takes approximately 9 to 10 hours of work, and she spends on average 2 hours on the roads. The trip generating effect of the metrobus is speed for the interlocutor. She said that it was the fastest way for her to cross from Asian to European side, and this was the only reason for her preference of the metrobus. Although metrobus passengering is a need in her everyday mobility, it generated a negative outlook to the idea of mobility. Like the first story, her perception of mobility lacks its essence as an experience. She expressed the feeling of enclosure, and as a unique assertion, her term for this condition was *becoming transit*. A direct emphasis upon the essence that transit transportation produces on her. This is yet another example of the tangled relationship that Istanbul constitutes upon inhabitants. Her everyday experience is constructed upon a dependency in the context of a salaried employee living in Istanbul, just like her everyday mobility. The city, mobility, and daily lived experience is intertwined and reinforce one another. As a result, she possessed a

mobile practice which became a strong representation of *becoming transit*; an all-pervasive transit-ness in her everyday mobility. The concentration of her temporal and spatial practices had generated “a psychological – and physical – distance” from the everyday world of obligations. For Walter Benjamin, this distance connoted phantasmagoric experiences. Those experiences which define dreamlike and ghostly qualities in solitude. Faceless people crossing before the eyes had, for Benjamin, an alienating effect. It was a general condition of modernity embodied in the city life, in which “people sleepwalk their way through their lives, unable to wake up to their desires” (Pile, 2005, pp. 18-20). Given that metrobuses offer transit bus travel on the highway with extensive crowds; dependency on them is gradually consuming the possibility of socio-spatial experience. Although the metrobus experience isolates her significantly, she relies on its efficiency. The quote that follows has been an important example for the consequences of this reliability:

So, yesterday I came home from work with two friends. One of them lives on the European side, and she joined us for the first time. Sadly, I realized how I am accustomed to living with the clock. Because to cross over the Anatolian side was like a pleasant trip for her. To me, it is to get home after a tiresome day at work ... Because of the construction in the Bosphorus bridge, we used the ferry to Küçükusu. From Küçükusu to Üsküdar, from Üsküdar to Acıbadem via the Marmaray. It was such an ordeal to me ... They talked along with the ferry, and I listened to music and took a nap. After the ferry, I was hasty to catch the bus to Üsküdar. They were looking around, talking. Because in fact, Küçükusu is a sweet, green district. But I needed to catch the bus, then the Marmaray, so that I could be at home at last. So, I kept asking them to hurry up. My friend then turned and said, “you have become such an Istanbul prototype ... You don’t even look around; you are only making haste to go home”. For a moment, I felt sad for myself. Such mechanization ... So, at that moment, I felt sad because of the inferiority of my living standard. It didn’t take more than 20 minutes, but regardless I realized how I was rushing ... But frankly, I think this city

has transformed me like this. It is unfortunate to say, but after a point, you become transit ... The metrobus is the ultimate example of it. It is not like the subway; it doesn't travel underground. You can watch E-5 highway as much as you want. You can see the Bosphorus. But you become so much transit... Then, it feels like traveling underground. I mean, it makes no difference. You don't have the slightest communication with your environment. When I first crossed the Bosphorus, I used to watch its beauty, but now I just look and say, "oh, we have crossed the Bosphorus". I don't even notice anymore ... And when I do, now I just say, "oh, we are approaching Zincirlikuyu". Because that is where I get off ... The metrobus puts you in that kind of a routine. You don't interact at all, and you become transit. The metrobus is such a transit vehicle. It was made to be precisely that way, and it does exactly what it deserves in this respect. As I said, it is the ultimate example of it (**Female, 30, Architect**).

Transit-ness has become an everyday phenomenon for the interlocutor. She defined this condition like Benjamin's phantasmagoric experiences through a particular distance. The metrobus, as a bus rapid transit, satisfies her temporal necessities but indicates a negative representation that devours and reflects itself through the everyday. Even if the metrobus achieves its very goal by rapid and transit journeys; she takes the advantage of the metrobus and loads it with negation to represent her everyday life in Istanbul. Since the metrobus *was made to be exactly that way, and it does exactly what it deserves in this respect*. Consequently, her everyday mobility is just a reflection of what she called the ultimate example of this condition. She is no longer dwelling; she is unable to seize the myriad of opportunities. Most importantly, her voluntary self-regulation has reached to an unconscious state. Metrobus passengering as being the primary locus of her everyday consideration, generated of what Creswell said, the victory of space over time (Cresswell, 2006, p. 53). Transit-ness also eviscerates her temporal cognition because according to her, *the metrobus puts you in that kind of a routine*. Wilson points out how encounters in public travels are entangled with obligations of travels, but at the same

time they can “shape subjectivities during the journey and reproduce wider discourses and processes of belonging and differentiation” (Wilson, 2010, p. 641). In the story of the interlocutor the process is productive of differentiation, but more frankly it premises isolation. The feeling of weariness and the image of automatization is almost visible in her story. She, in general, defines how she is increasingly losing her social ability to relate and to comprehend. In one of the phrases, she implied her indifference for this “utmost example”; *But you become so much transit ... it makes no difference*. In a similar vein, rushing becomes a determinative aspect of this condition because transit-ness is experienced through the conduct of rushing. In other words, transit-ness does not define a slow-motion detachment. For the interlocutor, abstraction unfolds itself through rushing in an automatized manner. It is automatized, and it is practiced as an unconscious conduct because her everyday is tied on the one hand to daily necessities like commuting; on the other, she depends on the city in fulfilling them. Where she lives, where she works, how she commutes and all the possibilities along with impossibilities that are mediated by them are actualized in Istanbul. Istanbul is the plane for her self-reflection because it constitutes the content of her lived experience. As she stated, *this city has transformed me like this. It is unfortunate to say, but after a point, you become transit ... The metrobus is the ultimate example of it*. Her everyday life and spatial mobility in the metrobus – as Lefebvre stated to support his theoretical unity – “involves, underpins and presupposes the other” (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 14). Given that she defines what it is *to become an Istanbul prototype as mechanization*. Her everyday conducts conform with the compression of space-time, and she implies isolation. She is isolated from the set of relations inherent in spatial practices because mobility in Istanbul conditions her. The conditioning aspect comes most obviously with temporal calculations because she expresses how she is *accustomed to living with the clock*. Her practices are linked to the symbolic forms in Istanbul which reveal themselves in temporal and spatial settings. Hence, living with the clock in a mechanized conduct symbolizes the Istanbul prototype and through them her quotidian is realized and reproduced. Her isolation is disrupted only through her reaching out to the destination. She mentions how the Bosphorus has become merely

a reminder of the station that she gets off. In the first quote, she stated that her isolation applies to mobility in general; *I do not interact during my inner-city travels*. Her experience of the metrobus has transformed the feeling of transit-ness to an all-pervasive situation. Because transit mobility that the metrobus provides expands in totality toward major spatial and temporal practices of her everyday life; *You don't have the slightest communication with your environment ... You don't interact at all, and you become transit*. Becoming transit has become a very strong determinant in the everyday life of the interlocutor because even her image of a weekday is framed by the routes, timetables, crowds, transfers and in general a feeling of stress toward the things she must complete. This was an important reason why she felt sad because of the inferiority of her life-standard. The metrobus, while responding her needs, paradoxically increased her transit intensity.

Metrobus is a transit vehicle. So, the only aim is to complete that 20 minute and to get off. It has such an atmosphere... “don't mess with me, don't talk to me, okay we're squeezing ourselves in”. So, to be alone in the metrobus is completely same as being with others. I mean, those people around me do not have any effect on me because it is like racing with time... Just endure and get it over with... You don't build any relationship in transit moments. Simple as that... You don't interact with your environment because you are aimed to move in a transit way. In other words, the way you walk on your way to work is different from the way you walk on the way to meet your friend. Because you are transit, you are in a way almost absent and for this reason you lose track for the things around. I mean not specifically as talking to someone, but you are even visually transit. Even visually you are not interacting. I know many moments that I commuted without knowing (*ezbere*) **(Female, 30, Architect)**.

For the interlocutor, becoming end-oriented on an everyday basis constructs the phenomenon of becoming transit. The counterexample would be her reflectivity. However, the ordering of her spatial experience “remains effective beyond the action” of the self as an agent (Löw, 2008, p. 37). The everyday of the pedestrian

city for De Certeau was equivalent with the speech acts that constitute our language. Interlocutor's lifespan in Istanbul resembles a post-pedestrian city that is mute, so that the poetic language of the ordinary is risked dying out. She is living through an abstracted conduct that can be summarized with *I don't even notice anymore*. Most importantly, her practical absence involves a strong cognitive closure toward others. Minding one's own business is the only stimulus, hence, it doesn't make much of a difference to travel with others than to travel alone, except personal comfort. Transit-ness and its ultimate example framed the interlocutor to a degree that she no longer contemplates as a species-being; *you don't build any relationship in transit moments*. However, places we reside, interact, and simply pass are not composed of certain equipment parts, what make these places familiar is our own interaction with them, our experiences, our dwelling. "Building a relationship" requires what could be considered as the totality of involvements that could generate subjective memories (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 120-121). When asked, she started to give solid stories of critical self-reflection, in much awareness. Paradoxically, her criticisms stressed the opposite. Her critical awareness laid down the content of her practical abstraction. Like the first story, she reflects premises of alienation, so that, her withdrawn state of transit-ness is unable to visually cognize because *you are even visually transit, even visually you are not interacting*. As Lefebvre stated, the place of social space has been dominated by a part that amounts to abstraction "wielding awesome reductionistic force vis-a-vis lived space". Hence, the silence of the users of this space for Lefebvre was symptomatic of the constitution of an "impersonal pseudo-subject" embraced by the modern social space (Lefebvre, 1991a, pp. 50-52). Given that, being *almost absent* in everyday praxis of mobility indicates the climax of everyday alienation and the meaning that it could reach.

"Transit" and "alienation" are the constructive concepts of this discussion that the two interlocutors directly expressed. Nevertheless, their perceptions were shared by other regulars as well, in a more indirect way. Alienation was not used by any other, nor as a direct representation such as transit-ness. However, isolation was

frequently emphasized during the interviews through the ideas that led abstraction. Consequently, the metrobus experience of the interlocutors had one way or another revealed a particular level of adapted negation that increase blasé existences: *You cannot communicate in the metrobus. There is a certain sameness. Like invisibility. You are invisible, no one sees anymore... So, you don't think. If you start thinking that metrobus never ends* (Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee); *In the metrobus, people mostly look isolated. I mean, they just mind their own thing and wait for the end* (Female, 36, Dental Technician); *People are indifferent to one another. No one is looking, people are not even making eye-contacts. It is a very crowded space, but you may consider it as asocial. No one is in communication and actually nobody is visible* (Male, 31, Biologist); *There is no empathy there. Only acceptance. People know this is the way to travel* (Female, 31, Inspector); *People are tired, isolated, unhappy. They do not communicate. There is a certain indifference there* (Male, 27, Video Editor); *People are often withdrawn, mostly isolated. So, physically you are very close with these people, but mentally you are far too distanced* (Female, 27, Trainee Solicitor); *It doesn't matter who you are, in the metrobus, they are all the same. No one actually sees* (Male, 46 Worker); *I am isolated. I am not even disturbed by a fight. All the same, happens every day. I am quite indifferent now* (Male, 28, Developer); *The metrobus... it is neither social nor pleasant for me. All I want is to complete the journey as soon as possible. So, automatically, I isolate myself. I am less attentive, more indifferent, and often I am weary* (Male, 38, Copywriter). These are some prominent examples of what metrobus experience represents, but interlocutors' perspectives reflected an overall negation. Out of 29 interviews, no one affirmed the metrobus as a positive self-experience, except for its practicality. The social aspect of public transport is often enclosed by this condition as well.

* * *

Modern mobilities are considerably functionalized under the representations of the contemporary city. They dictate efficiency for the movement of the maximum number of people within the minimum time. Istanbul's metrobuses are notable

examples of this current outlook as the bus rapid transit in time extended its line and capacity to accommodate easy and efficient transportation of Istanbulites for the growing demands of rush hour. As they have become a vital means of movement in the city, their peculiar passengering practices became apparent and appropriated with their spatial structure. The pressure of timetables and crowds engenders cyclical and repetitive modes of behavior. The lived in the metrobus is often constituted by its conceptualized practices, and as a result, they have almost become the norms of metrobus travel. Hence, regular passengering has constructed apparent spatial practices through habituation. The metrobus frames passengers strategically as a conceptual production, but passenger adjustment generated distinct tactical possibilities. To buffer themselves, on the one hand, passengers significantly adapted to the metrobus conduct, and on the other, they continued to defy its enclosing state through tactics generated from its strategic nature. Atmospheric constitution has been an essential determinant both as an image and experience that revealed negative feelings accompanied by growing apathy. On the other hand, the ferry revealed the importance of the lived experience on the move as a counterexample. Nevertheless, the regularity of metrobus passengering and the inevitable triumph of its automatized spatial conduct generated a pervasive abstraction, leading to alienation. Becoming transit has been one of the most thought-provoking definitions among the interlocutors. Adaptation, in the case of metrobus passengering, equivalently alters and transforms the essence of experience with the characteristics of the bus rapid transit. The more they are regulated, the less experience they constitute. Thus, although the atmosphere generates negative feelings, their practices of the metrobus realized with others grow their apathy toward alienation. Hence, the remaining question regarding the metrobus mobility inevitably leads to the content and meaning of encounters in the obligated mode of togetherness. The following chapter will analyze the metrobus as an encountering space for regular passengers and question the meaning of togetherness.

CHAPTER FIVE

ENCOUNTERS AND TOGETHERNESS

In the contemporary age, life has been urbanized, but it is now also growingly being metropolised. The city has evolved, but as Sennett defines, the city, after all, “is a human settlement in which strangers are likely to meet” (Sennett, 1978, p. 39). Meeting the stranger, too, reaches a new scale in a metropolis like Istanbul, where almost 16 million inhabit. The essence of meeting the stranger lies in its diversity, in “the capacity of people who differ to live together” and this capacity has also expanded with the metropolis. Nowadays, the denser organization of space and time with more crowded populations characterizes living together in the city. At first look, this process may associate with increasing diversities. However, the equally important point is the challenge against chance discoveries and encounters. The spatial and temporal regulation of the city frames inhabitants. Socio-economic differences in inhabitation are accompanied by the gentrification of living and working practices. Nevertheless, togetherness continues to be a crucial idea and experience of the city. For Lefebvre, the city centers around creation generated through various trajectories and exchanges that could negotiate differences or develop new varieties of differences. In fact, this should be “the promise of urban life”. Diversity constitutes its essence, and it must be “a source of mutual strength rather than a source of mutual estrangement”. Hence, urban togetherness defines the possibility “to knit the city together without homogenizing it”. Although cities have grown into complex social structures, complexity remains “inert if differences do not interact” (Sennett, 2005, p. 1-2). Consequently, togetherness in the city is often realized through urban encounters, which may enhance living in cohesion with and through existing differences and improve relations for inhabitants.

In line with the discussions, this chapter will analyze the ideas and perceptions of the interlocutors on encounters and togetherness in Istanbul. The major finding of the field research revealed a twofold nature for the essence of encounter and

togetherness in Istanbul. On the one hand, apathy, isolation, anonymity, insecurity, differentiation and degrading social ties have been emphasized by the interlocutors in various typologies. Hence, to encounter and to interact with others and things, primarily in the metrobus and broadly in the everyday life of Istanbul had been significantly enclosed by their growing indifference. The metrobus as a public transport does not revive the idea of spontaneous and plural interactions for most interlocutors. Rather it represents a spatial challenge of mobility that consumes the essence of them. What is lived through the metrobus every day worsens their perception of togetherness in plurality and diversity. The interlocutors did not exactly reflect affordance of freedoms through indifference, but rather differentiation and insecurity lived and felt toward differences.

On the other hand, what has been equivalently important was the constitution of a social essence via such public experiences despite the dominance of their consuming nature. Although prevailing ideas revolved around growing apathetic and indifferent subjectivities, some interlocutors reflected socially embedded self-knowledge and shared premises of value-creating subjects through everyday encounters they experience. These have not been direct constructions of empathetic threads but instead a certain amount of visibility and relative proximity. Specifically, daily encounters via the metrobus generated a sense of understanding of the stranger in diversity by making them visible. Also, as an interesting outcome, for some interlocutors, negated experiences derived from metrobus-based togetherness strengthened their sense of belonging in the neighborhood. The metrobus almost functioned as a counter-productive practice in their understanding to relate and belong. The more they experienced Istanbul via the metrobus conduct, the more the feeling of home prevailed in their belonging to the neighborhood. As living a similar lifestyle, these interlocutors are primarily from the Kadikoy district.

The chapter will first introduce the essence of encounters shared primarily for the metrobus and, overall, for Istanbul. As more of an introductory chapter, the chapter titled spatial encounters will show the typologies of encounters through interlocutors' perceptions of living in Istanbul with others. The second chapter will

present a discussion for the devouring practices of togetherness realized primarily by the encounters of the metrobus. Finally, the third chapter will analyze the counter perceptions of togetherness as a relatively constructive mode of experience.

5.1. SPATIAL ENCOUNTERS

Encountering spaces are various in the city. As the historical chapter of this work discussed, the modern city established an openness for everyday practices. The mobility of inhabitants has equivalently expanded both as an idea and a practice. An ordinary day for the modern inhabitant is constructed upon kilometers of mobilities throughout the districts of the city practiced with others. Thus, the encounter is as inevitable as it is unavoidable. Jane Jacobs emphasized the public nature of sidewalks and their importance in city life for public encounters. Through sidewalks inhabitants could embrace a sense of togetherness with the ones that are different without excuses, explanations, entanglements, and obligations, which could “accompany less limited relationships.” Hence, in spontaneous togetherness, it is possible “to know all kinds of people” in a city street neighborhood (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 57, 62). Likewise, according to Quentin Stevens, the diversities enmeshed in densities contribute to “social development.” Chance discoveries, the intermingling of people, and the exploration of the unknown may overcome “instrumental social relations” dominated by the capitalist city. Differences in people and their needs are revealed through encounters and interactions. Such “density and diversity of people coming together gives urban social life a distinctive character” (Stevens, 2007, pp. 8-9).

In the modern city, too, the encounter is still inevitable; that “it cannot disappear.” Like De Certeau’s tactics, for Lefebvre, inhabitants reconstitute practices, spaces, and centers and may escape the dominance of the exchange value. In his words, “as a place of encounters, a focus of communication, the urban becomes what it always was: a place of desire, disequilibrium, the seat of the dissolution of normalities and constraints”. Despite the crisis that the modern city experiences, encounters continue to possess “moments of unpredictability” (Lefebvre, 1996, pp. 126-129).

In this light, although they form the essence of regulated movement, in the metropolis, mobility and mobile spaces become crucial grounds for various encounters. The most particular form of regulated movement unfolds during rush hour; thus, encountering experiences are often realized in such dense and busy hours of the day. In Istanbul, vast mobilities generate a restless and vivid picture of inhabitants from various neighborhoods, class, and culture. The rush hour syndrome is a crucial reality, and such a level of automatized movement probably, cannot be found anywhere else. Although anonymity often prevails due to the intensity of rush hour, numerous people in diversities passing through one another make these encounters vital in socio-political essence. What the daily encounters mean to the ordinary dweller, how they see other inhabitants, and overall, with whom they think togetherness takes place, etc., are preliminary questions in understanding the nature of these encounters. Although these are primarily realized in regulated and calculated practices of everydayness, they display the conceived and lived toward others. Consequently, this chapter will elaborate on everyday encounters with their prevailing characteristics and meaning for the interlocutors.

According to the interlocutors, metrobus-based togetherness is an important aspect for experiences of plurality. Even without a direct interact, the metrobus generates spatial visibility for plural encounters. During the interviews, interlocutors shared stories of differences primarily based on what they saw in the metrobus. With the words of an interlocutor, this is because Istanbul inevitably *locks people into specific hubs*. Hubs, for her, define and shape everyday experiences and what is lived to a great extent. Because in Istanbul, *everyone seems to be stuck in hubs where they can find people like themselves, no matter where they live* (Female, 27, Trainee Solicitor). Similar ideas, both as a positive and negative mediation, will be discussed in the following chapters. Still, the point is that so long as interlocutors' daily practices are significantly organized, plural encounters with others are often taking place in the context of obligated mobility. As the hub example stressed, what could be lived in Istanbul is seemingly constituted through a homogenized differentiation. Because interlocutors' everyday mobility is significantly framed by

class-based housing and working practices. In this cycle, the metrobus comes almost as an exception, first for concretizing Istanbul-imagined togetherness on a significant level of passenger circulation, and second, for its inevitable appeal to inhabitants who are not primarily obliged to use it, i.e., inhabitants who already own an automobile. This latter point also shows how pervasive metrobus encounters could become in its strategic 52 km line. Having an automobile as an alternative to public transport guarantees privacy in mobility as a more isolated mobile experience. Except for what could be observed and practiced inside from the car, drivers undertake typical characteristics of “auto-subjects”, who live the city through the mobility of their cars. According to Nigel Thrift, “the car becomes a world in itself”. Specifically, through the technological developments in the industry, the novelties in automobile hardware and software are almost becoming mediators for the driver “to recall specific memories”, making the car “a monad that increasingly refers to the world outside itself through such representations” (Findıklı, 2014, p. 65; Thrift, 2005, p. 51). But as one interlocutor stressed, living in Istanbul increasingly eliminates the chance of that “world in itself” toward a growing impossibility: *I think people use the metrobus just to be somewhere on time. Because of that temporal need. Not because it is super comfortable or even preferable* (Female 38, Healthcare Officer). Hence, even drivers who have adjusted to the practices of an automobile undertake an inevitable interactional course with others in the metrobus. Interactions, in essence, could be either constructive or devouring; however, they further expand encountering possibilities. Since interlocutors are regular passengers, they spend approximately 1 to 2.5 hours of daily life in the mechanized practice of the metrobus. Accordingly, the metrobus experience almost became a representative of living through Istanbul with others and things. An interlocutor stated this dual condition:

Istanbul is all about the flood of people. When I am on the metrobus, I think about this. I am looking around, and I see all kinds of people... Floods of them. So crowded, I mean, every single day. I hear people speaking on the phone about their work. That's it—the obligation. Really,

you must take that public transport every day to keep going, to keep living
(Female, 22, Student).

Interlocutor's image of Istanbul as "flood of people" becomes a practical experience in the metrobus. The idea of immense crowds framing Istanbul transforms into reality through regular metrobus passengering. Because the metrobus provides a concrete space for a direct experience to the abstracted notion of "crowds". Her imagination of the metrobus and Istanbul, thus, intersects in this idea and practice of "flood of people". What is equally important is her understanding of those intense moments. Every single day vast numbers of people using the metrobus, for her, ironically reveals the obligated aspect of life and mobility in the metropolis, i.e., *that's it—the obligation*. This has been another common perception among the interviews. Interlocutors consider these obligations as a dull reality for any inhabitant who must move throughout those busy hours. As to why an interlocutor summarized the argument with an example: *Even if I have a Lamborghini, I will have to wait in the same traffic* (Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee). This example also supports the necessitated aspect of the metrobus for car owners because none of the automobile stories during the interviews stressed preference to regular buses. They do not prefer bus passengering to their automobiles because with a typical inter-city bus, the problem and concern for the rush hour traffic do not disappear. Buses must move through Istanbul's morning-evening traffic to complete their routes. Besides, bus routes are mostly organized based on neighborhoods. With a few exceptions, none of the buses in Istanbul travel through the neighborhoods in such variety as the metrobus does. And for instance, with the exception, the 500T line travels from Tuzla to Bakirkoy through 75 km in city traffic. It is a rather infamous bus in Istanbul for its length and crowd and was recalled as *a nightmare* by an interlocutor who also stated how it was a relief to have the metrobus instead (Female, 20, Student). Hence, as an inevitable strategic choice for many Istanbulites against everyday realities, the metrobus became a significant encountering space for the interlocutors with a relative plurality.

Consequently, all the interlocutors summarized their observation of metrobus demography with the following premise which was shared by an interlocutor: *Everybody uses the metrobus* (Female, 26, Banker). The exceptions of this question came only as a changing perception for the demography. For instance, some considered passenger plurality in a wide range of class analysis; *people below the minimum wage use it, but people at the CEO level also use it* (Male, 46, IT Specialist). An underlying reason for this variety, as discussed, is the efficient transit travel metrobuses provide – that avoids the traffic. Hence, *people from all classes use the metrobus. Because you don't want to get stuck in the traffic. So even if you have a car, you are forced to use the metrobus* (Male, 28, Developer). According to the interlocutors, everyone in this city, somehow, becomes obliged to use the metrobus. For this reason, variety of passenger profiles has been a common determinant of these journeys. A few others considered passengers in a relatively limited plurality. However, the differences between these two considerations are minimal since these interlocutors also implied diversity of the metrobus as their starting point: *The metrobus is a direct example of what Istanbul is. As I said, Istanbul is a city of diversities. The metrobus is exactly the same in this regard* (Male, 26, Software Engineer). Differences for the essence of encounters come only as varying perceptions for what they see through the characteristics of the class. The interlocutor continued:

Older people, young people, students, men, and women dressed elegantly along with construction workers... Because that 50 km is crucial, people can travel from Beylikduzu to Kadikoy because of the metrobus. That is why people are so diverse in the metrobus. I mean maybe we don't see a CEO, but all sorts of high-level people such as managers use it as well
(Male, 26, Software Engineer).

His emphasis on diversities includes upper class, such as *managers*, but not *CEOs* and such divisions concerning the essence of socio-economic stratum have been the only significant difference in interlocutors' ideas. In this vein, prevailing perception for metrobus passengering, as one interlocutor stated, has been upon the idea that

the metrobus never becomes a space for monotype passengers (Female, 27, Trainee Solicitor). During my field observation, I particularly noticed how different ages, segments, lifestyles from 52 km-lined neighborhoods of Istanbul use the metrobus. Through these complete travels I realized something in full cognition. Istanbul truly is a city of diversities, but we hardly have the chance to see them in the context of everydayness. To me, metrobus truly had a plural demography in terms of encounters. This was, on the one hand not very surprising because 52 km transit route makes various socio-economic contacts almost inevitable. On the other hand, despite my expectations as an inhabitant who was born and raised in this city, I certainly did not expect such richness in diversities. With the words of an interlocutor:

It is such a cosmopolitan vehicle... On weekends I see mainly families of all sorts. They are traveling with their families. On weekdays naturally too many employees, especially during working hours. The average age is around 30-35-40. I do not exactly see the high-upper segments but many people in the low and high middle of the hierarchy. But in general, you see all kinds of people. Families with children, students, workers from different socio-economic backgrounds, etc. For instance, you see people who work in construction and who wear work vests. So, what I observed is the typical, standard working human profile in the mornings: white collars, blue collars, and people who own a shop or work in the shop. I mean people in the service sector (**Female, 31, Research Assistant**).

Like the discussion above, the interlocutor is also making a distinction in class hierarchy and emphasizing the plurality by excluding *the high-upper segments*. Nevertheless, for her, people from *the low and high middle of the hierarchy* in variety including students and families are visible in the metrobus. Her detailed analysis of metrobus demography summarizes the diverse essence that these transit travels provide. As discussed, it is more critical that interlocutors did not share an equivalent spatial ground for a similar variety in their daily experiences of Istanbul. They emphasized “diversity” in their representation of Istanbul, i.e., in the idea of

Istanbul; however, their actual experiences of the imagined are limited considering the spatial and temporal regulation of their everyday. Consequently, the metrobus provides a significant encountering space in a metropolis like Istanbul, where inhabitants with extensive mobilities growly close themselves into socio-economic hubs formed through living and working practices. As the process of urbanization constructed itself in a singular developmental logic, the city growingly surrendered itself to deterministic perceptions. For Lefebvre, even more crucial was the urbanity's "assertion of itself as reasonable." So, nowadays, the modern city hardly defines moments or elements of chance practices (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 126). The interlocutors' ideas also show that encounters in the metropolis changed toward the "reasonable" instead of the spontaneous through the context of obligated mobility. Their need for the metrobus as a practical and reasonable means of mobility makes it a crucial public ground for encounters in Istanbul. Following the interlocutors' ideas shared in this chapter, *the obligation* to fulfill daily tasks, to *keep living in this city*, the metrobus concretizes Istanbul's diverse and dense demography spatially. Families, students, blue and white collars, employers of the service sector; from minimum wage laborers to CEOs and maybe not until CEOs but upper-class managers – everybody somehow uses the metrobus. Inhabitants who do not own a car use it, but also those who have cars also use it. From Kadikoy until Beylikduzu, inhabitants from various socio-economic backgrounds possibly encounter one another despite changing durations and distances. In this regard, what the metrobus presents in terms of encountering represents the micro example of Istanbul since they do not use the metrobus *because it is super comfortable or even preferable*, but because they must either complete long-distance travels or avoid the rush hour traffic. Istanbul leads differences into a homogenous challenge because of its spatial-temporal intensity when the need for mobility is considered. Thus, a post-pedestrian Istanbul lived through the metrobus mobility, on the one hand, revives plurality of what Istanbul could be and, on the other hand, directs the essence mostly toward consumption because of what Istanbul is. This, in return, inevitably affects practices, attitudes towards others, and how these are experienced in Istanbul.

Consequently, the symptomatic outcomes of this dual relationship will be analyzed from the following chapter onward.

5.2. DISSOLVING TOGETHERNESS

In the modern city, individuals are growingly enhancing privacy in everyday life practices. As the city organized itself functionally, inhabitants adapted to daily routines that reproduced the idea and practice of individualism. For modern inhabitants, possibilities have expanded to become more automatized, introverted, and live more rapidly. For instance, modern transport encompasses various "invisible" elements often practiced unnoticed. From drivers to passengers getting on and off in an intense circulation, passenger adaptation to this pace erodes their cognition. Hence, through the aim of becoming a self-sufficient "mechanical toy," the modern city significantly appropriated inhabitants to its conceptual paradigm (Jacobs, 1961, p. 23). Criticism of everydayness could be approached similarly. Instead of spontaneous activities in varieties, everyday life in the modern city regulates. According to Gill Valentine, although diversities are revealed and observed to some extent, everyday encounters do not always generate an "actual mixing" of differences. Proximity of such diversities does not directly form "meaningful contact" by escaping segregated practices. Through "contact", Valentine questions practices and perceptions that could "change values and translate ... individual moments into a general positive respect for ... others" (Valentine, 2008, pp. 325-326, 334). Contact could be constituted only when encounters generate a creation beyond what is visible to the subject; when diversities reach beyond what could be merely seen by the eye and create a change in the world of subjects. Likewise, Ash Amin analyzes what he called "the depressing reality" in the public spaces of the modern city. In terms of interethnic conflict, Amin discusses how public spaces may also produce contradictory outcomes for failing to form "social cohesion and cultural interchange" in the case of the 2001 riots of English mill towns. In contemporary life, public spaces then may fail to address the negotiation of difference and instead become "spaces of transit with very little contact between strangers" (Amin, 2002, p. 967). After all,

given the complexity of assemblages, meeting up with the unfamiliar, experiencing, and learning through the stranger, as Valentine and Amin also emphasized, must contain experience of subjectivities to generate “self-knowledge” of the social instead of “fear” (Sennett, 2001). Therefore, it is inevitable to evaluate the city from “a pure form” – a spatial-temporal realm of possibilities, to a conceptual structure limited by various barriers reflected in the essence of togetherness.

In this light, a significant finding of the field research has been the dual relationship that the metrobus and Istanbul generated on the idea of togetherness. Interlocutors' thoughts upon encounter and togetherness did not reveal a crucial difference between their metrobus and Istanbul experiences, or rather, representations. This reminds us of the discussion concerning the entangled relationship between the use of the metrobus as a need and the frame of Istanbul as a metropolis. In other words, living in Istanbul through concrete everyday challenges in crowds with extensive mobility via the regular use of the metrobus generated a pervasive effect upon the idea of togetherness for most interlocutors. The metrobus perspective growingly represents their perception of togetherness. The contradictory ideas of “Istanbul is beautiful but...” has almost been equivalented with “metrobus is fast but...” when the interlocutors considered themselves relating or not relating with others and things in the city. Their ideal image of Istanbul and their appreciation of metrobus speed were significantly devoured by their negative mediation of routinized, dense, and rushed practices of the everyday. Living in Istanbul through the challenges of the metrobus generates an obligated understanding of togetherness to a significant degree. As this image grows, interlocutors' perceptions of others in the city get further enclosed by the metrobus representation:

You don't really see anyone there (the metrobus). You're drowning because of the crowd. So, you can't think of anything else but to get off and get on. This is the case for Istanbul actually. It is too crowded, there is just too much of everything. If Istanbul had not been like this, there would be no need for the metrobus anyway (**Male, 46 Worker**).

The chapter (4.1) that discussed the metrobus as a necessity emphasized the twofold relationship generated by the need for metrobus use in Istanbul. Namely, as Istanbul's neoliberal growth developed the need for efficient transit transportation, adaptation to this efficiency began to produce a dependency for the interlocutors. So, their perception of necessitated mobility significantly equivalented itself with the metrobus based speed-distance ratio. A similar argument could be considered for the outlook of encounters. As the interlocutor emphasized, *if Istanbul had not been like this, there would be no need for the metrobus*. Because of that, being-together with others on a concrete ground such as the metrobus forces singular thoughts of instrumentality instead of a subjective intimacy: *you can't think of anything else but to get off and get on*. For him to encounter others is a consuming practice due to the crowd intensity because in the following sentence he directs the argument toward Istanbul; *this is the case for Istanbul actually*. For the interlocutor, being together with others is growingly dominated by the encountering experience that the metrobus offers. The perception of togetherness constituted a metrobus-based appropriation when he considered this condition in his everyday practices. Hence, his opinion of invisibility – *you don't really see anyone there* – is also directed toward Istanbul for constructing a challenge against possibilities for visibility – *it (Istanbul) is too crowded, there is just too much of everything*. Similarly, an interlocutor who embraced a seemingly direct concern for togetherness regarded the construction of the social essence as an *impossibility*. His emphasis of impossibility is also derived from the metrobus example:

Living together is beautiful ... so ok, we have individualized to a certain extent, but I also think everyone wants to belong and be a part of something. This is not possible in Istanbul in terms of the spirit of togetherness... To me, metrobus is an excellent example of this impossibility. It's a busy line filled with various people. Normally, maybe your paths will never cross with these people. However, in the metrobus you simply find yourself cramped with those people ... This is how it feels to me, which is generally negative. I think this is the case for many people.

Let alone establish a relationship; it gives a feeling of disaffection and detachment. I don't think being together should be like this (**Male, 38, Copywriter**).

Throughout the interviews, the dominant idea of togetherness which enmeshed primarily in the metrobus but also pervaded to Istanbul has been somewhat its loss as a social construction. Cognitively and practically, interlocutors have, in significant proportions, emphasized a growing challenge in their everyday practices and mobilities that would enable them to relate. Interlocutors often talked about crowds, spatial-temporal fixations, significant distances for mobilities, and socio-economic challenges, reflected in the metrobus and Istanbul almost proportionally. Their negating perceptions have been important for showing the intricate relationship of being obliged to the metrobus almost as a precondition of living through Istanbul's metropolitan dynamics. This devours the interlocutors' perception of togetherness holistically. In this context, the interlocutor made a crucial comparison between the idea of togetherness and the practice he experiences in Istanbul. He acknowledged the importance of the modern condition constituted upon individuality, however Istanbul, in his words, is constructing a negative mediation and establishing an impossibility against *the spirit of togetherness*. With togetherness he emphasized the ability to relate, i.e., *establishing a relationship*. The counter effect for him had been *disaffection* and *detachment* and he explained it with the metrobus experience. The metrobus is the *excellent example of this impossibility* because regular practicing of it devours the plural essence that could be derived from encounters and being with others – inhabitants with whom, *normally, maybe your paths will never cross*. Hence, although he acknowledges the plural essence of metrobus encounters – as a spatial ground that actualizes inhabitants' visibility in diversity – he makes it clear that metrobus mode of experiencing with others is eviscerating possibilities of interaction. Like the idea of the metrobus as an *ultimate example of transit mobility*, the metrobus for the interlocutor is also *an excellent example of impossibility*, that is, the negated

togetherness symptomatic of living in Istanbul. This twofold relationship has been shared by another interlocutor with a slight comparison:

My wife is from Sinop [a city at the Black Sea coast]. I genuinely love Sinop... In Sinop, traveling and driving in the city is very easy. But here (Istanbul), I can't drive anywhere. Although I have a car, I must use the metrobus. This is the case for many other cities as well. They are not crowded, not like Istanbul. In other cities, I can take a 40 km road in half an hour in the morning. Here I must spend at least 2 hours driving a 40 km route. So, I am spending 2 hours of my life for nothing. That's why living in other cities is simpler and more comfortable... I think everything is related in this way. I mean, these things are connected. People who do not suffer from this stress, exhaustion, and crowds can be more social, happier, and extrovert. So, they can get to know each other, greet each other. I don't know, they can be extroverted and responsive (**Male, 40, Electrician**).

As a more straightforward example, interlocutor's approach to an ideal condition of city life stresses a relative *comfort*. He exemplifies this condition i.e., living in other cities as being *simpler and more comfortable* against the temporal consumption of everyday in Istanbul. The indirect conclusion that can be drawn from this example is the promise of a city to generate a certain amount of spatial-temporal comfort for the inhabitants while completing their daily obligations through crowds and distances. Thus, his comparison of Sinop stressed the lived as imagined toward a simpler city life. Because Sinop, located in the northern edge of the Black Sea coast, has approximately 220 thousand population with overall 9 districts (TUIK, 2022). Sinop and Istanbul stand out almost as examples of two extremes in scale and population. Being *more social, happier, and extrovert* according to the interlocutor is strictly connected with not suffering from the *stress* he experiences and observes in Istanbul. Thus, the question is concerned with a modern understanding that can sustain a public space of impersonal strangers, to think through the possibility of a spatial ground in which people can "tolerate being stimulated by the other" (Sennett, 2003, pp. 385-387). From a different angle,

Tonkiss discusses that in the cases peculiar to the modern condition indifference could also be an ethical relation between subjects and could constitute certain freedoms. As an idea for the preservation of pluralities and diversities, Tonkiss claims that ethics of indifference has to do with impersonality where “differences remain unassimilated.” Like Bissell’s reevaluation of the concept “social,” Tonkiss stretches the conceptual discussion for the idea of indifference and states that indifference too enables differences to be lived in everyday social spaces. Hence, if the modern city is the place for the relations of non-identity, then it may “encourage an indifference to matters of difference” (Tonkiss, 2003, pp. 299-300; Bissell, 2010: 282). Rather than leveling differences, anonymity in the city toward indifference may be an essential criterion for the plurality of subjectivities, hence for the lived experience with others.

However, for the interlocutor the avoidance of contact stems from daily burdens, primarily experienced via the metrobus practice. His stress of indifference for not being extrovert or responsive does not constitute “an ethical relationship” but rather a transitness with minimum contact through “the depressing reality” (Tonkiss, 2003, pp. 299-300; Amin, 2002, p. 967). Thus, the in-between world which gathers the inhabitants together erodes by keeping them at a cognitive and practical distance through the obligated mode of lived experience. Actually, the worldlessness that Arendt saw in the criticism of modern society implied the dominance of animal laborans against zoon politikon, i.e., the modern individual’s devouring singular sphere of activity to sustain life. For Arendt, the emerging problem was “a mass society of laborers” consisting of “worldless specimens of the species mankind”. Animal laborans is ejected from the world as he is [sic.] “imprisoned in the privacy of his own body, caught in the fulfillment of needs in which nobody can share”. Arendt’s criticism of modern mass society is, therefore, a criticism of a society of laborers in which the individual’s activities are realized “for the sake of making a living” (Arendt, 2005, pp. 106, 118, 126; Pile, 2005: 18). As the 22-year-old student emphasized above, lived experience is crucially framed by livelihood practices in the quotidian: *the obligation*. Istanbul and metrobus grounded impact on the

perception of being together with others in the city is equivalently connected to the enclosing aspects of sustaining life. Arendt's systemic criticism of modern society reaches its climax with the metropolitan dynamics of sustaining life. With the words of another interlocutor:

I think all Istanbul has, is a life struggle, good or bad. Everyone in this city has different values, but we all have one common goal: the struggle for life. You are fighting for your life just with a rush, but I don't think there is any solidarity, respect, or, let me tell you, togetherness. It is just about making a living now, the rest is like a lie (**Female, 25, Pilates Instructor**).

Therefore, the perceptions of the interlocutors shared in this chapter intersect in the idea of enclosure toward consumption and a pervasive indifference. Following Simmel and Arendt, worldlessness is revealed as they find themselves in the frame of extensive stimuli through daily practices to sustain life. For the 38-year-old copywriter, the essence of mechanized socio-spatial practices generates growing detachment from differences toward others and things; hence he longs for an idealized perception of belonging. For the 40-year-old electrician, exhaustion in daily routines consumes possibilities for an extrovert and responsive mode of city existence. Finally, as a more direct example, for the 25-year-old pilates instructor, "sustaining life" frames the life spans of the inhabitants as much as their socio-spatial experiences. Consequently, we can say there is a very intricate relationship between the city and the life practices imposed on the modern individual. The socio-spatial confines of the city and living, moving, or interacting possibilities tangle one another crucially.

As a second point that could be derived from the field research, interlocutors' perceptions revealed that spatial and temporal experiences of Istanbul and the metrobus produce an abstracted mode of togetherness through the actual practice of togetherness. In other words, when the idealized Istanbul and the practical metrobus turn into a realized experience among the crowds and stimulants, the togetherness starts to dissolve as a social mediation in the city. Like the discussion

of the chapter that elaborated on everyday life as lived and imagined, the idea of togetherness in the idealization of Istanbul had positive connotations upon diversity, plurality and differences: *I really love the diversity in this city...* (Female, 36, Dental Technician); *The beauty of Istanbul is related to the social aspects you can find in this city. It is a very colorful and diverse city...* (Female, 30, Architect); *Istanbul is so different than other cities, it is so colorful...* (23, Female, Student/Part-Time Employee); *Living in Istanbul is enchanting. So many diversities and possibilities all the time...* (Male, 27, Video Editor). Yet, interlocutors' spatial-temporal practices dominated by metrobus passengering crucially alter their imaginative representations. Hence, for most of the interlocutors, leaving their privacy in the public space of the metrobus during Istanbul's rush hour contributed to the practical dissolution of social essence of plurality in togetherness. Consequently, this chapter will analyze negated essence in togetherness under prevailing contributors of the field research. Interlocutors' devouring perceptions of togetherness in spatial encounters were concentrated on three dimensions: differentiation, insecurity, and indifference.

5.2.1. Social Differentiation

For the mundaneness of spatial encounters, ideally and practically all kinds of differences are brought together in the city. However, the money economy and the spatial-temporal paradigm that the conceptual city offers causes the differentiation of socioeconomic and sociocultural groups reproduced through spatial segregation. Like the example of urban transformation in Fikirtepe, spatial segregation is greatly concretized through what Oruç et. al. (2017) conceptualized as "Manhattanization". Changing patterns of production and employment in the city strengthened inequalities; but also, the lines of differences in their socio-spatial context has been thickened through segregated patterns in these transformation projects. As socio-spatial segregation increasingly framed the quotidian in Istanbul, living, working, and socializing practices differentiated significantly based on socio-economic dynamics. This may also be considered as an example of why modern public sphere may also fail to generate an "actual mixing between different users who self-

segregated within particular spaces” (326). It is because, “when the process of societal disintegration is embodied within the space, the ground for a collectively shared public sphere is also disappeared on the basis of a spatial-existence” (93) (Oruç et al, 2017, p. 184; Valentine, 2008, p. 326; Ayataç, 2014, p. 93). Consequently, socio-economic differentiation is also reflected through the representations of space constituted through ideological but also “sociocultural production”. In De Certeau’s terms, through the reappropriation of space by conforming “the mechanisms of discipline” (De Certeau, 1984, p. xiv). Once again, we can see this distinction in the example of the shopping mall. Türkan analyzed the variables in shopping mall preferences in Istanbul with a group of young participants through Olivium, Capitol and Kanyon examples. An interesting finding indicates that for the preference of an open space such as the shopping mall, inhabitants reproduce socio-economic differentiation. In other words, despite the functional openness of the mall, socio-spatial segregation is reproduced by consumer preferences which, as a result, further expands differentiation. Accordingly, a consumer who prefers Olivium states that Kanyon or Akmerkez does not generate the feeling of comfort, that the environment and the atmosphere in the latter examples are different, and that people from a particular neighborhood prefer Olivium. On the other hand, the consumer preferences of Kanyon stressed “safety” compared with other malls since “everyone” use and practice through other examples. Türkan indicates that the word “everyone” implies an intellectually, culturally, spatially, and economically differentiated segment’s label for “the other” (Türkan, 2014, p. 95). Although the shopping mall is a consumer space, modern aspiration of an open space may significantly appropriate social differentiation.

A similar discussion with a relatively different finding emerges from the field research. Regarding socio-economic habituation and spatial configuration in Istanbul, the mobility of interlocutors revealed the reproduction of differentiation. The neoliberalization process and growing commodification of the spatial and temporal in the city are crucial determinants of this reproduction. The metrobus, on the other hand, does not directly produce differentiation. Despite the dominance of

socio-spatially segregated practices in Istanbul, the metrobus is a genuine spatial-temporal ground for diverse encounters. Yet through the metrobus, most interlocutors reproduce their differentiated perceptions. Thus, the central premise is as follows; while the metrobus authentically concretizes diversities on a spatial basis, it does not precisely overcome the segregated distance of differences. Unlike the shopping mall example, the metrobus does not reproduce spatial segregation, i.e., *everybody uses the metrobus*. However, primarily due to the transit spatial essence they constitute on regulars, metrobuses reinforce socio-cultural distance to a certain degree. The widely expressed perception among the interlocutors showed that the metrobus could not contest the embedded distance in diversities despite passengers' physical and visual intimacy.

I meet people on the metrobus whose existence I would not know if I did not use the metrobus. So, for example, the profiles of people getting on from Cevizlibag are more or less the same. There is an educated workspace there too, where you can align some of these people in similar images with the people for instance getting on from Sisli. The way they are dressed, their attitudes... But when you meet the local ones, it's different... I mean, in quote, the young man who likes hookah, the big shot lad (*delikanlı ağır abi*)... so, this means that people as such are living there. The metrobus turns these ideas into reality; these ideas come alive through the metrobus. Then I say, I can't live here (**Male, 27, Video Editor**).

Through the quote, the interlocutor acknowledges the diversity that could be experienced in the metrobus almost as a unique example. His emphasis on this condition was the strongest among the interviews because his conception of visibility was *existence*. Visibility via the metrobus is crucial for realizing different existences in Istanbul that otherwise will probably remain unknown. Because at the end, he expressed an equally powerful idea for the role of the metrobus in daily encounters: *The metrobus turns these ideas into reality; these ideas come alive through the metrobus*. Hence, as discussed, the metrobus encounters transform the idea of togetherness in diversity into a concrete spatial reality, hence, the

realization. Having an imaginary representation of others in Istanbul – either positively or negatively – is crucially different than establishing an experience in them. For the interlocutor the practice of this idea generated a categorical differentiation appropriated to lifestyles. So that what he conceives in the metrobus reconstitutes segregation through districts and neighborhoods: *profiles from Cevizlibag, people getting on from Sisli*. He can differentiate them based on *the way they are dressed*, and *their attitudes*. This has been an intriguing categorization that I also listened to from a few others. Districts and neighborhoods varied, but a few more shared similar comparisons when they expressed sentiments about encountering others in everyday life. As another example, an interlocutor shared a similar comparison between Kadikoy and Fatih:

So, yes. We are too different. The ones living in Kadikoy are very different than the ones living in Fatih ... Fatih doesn't feel like Istanbul. In Fatih, I question whether I am still in Istanbul ... Well, I live only half of this city anyway. I mean I am isolated. I am completely indifferent toward Fatih, I have completely isolated myself from that district. I am not going there. I threw myself to Kadikoy **(Female, 25, Pilates Instructor)**.

Her differentiated perception is yet another example of the representative power it has because, according to her, *Fatih doesn't feel like Istanbul*. Her image of Istanbul somehow excludes what she conceives of Fatih. Her following statement makes an equally powerful contribution to this argument because, despite her othering perceptions, she acknowledges that she merely lives *only half of this city*. Her experience of Istanbul is also realized in *hubs* like Kadikoy that she constitutes belonging. Hence, as these two examples show, for the interlocutors, socio-spatial segregation is intensely realized culturally, in differentiated lifestyles. The video editor is forthright; *the young man who likes hookah, the big shot lad*, whereas the pilates instructor is relatively indirect. She emphasized the exteriority represented and loaded with Fatih because Fatih, for most Istanbulites, is the defined neighborhood of Islamic habitus. In his study of power and habitus in conservative neighborhoods of Fatih and Basaksehir, Irfan Özet discusses that Fatih, as the

contemporary urban-Islamic habitus and solidarity networks, is the scene of "exclusive" tendencies. So that, everyday life in Fatih creates a "form of closure" grounded on this habitus. Fatih undertakes characteristics of the habitus because of the socio-spatial differentiation of the mentality of its inhabitants, everyday practices, and cultural-physical texture of the neighborhood (Özet, 2019, pp. 85-87). Accordingly, the indirect meaning behind Kadikoy-Fatih comparison is significantly sociocultural because Kadikoy represents the habitus of secular-global lifestyles. With the words of an interlocutor who lives in Kadikoy, *Fatih is distant, both culturally and mentally*. What he had in his mind for this difference was revealed later during the interview. He shared a memory from the ferry when he saw an older man approaching who resembled a member of the religious community of Carsamba, a neighborhood of Fatih. He explained: *I remember this old pilgrim uncle; he had a sack full of a load in his hand. He was wearing a shalwar, so I don't want to sound judgmental, but he reminded me of Fatih-Carsamba profile* (Male, 38, Copywriter).

Following these typologies in comparison, differentiation often goes hand in hand with stereotypes. These stereotypes have certain determinants as in the case of Fatih, as Özet emphasized. However, they have also been abstracted because of the representative power they had. In other words, although interlocutors may have personal experiences that could reproduce differentiation, their stories also showed the power of biased representations that each somehow had. To follow these examples, the video editor feels uncomfortable with the "locals", i.e., *the big shot lad*, for possible tension and conflict because of his sexual identity as an LGBT individual. His personal experiences warn him beforehand, not for a particular person but for a particular "profile," and when he encounters in the metrobus, he further categorizes them and then differentiates neighborhoods – *I can't live here*. For the pilates instructor, Fatih does not feel like Istanbul because she feels insecure about the Islamic habitus and migrant communities. As Kaya explains, Fatih is truly a cosmopolitan district considering different communities "ranging from transit migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to Syrian refugees, Central Asian Turkic

migrants, Russian tourists as well as Armenians, Georgians and many other groups” (Kaya, 2017, pp. 335-336). Hence, the interlocutor’s implication of *Fatih doesn’t feel like Istanbul* could be approached through the demography of Fatih. She added; *Fatih is a very different world, closed in itself. I feel hesitant even to speak to someone in Fatih because sometimes I can’t even be sure whether they are Turkish. So, I do not speak.* Islamic habitus in different identities without a direct determinant constitutes a certain distance for her. Hence, she leaves herself to a more secure habitus with similar lifestyles – to Kadikoy. For the copywriter, because of the dressing, the old pilgrim man represented the Fatih inhabitant. The important thing is that the interlocutor used a perception almost as powerful as a direct experience because in between this memory, he added, *I have never been to Fatih in my life Maybe except for transit interchanges* (Male, 38, Copywriter). He might have encounters that could lead him to the correlation between the dress code and the neighborhood; however, lack of contact and interaction with Fatih does not affect the power of his bias. Put differently, Özet’s discussion of the exclusive essence in Fatih with a particular habitus could generate a concrete differentiation between these sociocultural groups. However, the representative image of this differentiation is powerful enough that it somehow continues to dominate without an actual interaction. In this regard, togetherness implies a certain level of sameness for the interlocutor. Like the hub example, the interlocutor too, stated that these differences – Fatih and Kadikoy – pretty much explains the essence of togetherness in Istanbul: *I am together in Kadikoy with the people who are like-minded to me.* Consequently, encounters via the metrobus often revive the idea of difference as challenging to negotiate. The following part of his memory of the pilgrim had a direct emphasis on this relation:

... that pilgrim-like uncle came looking around and found a seat on the ferry and sat down. Then a middle-aged woman in a miniskirt came, looked for a bit because all the seats were taken ... That uncle looked left and right, then slipped right away and said something like, “come and sit here”. Now, when you tell it straight like this, you can say that it doesn't

have much, but let me explain ... While I was sure that he would be offended by all those people like that woman, which was my prejudice, he made a direct gesture with his heavy sack at that age with an effort just to be helpful. That gesture was made purely to be thoughtful. On the other hand, I was the one who didn't do anything. I just stared. It was instant, so I didn't even think of trying ... But what I really mean is that the metrobus also exhausts the possibilities of such empathies and gestures... Poverty, wealth, I don't know, cultural differences, lifestyles, etc. We are different, ok. But it seems to me that the ferry shows these more colorfully. But on the metrobus they mostly turn into awful things **(Male, 38, Copywriter)**.

Through critical reflection, the interlocutor reveals the impact of ordinary daily conduct in eliminating prejudices. A simple practice of offering a seat for the other could trigger spontaneous and instant moments of self-reflectivity. Following Valentine's analysis, a mundane practice created a change for the interlocutor by constituting "a more general positive respect" for the other (Valentine, 2008, p. 324). These moments, then, could constitute socio-spatial experiences to which the inhabitant could relate. Because as the interlocutor observed the older man, he unconsciously undertook a prejudice toward him. Still, that moment was disrupted as the older man did what he least expected. Thus, the interlocutor could start to think about his conditioning against the other and criticize himself accordingly. His othering toward the older man was disrupted, but at the same time, he momentarily questioned his own public responsiveness on an ordinary matter such as offering a seat as an everyday gesture: *on the other hand, I was the one who didn't do anything. I just stared. It was instant, so I didn't even think of trying*. Critical constitutions of ourselves could also disrupt the eviscerating essence of conceptual mobility. In other words, the pedestrian represented the poetic language in everyday life, but as Lefebvre stated, "the city is not only a language but also a practice". Then, the post-pedestrian, i.e., the inhabitant living through public transport, could revive the authentic language through spontaneous practices realized with others (De Certeau, 1984, p. 87; Lefebvre, 1996, p. 142). Mundane routines are important contributors

of the practice that could normalize or constrain differences that inhabitants realize spatially. Yet as the interlocutor stated, unlike the ferry, the metrobus experience often turn these possibilities into *awful things* because the metrobus *exhausts the possibilities of such empathies and gestures* that could be practiced with differences. This, as a result, erodes the chance discoveries in public subjectivity that could be constituted through the mundane in Istanbul.

In this regard, for the essence of spatial encounters, interlocutor's comparison of the metrobus and ferry is equally significant. Like the chapter that analyzed the ferry as "the lived" in mobility, interlocutors ascribed a similar meaning to the ferry in the matter of togetherness. To a significant degree this was related to the metrobus appropriated conduct, i.e., tactics of strategies; to the spatial practice of the atmosphere, *the metrobus profile*; and to the transit mode of experience that it provides. Thronged and rushed travels in crowds through kilometers of transit route does not exactly constitute "privileging of speech over the eye" by turning subjective interaction into a possibility. As Kohn analyzed, it is because "space affects how individuals and groups perceive their place in the order of things" (Kohn, 2001, p. 501). That place in the metrobus is appropriated by the perception of "use, consume and leave". As one interlocutor stated *when you get off the metrobus you feel utterly relieved and say, 'ah, I have arrived finally, good riddance.' It consumes you both physically and psychologically*". (23, Female, Student/Part-Time Employee). According to Lefebvre, "the urban is based on use-value" and thus, the urban society "has a logic different from that of merchandise" (Lefebvre, 1996, pp. 130-131). However, the metrobus predominantly devours the use-value of socio-spatial mobility by generating an apathetic differentiation. Therefore, interlocutors' prevailing ideas for togetherness are often expressed as practices intertwined with being a metrobus passenger as a necessity. An interlocutor summarized the affect that spatial practices constitute upon the experience of being together with others:

Sometimes I start to feel stressed before getting to the metrobus. I'm sure this happens to many people during the rush hour. You will get on, but

then you start to think about the crowds. You begin to accumulate stress before you get on. You start thinking of scuffles, people stepping on your feet, traveling under some man's armpit because of the crowd ... At that point, it becomes unbearable. Everything becomes unbearable. If it was like in the Vatan Şaşmaz advertisement, then I'm sure people could be extroverted because there wouldn't be such stress. They could have also been social **(Male, 46, IT Specialist)**.

A simple idea such as using the metrobus during the rush hour makes everything *unbearable*. The sentiment is as powerful as it is thought-provoking. Probably, for a passenger who occasionally traveled with the metrobus, such ideas wouldn't have emerged. However, for regular passengers, metrobus experience turns into a solid determinant in everyday perceptions toward others and things. Because the interlocutor is explaining the impossibility to be socially extrovert in the extensive density of metrobus travels. He added: *all kinds of people use it, and they all act the same way. Women, men, people from lower to upper class... doctor, engineer or worker doesn't matter, all the same. They just push once the doors are opened and rush in.* Anonymity, then, becomes another aspect of the devouring condition because regardless of differences, everyone in the metrobus could undertake similar behaviors of “pushing and rushing” or simply running toward an empty seat. Instead of preserving differences of subjects, i.e., the ethics of indifference, the metrobus levels inhabitants in anonymity. This generates a pervasive “sameness” reflected in the *metrobus profile*. Consequently, although the metrobus concretizes plural encounters, its strategic essence levels passengers by enclosing spontaneous behaviours under appropriated conduct. Like the interlocutor who emphasized the need for relative comfort in the city, the above 46-year-old interlocutor explains that mobility equivalently needs a certain amount of comfort to embrace an authentic public identity. His example of the Vatan Şaşmaz ad represents this comfort because the ad had been rather famous for the ironic picture it constructed of the metrobus. The ad was released to promote the metrobus as a practical and comfortable transport in Istanbul. In the ad, the late actor Şaşmaz prefers the

metrobus instead of his chauffeur-driven car and enjoys a pleasant and seated metrobus travel while reading his newspaper with no crowds at all. After its release, the ad instantly generated humor on social media for not reflecting reality (Habertürk, 2012). Due to the irony, the interlocutor is reminding the ad for its picture of the happy, social, and comfortable passengering. Hence, as the lived is determined through spatial practices, the difference between the metrobus and ferry also undertake the lived versus the conceived for their perception of socio-spatial togetherness:

Maybe we do not know each other, perhaps we are so different than one another, and maybe we will never speak with one another But on the ferry, it is an experience. We can share an experience with others. In the metrobus, it is not. The metrobus does not provide a common experience
(Female, 26, Trainee Solicitor).

The emphasis on "not offering an experience" is a crucial argument and is probably the most grounded criticism for the socio-spatial essence of metrobus passengering. As discussed in the metrobus chapter of the work, this argument was shared by another who also considered the metrobus as a devoid practice so that *metrobus is not an experience* (Female, 31, Research Assistant). Like the self-reflection of the 38-year-old copywriter above, this argument could be considered through the significant essence of the spatial ground for our critical constitutions. It is because the experience to constitute values, insights, and subjectivities in the mundane relies on the use-value of socio-spatial practices. "Not offering an experience" could be understood as not providing a cognitive-practical activity for the constitution of subjectivities that could be shared or at least could be realized with others. Her analysis constructs the positive condition with the ferry because *on the ferry, it is an experience*. Although the use of the ferry depends on the neighborhood and inhabitation, the ferry continues to represent possibilities for the subjects to the extent that it offers a relatively comfortable and non-transited mobility experience integrated with nature. This entangles with the creation of change in their values but at the same time possibilities for the construction of socio-political identities.

Like the example of the pilgrim-like uncle, through such experiences, differentiation and othering perceptions could be either reproduced or hindered. Because without constitutive experiences of them, representations of distanced perceptions tend to prevail, i.e., having a prejudiced representation toward the other without a direct determinant: *I have never been to Fatih in my life* (Male, 38, Copywriter). For this reason, despite the diversity, the metrobus often fails to generate spontaneous actions realized with others. As one interlocutor expressed, *there is this lack of communication in the metrobus because you are in a vehicle that flows fast, that is, transit. The users of the metrobus are the people who live Istanbul intensely and densely. I think lack of communication is related to both. For example, I wouldn't take the metrobus if I didn't have to. It is not a pleasant vehicle like the ferry* (Female, 30, Inspector). Being obliged to the metrobus has been confronted by all the interlocutors. This alone, differentiates it from the ferry experience because the interlocutor is explaining the passenger profile who is obligated to the metrobus in relation with Istanbul: *The users of the metrobus are the people who live Istanbul intensely and densely*. Living Istanbul intensely equivalents itself with using a transport that is transit. This combination for the interlocutor is the reason why people are predominantly apathetic due to the *lack of communication*. Following Lefebvre's illuminating words, "we have here, therefore, before us, projected separately on the ground, groups, ethnic groups, ages and sexes, activities, tasks and functions, knowledge. Here is all that is necessary to create a world, an urban society... But this world is absent; this society is before us only in a state of virtuality... Under existing conditions, it dies before being born" (Lefebvre, 1996, pp. 143-144). The mere "state of virtuality" could be considered living in Istanbul through the metrobus with others. The power of socio-spatial experience is significant because the comparative ideas shared for the metrobus, and the ferry showed the importance of experience derived either from nature or from other inhabitants with whom they share that spatial ground as passengers. Hence, having a transit practice of diversity erodes the essence that could be constituted from diversity. In this regard, interlocutors reproduced

differentiated ideas and continued to confirm socio-spatial segregation to a significant extent:

I won't be disturbed if I get on the ferry at a very crowded moment, like the rush hour. Whenever I get on the ferry, I see people like me – in style, appearance, mentality, etc. Since people from Kadikoy – people of Kadikoy mentality – are the majority on the ferry, the crowd doesn't bother me there. And when you go from the sea, it feels different and more spacious (**Male, 27, Vehicle Maintenance Technician**).

Through the narrations of Kurdish-identified migrant women, Anna Secor explores how citizenship is "encountered and contested through the spatial practices of everyday life" (352). Secor discusses the spatial appropriation of identity, the disciplining but also contesting practices through the hegemonic citizenship discourse. Therefore, she offers an approach to citizenship as a spatial strategy that includes specific definitions of belonging, identity, and rights. What is more gripping is that Secor successfully shows how citizenship strategies are spatial processes and how they are realized within and through the differentiated urban spaces in the city. For the constitution of identity and belonging, she narrates through some everyday spaces such as neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces. As she writes, a critical element in the contests over identity and belonging, hence over citizenship, is "the right to become a producer of the city, of urban space, and of citizenship itself". Hence instead of a mere consumer the inhabitant must "have the right to participate in making the urban" (365) (Secor, 2004, p. 352; 360-365). The latter point indicates what has broadly been emphasized in the everyday life and the metrobus chapters of this work as well. Eroding chances of constituting a subjective experience as a producer with the spatial and the quotidian, with others and things, inevitably transforms the city from a center of creations into an instrumental center of consumption. Precisely for this reason, the metrobus was regarded as a disruptive practice in moving through the city with others. Like the condition of identities, whether ethnic, religious, cultural, or gender, differentiation or belonging in the city inevitably reproduces itself spatially. In this regard, the interlocutor's ideas above

stress two points. First, even with the widely shared repulsive idea of “crowds,” he distinguishes the ferry experience from that of the metrobus. Spatial cognition and practice of the ferry softens his approach to a crowded experience of mobility. His direct emphasis on sea travel as constructive is equally significant, for it once again reminds the growing need and longing of Istanbul’s inhabitants to live with nature. Second, he differentiates passenger profiles by reproducing the socio-spatial segregation peculiar to Kadikoy. Being together in a relatively consuming condition is tolerated when being together is practiced through being with similar *style, appearance* and *mentality*, when there is a likeness in class and cultural identities. As Stevens emphasized “economies of scale in the city support specialization, which leads to further differentiation of social identities and occupations”. Life spans in the modern city are practiced with the construction of such identities since “many of the everyday actions people perform in the city are significantly shaped by their publicness” (Stevens, 2007, pp. 8, 10). Like the interlocutor above, others who primarily live in Kadikoy expressed similar ideas where “unfamiliarity” experienced in public life is growingly approached as something that should be avoided. At best, it was depicted as something that is not preferred. An interlocutor shared a detailed analysis of the matter, and he expressed how public transport as a socio-spatial construction shapes subjects and how it is equivalently being shaped by those subjects:

Kadikoy is different. I am not talking about only the Anatolian side. It's different from many districts in Istanbul... I think it has to do with the culture that they are brought up with... But you see Sirinevler, Kucukcekmece, Sultangazi... I've lived in all these districts, and they are incredibly different ... Of course, this is reflected in the public transport people use. People and profiles are affecting transport. As I said, people are not inclined to reconcile because they see themselves at two different extremes. If these segments, those who live in Kadikoy and are culturally diverse use the metrobus for a long time... which they do not really. They really do not. Not in terms of distance, that is, they have tried it, seen it,

and decided not to use it... These people look at the metrobus and think this: if I really must use it, I'll just be done with it. They are the ones, the majority, who put themselves in a transit mode and travel in isolation. They get on the metrobus and turn themselves off. When they arrive at their destination, they wake up and get off. They are highly isolated from the metrobus environment... The metrobus affects people a lot. That's why they get on the metrobus, close themselves up not to get involved, and then get off. In other words, the metrobus is almost like a seized system (*ele geçirilmiş bir sistem*). I don't see it as a possibility for togetherness or reconciliation **(Male, 26, Cargo Operation)**.

The metrobus as *a seized system* is approached and used by certain social groups in a genuine level of instrumentality. According to the interlocutor, they do not really prefer to use it. Still, since they too are inevitably obliged to it, they simply practice it through the “use, consume and leave” mentality. This argument could also be approached through the above example of the ferry given by the 27-year-old vehicle technician. The ferry alters his perception of crowded travels mainly due to the ferry-grounded demography linked to the neighborhood. But as the 26-year-old cargo operator explained, with 39 districts and more than 900 neighborhoods, Istanbul is a metropolis inhabited by distinct and diverse socio-economic identities. Seen from various perspectives, his understanding of the metrobus encounters remain negative. Another gripping point lies in his evaluation of public transport as a relational construct. The metrobus is a seized system because passengering practices reproduce devouring essences of distance and differentiation by habituation. This argument could also be considered under the perception of the metrobus not providing *an experience*. Because he directly stated that passenger profiles matter, i.e., *people and profiles are affecting transport*; but at the same time, he indirectly emphasized the opposite, i.e., *the metrobus* as a public transport *affects people a lot*. Being a regular passenger, in this regard, levels differences, and anonymity prevails. This once again could be linked to the argument of “not offering an experience”: *When they arrive at their destination, they wake up and*

get off. They are highly isolated from the metrobus environment. Since, as Tonkiss argued, practices of routine such as avoidance or ignorance of the crowds tend to generate anonymous norms (Tonkiss, 2005, p. 11) To that end, the interlocutor, like many others, do not consider the metrobus as the socio-spatial ground of *a possibility for togetherness or reconciliation*. Reconciliation could be approached as to negotiate differences in realization. The metrobus effect, then, potentially hinders the social essence in diverse subjectivities of togetherness.

As a final point for the discussion of social differentiation, an interlocutor's criticism of what me may call as political polarization must be considered. Although I did not listen to direct stories of political polarization, this chapter's discussion of social differentiation so far inevitably intersects with diversities in macro representations concerning Turkey's political context. Identities, party affiliations, ideologies have their genuine contributions to socio-economic distances that is embedded in Istanbul's inhabitants. In fact, as Uyan-Semerçi and Erdoğan emphasizes, an important factor of political polarization is the differentiation and homogenization of the sentiments that make perceptions of the world. Individuals being-together with people like themselves follow the means of communication that reflects their views and thus constantly confirm their thoughts on the world. Therefore, with minimal opportunities to encounter, contact with different views often leads to their exclusion, not acceptance of their differences (Uyan-Semerçi & Erdoğan, 2018, p. 84). In this regard, with the words of an interlocutor, the metrobus-grounded togetherness comes in vain because

People no longer know each other at all. That's what they [the government] did. People are divided into groups, 3 or 5 or whatever ... They are just divided and divided. Today people can't even stand to see each other anymore, let alone the metrobus... Because the same people use the metrobus. The same divided people use the metrobus, and now, people look at each other repulsively on the metrobus. I have heard arguments between people such as "you are supporter of that, and I am supporter of this" (Sen şucusun ben bucuyum). After all it is the people outside that

travel inside the metrobus. That's what they (the government) did
(Female, 58, Housewife).

To recapitulate, the metrobus, on the one hand, being a genuine spatial-temporal ground for concretizing togetherness in diverse encounters, *affect people a lot* by its rapid-transit structure and appropriated conduct. The metrobus is almost *a seized system* for hindering possibilities of spontaneous, diverse, and plural experiences of the lived. The situation is genuinely questionable, considering the eroding possibilities of various encounters in a metropolis like Istanbul. On the other hand, differentiated perceptions, mainly derived from socio-spatial segregated patterns and socio-economic differences, entangles Turkey's polarized political context. Due to the first condition, the metrobus encounters do not unfold premises of the public sphere where inhabitants can reveal their uniqueness in plurality. In this regard, the interlocutor is emphasizing a spillover she observes in the metrobus. Her emphasis on divisions exemplifies growing polarization in public and political alignments. Due to the arguments considered in this chapter, the interlocutor, too, does not consider being-together in the metrobus as a *reconciliation*. So that, *people can't even stand to see each other anymore, let alone the metrobus*. It may be considered as a passive-aggressive distance because according to her *people look at each other repulsively on the metrobus*. Arguments labeling people as supporters of a certain ideology or party display the essence of political polarization of the people who also use the metrobus. To that end, her criticism starts with the inability of people in Turkey to know one another anymore. Despite their visibility, their values toward others often remained blasé if not distanced. From the perspective of another interlocutor, differences in Istanbul are undeniable and visible especially in the public transport. However, *no one shows any kind of solidarity. Everyone here is in a particular group that they feel they belong to. Other than that, I've never seen that kind of solidarity, and I don't think it will be ... Diversity is never a bad thing. But I can say that the diversity here makes people insincere and apathetic* (23, Female, Student/Part-Time Employee). According to the research "Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey" conducted by TurkuazLab, 51,9% of the

respondents indicated that differences of opinion and behavior increased in Turkey. What is more gripping is the alignments of party identities in belongings and their contribution to rigid divisions. The research asked people about their preference for the most distant political party they felt and how they would feel about the possibility of contact with the supporters of that distant party. Accordingly, 74,9% of the respondents indicated that they would not want their son/daughter to marry a supporter of that party. 72% stated that they would not want to do business with them. 66,6% would not want their kids to be friends with their kids, and finally, 60,8% of the respondents would not want them as their neighbours. Hence compared with the ratio of approximately 48 percentage who believe that nothing has changed in terms of differences, their perceptions in exclusive tendencies and values display almost the opposite. The same research also indicated that respondents primarily understand “their family” when they use “us/we” (88%); second, they understand “Turks” (55,1%); third it is “the educated people” (44,4%) and finally us/we also meant “the people who live in my city” (41,1%). Accordingly, the findings show that belonging is related to sentimental ties, i.e., the family, to national identity, i.e., Turks, to socio-cultural capital, i.e., educated people and to the confines of the city. Following responses in the research mainly shift toward ideological identities such as Kemalists, nationalists, conservatives, etc. but the important point for the subject matter of this work is that belonging is significantly perceived as the individual ability to relate both practically and imaginatively (TurkuazLab, 2020). It is at the same time imaginatively because their sentimental belonging to the idea of “Turks” could be countered from the findings discussed so far. The interviews that revealed the social differentiation between socio-economic groups, i.e., Fatih vs. Kadikoy and more. Hence, despite respondents’ overall idea that “nothing has significantly changed,”; in the matters of identities, values, and perceptions, the distance in polarized sentiments is genuinely crucial. Another intriguing example was given by an interlocutor:

(During the elections) There was a member of the AKP youth organization, namely the Sultanbeyli district organization. He was at the

same ballot box with me. We were observers. He started a conversation at a point and said, "How did you find Sultanbeyli? Welcome. Did you like our district?" I was in Sultanbeyli for the first time in my life. It's not a place where I can live and spend time. It's a very, very conservative and I wore long pants and closed clothes accordingly. I mean, I can't walk there comfortably in a small floaty dress ... There are too many headscarved women, and very few women are open. When that happens, you immediately feel detached. For example, the person asking that question was a young man about my age. He said yes, "maybe you didn't feel very comfortable ... but when we go to Kadikoy, we do not feel very comfortable as well". And for example, if I think from their point of view, if I were a woman with a headscarf, if I came from a conservative place, if I had been brought up and thought like that, I probably wouldn't be comfortable in Kadikoy either. I mean, the reason why I didn't feel comfortable wasn't that people would have any open reaction or slur at me, but I would get the impression that I didn't belong there. It's like there are invisible barriers between them ... However, I do not think that the metrobus provides any state of contact. Because people either travel alone or if they travel with someone else, they become very introverted themselves. A lot of people are listening to something anyway, much more isolated. That's how it is, everyone is very determined, everyone is a lot... what is it, purpose-oriented ... That's why I think that everyone closes themselves thoroughly **(Female, 26, Trainee Solicitor)**.

As the research on polarization indicated, belonging to the understanding of "we" and "othering" through the constitution of value perceptions, Istanbul's urban society is as diverse as it genuinely reflects Turkey's socio-political dynamics. Diversity will not disappear; however, the point is to be able to negotiate them in the making of belonging as a plural constitution while experiencing differences. As Sultanbeyli-Kadikoy example shows, when these districts secure habituation as homogenously differentiated hubs, socio-spatial segregation is most likely to be

strengthened even though spatial segregation is overcome: *When we go to Kadikoy, we do not feel very comfortable as well.* “We” here refer to the young man’s appropriated perception of socio-political belonging, and he counters it with the Kadikoy example. Sultanbeyli, as Kaya analyzes, is mainly a conservative “working-class suburb” located on the Anatolian side and like Fatih is “one of the electoral strongholds of Conservative-Islamist political parties” (Kaya, 2017, p. 337). Spatial togetherness in either Sultanbeyli or Kadikoy is framed by differentiated life practices of class, culture, and ideology. However, as this story also points out, togetherness in either condition is significantly hindered simply because everyday practices in Istanbul growingly erode chances for encounters and experiences of differences. Because the concern for not belonging is reciprocal: *If I had been brought up and thought like that, I probably wouldn't be comfortable in Kadikoy either.* Socio-spatial segregation is, thus, reproduced not only by practical obstacles but by *invisible barriers* that both feel toward the socio-economic representation and practice of the neighborhood. The metrobus affect in this condition is similar to the previous ones: *I do not think that the metrobus provides any state of contact.* It is because the metrobus does not revive the ground for practical-cognitive reflection. The dominance of being isolated in the metrobus is further elaborated by the interlocutor as being *determined* because according to her the main premise in the metrobus is that *everyone is a lot... what is it, purpose-oriented.*

Regarding socio-political differentiation, the most important and genuine determinant of the metrobus can be summarized with this last point. As the interlocutor explains, her Sultanbeyli experience is self-reflected. Her contact and observation of the neighborhood are experienced as lived. Although the metrobus provides a concrete ground for spatial encounters, it does not revive encountering as responsive but rather in the *introverted* and *isolated* mode of seemingly *purpose-oriented* passengers. These are not productive for differentiation solely. They significantly intersect with some interlocutors’ perceptions of insecurity and untrustworthiness toward the other. As plural encounters could not overcome

differentiation, their apathetic essence may reinforce the feeling of insecurity toward the categorized other. However, before analyzing insecurity as a second symptomatic finding, I will discuss a somehow particular and unique form of differentiation: the estrangement of elderly individuals as metrobus passengers.

5.2.2. A Particular Differentiation: Estrangement of the Elderly Individuals

At the height of the COVID-19 quarantine in Istanbul, the elderly individuals were among the first groups to be quarantined. As they were decided to be among the risky group in terms of high mortality rate, the Minister of Health first and foremost declared the ban on citizens over 65 and chronically ill (Minister of Health, 2020). What has been quite surprising in this matter was the growing public reaction against the elderly individuals. Because many expressed perceptions that it was the elderly that were contagious, the source of the disease, and they should be locked away. According to the research Uysal and Eren conducted on the content shared on Twitter, the prevailing situation was that the elderly was the reason for the curfews during the COVID-19 and elderly individuals have been exposed to psychological violence. They were mocked, insulted, exposed to hate and threats on Twitter through various hashtags. All of these showed that psychological violence was applied to the elderly within the framework of age-based discrimination, and psychological pressure (For details see, Uysal & Eren, 2020). I remember being disturbed to see such discourses but at the same thinking how being a metrobus passenger unexpectedly reflected some similarities regarding the elderly individuals. Consequently, what I call a particular differentiation defines the metrobus appropriated exclusion discourses undertaken against the elderly passengers during rush hour. On a certain level, interlocutors reacted to the passengering of the elderly who, according to them, “obviously” have “no business” in the metrobus during the intensity and crowds of rush hour. In this regard, the encountering essence generated in the metrobus also excludes those not categorized as functional and could not be appropriated for the metrobus conduct.

The exclusive aspect of this differentiation is not singular. Interviews that subjected the elderly followed a multilayered content from a relative tenderness to a more apparent reaction. An apparent reason has to do with interlocutors' self-reflection on what we may call as conscience. Because predominantly, they needed to state their concern and respect for the elderly individuals before they shared criticisms regarding their metrobus conduct. The point is that their self-reflection was existent, yet the metrobus conduct significantly molded them into a transit mode of mobility devoid of self-reflection. Hence, their criticisms also reflected slight differences from concern toward a more direct reaction. To begin with, an interlocutor expressed that she still tends to protect her sensitive and extroverted essence toward others despite the negativities she experiences in the metrobus. However, she, in an adjusted state, also expressed what she called *a tactic of the metrobus* to secure a seated travel. The crucial point in this story is that her concern toward the elderly becomes a burden in the rush hour crowds of the metrobus: *Elderly people use mostly the front doors. They don't walk too much on the station, so they always board from the front doors... So, I prefer the back doors* (Female, 38, Healthcare Officer). Her problem with the elderly people stems from her tenderness because she simply wants to travel seated. However, she can't help but to offer her seat when an elderly gets on. Hence, let alone spontaneity, being other-oriented becomes a costly practice in the public space of the metrobus. Her self-criticism and concern were clear during the interview, but she also felt obliged to explain her motivations by expressing the daily exhaustion she must bear. Importance of the seat, a place to stand still, choosing doors to avoid the crowds, get on and off practices, setting alarms, apathic and even isolated modes of passengering is induced by the spatial practice that the metrobus offers. For this reason, the need for the elderly to travel seated – if possible – conditions her right from to start to avoid them as much as possible. Overall, the problematic aspect concerning the elderly individuals in the metrobus is their differentiation as burden-like masses, not individuals with subjectivities. From a similar perspective, a young student explained her preference of “metrobus hours” based on the absence of the elderly individuals, like the 38-year-old interlocutor, out of tenderness:

There are old aunts and uncles between 9-11 in the morning and 15:30-17:00 in the evening. I don't prefer to use the metrobus at those hours. In fact, even if I'm done with my classes, I prefer to wait because I really can't take that long journey standing. Well, it is necessary to offer a seat to them when they get on because I am not comfortable seeing them standing in the metrobus either. That's why I skip those hours (**Female, 20, Student**).

The student is expressing her need to be seated because she travels from Beylikduzu to Uzuncayir, a very long route with the metrobus. Hence, to avoid the concern *to see them standing in the metrobus* she feels obliged to use the metrobus in different hours. Nevertheless, the common perception indicated an intricate relationship between the rush hour and the “unfunctional” use of the metrobus by elderly individuals:

Well, people say this a lot, and I'll say it too. I have a lot of respect for our elders, but sometimes I don't really know what people of that age are doing or where they are going during that rush hour at 7:30 and 8:30 in the morning (**Male, 46, IT Specialist**).

Like the rationalist paradigm applied to the abstract space in the modern city, the conceptualization of the temporal is inescapable. For Lefebvre, “the status of time concerning abstract space is uncertain”. For this reason, in the modern city, abstract space’s dominancy raises problems regarding the use of time. Because “spatial practices tend to restrict time to the time of productive work and reduce lived rhythms to rationalist and localized gestures in the division of labor”. The interlocutor’s question is a clear example of this relationship. Regardless of his respect for the elderly, he reacts to their use of the metrobus during a reductionist cognition of the temporal, i.e., when time is consumed as “the time of productive work”, i.e., *I don't really know what people of that age are doing*. The cognition of the time of productive work excludes individuals who don’t seem to undertake that “productive function”. Elderly individuals are considered unfitting for the practices of the rush hour. Consequently, elders are considered a group of people who do not

have a proper function in the conceptualized temporal and spatial practice and the exchange value they provide. In this regard, Lefebvre discusses that to emancipate time, we must question the “potential of altering existing spatial morphologies” (Lefebvre, 1996, p.49). Because this relationship reaches to its highest degree with the metrobus. For an interlocutor, these practices are *indeed related to the means of transport that they must use*:

For example, I get on from the first stop to sit down, and I don't offer a seat to the older people unless they are in a difficult situation. Because I also work for 12 hours and sometimes come back home so tired without any sleep. It coincides with the working time. Those aunts are returning at 5 o'clock from tea gatherings. So, I'm exhausted and tired, and she is returning from a social visit. By the way, I have never been offered a seat before. No one is offering me a seat when I am in that exhausted state. They are not saying, "oh come daughter, you are tired and sleepless". All are equally insensitive in the metrobus. So, it is indeed related to the means of transport we are using (**Female, 26, Lab Technician**).

As discussed, multilayered reactions toward the elderly revealed self-reflection, and interlocutors all undertake a somewhat “responsibility” to offer a seat whenever encountered. Although offering a seat to the elderly inhabitants has been an accustomed practice of everyday mobility in Turkey, it is equally important to note that the metrobus becomes increasingly challenging for elderly individuals due to the heavy circulation of passengers. As one interlocutor emphasized, *old aunts and uncles have difficulties because they are not used to it, they do not use it very much and also they cannot move very quickly. After all, we are also talking about a physical condition* (Male, 39, Industrial Designer). Hence, their self-reflections have been self-explanatory due to this responsibility. In this regard, the interlocutor too starts by explaining the situation of “offering a seat”. However, she has a keen approach: *I don't offer a seat to older people unless they are in a difficult situation*. The exhaustion of the working time is her reason for this negation, but she also expresses what unfunctionality could lead in exclusion: *Those aunts are returning*

at 5 o'clock from tea gatherings. This reveals the enclosure that Istanbul and metrobus duo constitute upon inhabitants. Even if an older woman had attended to a tea gathering, her existence in the metrobus on the way back would have been reacted. Because following the interlocutor: *I'm exhausted and tired, and she is returning from a social visit.* As if social visiting during the rush hour is a fault in the framework of mobility realized in Istanbul through the metrobus. Although her emphasis is understandable – because she is physically and mentally getting exhausted – the framing and leveling aspect in these perceptions are crucial in understanding the metrobus molded daily mobility. Because in the following sentence she is directing her criticism for a general elderly “profile” constituted in the metrobus. Accordingly, elderly individuals also adjusted to the metrobus conduct because *they are not saying, "oh come, daughter, you are tired and sleepless"*. The metrobus, in this sense, is almost an egalitarian space for sharing the challenges and becoming equally apathic; *all are equally insensitive*. That is why she also ended up emphasizing the importance of transport in constituting socio-spatial practices and subjectivities. A similar story was shared by another:

For example, I must leave because I have an early class, but the auntie bought her cookies and pastries in the basin going for the social gathering (güne gitmek). Auntie, I'll give you a seat now, okay I can't help it, but I'm going to class from Beylikdüzü to the other end of the line. Don't get on or get on after a couple of hours. Let the school time pass, the rush hour pass, so what are you in a hurry? You're going to your gold day (altın günü); why are you in a hurry? But that's how it goes (**Female, 25, Pilates Instructor**).

The interlocutor too indicates the stereotyping essence reflected toward the elderly individuals, specifically elderly women like the *tea gathering* example, i.e., *gold day*. The common ground in these reactions is the rush hour syndrome. Their approach to elderly women and so-called early tea gathering or gold day activities transform into reactionary feelings with the heaviness of the rush hour. The somehow moral pressure to offer seats to them is generating seemingly

momentarily but powerful perceptions of estrangement: *The types that keep asking for a seat... Those aunties returning from a gold day... Indeed, you encounter them. They are all dressed up, returning from those gold days. Precisely during rush hour, they are on the metrobus. You are giving them your seat while cursing* (Female, 38, Healthcare Officer). Even though the healthcare officer considered herself sensitive, her ideas enmeshed with negative feelings were unfolded as our interview proceeded. Hence, her image of the crowded metrobus moment with elderly individuals standing still slightly alters into a reactionary feeling due to the offering-seat pressure. The power of representations in the metrobus is crucial and her changing responses also exemplify the typologies that were discussed under *the metrobus profile*. Consequently, like the widespread discourse on the social media during the COVID-19 quarantine in Istanbul that considered the elderly as a burden, who without a “proper function” in society were the contagious ones, infected others and thus had to be kept at home; the metrobus appropriated rationality generated slight similarities regarding passengering perceptions. The most reactive idea in the matter was shared by a 22-year-old student:

I mean, retirees. Some use it because they need it, but some use it for simply traveling. They have retiree cards, and they get on and off for free. They are on the metrobus at 7 am, and actually, they have nothing to do there at that hour. So, they are violating my right. Where are you going every day? I am furious about this. It has absolutely nothing to do with offering a seat. No, what are they doing there at 7? It's obvious. He wears his hat; he is well-dressed. It is obvious that he does not have business with the metrobus at that hour every day. So, he is out for a trip (**Female, 22, Student**).

Her emphasis is strictly generalized since she is addressing *the retirees*. Moreover, her approach to their existence on the metrobus was regarded as *the violation of her rights* because individuals over 65 have the right to free transport in Istanbul. Hence, *a retiree out for a trip* early in the morning generates *anger* in her. Her anger is not only related to *offering a seat* but rather to the idea that the elderly individuals

with the right to free transport occupy the metrobus during rush hour. Because *obviously* they don't have business with the metrobus at that hour. Although her reactive and exclusive tendencies approach the problem in a seemingly wider context, these approaches are at all times related to the metrobus' transport capacity. Elderly individuals' use of the metrobus during the most challenging hours increase the content of these reactions significantly. As another interlocutor explained, the crowd intensity in the metrobus often erodes passengers' tenderness as well: *there are not very helpful people in the metrobus anyway. In fact, you must fall to the ground, you need to get over yourself or something so that they can help* (Male, 40, Electrician). In such an environment, elderly individuals with limited physical abilities to cope with the metrobus generate an inevitable concern for other passengers. However, due to this transport practice their needs are equally reacted for generating discomfort on others: *For example, a woman came, she could hardly walk with sticks, she said some young man, "my son, give me your seat". The man replied, "did you find me, did you find me in this big metrobus?" Look at what he said. You're a young man, just get up. But they don't do that* (Male, 40, Electrician). "Did you find me" ironically summarizes the characteristics discussed so far. The angry young man is reacting to an elderly, partially disabled individual as an unexpected burden or a nuisance that disrupts his transit-apathetic comfort. As if he has been the winner of the "offering a seat" lottery out of misfortune. Imagined from the counter side, this may easily lead to the growing estrangement of the elderly individuals as metrobus passengers. In short, what feels like a naïve tenderness may quickly transform into a wave of reactive anger considering the perception of "the time of productive work" and the elderly individuals who do not seem to fit into the picture. The appropriation of the metrobus through its conceptual structure grows differentiated approaches and expands the essence of differentiation. An equally important characteristic of this condition is that, as differentiation could not be confronted or reconciled, it also fuels the feeling of insecurity among regulars. The next chapter will elaborate on the symptoms of insecurities realized through metrobus grounded togetherness.

5.2.3. Insecurity

The mobility of Istanbul's inhabitants is crucially busy, considering the vast numbers who circulate daily. As the regulated essence of this mobility decides on everyday practices, differentiation also contributes to perceptions of insecurity. Inhabitants' diversity as passengers is encountered through metrobus constituted togetherness framed by the transit experience. Despite the plurality of the passenger demography, differentiation persists, and because of that, passenger differentiation generates an insecure distance to a certain extent. Consequently, insecurity is revealed as a feeling of anxiety for the unfamiliar and unknown who immensely circulate in vast numbers. On the other hand, when differences were encountered, insecurity was occasionally framed with the perception of othering. Broadly, these are related to the *invisible barriers* which separate inhabitants as strangers and as different ones who must be distanced. Although the metrobus is a public space of visibility, its reproduction of differentiation also results in the enclosure through the perception of insecurity. It must be noted that, like the arguments of differentiation, the metrobus is not the ultimate source of anxious and distanced ideas toward others. Its genuine contribution comes with the transport capacity. As the most popular and crowded transport in its long route, the metrobus also concretizes the unfamiliarity between strangers in rapid passenger circulation which was productive of insecurity in changing perceptions.

(In the metrobus) even though sometimes I need some help, I try to figure it out myself. You don't know people's reactions there. Let's say you ask for a phone from a child or a teenager in Beşiktaş, you get that trust, but you can't see that trust in the metrobus. So, maybe one stop later, he'll take that phone and run away? ... I have this insecurity. Unfortunately, Istanbul is a city of insecurities ... For example, my wife was working in Maslak. She said at one point that she missed the subway because the crowd is much more secure in the subway. When you look at the passengers, it's obvious where they're going. It is never clear where they go on the metrobus. When you get on the Maslak metro, you see an employee from

the Maslak business circle. But in the metrobus, this is never clear. Maybe the guy committed a murder 15 minutes ago; he needs to escape. Perhaps he will get on the VIP busses from Beylikdüzü to run away, do you understand? That's why you are afraid; it is not clear who is doing what and where is he going on the metrobus. It's a complete fanfare; 10 people get off there, and 5 get on here. Crazy numbers of people. If you try to count them, not possible ... So, when there is tension, I never get involved in the metrobus because I don't know how the man will react. I am thinking, what if he has a knife in his pocket? I am afraid of this thought, to be honest. Maybe the man harassed a woman, maybe there was an incident, but you must keep silent about that man's harassment. It is the obscurity given by the metrobus (**Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee**).

Insecurity was displayed by the interlocutors primarily as a feeling of anxiety and untrustworthiness toward the stranger. The metrobus' passenger circulation in diverse socio-economic identities contributes to this factor significantly. Accordingly, the interlocutor reveals his insecure feelings first toward Istanbul: *Istanbul is a city of insecurities*. Then, because of differentiation, toward strangers who were not encountered in the subway but on the metrobus. In his perception, a possibility of a threat, danger, or aggressive-criminal activity is least expected from a typical white-collar working in Maslak. On the other hand, the teenage boy, or an ordinary male passenger encountered in the metrobus may easily possess a passive-aggressive threat. Despite the physical intimacy realized between strangers, the metrobus does not substantially generate contact among them. To that end, the interlocutor's perception of the correlation between criminality and class is reinforced. In fact, this is regarded with *the obscurity given by the metrobus*. Hence, he is making a class-based distinction between passenger profiles. Socio-economic differences between Maslak employees and diverse metrobus passengers are crucial determinants for him. On the other, he is relating the condition to the transport structure of the metrobus. The being-together with strangers in the metrobus

significantly expands the understanding of “the stranger”. Put differently, the plurality of passengers in public transport is as ordinary as it is expected. However, considering the vast surface area of Istanbul, where each square meter is populated with settlements, the strategic metrobus line of 52 kilometers on the E-5 highway raises the plurality to a very different level. When the interlocutor’s perception of class and cultural identities are included, his insecurity becomes concretized by the metrobus level of plurality that circulates in immense numbers. As he can make sense of subway passengers, he states that in the metrobus such realization is *never clear* simply because *it is never clear where they go on the metrobus*. For this reason, someone just for being a metrobus passenger in this obscure plurality could also be someone who *committed a murder 15 minutes ago*. Indirectly, this also exemplifies the contribution of socio-spatial segregation to the feeling of insecurity. Having the knowledge of the inhabitant and the district implies assurance for the interlocutor. He did not share a negative representation of the neighborhood with me, but positively he had the connotation represented with Besiktas: *In Besiktas you get that thrust*. Togetherness with the unknown inhabitant revives the feeling of anxiety to the extent that his preference for togetherness also implies a certain level of sameness of cultural identities. Resembling Kadikoy, central Besiktas is a lively neighborhood of various attractions located near the Bosphorus. Accordingly, whenever “the who” is not disclosed by familiarity, suspicion arises.

For example, I reinforced the idea on the metrobus that a person living in Caddebostan and a person living in Sirinevler do not have the same appearance. In Caddebostan, there are some people we call slum dwellers, apaches (*varoşlar, apaçiler*), people dressed strangely. When I see them on the metrobus I sometimes say Caddebostan is paved with gold (*taşı toprağı altın*). Yes, I am being judgmental and yes this is not a very good behavior or attitude. I mean distinguishing people is not the right behavior, but I am 27 years old, and I was born here, I was raised here. So, If I need to ask for instance an address to someone on the metrobus, I prefer people who look like me ... But I must say, just as I put those people in a state of

insecurity, they can do the same to me as well. Likewise, I may not seem trustworthy to them. But the point is that ... For example, a new employee comes to work. Where does he live, in Kaynarca. When you look at it, Kaynarca is a place where there are many vagrants today, and there is a drug dealer on every corner. But you look at the man, he is perfectly fine, well... that's where he connects to your world **(Male, 27, Vehicle Maintenance Technician)**

As Esen & Rieniets discussed, the “neoliberal urbanism” reinforced Istanbul’s socio-spatial segregation, particularly through gated communities. The need for security of the upper-class was “underlined and connected to the ‘need’ for status and prestige. By creating physical, spatial distance, the nouveau-riche desire to guarantee social disintegration” through surveilled, gated, and protected private-compounds (88). Accordingly, security concerns were somewhat subjective as “a result of the relatively increasing crime rate since the 1990s”. The authors argue that securitization of the urban texture was “fueled by systematic manufacturing of urban legends” on rising crime and danger in Istanbul “through the marketing strategies of the security sector”. Hence, market mentality contributed to the feeling of insecurity significantly and, as a result, fueled “social disintegration and isolation of different social groups”. The process has been twofold, for, not only the upper segments isolated themselves, but other social groups were also inclined to “confine themselves” (Esen & Rieniets, 2008, p. 88-89). Authors’ emphasis on the systemic pioneering of urban legends in crime perception could also be approached through the essence of anxiety. In fact, Zevnik argues that anxiety emanates from “the relation through which the subject comprehends and makes sense of the social world”. By emphasizing Freud, Zevnik writes, “anxiety evokes a particular feeling of unease, which cannot be explained or caught in knowledge”. This differentiates anxiety from fear to the extent that anxiety constitutes a somewhat “ambiguous relation to/with the Other”. Freud, according to Zevnik, indicates that “fear has an object, whereas anxiety comes with no object” (Zevnik, 2017, pp. 238-239). Through the interlocutor’s ideas, we can see an example of anxiety-based insecurity

surpassing gated communities. *Caddebostan is paved with gold* exemplifies homogenous differentiation of a particular socio-economic group but also, unlike Caddebostan inhabitants, how the other, i.e., *slum dwellers* and *apaches*, seen on the metrobus contribute to his insecurity through anxiety on potential criminal activity. Class-based categorization of the other enframes *people dressed strangely*. The unfamiliarity entangles with the perception of strangeness and together they generate anxiety-based insecurity reflected through differentiation: *So, If I need to ask for instance an address to someone on the metrobus, I prefer people who look like me*. As a notable neighborhood of the Kadikoy district, Caddebostan inhabits mainly upper-class segments of Istanbul's secular-global lifestyles. Hence, the interlocutor is, on the one hand, explaining the homogenously differentiated perception of insecurity, but on the other, as Esen & Rieniets discussed, how the process can be approached two-fold: *just as I put those people in a state of insecurity, they can do the same to me as well. Likewise, I may not seem trustworthy to them*. Since without an actual contact, "the other" perceived by the interlocutor could also undertake a similar and subjective concern of insecurity. In this regard, his following example is genuinely significant. When contacted, an employee from a biased neighborhood such as *Kaynarca* could overcome the embedded distance. Something that the metrobus and overall Istanbul grounded encounters do not manage to achieve: *But you look at the man, he is perfectly fine, well... that's where he connects to your world*. This also could be approached through the earlier discussion of metrobus "not offering an experience" (Female, 26, Trainee Solicitor). The argument of "connecting to your world", too, underlines the importance of contact that could be constituted in socio-spatial togetherness.

A similar remark was made by another interlocutor who called the previous Z line of the metrobus as *the premium line, the VIP of the metrobus* (Female, 30, Architect). The reason is that the Z line has the shortest metrobus route between Sogutluceme and Zincirlikuyu. Most importantly, however, white-collars use it to interchange from Zincirlikuyu to Istanbul's central business district of Levent-Maslak. She continued: *In the Avcilar direction, you see more people with low*

economic status. More workers, profiles in their 40s ... On the Z, more people are in their 30s. Probably because of the interchange area at Zincirlikuyu. The business area of educated people. Like the 38-year-old interlocutor, she also felt insecure about differences in class and culture. She shared a memory from a busy day when she mistakenly took the Avcilar route of the metrobus instead of Sogutluceme, the opposite direction. Accordingly, due to mental exhaustion, she did not realize her traveling in the wrong direction except for *profiles*:

I remember looking to the people and thinking these are different profiles. Then it hit me. I was in Perpa station. But I truly realized this through the profiles of men, that is how I realized it was not the Sogutluceme direction. To be honest, I wasn't happy with the station I got off. It was around 10 p.m. and I was the only woman on the station. Nothing happened, no one disturbed me, but I don't know... I have never experienced anything on the metrobus, I have never been harassed but I think as a woman living in Turkey, all those news and incidents happening, I couldn't help but to feel anxious. So, I am not saying that I realized I was in Perpa because there were perverts. No. But you can tell by their clothes—people with lower economic status. I got it straight from there, and it felt a bit strange because the opposite happens normally. As I go towards Kadikoy, the mass on the metrobus gets better as people start to get off in Burhaniye and Altunizade. You can see a rather core group of people, better dressed, better looking. **(Female, 30, Architect).**

Going back to Jacobs' argument on sidewalks, encounters of strangers in the metrobus cannot exactly embrace togetherness of differences without excuses and entanglements (Jacobs, 1961, p. 57). The interlocutor's story is significant because she, too, shows anxiety upon unfamiliarity both with the neighborhood and with its inhabitants that she encountered. She explained herself in detail to imply that she was not disturbed by those *different profiles*; instead, she emphasized how their differences were apparent to her simply by the way they looked: *But you can tell by their clothes—people with lower economic status.* The point is that this “unusual”

encounter did not reveal a self-reflective moment toward a change in her values but instead a seemingly anxious *unhappiness* for her. As Zevnik also discussed, anxiety is revealed as somewhat ambiguously considering her enclosing approach without a concrete determinant, so that her anxiety is “marked by absence more than by presence”. It is the absence of an identifiable threat but instead a pervasive approach that she embraced toward the unfamiliar represented with the class (Zevnik, 2017, p. 238). Her approaching the different or the unfamiliar is realized and enclosed by the feeling of anxiety. In this regard, her secure perception of the metrobus is reinforced by the class-differentiated Z line because that line represents *a rather core group of people, better dressed, better looking*. She indirectly implied Kadikoy inhabitants.

On the other, she connected her anxiety for *different profiles* to being *a woman living in Turkey*. At this point, it may be possible to ask what Bannister & Fyfe asked, “does a significant part of what we take to be the fear of crime actually represent a ‘displaced’ urban anxiety?” (Bannister & Fyfe, 2001, p. 809). Because the interlocutor’s feeling is between fear and anxiety considering this statement. Since fear, as Zevnik quotes from Freud, is “essentially directed toward an object”. Following Lacan’s seminar On Anxiety, Zevnik discusses that “anxiety appears when lack is no longer lacking. That is precisely where an object of fear suddenly occupies that lack. The object's proximity stirs a subject’s feelings” (Zevnik, 2017, p. 240). Then, thinking through Freud and Lacan, the interlocutor’s unexpected and sudden encounter fills the lacking content with particular profiles, and *as a woman living in Turkey*, her anxiety transits toward fear. A certain feeling of displacement for the unfamiliar neighborhood may have contributed to her insecurity; however, her growing fear has a clear determinant regarding outraged rates of femicide in Turkey. According to the “We Will Stop Femicide Platform,” between 2019 and 2021 solely, 1261 women were murdered from violence in Turkey. Her feeling toward insecurity is enclosed by lack of contact but also by the context of femicide that is suffered in Turkey (For details, see: We Will Stop Femicide Platform).

Nevertheless, despite somewhat my expectations, the interviews did not indicate anxiety and othering perceptions on gender. This may be related to the increasing surveillance capacities in metrobuses, like the Foucauldian control mechanisms of discipline, i.e., security cameras. However, the only exceptions have been two metrobus-grounded memories of harassment. The first one had a clear disturbing content not for physical violation but for the verbal abuse:

While I was waiting in the metrobus line, a man in Cevizlibag pushed me with his arm and passed in front of me. I'm not someone who keeps quiet in such situations either. So, I said, "mister, you stepped in front of me". It may sound like a joke, but do you know what he said to me, how he shouted? He said "these men become murderers because of women like you..." I was shocked and shouted back, "how are you talking like that?" And you know what? No one interfered. Can you believe it? **(Female, 38, Healthcare Officer)**

It is a gruesome thing to say especially when the femicide debates in Turkey are considered: *These men become murderers because of women like you*. But the equally interesting part is the non-interference. Because, as it will be discussed through the second memory, interference for incidents such as abuse in the metrobus was mostly experienced and shared by the interlocutors. Her astonishment is indirectly validating her expectation of an interference against such a problematic mind set and verbal abuse: *And you know what? No one interfered. Can you believe it?* For the second, the interlocutor did not share a particular incident of abuse but rather in the metrobus, "harassment becomes a problem for women" was her overall implication (Female, 20, Student). However, her following explanation was curious: *When an incident as such happens, when there is a quarrel about it, well, it often happens like that. At that moment, the harasser is definitely kicked out of the metrobus. Men usually intervene because women act slightly shyly; I don't know why ... They are a little bit ... how can I say ... they are like, "they don't mess with me" (bana bulaşmasınlar da) in these incidents ... Men are more sensitive than women in such incidents*. Despite growing concern and outrage toward femicide in

Turkey, metrobus has not been labeled as the spatial ground for insecurity through gender bias. From a different perspective, a potential connection between sexual identity and insecurity was shared culturally, i.e., hubs. *Kadikoy is a hub, actually. People living in Kadikoy are primarily similar in lifestyles and culture. But also, people in Sultanbeyli are similar. But when these people are translocated, when they switch their hubs, well, it may turn into a very traumatic situation. Well, this idea gives me anxiety* (Male, 27, Video Editor). Interlocutor's insecurity is derived from his sexual identity, as discussed. The feeling he described was *anxiety* based on an apprehension of *trauma*; however, like other interlocutors, he did not specify this feeling with the metrobus. In addition to the surveillance as a potential deterrent, metrobus anonymity – as it will be discussed comprehensively in the “indifference” chapter – frames similar socio-political issues significantly. These biases may persist as silent mediations; however, they are not usually reflected as violent or harassing actions as metrobus-grounded conduct. The metrobus-grounded passive-aggressive attitudes are mainly derived from the intolerance for passengering. The endemic situation is persisting differentiation due to crowd intensity. Hence, insecurities are equally related to this aspect. The metrobus is not perceived as a spatial ground for the activities of socio-political discontent, instead, metrobus intolerance consolidated the fixated crowd-transit experience of mobility in a concrete plurality.

In a similar vein, although the 20-year-old interlocutor's personal experiences displays a problem, she, like some other interlocutors, clarified that when a harassment incident happen people often *intervene*. Maybe partially because of Turkey's context on femicide or maybe because of metrobus-based transit existences; it is revealed that male passengers are somewhat more outward for intervention. When others shared incident stories with me, the ones they witnessed, they similarly explained that people in cases of health and harassment are still somewhat sensitive in the metrobus despite prevailing negativities. All the interlocutors who have considered health a possible problem that one can encounter in the metrobus, stated that when someone is not well or needs a hand for a potential

health problem, people help: *Well, no one trusts one another, but if someone faints or deteriorates, people tend to help* (Male, 31, Biologist). Nevertheless, interlocutors' problem of asking for help in the metrobus came with ordinary everyday problems, which interestingly is once again connected to the metrobus conduct. Incidents such as asking for a seat, disturbing the passengering mood with a question, requiring help for matters other than health problems have been evaluated with slight suspicion. In fact, I recall a moment from the first day of my field observation when I was eager to observe. Because of that, I remember first feeling uncomfortable and then nervous since I was too active for a regular passenger by looking my left and right more than usual, and inevitably I drew attention. Other passengers started looking at me as if I was suspicious. The impact of the affective atmosphere gave me somehow anxiety about this unexpected attention. Consequently, for one reason, interlocutors' insecurity is related to the essence of metrobus passengering that is isolated and transit: *Everyone is withdrawn, so no one says things like hello to one another. So, I would go to the driver for help* (Female, 46, Cleaning Worker); *Let's say I got bad news and I started crying and I don't think anyone would help me, even the number of people who realize it would be very few. The one who notices would turn his head and say, "Well, I don't care" Unless it's such a sensational situation, people don't really have much to do with it* (Female, 20, Student); *People look so withdrawn, bored, and indifferent most of the times. So, I think the idea of disturbing that stable atmosphere and drawing attention by asking a question such as "oh help, I am lost" makes me nervous* (Male, 38, Copywriter). The metrobus erodes daily contacts in matters of ordinary concerns significantly; hence, insecurity in these examples is revealed as seemingly disbelief in the public essence of passengering. Their hesitancy to ask help could be considered in a similar vein as much as their belief in the idea that metrobus passengers are strictly isolated and do not tend to help except for the matters of urgency such as health or abuse.

For the second reason, it once again is linked to the so-far discussed perception of insecurity: *Asking for help on the metrobus makes me nervous because you don't*

know what kind of reaction you will receive (Female, 26, Lab Technician); For example, I don't have a phone and I need to use someone's phone. Then there's a big problem. Everyone seems to be ignoring. I think metrobus is the most extreme point of this, but I don't know if it's something that comes from the crowd, but people are like "please don't contact me," so there is an insecurity (Female, 30, Architect); You will look at the outward appearance. Since you get nervous when asking for help from someone with a beard, like someone big and burly (izbandut gibi) or, I don't know, weird. It must be someone with ordinary daily wear. You can tell whether he is a university student or going to work (Male, 30, Metallurgy Engineer). Asking for a phone, for instance, in the metrobus? Never. I would not. I would look for a grocery store instead (Female, 53, Housewife); Surely, there is a trust issue there because there are so many different types of people (Male, 39, Industrial Designer).

In the matters of ordinary needs, then, the metrobus-grounded togetherness is productive of insecurity as anxiety. The correlation is inevitably spatial, since the metrobus structure of mobility forces passengers into an enclosed experience. Experiencing of a public ground with others in this particular type is framed by anxious differences and unfamiliarity that needs to be distanced as much as possible. As Bannister and Fyfe discuss, difference in the city is “now seen as overwhelming and dangerous, to be excluded or segregated where possible”. These as a result growingly “drain cities of their vital essence: the celebration of difference” (Bannister & Fyfe, 2001, p. 807). When combined, the first and the second determinants of insecurity can easily reinforce transit or blasé experiences of passengering. Because as David Bissell discusses, insecurities may function to generate apathy, so that with an excuse of self-preservation, apathy no longer becomes an unethical disposition. “Being with others ... might be all the more pleasant if they are intentionally ignored and blotted out through ... reading material or the ubiquitous personal stereo to maintain ‘civil inattention.’” Such strategies in fact support desocialization of a potentially social space (Bissell, 2010, p. 282). With the words of an interlocutor:

So, bad people are bad everywhere, but this is a place that brings out the worst in you. So, people are unhappy here in Istanbul. Financial difficulties, excessive workload, impossible crowds... And in the metrobus... I do not socialize on the metrobus ... I prefer to keep quiet because I don't want to deal with the metrobus. I mean, even if I am in a talkative mood, I do not talk. I guess ... because it is so overwhelming with the crowd ... I must always travel thronged with people I don't know. I always must be alert because I don't trust anyone. I always keep my bag in between. I'm trying to create space for myself (**Female, 26, Banker**).

The interlocutor's ideas can be considered an important example of the spillover effect between the metrobus, and Istanbul represented togetherness. Metrobus represents the challenges of Istanbul in terms of mobility, and the crucial part has to do with the crowds. The interlocutor's feeling of insecurity is revealed when she finds it almost impossible to place a physical distance between herself and *untrustworthy* strangers. Hence, she uses a subjective tactic to secure some amount of personal space. To *be alert* at all times also exemplifies how Istanbul-imagined togetherness concretizes itself in the metrobus experience. Following Bissell, in addition to her instrumental consumption, her apathetic passengering of the metrobus is reinforced as a security concern because she stressed that she doesn't trust anyone due to the thronged travels. Her justification of what Bissell called the "blotting out of being together" is revealed in her statement: *I don't want to deal with the metrobus*. The metrobus' transport capacity and busyness reinforce her negative perceptions toward others and reinforces her isolation in justification: *I'm trying to create space for myself because I don't trust anyone*. Dealing with the metrobus as a burden in such cases comes with the burden-like structure of its mobility: *I guess ... because it is so overwhelming with the crowd*. This may be evaluated as an example of *the obscurity given by the metrobus* (Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee). What we may overall see is that differentiation intensifies the feeling of insecurity mostly revealed as anxiety; however, the above comment of *the metrobus obscurity* has been one side of the argument. Because as the

metrobus enhanced the visibility of differences, interlocutors also reflected insecurity reinforced toward ideological differences and refugees. Relatedly, the following subchapter will reveal the findings of othering perceptions that expand beyond class-based differentiation.

5.2.4. Otherization

Insecurity is revealed both as somehow anxiety toward the stranger and unfamiliar but also as othering perceptions. Although the realization of class-based encounters also entangles with othering perceptions, some interviews revealed a more direct outcome of them. These have been primarily ideologic and slightly xenophobic otherizations which are, once again, closely tied to the political context of Turkey. The interesting aspect of these perceptions is that they function almost as silent mediators through the apathetic passengering of the metrobus. Because interlocutors' stories of otherization were revealed as judgmental value-creations without a particular action. Their adjustment to the transit metrobus atmosphere and its appropriated conduct was unchallenged; nevertheless, as almost silent mediators, their othering perceptions were internally reinforced.

It was the time when bombings were increased in Turkey. You know, there are these opposite seats in the Metrobus, four seats together in pairs. Well, I was sitting on one of them. A man with a long beard came and sat right across from me. He put a suitcase between us on the ground. Then the man started to pray; back then, we always tied these bombing activists to supporters of Usame. So, after he started praying, I said to myself ok, I'm going to get off here, and I did. I put five buses in between. I waited for five buses to go in between me and that beardy man's bus, got on the next metrobus, and continued. So, it is about insecurity. Insecurity is the only thing here. Not knowing who what is (kimin ne olduğunu bilmemek)...
(Male, 33, Customs Consultancy Employee).

Recalling *the pilgrim-like uncle*, the interlocutor, too, embraced a similar bias against a seemingly Islamic life-styled man because of his beard and prayer in

public transport. His concern for bombing is understandable due to the series of attacks Turkey suffered over the years. However, unlike the example of the pilgrim-like uncle, his prejudice is deeply framed by insecurity toward a bearded praying passenger. Due to the power of this representation, he decides to change his bus; to transfer to another metrobus. As he directly stated, this is *about insecurity*, *insecurity is the only thing* which apparently decides on his perceptions and experiences. The metrobus factor here could be approached through another interlocutor's ideas shared on the matter of othering ideological differences:

You can see it as you go further than Mecidiyeköy. All kinds of people are together on the metrobus, for example, in shorts and veils. Around Mecidiyeköy, these people respect each other. As they go further than Mecidiyekoy, the veiled one judges the shorts-wearing woman as "how indecent she is" and the shorted one to the veiled one as "how bigotry this is". This is because of education. Purely educational. These stops, that is, education levels, change according to where they live. These conditions, such as respecting others, being sensitive, and not being selfish, vary according to the level of education (**Female, 23, Media Worker**).

Her ideas on othering, the bias between ideologic differences, are also district-bound due to *education levels*. Ideologic othering, according to her, grows differentiation when the educational levels are seemingly low. She connects this, on the other hand, to the districts and assumes that further than Mecidiyekoy, educational levels decrease proportionally. Socio-economic differences in Istanbul's neighborhoods are notorious; hence, the opportunities for education rights are equivalently related. According to the research by the Governorship of Istanbul, as of 2020, the highest number of illiterate citizens lives in Esenyurt with 14,834. Bagcilar and Kucukcekmece follow Esenyurt with 13,563 and 12,380 illiterates, respectively. Kadikoy ranked thirty-second on the list with 2,711. Below Kadikoy, there is Beylikduzu, *the furthest from Mecidiyekoy*, i.e., the terminal station of the metrobus on the European side, with 2,682 illiterates. However, the same research indicates that the highest rank of citizens who have graduated from

a faculty live in Kadikoy. In contrast, Kucukcekmece, Esenyurt, Beylikduzu, and Bagcilar follow Kadikoy with far better rankings than illiterates. Accordingly, Kucukcekmece, Esenyurt, Beylikduzu, and Bagcilar ranked fifth, ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth, respectively, in a list of 39 districts (Governorship of Istanbul, 2020). Then, ideologic othering, does not necessarily link to education. As the data reveals, the essence of the bias is more complex than educational outcomes. Likewise, the correlation between district and layers of educational capabilities are not as homogenous as the interlocutor imagined. Although socio-spatial segregation patterns of Istanbul display socio-economic inequalities crucially, limited encounters in everydayness reveal more distanced perceptions than educational capabilities. While insecurity, reinforced by differentiation, continues to enframe the social essence of togetherness, encountering on a spatial basis such as the metrobus, which does not constitute the social experience of being together, causes prejudices to persist, even in the form of internal perceptions. In the daily life practices determined by socio-spatially segregated hubs for Istanbulites, contact and interaction are significantly framed by such biases. What makes these arguments more significant is the stories of insecurity and bias concerning immigrants and refugees:

There are 4.5 million Syrians here; I don't know how many are getting a salary. OK, well, but when they start to usurp your rights ... which happens in the East of Turkey. Because they work cheaper, they are hungry, and they lower other people's incomes. It is said that they are disturbing and attacking people in Istanbul, too. I didn't experience anything on this matter, but we are reading these things. They are trying to get out of the war and save their life, okay, but if they come here and make you uncomfortable if they have malicious intentions, you shouldn't allow it, but how can you control it? **(Male, 39, Industrial Designer)**.

We have been at the same place, in the Yildizbakkal neighborhood, for 25 years now. We still have a neighborhood atmosphere. That atmosphere still exists around our neighborhood, but not when you go a little further.

Because people there are very mixed up, Syrians, these other immigrants, mixed people have migrated to that side a lot ... It should be less mixed up. I mean, you see it on the metrobus, for example, and you say, are these people also here? I am surprised to see it sometimes. But I don't know, after Zincirlikuyu, Gultepe, Okmeydani... As you go to those sides, you look at a wide variety of people. I want those people to go back to their country. I don't get annoyed, but I say that it would be better if we had our people. I don't like foreigners very much, that type of people because they are different. For example, thefts have increased in our neighborhood on the Hasanpasa side. So, these people living there started to steal a lot
(Female, 46, Cleaning Worker).

According to the research “Attitudes towards Syrians in Turkey” conducted by Uyan-Semerçi and Erdoğan, while 71% of respondents agree that “Syrians are taking away jobs from people in Turkey”, 67% of them believe that “Syrians are raising crime in Turkey”. What is equally intriguing is that 66% of the respondents think that “moral values and traditions in Turkey are in danger because of the increasing Syrian population” (Uyan-Semerçi & Erdoğan, 2017). Consequently, insecurity toward the other is relatively more homogenous when that “other” is encountered as an immigrant. Because, recalling the argument on education, these two interlocutors have not only educational differences but also ideological ones. The 39-year-old Industrial Designer’s apprehension of himself was ideologically Kemalist, whereas the 46-year-old cleaning worker stems from a conservative background. While the first considers Syrian refugees as the ones who “take jobs away,” i.e., *usurping the rights* of the people in Turkey, the second connects their presence to increasing theft crimes around her neighborhood. She has been skeptical toward *differences*, so her understanding of togetherness is clearly homogenous. Nevertheless, her approach to refugees and immigrants is anxious because of her abstract judgment of criminal behavior due to their differences. The second point is also shared by the first interlocutor who at the same time consider them as having *malicious intentions*. As a mainstream security paradigm, their

othering perceptions have been fueled by the public-political discourse prevailing in Turkey. On the other hand, their somehow limited encounters with refugees and immigrants on the metrobus, the transformation of the abstract and biased idea of the refugee into a visible experience, could not construct a change in their value-judgements:

For example, we have a Syrian problem. I swear on the metrobus, 5-6 of them come together. They have no respect for each other. They are shouting and talking so loudly that it is impossible not to go crazy. They are very comfortable, so they don't care if there is someone next to them, or if others feel uncomfortable, etc. I encounter them every day, every day. I like living with my own people more (**Male, 40, Electrician**).

The metrobus is already too crowded, and there are others - people of different nationalities ... we have a sense of hesitation, but those friends do not have it at all. Especially children, they do not hesitate, do not feel ashamed at all. By touching, coming directly to you "hey brother"... They behave according to their own culture, that is, their own upbringing. I'm talking about refugees actually. There is no hesitation in them, and there are even things like indiscretion ... that is, a community that tries to get what it wants in the way it wants, really. People are so fed up with it (**Male, 26, Cargo Operation**).

These seemingly similar arguments could be linked to the third-ranked finding in Uyan-Semerci and Erdogan's 2017 research, "moral values and traditions in Turkey are in danger because of the increasing Syrian population". Although class and culture are inevitably linked, interlocutor's understanding of cultural differences, i.e., *upbringing* are as constitutive as the class. Although people of Turkey encounter them with various perceptions in everyday practices, negative mediations are displayed in much clarity when that difference is experienced through a different culture. Lefebvre writes, "the city is a mediation among mediations" to the extent that the city is an *oeuvre*, "a work of art". When we consider the production of

social relations in the city, then “it is a production and reproduction of human beings by beings, rather than a production of objects”. Although we could elaborate on the city as an object, its “objectality” might be closer to that of “the language which individuals and groups perceive before modifying it” – almost as a “cultural reality” (Lefebvre, 1996, pp. 101-102). Interlocutors’ reactions to the everyday practices of immigrants and refugees, on the one hand, underline their expectations of cultural conduct in the public sphere. Minding manners, talking rather quietly, not letting children approach others, etc., could define the frame of their adjustment to the cultural essence of public behavior in Turkey. This is another example for the framing nature of modern public sphere discussions. As Arendt writes modern “society expects from each of its members a certain kind of behavior, imposing innumerable and various rules, all of which tend to "normalize" its members” (Arendt, 1998, pp. 40-41). “Normalization”, in this argument, has been conceived by the interlocutors as a homogenous upbringing reflected in public behaviors. Disavowed behaviors, in this regard, have been aligned with their perception of otherization. On the other hand, these encounters are often realized in the process of “voluntary programmed self-regulation” through the mobility of the metrobus (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 72).

A rather peculiar point in the matter could be approached to highlight how perceptions can be significantly imaginative and how powerfully they constitute. Rottmann and Kaya signify the importance of culture in creating a sense of belonging. Accordingly, the idea of "cultural intimacy", namely, "culture, religion, and gender being closely linked together and Syrian and Turkish cultures posited as similar", has been an important criterion for Syrian refugees' preference of migration to Turkey. There is an essential aspect in imaginative constitutions because, as Rottmann and Kaya stressed, the Syrians interviewed “had little first-hand contact with their Turkish neighbours”; however, their assertions had almost been “a means of asserting cultural similarity and emplacing themselves in Turkish society” (Rottmann & Kaya, 2021, pp. 481-483). As a second critical point, we may recall TurkuazLab’s research (2020) where Turkish respondents understand that

“us/we” was "family", then “Turks,” and then, “educated people”. Hence, without actual contact, abstracted perceptions can persist among diverse groups concerning “the other.” Since, in generalization, what could be considered homogenous between Turkish and Syrian communities has been reacted as a clear difference by the interlocutors through their imply of *cultural upbringing*. In this regard, modifying the city's language is significantly hindered by preventing the “reproduction of human beings by beings”. As discussed, Istanbul's objectality in the neoliberal paradigm is crucially practiced as the production of objects, of which the metrobus is a notable example. As Turkey’s mainstream political and public discourse toward immigrants and refugees frame everyday inhabitants’ perspectives to a significant degree, Istanbul as an *oeuvre* and the metrobus as a socio-spatial practice of togetherness does not revive the essence of a language for different people and groups. Through the ideas of an interlocutor, togetherness on the metrobus and overall, in Istanbul’s everydayness has almost become like a *burden*. Encountering with differences get their share in the burden-like everydayness.

So, people are not happy. People feel obliged only to work, only to make a living. There should be less burden. People should not have livelihood problems to live comfortably in Istanbul. So let me say this. On holidays, people vigorously attack parks and streets. Why? Because it's free. As I said, it is a province that receives a lot of immigrants. You cannot see people having barbecues at the seaside in any European country. Maybe this is what people need and yes, they may want to do it but the seaside, coasts are not the place for it. So, I cannot be happy when I go to the seaside. Because of them, I cannot breathe. So, ... All kinds of people should not come to Istanbul anymore. We should live together with more similar ones. In other words, there are Syrians, Africans, and Afghans. There are also many people coming from abroad and many unqualified people. We have such a problem (**Male, 31, Biologist**).

Negative perceptions of immigrants and refugees have been intensely debated in Turkey, but concerning the subject matter of this work, everyday practices, and encounters in Istanbul with *burdens* that make people *unhappy* for the struggle to *make a living* contribute them significantly. *All kinds of people should not come to Istanbul anymore* underlines the hardships generated from the political economy of Istanbul. Likewise, spatial-temporal commodification could be approached with the interlocutor's example of holidays when *people vigorously attack parks and streets*. As discussed, inhabitants' longing for green areas has also been declared during the interviews. So as mobility in the modern city is inevitable, the metrobus aspect of this obligation was countered by the ferry example. Differences in everyday duties are realized and often reinforced but they also generate anxious insecurities due to such macro determinants. To give another example: *Istanbul is developing as the economy drives. Almost 90 percent of the immigrants live in Bagcilar because the rents are low there. When you cannot achieve a balance between the districts, you are already preventing people from getting together in the first place. I do not think that fundamental issue can be overcome entirely* (Female, 30, Inspector). The city does not just mediate through necessities; it mediates through perceptions by making up a world for subjects. Economic determinants in the neoliberal paradigm are so powerful that, as the interlocutor emphasizes, invisible barriers sometimes transform into visible obstacles. Living through hubs in Istanbul in homogenized differentiation is yet another example of this condition. For immigrants and refugees, settlements in neighborhoods are significantly decided due to their capabilities. When they leave their hubs and encounter other Istanbulites, for instance, on the metrobus, they mostly reinforce their "strangeness". Encountered with them, Istanbulites, too, reinforce their biased strangeness which is productive of insecure feelings. The obligated mobility of the metrobus, mainly due to the discussed characteristics, often erodes possibilities of contact. To take a different approach:

You see everyone on the metrobus. After the Syrians migrated, many Syrians used it. For example, there is a ridiculous smell, right? 50-60

people use it, after all. Metrobus smells bad, especially in summer. But people turn and look at the Syrian. Because he/she is Syrian. You're actually racist; you're excluding him. Istanbul is such a crowded society that everyone is so fed up that people now feel the need to interfere in each other's lives **(Female, 23, Media Worker)**.

“The metrobus and the bad odor” has also been emphasized by several others. Once again, due to the crowd intensity in the long route, the metrobus unfortunately is also popular with its airless and smelly journeys. What has been emphasized above could be approached from this odor example. Because in the subject of otherization differentiation is even more entangled with insecurity. An interlocutor said, *I don't like people with chador. Those black chadors... They stink. God, they really stink. All right, I'm not against you wearing a chador, live however you want; it's none of my business. But they smell awful, so I try to avoid them as much as possible* (Female, 53, Housewife). Having extremely crowded, airless, and smelly transit travel during rush hour is so challenging that passengers' tolerance toward others, particularly toward differences, critically falls. As differentiation is internally consolidated, insecurities grow. These factors enframe refugees and immigrants even more powerfully. Recalling another interlocutor's statement in the matter could be meaningful. What could be thought peculiar to Istanbul and the metrobus regarding the perception of insecurity was somehow summarized by her: *In this city, people don't need to travel more to socialize or to be extroverts; they need to travel less. They need to run around less. Their lives need to be easy, at least in getting from one place to another. For example, not everybody should be forced to take the metrobus. They need more time for themselves.* Hence, Istanbul's metropolitan dynamics and the regular usage of the metrobus make their genuine contributions in constituting perceptions. As the interlocutor emphasized because *Istanbul's economy inevitably leads to gentrification. In other words, Istanbul pushes some groups to the slums, while others have a strange and solid socio-economic concentration. This is not nice. People can live more blended. But Istanbul is a costly city. So, the alternative is considered as not sustainable either*

(Female, 31, Research Assistant). In this regard, the twofold relationship between Istanbul and the metrobus has growingly become a clear determinant for regular passengers. The field research also displayed the dominancy of insecure negativities in the perceptions toward differences encountered in the metrobus. At the same time, exclusive tendencies linked to insecurity were directed toward ideologic and refugee otherizations as well. In a similar vein, the following discussion of indifference will show the apathetic essence that devours regular passengers and how regulars have adapted the silent mediations of differentiation and insecurity in the hegemonic conceptual mobility of the metrobus.

5.2.5. Indifference

The chapters discussing the prevailing findings of differentiation and insecurity simultaneously tried to reveal the entangled essence in their perceptions. Persistence of differentiation contributes to insecurity, particularly experienced through the encountering structure that metrobus travels provide. What is equally significant is that, as they erode the possibility of the metrobus being a socio-spatial ground in togetherness, indifference toward the constitution of a public identity equally prevails. Like the abstracted essence in everydayness of Istanbul and the transit experiences derived from metrobus mobility, metrobus-grounded encounters have been productive of indifference as a mode of abstraction in togetherness. For this reason, although interlocutors' dominant ideas and feelings have flourished around differentiated insecurities, their activities, i.e., the metrobus conduct, continued to remain blasé and indifferent. Metrobus anonymity becomes an essential example in showing the framing essence of spatial practices. For an interlocutor, this framing essence produces nothing but a pervasive apathy:

There is nothing. I swear, I can say that metrobus is an environment that is completely free of everything ... I don't know from sexism or racism. Everyone is so alike—precisely the same layout. Men and women, everyone behave the same. There is no class distinction there. Everyone, from the worker to the manager, can do the same thing and for example,

can fall into the love of grabbing a seat. So, it's kind of funny (**Male, 26, Software Engineer**).

Classless and genderless perception of anonymity on the metrobus is powerful, and it may erode the essence of public responsiveness instead of constructing “an ethical relationship” (Tonkiss, 2003, pp. 299-300). The interlocutor’s emphasis is not on the absence of – for instance – class differences. As this was implied by another in the previous chapter, the interlocutor underlines the sameness that dominates metrobus behaviors of plural passengers: *Everyone, from the worker to the manager, can do the same thing and for example, can fall into the love of grabbing a seat*. Although people are still relatively responsive in matters of urgent incidents such as health, the attitude of “*they don’t mess with me*” (*bana bulaşmasınlar da*) is significantly enclosing their behaviors regardless of differences. Likewise, for another interlocutor, *people are always different on the metrobus, but it is always the same transit journey. So, people began to look alike as metrobus passengers* (Female, 36, Dental Technician). The pressure of timetables and crowds engenders cyclical and repetitive modes of behavior. The lived in the metrobus is often constituted by its conceptualized practices, and as a result, they have almost become the norms of metrobus travels. Hence, if there is such a thing as a *the metrobus profile* and if physical and concrete challenges reinforce its existence, the affective atmosphere contributes significantly to the production of this subjectivation; *I start to feel stressed before getting to the metrobus* (Male, 46, IT Specialist). For Augé, a series of lines that connect people also intensify encounters simply because of proximity and rapidity of travel since “they can involve genuine changes of role, for example, when they correspond to a transition from what we call a professional life to one we call private” (Augé, 2002, pp. 56-57). For an interlocutor, this implied an instrumental and asocial transition:

If possible, I want no one to speak to me. I don’t even want them to try. I certainly don’t want to communicate with anyone in the metrobus. Because I am not there to socialize. I am not there to chat, and I am tired. I don’t want anyone to touch me either. I really don’t. I usually am dead

tired. Even if I feel like I can interact with people, I don't. ... If I must, I prefer to interact with a dog instead of a person in the metrobus (**Female, 26, Banker**).

Her statement of the metrobus not being the spatial ground of socializing simultaneously shows the devouring essence of togetherness. Since according to her, socializing does not only define friendly intimacy but instead, she generalizes it with the slightest possibility of communication. So, she would prefer to *interact with a dog instead of a person in the metrobus*. Her emphasis on silence exemplifies the withdrawn state she envisions and practices with the metrobus. Hence, her indifference or isolation does not mainly generate anonymity to preserve diversity and plurality. Instead, she displays an abstracted mode of experience in which she is severely alienated due to the intimacy and exhaustion. Her statement in the matter is powerful; *If possible, I want no one to speak to me*. The point that is endemic to the metrobus of this indifference was explained by another interlocutor:

As I said, Istanbul is a big city, and people are always nervous because everyone is dealing with lots of trouble in their lives. This is something I complain about because, according to my friends, I am a person who is always smiling, can greet everyone, smile everywhere, and be happy, but I rarely see such things when I get on the metrobus. People are using headphones, they have phones in hand, playing games... Most of them are indifferent anyway, especially those who can sit usually sleep. You know, you can't find anyone that you can contact on the metrobus anyway. It is not a place where you can see such communications... I think most people, I'm not just talking about metrobus passengers, in Istanbul as well, but nowadays people act in a selfish manner... I'll sit, I'll catch up, I'll do what I want. They think that everything must be as they want it to be. No empathy. As I said, people no longer see each other anymore (**Female, 20, Student**).

The interlocutor defined herself as more extroverted during the interview but frequently emphasized how she was also changing and becoming more withdrawn through enclosing practices. She started with a presumption by stating the size of the city and how troublesome life in Istanbul can be. Still, she complains about the increasing *indifference* and *selfishness* she observes in everyday encounters. She is expressing the lack of *empathy* with no *contact* as a widespread appropriation of the metrobus, almost as if she was the exception for still considering the need for such a contact. For her, the concrete spatial ground of togetherness transforms the idea of *selfishness* into an observable practice. She is emphasizing the abstracted mode of passengering in the metrobus which became the normal conduct to the extent that people have started to approach matters of need *selfishly*. From get-on/off practices to the chances of seated travel, her example also stresses the appropriation of metrobus behavior with *lack of contact* because of the dominance of self-regarded behaviors. The interlocutor evaluates them as a general problem of togetherness because she includes Istanbul in her argument by implying the metrobus being a practical example of a bigger problem. Therefore, selfishness and lack of empathy almost alienate her as someone who smiles and usually greets people. For her, premises of social dissolution are generated by the circular practices of togetherness she primarily encounters in the metrobus. The question at this point comes as this: What these characteristics, the so-far discussed symptomatic outcomes of the metrobus passengering, could tell concerning inhabitants' realization of "publicness"? Although "use, consume and leave" growingly decides on the mundane, togetherness in Istanbul is practiced intensely and busily. Hence, abstraction in togetherness also growingly dissolves empathy and responsiveness of metrobus passengers to the matters of public concern except maybe for issues of health:

A woman's phone was stolen in the metrobus. She suddenly said, "my phone had been stolen" and stopped the bus at the Bosphorus station. She said she would call the police. Everyone tried to talk about what happened first, but when the time passed, since there was no result, people started

grumbling: “We want to get off, we want to go home”. Because it was already 7 pm, everyone was exhausted. The driver had to open the doors after a while. When the doors opened, 5-10 people got out. Maybe one of them was a thief, and maybe they weren't. No one cared about the woman, frankly. We were just sad; we said, "alas! that's bad". No one cared about helping the woman there. I couldn't help but to feel sad. The woman was trying. Nobody cared ... people were getting aggressive. Instead of empathizing with and understanding the woman, they were concerned with themselves because they wanted to go home ... It's just wrong, but this is the thing about the metrobus. Because as I said, it's all about that speed, everybody wants to go somewhere, fast.

But ... if there could be something more humane... If we could be more human, people could be happier and interact. They can help each other. I don't know if we could live in a "livable Istanbul"... For example, when that woman's phone was stolen, people would say yes, let's stop, everyone should open their bags. You could do this if you could live more comfortably. But people are so used to going from one place to another rapidly; even 10 minutes is so important that they say that I can't deal with this and simply turn their back and go home. That's why that woman couldn't find that phone. Metrobus does precisely that (**Male, 26, Software Engineer**).

As the field research indicated, the idealization of the public sphere in mixing people toward a common ground may be experienced differently in the modern city. Likewise, the establishment of free mixing toward a common ground ideally contributes to the “interest in civic life,” as Amin discussed. Recalling Arendt, the public ground defined the highest of human activities - the experiencing of action and speech among one's peers where “human beings appear to each other, not as physical objects, but qua men”. The life of action and speech precisely define human life since through them it is lived among humans (Amin, 2008, p. 6; Arendt, 2005, p. 176). However, as the above metrobus memory indicates, the interest in

civic life in which the subject becomes distinguishable through action and speech may equivalently lose its ground despite the idealization of the public sphere. Consequently, a relatively simple theft incident encountered in the metrobus could raise crucial questions in the matter. The security concern regarding theft in the metrobus has not been widely shared by the interlocutors. There were only few exceptions. For example, a 19-year-old student ironically stated that someone stole her cigarettes one day, and like the theft incident above, a 40-year-old electrician said that a friend's phone was stolen on the metrobus. The question, then, could be displayed through a somehow civic responsiveness, or the consciousness that would constitute a public identity that one may expect when such incidents have happened. Accordingly, the interlocutor has been in that metrobus and experienced the incident like other passengers. Still, this self-reflection shows his unease with the processing of this incident. The situation was *sad*; however, *nobody actually cared* when the woman's stolen phone required some extra time and effort to be compensated. Because the metrobus is expected for rapid-transit travel hence an unexpected delay reveals adjusted passengers' intolerance. This, for the interlocutor, is also connected to the lack of *empathy* and *understanding* since the passengers were getting aggressive. What is more gripping is that he also attributed a clear implication of negativity through *the thing of the metrobus*. This evaluation was discussed previously by another (Male, 46, IT Specialist) who used the exact same words to describe metrobus-grounded conditioning of subjectivity. Similarly, the interlocutor is straightforward: *people are so used to going from one place to another rapidly; even 10 minutes is so important that they say that I can't deal with this and simply turn their back and go home. That's why that woman couldn't find that phone*. The counter effect is twofold for him because he emphasized a "livable Istanbul" where the metrobus, indirectly, could also undertake different meanings and practices. In the existing condition, everyday obligations and practices of livelihood realized in Istanbul erodes chances of comfort: *it's already 7 pm, everyone is exhausted*. Paradoxically, precisely these determinants generated the need for conceptual-rational mobility in Istanbul – the metrobus. Still, in an alternative urban condition where these challenges could be countered to some

extent, things could have proceeded differently: *when that woman's phone was stolen, people would say yes, let's stop, everyone should open their bags. You could do this if you could live more comfortably.* Once again, the perception of the *humane* and *livable* experience of city life is connected to comfort. As discussed in the chapter of otherization, the lack of this comfort and the severe pressure of spatial-temporal regulation significantly eviscerate the potential of the contact and interaction. The construction of a public identity is equivalently related:

I took the metrobus from Söğütlüçeşme, it was empty, and I headed to a seat, but then I saw the akbil (IstanbulKart) standing on one of them. Someone forgot or dropped it. Since I didn't want to deal with it at that moment, I sat on another one. The metrobus filled up after each station, and people sat in all the seats until the last seat with that akbil was left. Finally, someone came to that seat, pushed the akbil aside, and sat down. He/she probably also didn't want to deal with it. Neither I nor the one sitting in that seat took that akbil and left it in the lost-and-found office. I said to myself, well, I had to get to work, that's why I didn't do anything. But I was disturbed. Oddly enough, when I mentioned it to my friends at work, all my friends using the metrobus like me did not find the situation strange. But a friend who doesn't use any public transport was amazed and asked, "why didn't you just leave it at the lost-and-found office? How many minutes would it take?" She clearly found the situation very odd. At that moment, I realized once again how robotic we had become (**Female, 26, Lab Technician**).

Becoming transit is not necessarily limited to the practices of passengering. Adjusted conduct like the regular use of the metrobus could expand and transform transit-ness into an all-pervasive mode. According to Kipfer, Lefebvre's production of space in the modern city is potentially hegemonic because they inevitably integrate "the affective-symbolic sides of everyday life (lived space) into the practical material (perceived) and institutional-ideological (conceived) dimensions of abstract space". Kipfer's approach to the hegemonic projects of urbanization

implies “absorbing everyday life and minimizing differences through the production of abstract space and linear time” (Kipfer, 2008, pp.205-206). Hence, *I realized how robotic we had become*, reveals the hegemonic essence in the capitalist production of space – in metrobus-molded spatial practices toward public practices. Her realization is equally crucial because as she stated, all her friends using the metrobus like herself *did not find the situation strange*. Her internal self-reflection has become a critical determinant only when a non-public transport user criticized her indifference; hence, her awareness of *becoming robotic*. Her friends, who are also metrobus passengers, could not have revived this self-reflection since they have been other examples of indifferent adjustment. The point is that sameness and anonymity through the metrobus conduct are hegemonically pervasive, and they are expanding as the metrobus continues to be the most popular transport in Istanbul. For the question of togetherness, a simple gesture or act toward the other during an unexpected situation that disrupts the mechanized order may enhance or hinder the construction of a public identity. Like the stolen phone incident, the akbil example shows how indifference in togetherness is eroding the essence to action and speech in ordinary matters of the mundane. Since her observation does not only emphasize her own indifference to automatized everydayness, but she also observes how that card remained on the seat as others got on and off. It is because probably *no one wanted to deal with it*. Taking the lost card, contacting the driver, and perhaps taking it to the lost-and-found office, for instance, in Zincirlikuyu is what she means by the *deal*. Things that would disrupt the end-oriented passengers' spatially and temporally fixated practices. The hegemonic nature of everydayness in Istanbul is pervasive, and public practices of the mundane are devoured as the rapid-transit conduct enframes them.

In transit situations, the relational public state goes straight to the negative. I think the two are inversely proportional. I generally get the sense of a "do not mess with me" attitude from everyone. It is an "okay, just stop talking" mood. If there is a problem, for example, the air conditioner is not working on the metrobus, everyone is like, "Okay, hush. Stop grumbling". Nobody

wants to interact with anybody. The passengers do not have any contact at all. They are just enduring the metrobus. Let it end, somehow endure it, and get off. For example, one day, when I sneezed, the man beside me said, "bless you, my daughter," and I was shocked. Because I never expected it. I said thank you, and he was a very sympathetic, elderly uncle. I said thank you, but I was seriously surprised. Something that I did not expect in the metrobus, although I do not find these things strange on the ferry. Typically, no one says anything when you sneeze. There isn't any communication on the metrobus ... We rarely feel that we are together in this city. For instance, there are rallies during the elections, and we say, yes, we are living together, we are collective even if everyone is different... such a feeling arises. It's funny, but it's the same in national football matches. Squares are filling up; everyone is together, doesn't matter this team or that team... a sense of togetherness. Other than that, everyone is alone. That's what Istanbul is about. More solitary, more clustered. Everyone lives in their own environment, in their own habitat in Istanbul **(Female, 30, Architect)**.

Her ideas have been exemplary to the symptomatic perceptions on the metrobus discussed so-far. Still, the organization of everyday on the Arendtian terms "to sustain lives" makes these moments of experience more crucial than mere memories. They are constitutive to the degree that they are practiced and lived on regularity. The life-span of Istanbul's inhabitants is crucially molded through such ordinary practices and having a regular experience of the metrobus, as discussed, is normalizing these attitudes as everyday norms. Togetherness in abstraction is precisely the reason why the interlocutor is surprised to hear *God bless you* after she sneezed. The point is not to idealize togetherness. Being-together in anonymity, as Tonkiss discussed, surely could generate affordances for differences and freedoms. However, as the field research showed, togetherness in an indifferent state abstracted and further alienated interlocutors. Her example on air conditioning problem is another aspect to why daily nuances in the metrobus generate anxiety:

If there is a problem, for example, the air conditioner is not working, everyone is like, "Okay, hush. Stop grumbling". This is also a crucial example for the necessity of inhabitants to be producers rather than mere consumers in the city. Inhabitants' growing perception to remain in a withdrawn state to a simple matter such as an air conditioning problem also gives clues to the sentiments summarized under: *they don't mess with me*. Because her previous ideas of *becoming transit* is reinforced by her evaluation of the transit mode of togetherness: *In transit situations, the relational public state goes straight to the negative. I think the two are inversely proportional*. The more transitness, the less chance of interaction is what she emphasizes through being *inversely proportional*. This is also an important reason why De Certeau's tactics are least expected in the metrobus. Although interlocutors conceive their passengering tricks as *tactics*, the conceptual mobility of the metrobus is hegemonically enclosing passengers' chance to establish a relational conduct with the metrobus. For this reason, I preferred to label them as "tactics of strategies". Finally, through the sneezing example we can yet see another positive representation of the ferry countered to the metrobus: *something that I did not expect in the metrobus, although I do not find these things strange on the ferry*. Following these arguments, the realization of togetherness in everyday encounters generated a hegemonic abstraction for most of the interlocutors. "Minimizing differences" produces homogenous appropriation of conduct for ordinary inhabitants, especially in the spatial-temporal structure of the metrobus. Thus, encountering and interacting loses spontaneity for what could be labeled in the Arendtian approach as erecting worlds or, with Massey's terms, "thrown-togetherness" (Massey, 2005, pp. 151-152).

Her following arguments regarding togetherness are equivalently thought-provoking: *We rarely feel that we are together in this city*. The interlocutor understands togetherness as the ability to subjectively relate. Since her following examples emphasize a collective sense of togetherness that could be found in rallies or national football matches. The first is an example of political collectivity to the extent that it is a common practice of democratic citizenship. Elections and

electorate rallies harmonizes' political alignments of similar party supporters by enhancing civic engagement. For the interlocutor, the feeling derived from rallies reveals the political togetherness of these groups, i.e., to be able to establish a common ground despite differences. The latter, for the interlocutor, could be evaluated under the predicament of imagined communities to the extent that communities are distinguished "by the style in which they are imagined". In this regard, as Anderson famously discussed, the nation is imagined as a community because ... the nation is conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 2006, pp. 6-7). National football matches in interlocutor's understanding align with the imaginative aspect of national collectivity. As Stone writes, on the matters of identity formation, a certain level of commitment allows the self and cultural symbol to merge" so that "for some supporters, the club becomes a constituent part of themselves" (171-172). The constitutive power of football in both inclusive and exclusive tendencies is highly debated. For the subject matter, the interlocutor's remark about football is significant for emphasizing national matches rather than club matches. She is not attributing football as an identity formation per se; instead, it is togetherness embedded in national football matches that revives collectiveness in the way she intuitively imagined – her sentimental perception of belonging. Nuhurat argues that nationalistic manifestations are embedded in football in Turkey, but at the same time, football, as a practice in itself, creates national myths of belonging. Through the case of famous football player Mesut Özil, Nuhurat shows how "nation-state configurations of citizenship are appropriated and transformed by individual and community imaginations of belonging" (136). Although Özil, as a third-generation migrant, identified himself as feeling more German than Turkish, during the national matches between Germany and Turkey, he was contested by the Turkishness perception of belonging (Nuhurat, 2015, pp. 135-136). In this light, the interlocutor's sense of belonging revived in togetherness could also be approached through the formation of a habitus that "inscribes social consciousness, meaning and identity in the body itself" (Stone, 2007, pp. 171-173). Because except for these seemingly inclusive examples, her approach to the idea of togetherness is clearly indifferent, both with the perception of Istanbul and the practice of the

metrobus: *squares are filling up; everyone is together, doesn't matter this team or that team... a sense of togetherness. Other than that, everyone is alone. That's what Istanbul is about. More solitary, more clustered.* Hence, everyone lives in their own habitat. This argument underlines how life in Istanbul is perceived in a fragmented essence by ordinary inhabitants.

Togetherness in this fragmented essence implied an obligation because of the competitive and crowded essence in Istanbul: *the solidarity here is almost like an obligation, a forced type of solidarity. Because of that, I am not sure how valid this feeling is* (Male, 30, Metallurgy Engineer). A similar remark was given by a 46-year-old worker who considered the essence of togetherness as absent, instead, could be revived only in time of a crisis: *We do not live together in Istanbul. Everyone is trying to live on their own in the pursuit of livelihood ... There must be some kind of great disaster so that people can say that ok let us help each other.* Stories as such have been various and the overall problematic of everydayness and obligated mobility in Istanbul is inevitably linked to the political economy of the metropolis. Obligations, burdens, necessities greatly transform the nature of public and private practices and inhabitants' experience of everyday mobility growingly devours the socio-spatial essence of togetherness. From a different perspective, as one interlocutor emphasized, *let us live, experience and see. I want to say this again. We must live, not consume. I live those ferry moments when I use it, but I simply consume the metrobus* (Male, 38, Copywriter). The idea of consumption endemic to the metrobus is genuinely powerful and for this reason, the interlocutor, like some others, is indirectly implying the importance of subjective experiences in life. What is lived versus what is consumed and thus conceived is a crucial determinant in making a world of diversities in which action and speech is realized. The significance of the spatial constitution in his argument could be considered from another interlocutor's opposite example:

Just as your nose gets used to any smell after a while, your eyes get used to the metrobus. Who was there? What happened? After a while, these things become entirely invisible to you. This invisibility becomes very

dominant in the metrobus. You get on, and you go. At the end of the day, you don't even remember what happened on the metrobus. Only that bus goes for 1 hour, and you spend that 1 hour there, so it's a bit ironic, but you don't even have an idea about the time spent on that metrobus (**Male, 31, Biologist**)

Abstraction in togetherness is realized through the spatial constitution significantly. *To live* rather than *to consume* is, in this regard, crucially challenged. As discussed in the metrobus chapter, the interlocutor's remark for the *invisibility* is dominant for regular passengers due to the stimuli. Their conduct inclines them toward isolation and indifference. Hence, having a conceptual experience of mobility in diversity is significantly enclosed by that invisibility because *you don't even remember what happened on the metrobus*. The most notable exception of this condition is the disruptive moments of conduct, such as a delay, a seat or a line quarrel, an unexpected moment for the disturbance of transit travel, etc. Passengers' passive-aggressive behaviors have been emphasized before, however, it is equally crucial to note that these reactions are also decreasing under indifferent adjustments. For this reason, although feelings, perceptions of negativities are reinforced internally, the metrobus is engendering a mode of *becoming transit* as all-pervasive. The perspectives upon encounters and togetherness, in this regard, reinforce blasé existences by significantly generating abstraction in togetherness: *it's a bit ironic, but you don't even have an idea about the time spent on that metrobus*. "The depressing reality" of the field research, however, did not only indicate negativities toward encounters and togetherness. Although they have been limited, some interlocutors' ideas have been genuine for emphasizing possibilities in togetherness. These evaluations will be discussed in the next and final chapter of this work.

5.3. POSSIBILITIES IN TOGETHERNESS

For Arendt, action is the only activity that cannot be imagined outside the society of men [sic.] because it depends on the presence of others. We can be free if/when

we act since the “individual in his isolation is never free; he can become free only when he steps out into the polis and takes action there”. Action, in this sense, is crucially linked to “the space between human beings” because a thing can reveal itself under many aspects only in the presence of peers who regard it from various perspectives. Since “men, not Man, live on the earth and inhabit the world” (7), action and speech through public visibility among peers is the condition of political subjects – *zoon politikon* (Arendt, 2005, p. 170; Arendt, 1998, p. 7). Thinking with Arendt, we may state that modern dwellers' *Vita Activa* is primarily realized through living, practicing, and experiencing in the urban mode of togetherness. The in-between space where inhabitants appear to one another, the public sphere is experienced among diverse urban spaces. Stepping into the public, however, does not always revive the idea of a constitutive subject that distinguishes itself through action and speech. As the dwellers of modern cities, we tend to organize ourselves and keep practicing them without a significant critical reflection through growing anonymity. Because we, too, must survive. In the conceptual city of organization, we must earn livelihoods; hence through them, we constitute ourselves through the city we inhabit. This may, for instance, mean approximately 60 km of daily mobility for an Istanbulite. Extensive distances, durations, and mobilities are almost inevitable for most inhabitants. Considering Istanbul as a metropolis of nearly 17 million inhabitants, the regulated and busy content of these practices realized with others also mold the meaning and perception of togetherness as a public experience.

Nevertheless, we continue to rely on our social bonds for chances to relate and belong. Our changing perceptions did not alter the importance of togetherness in the everyday world that we establish. Thinking with Lefebvre, we must simply reconsider the significance of an idea: modern individual lives with the city. And the city, as “a pure form” with no specific content but a center for life and creation, establishes “a place of encounter, assembly, and simultaneity” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 117). Although prevailing findings of the field research concentrated upon its dissolving essence, I have also listened to some stories that revealed a somewhat constructive meaning in togetherness. Stepping into the public ground for most

interlocutors was considered with the obligated aspect “to sustain lives”. For some others, however, such obligated practices revived a consciousness toward public experiences by surpassing mere “virtuality” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 144). These did not exactly reflect Arendtian typologies of action and speech in the human condition of plurality; however, they were examples of becoming, constructing and sometimes contesting through the everyday against the so-far discussed problems of the mundane and mobility in Istanbul. First, these stories revealed the construction of social values toward others despite prevailing symptoms of indifference, differentiation, and insecurity. Second, like a counter-effect, the field research showed that prevailing negativities in the metrobus have in their genuine way enhanced the perception of belonging toward the neighborhood for Kadikoy inhabitants. And finally, interviews gave the idealized and longed aspects of the city, mobility and togetherness. Once again, enmeshed with nostalgia, these ideas underline the imagined aspect of what the lived could be in the city.

In this regard, through metrobus encounters, interlocutors primarily realized the plurality of passenger profiles. Although the metrobus-conduct enframed their apprehension of these differences, some interlocutors shared positive implications in their world of ideas toward differences. Put differently, despite the prevailing negativities of metrobus anonymity, obscurity and transitness; differences, for some interlocutors, constructed relative proximity by engendering an understanding of public life practiced with differences:

We can see black people selling watches sometimes, but it is interesting to see them as ordinary passengers on the metrobus. Or a woman with purple hair and a woman in a veil can stand side by side, which is interesting. I can see them on the metrobus. I find this very positive; in fact; they are exciting observations for me. So many different people live in Istanbul, I say, as I see them on the metrobus (**Female, 26, Lab Technician**).

The outlook of these positive aspects could be summarized through the interlocutor’s ideas. During some interviews, practices of togetherness in the

metrobus were appreciated as public visibility. Hence, unlike the mere virtuality of realizing *existences*, the interlocutor is actualizing them as *exciting observations* of the differences that are lived in Istanbul through the metrobus. These experiences for most interlocutors internally reproduced differentiation and contributed to their insecurity; however, for the interlocutor, being together of differences is a positive aspect in her value-creation. Thus, *a woman with purple hair and a woman in a veil can stand side by side*, is regarded by her as *positive* rather than enhancing her differentiated distance. Her further comments upon this condition were mostly enclosed by the passengering characteristics of the metrobus and exhaustion she derives from Istanbul; however, her everyday experience in Istanbul realizes differences lived through the metrobus to the extent that she also leaves herself to *the hub* of Kadikoy. The point is that, despite its challenges, some interlocutors expressed that diversities in togetherness are realized through the metrobus which otherwise would also remain blasé to their cognition. Regulated essence of everydayness also abstracts diversities to a significant degree unless they are encountered: *Well, you unintentionally assume that everybody is like you. But on the metrobus, you realize how life is not as (homogenous) as such; how there are so many people dealing with so many problems. For instance, a family whose child is disabled, a manual worker who is exhausted* (Male, 27, Vehicle Maintenance Technician); *I see a man, dressed up, going on a trip to avoid the traffic and for this reason using the metrobus. On the other hand, I see this old peddler who tries to sell tissues. Then I say, well, we are certainly not living in an egalitarian city* (Female, 22, Student); *The metrobus transforms inequalities into visible aspects of life in Istanbul* (Female, 26, Trainee Solicitor). We are inevitably aware of the inequalities and injustices that life imposes on inhabitants in Istanbul. However, learning them through the contents of media outlets or as hearsay stories is crucially different than having a somehow subjective experience with them. The city is the concrete spatial-temporal ground for their visibility, but everydayness in Istanbul also abstracts them significantly in the regulated essence of adjusted mobility if not differentiates them: *Well, you unintentionally assume that everybody is like you.* This is a simple but also a very critical argument. Experience constitutes our

lifespans; it may overcome abstractions and biases. At the same time, mainly through experience, we embrace subjectivities through the knowledge of others and things, both positively and negatively. However, without the experience, our ideas would be significantly abstract. This point could also be evaluated through the eroding possibilities for action and speech in the urban condition. Through action and speech, the subjectivity of the performing agent is ideally distinguished; however, these possibilities are also open to the hegemonic constitution of transit-ness. In other words, having the concept of manual workers, disabled individuals, old workers, and peddlers living and struggling in Istanbul transforms into a concrete moment of experience when they are encountered. On the other hand, “blotting them out,” as Bissell argued, is equally critical for our consideration. The experience itself may alter into abstraction, as discussed. For this reason, these few stories that revived the ideational-practical essence of public visibility and positive value-creation have been genuinely significant:

Sometimes we see children selling handkerchiefs or playing musical instruments to earn some money. One of the women yelled at a boy one day; he was playing an instrument. "Why don't you turn this noise off? What are you playing around with?" She's been talking loudly on the phone for an hour, then she gets up and scolds the boy ... No matter what... no matter what... whether he's a thief, he's a kid. Of course, stealing is wrong, but even so, he's a kid. Or for example, when people approach these children, they approach disgusted for seeing them as dirty. Or they ignore them like, "go away, don't say anything, just go". Something that I see in the metrobus is the humiliation of children, and something really needs to be done about it (**Female, 38, Healthcare Officer**).

In Istanbul, inhabitants often encounter children working as peddlers in public transport but mainly on the metrobus. This is because they can get on and off limitlessly once they pass through the turnstiles without leaving the stations. Hence, considering the transit-ness of metrobus regulars, their existence is probably as "blotted out" as their metrobus adjusted conduct. Because the interlocutor above

has been the only one who shared a perspective concerning these children, maybe except for the previously discussed *upbringing* perception regarding refugees – the imply for refugee children who tend to work as peddlers as well. The main premise is that passengers' attitudes toward them have mostly concentrated upon “ignoring” them, if not reacting or distancing from them: *when people approach these children, they approach disgusted for seeing them as dirty. Or they ignore them like, "go away, don't say anything, just go"*. In a similar vein, the intolerance directed toward these children could be exemplified by the scolding of a passenger due to the “noise” the boy makes, who, according to the interlocutor, herself has been talking loudly on the phone. Like the discussion of the elderly individuals, passenger reactions of scolding or dismissal could be related to the idea that these children are also regarded as nuisances or perhaps burdens in the highly regulated practice of metrobus mobility. Since not every interlocutor who has encounter with such unexpected differences regarded them as socially constitutive because the abstracted essence of metrobus conduct often inclines regulars to negate and isolate themselves from the unexpected. On the other hand, this can also be evaluated through the "akbil" example. To recapitulate, the disruption could be perceived through a change in mechanized mobility – the lost akbil; a change in individual comfort – offering a seat to the elderly; or a change in blasé passengering toward ethical considerations – the peddler children.

Consequently, although the passengering experiences are enclosed, the disruptive aspect in everyday life practiced via the metrobus mobility in understanding togetherness could be grasped from these relatively minor stories. The story above reveals the interlocutor's resistance to the leveling anonymity that isolates and ignores critical societal problems, such as child labor. Her concern for the problem of child labor and as she explained later, her apparent anxiety for their safety and security is transforming her into an active participant of debates regarding their well-being. For the woman who scolded the boy, she said she did not hesitate to intervene: *I turned to the woman: What do you think you are doing? Are you aware of your own noise? You've been talking for an hour very loudly and you're scolding*

an innocent child!” When encountered, her concern for the children is engendering a civic activity to prevent a child’s public scolding despite the indifferent and apathetic atmosphere. The rarity of these stories is thought-provoking; however the moments the metrobus brings forth these considerations are when it is experienced as a public sphere. When the rarity of diverse encounters in Istanbul is considered, these positively disruptive moments of critical reflections and actions become the chances to hinder homogenizing tendencies.

The metrobus has some good aspects. People from different environments, characters, and statuses are there. And you get this chance to be together with them. This is actually a rare thing for Istanbul despite existing differences. You don’t see them, but in the metrobus you can. I like this thing about the metrobus. To see and observe all the differences is kind of constructive ... because no one in Turkey is empathizing. No one is understanding the other. There is this redundant differentiation between us ... For example, one day, I was on the metrobus with my girlfriend. We were returning from Kadikoy to Avcilar late at night. That day was my birthday so were a bit drunk. She felt sleepy we were standing still together, and her head fell to my shoulder several times, she was almost falling asleep, and I held her back. That was it. But a young boy around my age, looking conservative, yelled suddenly: “What is this, get a room, do I have to see you?” Others joined to the argument. Some supported us, some supported him. It was chaotic. There is an aggressive group. Especially conservative people do this. Get a room, will you put it in our eyes, etc. ... Aggressive, responsive. There is also the opposite group. With such a humiliating attitude. For example, the man with a long beard in a shalwar is getting on the metrobus and they are like “What is it? We turned to Arabia”. They start mumbling, giving disturbing gazes. It exists in both groups. This is Turkey's most prominent political problem. Everyone sees themselves at two different extremes. No one is willing to find the middle ground **(Male, 26, Cargo Operation)**.

On the one hand, the interlocutor's perspective reminds the differentiated stories regarding Turkey's political context. Growing polarization between citizens in the metrobus are often reproduced more than they are resisted. On the other, he is reviving the metrobus as a public ground for socio-political encounters and broadly regards it as *constructive*. Even though the young passenger's interference with his privacy generated disturbance, the condition itself, accordingly, revived a public debate that seemingly turned into *chaos*. With some exceptions, the disruption of metrobus isolation has become rare, but it is genuinely more infrequent for matters of public concern. This is the reason why despite growing differentiation and insecurity, regular passengers continue to remain indifferent. Although negative perspectives for differences are internally reinforced as silent mediators, they often keep on their apathetic passengering practices. However, as another example of a disruptive moment, an intense political debate between Turkey's different lifestyles did not remain unchallenged and included others to generate a political ground of debate. In another statement he expressed that the moment of debate was kind of *annoying* because of the uproar. He did not feel exactly extrovert at that moment but that he didn't back down either: *I turned to the boy and said, "If you don't want to see it, take another metrobus and be done with it". He has become even angrier, "what a place this has become, we also have mothers and sisters..." I warned him in harsh language. But it didn't go down, so I became more intimate with my girlfriend out of spite. I mean, from pure spite. So, he had to get off.* The example itself is typical for reflecting the differentiated tension between Turkey's socio-political groups, i.e., the shrinking common ground that relates them. However, the incident becomes somehow critical when it penetrates the interlocutor's limitedly positive ideas toward the metrobus: *you get this chance to be together with them. This is actually a rare thing for Istanbul despite existing differences ... To see and observe all the differences is kind of constructive ... because no one in Turkey is empathizing.* Value biases most likely remain as biases unless encountered and confronted. Even experiencing differences may reproduce further biases; however, for the concern of public mobility, having a shared ground for such practices is undoubtedly more *constructive* than having none, i.e., living and experiencing the

city through the automobile. For these practices are certainly more *constructive* in giving an awareness of public experience.

In other words, as challenging as the metrobus conduct may be, it still constructs a practice of the public sphere. In this regard, although limited they may be, these stories reveal the inevitableness of having a public practice despite growing individualism in the city. For instance, the 20-year-old student who evaluated harassment as a problem for women in the metrobus stated: *Before the metrobus, I was not very sensitive to these issues. The metrobus had this positive effect. I was hearing it from others or on the news, saying, "oh, ok, these things can happen". That was all. But it was different after using the metrobus when I experienced it. It directed me into social responsibility projects. I started getting involved in projects about women, for women, and that's all because of that.* Her individualistic ideas have transformed into a civic practice after an unpleasant experience of abuse in the metrobus. As she also underlined, having ideas are also crucial aspects than being completely indifferent; however, real values are consolidated when they are practiced into actions. Because in between she added: *You know we tend to understand things in life only when we live them.* The power of experience is undoubtedly constitutive. As another interlocutor remarked, *differences are often not very much realized in this city.* People living in segregated patterns continue to dissolve in homogenizing differentiation. Then, through the plural essence of metrobus encounters, these pathologies could be confronted. Confrontation may be realized only as critical reflections or reactive public debates looking like chaos, still, these are potential challenges against prevailing pathologies of indifference, insecurity, and differentiation. The interlocutor continued: *people are acting as if they are the hosts of this city. They think they have the right to interfere with you. The way you must behave, the things you must wear as if you are the guest here. They can't simply say and think that this city belongs to us all. You are here, I am here. Let us live and rise together* (Male, 27, Video Editor). Distanced value-judgments are mostly intensified in the everyday burdens of Istanbul, nevertheless, a chaotic confrontation of them may enhance the idea that *this city belongs to us*

all. The overall problem of the metrobus encounters is that they rarely generate such constituting aspects in togetherness. To recall, this is the primary reason for the dominance of dissolving and devouring perspectives resulting from the field research. Hence, as a final example in the constructive essence of metrobus togetherness, another ideological confrontation and bias must be shared:

A woman with a disabled child got on. The child wanted to sit, and the woman did not want to lift two people at the same time so that they could sit together. Obviously, she did not want to disturb anyone. However, the boy was, I think, mentally disabled. He was screaming, laughing, and hitting people. He was not in control and was reacting to everything. I was listening to music; I took out my earphones and listened. Then, one man began to directly attack the woman, saying, "If you can't silence your child"... He was a classic white-collar type—the type who travels with a work bag. The woman was a middle-aged woman with a turban. The man suddenly started shouting, "can't you shut your kid up? Do we have to give you a seat?" First, the woman did not answer; she turned to her child again and tried to warn and control him. The man didn't stop, continued to assault her; "what kind of mother you are? Aren't you ashamed, how ignorant you are!" Then I got up and gave her my seat. She didn't want to come because she thought there would be more pressure on her, I guess. I somehow convinced her. After the woman sat down, grumbling continued. At one point, the woman spoke very politely; she said, "Sir, my child is disabled, and I can't control him right now; why are you coming at me like this?" He replied, "I am a teacher for the disabled. Haven't you learned to calm your child by this age?" he said. I certainly didn't believe him. He was just trying to justify himself. This incident affected me greatly, and I still feel sad while telling it. "Who are you, how old are you, are you ignorant...". His words still piss me off. Even this is an indication of how prejudiced people are towards each other. I mean, that man's prejudice about the woman's image. Just because she was a woman with a turban, he

approached and blamed her for being ignorant. His yelling at her for evaluating her as ignorant still bothers me (**Female, 26, Pilates Instructor**).

The interlocutor is the one who expressed her feeling of distance toward the Fatih district and demography through the idea that *Fatih doesn't feel like Istanbul*. Although the Fatih habitus has some distinctive characteristics, through this perspective, one could expect indifference from her toward the incident she witnessed. In contrast, when she experienced the othering bias toward a turbaned woman with a disabled child, she directly embraced a critical attitude and expressed how it affected and bothered her. Her expressions during the interview validated this feeling because she had a concerned look when she shared it. The point is that without a direct experience of bias, her approaches toward similar issues could have remained as value judgments. Still, she added, she regretted not doing more at that moment. The process from value judgments into definitive actions on the public ground is also related to their diverse, plural, and open experiences. From a different angle, if it had been confronted, the prejudice she observed from *the typical white-collar*, could have generated an unexpected value creation in that moment for the passengers of that metrobus. Because most probably, the white-collar passenger's reaction to the woman was fueled by the unexpected disruption of the transit comfort that he expects from the metrobus. Likewise, the woman's seeming anxiety derived from the pressure of the passengering atmosphere prevented her from asking for assistance or seats in the first place. This memory was an important example of how different layers in public practices are constituted and how they are inevitably entangled as mediations both positively and negatively.

In this regard, the remaining positive connotation for the idea of togetherness had mostly been shared as imaginative or nostalgic. The exception to this condition had been the interlocutors who lived in Kadikoy. Through their negated stories of the metrobus and everyday life in Istanbul, these interlocutors have recalled how they felt different as inhabitants of Kadikoy, where contact and interaction ideationally and practically seemed possible. Kadikoy in these stories has been defined as

intimate and familiar, as a place where they could belong. Through such ideas, they somehow revealed that in Kadikoy, they live rather than merely conceive. It must also be noted that although Kadikoy is a large district, all these ideas emphasized the central Kadikoy, roughly, the areas surrounding central Kadikoy, such as Ziverbey, Acibadem and Moda neighborhoods.

We used to go to Taksim, from there to Karakoy, Tunel side, etc. But you know, the transformation in Taksim ruined it. They literally ripped its soul. We are not going to Taksim anymore. Because when it is only a transit line, that district loses its importance. You're passing by, after all. But if you're going to spend time, you're also living that neighborhood, and that's where the spirit issue comes into play. From its texture to the people in it, it should give you intimacy and comfort. In my opinion, Taksim, for example, was one of the most beautiful intersections of Istanbul. It was cosmopolitan; it always seemed that way to me, I remember from my bachelor days. I loved that variety. Also, that diversity was reflected in the places too. It used to give me this vivid energy. Now all the concretion and that rent-based transformation of Taksim destroyed those colors. It is full of Arab tourists. I don't have a particular problem with Arab tourists, don't get me wrong, but we are not very comfortable because of that conservative essence. In the past, the conservative and the so-called marginal could be together in Taksim. Now, maybe if you go and hang out, no one will tell you to go away, but that conservative majority, and the places that are shaped accordingly, narrow your space. But Kadikoy is sincere and like a home for me. It's a place where I feel belonging. Metrobus is never like that. I don't know if I could explain it... but if I need some help in Kadikoy, I do not hesitate to ask. But a woman or man I see on Kadikoy, who would help me in Kadikoy, may be indifferent to my need on the metrobus. I could have been like that, too; that's how I know **(Male, 38, Copywriter)**.

From the interlocutor's perspective, the discussion of living Istanbul through *hubs* or of the homogenized differentiation could be realized. His criticism of Taksim underlines Istanbul's changing socio-spatial patterns due to the urban transformation projects. The criticism embraces the neoliberal and ideologic dimensions of transformation. Like the examples between Kadikoy and Fatih or Kadikoy and Sultanbeyli, belonging to the neighborhood is linked to the ability to relate, both culturally and ideologically. Despite these tendencies, he also underlines the diversity he used to experience in Taksim: *In the past, the conservative and the so-called marginal could be together in Taksim*. Thus, he corrected himself by explaining that he did not have *a particular problem with Arab tourists*, nevertheless the ideologic and rent-based transformation of attractions and places of Taksim generated a certain distance for the interlocutor. He is almost reflecting the premise of estrangement from the neighborhood where once he seemed to have lived and belonged. His previously-discussed self-reflection – *I am together in Kadikoy with the people who are like-minded to me*, reaffirms the perspective of homogeneity validated as negation through the Taksim example. The more homogeneous Taksim has become ideologically, the more the interlocutor seemed to have distanced from it and apparently relied on the feeling of belonging that he derived from Kadikoy. Hence, homogeneity prevailed both positively and negatively. For Kadikoy, the interlocutor is direct, *Kadikoy is sincere and like a home for me. It's a place where I feel belonging*. Kadikoy is sincere and like a home, so, unlike the metrobus, he would *not hesitate to ask* for any help in Kadikoy; hence, he feels more secure and has an apparent belief in the social essence of togetherness. However, through the metrobus representation, he emphasized how that sincere, contacted, and related essence could be transformed in line with the spatial existence – when a fellow Kadikoy inhabitant transits into a metrobus passenger. From another perspective a similar feeling of belonging was reaffirmed through Kadikoy:

When you go to a park, for example, you experience these things in Moda a lot. So, for instance, you don't have a corkscrew. You simply turn and

ask the people sitting next to you. It's also a form of socialization. But you're doing all this with the conscious thinking, "we have a commonality, we have those common aspects. We have that minimum ground". You already know that a very conservative person will not come there. So, lifestyles are very similar. When I drink wine, and you drink wine, even this is a sign of commonality in Turkey. Part of it stems from our desire to see them as experiences. I see it as an experience because it is more enjoyable. You are on the seaside, watching the sea; it is a social experience. But I do not see the metrobus as an experience, so I do not try to establish a commonality there **(Female, 26, Trainee Solicitor)**.

As discussed, the interlocutor's evaluation of the metrobus as not offering an experience has been one of the most grounded criticisms. Through this example, she explained what an experience could mean in terms of togetherness. Like the first quote, Kadikoy has been reassured as the counter-example of the metrobus' negation, and her emphasis on the ability to relate, i.e., *social experience*, was explained through *commonality*. This may at first sound like the appreciation of homogeneity; however, her indirect perspective emphasizes the importance of interaction in making the experience to be lived. This example can also be regarded as the opposite of social estrangement, although inevitably, the condition is linked to the polarized atmosphere of Turkey's social and political context. A simple social activity like drinking wine *stems from our desire to see them as experiences*, which in fact, become social experiences through spontaneous interactions. On the other hand, the ideological enclosure for the idea that a conservative individual would possibly react to or judge this activity validates the importance of unexpected encounters and possibilities of contact that could be generated in them. Because regardless of their accuracy, having these judgments as representations directs the perception of togetherness toward homogeneity, hence *the hubs*. From another perspective, an interlocutor's idea could be considered:

This distance is also about people, about crowds, and indeed it is about the education level. Because Istanbul is getting increasingly crowded and

these crowds are not always your kind of people. You are constantly dealing with them every day, and there is a big gap now. It's not like our Kadikoy profile. I actually like diversity, but I don't like the futility and the challenge that diversity brings (**Female, 36, Dental Technician**).

Differences realized in everyday challenges are growing for the interlocutor and her counter example for this negation is *our Kadikoy profile*. As she experiences increasing diversities in everyday life through the challenges of mundane practices, her perception of belonging reproduces itself through the homogenous habitus of Kadikoy. Paradoxically, she, like many others had the opposite representation for diversities. As she states: *I actually like diversity*. The abstract image of diversity transforms into a problematic challenge when encountered and experienced. Hence, the seemingly positive aspect that makes the neighborhood *our* is connected to the homogeneity she produces belonging but also to the negative perceptions she derives from diversities. Once again, this is an example for the silently mediated differentiation because she is not overcoming them as she encounters with them. However, through them, she is enhancing her perception of belonging to Kadikoy. Interlocutors' validation of the neighborhood was related with the homogenous lifestyles, but at the same time, it was connected to their feeling of being a participant of the neighborhood. Taken together, interlocutors revealed a sentimental tie as a powerful representation for their attachment to the neighborhood: *Kadikoy is like a home to me. If I had been to Sultanbeyli for instance probably I would feel as if I left Istanbul* (Male, 27, Video Editor); *I truly love Kadikoy. I could live in another neighborhood close to my work, but I prefer to tolerate that* (Female, 30, Inspector); *Kadikoy is very different than any other district. It has this distinctive character. That is why I also decided to move there. The people of Kadikoy are very different than the rest. Well even the stray animals in Kadikoy are different* (Male, 26, Cargo Operation). Such sentimental ties have been frequently emphasized by the Kadikoy inhabitants. This almost makes the perception of togetherness as uniquely distinctive for Kadikoy when the rest of Istanbul is considered. With the words of another interlocutor: *Kadikoy is more like*

home to me. Sometimes when I get off from the metrobus on Sogutlucesme, I say, "I am at home" even though I am not practically at home. The neighborhood is ours. People are more connected here. Kadikoy has an atmosphere of a village. But I must say, it is an elite village (Female, 30, Architect). Oruç et al. argue that modern city projects established a "quality" life in Istanbul at the expense of eliminating social interaction. Accordingly, a study conducted by Bardo and Dokmeci revealed that in Arnavutkoy, a historical neighborhood, 75% of the inhabitants "claimed to communicate with their neighbors;" however, "in Atakoy, a modern neighborhood, 95% of people claimed not to do so" (Oruç et al: 2017: 182).

Everyday communication could also be considered as a crucial determinant in the realization of contact and interaction. Like Arendtian emphasis on action and speech, the argument of becoming "a producer of the city" is most likely realized through the above example of appropriating the neighborhood (Secor, 2004, p. 365). Accordingly, the cultural and class homogeneity in Kadikoy was defined by the interlocutor as *elite*, similar to her understanding of the Z line as *VIP*. Nevertheless, her emphasis of *village* implies the familiarity that she perceives from Kadikoy; hence, *the neighborhood is ours*. The neighborhood is undoubtedly appropriated, and this appropriation is represented with *home*. Recalling her anxiety toward the unexpected encounter at the Perpa station, what makes Kadikoy a distinct habitus is the belonging she perceives through this familiarity and the contact she sees in its inhabitants: *People are more connected here*. The appropriation of Kadikoy has emphasized through this attachment. From a different angle, like the argument of a Kadikoy inhabitant's transition to a metrobus passenger, an interlocutor's example showed that having a communicative aspect in togetherness is inevitably linked to the socio-spatial aspect of that experience. Because she shared the opposite feeling of transition from a metrobus passenger into a Kadikoy inhabitant by emphasizing the possibility of interaction: *I'm very closed to communication on the metrobus; I don't like talking to people I don't know. But this feeling changes in Kadikoy. I mean, if I sit on a bench in Kadikoy, and someone approaches and chats with me, that is ok. I'm entirely open to this*

(Female, 26, Lab Technician). These moments of transition, the change from being indifferent passengers into extrovert participants of the neighborhood and vice versa, underline that inhabitants of the city must be integrated in making the urban. In this regard, it could be reemphasized that Kadikoy inhabitants are more likely to be producers rather than mere consumers of the neighborhood.

The final discussion of this chapter and of this work is what I prefer to call imaginations in togetherness. The relatively constructive perspectives in togetherness have followed a content from metrobus grounded value changes toward metrobus grounded counter effect of belonging in the neighborhood. This final dimension is called imagination because it exceeds the possibilities revealed in the first two. Although the dominant findings concentrated on differentiation, insecurity, and – perhaps as a determinant in which the first two are combined – indifference; imagining the ideal understanding of city, mobility, and togetherness was significant for showing how the dominating pathologies of the modern condition in Istanbul could be altered. At this point, it must be noted that interlocutors' realization of their imaginations toward the idealized aspects of city life was not easily revealed. It surprised me to see the enframing of their imaginations by the so-called "Istanbul's realities". For instance, an interlocutor's response to the imagined or the alternative mode of mobility had been *an emptier metrobus* (Male, 28, Developer). Naturally, the metrobus may fit into his idealization; however, the overall impression I had was their enclosure by these pathologies when they were suddenly asked about a different mode of experience in the city. Nevertheless, as the interviews proceeded, I had the chance to listen some unique perspectives for the essence of the city, mobility and togetherness. What is equally important is that these imaginative idealizations gave a more comprehensive understanding for the examples of socially embedded value changes that have been discussed in this chapter.

We grew up on the streets when we were kids; there was a neighborhood culture; we were neighborhood kids. And since I wasn't raised in such a place full of block apartments, I tried to continue this condition after I got

married. But still, it is not the same. It is not very possible to revive that old neighborhood culture. Because everyone has concerns about life in Istanbul today, they cannot spare time for their social life except in their social circles ... I think the city should be like this. It should be an easy, comfortable city. It must be a place where negative emotions do not fuel stress constantly. Like I said, for instance, the city should not force you to rush and travel all the time. But today, we live in Istanbul with almost the opposite. For example, new residences now have panic buttons because of security. There is security at the gate, and that button is linked to the security. Just in case something happens to you. The person you establish solidarity with the most is the security at the door (**Female, 31, Research Assistant**).

When I came to Istanbul in 85 and started living in Istanbul 35 years ago, it was different ... For example, I know those who say to the driver, "have a nice working day, captain," when getting on and off the bus. Not anymore. It's over in the big cities... In a smaller city, everyone still knows each other. You are familiar with that local settler. You cannot behave in the same way in Istanbul. You think that this person may hurt me. But someone you have known there for 20 years; you don't think about it there. There is a lot of variation in Istanbul. You cannot trust anyone. So, these gestures died out here. But it was not like this in the past. People were laughing. Everyone was kinder to one another. Now they look at each other with suspicion. So, everything about society is over. This is also reflected in the metrobus (**Female, 58, Housewife**).

Lefebvre, while criticizing the urban condition of "virtuality," at the same time, calls this state "presence-absence". Then he asks, would this state of presence-absence "not be the root of this drama, the point of emergence of nostalgia?" For him, the urban inevitably obsesses those "who live in need, in poverty, in the frustration of possibilities that remain only possibilities". These are the ones who are not yet integrated and tend to "survive among the fragments of a possible society

and the ruins of the past” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 144). As it was noted at the beginning of the chapter, imaginations of Istanbul too revealed nostalgia. Recalling old memories of Istanbul, interlocutors explained their perception of ideal city life and experience of togetherness through an understanding of “a loss”. In this regard, these ideas almost link to Lefebvre’s evaluation of the non-participant who tries to survive among the “ruins of the past” and “the fragments of a possible society”. The nostalgia was not strictly related to the class in their imaginations; however, they relied on the idealization of the past when they imagined the idea of a better Istanbul lived with others. In the above examples, the appeal of the past is realized through the nostalgia of the neighborhood. The first interlocutor is direct: *there was a neighborhood culture; we were neighborhood kids*. The 58-year-old housewife is rather indirect because she is underlining the importance of familiarity and acquaintance through the size of the city: *In a smaller city, everyone still knows each other ... It's over in the big cities ... You cannot behave in the same way in Istanbul*. For this reason, she compares Istanbul with the Istanbul of the 80s. According to her, a small-scaled city could enable a sense of contact between its inhabitants like *the neighborhood culture*. Because her emphasis, like the first interlocutor, is on the idea of establishing social ties. While the lack of these ties, the eroding possibility of their construction is emphasized by both interlocutors; the 31-year-old research assistant is stressing more of the metropolitan burdens which enclose inhabitants toward *negative emotions* and inevitable isolation. Hence, *the city should not force you to rush and travel all the time, so that, it should not fuel stress constantly*. In addition to her imply of *comfort* as a precondition to establish social ties, her example toward isolation is equally striking. The modern residential inhabitant’s closest tie established with the security: *The person you establish solidarity with the most is the security at the door*. Her perspective of the *neighborhood culture*, in this regard, is the counter-example for individualistic inhabiting practices.

For the 58-year-old housewife, the emphasis is directed toward insecurity. The ideal understanding of togetherness in the city is connected to somehow be acquainted,

to be able to know who your neighbor is. Still, her understanding of change from an idealized structure criticizes the loss of intimacy and sincerity: *People were laughing. Everyone was kinder to one another. People were more sincere.* She is inclined toward a more conservative understanding of togetherness since she has been very skeptical of anonymity throughout the interview. Still, due to the metropolitan dynamics of Istanbul, the problem does not only stem from insecurity, but also from the eroding everyday gestures as a form of everyday communication in public practices: *I know those who say to the driver, "have a nice working day, captain," when getting on and off the bus.* Her image of nostalgia, Istanbul in the 80s, revives the positive images against the symptoms of insecurity and indifference. Indirectly, we may also assume that, as the metropolitan dynamics growingly prevent everyday contacts, her understanding of familiarity shrinks to fuel her perception of insecurity. Compared with the first interlocutor, who indirectly criticized the spatial-temporal commodification, the 58-year-old housewife's criticism is less grounded in the content of nostalgic idealization. Although her indirect emphasis on growing indifference and problematization of the metropolitan structure have become determinants in Istanbul, the perspective of "everything used to be better" remains as abstract as it is subjectively ideational. The grounded part of her criticism could be grasped through her criticism of polarization reflected on the metrobus, as discussed. To that end, her perception of the city as a society is accordingly dissolved in Istanbul. This latter point has been emphasized by another interlocutor through a more concrete example of neighborhood nostalgia:

We grew up in the neighborhood. We were the children of the neighborhood. We had grocery uncles, aunts, the children of the neighbors... So the streets seemed safe, people were friendly, and people could establish close relations. There was such a thing as being a neighborhood resident. Maybe I was lucky; I don't know, but we felt like we belonged ... That Istanbul is another example for me. Istanbul, where I live today, has many beauties for me, but I can't get that feeling very

much. I don't know how else I can describe it... For example, the Istanbul of those times gives a sense of togetherness, but today's Istanbul feels more individualistic ... As you said, togetherness... City life actually seems to me as the togetherness of neighborhoods. Maybe you won't find the same intimacy with everyone in all the neighborhoods, but you will have a sense of belonging in your environment. You can say “hello, how are you?” I cannot establish the same relationship between the cashier in the mall and the grocer, uncle Mehmet. Believe me, neither that cashier nor I am happy with this situation. But one cashier goes, and another comes. Rapid circulation. Like the metrobus. That's actually the summary of it. Go, do your work, consume, and be done with it. Because of that turmoil, it cannot be any other way. Establishing a relationship, understanding one another, I don't know, we should be able to express ourselves even if we don't like each other. Still, there isn't any possibility left in Istanbul to do any of it (Male, 38, Copywriter).

Safety, intimacy, friendliness, and family are some of the definitions the interlocutor uses to describe belonging in the neighborhood. The nostalgia of his childhood memories is significantly sentimental but also shows the idealized essence of togetherness with some intriguing examples. *The grocer, Uncle Mehmet* versus *the cashier at the mall* is probably the most interesting one. As both represent the consumer spaces in the city, the example reveals the difference in interlocutor's perception of them. The mall as an organized center of consumption represents the neoliberal projection of the consumer space, whereas the grocery of the neighborhood continues to be regarded as a producer, a part of the neighborhood. From a different angle, Öz and Eder (2012) analyzed the neoliberalization of consumer spaces by reallocating traditional neighborhood bazaars. Like the security discourse legitimizing neoliberal urbanism through gated communities, the central and local government cleared bazaars extensively with the discourse on urban renewal to “promote the notion of a hygienic city.” In contrast, the ideologic motivation was built on market mentality since the “land has simply become too

precious a commodity to be left to the bazaaris”. Consequently, growing malls were accompanied by chain supermarkets with capital and lobby support to eradicate the bazaars to protect their capital interests. A similar case for local grocers and vendors had taken place in the past decade, for it became economically unsustainable to compete with growing market chains. However, as Öz and Eder stressed, compared to malls and supermarkets, “where one can sometimes shop without speaking to one single person, without any human contact, ‘bazaars signify a more humane lifestyle’” (Öz & Eder, 2012, p. 301, 310-311). Similar to the interlocutor's perception, neighborhood spaces generate a familiarity concerning consumer areas and practices. Most importantly, grocers, vendors, or bazaars, they develop a sense of contact as being part of the social structure when compared with the alienating effect of the mall. His following analysis validates the argument: *one cashier goes, and another comes. Rapid circulation. Like the metrobus ... Go, do your work, consume, and be done with it.* The systemic consumption is accordingly eroding the social essence that consumer expects from the consuming experience. The neoliberal nature of consumption alienates the consumer as much as the worker of the sector. The social tie between the shopkeeper in the neighborhood was revived by the interlocutor to criticize the dissolving essence in togetherness, but at the same time, the idealization of togetherness: *you will have a sense of belonging in your environment. You can say “hello, how are you?” I cannot establish the same relationship between the cashier in the mall and the grocer, Uncle Mehmet.* Likewise, his emphasis of belonging in neighborhood loads togetherness with sentimental relationships: *It felt as friendly as family, all those uncles and aunts in that neighborhood.* The overall point that can be derived from this sentimental nostalgia is the importance of the inhabitant's ability to relate, as much as its right to become the producer even if these have been sentimentally idealized. Through the evaluation of the city in socio-spatial togetherness, the interlocutor has summarized his perception as exemplified with the neighborhood: *the Istanbul of those times gives a sense of togetherness, but today's Istanbul feels more individualistic.* To take a different approach, the interlocutor, along with two others, emphasized the Gezi Resistance of Turkey: *As long as we live together, we will*

have conflicts. But if only we could see each other more. If there were spaces where we would have regular daily encounters, communication would also be easier... As we experienced in Gezi. You always have some ideas in your mind, but when we met and talked there, we said, ah, we were a bit biased. Diversity is beautiful, and the differences are also beautiful... but let's not be so consuming and disconnected. Through this argument, the interlocutor is reviving what seemed sentimental into more directly political. Hence, the social ties that could relate inhabitants does not necessarily imply intimate relations such as familial. His emphasis on the importance of ordinary encounters, *available spaces* where seemingly chance discoveries are possible could enhance *communication* to negotiate differences. For this reason, Gezi Resistance was important in showing our need for interaction against abstracted biases. Similar ideas were shared by two others through the example of Gezi:

We need to come together. More precisely, I only see that person from the outside; I do not know that person. Maybe if I knew him, I would say, "ah, we are actually the same". So perhaps you speak a little; differently, I speak a little differently, but maybe we are the same person inside. Maybe I'll realize we're not that different after all. I'm not sure if it's relevant, but Gezi was such an experience for me. Because what happened in Gezi was that. It was a place where many different groups of thought were in the same environment for the same purpose. I formed close ties with many people that I would perhaps find strange if I had seen them from the outside. I had the opportunity to get to know and understand them. So maybe you can understand what you are asking in such an environment, maybe when you meet on common ground **(Male, 27, Video Editor)**.

It looks like a little utopia, but when people start to understand each other, they see that the differences are not so negative after all. This is what came out very clearly in Gezi. People who would not normally interact with each other saw that they could sit and chat. That's when you can empathize. Things will not be perfect, but that's when togetherness is experienced.

When you talk about something, at least you know that the person next to you won't find you strange; they criticize the most. In Turkey, these are always a problem. Even when you are talking about something, you almost censor yourself because you are not comfortable. You feel alienated and stop interacting (**Female, 30, Architect**).

These examples underline the essence of the political in the socio-spatial context. As they are genuinely intertwined, both interlocutors' evaluation of this condition simultaneously reminds Lefebvre's call for change which, according to him, is inevitably spatial. Since as it was quoted in the theoretical chapter, changing society "mean nothing without the production of an appropriate space" (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 59-60). The appropriation could transform into a political reality when the ground for spontaneous experiences is spatially reinforced. Despite differences, *meeting on the common ground and experiencing togetherness* as the zoon politikon is spatially appropriated. As the 30-year-old architect stressed, *people who would not normally interact with each other saw that they could sit and chat. That's when you can empathize*. As Sennett discussed, the probability of such an experience in the socio-political essence requires the knitting of the city without homogenizing it, and chances as such in the city are inevitably realized spatially (Sennett, 2005, p. 2).

* * *

Derived from the essence of previous layers, i.e., everyday life and metrobus mobility, the chapter aimed to analyze the idea and perception of encounter and togetherness through the interlocutors' daily practices. As the spatial patterns of mobility in everyday Istanbul are lived and experienced, their repetitiveness and inevitableness in the regulated conduct of the interlocutors are also realized with others through metrobus-grounded diverse encounters. In the broadest sense, this is one of the most significant levels of social practice for urban citizens whose worlds are notably constituted by the city and its spatially appropriated practices. Accordingly, the chapter revealed that the enforced essence of everydayness through metrobus mobility could not overcome differentiated and insecure

perceptions of interlocutors toward the stranger but reproduced them. Although the metrobus is a diverse space for encounters, diversity in the metrobus conduct erodes the essence that could be derived from the socio-spatial togetherness. Following previous chapters, this condition generated a significant indifference toward others encountered in the metrobus. On the other hand, some interlocutors shared premises of relative proximity toward others. As the chapter discussed, although they remained limited compared with the first finding, the metrobus could generate public visibility and proximity for the different, unknown, and stranger in the frame of the metropolitan structure. In this light, as a public practice, to some extent, it revives self-reflection because, through the metrobus, the abstract concept of "the city of diversity" turns into a concrete reality, and for some, this has generated a constructive essence for the different ones.

CONCLUSION

The question of the city first caught my attention in Hannah Arendt's discussion of the public sphere. Arendt's criticism of modern society through the eroding distinction between the public and private triggered my curiosity for a practical inquiry into this modern condition. Hence, I decided to write a paper about the spatial possibility of the public sphere in the metropolis, particularly in Istanbul. As a person born and raised in Istanbul and who established a sense of belonging with this city, my concern about the rapid urban development was growing even further. Hence, although this study remained secondary and limited concerning the vast theoretical and practical literature on social space, I was genuinely amazed by the relationship between space, city, and socio-political experience that individuals constitute. I have always considered theoretical discussions not as mere abstractions but as experiences of historical beings whose ideas surpass their context. Thinking about ideas often create new perspectives for my understanding of political questions. Reading Arendt, too, had been an inspiration for my effort in presenting a limited but practical case for her theorization. So that the question of the city, particularly the question of space in the constitution of publicness, inclined me to study a case that could connect the theoretical with the practical in relation to the socio-spatial experience of urban dwellers. In particular, my questions centered around the metropolis, the landscape of global modernity in making sense of togetherness, where urban dwellers constitute experience with others through its extensive scale, density, and population.

In this light, the dissertation aimed to analyze the question of togetherness derived from spatial encounters in the everyday practices of Istanbul's inhabitants. In particular, it aimed to answer the effect of spatial encounters realized in everyday practices on the idea of togetherness. With the idea of togetherness, it concentrated on the perceptions of Istanbulites and presented an inquiry into the meaning of metropolitan social organization experienced from below. Through the essence derived from experience, individuals construct perceptions and reflect them into practices. For this reason, as it had a relatively broader perspective, the dissertation

analyzed the inhabitant's perceptions and practices constituted, reproduced, and adapted through the confines of the everyday in Istanbul's configured metropolitan spaces. The appropriate fieldwork for such an inquiry had been Istanbul's metrobus because it became a crucial encountering space that intersects through diverse areas in the city and generated a centrality with millions of passengers' mobility. Consequently, the dissertation presented a fieldwork analysis of the metrobus. After two weeks of field observation of various metrobus journeys, I proceeded with in-depth interviews with regular metrobus passengers. Between the 2019 spring to 2020 fall, including nine interviews during the COVID-19 quarantine, I conducted 29 semi-structured in-depth interviews in snowball sampling. For an inquiry into the question of togetherness realized through the ordinariness of Istanbulites' everyday practices as regular metrobus passengers, the dissertation presented five main chapters starting with a theoretical and a historical frame and then moving toward the field analysis.

Making sense of the socio-political essence of spatial mobility and the city brings forth the question of social space. Thus, the work's first chapter concentrated on the heritage from empirical to social theorization of space. Tracing the linkage reveals the ground of spatial thinking reflected in the social organization because, through the critique of empirical conceptions, social space's importance and inevitableness were reassured. Since until the late spatial turn, space was considered the physical, the fixed, and the immobile compared with time. These connotations opened a critical reflection in thinking about the social and political essence of space as a locus of our organizations rather than a mere material or mental category. Henri Lefebvre's fundamental contribution was followed by prominent scholars who diversely emphasized the systemic, constitutive, and dialectical essence of spatial production and practice in the urban context, i.e., in praxis. Through Arendt and Foucault, the theoretical chapter finalized the discussion with a particular axis of power and publicness to emphasize the idea of space and the political. These theoretical dimensions became practical determinants for urban dwellers as they continue to experience with the city. Since, according to Lefebvre, the discovery of

urban space as a commodity has ensured the continuity of capitalism. Therefore, urbanization and industrialization could not have been considered separately. For this reason, Lefebvre moved from things in space to the actual production of space. Therefore, space is a social product. Lived space, conceived space, and perceived space are the three inseparable founding moments of the Lefebvrian production of space. Production does not refer to material production only, it implies producing the city, knowledge, and meaning; therefore, everything that makes society. However, the space of modernity embraced its distinctive features of homogeneity, fragmentation, and hierarchy. Modern urban space is divided into parcels of valorization. This produces ghettos, isolated neighborhood groups, and pseudo-communities that are not adequately united with various centers and peripheries in the city. There is a strict hierarchization among spaces of residents, commerce, leisure, and the ones considered deviant. The dweller becomes a consumer rather than a producer in this configuration. Thus, the lived in spatial moment is significantly enframed with the dominance of the conceived, i.e., representations of space. This, as Lefebvre also emphasized, makes spatial questions an inevitable dimension of social and political change. Thus, spatial questions must consider conceptualized representations, i.e., spaces of power, ideology, and capital, as inhabitants continue to mold their own spatial experiences.

Based on the theoretical ground, the second chapter presented the historical background of urbanization. The city, since ancient times, had been a reality. It thrived and lived throughout human civilizations and within the context of socio-political practices. Hence, the city is a historical reality; however, the novelty came with the process of urbanization, which emerged with industrialization. Theoretical critique of spatial commodification, power, and ideology could be traced through the historical journey from the modern city to the global metropolis. Hence, although Le Corbusier dreamt of limitless liberties in his famous design of the modern city, i.e., the Radiant City, concept cities tend to functionalize rather than liberate their inhabitants. As the modern city appropriates space for power, wealth, and knowledge, representations of space become profoundly intertwined with

physical plans and models. For Lefebvre, the modern city as a conceptual representation reflects the image of the capital because industrialization reorganized the networks of old cities and configured them appropriately to its needs. With global modernity, the world's landscape began to be metropolised following the needs of transnational capital. The reappropriation of the modern city toward the metropolis equivalently transformed the problematic determinants in the contemporary age. Metropolitan landscape concentrates inhabitants and their activities on the temporal and spatial exchange value. They produce concrete challenges in the quotidian and shift the essence of experience towards necessities. The intensification of external and internal stimuli in these world cities further generated a situation where individuals need to buffer themselves from a constantly changing environment. It is because social practices are often linked to symbolic urban forms. These, in return, shape daily experiences because the dense material realities of the city take their shape in memory and perception. The indifferent prototype of the metropolitan individual becomes atomistic. Genuine characteristics of lived experience detach from social content and practice.

In this light, the chapter displayed early examples and discussions of the urbanization paradigm and presented Istanbul as an important example. Starting from the modernization era of the 19th-century Ottoman period, Istanbul's planning paradigm reached a new level after the 1980s. Whereas the city was introduced to some regulatory policies in the late nineteenth century, their impact had been minimal. With the republican period, Ankara, as the capital and a representation of the republican establishment, outshined Istanbul in the following decades. However, starting in the 1980s, massive and large scaled transformation projects with the initiation of consumer areas followed the pattern of neoliberal governmentality in Istanbul. The process that gave Istanbul a modern outlook leaped to a new level as the AKP period in central and municipal governance generated a new pace in the enlargement of metropolitan aims. The structural needs of Istanbul as a metropolis gave way to its famous bus rapid transit—the metrobus as a central spatial practice in mobility. Thus, the metrobus came as a cost-efficient

solution for the growing demands of mobility in line with Istanbul's expanding metropolitan configuration.

Nostalgia, Commodification and Abstraction in Everyday Life

After the theoretical and historical framework, from chapter three onward, the dissertation presented the fieldwork analysis. From the broadest perspective, regular metrobus passengers' practices of Istanbul as a socio-spatial organization were inquired on three layers. The first layer presented the everyday life practices of the interlocutors because, as urban dwellers, our spatial and temporal relationships are first realized in the confines of everyday life. The chapter entitled *Everyday Life in Istanbul* analyzed the symptomatic outcomes of these practices from the perceptions and practices of interlocutors, and indirectly it presented the entangled relationship between living in Istanbul and being obliged to the metrobus. Since interlocutors' everyday practices are distinguished from their nostalgic representations of Istanbul, the more they talked about their routinized mobilities in Istanbul, the more they reflected the premises of commodification and abstraction. To recapitulate, their idealized apprehension of Istanbul reflected differences from their experiences, hence, they revealed nostalgia belonging to the relatively abstract image of the "old Istanbul". Their actual practices are significantly enclosed by Istanbul's spatial and temporal exchange value which is realized between working and inhabiting areas on a vast scale. The inevitableness of regulated mobility in the quotidian transformed space and time into obliged forms that must be calculated and consumed through Istanbul-appropriated use of them. To negotiate Istanbul's spatial and temporal challenges, the daily practices of interlocutors showed growing symptoms of rationalization in a cyclical routine of mechanized movement. Namely, they live the city as calculative beings, and concerning everyday life practices, their class differences are homogenizing. Living with the clock in utmost regulation and through kilometers-long distances of mobility are becoming parallel realities for both blue and white collars. As a more concerning outcome, this frame of everydayness generated abstraction, leading to alienation. Interviews showed how the rationalized and homogenized content of everyday is abstracting

potentially direct reactions in Istanbul. The commodification was reflected in the inhabitants' growing loss of awareness of their subjectivities as urban dwellers. Their reflection of everyday concentrated on the regulated mobility in growing automatization. Hence, spatial and temporal consumption in organized everyday practices abstracted the essence of experience. As a result, inhabitants showed premises of everyday alienation that mostly remained blasé to their critical and contemplative considerations. The decline of the lived in the confines of everyday through systemic totalization caused an all-pervasive alienation toward themselves, others, and things in Istanbul.

Speed-Distance Efficient Mobility: Lives in Transit

The everyday in Istanbul as the spatial-temporal ground of regulated mobility in crowds, distances, and density generated an actual necessity for a means of efficient transport in speed-distance maximization. The metrobus has been and still is a precedent solution for this need. Consequently, the fourth chapter of the dissertation, *The Metrobus*, on the one hand, emphasized determinants in making the metrobus a necessity in transport efficiency and, on the other, analyzed the socio-spatial essence of this experience in regularity. The interlocutors, as regular metrobus passengers, without exception, explained their reliance on the transit efficiency that it provides. Their dependency grows due to rush hour pressure, and most use it for commuting. Still, mobility during the rush hour in Istanbul inclines most inhabitants to metrobus efficiency. Similarly, most users interviewed in this study used the metrobus while commuting. The remaining users, such as students, were also concerned about rush hour mobility in the city; hence they were, too, among the regulars. Major findings of the metrobus analysis indicated a leveling conduct peculiar to becoming the “metrobus profile” and, intriguingly, how regulars' adaptation generated metrobus-appropriated “tactics of strategies”. The metrobus, as a conceptual bus rapid transit, does not provide users much of spontaneous and chance discoveries. Hence, as they became regulars, they constructed some intriguing subjective conducts to ease its fixated essence of mobility. As many emphasized, the metrobus in vast number of users transforms

into a challenge that they need to buffer themselves. Its intense demography, circulation, and even the appropriated atmosphere has been determinants in regulars' adaptation to "tactics of strategies". Most importantly, the interlocutors presented a counter example to reveal the difference between the lived and the conceived in mobility. Istanbul's ferries have been an important representation for the interlocutors of what could be lived while being on the move.

Living and moving in Istanbul with the metrobus, on the one hand, revealed the essence of metropolitan mobility and, on the other, the confines of socio-spatial experience that a growing number of inhabitants derive daily. In other words, living in Istanbul on a regular sphere of organized activities, i.e., commuting, through its exemplary mode of mobility, enclosed inhabitants in a growing homogeneity. Their subjectivities are significantly eroded under transit modes of calculations, consumption, and practices to sustain lives, i.e., completion of commuting routes in blasé existences. Istanbul's spatial and temporal structure were crucial determinants in these findings, and the metrobus has been a conceptual example of this condition in mobility. For this reason, as one interlocutor stated, the metrobus has been an instrumental means of "transitiness", which, for most interlocutors, does not constitute an experience. The use, consume and leave mentality is appropriated with the essence of the bus rapid transit. Thus, like the closing argument of abstraction in the Everyday Life chapter, The Metrobus chapter closed the discussion on the idea of becoming transit in Istanbul-grounded mobility. The metrobus, became a representation of rationalized movement of the metropolis and produced social experience with others in the mode of indifference for most interlocutors.

Differentiation, Insecurity, and Indifference: Fragmentation of the Social

Considering interlocutors' perceptions about everyday life in Istanbul and being together with others in this organized experience, the fifth and last chapter concluded the field analysis with the title of Encounters and Togetherness. Through an evaluation of the daily and momentary encounters on the metrobus, the

dissertation asked whether a change occurred in the subjectivities of the interlocutors regarding the unknown and the different they live together. Hence, the final chapter presented a particular discussion of the idea of togetherness through an overall analysis of everyday practices realized with the regular metrobus conduct. Through this concluding analysis, the dissertation presented a twofold discussion for the essence of togetherness that Istanbulites experience. Predominantly, the interlocutors displayed a dissolving essence in togetherness. Their perspectives for others in the mechanized conduct revealed three symptomatic outcomes: differentiation, insecurity, and indifference. Accordingly, diversities observed in the metrobus were visible to all; however, these encounters predominantly remained transit in conformity with the metrobus conduct, hence failing to overcome apathetic, distanced, and differentiated representations. Differentiation and insecurity were not directly constituted but rather reproduced through the metrobus molded everydayness. In other words, through the plural and diverse encounters of the metrobus, interlocutors did not overcome their differentiated perceptions, but continued to reproduce it and further generated insecurity toward the stranger. The first two are mainly reproduced because encountering experiences in Istanbul have been steadily minimized. Growth of uneven transformation projects and class differences undermining spontaneous contacts in the mundane.

On the other hand, for an extensive analysis of pluralities, my interviews aimed to reflect differences in culture, class, and metrobus use. For the latter, I targeted various regularized routes from Sogutlucemes to Beylikduzu and managed to reach a solid level of diversity. Although interlocutors represented a limited but genuine variation in cultural and class diversity, their ideas on everydayness, bus rapid transit, and togetherness did not precisely reflect the ethnocultural tensions visible in Turkey's existing socio-political agenda. I presented a few exceptional arguments regarding the polarized political atmosphere in the Social Differentiation chapter (5.2.1). Still, I did not encounter widespread segregated and differentiated ideas among interlocutors while sharing their everyday and mobility experiences. The

conclusion I drew once again had to do with the essence of the bus rapid transit prevailing in the practice of everydayness in Istanbul. The leveling effect of Istanbul appropriated spatial and temporal mobility significantly stayed in their ideas and experiences of the ordinary. Hence, the "use, consume and leave" mentality triumphed despite apparent and growing distances and tensions among diverse groups. To recapitulate, what they had in terms of class and cultural antagonisms were best reflected as silent mediators, and even they have been minimal among 29 interviews. Similarly, the most apparent cultural marker throughout the interviews was revealed in lifestyles, as discussed, notably through Kadikoy inhabitants. These were not antagonistic but rather apathetic and thus they persisted as distanced perceptions. In other words, Turkey's political atmosphere of growing polarization is being reinforced only through the distanced practices in the everyday. The metrobus-based everydayness is eroding cultural differences as much as political ones that could be realized through action in everyday encounters.

Consequently, homogenously regulated, and aggregated practices for commuting, leisure time and inhabitation limited chance discoveries for the interlocutors. Although the metrobus generates diversity in momentary encounters, its socio-spatial essence significantly encloses passengers. It is possible to claim that the size, density, and spatial configuration overall became significant determinants for communal perceptions and practices. So, the idea of togetherness transforms into an abstract form of obliged contact to which interlocutors could hardly relate. In this light, the third finding of indifference is reinforced by the metrobus conduct, unlike the first two. The discussions concerning the abstraction of everyday life and becoming transit as a metrobus regular are holistically reflected in the constitution of growing indifference. Living in Istanbul and being obliged to the metrobus produced a significant level of apathetic and distanced modes among the interlocutors. Lacking an alternative in transport and their interdependency on the spatial-temporal efficiency of the metrobus enframed them in pervasive practices of indifference. It is pervasive because they reflected transit practices in overall daily mobility while encountering others and things in Istanbul. Hence, although

the metrobus provided a public ground for diverse encounters, it predominantly generated an eroding effect in togetherness for the interlocutors.

Encountering Diversity: Visibility and Proximity as a Public Practice

Although the fieldwork presented prevailing negativities in three layers of analysis, some interlocutors shared constructive stories regarding encounters and togetherness. The analysis of these limited but certainly intriguing ideas was titled possibilities in togetherness. Consequently, for most interlocutors, stepping into the public sphere in Istanbul's framework implied obligations. They must work and sustain lives, and because of that, in a metropolis like Istanbul, they emphasized how they don't have much choice but to bear distances, crowds, and temporal fixations. The more they are enframèd in this regulated cycle of mechanized movement, the less they construct the lived experience. Hence, the dominance of the conceived, i.e., the representations of space, triumphs. Nevertheless, for some others, such obligations in transit mobility transcended a state of mere visibility, i.e., to see the differences that live in this city, and revived a consciousness as public experiences. These were examples of constituting and living the everyday against the problems of the mundane and the mobility in Istanbul. On the one hand, these stories revealed the construction of social values toward the unknown despite the prevailing symptoms of indifference, differentiation, and insecurity. In other words, despite the negativities such as the anonymity, obscurity, and transiency experienced with the metrobus, differences have created proximity for some interlocutors by developing an understanding of public life lived with differences. On the other, field research showed that as a counter-effect, the negativities experienced in the metrobus increased the sense of belonging to the neighborhood by Kadikoy residents. Hence, the perception of belonging was emphasized through the homogenous neighborhood as the interlocutors from Kadikoy regularly experienced the metrobus. Through their negated stories about the metrobus and everyday life in Istanbul, these interlocutors emphasized that in Kadikoy, contact, and interaction seemed possible both as an idea and a practice. In these stories, Kadikoy was described as intimate and familiar as a place where they can belong.

The cultural homogeneity of inhabitants makes Kadikoy a notable hub; nevertheless, interlocutors' emphasis on belonging reveals concrete everyday contact with the unknown other in the neighborhood. The latter condition was expressed through the metrobus as a counter-example by prioritizing the importance of these mundane contacts compared to the blasé transit experience of the metrobus. Hence, the metrobus not only revealed typologies of isolation for Kadikoy inhabitants but also revived the practice of counter-experience by validating these contacts. These ideas somehow revealed that in Kadikoy, the conceived is contested through the lived, and inhabitants continue to construct and produce in the making of the neighborhood. Interestingly they somehow further realize their adapted practices of belonging through the abstracted experience they derive from the metrobus. Finally, the interlocutors described their perception of the ideal city and togetherness by appealing that some things are lost today. Once again, revealing nostalgia, they relied on the idealization of the past when imagining a better Istanbul to live with others. Familiarity, friendship, and intimacy were among the concepts that interlocutors used to emphasize the importance of belonging. They recalled old neighborhoods, some from childhood memories and others from a relatively abstract image. Nevertheless, the nostalgia through such memories illustrated the importance of belonging in deriving the idea of togetherness in socio-political organizations like the neighborhood and the city. Living in homogenous spheres of differentiation, such as the hubs, damages the threads that could relate strangers to one another in the mundane while preserving differences. Istanbul's metropolitan framework revealed how crucially and inevitably these are spatial problems and must be considered equally important with major structural concerns.

Everyday practices are intertwined with our spatial engagements. Mobility is a fundamental dimension of this interaction because it defines an adjusted spatial and temporal context. Hence, as the city leaves itself to market principles and increasingly metropolises, physical spatial configurations also adopt a similar mentality. Inhabiting, moving, consuming, and working practices construct

themselves with spatial and temporal conceptions. The inhabitants may contest them; however, at the same time, they find themselves surrounded and determined by them. Consequently, the dissertation centered on Istanbulites' practices, ideas of others, and the experience they constitute while spending an average of 2 hours with the automated and consuming spatial experience of the metrobus, almost as a necessity. Rather than proposing a macro determinant, this work aimed to question and understand the impact of spatial practices experienced below, which are significantly regulated and increasingly lose consideration for everyday inhabitants of Istanbul. Through this inquiry, the dissertation attempted to present an analysis for the reflection of these practices on the idea of living together and being together through the subjective worlds of Istanbulites who experience it daily.

Istanbul indeed has some distinctive characteristics from other metropolitan examples in terms of public transportation practices. Some of them include the neighborhood-based demographics of the sea and ferry routes, the capabilities to access them, and the genuine structure and practice that minibuses (*dolmuş*) offer. Likewise, as discussed through the example of "offering seats to the elderly" under the Differentiation chapter (5.2.2), there are cultural differences as well. For example, Istanbulites are generally accustomed to ask for a spare IstanbulKart when a passenger forgets his/her or doesn't have enough balance and offers to pay in cash instead. However, this work's scope, time, and findings derived from the field research were unsuitable for elaborating on these characteristics. For this reason, they were limited to be discussed in future research. Hence, the dissertation attempted to contribute to the existing literature with the analysis of this frame in Istanbul-based ordinary through transit mobility constituting a socio-spatial experience. The social aspect of this context raises important questions regarding the production, representation, and experience of modern mobility as well. In particular, the story for Istanbul and its everyday inhabitants may generate further investigations on diverse matters such as justice, citizenship, participation, and equality while considering the impact of the mundane, of the regulated movement in an enclosed sphere of inhabitants' everyday activities.

To conclude, the dissertation presented three layers of discussion regarding everyday mobilities and encounters in Istanbul. Due to the scope of the work, the analysis concentrated on the bus rapid transit as an encountering space for the idea and practice of togetherness. What this thesis presented can be further investigated through particular spaces of mundane and everyday mobilities. Since, as the ferry example in the dissertation displayed, neighborhood, class, and mobility are significantly connected. Istanbul's diverse mobile spaces of transportation and class differences in preferences could be further disclosed. As a linked outcome, the dissertation's finding of growing homogeneity between classes in the context of everyday practices requires a more comprehensive class analysis among Istanbul's diverse neighborhoods. Similarly, as the Kadikoy example showed, belonging to the neighborhood can be approached with a comparative study of Istanbul's central and peripheral neighborhoods. The question of class homogeneity, i.e., interlocutors' perception of "familiarity" with the idea of belonging, generates further attention. The question to be answered by researchers in the future is whether eroding chances of diverse encounters in Istanbul triumphs similarity for the perception of socio-political togetherness.

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ETHICS BOARD APPROVAL

Ethics Board Approval is available in the printed version of this dissertation.