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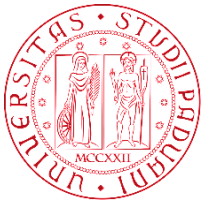

THE RIGHT TO THE CITY AND HOUSING RIGHT: A CASE STUDY IN PADOVA

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to dear my mother…

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ABSTRACT

The impact of modernism and liberal politics on housing policy and practice in Padova is complex and multifaceted. On one hand, modernist approaches have contributed to the development of public housing in Padova, including the construction of large-scale social housing projects. However, these projects have often been criticized for their lack of community involvement and consultation, as well as their isolation from the rest of the city. Similarly, liberal policies have influenced the development of housing markets in Padova, leading to the privatization of housing and the displacement of low-income residents. These policies have also limited the ability of the government to regulate housing markets and ensure access to affordable housing for all. The impact of modernism and liberal politics on housing in Padova raises important human rights issues. The right to adequate housing, recognized in international human rights law, includes not only the right to shelter but also the right to live in dignity, safety, and security. The implementation of modernist and liberal policies in housing has often led to the violation of these rights, particularly for marginalized groups who are excluded from housing markets and are at risk of displacement. In conclusion, the impact of modernism and liberal politics on housing policy and practice in Padova highlights the importance of a human rights-based approach to housing. This approach should prioritize the right to adequate housing for all residents, including marginalized groups, and involve community participation and consultation in the planning and implementation of housing policies and practices.

Keywords: modernism, liberal politics, housing crisis, Padova, human rights

LIST OF ACRONYMS

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

WHO- World Health Organization

NHRI- National Human Rights Institution

SDGs- Sustainable Development Goals

UN- United Nations

ICESCR- The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

OHCHR - Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

UDHR- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN-HABITAT- United Nations Human Settlements Program

UK- United Kingdom

PAH- Mortgage Affected Platform

INTRODUCTION

The process of change, which accelerated with the Industrial Revolution, caused the view of cities to be economy-centered. Also, the forms of citizens' participation in city life differ, and changes affect both those who govern and those who are governed. This change will create a legitimate basis for the groups governing the city to transform the public areas in line with their interests. With the rise of industrialization and modernism, certain areas became entrenched, and resistant to change.

Modernism's influence has permeated various aspects of human activity and lifestyle, primarily steering social accumulation towards economic ends. Social accumulation has turned into an economic-oriented trend and living spaces have also been affected. On the one hand, Anthony Giddens (2012) attributes this situation to the speed of change brought about by the modern age and says that all other fields, except technology, are exposed to the same change. This difference in the understanding of management has also increased the areas in which economic life affects our daily practices.

Consequently, economic imperatives have encroached upon daily practices, leading to a prioritization of individual consumption over collective decision-making and action. In parallel, governance models have adopted top-down approaches, diminishing social cohesion and community engagement. Moreover, liberal policies have further bolstered the economic perspective on cities, reshaping lifestyles and urban patterns accordingly. The new world order, which has become articulated among economically dependent nation-states, has led to the exploitation of communities and geographies.

While using the managerial decision-making mechanism, totalitarian forms of government prepare a legitimate ground for themselves, moving from modern concepts. Despotic governments, on the other hand, take new covers for themselves by simply changing their names. Democracy and the pluralist movement brought Hitler to power and gave him power, and the "majority's decision for everyone" mentality, which is brought to a legitimate basis today, is no different. While implementing the genocide, Hitler aimed at building and expanding the German nation-state and exploited the legitimate ground created by modernism to imagine and create a uniform way of life by declaring the groups he saw as foreign (other groups, such as Jews and Gypsies, who were against the nationalization of the economy) as enemies. Although it is said that despotism is a situation that occurs mainly in pre-modern states, and it

is imposed that modern tools and systems will bring peace and tranquility to human life, the thought of fascism and Stalinism also affected modern institutions and established totalitarianism in the twentieth century.

The change in modern institutions has led to the change of urban life to act on rigid and unchanging grounds. In addition to class problems, the struggle to live in the cities has changed the focus of the struggle for life within the consumption/production relationship brought by modern life. With liberal policies, the economic-based perspective on cities has been strengthened, and lifestyles and living patterns have changed accordingly. Promoting the conditions that enhance and don't disrupt the economic order, such as building roads, infrastructure services, and access to consumption places, has become the primary motivation of states. Infrastructure development, often driven by economic motivations, has eclipsed communal interests, resulting in dwindling public spaces and the commodification of social interactions.

Housing is a basic human need, and the right to adequate housing is recognized as a fundamental human right in international human rights law. However, in many cities worldwide, housing has become a significant source of social and economic inequality, with vulnerable populations often excluded from housing markets and forced to live in overcrowded and substandard conditions. The city of Padova, Italy, is no exception, and the housing crisis in the city is a significant human rights issue shaped by the influence of modernism and liberal politics on housing policy and practice.

Modernism, a movement in architecture and urban design that emerged in the early 20th century has significantly impacted housing policy and practice in Padova. The movement emphasized functionalism and efficiency in design to improve living conditions for the working class. Modernist architects and planners believed that large-scale social housing projects could provide affordable housing for the masses and improve social conditions. As a result, many modernist housing projects were built in Padova, such as the Valsugana and Pontevigodarzere neighborhoods.

However, these projects were often designed without community consultation or involvement, resulting in a lack of amenities and services in the surrounding areas and social isolation for residents. The focus on functionalism and efficiency also often prioritized economic growth over other values, such as social equity and community participation, resulting in housing

projects that failed to address the residents' social and cultural needs. As a result, many residents in modernist housing projects in Padova live in overcrowded and substandard conditions, arguably in violation of their right to adequate housing.

Moreover, liberal politics have significantly impacted housing policy and practice in Padova. Liberal policies such as deregulation, privatization, and market-based approaches to housing have prioritized profit and individual choice over the right to adequate housing. The market-based approach has led to housing becoming a commodity rather than a basic human need. As a result, marginalized groups are often excluded from housing markets, leading to social exclusion and further exacerbating existing inequalities.

The impact of modernism and liberal politics on housing in Padova is a significant human rights issue. International human rights law recognizes the right to adequate housing as a fundamental human right. The lack of affordable and adequate housing in Padova has led to overcrowding, substandard living conditions, and social exclusion for vulnerable populations, violating their right to adequate housing. The situation is particularly concerning given the increasing number of migrants and refugees in the city who are often marginalized and excluded from housing markets.

A human rights-based approach to housing policy and practice in Padova would prioritize the right to adequate housing for all residents, including marginalized groups, and involve community participation and consultation in the planning and implementation of housing policies and practices. This approach would also consider residents' social and cultural needs and work towards creating inclusive communities that provide adequate housing, essential services, and amenities for all. It would also prioritize sustainable housing practices that are environmentally responsible and affordable for all residents.

In conclusion, the housing crisis in Padova is a significant human rights issue shaped by modernism's influence and liberal politics on housing policy and practice. A human rights-based approach to housing policy and practice in Padova would prioritize the right to adequate housing for all residents, involve community participation, and work towards creating inclusive and sustainable communities.

In the background of this research, focusing on this change, criticism of the right to public space will be made within the framework of the right to the city in the areas where spaces are limited today. By emphasizing the historical change in Arcella/ Padova, the change of public spaces

will be criticized in this context. This criticism is expected to emphasize the importance of sociality in individualized post-modern societies. The problem of the “right to the city” is not only a significant modern economic problem but also a power problem that has existed for centuries. Struggles for the right to the city started within the framework of new social movements. While economic policies strengthened his perspective on the use value of the city, Lefebvre's Right to the City claimed that this relationship deepened with neoliberal policies. The ownership of the place, its identity, and its belonging explain the uniqueness of that city and the relationship of the citizens living in the city. This uniqueness, destroyed by the capitalist mode of production, can be regained according to Lefebvre by regaining the right to the city. "It is impossible even to think of reviving the old city; one can only imagine the construction of a new city, on new foundations, on another scale, in other conditions, in another society. Neither a return (to the traditional city) nor a flight forward to the gigantic and shapeless enclave; this is the recipe" (Lefebvre, 2015, p. 120). Lefebvre's works on the right to the city and his criticisms of urban structures and space leading to the right to the city are at the heart of this thesis.

The knowledge of the historical process of the events around in human life, how this process developed, and what difficulties have emerged in the present, contributes to social enlightenment in many ways. Transferring the flow of history by establishing connections will enable historical awareness to be formed and societies to make accurate urban criticisms. The tools of modern life and the central idea of economic policies will be evaluated, and their effects on each other will be criticized by evaluating urban life and city life.

Since the behavior of a conscious person will develop to the same extent, his daily behavior changes by taking the risk of being responsible for what he does and cannot do. This major shift will alter the challenges of modern life, as modern everyday practices are already the result of accumulation.

This study aims to expand the perspective of the right to the city while examining the formation of the modern city structure. By emphasizing the importance of the right to the city, it aims to shed light on the commodified practices of the communal areas and congestion in the cities. Information about the model, universe, and sample of the study conducted on Arcella, its construction, and data collection tools are given.

In this research, the global effects of modern life practices, liberal and neoliberal policies, and the effects of these effects on the Arcella neighborhoods were investigated. This relationship has been tried to be established by researching the urban changes, usage practices, the existence of public spaces, and the effects of Italian politics and economic policies on this region since the Arcella region became a migrant and industrialized city. It is formed by the global effects of modern life practices, liberal and neoliberal policies, and the effects of these in the Arcella area. This effect covers the areas where historical change, view of city plans, and neoliberal policies have become concrete. Previous research and articles on this area were examined, and the interpretations of changes in modern life practices and economic policies in this region were considered.

In the collection of research data, research on modernism, postmodernism, liberalism, neoliberalism, and all these issues on the problem of the city and the right to the city and the data obtained from this research were taken into consideration. Considering the views of the researchers on the right to the city, their criticism of modern life has been focused on. These criticisms were considered in the context of Arcella, and Arcella's historical structure and changes over the years were examined within the framework of modern thought and political economy. In addition to the opinions of authors, the existence of the public spaces of the Arcella region, the forms in which they have been used over the years, and the variables in the historical analysis and city plans about how they have changed within these variables have been taken into consideration. In the context of the historical process, the evaluations of the existence of public spaces of modern institutions were examined. Field research has been conducted in the Arcella region, and impressions have been tried to be obtained through space and its ownership. The main argument of the study is to determine the origin of urban problems. In this context, economic policies were considered. The relationship of the urban space with the capital has changed the whole, which is the mainstay of the right to the city and enables the city to be seen as a work. Lefebvre's view of the right to the city focuses on the economic policies that affect the dynamics of the city. His criticisms of the city were considered in this context. Based on Lefebvre's naming of the right to the city by considering the city as a work of art, this study contributes to the correct positioning of the analysis made by both Lefebvre and later critical urban theorists. Considering the basic assumptions of the critical theory, these findings were examined based on modernism and postmodernism. While analyzing the capitalist mode of production in terms of revealing the capital-space relationship and the relation of urban life with neoliberal practices, conceptualizations of the concept of the right to the city were also

evaluated in the context of critical literature. While observing the change of power structures with economic policies, Harvey and Bauman's criticisms of modernism and the city were taken as the basis.

In a rapidly changing world, cities and urban life have changed to a great extent. The effect of modernism is huge in the constant change of urban life and its significant difference from the past. The new forms of technology that entered our lives with the Industrial Revolution have affected the production mechanisms and exposed the understanding of management to change. New forms of understanding integrated into our lives with modernism and economic policies have deprived people of all their naturalness in urban life and included them in the commodity relation. With the impact of economic policies on daily life, the idea of sociality has decreased to a considerable extent prioritizing individualism among the other human practices.

The struggle to live in cities in the modern world's individualized human model has become difficult. Considering the relationship between the forms of power and society, this independent relationship will bring many deadlocks in urban life and will reveal cities whose foundations are not human. Knowledge of the right to the city and how cities should relate to people is of immense importance at this point.

In the relevant literature review, the concept of modernism and economic policies will be examined in the context of the right to the city. The study is thought to contribute to the literature in this respect. In addition, this examination will raise awareness about the importance of understanding public space in the context of the right to the city in Arcella, Padova.

The methodological starting point of the study is Bauman's critique of modernism and Lefebvre and Harvey's theories on the city. In the context of critical theory, this framework has been focused on urban space and formed a basis. Critical theory, based on immanent criticism, is based on the criticism and overcoming of facts in the context of its concepts and principles (Horkheimer, 2005: 183). In addition to the literature review, factors that change urban practices were considered. In other words, case studies corresponding to the practical dimension of the study were included. Based on the criticism of modern theory based on Bauman, the literature study was combined with the criticism of Harvey's and Lefebvre's liberal and neoliberal policies in the context of the city, and the literature study progressed in this context. Unlike the literature study, the claim to be made shows that modernism, postmodernism, and economic policies, which are managed separately, try to achieve the same effect with different motivations. In the

example of Arcella- Padova, the effects of pre-modernism and current economic policies are shown. Moreover, this immanent relationship gives rise to problems of the right to the city.

CHAPTER 1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MODERNISM AND THE CITY

1.1. Modernism and Cities

Although it would be wrong to determine a specific period and formation process about the beginning and end of modernism, it will be beneficial to determine the boundaries of modernism. The most fundamental question here is the beginning of modernity and how it was established. Modernity comes from the Latin word modern and is used to emphasize the shift status from the pagan belief to the Christian era. For this reason, it did not exist independently of the historical context of modernity but rather coexisted with its parallel use. "The word modern (modern) means 'now' or 'present tense' as the antithesis of the old. Therefore, from the first time it was used, it referred to a 'modern' period and expressed a periodization." (Sarıbay, 2004, p.30). Based on Sarıbay's definition, the old-new distinction and the negation of the old are seen in all ideologies inherent in modernism.

Discussions about the processes in which modernity is shaped from a historical perspective have an overly broad perspective. According to Berman;

> Between the 16th and 18th centuries, social forms of modernity developed, forcing individuals to experience a new life model that was cut off from their traditional ties; The French Revolution contributed to this pattern politically and economically, enabling individuals to acquire new and binding identities. Finally, the spread of capitalism and the market economy with modernization constituted the final stage of the modern experience (Berman, 2001, p.29).

While these binding effects were reinforced with the cultural revolution, daily practices were created in a way that would not disrupt the economic order. " "Baumann, while explaining the Modernization process, understands the reason for the use of these modern tools as a cultural project that is the product of the Enlightenment Project, and a socially established lifestyle as a result of capitalism." (Çiğdem, 2004, p.68, translated from Turkish).

Modernist ideas represent a form of governance that not only encapsulates contradictions but also seeks to eradicate social disparities by standardizing them. The structurization of the management tools and the modern order established through these tools have revealed lifestyles that have affected and restricted our social life since the 16th and 17th centuries.

When people concentrate on their individual lives, they lose their broad perspective. Democratic equality turns the individual into himself, says Tocqueville, "and threatens ultimately to shut him up completely to the solitude of his own heart." In other words, the dark side of individualism should focus on the self; this makes our lives unpleasant and narrow, reduces their meaning, and makes us more indifferent to others or society (Taylor, 2017, p.12).

This analogy made by Charles Taylor in his book The Troubles of Modernity clearly shows us the deadlocks of modernism. The construction of modernism created stalemates in the new nation-state and took steps to reduce social sensitivity to any possibility that would hinder the economic system. The nationalization policies of the nation-giants, along with the logic of unity, took steps to ensure that the societies within the borders had the same mentality and practices. While this motivation paved the way for the World Wars, it led to nationalist policies becoming effective in the Western world. While the functioning Western countries, which did not take steps towards nationalization, tended to maintain order within their borders and ensure the logic of uniformization while maintaining this order, the societies that made up most ethnic groups also faced significant pressures against minority groups. The majority groups, which tried to be active in the economic field, followed policies aimed at reducing the nationalization policies to the economic level.

With the advancement of technology, problematic devices of states have made people's behaviors more easily controllable, leading to the centralization of force. During the dominant years of modernism, when instrumental reason took over our lives, it was enough for states to direct the consumption habits of dependent classes towards the cultural sphere rather than ruling through fear. States' citing economic growth against the unequal distribution of wealth and income, along with calls for unity against disasters, indicate the crucial role of modernism's nationalization in power-building practices.

One of the most essential tools of modernism is to create a system that restricts the mobility of the communities that it affects with expert methods. Expert systems establish a symbolic belief system and create a relationship of trust between the system and the human and act in this context. It takes social relations out of their context and leaves the work to be done by the experts. In addition, modernism necessitated the inclusion of belief in the system to find a convincing cover for itself. The strictness and legitimacy of science, beyond the meaning of eternal belief in science, have been influential in the new management tools that science put forward - believing everything and changing our life practices within this framework. Believing

in any scientist has become a necessity of being modern. If we think about what we do daily, we need to know to what extent we are conscious of our actions and how much we do by believing in modern institutions. What areas do we specialize in? Or why are we compelled to live with our expertise confined to one or a few areas? This relationship system, created from another framework, while making the trust sharp, also strengthened the relation of the human being to modern knowledge by simultaneously explaining all the other random events. It is necessary to choose only one of the ways made for us, which contributes to modernism that renews/repeats itself systematically. Undoubtedly, the trust of a person walking on the road to this system (together with the ambiguities that modernism cannot define as a part of his distrust) has become a part of the eternal belief in knowledge, which is the product of this process. The sanctification of knowledge and making it an issue to be attained has become the stage of this faith adventure. Science has become a desired form; and has facilitated the inclusion of the social structure in the form of government.

The fact that the concepts of time and space are subject to change and become a definite form and the development of displacement mechanisms (reorganizing social events in extensive periods by removing them from their context) show that options are systematically removed from our lives. Time was put to a certain extent, contributed to the social organization, and facilitated the work of the forces who wanted to direct the system. Again, we witnessed how the market and exploitation were facilitated by the tools of a cumulative and structured modern order directed towards a uniform date reading with a standard calendar system. In the Western world, His actions, which he disseminated and legitimized with modern tools, became a discourse he used while exploiting Eastern civilizations or other parts of the world for a long time. This adventure can be seen with an example from today about what kind of a state Syria should be, and even in the occupation that took place afterward.

Industrialization and capitalist production have affected not only the economic sphere but many other fields, such as transportation, communication, and daily domestic life. This administrative change had to be different from the traditional management styles and evolved towards a transformation in the manifestation of alternative new lifestyles—the means of keeping the desire of management under control brought along the production of new management tools. While institutional structures such as schools, prisons, and hospitals acted under the monopoly of management tools, control progressed under the influence of the information flow that took place there. While legitimizing society, the sanctity of knowledge has been imposed. While these great and different orientations in understanding knowledge strengthened the modern

system that rebuilt its existence in every period, it followed a restrictive role to counter social movements. However, the administrative change also changed the center of military power. Military power: Efforts were made to bring the communities to the capacity to provide continuous support apart from the central feature. The industrialization of war has also included these modern military power tools in its weaponry. The phrase "Commercial organizations, especially transnational corporations, can wield enormous economic power and have the power to influence policies in their own country and any other country" (Giddens, 2012, p.65) was precisely the interlocking relationship between war and industry.

In the creation process of modernism, all kinds of measures that would not affect economic development became the priority of the newly established nation-states. This political understanding, which turned life practices upside down, started by affecting living spaces. Cities, which are constantly changing, became the areas that were most and rapidly affected by this change process and where change was felt, together with modernism. Along with the economic order in these created areas, a new identity has been gained, which was disconnected from the binding and traditional ties brought by the French Revolution.

Fundamental transformations created by modernity and capitalism in human life are the end of rural relations and a lifestyle based on the land, the concentration of life in cities, the reversal of the relationship between the city and the countryside, and the city becoming the center of social life. Capitalism has created an environment that facilitates the concentration of production in cities by breaking away from rural areas. Thus, the city came to the fore in a different structure from previous centuries and started to form the central spatial axis of human life (Yırtici, 2005, p.83).

When we look at the modernization process from this context, cities have been exposed to change within the framework of the principles of capitalism. The motivation to re-create without disturbing the flow of capital has initiated movements that will cause significant changes in cities. Increasing capital accumulation has proceeded to normalize the deadlocks of the immanent understanding of capitalism rather than create class problems. By forcing the place to change, the capital made new arrangements to increase its existence and generate profits. Modern cities became the object of these new arrangements. Modernism is already a phenomenon related to urban problems and realizes its transformation through the structure of cities. From another point of view, the city is the dominant place where the structure of modern culture is formed and transferred to the city's inhabitants. "Culture will be learned in cities and

transmitted to new generations. Every individual who comes to the city has the idea that he will be an urbanite in this heterogeneous and dense environment" (Aslanoğlu, 1998, p. 104). For this reason, the way of life that modernism will impose on people living in the city and the idea of how to live will intensify over a specific time and affect their whole lives.

Modernism is a tribute to the city and urban life; in a sense, it is a blessing of urban life. For modernism, the city is the expression of the power of man to shape and organize his environment and social relations. For this reason, the city is the main object of the modernism project, the dream of enlightenment. Modernists' view of the city has always been functional, and modernist reformers have always seen the city as a place where they can shape it according to their ideals and needs (Isik, 1993, pp. 41-50).

This ground, which makes the place active, has led to the class divisions of the city, and it is shaped according to the wishes of the capital owners by the variable and economically based structure of modernism. Modern Western cities began to change gradually and to act according to the economic situation of the time. This ground, established with modernism, legitimizes that the city can constantly change with this logic and that the city's inhabitants can live together with such a culture.

1.2. Modern Urban Planning Perception

In the modern world, economic factors are influential in the formation of cities, and this effect is strikingly visible. In this context, Paris in the 19th century showed the entire world how the modern urban planning approach developed. Moving from a perspective that ignores the history and cultural past of the city, the modern city plans have been tried to be recreated with a motivation that will not shake the economic order by destroying the old urban texture of Paris. Wide avenues and boulevards, while newly built residential areas facilitate access to factories, that is, to production areas, revealed a new urban order understanding that moves in the city in a way that completes the consumption chain. With the perception of promising the new, the motivation of modernism, which destroyed the old, became widespread since the 19th century, and cities in Western Europe gradually surrendered to the immanent understanding of capitalism. This understanding has also affected many areas, from the re-creation and planning of cities to management methods.

While planning modern cities, cities are designed by an ideal type of Modernist thought. In this respect, the idea that "modernism is an urban utopia" (Işık, 1993, pp. 41-50) forms the basis of

similarity for the structure of cities. This sameness creates the possibility of easy and fast trade between cities that are like each other, acting on an economic basis. Access to this opportunity arose from a nationalist perspective with the construction of nation-states. This understanding has created cities that are governed in this way, as well as pushing the forms of government to think centered on a single nation, community, and community. While the understanding based on singularity pushes cities into mediocrity, it also directs human relations to a life that promises mediocrity, simplicity, and a certain brand of uniqueness.

With the new urban planning and changes in the modern world, uniformity, homogeneity, and adherence to principles dominate the arrangement of the modern cities that emerged in first Europe as geography. The city is divided into many areas, and while making this distinction, the main goal was to provide economic stability. In this context, while cities are planned in terms of architecture, they are divided into working, living, and public areas. At this point, it summarizes the modern planning approach of the American architect Frank Lyford Wright, who moves in the line of modern architecture; He says that "... the modern structure is 'one big thing, instead of being 'an inanimate being of parts...a collection of many competing little things, as it used to be" (Connor, 2001, p. 109). In the field of new urban architecture, where aesthetic understanding gradually loses its importance, the crucial point has become the function of the newly established creation. This functionality logic has caused newly established cities to move away from a culture-oriented life. "Every building has a purpose that is beneficial to people, and the building should be designed accordingly, and building materials and construction techniques that will achieve the purpose most effectively should be used" (Şaylan, 2002, p.77). In cities full of factories, difficult living conditions have also affected the hope of living, and new soulless cities have emerged. The main idea in modern architecture is to seek perfection, clarity, sharpness, and the absence of any contradictions while creating the ideal city concept. To provide social balance, peace, and the realization of social order, cities were created by functional principles, completely far from any aesthetic pleasure. Structures that protect this order were built within the cities. The ideology that modern architecture is based on led the city's residents to build regions that serve to maintain the new ideology based on the functions of the cities instead of livable cities.

Transnational companies, which decided that consumer goods should be structural, sought new markets to sell them. This search forced them to change their lifestyles in the regions they saw as markets and to understand the world from the perspective of the West. Moreover, with these

understandings, internationally accepted norms were introduced to our daily lives and gradually legitimized.

Along with the rapid introduction of consumer goods into our daily lives, we are witnessing their spread worldwide in the machines that are active in producing these goods. With the spread of technology, the influence of industrialism was carried over to the field of production, and the environment and organizational structure progressed within the framework of one world, singularity, and sameness. The term mechanization, which was frequently used in the twentieth century, referred not to easy access to consumer goods but to the mechanized socio-normative environmental culture created by the consumer industry. A new way of life emerged with the isolation of man from nature and his indifference to the public sphere. "The maintenance of civilized indifference is a very general assumption of trust that is supposed to be found in encounters with strangers in public spaces. How important this is can be easily seen in environments where the assumption of trust is missing or damaged" (Giddens, 2012, p. 74).

> ... A person walking through a notorious neighborhood will either constantly look straight ahead or out of the corner of his eye, in either case walking quickly, avoiding eye contact with passers-by. A fundamental lack of trust in the possible intentions of others will lead the individual to avoid facing their gaze, which may lead to a hostile attempt (Giddens, 2012, pp. 74-75).

This civilized indifference that Giddens describes is an excellent example of the growing isolation. In this new modern world, where people define and categorize themselves and their surroundings, this alienation has always contributed to the system's self-reproduction. It has either established or ignored exploitative relations with others out of the system. This situation has also opened a fantastic way for states that want to be protected from chaos and anarchy.

On the other hand, these identification practices show parallelism with the relationship of trust. Daily practices have easily replaced the building of trust by excluding religion and similar traditions from modern life. The increase in expertise provided confidence in modern life, and when people realized that they could live without externalities, they removed traditionalism from their own lives. Why do most people rely on practices and social mechanisms over which they often lack technical knowledge? There are many answers to this question, of course, but this relationship of trust mostly moves in parallel with the respect for knowledge that settles in our lives over time.

Society's imagination, supported by science, pushes us towards living together with life practices that will not leave ambiguity in modern life. The fact that science undoubtedly and unequivocally presents life by facilitating it enables the management approach to act by using the prestige of science while making it necessary, on the other hand. It will not take long for the absolute trust in technical knowledge to become intertwined with the culture and daily life will be gradually shaped by the sharing "supported by scientific analysis" by the states and presented to the public with their tools. The economic structure will be pushed in the direction it has evolved or will evolve. Adherence to these everyday routines is psychologically relaxing. Contracted life makes even situations and lifestyles that seem irrational to people acceptable. "If the psychology of trust has universal or near-universal features, there are also fundamental contradictions between the conditions of modern relations. Here we need to consider not only trust, but also broad aspects of the interconnections between trust and risk, and between safety and danger themselves" (Giddens, 2002, p.89). In pre-modern institutions, these trust relationships are established through the kinship system, while in local communities, these institutions appear as extended human groups. Another effect is that religious beliefs develop the ability to act together. It is an effect that reflects/restricts the ability of people to act on their own. As Bauman says, the intertwining of natural and/or social events creates a new field of action, adding a new dimension to the evolving human being (Bauman, 2017). As we said at the beginning, a sharp transformation in the face of these traditional lifestyles became structural with the increase in management mechanisms at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The Massachusetts Public Health Institution published a declaration in 1869 (Özkol, 1998, pp. 15-26). The statement on environmental health states that every person needs clean air, water, and land; all these are a common heritage of all people, and no one must pollute them (Human Disease, 2021). Nevertheless, today, air, water, and soil pollution are encountered worldwide. The population is increasing rapidly worldwide; with unplanned industrialization and unplanned urbanization, excessive use of resources increases the amount of waste rapidly. States that act without taking precautions do not produce permanent solutions to these problems, and environmental pollution continues to increase.

The basis of the environmental problems encountered is primarily human. While the speed of population growth is one of the most crucial factors in the formation of environmental problems, while it decreases gradually in the areas where people meet their living space needs due to rapid population growth, the increasing need for food and living space also increases the energy need of people. All these "needs" cause the waste that causes pollution to increase and

increase. On the one hand, while production increases, it causes consumption to increase gradually, creates an element of pressure on the natural environment, and accelerates the depletion of its resources.

The ecological crisis has become the world's most important agenda item in the 21st century. Climate change, depletion of the ozone layer, extinction of thousands of species, deterioration of natural habitats, drought, water scarcity, and desertification threaten the balance of the earth and human life. The globalization of economic activity, which started with the Industrial Revolution, and the pollution and deterioration that spread to every corner of the earth brought a social reaction.

When the welfare of the society is not only related to the economic balance but also to the balance of the geography, city, and neighborhood where it lives, and with these areas that neoliberal policies ignore, carbon emissions are more common in the new Turkey, the deterioration of natural life and balance is more severe, and cities become more unlivable. In Turkey, the destruction of nature has increased (Sen, 2013).

1.3. Postmodernism Transformation and Understanding of Urban Planning

In this section, Postmodernism, in other words, what the concept of late modernism is, why its relationship with the city is essential, and how researchers have defined the concept of global modernism from the past to the present, will be discussed.

The concept of Postmodernism, also known as late modernism, is a concept that has been discussed a lot in recent years, with the idea that it includes the period we are in now. However, assuming that it is an idea taken up as of the 21st century, the concept can be understood more readily by looking at today's effects. Although the assumptions of its effects and sphere of influence on today's world are expressed in various areas, we will focus on the realpolitik part in this section. In part of real politics, discussions on the concept of Postmodernism are intense, and the points where it differs from modernism and the areas where it does not break with modernism are the topics of discussion. Over this issue, Postmodernism is seen as a specific crisis that emerges from within modernism. Considering this crisis, It is accepted that there is no definitive and integrated definition of Postmodernism that everyone agrees on. Rather than these arguments, discussing the new lifestyles brought by postmodernity would be more appropriate.

What postmodern thought, which is very meaningful and controversial, mostly points to, is the acceptance of the indelible plurality of the world. This plurality is not a temporary station to be left behind eventually on the road to perfection that has not yet been reached, but a plurality, which is a constitutive quality of existence (Bauman, 2003, p. 131).

This understanding of pluralism described by Bauman, along with Postmodernism and its criticisms directed towards individualism, also has the idea that the singularity of the individual will again glorify the pluralist understanding, and sociality will be realized. This idea acts by considering the succession of the individual's problems of Postmodernism, which is in decentralized thinking. This idea, which is within the liberal logic, believes that sociality will come true eventually, even though it contains dead ends. With these individualistic social arrangements, the intersections of social movements are increasing in daily life.

The decentralization brought by the postmodern understanding has contributed to the individual-centered thinking of social movements. While this thought system paved the way for social classes to establish a partnership without compromising their own identities, it also led to the development of the ability to act together in social interventions. While decentralization brought social identities together in a movement against the center, it contributed to the drawing of typical politics and lifestyle. It developed an imagination that made it possible.

Although postmodern theories tend to describe the field of the new, which causes differentiation between them and modernism, it is impossible to say that there is an absolute break between these two ways of thinking and living. With these new differentiations, we live in a transitional social order rather than a new postmodern social life. "Postmodernism; the two world wars are accepted as an integral part of the world picture like mass culture, but it is not a fully completed project" (Jencks, 1987, p.11). Lyotard (1994), on the other hand, while trying to explain what Postmodernism is, states that Postmodernism is an incomplete process and dualities are experienced as follows; "Postmodernism is part of modernism. Nevertheless, Postmodernism is not modernism in its purpose. It is modernism in its formation, and this formation is continuous."

It is said that after the 1970s when modernism lost its effect in today's conditions, and the global economic network began to become widespread, the postmodern movement became increasingly influential. The postmodern movement and thought system, which started to show its effect with the criticism of modernism that started in art and literature, started to be effective

in city life after the 90s. Postmodernism, which criticizes urban life through the centralization of the individual, argues that the individual's freedom can be with society and that intertwined lives will liberate both the individual and the society. In this context, Aslanoğlu (1998, p.106) states, “Within the scope of the search for a solution to the economic depression experienced in the world, especially starting from the second half of the 1970s, Structural transformations are observed in the form of the emergence of new technologies, the organization of production in new ways, the separation of the production process, and the differentiation of consumer groups”. The globalizing world order with modern technologies has forced societies to new ways of thinking. While the ease of access to communication tools and the rapid spread of communication tools with technology will turn the world into a global village soon, on the other hand, the change in lifestyles and daily practices have also directly changed city life, where modernism is practical. This change has brought about new social relations in differentiating urban structures.

When we examine the understanding of postmodern architecture, economic and socio-cultural changes have been effective in understanding modern architecture. In addition, when we look at the postmodern architectural movements, parallel with the ideas of heterogeneity, polyphony, and division brought by the understanding of Postmodernism, the existence of quite different approaches is also noteworthy. The postmodern movement, which is directly influenced by cities and practices in urban life, has forced these areas to change. In this context, the postmodern effect has started to be discussed more with the contemporary trends in the field of architecture, and it has been tried to reveal how this effect is. For this reason, architecture is one of the most discussed areas.

The classical modern architectural understanding of urban planning has been criticized and forced out of modern architectural thought. However, the postmodern thought movement has brought with it concrete architectural works. Urban life has internalized social life by adding aesthetic and value motivation instead of practical and usage-based architectural understanding. In modern architectural understanding, architectural works were considered successful and beautiful the more they served their functionality or purpose. The form of the building and the materials used come second. According to the postmodern understanding that opposes modern architecture, it has lost meaning in this plane since a sharp and precise definition of functionality cannot be made. With the postmodern period, the change process in the city structure has also changed our perception of the city and our perspective on the city. Oğuz Işık explains this distinction from the perspective of the modern and postmodern city with a simple example.

According to Işık's thought, with the postmodern understanding in which the binding and integrity disappeared, the city has areas where the postmodern perspective is concentrated.

Postmodernism has removed the logical foundations that allow us to see the city. While modernism sees the city from an airplane, Postmodernism has enabled us to see the city with the eyes of urban people walking on the street. This city is a perceived city that has been cut off from all its integrity and fragmented. In this view, the city is seen in the specificity of the parts perceived by the human eye walking on the street. Moreover, these parts are not parts of a whole but units with meaning in their own right; therefore, Postmodernism does not seek a logic that connects parts of the city in its view of the city (Işık, 1993, p.32).

1.4. Effects and Changes of Global Modernism and Life in Global Cities

The growing network of economic relations that emerged in the 1960s has changed the international economic system. This assumption shows that the world is transitioning to an integrated economic system with the increase of globalization at a noticeable rate. In our current age, where economic relations have grown and integrated, the phenomenon of globalization has continued its effects and activities at the global level. On the other hand, it is a period in which commercial activities have significantly changed. If we focus on the historical development, the commercial convenience brought by the liberal economic system that started in the 1960s and the new economic system that started after the eighties, in which the influence of the states was reduced, show us the areas where the world gained momentum at the point of globalization. With the end of the Cold War, states with strong economies that pursued integration policies tried activating modern life and consumption in parallel with globalization. The disintegration of the USSR, in a sense, led to the disintegration of the bipolar economic system and the establishment of a global economic union. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the opening of the market areas, the open market system, which was the central policy of the USA, spread quickly.

On the other hand, globalization is a concept used to explain today's developments affecting the world in recent years. Since these developments in the political, economic, social, and technological fields have global dimensions, their definition also differs. In this context, globalization has been explained in different contexts and has different approaches. For this reason, instead of making a sharp definition, it would be appropriate to examine globalization from other perspectives.

Our way of life has changed with the things that globalization makes felt and changed beyond its definition. Facts such as underlining that we live in a single world or addressing issues such as global threats show us that practices of thinking about the world as a single center have increased. The easy and rapid spread of information, money, and consumer products (especially technological ones) has made people perceive the world as their backyard. On the other hand, this perspective has led to the local cultures of local communities or micro-thoughts partially contradicting the global perspective and mentality. Local, cultural, or minorities lost in the integrative perspective of the global mechanism have come under the influence of the global economy. This effect takes place within the economic system of central economic relations. Like the modern phenomenon, global politics followed expansion policies like economic foundations.

"While the world is shrinking in the process of globalization, it is also fragmenting, and differences are underlined. In this sense, on the one hand, the process of making the world the concept of globalization defines a place; on the other hand, globalization forms the background of discussions on social change in economic, political, and cultural planes" (Aslanoğlu, 1998, p.124). Although there is no common opinion in the discussion of which elements the concept of globalization should include, it is accepted that the network of political, cultural, and socio-economic relations moves together with the phenomenon of globalization in the accepted way of thinking. "Globalization; expresses the increasing integration of the world as a result of the increase in the mobility of the factors of production with the increase of trade, foreign direct investment, and the implementation of intellectual rights" (Adams, 2008, p.725). Easy accessibility and the increase in means of transportation have also changed the forms of communication and social relations. This change has led to the creation of parallel relations networks that have become a global network of relations within the modern institutions of social structures. While globalization directs consumption relations to the world, it is also defined as the compression of the world and the increase in the awareness of perceiving it as a single place. This new form of relationship, in which local relations are ignored, has also created areas where consumption habits and local cultures are reconstructed and presented to the market within the consumption chain.

In today's world, where distances are decreasing and globalizing phenomena are increasing, it is helpful to consider more than one context and areas of influence of political, economic, social, and cultural relations. The assumption that people and the market can affect and change each

other more easily reminds us to consider the phenomenon of globalization as a multilateral process and that social relations in this multilateral area are on slippery ground.

"Globalization is at the center of modern culture, and cultural practices are at the center of globalization," says John Tomlinson (2004, p.11). This interrelationship between culture and globalization will help to understand the globalizing modern world in the context of how cultural relations are established. The fact that globalization forces change in parallel with culture and modern practices is related to the increase in market capacity. In today's world, which has become a global village with the rapid growth of the global market since the sixties, the modern lifestyle has become a transnationally accepted and normalized phenomenon. With the freedom of the market and its spread to more areas, modern phenomena have settled into our daily lives more quickly. With the development of technology, communication tools have become widespread to a considerable extent, and the state of coexistence, which the modern lifestyle has made a necessity, has become an inevitable way of life with its daily practices.

A fundamentally different sphere of world trade emerged before 1945. Capital in advanced capitalist countries has found a place to run more freely. In the countries that switched to free market economies, capitalism increased, or in other words, the development of capitalism accelerated in the so-called "third world" countries. In short, we can accept this dynamic as the first of the most critical developments that prepared the globalization that will take shape since the 1980s (Büyükbaykal, 2004, p.19).

This prevalence and ease of access have changed our perspective on "far and near" and the means of transportation. The world is now considered a single geography, and its proximity to our daily practices has increased technologically and culturally. Where the understanding of modern consumption has turned into a global practice, many practices that exist near us and permeate our daily lives have emerged as the product of the global world.

Globalization, which has become imminent with the phenomenon of modernity, has affected our cultural habits and the way we perceive culture, together with its inclusiveness. The phenomenon of globalization, which emerged from within and because of modernity, has increased the areas affected by modernization. While this interaction increased the urge to see the world as a single market, the speed of spread of modern practices and consumer culture continued with the increase of confidence in modernism. In these years, the problem of modernism began to be discussed for the first time. While the views of individualism brought

by modernism and nationality dominated by nation-states began to spread, non-European but market-involved countries were accepted into the "international society," i. e. the Western society. While the spread of communication in the field of communication became a global phenomenon, the era of global competitions, such as the Olympics and the Nobel Prize, in which nation-states participated, began. The League of Nations was established on January 10, 1920, followed by the UN on October 24, 1945. With the establishment of the United Nations, the principle of national independence was accepted to protect the market. Conflicting "conceptions of modernity" with countries not in Western modernity emerged. The Third World, which represents regions such as South America, Africa, and Asia, became evident. Modernism and cultural conflicts with the countries in this geography were discussed. Again, with the end of the Cold War, economic interests in the newly formed order began to come to the fore with the themes of "rights and freedoms." In the name of rights and freedoms, global institutions and movements have multiplied so that identities do not affect the market. While the mass media's number, speed, and prevalence increased unbelievably, new global modern phenomena began to spread rapidly. With the spread of communication tools, societies became more intertwined and faced the problem of multiculturalism and multi-ethnicism more at this stage. While the legitimate ground of states and companies increased, this ground of legitimacy began to be questioned, and Human Rights became a global problem. The discussion of human rights on an international basis caused the international system to gain more fluidity, and problems began to be managed with a pluralistic approach.

With globalization, the existence of nation-states has also emerged in other senses. Within the truth of globalization, the concept of the nation-state has changed and has become imminent with global phenomena. While the states try to keep the national ties strong to protect the domestic market, there is an impression that they act outside the national line in the international arena. National identity has been deconstructed by states and international companies existing in the states, and thus the international market has been tried to be protected. Transnational companies, on the other hand, have tended to legitimize their existence by using modern facts. Every phenomenon of modern consumption tools and culture has been tried to be transformed into the states' domestic policy.

The rapid development of the means of transportation has undoubtedly created a large area of influence in the spread of modernity. The growth and facilitation in transportation contributed to the access of nation-state states to regions where they would later seek markets for themselves. On the other hand, it accelerated the spread of modern vehicles. Since providing

social and cultural integrity will support easy trade, modernization has also developed in these areas. In addition, the understanding of time and space and trade terms were tried to be standardized, and a global partnership was created for the monopolization and spread of the products of powerful states. Bauman (2007, p. 20) said, "The built space would be rigid and non-negotiable. Its flesh would be made of steel and cement, its veins of railway and highway networks."

The fixed scientific imaginings of social construction for human conditions foretold the unbreakable and unchangeable rules of a new era. Moreover, again, as Steven Flusty quotes.

> Traditional public spaces have been replaced by privately constructed, privately owned, and managed public agglomeration spaces, i.e., spaces of consumption. Entrance to these spaces is dependent on the ability to pay. Exclusion reigns here, which may interfere with the regular flow of trade. An elevated level of control is essential to prevent disorder, unpredictability, and inefficiency. (Flusty, 1997, p.48).

New city models are hidden behind fences and sites; It has been presented and shown as a blessing to people who are only exposed to consumption in this globalizing world without their consent. According to Baczko, the imagination of a beautiful city is Severiade. This city in the story he mentions was "…thought out according to a rational, clear, and simple plan that was implemented, making it the most orderly city in the world. The city attracts its visitors with its perfect layout. Its wide streets are so straight that you would think it was drawn with a ruler, and they all lead to fountains, all of which are of one type and varied sizes, with public buildings and fountains in the middle… There is nothing chaotic in this city." (Vairasse, 1675, p.42). From the point of view of space management, modernization facilitated production by monopolizing cartography in cities. Bauman says the following about this very issue in his book Globalization:

> The lesson planners can draw from the extensive list of lofty dreams and great catastrophes that have jointly shaped modern architectural history is this: the essential secret of a "good city" is to place responsibility on people for their actions, not in "an imaginary world of predetermined order and harmony," but in a historically unpredictable society. It offers a chance to undertake the task (Bauman, 2017, p.60).

When examining the foundational principles of urban governance, efforts have been made to elucidate the complexities surrounding urban living within contemporary cities through the establishment of an information hierarchy imbued with its inherent legitimacy, thereby mitigating perceptions of foreignness. The constant variability of modernism is incredible. In the 21st century, the right to life, which is the first right of the holy man, has been removed from the city rights and turned into a liberal, that is, vested right. On the other hand, the fact that people try to make the world they live in more suitable for their desires for the city proves the consistency of the modern understanding in the way of holding on to life. Here it has changed only in terms of what people want and how they want. While building the city, humans also build themselves. It sheds light on what kind of city we want, how our social relations are, our relationship with nature, what kind of lifestyle we desire, and what aesthetic values we have.

The formation of cities arose because of the surplus product's social and geographical concentration. When we look at the formation processes of cities, modern or not, the effort to transform the market - that is, the surplus product - into profit has always existed together with the surplus product. In the last millennium, at the point reached by the globalization of the market, significant changes in the growing Western cities are being created again to support the market. These include the railway networks spread all over Europe, the construction of the Suez Canal, the construction of the port, and the drying and concreting of the swamps. The most glaring case was the transformation of Paris after the second half of the nineteenth century. Hausmann's desire to rebuild Paris would cause its transformation to keep pace with the slippery ground of modernism. The widening of the boulevards, the modernization of the infrastructure, the sewers, the lighting of the streets, and the systematization of them by making them parallel to each other have completely changed the city's silhouette. In other words, the transformation of Paris into a "city of light" (Harvey, 2015, p.48) has revealed a place of significant consumption, tourism, and pleasure. Unlimited consumption culture has increased surplus capitalization. The new city system, which excluded workers and people experiencing poverty, gave birth to an important development/movement in the city's history, the Paris Commune. Hausmann completely changed the city's lifestyle with a top-down, commodity-oriented movement, resulting in the desire of dispossessed groups to reclaim their cities. The socialist and Proudhonist anarchists' uprising and search for rights, which began in March 1871, prompted great mobilization. The broad-minded movement, which began as a popular control, fell apart after the commune's disagreement.

After 1942, the USA became a state that protected the open market after the world wars. In the federal government, which controlled the economy after the war, a monopoly mentality increased, as in Paris. Ways to protect capital groups were sought. New cities with big houses and highways were created in the new post-war America. While the investment was made by considering the return on capital in terms of capital, on the contrary, the places where mostly the poor in terms of class lived in the cities formed the places that were sacrificed in terms of their contribution to the capital. While the suburbanization of cities brought about major lifestyle changes, it offered Americans with huge homes a large market to fill their homes. It emerged as an urban crisis to mobilize the Black population in cities negatively affected by the market's vitality and the city's transformation. Their movement in sixty-eight was a search for a way against soulless suburban life and the new modern life. With the tremendous economic crisis that broke out after the '68 movement, New York's financial bankruptcy in 1975, and both sides of the social crisis were affected by this great depression. At the same time, a new way for capital owners was to act on the idea that liberal understanding gave birth to these movements, and new economic and social sanctions were born in the next ten years to restrict these movements.

CHAPTER 2 THE RELATIONSHIP OF LIBERAL AND NEOLIBERAL POLICIES WITH THE CITY

2.1. Liberalism and Neoliberalism's Relationship with the City

This concept, which is difficult to reduce to a single definition, is explained by the rise of freedom and human rights in nation-states on the one hand, and it is thought to be a set of socio-economic policies that cause modern life to become more immanent, on the other hand. In the political dimension of liberal thought, it is possible to see philosophical thought and social factors in the formation process of policies. In a sense, the reason for the emergence of liberal policies and efforts to transform is the complete ignorance of the individual during the transformation of feudal society into a capitalist society.

The basis of liberalism is the assumption that human personality is the first value. For this reason, the existence of human beings and their orientation toward goals should be the starting point of all social-political arrangements. As a rational being, the human being realizes his own goals and should not encounter any external obstacles and interventions while trying to achieve what is "good" for himself (Erdoğan, 1998, p.2).

This non-intervention allowed liberal policies to develop in the field of human rights. While trying to reconsider and transform the rights of the individual against the state with liberal policies, he brought individual freedom and rights. He rejects the imposition of a certain life directed at individuals by the wartime capitalist world and on the assumption that this is an attitude against freedom. Liberal thought, which is an orientation against the centralism of the state and absolutism, facilitated the opposition of the society against the authoritarian nation-states in modern Europe. With this understanding, which thinks that the less the intervention of the state is, the more rights it can gain, on the other hand, the measures and restrictions against companies have decreased. The principles of freedom, equality, and individuality in the philosophical plane of liberal doctrine have also changed the understanding of the market to a great extent. With the birth of mercantilism, the idea of a free market gave rise to the idea that the individual would gain freedom in the economic field. This concept, which emerged as the doctrine of individual freedom through public opinion, on the other hand, determined how the market should be. The culture of self-interest as the way to ensure the individual well-being of society has become widespread with liberalism. With the issue of the rights of liberalism, a new way of life has emerged, where all kinds of restrictive regulations are abolished, and they are allowed to move freely in the market.

The socioeconomic and political understanding of liberal thought acts on the same plane as each other. They form parts of a single historical plane. In this context, the decrease in the influence of the state mechanism and the freedom of the market, and the perspective on rights struggles can be evaluated together. When we encounter the results of liberal policies, we can see the social relations and modern consumption culture legitimized by liberal policies. Along with the new truths produced in the economic field in the form of the dynamic relationship of capitalism, liberal ideas took their place as constantly reproduced planes in modern life. While the liberalization of the market led to more accumulation, the struggles for rights brought to the agenda by liberal policies took their place as rhetoric. Although liberalism is a subject that is talked about a lot in general, it is the name of an intellectual accumulation that has not been emphasized enough. Modern consumption culture has penetrated life by creating itself in an indispensable area with the influence of public opinion and the media.

One of the most crucial factors in the formation of cities is the economy. The city structure, which changes with the changes in economic policies, also changes the city structure and urban life. In the years when the world wars were effective, the economic structure of the city suffered great damage as the city was included in the battlefield. This damage has also changed the consumption culture and living spaces of the social structure and their perspectives on the city. With the social state understanding brought by the liberal economic model, the city tended to act with a more livable motivation.

Individualism is a philosophical teaching that considers humans as the center and accepts human rights and freedoms as the main purpose. According to the philosophy of individualism or methodological individualism, institutions such as society, state, and nation are abstract entities. It is the individual who is concrete. In other words, ontologically, the basic entity is the individual. Social wholes are made up of individuals. The basis of liberal thought is the rational individual. The individual is above any institution, structure, or community. Therefore, individual rights come before society. It is the mind that makes man human and distinguishes him from other living things. It is the mental capacity that distinguishes people from other people (Yayla, 1992, p.135).

This motivation, brought about by the logic of individualism, changed the relationship between the city and consuming the city and turned towards creating mass consumption areas. The most obvious indicator of liberal economic policies is the introduction of new development policies that force the national economic-centered perspective to change. Findings from the national development model to the international transition period can show us the starting point of liberal

policies. Change in the world immediately after the Second World War In the post-modern era, in which liberal policies were effective, all changes centered on economic policies forced changes in urban practices as well as changed urban life. In the new economic order to be created, city plans were created that would not disrupt this order. In the cities that were recreated within the framework of liberal policies, a few urban plans emerged, such as roads, shopping malls, traffic lights, the proliferation of consumption areas, and the transformation of public spaces into consumption areas. At this point, the fact that city plans are economically based forms the basis of a problem related to the complete internalization of the city by the economy. It is a normal expectation that an economically centered view of the city and its policies affect the city plans and create a change in the lifestyle. relocation of consumption areas; centralizing or transforming consumption spaces into single social spaces; The reduction of common or public spaces can be shown among the consequences of these policies.

While the surroundings of the city and the main area of the city were reorganized in a way that would become the main target of economic policy, an attempt was made to act in a way that would not disrupt the new order. In this context, policies that acted on the logic of social state understanding by following the international political plane tended to increase the consumption areas of the environment by trying to pluralize the consumption logic. In this context, collective settlement areas were established, and settlements were tried to be provided in these areas according to socio-economic classes. The existence of social housing and the areas surrounding these houses were tried to be removed from the attractive consumption areas of the city. While these regions, where the middle and lower middle class lived, were established in the remote areas of the city, they brought along many problems related to the city.

The fact that social housing (poor housing) is produced in isolated areas disconnected from urban life also causes some socio-economic problems. The poor people who demand these houses are composed of people with insufficient economic profiles who live in slums. These people, who mostly work in informal and discontinuous jobs, do not have a regular income. The poor, who must bear the costs of sharing everyday living spaces in their new homes, sometimes have difficulty meeting even these costs (Can and Çiçek, 2012, p.46). In Italy, liberal policies have had some impact on cities by incorporating them into the economy. One of the important effects has been the liberalization of the economy, which led to an increase in the number of private enterprises and foreign investments with the start of privatizations. This situation has led to the development and therefore the change of urban centers, especially in the north of the country, in the Region of Veneto, where business and industry are heavily

concentrated. According to a report by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the liberal policies implemented in Italy have contributed to the country's economic growth and employment rate in recent decades. The report also points out that the government's policies to liberalize the economy have led to increased competitiveness, especially in the service sectors. As a result, cities such as Milan, Turin, Bologna, and Padova became centers of economic activity, attracting businesses and workers from around the world.

Meanwhile, liberal policies also had some negative effects on Italian cities. For example, the deregulation of the labor market has led to an increase in precarious work, especially among young people. This has resulted in a widening income gap with significant social and economic consequences. Another effect of liberal policies on cities has been the increase in income inequality, which has negative effects on the social fabric of urban areas. As the rich got richer, they tended to congregate in elite neighborhoods. This has led to the marginalization of poor and vulnerable populations. This has led to the development of informal settlements in some urban areas where people live below standards. In summary, liberal policies in Italy have had both positive and negative effects on cities. While these policies contributed to economic growth and development, they also led to social and economic inequality, especially in urban areas. Here are some more specific effects of liberal policies in Italy on their cities:

As mentioned earlier, economic growth in Italy contributed to economic growth with liberal policies, especially in northern cities. Milan, for example, has become the country's financial and industrial capital and a hub for global companies and investors. The city's GDP is higher than many countries. For this reason, it has created job opportunities for people in Italy and other parts of the world. Liberal policies, along with increasing privatization policies, encouraged privatization, which led to the emergence of private companies in many sectors, including transport, telecommunications, and utilities. This has led to an improvement in the quality of services and infrastructure in cities. However, the injustice arising from income inequality is one of the negative effects of liberal policies in Italy. With liberal policies, a significant gap was observed between the rich and the poor. This resulted in social and economic difficulties. Wealthy populations tend to live in privileged neighborhoods, and the poor and vulnerable are often marginalized in informal settlements. Precarious work has also led to an increase in liberal policies and precarious work in cities, especially among young people. The deregulation of the labor market made it easier for companies to hire and fire workers, leading to job insecurity and a lack of social protection for many workers. Environmental concerns, on the other hand, have focused on liberal policies and economic

growth and development, but this has often paid off for the environment. Many cities in Italy, such as Milan and Turin, have important levels of air pollution and traffic congestion, which have adverse effects on public health and the environment. These are just a few of the specific effects of liberal policies on Italian cities. It is worth noting that the impact of these policies may vary by region and city.

Neoliberalism has been the main factor in the crises and major transformations in the political, economic, and social fields in the last 50 years. Industrialization and increasing capitalism have increased the shortage of raw materials, which is felt more deeply every day. The barriers to accessing cheap and abundant raw materials have made it difficult for the new market requirement for the product variety that is increasing exponentially every day. These situations have been accepted as triggers for economic crises and therefore neoliberal policies have been seen as the main basis for capitalist capital to get out of the economic crisis. “Throughout the history of capitalism, there has always been a tendency to remove obstacles to capital accumulation and to increase the dynamics of growth” (Harvey, 2012, p.52). Neoliberal policies have also developed policies to remove these obstacles. While trying to remove the obstacles, a new social order and lifestyle were tried to be created.

“The escalation of the competitive environment as a result of the moves made by Western Europe and Japan in the manufacturing industry against the hegemony of the USA caused great decreases in profit rates towards the end of the 1960s” (Harvey, 2010, p.165). In the early 1990s, Italy underwent a period of political and economic crisis that paved the way for the adoption of neoliberal policies. The government under Prime Minister Giuliano Amato introduced a series of reforms aimed at liberalizing the economy and reducing the role of the state in economic affairs. These reforms included the privatization of state-owned enterprises, deregulation of industries, and liberalization of trade and investment policies.

According to Richard E. Baldwin and Giuseppe Bertola, authors of "Italy's Political Economy in the 1990s" published in Brookings Papers on Economic Activity (1994), the adoption of neoliberal policies in Italy was driven by economic factors and ideological trends. Italy was facing high inflation, a stagnant economy, and a string of corruption that lost investor confidence. Policymakers believed that market-oriented policies were necessary to restore confidence and stimulate economic growth. In addition, the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union created a sense of ideological impetus in favor of free market policies and globalization, which Italian politicians thought they needed to adopt to remain competitive in the global economy. In Alessandro Bonanno's article "The Italian Turn to

Neoliberalism" published in New Political Economy (2003), he states that neoliberalism was adopted in Italy during the 1980s and 1990s as part of a broader trend towards market-oriented policies in Western countries. Bonanno also points out that the inclusion of neoliberal policies is facilitated by the collapse of traditional political parties and the emergence of new political forces more amenable to market-oriented policies. However, as Andrea Micocci argues in "The Impact of Neoliberalism on Italy: A Critique of the Theory of Embedded Neoliberalism" published in the Review of Radical Political Economics (2008), the impact of neoliberal policies on Italy is mixed. Some authors have argued that neoliberal policies have led to increased economic growth and enhanced competitiveness, while others have argued that they have led to increased inequality and social polarization. Micocci, on the other hand, states that the neoliberal policies implemented in Italy have weakened labor protections, reduced social expenditures, and increased income inequality. These resources provided a critical perspective on the introduction of neoliberal policies to Italy, including the economic and ideological factors that led to the adoption of neoliberal policies, as well as their impact on the country's economy and society.

At the zenith of international globalization, states that want to take advantage of all the opportunities offered by the market and want to increase their savings, and cross-border companies beyond the states have tended to further reduce the sphere of influence of the state and to increase state-company cooperation. Over these years, a momentous change has been experienced in the nation-states, which understand monopolization and the social state, which has partially decreased with liberal policies. This change, along with social practices, has had many effects on the differentiation of lifestyle. “The phenomenon of competition, which is indispensable for capitalism through neoliberal policies, has reached an unprecedentedly crucial point. A development model has been put forward in line with principles such as individualism, free market, openness, and downsizing of the state through the implemented policies” (Öniş and Şenses, 2009, pp.347-385).

With globalization getting the world closer and closer, the social policies of the states have also been subject to change. The understanding of the social state, to which liberal policies contributed, was organized in such a way as to protect the individual and the social rights of the individual. Many social guarantees, which are seen as the gain of social movements that emerged against the difficult lives and labor exploitation that started with modern life and the industrialization process, have been obtained. As the struggle against the economic and social exploitation of the state and companies increased, states had to take measures to protect their

citizens. The states that transformed from nation states to social welfare states, which developed with liberal policies, left their mark on the 500-year period in which the capitalist economy was active, by bringing social and economic rights both in the socio-economic field, in the field of individual rights and the struggle for democratization, and by the constitutional guarantee of freedoms.

In these five hundred years, the harshest and most brutal period emerged in the 1980s, when neoliberal policies were effective. The accumulation-centered profit-oriented policy of the capitalist system has not changed with neoliberal policies. In this context, the common feature of neoliberal policies with previous policies is to increase the profitability of the capitalist system. However, neoliberal policies differ from previous economic policies in some points. The most obvious policy is the practice of flexibility. “The application of flexibility in production, which came to the fore with the neoliberal system, has different meanings in practice. For example; With the flexibility application, a worker has more than one task, working hours are determined according to the demand of the capitalist, and the product obtained as a result of production, the production process is fragmented to create a part-time and subcontractor system, the effect of the state on the economy is minimized and the regulation authority is "removed", the expansion of privatizations, thanks to the laws and regulations enacted, making regulations that will enable the capital to change its field, etc. It is aimed to remove the obstacles to the profitability of capital by introducing new applications” (Harvey, 1993, p.83-93).

The new world order, which is monopolized by the state and companies, has drawn the exploitative relationship established by the modern system to an easier ground, and a new system has been created that can easily shape the social structure and control the state's devices. The lifestyles in the cities have been subject to change, and daily practices have been applied in parallel with the practices of community consumption. Since the 1980s, with the effect of neoliberal policies, social life has been subject to change. With social life, all the places belonging to the city such as the structure of the cities, consumption areas, and socialization areas have changed places. This change did not occur equally, on the contrary, it increased the areas of exploitation. Cities are the places where this inequality is most clearly observed.

Indeed, during the implementation of neoliberal policies and the expansion of the global economy, cities have come to assume new and essential functions. While globalization increases the circulation capacity of capital, this mobility is partially made possible by certain

cities where globalization is produced, that is, technological, institutional, and social infrastructure is provided for global capital circulation (Geniş, 2017, pp.69-70).

Along with neoliberal policies, states are turning into areas where social policies decrease, and social inequalities become more evident accordingly. Cities, which are the centers of the areas where these policies are implemented, stand out as the places where inequality is observed most clearly in this process. "Different from world cities, cities that are integrated into different global flows such as tourism, trade, education and informatics and that specialize in these areas are also emerging" (Geniş, 2017, p.72). With this flow state, cities like each other have emerged. States and international companies that act with the motivation of tourism and trade cities have created cities that are like each other. "In this process, cities compete with other cities like "racers" to increase the investment areas of international capital with increasing fluidity, thus creating an atmosphere of competition between cities on a global scale" (Hacısalihoğlu, 2000, p.124). This atmosphere increased the pressure on the city and accelerated the construction revolution that started in the 1990s. With the unbelievable competition in the construction sector, cities have tried to be recreated and to show themselves internationally in state-company cooperation. Neoliberal policies have forced cities to change. From an economic perspective, the structure and lifestyle of cities have constantly changed.

While inequalities in the sharing of urban resources among different social segments are increasing, on the one hand, urban poverty is deepening and spreading; On the other hand, wealth is polarized and segregated. In this process, the traditional middle class is also disintegrating within itself. While the income of a significant part of the middle class decreases, the income of a small part of them increases excessively and their position approaches the upper class. This situation, which erodes urban integration, brings with it the formation of rent groups and these groups reshape the city (Sipahi, 2012, p.111).

With the disappearance of the middle class in the cities, consumption areas have become the most obvious places where class division is felt. The ability of different social classes to exist in different fields has caused other changes as well as social segregation. "This situation has also led to fragmentation in space. In this process, traditional neighborhoods where people from different income groups live together have lost their meaning and have turned into housing as a living space" (Alada, 2007, p.27-46). Social integration and coexistence have been forced to separate, as social classes cannot coexist. This separation has irreversibly adversely affected the environment of understanding and peace.

The impact of neoliberal policies on the Italian economy has caused disagreements among economists and policymakers. While some have argued that market-oriented policies lead to increased economic growth and improved competitiveness, others have argued that they have led to increased inequality and social polarization. "The Political Economy of Italy in the 1990s", Richard E. Baldwin and Giuseppe Bertola (Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, 1994): This article said that the adoption of neoliberal policies in Italy helped to reduce inflation and restore investor confidence. However, the authors also acknowledged that these policies increased a widening gap between Italy's north and south and increased income inequality. "Economic Reforms in Italy: A Tale of Two Governments", Ashoka Mody and Stefania Patrizia Sonia Rossi (Journal of Policy Modeling, 2007): This article also criticizes the economic policies of the governments led by Silvio Berlusconi and Romano Prodi in the 2000s. The authors argued that the Berlusconi government pursued more market-oriented policies, including tax cuts and labor market reforms, which led to increased economic growth as well as increased income inequality. The Prodi government, on the other hand, focused more on social policies and income redistribution. "The Political Economy of Neoliberalism in Italy", Andrea Micocci (in The Political Economy of Italy's Decline, editor: Pasquale Tridico, 2018): Micocci noted that neoliberal policies in Italy have led to growing inequality and economic polarization. He also states that deregulation and privatization exacerbate inequality by leading to a lack of investment in public infrastructure and services. Overall, the impact of neoliberal policies on the Italian economy is complex and multifaceted, with both positive and negative effects. But in general, market-oriented policies have contributed to increased economic growth and increased competitiveness, while also leading to increased inequality and social polarization.

2.2. Environment Commodified by Neoliberalism

The commodification of the environment within the framework of neoliberal policies means that natural resources such as air, water, soil, and biodiversity are treated as commodities bought and sold in the market, not as public goods necessary for survival and prosperity. This situation has led to the privatization of many natural resources with neoliberal policies. As a result, it means that natural resources are owned and controlled by companies rather than being managed by the state or local communities. Proponents of neoliberalism argue that the commodification of the environment increases economic efficiency. And so, they argue, it encourages innovation by creating incentives for companies to develop modern technologies and find ways to use

resources more efficiently. On the other hand, critics of neoliberalism argue that this approach leads to the exploitation and degradation of the environment. For example, the privatization of water in many countries has led to the establishment of private water companies that charge increased prices for access to clean drinking water, often depriving poor communities of access to this essential resource. In addition, the extraction of natural resources such as oil and gas can have adverse effects on local communities and ecosystems, such as water pollution, air pollution, and deforestation. Critics of neoliberalism, on the other hand, find it right to manage natural resources in a fair, sustainable, and rights-respecting manner. To achieve this, he argues, alternative approaches are necessary, such as the development of community-based resource management systems and the adoption of sustainable development practices.

In Italy, an example of the commodification of the environment is the privatization of waste management services. In the 1990s, the Italian government implemented neoliberal policies that encouraged the privatization of public services, including waste management. With these policies, many waste management services were sold to private companies that began charging high fees for waste collection and disposal. It has led to a waste crisis in many parts of the country, leading to a situation where local municipalities cannot afford the high fees charged by private waste management companies. This crisis has been exacerbated by corruption and organized crime, which take advantage of the situation to profit from the illegal disposal of waste. This has led to the commercialization of waste management, with significant adverse effects on both the environment and public health. Illegal dumping of waste has led to increased rates of cancer and other diseases, as well as soil and water pollution in areas where waste is illegally disposed of. Critics of neoliberalism in Italy have called for a reconsideration of the privatization of waste management services, arguing that a more sustainable and equitable approach is needed. Some municipalities have begun to experiment with alternative approaches, such as community-based waste management systems, to create a more sustainable and equitable waste management system. In Italy, another key law contributing to the commodification of the environment is the Legge Obiettivo (Objective Law), which came into force in 2001. This law was aimed at speeding up the public works and infrastructure development process in Italy. In this way, we would increase the competitiveness of the country and attract foreign investment. Under the law, public works projects such as highways, airports, and high-speed rail lines were modernized and accelerated, often at the expense of environmental protection and community engagement. This has led to a situation where natural resources such as land and water are often nationalized and used for the benefit of large

corporations, rather than being managed for the benefit of local communities and the environment. Critics of the law argue that it contributes to the commodification of the environment, as natural resources are treated as commodities to be exploited for economic gain, not as essential elements of the ecosystem necessary for human well-being and environmental sustainability. In recent years, there has been growing opposition to Legge Obiettivo, with environmental and community groups calling for a more participatory and sustainable approach to public works and infrastructure development in Italy. While some called for the reform of the Legge Obiettivo, others advocated the development of alternative approaches, such as community-based planning and participatory decision-making processes, to promote environmental sustainability and social justice.

Italy has become a party to numerous international agreements on environmental protection. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC and Italy ratified this agreement in 1994, committing to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and address climate change. By committing to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) to protect and conserve biodiversity and to ensure the sustainable use of natural resources, it ratified the agreement in 1994. The Ramsar Convention on Wetlands in Italy, which aims to protect and preserve wetlands, which are the main habitats for a wide variety of plant and animal species, was ratified in 1977. International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, the Convention (CITES) was ratified in 1976, undertaking to regulate the international trade of endangered species to ensure their survival. This convention was ratified in 1992. The Cartagena Biosafety Protocol ratified this agreement in 2003, committing to regulating the movement of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) to protect the environment and human health.

Italy also participates in international organizations and initiatives related to environmental sustainability, such as the European Union's efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and promote renewable energy. Italy has had an impact on the world, including in the field of environmental policy and sustainability. In political terms, Italy, a member of the European Union (EU), which is an important global actor in the field of environmental protection and sustainability, has been involved in EU policies and initiatives related to environmental sustainability such as the EU's emission reduction targets and the Renewable Energy Directive. Italy has played a key role in its leadership in the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and its participation in international climate negotiations. For example, it hosted the 2021 pre-COP26 meeting to discuss strategies for achieving the Paris Agreement's climate change goals. Italy, where neoliberal policies are intense, has had a significant political

and cultural impact on the world, including in the field of environmental policy and sustainability. It demonstrates its commitment to promoting environmental sustainability and social responsibility through its participation in international agreements and organizations.

2.3. New Ideas in Environmental Understanding

The understanding of the environment has changed significantly in recent years as innovative ideas and perspectives emerge and countries' economic policies change. Systems thinking began to be imposed, emphasizing the interconnectedness of everything in the environment and the need to consider the entire system when making decisions about the environment. With this approach, the global economy recognizes that everything is interconnected and that actions in one part of the system may have consequences elsewhere. In addition, the policy of sustainability, which seeks to balance economic, social, and environmental considerations to meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, has become increasingly common. This required long-term thinking and an understanding of the complex relationships between humans and the natural world, while also criticizing economic policies.

On the other hand, the concept of environmental justice has emerged as an important idea, emphasizing the need for a fair distribution of environmental benefits and burdens, and recognizing the disproportionate impact of environmental problems on marginalized communities. In addition to these ideas, there are specific approaches to environmental challenges that are gaining momentum. For example, regenerative agriculture aids sustainability by focusing on building healthy soil and creating a sustainable and regenerative food system. The circular economy is another model that aims to reduce waste and encourage the reuse and recycling of materials to create a less wasteful and more sustainable closed-loop system. These innovative ideas and approaches reflect a growing awareness of the complexity of environmental problems and the need for innovative solutions that consider the interdependence of social, economic, and ecological systems.

Italy, on the other hand, has a long history of environmental awareness and conservation going back to the early modern era, when cities like Venice and Florence were designed with a focus on sustainability. In the 19th century, Italy became a pioneer in forestry management, establishing the first state-run forest service in Europe to protect and manage the country's forests. The post-World War II period also brought rapid industrialization and urbanization,

which led to environmental degradation. Italy has historically been one of the most polluting countries in Europe, with important levels of air pollution and industrial waste. Despite these challenges, it has made progress in recent years in addressing environmental issues and promoting sustainable development. It was the first country to implement the carbon tax in 1986 and made large investments in renewable energy, including solar and wind energy. It has also implemented innovative waste management programs such as the Zero Waste project in Capannori. But today Italy still faces significant environmental problems such as air and water pollution, deforestation, and loss of biodiversity.

According to a report by the World Wildlife Fund, Italy ranks 13th in the world in terms of total carbon dioxide emissions. This means that the country's per capita emissions are above the global average. However, it has made progress in reducing its emissions by reducing its carbon dioxide emissions from the energy sector by 34% between 2005 and 2018. Italy has also made significant investments in renewable energy, especially solar and wind energy. According to a report by the International Energy Agency, Italy is among the top five countries in the world in terms of solar energy capacity per capita. The country has one of the highest shares of renewable energy among the G7 countries. Italy has a mixed history with both successes and challenges in environmental matters. While the country has made progress in promoting sustainable development and reducing carbon emissions, more legislation is needed to address pollution, deforestation, and biodiversity loss.

The discourse surrounding the correlation between neoliberalism-induced urban landscapes in Italy and the formulation of environmental policies engenders a nuanced and multifaceted analysis. Neoliberalism, as an economic paradigm, epitomizes the advocacy for unrestricted market dynamics, deregulatory frameworks, and accentuated individual agency. Therefore, neoliberal policies have been widely criticized for their negative effects on the environment. In Italy, the impact of neoliberalism on environmental policies has been significant, especially in the context of urban change. Urban life has undergone significant changes. Since the 1990s, Italian cities have undergone significant transformations due to neoliberal policies, including privatization, deregulation, and the promotion of private investment in urban infrastructure. One of the effects of neoliberal urban policies has been the prioritization of economic growth over environmental protection. Policies have been developed by ignoring urban architecture. In most cases, urban development projects are approved without adequate consideration of their environmental impact. This leads to increased air and water pollution, deforestation, and loss of biodiversity.

However, there have also been efforts to promote sustainable development and address environmental challenges in the context of neoliberal urban policies in Italy. For example, some cities have implemented innovative programs to promote renewable energy, such as the development of solar panels in public buildings and bike-sharing programs.

Additionally, there is growing recognition in Italy that addressing environmental challenges is essential to promoting long-term economic growth and development. For this reason, investments in sustainable infrastructure such as public transport and renewable energy have increased in some Italian cities. The link between neoliberal cities in Italy and environmental policies, in general, is complex, with both positive and negative implications. Neoliberal policies gave importance to economic growth and failed to make progress in environmental protection. Going forward, it will be important to strike a balance between economic growth and environmental protection, to consider the damage of the capitalist economy to the environment and cities, and to introduce mandatory laws to promote a sustainable future for Italy.

CHAPTER 3 RIGHT TO THE CITY

3.1. City Rights

Urban protests that exist today and have become visible in the last ten years have started to show themselves in the protests in the city center. The problems caused by the economic crises directly reflected in the city caused the people living in the city to turn into action. “Since 1968, Europe has witnessed a continuum of radical urban youth movements, intertwined with underground culture, where libertarian principles are elevated and direct action is preferred” (Agnoli, 2006). This mobility has led to the emergence of urban problems and the creation of areas where these problems will be discussed.

Neoliberalism, which still functions as an effective political process today, has led to the beginning of multiple changes and transformations in the political, economic, and social fields. In this process, urban spaces are at the forefront of the transformation of the area. The reproduction of labor and capital in cities is one of the biggest effects and indicators of this transformation in the urban area. Along with these processes of change, self-reproduction of labor is of secondary importance, and the support of capital and its policies towards these supports are of primary importance. This reveals cities as important actors on the one hand and exposes them to the negative consequences of neoliberal policies on the other. In the global world order, which was reshaped and changed with the 2002 and 2008 crises, the structure of the city and its perspective on cities have changed from an economic perspective. “Urban spaces have become areas where the reflections of neoliberal policies are seen after the 1980s. Since this period, cities have been turning into important actors that ensure the functioning of the global system, and the fact that cities are this actor is due to the imposition of neoliberal policies” (Kuran, 2019, p.98). This change has brought back to the agenda how a livable order in the city should be.

When we consider the last 10 years, the concept of the right to the city, which came to the fore with the global social movements in which the social reflections of the global economic crisis in 2008 were observed, gained significant popularity by integrating with an anti-capitalist content in a brief time. It is possible to say that the right to the city is emphasized in all social responses to the equalizing, discriminating, depriving, and depriving effects of neoliberal policies on cities and citizens.

If we assume that cities are spaces for societies to express themselves, we accept that these spaces are shaped according to the tendencies and daily practices of societies. “The social

structure takes place in the city, it is felt there, it points to order there, and the city is a part of the social whole; It reveals institutions, ideologies – because it contains them and places them in the concrete matter. Kingdom, empire, and presidential buildings are part of the city" (Lefebvre, 2015, p.78). This unity is shaped by how the economic policies determined by the governments from above are reflected in society and the societies are affected by these policies. The right to the city also expresses the expectations of societies from the city in this existence. Material or spiritual consumption areas take the form in which these expectations emerge.

The economic and social injustices that exist in the cities cause social effects after a while. The insurmountable problems of life in modern cities have taken the form of action in cities with social movements. While this activism emphasizes the importance of living in cities, on the other hand, it has given birth to the issue of the right to the city. Better living in cities has been directly associated with the economic and political plane and these policies have been criticized. For this reason, the prerequisite of living in more modern cities is associated with getting the right to the city and living on equal terms. To ensure social peace, people living in cities should be able to receive their expectations from the city they live in like all other rights. "The right to the city manifests itself as a supreme form of right: the right to liberty, the right to individuate in the community, the right to habitat, and the right to abode. The right to work, participation, and ownership (which is distinctly different from the property right) are also included in the right to the city" (Lefebvre, 2015, p.151). As Lefebvre said, these rights are the facts that will define us as social rights and enable us to breathe more in modern cities. Although these phenomena have entered the forms that are presented spontaneously in social states, with the crises of the last 20 years, it has become a tricky situation to get out of within the right to the city. The difficulty of living in the city caused it to be the scene of urban uprisings, but it also enabled many rights struggles to be won.

The concept of the right to the city emerged as a social movement in the 1960s and 1970s as a response to the growing inequality, social exclusion, and political oppression that characterized urban life in many parts of the world. The right to the city was first mentioned by Henri Lefebvre in his 1968 book "Le Droit à la Ville" (Right to the City). In his book Right to the City, he argued that urban space is a collective product and citizens have the right to participate. The idea emerged that the production of urban space and the decisions that shape it can be taken together. Along with ideas of the right to the city, it gained momentum in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in Latin America, where social movements organized around issues such as housing, transportation, and access to public space. In Brazil, for example, the Movimento dos

Trabalhadores Sem Teto (Homeless Workers' Movement) and Movimento dos Sem Terra (Landless Workers' Movement) emerged as social movements advocating the right to adequate housing and land reform. It was discussed that fair distribution and the distribution of rights in the city and the land should be fair. The right to the city has also been discussed in the context of global urbanization and the growing impact of neoliberal economic policies that prioritize market-driven urban development over social and environmental concerns. Within these views, social movements around the world began to organize around the idea of the right to the city to challenge the dominance of capital in urban development and to promote more just and democratic cities.

Today, the right to the city has become a powerful framework for urban activism and advocacy, supporting the work of a wide range of social movements, community organizations, and academic scholars. On the other hand, it has been accepted as a fundamental human right by the United Nations and has been the subject of many international conferences and declarations. In this way, foundations came under the scope of basic human rights and social struggle started to take important steps.

Cities are centers of economic, cultural, and political activity, but they can also be sites of inequality, displacement, and exclusion. Communities around the world and in Europe are fighting for rights to the city, using a range of strategies and tactics to address pressing issues such as housing affordability, gentrification, and community development. Berlin, Germany, and Barcelona, Spain are undergoing rapid gentrification and displacement of long-term residents. Community groups such as the Mortgage Affected Platform (PAH) in Barcelona are demanding measures such as rent control and increased public housing. In Berlin, activists are fighting the development of the old Tempelhof airport, arguing that it should remain in the hands of the public for social housing and other community uses. These societal struggles share a common goal of resisting the forces of real estate speculation and promoting more affordable and fair housing. Examples of communities that use innovative approaches to community development are Boston, Massachusetts, and Porto Alegre, Brazil. In Boston, the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative has created a community land trust that has developed over 225 affordable housing and several community facilities. In Porto Alegre, on the other hand, the city government has implemented a participatory budgeting process that empowers citizens to have a direct say in how public funds are spent. Such approaches challenge traditional top-down urban development models and prioritize community input and control. These struggles and approaches are not isolated incidents, but part of a broader movement for more rights to the

city. The right to the city is a concept developed by urban academics and activists to emphasize the importance of democratic participation, social justice, and spatial equality in urban development. The critics contend the notion of the "right to the city" within the framework of its cultural and economic ramifications, articulating concerns regarding the adverse impacts attributed to governing bodies. It recognizes that cities are not just physical spaces but are also shaped by social relations and power dynamics. With these definitions, the right to the city can be seen as a framework that unifies struggles for social and spatial justice in cities around the world. It is a call to action for communities to take control of their destinies and shape the cities they want to live in. Whether it is to fight gentrification, promote affordable housing, or advocate for participatory decision-making, the right to the city offers a vision of a more just and equitable urban future. City rights struggles are diverse and complex, but their common goal is to promote more just and democratic urban development. By combining these struggles and approaches within the framework of the right to the city, a stronger and more inclusive social movement for urban justice can emerge.

3.2. The Existence of Public Spaces in the Context of the Right to the City

The right to the city is a fundamental human right that has been increasingly recognized in recent years, especially in the context of rapid urbanization and the increasing privatization of urban space. One of the basic elements of the right to the city is the existence of public spaces necessary for the social, cultural, and political life of cities. The transition of public spaces from cultural socialization areas to economic areas is the result of economic policies. Socialization areas, where cultural accumulation is achieved, have become a function of the economic cycle today.

Public spaces are defined as spaces that are open and accessible to all members of the public, regardless of their social, economic, or cultural background. It includes parks, plazas, sidewalks, and other areas designed for public use and entertainment. Public spaces provide important opportunities for social interaction, cultural expression, and political participation and are essential to creating vibrant, livable cities. For example, squares, parks, and accessible walkways keep the city dynamic. However, the existence of public spaces is increasingly threatened in many cities around the world. The privatization of urban space has led to the erosion of public spaces, with many public spaces transformed into private commercial or residential development. This has resulted in the displacement of local communities, the

marginalization of vulnerable populations, and the exclusion of low-income and minority groups from the benefits of urban life. In the context of the right to the city, the protection and creation of public spaces is considered a key point for ensuring the democratic and egalitarian governance of cities. It is important to recognize that public spaces are not just physical spaces, but also social and political spaces that enable citizens to participate in shaping their cities. Therefore, the existence of public spaces is intricately linked to the exercise of citizenship and the promotion of democratic values.

To ensure the existence of public spaces in the context of the right to the city, it is necessary to adopt a series of strategies and policies that prioritize the public interest rather than the private interest. These may include protecting existing public spaces through legislation and regulations, creating new public spaces through urban planning and design, and promoting community participation in the management and maintenance of public spaces. The existence of public spaces is a fundamental element of the right to the city, which is necessary for the provision of the social, cultural, and political life of the cities. The destruction of public spaces in many cities around the world is a threat to the right to access public space, and a range of strategies and policies need to be adopted to protect and create public spaces that put public interests before private profit.

With the economic changes from the 1970s to the present, great mobility has been observed in the cities. With the introduction of liberal policies into our lives and the capitalist economic system trying to normalize it in modern life, urban structures have changed greatly. While the consumption areas have changed according to the necessity of the economic system, the cities, and urban life, which are at the center of this change, have also changed. “It is the people, the society, and the values of this society that suffer in the cities transformed by capital. For this reason, we can say that these groups' protection of their values depends on their struggles” (Keleş, 1994, p.277). These struggles have increased visibly since the 2000s. While the forms of struggle are diversified, the pressure of the state against these movements increases at the same rate.

While consumption areas have increased, in the new era where public spaces have decreased, cities have offered us a unique way of life than before. In the recent period after the 2000s, when neoliberal policies were effective, public spaces have almost disappeared. Although there are social movements in these areas, that are trying to be transformed into consumption areas, they have not shown their effect on the state and companies. While social movements have had an impact within the framework of the right to the city, this context has turned into an effort to

offer a healthier city to all residents. “It also draws attention to the fact that the struggle for the right to the city will open important ways for people both in shaping the life they live now and in designing the future” (Angotti, 2009, p.4) These struggles are shaped against the force of the state and the effect of neoliberal policies. While the power of the state over the public increased in the new economic and political plan, it made the daily practices of the city residents more challenging and increased the effect of class difference even more. “Therefore, the city is heavily demanded by both the capital owners and the poor who serve these capital owners and is shaped mostly in line with the demand of the capital” (Yücel and Aksümer, 2011, p.121).

The marginal transformative effect of neoliberal policies in urban life has caused the inhabitants of the city to not be able to exist sufficiently in public spaces. The loss of existence of the middle and lower middle class in the cities will increase the gains of these classes in the right to the city. The struggle for the right to the city, which criticizes the system, points to the corruption of the economic system at this very point. The destructive effect of neoliberal policies on daily practices has increased the activities for the change of this system. “Although the importance of participation is emphasized in the context of the right to the city, it is necessary that this participation cannot be in the form of a cheerful citizen participation within the system, but in a form outside the system and against the system” (Amoros, 2014, p.137). The sign of the disorder of the system acts on the fact that all city residents living in the city cannot benefit from the city equally.

Since all public spaces in cities, that is, common spaces, are transformed into consumption spaces, the classes that cannot create themselves in these consumption areas cannot find a place to socialize in the cities, that is, to provide their modern existence. The failure to participate in the consumption areas shows that the economic system does not act on equal terms for every citizen. Lefebvre (2013) states that green areas in cities remain a weak representation of nature and that parks, gardens, and squares can be nothing but a degraded image of nature. These spaces, which are getting smaller and smaller, cause the disappearance of spaces in cities that can breathe and socialize. As a result of this, life in concrete cities will force us to join the consumption chain from the moment we step outside. In a sense, this has also affected the areas of society to act together. Urban residents, who can socialize through consumption, will not be able to become a society, so they will lose their ability to understand each other and act together, that is, their culture. These privatized areas turn into parking lots or shopping malls. Metro stations or bus stops are planned for these areas, and even these stops are given the names of these consumption areas. This system, which creates a consumption chain that is difficult to get

out of, facilitates the possibility of transformation into a more controllable society with the decrease and disappearance of associations. When urban residents, who can be controlled through consumption, define themselves through modern perceptions, their culture disappears. When city dwellers, who cannot manage to be in a society outside of traditional ties, define their desire to be together through the modern system, it will show the necessities of the modern system, that is, what is required in any political economy.

3.3. Rights to Housing

The right to housing is a fundamental human right recognized by various international organizations. According to Habitat for Humanity International, the right to housing encompasses more than the right to a physical structure. It states that housing is not just a building. It states that the right to use housing includes the right to protection against forced eviction, access to basic services such as water and sanitation, and a safe and healthy living environment. This definition of Habitat for Humanity International emphasizes the importance of not only providing housing but also of individuals obtaining certain rights vis-à-vis the state. In this context, the right to housing emphasizes the importance of being protected from the threat of eviction and having access to what is necessary for a decent standard of living. By recognizing the cultural and economic nature of the right to housing, we can better understand the many factors that contribute to homelessness or ghettoization and try to produce sustainable solutions. Another definition of the right to shelter is the United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-Habitat). According to UN-Habitat, the right to housing means that everyone has the right to adequate housing, which must be accessible, affordable, habitable, safe, and culturally appropriate. This definition highlights the need for housing that meets certain standards and is accessible to all individuals, regardless of income or background. It also recognizes that the home is not just a physical structure, but also a cultural and social space that should reflect the needs and values of the community. Based on this definition, it is important to discuss the importance of obtaining adequate housing, standardizing housing, and reducing overcrowding and discrimination in housing. The definitions of the right to shelter provided by Habitat for Humanity International and UN-Habitat criticize the multidimensional nature of this basic human right. By recognizing the right to property security, protection against forced eviction, access to basic services, and cultural appropriateness, laws need to be created to create sustainable solutions to homelessness and ensure that all individuals have access to adequate and affordable housing. The right to shelter has been recognized as a fundamental human right

by international law, but its implementation and enforcement have been limited in many countries. The impact of the global economy is highly effective on cities.

One of the main criticisms of the right to housing is that its implementation depends on the political will of states, which can vary depending on their economic, social, and cultural context (Marks, 2011). As the political theorist, Susan Marks has pointed out, the right to housing is a "programmed" right that requires governments to take positive action to ensure access to adequate housing rather than refrain from interfering with individuals' rights (Marks, 2011). This context advises us to follow policies that guide the right to housing to protect this right with the laws of the states and to enact new laws if there are no laws. Moreover, the right to housing often clashes with other rights and interests such as property rights, market forces, and national security, along with the processes that determine economic policy in neoliberal countries. This can be seen especially in governments' urban renewal projects or in cases of forced evictions. Political scientist Balakrishnan Rajagopal states that the right to housing is not just a legal and moral issue. This is also to argue that it is a political and economic issue as it involves broader questions of democracy, inequality, and social justice (Rajagopal, 2023).

Another criticism of the right to housing is that it is too narrowly defined and fails to capture the complexity of housing as a social, economic, and cultural phenomenon. In other words, the increasing population, the crowded cities with this population, and the poverty that comes with it can lead to this situation. Sociologist Saskia Sassen emphasizes the comprehensive nature of the right to housing, arguing that it should not be reduced to a mere "roof right," but rather encompasses the right to inhabit diverse and vibrant communities, participate in shaping urban development, and access basic services and amenities (Sassen, 2020). This broader view of the right to housing highlights the importance of social relations, cultural practices, and political participation in shaping housing outcomes. In conclusion, the right to housing is a complex and multi-political issue that requires interdisciplinary and politically informed analysis. Although international law has recognized the right to housing as a human right, its implementation and enactment depend on the political context and the interests of various actors. Political scientists emphasize the need to address the structural and political causes of housing insecurity and to expand the definition of the right to housing beyond providing shelter. On the other hand, the recognition of the right to housing as a fundamental human right in international law also means that it is an essential part of the broader human rights framework. This means that every individual has the right to live in conditions that ensure their health and well-being, including

access to adequate housing. This meaning creates a situation where these laws are enacted and the rights of every individual in society are cared for, and their rights are sought.

When we take the right to shelter as a basis, there are basic points such as living in peaceful and secure areas, obtaining a healthy environment, and obtaining access to water. In addition, from a different angle, it includes housing, the right to participate in decisions affecting the wider society, as well as the right to be protected against forced eviction and homelessness. In light of all these frameworks, the versatility of housing reminds us that states must act on this issue. While the recognition of the right to housing in international law is a crucial step toward ensuring that everyone has access to adequate housing, there are still many challenges that need to be addressed. Access to affordable and affordable housing is often limited, especially for marginalized and vulnerable communities, such as those experiencing poverty, discrimination, or displacement. In addition, inadequate housing conditions can contribute to a range of cultural and social problems, including the spread of diseases, violence, and social exclusion.

To meet these challenges, governments and other stakeholders must work to ensure the right to housing is fulfilled for all. This may include investing in affordable housing and improving housing conditions, as well as policies and programs that address the root causes of housing insecurity, such as poverty and discrimination. It also requires a commitment to ensure that all individuals have access to essential services and protections necessary to ensure their health and well-being. As I mentioned earlier, the right to shelter is more than just having a roof over one's head. It covers a range of elements necessary to ensure individuals and communities have access to safe and adequate housing.

One of the most important aspects of the right to housing is the right to security of tenure, as emphasized in General Comment No. 4 of the Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (2022). This right ensures that individuals and communities are protected from arbitrary eviction, forced displacement, or homelessness, thus promoting stability and security in their living arrangements. This means that individuals and communities have the right to live in their homes without fear of forced eviction or displacement. This is important because forced evictions can cause individuals and communities to lose their homes, property, and social networks, leading to increased poverty, homelessness, and social exclusion. A triple contract between the tenant, the property owner, and the state and steps to protect the victim should be taken and laws should be enacted.

In addition to tenure security, the right to housing includes access to basic services such as water and sanitation. This means that individuals and communities have the right to access clean and safe drinking water and adequate sanitation facilities. This is critical to public health and ensuring that individuals and communities have access to essential services essential to their health and well-being. Compensation by legislators means that these individuals and communities have legal protection against forced evictions and live in a healthy environment and that governments and other stakeholders must take steps to ensure that evictions are conducted by international human rights standards. These laws also enable adequate reporting, counseling, and compensation to individuals and communities affected by these situations.

Despite the recognition of the right to housing as a human right, millions of people around the world still lack access to safe, secure, and adequate housing. This is particularly acute in developing countries and among marginalized groups such as refugees and the homeless. The right to shelter makes it increasingly difficult to control in a global world where neoliberal policies are effective, and the population is rapidly increasing.

According to a report by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Adequate Housing (2017), an estimated 1.8 billion people worldwide lack access to adequate housing, and one hundred million are homeless. The report shows that this housing crisis, rapid urbanization, and poverty have led to the growth of informal settlements and slums. He points out that this injustice is particularly severe in developing countries. These areas often lack access to basic services such as water and sanitation. At the same time, residents are often at risk of forced eviction and displacement. Marginal groups such as refugees and the homeless are also particularly vulnerable to shelter insecurity. According to the United Nations Refugee Agency (2022), there are currently more than twenty-six million refugees worldwide. Most of the refugees live in temporary and inadequate housing conditions. Similarly, the World Health Organization estimates that there are more than a hundred million people worldwide who are homeless, with many living in unsafe and overcrowded conditions.

Despite these challenges, states do not compromise their policies to address the housing crisis and ensure that the right to housing is fulfilled for all. Attempts to increase access to affordable housing, strengthen legal protections against forced evictions, and promote sustainable urban development and international adoption of laws should be imperative. However, these laws are insufficient, and much remains to be done to ensure that all individuals and communities have access to safe, secure, and adequate housing. With rising rents and house prices making it increasingly difficult for low-income families to find affordable housing, the lack of affordable

housing is a growing problem in many countries. This can have significant impacts on individuals and communities, such as increased homelessness, housing insecurity, and financial pressure. In big metropolitan cities, the situation is going in an increasingly negative direction. For example, according to a report by the National Low-Income Housing Coalition, there are more than seven million affordable and available rental homes for low-income tenants alone in the United States. This leads to a situation where many low-income families are forced to spend a massive portion of their income on housing, leaving little money for other basic needs such as food, health, and education. The situation is similar in many other countries, including the United Kingdom, where rising house prices and rents are making it increasingly difficult for low-income families to find affordable housing. According to a UK government report (2023), more than eight million people in the UK alone live in unaffordable, unsafe, or unsuitable housing. This situation reminds us that urgent measures should be taken in the international arena. The lack of affordable housing is a multi-faceted issue that is influenced by several factors such as market conditions, government policies, and societal attitudes toward housing and homelessness. It should be noted, however, that initiatives to increase the affordable housing supply, strengthen tenant protections, and promote alternative housing models such as cooperative and community-led housing are also issues that need to be addressed when steps are taken to address the housing problem.

The right to housing is recognized as a fundamental human right in international law, and governments have a responsibility to ensure that this right is fulfilled for all citizens. This means that governments must take steps to provide affordable housing, prevent forced evictions, and ensure access to essential services such as water and sanitation, and that legislation will support this situation.

Affordable housing is especially important for low-income families who may have trouble finding affordable housing. This is a growing problem in many countries as rising rents and house prices make it increasingly difficult for these families to find adequate housing. Regional administrations or city administrations need to implement policies and take steps to protect this situation.

Preventing forced evictions is also an important part of fulfilling the right to housing. In the capitalist economic order, we are forced to live in, it can be difficult even to pay the rent, let alone live in a healthy environment or meet basic needs. Forced evictions can leave families without a place to live and undermine social and economic development. Governments should

work to ensure that evictions take place only in exceptional circumstances and that those affected receive adequate notice and compensation.

On the other hand, providing access to basic services such as water and sanitation is a critical issue and should be considered in the fulfillment of the right to housing. Without access to these services, housing can be unsafe and unhealthy, especially for vulnerable populations such as children and the elderly. Governments must work to ensure that all housing is connected to reliable water and sanitation infrastructure and that residents have access to other essential services such as health and education. Governments can help reduce homelessness, improve public health, and support social and economic development by meeting their obligations to ensure the right to housing by developing laws and policies.

At this point, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society play a key role in defending the right to housing and supporting those who are homeless or at risk of losing their homes. NGOs can work to raise awareness, pressure governments to meet their obligations, and provide direct assistance to those in need. Non-governmental organizations, which are a liberal need, can contribute to the legislature of states or the discussion of these issues in the international arena by exerting an economically and politically coercive effect. Habitat for Humanity, an NGO working to promote the right to housing, has built or repaired more than 1.9 million homes and served more than 9.8 million people since its founding in 1976. With this and similar non-governmental organizations, a pressure mechanism can be created against the state. Another example is the International Street Papers Network, which supports independent street newspapers sold worldwide by the homeless and low-income people. These street newspapers provide a platform for people who are homeless or at risk of becoming homeless, as well as a source of income, to share their stories and defend their rights.

NGOs and non-governmental organizations can also work to hold governments accountable for meeting their obligations to provide the right to housing. Where governments do not act or pass laws, they can use the public for their benefit. For example, the Right to the City Alliance in the United States works to mobilize communities and hold governments accountable for providing affordable housing and preventing displacement.

Non-governmental organizations emerging from this system play a key role in defending the right to shelter and supporting those who are homeless or at risk of losing their homes. By working with or criticizing governments and other stakeholders, they can help ensure everyone

has access to safe, secure, and affordable housing. In this way, they can emphasize the importance of the right to housing in the international arena.

Individuals outside non-governmental organizations or governments also need to understand their right to housing and act when these rights are violated. This may include seeking legal aid, participating in advocacy campaigns, and raising awareness about the issue. The right to housing, which has transformed into a social movement over the years, also helps individuals to be enlightened. An example of an organization that helps individuals understand their housing rights is the National Homelessness and Poverty Law Center in the United States. This organization provides legal aid to homeless individuals and works to promote policies that will end homelessness and protect the rights of the homeless. Institutional support is important in defending the individual's rights. In addition to seeking legal aid, individuals can also participate in advocacy campaigns to raise awareness about their housing rights. For example, the #MakeTheShift campaign in Canada seeks to build public support for the transition to a human rights-based approach to housing that will prioritize the needs of the most vulnerable and marginalized populations.

It is also important for individuals to understand their rights when it comes to eviction and displacement. In some cases, individuals may be at risk of forced eviction or displacement from their homes. The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies has developed a guide on preventing forced eviction that provides information on how to prevent forced eviction and protect the rights of those affected. Thanks to this guide, the individual can seek his legal rights against the state.

3.4. International Perspective on the Right to Housing

It is seen that the right to shelter, which is defined as having housing conditions that are suitable for human dignity, suitable for one's physical and mental health, and sufficient accessibility to urban, social, cultural, and business areas, should be accepted as one of the basic human rights (Keleş 2007, p. 439). The document named Global Housing Strategy for 2000, prepared by the United Nations Organization in 1987, listed the components that make up the right to shelter as adequate privacy, security, lighting and ventilation, basic infrastructure services, and proximity to the workplace.

Today, in many Western countries, housing is considered one of the most basic needs of the people and housing is also mentioned among the basic services. However, since the right to housing as a human right is not fully explained in laws and constitutions, it is not possible in practice for people to easily reach housing by using these rights. Although the concept of the right to shelter is not clearly and explicitly included in laws and constitutions, the right to shelter has been defined and guaranteed more comprehensively by international regulations and human rights conventions. With these documents, states have been given several responsibilities and duties in ensuring that people use their right to shelter.

In international human rights law, no rule obliges countries to provide free housing to anyone who wants to meet the housing needs of the people. However, international human rights law emphasizes the responsibility of countries to ensure the right to housing of the people, using the resources of the countries to meet the housing need as much as possible, and thus, the need for people to live in better conditions and economically accessible housing, step by step.

In the first paragraph of Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in the United Nations General Assembly in 1948; “Everyone has a standard of living adequate for the well-being and well-being of himself and his family, including adequate nutrition, shelter, health care and necessary social services; unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age, or livelihood opportunities, has the right to security in other circumstances where he may be deprived of his own will." is called. As can be understood from the definition in the first paragraph of Article 25 of the declaration, it is seen that the right to shelter has been added to the other basic human rights. However, since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a soft law instrument, it is a guiding guide rather than binding for states. The binding effect of the rules contained in legal instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on states only depends on the ratification and implementation of international conventions related to them by the member states.

One of the documents exemplifying this situation is the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, to which approximately 150 states are parties, and is one of the instruments that paved the way for binding on states. In the text of this Convention, Article 11 (paragraph 1) states, "The States Parties to this Convention shall ensure that everyone has an adequate standard of living for himself and his family. This standard includes adequate nutrition, clothing, shelter, and the continuous improvement of living conditions. States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing that international cooperation based on their free will is essential.” is called. The Universal

Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights are defined as CESCR. Art. 2.1 of the CESCR contains a "progressive realization" clause that may impact the immediate justiciability of economic and social rights, including the right to housing: “Each State Party to this Convention shall take all necessary measures, including legislative measures, to realize increasingly fully, within its available resources, the rights recognized in this Convention, both on its own and internationally, in particular through economic and technical assistance and cooperation.

Although no rule requires the immediate provision of economic, social, and cultural rights, including the right to housing, to citizens, as in political rights, it is stated in the text of the convention that the states that are party to the convention should act away from all kinds of discrimination and increasingly over time in the presentation of these rights. In addition, an individual application or a state can't complain to another state regarding the rights in this category.

Regarding the right to housing, Article 16 of the European Social Charter says that “The Contracting Parties undertake to promote the economic, legal and social protection of family life by social and family benefits, financial arrangements, housing, assistance to newlyweds and other appropriate means, to ensure the conditions necessary for the full development of the family, the basic unit of society.”. This article states that the states party to the convention are obliged to provide the conditions necessary for the development of the family, which is the core of society. The right to shelter is seen as one of the rights among these obligations.

In addition, regarding the right to housing, Art. 31 of the revised European Social Charter, "With a view to ensuring the effective exercise of the right to housing, the Parties undertake to take measures designed: 1 to promote access to housing of an adequate standard; 2 to prevent and reduce homelessness with a view to its gradual elimination; 3 to make the price of housing accessible to those without adequate resources. With a view to ensuring the effective exercise of the right to housing, the Parties undertake to take measures designed: 1 to promote access to housing of an adequate standard; 2 to prevent and reduce homelessness with a view to its gradual elimination; 3 to make the price of housing accessible to those without adequate resources.". So, to the States; the right to housing and the obligation to protect the housing environment and to meet the housing needs of everyone living were introduced (Sur 1995, p. 107). The main reason why the right to housing is included in international documents and conventions is that being unable to meet the need for shelter is seen as a fundamental violation of human rights (Bulut 2009, pp. 216-217). The concept of the right to housing has been

extensively discussed in the European Social Charter (2015), which was adopted by the authorized bodies of the Council of Europe in March 1992 and revised in May 2004. In the housing part of this document; “Housing is a personal space and space that defines everyone's identity. Access to housing and the right to housing are included in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Cities play a decisive role in the provision of housing. However, housing shortages are increasing all over Europe. Everyone has the right to live in favorable conditions of housing. Housing provision should meet the diverse needs of single residents and families and be able to adapt to changes in lifestyles and social and economic conditions.” is called.

Apart from these documents, the need for everyone to have the right to adequate housing has also been recognized by declarations such as the United Nations Declaration on Social Progress and Development (1969), the Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (1976), and the Habitat II Istanbul Declaration (1996). In the first sentence of Article 8 of the Habitat II (Istanbul) Declaration regarding the right to shelter; "We reiterate our commitment to the full and progressive realization of the right to adequate housing, as enshrined in international law instruments." is called.

Although the American Housing Act of 1949 mentions that "every American family should be provided with modern housing and a favorable living environment..." by the United States, given the burden it may impose on the state concerning the contract in Article 7 Proposals for the recognition of housing as a right to citizens, or rather people, have been opposed. The USA could hardly be persuaded to include the right to shelter in a very general way in the Habitat II documents (Keleş 2007, p. 439).

The issue that states are most afraid of regarding the right to housing is that states may come under a heavy burden and political obligation when housing is mentioned as a right, a human right. However, in this situation, in the context of the right to housing, the scope of the state's duty and the content and boundary of the citizen's demand is drawn in detail, preventing the states from being under a heavy burden and political obligation, and ensuring the accessibility of social facilities and business areas in quality urban spaces that are close to human dignity by using the people's right to shelter. It is thought that it can be ensured that they live in the residential areas where they are located.

If we look at the right to housing from an international perspective, we see that it is accepted as a human right. However, the right to shelter is accepted as a fundamental human right and is

protected by various international agreements and conventions. One of these international agreements is the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, which recognizes the right to adequate housing as a fundamental human right. The United Nations Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights has also published guidance on how states can fulfill their obligations under the Covenant to ensure the right to housing for all. These guidelines include taking steps to prevent homelessness, ensuring access to basic services such as water and sanitation, and protecting individuals from forced eviction. These agreements, which force states, can be used as a precaution against the negative impact of neoliberal policies on cities. In addition, it works in various international organizations to support the right to housing worldwide and draws a roadmap. For example, Habitat for Humanity International is a non-profit organization working to provide safe and affordable housing to families in need in more than seventy countries. The UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) also outline a roadmap for ensuring access to adequate, safe, and affordable housing for all by 2030. This reflects the growing recognition of the importance of housing as a fundamental human right and a critical component of sustainable development. However, despite all these efforts, millions of people around the world still lack access to adequate housing, and the lack of affordable housing has become a growing problem in many countries. For this reason, roadmaps prepared by international organizations and civil society to support the right to shelter and ensure everyone's access to safe, secure, and affordable housing should be compelling. The right to housing is a fundamental human right recognized by international law, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. However, despite this definition, millions of people worldwide still lack access to adequate housing, especially in developing countries and among marginalized groups.

To address this issue, governments have a responsibility to ensure that the right to housing is fulfilled for all citizens. This includes providing affordable housing, preventing forced evictions, and ensuring access to basic services such as water and sanitation. Civil society organizations and civil society can also play a key role in advocating for the right to housing, raising awareness, and providing support to those who are homeless or at risk of losing their homes.

An important international agreement recognizing the right to housing is the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966, this treaty sets out the obligations of governments to respect, protect, and

fulfill the right to adequate housing. This includes making housing affordable, safe, and secure, and providing access to essential services such as water, sanitation, and electricity.

Individuals also play a key role in the development of the right to shelter and the achievement of this right. Individuals must understand their right to housing and act when these rights are violated, for example by seeking legal aid or participating in advocacy campaigns. The right to housing, which is currently recognized by international law, is a fundamental human right, and therefore individuals' desire to seek their rights and live in a healthy environment may also result in their possibilities. Governments, international organizations, and civil society have a role to play in promoting this right and ensuring that everyone has access to safe, secure, and affordable housing, and this role will contribute to the individual's awareness of the right to housing.

The right to housing is recognized as a fundamental human right in international law, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. This means that governments have a responsibility to ensure that all individuals have access to adequate housing, including not only shelter but also tenure security, access to essential services such as water and sanitation, and protection against forced eviction.

Governments have a responsibility to ensure the fulfillment of the right to housing for all citizens and must take steps to provide affordable housing, prevent forced evictions, and ensure access to basic services. In addition to government action, non-governmental organizations, and civil society can also play a key role in advocating for the right to housing, raising awareness of the issue, and providing support to those who are homeless or at risk of losing their homes. For example, the Housing and Land Rights Network is a global network of organizations and individuals working to promote and protect the right to housing and land. He has been involved in defending the right to housing in various countries around the world, including India, where he fought against the forced eviction of slum dwellers. In this way, the cultural destruction of urban transformation can be avoided. In the United States, organizations such as the National Low-Income Housing Coalition are also working to promote policies that will increase low-income families' access to affordable housing. In this way, the most basic need for shelter can be met. It recognizes, with internationally agreed agreements, that adequate housing is a prerequisite for the realization of other human rights, such as the right to health, education, and work. From an international perspective, it is the responsibility of governments to ensure that all individuals have access to adequate housing. This includes not only the provision of shelter,

but also access to essential services such as clean water, sanitation, and electricity, as well as protection against forced evictions. Governments should also work to ensure that housing is affordable and accessible to all, regardless of socioeconomic status.

Seeking the right to shelter in civil society may force the states to make laws and provide the right to gain legally. An example of this is the United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-Habitat), which works to promote sustainable urbanization and adequate shelter for all. UN-Habitat advocates policies and programs that enable vulnerable groups such as women, children, and the elderly to access shelter, and works with governments and other stakeholders to support the right to housing at the local, national, and international levels. In addition to international organizations, numerous grassroots and community-based organizations work to support the right to housing. These organizations often operate at the local level and focus on meeting the specific needs of their communities. For example, the Alliance to End Homelessness Ottawa is a community-based organization working to prevent and end homelessness in Ottawa, Canada, through advocacy, education, and collaboration with local stakeholders. In summary, the right to housing is a fundamental human right recognized in international law. Governments have a responsibility to ensure that all individuals have access to adequate housing, and international and community-based organizations play a critical role in promoting and protecting this right. Recognition and realization of the right to housing are necessary to promote human dignity, social justice, and sustainable development.

General Comment No. 4 (1991), issued by the UN Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, provides essential interpretative guidance on the right to adequate housing. This commentary delves into various dimensions, including legal security of tenure, affordability, accessibility, habitability, and cultural adequacy. It offers a comprehensive framework for understanding and implementing this multifaceted right (UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1991). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 11, further amplify the importance of adequate housing. Goal 11 aims to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable, with Target 11.1 specifically addressing the necessity of ensuring adequate housing for all (United Nations).

CHAPTER 4 THE RIGHT TO HOUSING AND THE URBAN STRUGGLES OF PADOVA

4.1. Critique of Modernist and Liberal Ideologies in Housing Policy and Practice in Italy and the City of Padova

Countries and therefore cities worldwide, especially in Western Europe, have changed during the modernization process. City planning and the architecture of the city began to move in line with the understanding of modernism. Consumption and living spaces began to be created following the functioning of the economic order. Technology in the modern world and the living spaces of societies that can access the consumption of this technology have begun to change with a manipulative architecture.

In the 20th century, Italy embarked on a transformative journey shaped by the intertwined forces of modernism and liberal ideas. This research aimed to reveal the subtle effects of these ideologies on the artistic, political, economic, and social spheres of Italy. In the early 20th century, however, Italy experienced a renaissance through modernist lenses, exemplified by the Futurist movement led by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti. Futurism injected dynamism into Italian art and literature, celebrating technological advances and the fast pace of modern life. Architects such as Giuseppe Terragni embraced rationalist principles, stamping a subjective interpretation of functionality and simplicity into the urban fabric. It left its mark on Italy's journey toward political change in the post-World War II period. Personal views on democracy, individual rights, and political pluralism were crucial in guiding the nation toward the liberal democratic system. The Italian Constitution of 1948, a product of diverse views and liberal ideals, enshrined fundamental rights and democratic values at the center of Italy's political identity. Italy's post-war economic situation, however, reflects subjective interpretations of economic progress. Rapid industrialization and growth during this period embodied not only economic principles but also individual perspectives on the aspirations and challenges of a nation rising from the ashes of war. The economic boom gave birth to a thriving consumer culture that embodied liberal economic ideals and emphasized individual agency. Modernism and liberal ideas played a profound role in changing social norms. The embrace of individualism, personal expression, and the revaluation of traditional values became threads woven into the fabric of Italian social consciousness. Counterculture and student protests in the 1960s contributed to the expression of dissent and defense of personal freedoms and the development of Italian social norms.

Furthermore, modernism and liberal policies in Italy had some negative consequences, including the loss of cultural traditions due to the focus on progress and innovation. The economic boom led to increased inequalities, contributing to social tensions and a sense of alienation among certain groups. Political instability, characterized by frequent changes of government, hindered long-term planning and created uncertainty. The rapid industrialization associated with modernism neglected environmental concerns, leading to pollution and environmental degradation. The emphasis on a unified national identity risked eroding regional cultures and contributed to cultural homogenization. The emphasis on individualism in liberal ideas led to the breakdown of social harmony and the weakening of traditional community ties. The liberal political landscape in Italy has been marred by corruption and scandals, and public trust in institutions has eroded. Rapid societal changes have sometimes outpaced adjustments to the education system, contributing to the difficulties in preparing the workforce for a modern, technologically driven economy. The rapid pace of change has led to moral and ethical challenges, created a sense of moral uncertainty, and contributed to social and cultural upheaval. Cultural changes associated with modernism and liberal politics led to generational divisions; older generations have difficulty adapting to rapidly changing norms, which has led to social tensions and conflicts.

The move towards industrialization during the period of modernism and liberalism in Italy led to increased environmental concerns such as increased pollution from factories and the impact on air and water quality. Rapid urbanization affects biodiversity by causing habitat loss and deforestation. The increase in automobile use has contributed to air pollution and traffic congestion, which are exacerbated by limited public transport.

City problems, including housing shortages and informal settlements, arose due to inadequate urban planning. Aging infrastructure makes it difficult to provide basic services, affecting water supply and sanitation. Social inequality persisted, and inequalities in access to education and healthcare contributed to the urban-rural divide. Public health problems arise from poor air quality and lead to respiratory and cardiovascular problems. The concentration of buildings in cities has increased the effects of climate change by intensifying the urban heat island effect. These issues underline the need for sustainable practices in urban development.

In Italy, the adoption of modernist ideals and liberal policies in the 20th century contributed to rapid urbanization, resulting in housing shortages and increased demand. Unplanned urbanization influenced by these ideologies has led to housing shortages and a lack of effective policies. Aging infrastructure in cities has faced strains due to growth in population and vehicle

traffic, causing congestion and inefficiency. Gentrification trends associated with modernist and liberal urban policies have created inequalities in access to housing and public services, sometimes displacing low-income residents. Industrialization, spurred by modernist ideals, contributed to environmental pollution in urban areas, affecting air and water quality. Cultural shifts and architectural changes influenced by modernism have raised concerns about the potential loss of historical and cultural heritage in urban areas. Overcrowded living conditions resulting from modernist and liberal urban policies caused public health problems, especially in terms of disease transmission. Automobile-centric planning strategies have led to traffic congestion, air pollution, and difficulties in developing sustainable transportation solutions. While liberal economic policies stimulated growth, they also contributed to economic inequalities, exacerbating urban divisions. The tension between the preservation of historical elements and the pursuit of progress was a notable challenge associated with modernist and liberal policies in urban development in Italy. A careful balance is essential to tackling these complexities while ensuring sustainable, inclusive, and vibrant urban environments.

Rapid urbanization in Italy, influenced by modernist and liberal ideologies, has led to insufficient housing supply, shortages, and increased housing costs. Unplanned urbanization associated with these ideologies may have led to poorly designed urban areas, straining infrastructure and negatively affecting overall housing quality. Social inequality, exacerbated by these ideologies, can intensify economic divisions, leading to inequalities in access to housing. Inadequate housing can exacerbate public health problems related to poor air quality and overcrowded living conditions, which in turn can contribute to health problems. Modernist housing designs may not have adequately considered climate change risks, potentially leaving housing infrastructure vulnerable to extreme weather events. Government interventions influenced by modernist and liberal ideologies may face difficulties in implementation, hindering the effectiveness of housing programs. Encouraging automobile use, a characteristic of modernist and liberal urban planning can affect housing accessibility by contributing to traffic congestion. Additionally, modernist ideologies may contribute to the loss of cultural and historical aspects in housing design, eroding the identity of Italian communities.

Rapid urbanization in Padova, driven by modernist and liberal ideologies, led to housing shortages and increased demand, leading to inadequate living spaces and high housing costs. Unplanned urbanization influenced by these ideologies has contributed to poorly designed urban areas, straining infrastructure, and affecting overall housing quality. Potential gentrification trends associated with modernist and liberal policies could displace low-income

residents and create disparities in access to housing. Environmental challenges resulting from industrialization promoted by modernist ideals have contributed to pollution, affecting air and water quality in urban areas. Cultural shifts and architectural changes influenced by modernism raise concerns about the potential loss of historical and cultural heritage in Padova. Overcrowded living conditions resulting from these ideologies can lead to public health problems, especially in terms of disease transmission. Automobile-centric planning strategies influenced by liberal policies may contribute to traffic congestion in Padova and difficulties in developing sustainable transport solutions. Economic inequalities associated with liberal economic policies can exacerbate urban divides, affecting housing accessibility. Balancing the tension between the preservation of historical elements and the pursuit of progress remains a challenge in housing policy and practice in Padova. In tackling these complexities, a thoughtful approach is crucial to ensuring sustainable, inclusive, and well-designed urban housing.

4.2. Italy's Relationship with the Right to Housing and the Role of Local Governments: The Case of Veneto and Padova

The right to adequate housing, a fundamental human right, is enshrined in international and national human rights instruments. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948), in Article 25(1), asserts that everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being, including housing. This foundational document sets the moral and ethical tone for subsequent human rights treaties. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (1966), specifically in Article 11, solidifies this commitment, placing an obligation on states parties to progressively realize the right to adequate housing within their available resources. This covenant highlights the interconnectedness of housing with other socio-economic rights, emphasizing its role in ensuring a dignified standard of living (United Nations, 1966).

At the national level, the incorporation of the right to adequate housing into constitutions provides a robust legal foundation for subsequent legislative and policy initiatives. Many countries explicitly recognize housing as a fundamental human right in their constitutional frameworks. This recognition guides legislative efforts to ensure the protection and promotion of housing rights. Laws and policies at the national level become instrumental in translating international commitments into tangible actions aimed at preventing homelessness, ensuring affordability, and addressing discriminatory housing practices.

Judicial enforcement plays a pivotal role in upholding housing rights. Courts become essential forums for adjudicating cases related to housing rights violations, contributing to the development of legal precedents that influence future interpretations and implementations of the right to adequate housing. Additionally, the establishment of National Human Rights Institutions (NHRIs) in many countries enhances the protection and promotion of housing rights. NHRIs serve as independent bodies responsible for monitoring human rights compliance, investigating complaints, and making recommendations to address systemic issues (OHCHR, 2010).

Challenges persist despite these frameworks and institutions. Resource constraints often hinder the progressive realization of the right to adequate housing, particularly in economically challenged contexts. Economic limitations may restrict the ability of governments to allocate sufficient resources to housing initiatives. Discrimination and marginalization exacerbate disparities, impeding vulnerable groups' access to adequate housing. Rapid urbanization, a global phenomenon, brings forth challenges related to the growth of informal settlements and inadequate infrastructure. Moreover, global disparities persist, manifesting as divides between developed and developing countries, as well as urban and rural areas.

Addressing these challenges requires a holistic approach that considers the interplay between international standards and national implementations. International cooperation, sustained advocacy, and active civil society engagement are imperative in fostering societies that prioritize the dignity and well-being of all individuals. As the global community navigates these challenges, the commitment to ensuring housing as a human right remains indispensable in advancing a more just and equitable world.

In the context of Italy, the right to adequate housing is deeply embedded in both international agreements and national legal frameworks. Italy, as a signatory to various international human rights instruments, has agreed to uphold the right to adequate housing as an essential component of the broader spectrum of human rights. When we look at the international agreements; Italy is a party to the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which explicitly recognizes the right to adequate housing in Article 11. This international commitment places an obligation on Italy to take progressive measures to ensure the realization of this right within its available resources. Additionally, Italy's adherence to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 11, reflects its commitment to making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable, with a specific focus on ensuring adequate housing for all (United Nations, 1966; United Nations, n.d.).

In terms of the National Legal Framework; within the national legal framework, Italy's Constitution plays a pivotal role in recognizing and safeguarding fundamental rights. The Italian Constitution, adopted in 1947, does not explicitly enumerate the right to adequate housing. However, it contains provisions that can be interpreted as relevant to housing rights. Article 2 of the Constitution underscores the right to personal freedom and dignity, principles that are closely linked to the concept of adequate housing. Article 3 emphasizes the principle of equality, which is essential in addressing discrimination and disparities in housing access (The Italian Republic, 1947).

Italy has enacted various laws and policies aimed at addressing housing issues and ensuring the right to adequate housing. For instance, Law No. 431/1998 focuses on regulating public housing and promoting access to housing for low-income families. This law reflects Italy's commitment to addressing social inequalities in housing and facilitating affordable and decent housing for vulnerable populations. Italian courts play a vital role in enforcing housing rights through the interpretation and application of constitutional principles and relevant laws. Judicial decisions contribute to shaping the legal landscape and setting precedents that influence the protection of the right to adequate housing. Italy has established a National Human Rights Institution (NHRI) to monitor and promote human rights compliance. The NHRI contributes to the protection of housing rights by investigating complaints, providing recommendations, and advocating for policy changes at the national level. Despite these efforts, Italy faces challenges in fully realizing the right to adequate housing. Economic constraints, discrimination, and the urban-rural divide present hurdles that require ongoing attention and intervention. Sustained efforts are essential to ensure that Italy's constitutional principles and international commitments translate into effective policies and practices that guarantee the right to adequate housing for all.

In navigating these challenges, Italy can benefit from international collaboration, drawing on best practices and experiences from other nations. Additionally, civil society engagement remains crucial in advocating for the implementation of robust policies that prioritize and protect the right to adequate housing, aligning with Italy's constitutional and international obligations. The right to housing laws can vary between regions within a country, depending on the legal and administrative structures in place. In Italy, for example, the legal framework for the right to housing includes both national laws and regional regulations. The distribution of responsibilities between the national and regional levels can result in variations in housing laws across different regions.

The pursuit of adequate housing has long been recognized as a fundamental human need, evolving from a mere physical necessity to a cultural, identity-defining, and existential aspect of human life. This concept is deeply rooted in historical and religious texts, as seen in the Biblical admonition against coveting one's neighbor's house, which underscores the centrality of housing in both societal and familial contexts. Denying or restricting access to housing not only deprives individuals and families of a basic necessity but also undermines their dignity and societal participation.

Internationally, numerous legal instruments emphasize the right to housing as a fundamental human right. For instance, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966) specifically recognize the right to adequate housing. In the context of the Veneto region in Italy, this right is further enshrined in various legislative instruments and programs.

The Council of Europe, through documents like the European Social Charter, highlights the importance of ensuring access to adequate housing and addressing homelessness. Housing is considered a key component of social rights, alongside other essential aspects such as social protection, labor, health, and education.

Although the Italian Constitution does not explicitly guarantee the right to housing, it contains provisions that indirectly support housing rights. Article 47, for example, encourages savings and promotes access to homeownership, particularly for small savers. Additionally, Article 3, which enshrines principles of equality, implies the importance of housing for ensuring social equality and individual development.

In the Veneto region, significant reforms in urban planning and housing legislation have been implemented to address housing needs effectively. Laws such as Regional Law No. 11 of April 23, 2004, have reformed the urban planning sector, which has direct implications for housing policies. Specific regulations governing public housing, including Regional Laws No. 40 of 1983, No. 10 of 1996, and No. 2 of 1999, address various aspects such as the selection of entities for housing projects and allocation criteria.

Furthermore, regional laws enacted in July 2009 (No. 14) and July 2011 (No. 13) introduced measures under the "Casa Plan" to support the housing sector. These measures aim to improve housing quality, preserve existing buildings, promote sustainable construction, and utilize renewable energy sources. Notably, the plan allows for building expansions of up to 20% of the existing volume, even overriding local regulations. The right to housing is an essential aspect

of human dignity and societal well-being. The legislative framework in the Veneto region of Italy reflects international and national commitments to housing rights while addressing regional needs and challenges. By enacting comprehensive laws and programs, Veneto demonstrates its dedication to ensuring access to adequate and affordable housing for all residents.

The concept of dwelling, intricately entwined with the broader notion of quality of life, embodies a complex interplay of individual, familial, community, and societal dynamics. In attempting to encapsulate this multifaceted phenomenon, a schematic representation of the "dwelling network" emerges, highlighting the pivotal role of housing within the societal fabric. At its core lies the home, not merely a physical structure but a nexus of daily life, intimate relations, and communal belonging.

Yet, juxtaposed with this central node are nodes delineating the housing needs of families, intricately intertwined with the broader discourse on housing quality. Herein lies the crux of the matter: housing typologies, infrastructure characteristics, sustainability considerations, and community dynamics converge to shape the lived experience of individuals and families. However, in the Veneto region, as in many parts of the world, these discussions often veer into the realm of rhetoric rather than tangible action.

The schematic representation further elucidates the instrumental variables governing housing interventions, encompassing both public policies and private sector initiatives. While ostensibly aimed at enhancing housing conditions, these interventions often fall short of addressing the underlying systemic inequalities perpetuating housing insecurity. In Veneto, the glaring gap between policy rhetoric and on-the-ground realities serves as a poignant reminder of the disconnect between intention and implementation.

Moreover, the fundamental role of statistics in informing policy decisions cannot be overstated. Yet, in the context of housing rights in Veneto, statistical documentation often remains inadequate, hindering comprehensive assessments of housing conditions and exacerbating existing disparities. The dearth of reliable data not only impedes evidence-based policymaking but also perpetuates the marginalization of vulnerable populations, whose voices are systematically silenced in policy discourses.

Critically examining the intersection of housing rights and policy interventions in Veneto reveals a stark reality: the rhetoric of inclusivity and social equity often belies the stark inequities entrenched within the housing landscape. Erich Fromm's cautionary words resonate

deeply in this context, highlighting the perilous tendency to prioritize means over ends, thereby losing sight of the overarching goal of ensuring dignified housing for all. As Veneto grapples with the complexities of housing rights, it is imperative to confront these entrenched inequalities head-on, forging a path toward genuine social transformation and inclusive urban development.

In the culmination of our exploration into the housing landscape of Veneto, Italy, it becomes evident that while there are notable strengths to celebrate, there also exist critical challenges that demand attention. Throughout the analysis, have delved into various facets of housing, from demographic trends to housing quality metrics, shedding light on both positive and negative aspects of the region's housing policies and practices. As we endeavor to understand the complexities surrounding housing rights and accessibility in Veneto, it is essential to critically examine the existing framework and identify areas for improvement.

One of the significant strengths of the housing situation in Veneto lies in its demographic and productive polycentrism, characterized by a distributed network of residential and economic centers. This decentralized model fosters balanced development across the region, ensuring that urbanization does not become overly concentrated in a few major cities. However, while this approach may contribute to a more equitable distribution of resources and opportunities, it also presents challenges in terms of infrastructure and service provision, particularly in more remote areas.

Another positive aspect is the prevalence of horizontal residential typologies, such as single-family homes, which afford residents a sense of privacy and autonomy. Additionally, the region boasts a relatively high rate of homeownership, signifying a strong attachment to property ownership among its inhabitants. However, this emphasis on homeownership may also exacerbate socio-economic inequalities, as those unable to afford property are left with limited options for secure and affordable housing.

Despite these strengths, there are significant challenges that must be addressed to ensure the right to adequate housing for all residents of Veneto. One of the most pressing issues is the lack of affordable housing options, particularly for young people and low-income families. Skyrocketing housing prices and stagnant wages have made it increasingly difficult for many Venetians to access decent and affordable housing, forcing them to live in overcrowded or substandard conditions.

Moreover, there are concerns about the quality of housing stock in the region, with reports of dampness and structural issues affecting a significant portion of homes. These issues not only

pose health risks to residents but also undermine the overall livability of affected communities. Additionally, the growing phenomenon of evictions and homelessness in Veneto highlights the inadequacy of existing housing policies and social support systems in addressing the needs of the most vulnerable members of society.

In conclusion, while Veneto may boast certain strengths in its housing sector, such as its polycentric development model and high rate of homeownership, there are critical shortcomings that must be addressed to ensure the right to adequate housing for all residents. By prioritizing affordability, accessibility, and quality in housing policy and practice, Veneto can work towards creating a more inclusive and sustainable housing system that meets the needs of its diverse population.

4.3. Government and Civil Society Actions to Address the Housing Crisis in Padova

Italy is currently confronted with a housing crisis characterized by challenges such as housing affordability, inadequate supply, and a growing homeless population. To address this multifaceted issue, a comprehensive understanding of the roles and responsibilities of various levels of government and civil society actors is essential. Additionally, an examination of existing policies and practices is crucial to identify effective strategies and areas for improvement.

Local governments in Italy, operating at the municipal level, play a central role in mitigating the housing crisis through urban planning and affordable housing initiatives. Zoning regulations must be carefully managed to encourage the construction of affordable housing units. Collaborative efforts with developers can stimulate the creation of mixed-income neighborhoods, promoting inclusivity in urban development (Echenique, 2012).

Moving to the regional level, coordination among municipalities is vital for a comprehensive and cohesive approach to the housing crisis. Regional governments act as facilitators, ensuring consistency in policies across diverse areas. Furthermore, they play a significant role in allocating funds to support local initiatives and providing financial incentives for affordable housing projects. Regional variations in housing demand and supply must be considered in funding distribution to address localized challenges effectively (Baranzini & Maître, 2017).

The national government, as the overarching authority, is responsible for establishing a cohesive policy framework to address housing challenges nationwide. Policies should strike a

balance between homeownership and rental options, offering incentives for developers engaged in affordable housing projects. Social housing initiatives, supported by sufficient funding, can act as a safety net for vulnerable populations, preventing homelessness and ensuring housing stability (UN-Habitat, 2015).

A critical analysis of urban planning policies at the local level is imperative to understand their impact on the housing crisis. Zoning regulations must be evaluated for their effectiveness in promoting affordable housing and contributing to sustainable urban development (Malizia & Parisi, 2019). This assessment will guide necessary adjustments to create a more equitable and accessible housing landscape.

The effectiveness of regional funding mechanisms in supporting local initiatives must be thoroughly assessed. Transparency in fund allocation processes is crucial, ensuring that resources reach the intended projects. An efficient distribution of funds will optimize regional efforts in addressing the housing crisis (Catalano et al., 2020).

A comprehensive evaluation of national social housing programs is essential to gauge their impact on homelessness and housing affordability. The inclusivity, reach, and adaptability of these programs to different regional contexts must be scrutinized. This analysis will inform the national government in refining and expanding social housing initiatives to meet the diverse needs of the population (Ferrari et al., 2018). Effective governance and well-crafted policies are pivotal for addressing Italy's housing crisis. The collaborative efforts of local, regional, and national levels of government, coupled with active engagement from civil society actors, are essential for developing holistic solutions. Continuous analysis and refinement of policies and practices will contribute to the creation of a housing landscape aligned with the principles of social justice, ensuring affordable and dignified housing for all Italians.

Italy, specifically the Veneto region, contends with a housing crisis characterized by challenges such as affordability, supply inadequacy, and homelessness. To address this complex issue, it is crucial to analyze the roles and responsibilities assigned to different levels of government and civil society actors. Additionally, an in-depth examination of existing policies and practices is necessary to identify effective strategies and areas for improvement.

At the local level, municipal governments in Veneto play a crucial role in addressing the housing crisis through urban planning and the implementation of affordable housing initiatives. Zoning regulations must be assessed for their effectiveness in encouraging the construction of affordable housing units. Collaboration with developers can stimulate the creation of mixed-

income neighborhoods, potentially fostering inclusivity and meeting the diverse needs of the local population (Malizia & Parisi, 2019). Moving to the regional level, the Veneto government assumes a critical role in coordinating efforts to address the housing crisis comprehensively. Regional authorities act as facilitators, ensuring consistency in policies across municipalities and addressing regional variations in housing demand and supply. Allocating funds to support local initiatives, including financial incentives for affordable housing projects, is essential to tackle the housing shortage effectively (Catalano et al., 2020).

The national government, as the overarching authority, plays a crucial role in establishing a cohesive policy framework that addresses housing challenges at a broader scale. Policies should aim to strike a balance between homeownership and rental options, offering incentives for developers engaged in affordable housing projects. The effectiveness of social housing initiatives, supported by sufficient funding, needs to be assessed as a safety net for vulnerable populations, preventing homelessness and ensuring housing stability (UN-Habitat, 2015). An analysis of urban planning policies at the local level in Veneto is essential to understand their impact on the housing crisis. Zoning regulations should be evaluated for their effectiveness in promoting affordable housing and contributing to sustainable urban development. This assessment will guide necessary adjustments to create a more equitable and accessible housing landscape in the region (Malizia & Parisi, 2019). The effectiveness of regional funding mechanisms in Veneto must be thoroughly assessed, ensuring transparency in the allocation processes. An efficient distribution of funds will optimize regional efforts in addressing the housing crisis and fostering sustainable housing solutions (Catalano et al., 2020). A comprehensive evaluation of national social housing programs is essential to gauge their impact on homelessness and housing affordability in Veneto. The inclusivity, reach, and adaptability of these programs to the regional context must be scrutinized. This analysis will inform the national government and the Veneto region in refining and expanding social housing initiatives to meet the specific needs of the local population (Ferrari et al., 2018).

The housing crisis in Padova has emerged as a pressing socio-economic issue, necessitating urgent action from both government entities and civil society actors. However, the response thus far has been marred by shortcomings and inefficiencies, highlighting systemic challenges in governance and policy implementation. At the governmental level, a lack of coordination and coherent strategy among municipal, regional, and national authorities has impeded effective intervention measures. While local administrations have implemented some initiatives to address housing affordability and accessibility, such as zoning regulations and social housing

projects, these efforts have been fragmented and insufficient to meet the growing demand for affordable housing in Padova.

Furthermore, regional and national policies have failed to adequately prioritize housing as a fundamental right, exacerbating disparities in access to housing and perpetuating social exclusion. Despite occasional rhetoric emphasizing the importance of addressing the housing crisis, tangible policy reforms and financial commitments have been lacking at the national level, leaving local municipalities and civil society organizations to grapple with the consequences of inadequate housing policies.

Civil society actors have also faced challenges in their efforts to mitigate the housing crisis. While community-based initiatives and advocacy groups have mobilized resources and raised awareness about housing issues in Padova, their impact has been constrained by limited funding, institutional barriers, and a lack of meaningful engagement from government authorities. Moreover, the absence of robust mechanisms for collaboration and dialogue between civil society organizations and decision-makers has hindered the formulation of holistic and inclusive solutions to the housing crisis.

In conclusion, addressing the housing crisis in Padova requires a concerted effort from all stakeholders, including government entities, civil society actors, and the private sector. However, the current response has been inadequate, marked by a lack of coordination, political will, and effective policy interventions. Moving forward, policymakers must prioritize housing as a fundamental human right, allocate sufficient resources to housing programs, and foster genuine partnerships with civil society organizations to enact meaningful reforms and ensure equitable access to housing for all residents of Padova.

4.4. The Housing Crisis in Padova and its Impact on Residents

The right to adequate housing is a basic human need and a fundamental human right recognized by international conventions and national laws. However, in many cities around the world, including Padova, Italy, realizing this right remains a significant challenge. A vibrant and culturally rich city, Padova is grappling with its unique housing crisis affecting the lives of its residents and communities. This chapter aims to explore the housing crisis in Padova and its profound impact on the city's residents. We will delve deeper into the factors contributing to this crisis by examining the complex interplay of population growth, limited housing supply,

rising real estate prices, and income inequality. By understanding the root causes, we can better understand the magnitude and urgency of the housing problems Padova residents face. In addition, this chapter will shed light on how the housing crisis has directly affected the lives of individuals and communities in Padova. Affordability remains a critical issue, with many residents struggling to find affordable and affordable housing options. Homelessness has become an unfortunate reality for some, exacerbating social inequalities and intensifying vulnerability. Substandard living conditions, characterized by inadequate infrastructure, overcrowding, and lack of basic amenities, exacerbate the difficulties faced by residents. This chapter will explore the multiple dimensions of the crisis by providing a comprehensive analysis covering social, economic, and human rights perspectives. This chapter aims to highlight the urgency of addressing the housing crisis in Padova. It emphasizes the importance of adopting a rights-based approach where every individual has the right to adequate housing, regardless of their socio-economic status. By exploring the challenges and consequences of the housing crisis, we can begin to identify potential strategies and policy interventions that can lead to a more equitable and sustainable housing environment in Padova. On this basis, we will continue to examine specific aspects of the housing crisis in Padova, examining the legal frameworks, government and civil society actions, and potential solutions that can help pave the way for housing justice for all residents of this remarkable city.

Padova, like many other cities in the world, faced a housing crisis characterized by various challenges and problems. The housing crisis in Padova can be attributed to factors such as population growth, limited housing supply, affordability concerns, and urbanization pressures. One of the main factors contributing to the housing crisis is the increasing demand for housing due to population growth and migration. Padova's attractiveness as a cultural and economic hub has led to an influx of opportunity-seeking people, putting pressure on the existing housing stock. Limited housing supply is another important aspect of the crisis. Housing supply has struggled to keep up with increasing demand, which has led to a lack of affordable and accessible housing options. The lack of suitable land for development, zoning regulations, and bureaucratic procedures can also hinder the construction of new residences. Affordability is a major concern in Padova as housing prices have increased in recent years. Rising housing costs, especially in preferred areas or city centers, have made it increasingly difficult for many residents to find affordable housing. This situation particularly affects low-income individuals and families, leading to housing insecurity and potential homelessness. The housing crisis is also intertwined with the pressures of urbanization and the need to strike a balance between

development and the preservation of the city's historical and cultural heritage. Padova's historic center and architectural appeal require careful planning and conservation, which can limit opportunities for new residential construction within city limits. Various measures have been proposed and implemented to address the housing crisis. These include promoting affordable housing initiatives, encouraging developers to build affordable units, implementing rent control measures, and exploring alternative housing models such as cooperative housing or social housing projects.

The housing crisis in Padova is due to several factors. First, urbanization, economic opportunities, and population growth driven by the prestigious university increased the demand for housing. For example, the growing student population has created a shortage of affordable accommodation near the University of Padova. Second, the limited housing supply has a significant contribution, as the availability of land suitable for construction, particularly in the historic city center, is scarce due to conservation efforts and zoning regulations. This constrained new housing development and created a situation where housing demand could not be met in the face of a growing population. The crisis was exacerbated as affordability problems, high housing prices, and rental rates outpaced income growth. Low-income individuals, families, and college students struggle to find affordable options, especially in popular neighborhoods. The lack of social or subsidized housing has exacerbated the situation, leading to housing insecurity and long waiting lists for affordable units. Regulatory barriers such as complex bureaucratic procedures and zoning regulations also prevent new housing projects from being delivered on time.

Looking at the population statistics, it can be observed that Padova is one of the biggest cities in Italy and that the population has increased in the last 10 years. Although the population has not increased much, the housing crisis has been triggered by the increasing immigration in the last ten years. The lack of new settlements has led to the emergence of housing problems in the face of immigration from outside

The housing problem in Padova has many effects on its residents. One of these effects is housing rents and the lack of a budget to cover it. For this reason, the rising cost of housing in Padova creates a significant financial burden on the residents of the region. High rent and property prices can consume a significant portion of their income, leaving less disposable income for other needs or savings, which can lead to financial stress and affect the overall quality of life for residents. Limited housing options are also one of the most important reasons for the housing problem. The shortage of affordable housing in Padova, especially those with low incomes;

reduces the options available to residents of Padova, whether they are international university students or immigrants. This famine has resulted in overcrowded living conditions, inadequate housing, or the need for substandard housing. Limited options also make it difficult for residents to find suitable housing that meets their needs in terms of location, size, and amenities. On the other hand, housing insecurity leads to homelessness, and the housing crisis in Padova is effective in increasing these problems. Some residents are at risk of evacuation and cannot fulfill their need for stable shelter. The lack of affordable options, coupled with financial constraints, leaves individuals and families facing homelessness or unstable living conditions. Problems of displacement and gentrification can lead to displacement as increased housing demand in desirable areas, long-term residents may be priced out of their neighborhoods due to rising rents or property values. Gentrification projects that often accompany urban development (such as the Arcella neighborhood) can result in the transformation of communities and the loss of social and cultural bonds for existing residents. On the other hand, the housing problem puts pressure on social services and support systems in Padova. Increasing demand for affordable housing often exceeds available resources, leading to longer waiting lists for subsidized housing, limited access to housing assistance programs, and difficulties in effectively addressing homelessness. It is important to note that specific impacts on residents may vary depending on individual circumstances such as income level, age, and family composition.

The housing predicament currently afflicting Padova, Italy has attained a critical juncture, particularly concerning the domains of rental affordability and availability. The escalation in rental costs has become conspicuous, with discernible ramifications on the socioeconomic landscape. Notably, the average rental outlay for single-room accommodations has experienced a marked surge of 15%, surpassing analogous increments observed in major urban centers such as Rome. Consequently, tenants are now grappling with an average monthly rental expense of 500 euros per room, constituting a substantial financial encumbrance for many.

Students constitute a demographic cohort particularly beleaguered by the exigencies of Padova's housing market. Given the city's status as a bastion of erudition, hosting several prestigious academic institutions, the demand for cost-effective lodgings among this segment is disproportionately high. However, the concomitant diminution in available housing stock has exacerbated their plight. The dearth of affordable accommodations in proximate proximity to academic institutions engenders an atmosphere of cutthroat competition, thereby engendering an inflationary spiral in rental tariffs.

The advent of the COVID-19 pandemic has further envenomed the housing conundrum in Padova. Amidst the hiatus induced by lockdown measures, a transient surplus in rental inventory transpired as students and workers temporarily vacated their domiciles. However, the resumption of quotidian routines has precipitated an acute resurgence in housing demand, exacerbated by refurbishments undertaken by landlords during the pandemic-induced lull. This resurgence disproportionately burdens transient populations, including students and transient workers, who are heavily reliant on rental accommodations.

The housing predicament in Padova transcends the mere escalation of rental costs, extending to the constricted availability of suitable lodging options. Securing a tenable apartment or room has transmogrified into a herculean undertaking for many denizens and newcomers alike. The exigency is further exacerbated by the paucity of economically viable rental alternatives, thereby precipitating an exodus towards short-term rental platforms such as Airbnb, albeit at the expense of long-term stability and financial prudence.

Commercial lessees in Padova have not been spared the brunt of escalating rental tariffs. As commercial activities reinvigorate post-pandemic, the specter of augmented rental expenditures for commercial premises looms large. The prospect of rental escalations, spurred by inflationary pressures and sundry economic exigencies, imperils the sustainability of numerous commercial enterprises, particularly small-scale ventures. Ergo, the local business fraternity clamors for a moratorium on rental escalations to furnish succor and sustenance during these tumultuous times. Concurrently, concerns about speculative machinations in the housing market have surfaced. Speculative practices, including opaquely structured pricing modalities and concomitant ancillary costs, exacerbate the unaffordability quagmire bedeviling Padova's housing sphere. A panoply of lessees finds themselves beleaguered by ancillary charges, such as exorbitant condominium levies, superimposed upon already elevated rental outlays. This confluence accentuates the imperative for enhanced regulatory oversight to mitigate speculative excesses and ensure housing accessibility for all strata of society.

The housing debacle in Padova epitomizes broader systemic fissures pervading Italy's housing milieu. Decades of neglect and privatization vis-à-vis public housing initiatives have accentuated extant crises, depriving multitudes of vulnerable individuals of access to secure and economically viable housing options. Remedial endeavors must entail holistic measures encompassing the expansion of public housing, rigorous regulation of rental markets, and curtailment of speculative excesses. Absent concerted action, the housing morass in Padova and

its analogs elsewhere in Italy shall inexorably deepen, portending deleterious ramifications for societal and economic well-being.

4.5. Case Study, Arcella: Housing Crisis Case Study & Solutions

Arcella, a district nestled in the heart of Padova, Italy, is renowned for its vibrant ambiance and diverse community. Situated on the eastern outskirts of the city, Arcella offers a harmonious blend of residential quarters, commercial centers, and recreational havens. Its picturesque tree-lined streets and verdant parks provide ample opportunities for outdoor pursuits and relaxation, making it a cherished destination for both locals and tourists alike. The district pulsates with life throughout the day, bustling with a myriad of shops, restaurants, and cafes that cater to a diverse array of tastes and preferences. Moreover, Arcella's rich cultural heritage is palpable, as evidenced by the magnificent historic buildings and landmarks that adorn its landscape. Among these architectural marvels are the venerable 13th-century Church of Santa Maria Assunta, adorned with exquisite details, and the majestic 17th-century Villa Ottoboni, now repurposed as a thriving cultural hub and event venue. Visitors to Arcella can immerse themselves in the rich tapestry of its past while reveling in the vibrancy of its present.

In recent years, Arcella has garnered acclaim for its burgeoning culinary scene. A diverse array of eateries dot its streets, offering a tantalizing spectrum of culinary delights that span from traditional Italian fare to international delicacies. This culinary diversity serves as a testament to the district's dynamic and multicultural character, further enriching its tapestry of flavors and experiences. Despite its cultural richness and culinary delights, Arcella grapples with a host of pressing urban and housing challenges. Like many urban areas, it contends with issues surrounding affordable housing and access to essential amenities. The burgeoning demand for affordable housing has raised concerns about the displacement of long-time residents and the encroachment of gentrification, posing a threat to the district's social cohesion and identity.

Furthermore, Arcella faces a myriad of neighborhood problems, including inadequate infrastructure, traffic congestion, and environmental degradation. The lack of investment in public transportation and green spaces has exacerbated issues of congestion and pollution, adversely impacting the quality of life for residents. Moreover, concerns regarding public safety and crime have emerged as pressing issues, prompting calls for enhanced policing and community engagement efforts to address these challenges effectively.

To address these complex challenges, local authorities and community organizations in Arcella are working collaboratively to advocate for policies that prioritize affordable housing, sustainable development, and social equity. Through initiatives aimed at fostering community participation and collaboration, stakeholders are striving to create a more inclusive and resilient neighborhood where all residents can thrive and prosper.

The issue of violence in neighborhoods like Arcella stems from a combination of social, economic, and structural factors. These may include poverty, unemployment, lack of access to education and healthcare, substance abuse, family breakdown, and social isolation. High levels of inequality and marginalization within the community can exacerbate tensions and contribute to interpersonal conflicts and criminal activity.

Disadvantaged groups are often marginalized in neighborhoods like Arcella due to a combination of economic factors, housing policies, and social dynamics. Economic inequality and rising housing costs in more affluent areas can force low-income individuals and families to seek housing in neighborhoods with lower rents or property values. Discriminatory housing practices, such as redlining and exclusionary zoning policies, may also limit housing options for marginalized groups, pushing them into neighborhoods with fewer resources and opportunities. Moreover, social stigma and discrimination against certain populations, such as immigrants, refugees, and ethnic minorities, can further exacerbate their concentration in specific neighborhoods, perpetuating socioeconomic disparities and marginalization.

Arcella, situated within the confines of Padova, Italy, serves as a microcosm of urban complexity, marked by its diverse demographics and historical significance. However, beneath its cultural veneer lies a litany of urban challenges, chief among them being the fundamental right to adequate housing. Housing insecurity looms large in Arcella, where families and individuals confront exorbitant rents, substandard living conditions, and the constant threat of eviction. This crisis, exacerbated by economic downturns and speculative market forces, disproportionately affects marginalized communities and perpetuates a cycle of housing precarity.

The Right to housing, enshrined in international human rights instruments and national legislation, remains elusive for many Arcella residents. Despite legal protections and moral imperatives, the implementation of housing rights often falls short due to bureaucratic inertia, inadequate funding, and a lack of political will. Consequently, individuals and families find

themselves navigating the labyrinth of housing insecurity with limited recourse to legal remedies or social support systems.

In addition to housing insecurity, Arcella contends with urban blight, characterized by dilapidated infrastructure, neglected public spaces, and pervasive social disintegration. Parks, once vibrant hubs of community activity, have become magnets for illicit behavior, including drug dealing, vandalism, and antisocial conduct. The absence of adequate custodial oversight exacerbates these issues, leaving residents feeling unsafe and marginalized in their neighborhoods.

Addressing the multifaceted challenges confronting Arcella necessitates a coordinated and multifaceted approach from government authorities, civil society organizations, and community stakeholders. Governments at the local, regional, and national levels bear a primary responsibility to safeguard the right to housing and ensure equitable access to essential services. Policy imperatives include the development of comprehensive housing strategies that prioritize affordability, accessibility, and social inclusion. This entails the implementation of rent control measures, the expansion of social housing initiatives, and the enactment of anti-discrimination laws to protect vulnerable populations from housing insecurity and homelessness.

Furthermore, urban regeneration projects must be pursued to revitalize neglected neighborhoods like Arcella, fostering community cohesion, and enhancing quality of life. Investments in infrastructure, green spaces, and public amenities are essential to create vibrant, livable neighborhoods that promote social interaction and well-being. By adopting a holistic and inclusive approach to urban development, policymakers can create a more equitable and resilient urban landscape where all residents can thrive.

Addressing the multifaceted challenges confronting Arcella requires a holistic approach that encompasses governance reform, social integration, and the protection of housing rights. To tackle the governance problem, local authorities must prioritize transparency, accountability, and citizen participation in decision-making processes. Strengthening local governance structures and promoting civic engagement can foster a sense of ownership and empowerment among residents, leading to more responsive and inclusive urban policies.

Furthermore, combating xenophobia and promoting social cohesion is essential for building a cohesive and inclusive community in Arcella. Efforts to address xenophobia should include awareness campaigns, diversity training programs, and intercultural dialogue initiatives aimed at fostering mutual respect and understanding among residents of diverse backgrounds. By

promoting social cohesion and celebrating cultural diversity, Arcella can harness the collective strengths of its residents to overcome social divisions and build a more resilient community.

Moreover, upholding city and housing rights is paramount for ensuring the well-being and dignity of all Arcella residents. Local authorities must prioritize the provision of affordable and adequate housing, invest in social housing programs, and enforce anti-discrimination laws to protect vulnerable populations from housing insecurity and discrimination. By recognizing housing as a fundamental human right and implementing policies that prioritize housing affordability and accessibility, Arcella can create a more equitable and inclusive urban environment where all residents can thrive.

In conclusion, the urban challenges facing Arcella underscore the intricate interplay between housing rights, community dynamics, and governmental responsibilities. By addressing governance issues, combating xenophobia, and upholding city and housing rights, Arcella can chart a path toward a more inclusive, resilient, and sustainable future. Through collaborative efforts between government authorities, civil society organizations, and community stakeholders, Arcella can emerge as a model of urban renewal and social integration, where the rights and dignity of all residents are upheld and respected. Through concerted efforts to address housing insecurity, foster community engagement, and revitalize public spaces, Arcella can reclaim its status as a vibrant and inclusive neighborhood that honors the dignity and rights of all its inhabitants.

CONCLUSION

In the wake of extensive analysis encompassing various facets of the housing crisis in Padova, Italy, it becomes evident that the issue is deeply entrenched within the broader socio-economic fabric of the city and the nation at large. From the lens of modernist and liberal ideologies to the implementation of neoliberal policies, each component contributes to the intricate tapestry of challenges faced by residents seeking adequate housing. Moreover, considerations of housing rights, governance structures, and the unique socio-cultural dynamics of Padova further underscore the complexity of the crisis and the imperative for multifaceted solutions.

At its core, the housing crisis in Padova is symptomatic of the tension between neoliberal economic paradigms and the social imperatives of housing justice. The neoliberal emphasis on market-driven mechanisms has engendered a housing landscape rife with speculation, gentrification, and unbridled commodification. While these policies have catalyzed economic growth and urban development, they have simultaneously marginalized disadvantaged communities and exacerbated inequalities in access to housing. The erosion of public housing initiatives and regulatory safeguards has left vulnerable populations at the mercy of market forces, perpetuating cycles of housing insecurity and exclusion.

Conversely, the principles of modernism and liberalism have shaped housing policies in ways that prioritize individual autonomy and property rights. While these ideals have fostered innovation in urban planning and architectural design, they have also prioritized private interests over collective welfare, leading to spatial fragmentation and social stratification. The emphasis on efficiency and market logic has often come at the expense of social cohesion and housing affordability, exacerbating disparities and undermining the right to adequate housing for all residents.

In navigating the complexities of the housing crisis, the concept of housing rights emerges as a guiding principle that advocates for the recognition of housing as a fundamental human right. Despite being enshrined in international and national legal frameworks, the realization of housing rights in Padova has been hindered by bureaucratic inertia, insufficient funding, and a lack of political will. The failure to effectively implement housing rights has left many residents vulnerable to eviction, discrimination, and homelessness, undermining their dignity and well-being.

To address the housing crisis in Padova comprehensively, a holistic approach is imperative, one that integrates governance reform, social inclusion, and policy interventions. Strengthening

regulatory frameworks to protect tenants, investing in social housing programs, and promoting community participation are critical steps toward creating a more equitable housing landscape. Furthermore, efforts to foster social cohesion, economic equality, and environmental sustainability are essential to building resilient communities where housing justice prevails.

In essence, addressing the housing crisis in Padova requires a paradigm shift away from market-driven approaches toward a rights-based framework that prioritizes the well-being of residents over profit motives. By embracing the principles of social justice, solidarity, and human dignity, Padova can emerge as a beacon of housing justice, where every individual has access to safe, affordable, and dignified housing. This transformative vision necessitates collaborative action from government authorities, civil society organizations, and community stakeholders, united in their commitment to realizing the fundamental right to housing for all residents of Padova.

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