

**BECOMING A NEO-LIBERAL CITY: ANKARA NORTH ENTRANCE
URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECT**

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URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECT**

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ABSTRACT

BECOMING A NEO-LIBERAL CITY: ANKARA NORTH ENTRANCE URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECT

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Urban space has begun to be commodified to full extent by the affect of neoliberalism, which is based upon free flow of capital over a global network of cities. By 1970's, the phenomenon of globalization made social, political and economic relations all around the world to be redefined under these circumstances. While nation states were altering their role in favor of capital power, early centers of production have come to lose their attractiveness and functions, and in especially developed countries there emerged necessity for the notion of “urban transformation”. On the other hand, in Turkey, urban transformation projects have begun to be applied lately, under specific conditions and with different reasons, but still under neo-liberal hegemony.

The aim of this thesis is to make a comparative analysis of “Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project” by understanding the notion of urban transformation together with altered role of nation state at the age of neoliberalism, by comparatively analyzing grand transformation projects applied at three capital cities in Europe, namely, London, Paris, and Berlin, during late 20th century.

The comparison criteria for project preparation and application processes of the case of Ankara and European examples are, first, the scale and location within the city; second, reasons of application in terms of their legitimating processes; third, the ways of providing financial resources for projects; fourth, administrative dimension of urban policy making; fifth, architectural domain of the projects; and lastly participation conditions of urban inhabitants and social agents, including the professionals.

Keywords: Urban Transformation, Neoliberalism, Urban Space, Large-scaled Projects, Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project.

ÖZ

NEO-LİBERAL BİR KENT OLMAK: KUZEY ANKARA GİRİŞİ KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM PROJESİ

Gümüş, Nazlı Ayşe

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Bölümü, Bina Bilgisi

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Neoliberalizmin küreselleşme hareketinin dolaylı sonuçlarından biri olarak kentsel mekankarlı bir meta haline dönüştü. 1970'lerden itibaren küreselleşme kavramı politik ve ekonomik ilişkilerin tüm dünya üzerinde güncel koşullar altında yeniden tanımlanmasına sebep oldu. Bir yandan ulus devletin politik ve ekonomik yapısı değişirken, reel üretimin yer aldığı eski sanayi merkezlerinin çekiciliğini yitirmesine sebep oldu. Bu durumun sonuçlarından biri de özellikle gelişmiş ülkelerde kentsel mekanın yeniden yapılandırılması ihtiyacının dolayısıyla 'kentsel dönüşüm' kavramının ortaya çıkmasıdır. Diğer yandan Türkiye'de de, son dönemde, hernekadar kendi özne koşulları ve farklı sebepleri çerçevesinde gibi gözükse de, neoliberalizmin etkisiyle kentsel dönüşüm projeleri hızlı bir şekilde uygulamaya konuldu.

Bu tezin temel amacı Kuzey Ankara Giriş Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesini, kentsel dönüşüm kavramını kapitalist işleyişin tipik bir temsili olarak kabul edip ve ayrıca ulus devletin değişen rolünü de göz önüne alarak, 20. yüzyılın sonlarında Avrupanın 3 büyük şehri olan Londra, Paris, ve Berlin'de uygulanan büyük projeler ile karşılaştırarak incelemektir.

Bu projeleri uygulama ve süreç açısından karşılaştırırken kullanılacak kriterler ise; birincil olarak projenin ölçek ve kent içindeki yerleşimi; bunu takiben projelerin uygulanmasının arkasındaki sebepler ve bu sebeplerin meşrulaştırılma süreçleri; üçüncü olarak parasal kaynak sağlama biçimleri; dördüncü olarak ise kentsel tasarım politikası yapılmasının ardındaki yönetsel hareketler; beşinci olarak mimari veriler ve sonuç ürünler; En son olarak ise kentlilerin bu konuya karşı anlayışları ve konuyla ilgili profesyonelleri de dahil olduğu sosyal ajanların etkinlikleri ve rolleri tartışılacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kentsel Dönüşüm, Neoliberalizm, Kentsel Mekan, Büyük Ölçekli Projeler, Kuzey Ankara Girişi Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi.

To my family:
Kadir, Maksude and Mahir Gümüş

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CHAPTER 1

1-Introduction

The provenance for this study is the intention to find an answer to the question of 'how an architect should respond to problems of urban life as a socially responsible figure'. There is an ascending intervention to urban space that is protruded especially in form of large scaled transformation projects –almost any of which have an extended scope- those are mostly practiced at problem areas in cities with a common acceptance. Management of these projects are done by political authorities since processes of providing physical, legal, or other necessary pre-conditions for application of projects of this scale primarily require a full control over the project area, and enough power to re-define a complex set of relations accordingly. Having in mind the fact that each transformation project forges its own conditions as a result of altering priorities and realities, chief factor actuating these popular acts of spatial re-organization has been neo-liberal ideology which became apprehensible by the phenomenon of globalization –the celebrated commodification of space-, and moreover, this idea of flexible market easily spread to different parts of the world with the help of concurrent great developments in information and communication technologies.

As a well known actuality, globalization caused a nexus of cities within which becoming a node, a crossing means attracting big capital to practice at that city, and turn it to a potential accumulation centre. Therefore cities are enforced to compete with each other to be more appealing and this is done in several ways like; building a modern monument or prestigious construction, taking ownership of a world-wide known organization, or making a large scaled –grand- project, and such. On the inside of each situation, architecture plays a leading role with its symbolic power inherent in its visual character. So it is important for an architect to comprehend these operations at urban space, that is to say, ways of redistribution within neo-liberal market relations which are done either for creating a *world city*, or for

providing turnovers with high profits at a local scale. Within this perspective, this particular study aims to understand and locate “Kuzey Ankara Girişi Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi” (Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project) • in its true context by straightening out differences and similarities between well-known examples of urban transformation.

Speedy enlargement and dense population cause crucial socio-cultural and economical problems within urban structure when the growth is not provisioned and confronted by proper planning strategies. Industrialized countries utilize city planning decisions in a more elaborated system as a result of solidified legal and social structure. On the other hand in underdeveloped capitalist countries transformation of space turn into a conundrum as a result of a series of deficiencies like, insufficient legal and social regulations, misused authoritarian power, populist policies, and socio-political deterioration. Besides hyper urbanization depended to colonial trade capitalism, there are issues like land speculations, degenerated housing and land market, and personal or partisan attitudes disregarding city plans which can be stated as critical circumstances for comprehending problems of urbanization and urban structure in these countries¹. Considering Turkey as a non-industrialized developing country, the state of affairs asseverated above and related problems within a complex set of economic, social, political, and thus spatial terms are adjustable, as seen in many recent examples.

With the spread of neo-liberal ideology, space has been realized as one of the most profitable commodities that is valued and re-valued through late capitalist relations of redistribution under the umbrella of globalization. There has been a shift in political and economical heading such that countries or nations left their roles in

• TOBAŞ translates “Kuzey Ankara Girişi Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi” as “North Entrance of Ankara Urban Transformation Project” in their catalogue, but within this study the project will be titled in English as “Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project” (English translation belongs to the author.) and it is abbreviated as ANEUTP.

¹Ruşen Keleş, Kentleşme Politikası (Eng.Politics of Urbanization.), Ankara and İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları (press), 2002

politico-economical arena to cities which are enforced to compete with each other for becoming an important node, a global city within the network of global capitalism. Cities are still being transformed into neo-liberal geographies to be relocated on the inside the new world system. This accelerated need for housing and reconstruction activity cannot be afforded by most of the cities, and as a result problem areas like squatters, slums, and *gecekondu*^{*} settlements –as in case of Turkey- emerge and cause social and physical deficiencies, as well as irregular and insufficient infrastructure within urban structure. For the case of developing countries like Turkey, while urban population increases rapidly, insufficiencies already existent at several regulating and controlling systems effecting cities cause totally distorted and inadequate urban living conditions, which also make things available for uneven spatial applications to be practiced.

Aforementioned in previous chapter, during Turkish urbanization chronology, in order to overcome problems related to accelerated and unplanned urbanization, there have been several attempts dating back to 1960s, that is when as a result of massive migration to cities, problems through urbanization has begun to be considered more seriously, and in a more professional manner that importance of planning has begun to be realized by that time. Issues resulting in unhealthy conditions within city space were tried to be handled in several ways through these years, but these attempts could not avoid rapid and irregular urbanization. Problem of illegal land occupation as forms of *gecekondu* settlements with its socio-political dimensions and consequences came to be discussed as one of the major topics by not only local governments of cities those were getting more and more crowded everyday but the central government, as well. Laws for regulating, defining, and dealing with property issues at these areas were prepared as a part of realization of these problems in

* **Gecekondu** is a specific term that does not have a covering word in English, so throughout this particular study, it will be used for squatter type of settling specific to case of Turkish cities. These are self-help constructed housing units built over illegally occupied land. They are very similar to single storey vernacular houses in its general image, but the use of land, physical location with respect to neighboring areas, and compositions of building materials used to build these houses are specific to these settlements, as well as the social relations between gecekondu people.

different layers of urban living, where problems continued parallel to speedy growth in urban population.

As an important part of neo-liberal ideology that became dominant with the help of military coup at September 1980, land policies in Turkey have changed to a perspective compatible to the shift in idea of cities as crossings of the global market web, rather than being socio-political productive entities within a national totality. *Gecekondu* has come to be perceived from within this point of view and its early reasoning -which was need for shelter- has been replaced with its potential exchange value, as a result of oblique laws of amnesty and populist practices. Urban transformation, in form of rebuilding *gecekondu* areas as 'healthier habitats' have been one way of attempts to deal with problems of these areas since from late 1980s. Several transformation projects applied at various problem areas within cities by this period, but recent examples of transformation, especially the ones being applied for the last decade deserve a special attention in terms of their reasoning and application processes as well as spatial qualities.

As in cases of large scaled projects applied at many cities all around the world as a result of neo-liberal competition at the global arena, political method of preparing large scaled projects managed by partnerships of public and private institutions - those are provided extended authority in transforming the particular area without plan restrictions in order to get rapid conclusions- has become the most popular method of rebuilding various parts -and even in some cases empty lands- in cities,. This way of redefining property relations and redistributing urban rent became very popular at all cities in Turkey. Having been the owner of earliest urban transformation practices, Ankara is a striking example to discuss commodification of space such that there are over 30 urban transformation projects ongoing in this city at the present time. What is interesting here; while the supposed world city Turkey makes marketing studies about is İstanbul, the transformation project largest ever, namely Ankara North Entrance UTP that is supported by specific regulations and a

specific law has been started in Ankara; where there are no implications of private investment to be attracted.

The major aim behind this study is to make a critical discussion on this specific case, Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project, which has the intention of improving urban living standards at the specific area through a serial operation involving melioration and beautification of physical and environmental aspects of the particular area and provide a healthier habitat for inhabitants living at *gecekondu* settlements with bad conditions.

Analysis of this case begins with a general overview on capitalist space and changes in its perception through various phases of capitalist system, with focusing on last three decades that is to say the neo-liberal period beginning with the military coup at 1980, as the temporal framework of this thesis study. Making an analysis on this period and its ways of operating through space, this particular urban transformation project will critically be analyzed in comparison to three seemingly different cases of London - Docklands, Paris – La Defense, and Berlin – Postdamer Platz urban transformation projects with respect to processes of these projects. The comparison is done with respect to five main criteria concerning methods of; legitimating the partial and project oriented planning, and domination of single authority over a wide land; creating or providing financial resources, and re-valorization at transformation areas; approaching to development plans and planning; using architecture and architect as the agent; and defining public participation within the projects.

At this introduction part space as a medium in capitalist system and cities becoming the locus of accumulation processes are adverted. Following this, in the second chapter, the path towards -and of- neoliberalism together with recent power relations transforming city space is analyzed. Beginning from shifts in Turkish economy the factors caused problems in urban structure are included at this part. On the inside the third chapter there is a general analysis concerning differences and similarities of

urban transformation in three capitals of European countries England, France and Paris. The study on Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project covers the whole process beginning with lawmaking up to ongoing construction activity and other dimensions of contemporary condition at the project area. After giving information about ANEUTP, this particular project in Ankara is analyzed in comparison to other three examples from Europe.

Differences those occurred in everyday life and transformations in social structure - convergent factors constructing urban structure- are questioned, debated, and cogitated for a long time. Industrial revolution transformed the old medieval city into urban structures. Changes in the mode of production altered the space of production. In the mid-20th century, with the spread of capitalist economy all over the world, a rapid transformation of the environment has set in motion. Fordist economic order supposed to provide the necessary physical, social, and political conditions, including the spatial requirements of the market to sustain its endurance.

The systematic appropriation of means of industrial revolution, mechanization and rationalization at a large scale transformed the old city centers rapidly. The needs of rapid industrialization should have confronted. Therefore, new cities of this age were usually located close to means of transportation, energy resources, raw material resources, and cheap labor force. Actually, the industrial developments were the leading forces of the technical innovations as well as technological developments improved the industrial capacity rapidly. Moreover, the same was valid for the interaction between urbanization and industry, such that, the modern city, with the exception of old city centers, occurred as a sub product of industry.

The economic and political power relations in city have altered to a more complicated one. Inhabitants of new urban life have realized their individualism. They wanted to be a part of the ruling system as a result of the great intellectual

movements of modern age. By the way, within this new structure of modern city and its economical system of capitalism, bourgeoisie class gained power and the relations between the dominant classes became more complicated. According to Katznelson, the political authority and private groups have differentiated at this period.² This differentiation was a redefinition of property in cities and mainly tied to the developing ownership relations, embodied itself in spatial changes. For example, private property come into existence and the rich people in cities has started to build expensive houses for themselves at the outskirts of cities. As a result, the city started to grow in size, scale, and financial capacity.

Within this perspective that capitalist economy dominating urbanization, space seems to have played a passive role during developments of 19th century where the situation has changed by the 20th century. Importance of space in both manipulating power relations and capitalist production processes has been realized and struggle on ruling and control over space got highly strengthened. The role of state in constructing and sustaining spread of cities became apparent while ideology begun to mask the real structure behind this construction, and by the way working for the protection of capitalist power holders' advantages has been appropriated systematically.³ Katznelson refers to this powerful status of space in the 20th century and he claims that even the capitalist system is being driven by spatial dynamics.

... in the twentieth century, the urban moment has come, or, at least, has begun. Industrial capitalist society has been transcended, in dialectical fashion, by urban society. Industrialization no longer produces urbanization as its servant, just the reverse. We are living through the moment of transition, when the capitalism of which Marx wrote in *Capital* is becoming a historical artifact. The driving forces of the new

² Katznelson, 1993

³ Mark Gottdiener, *Introduction, The Social Production of Urban Space*, Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1985, pp.1-24

order are urban, and these are liberating humankind from capitalism's constraints.⁴

Another view corroborating the idea that space has the power to transform or lead any social condition belongs to Henri Lefebvre. According to him, space is inherent to property relationship bound up with the forces of production. He says that, this production of space cannot be separated from, productive forces, social division of labor, and the state and the superstructure of society. So social space, he defines, contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways, which facilitates the exchange of material things and information.⁵ Opposite to Katznelson at this point, Lefebvre claims that major problem in comprehension of space is thinking it as an entity next to some other things. Because, he says, space should be analyzed considering its effect and domination on events, those take place in space. His point may be considered problematic in its core that the relation of capitalism with any kind of space or event is too much complicated to call it a single sided domination. On the other hand, he clearly states that there is the ideology masking the real behind contemporary condition.

... space is neither a mere "frame", after the fashion of the frame of a painting, nor a form or a container of a virtually neutral kind, designed simply to receive whatever is poured into it. Space is social morphology: it is to lived experience what form itself is to the living organism, and just as intimately bound up with function and structure. To picture space as a "frame" or container into which nothing can be put unless it is smaller than the recipient, and to imagine that this container has no other purpose than to preserve what has been put in it- this is probably the initial error. But is it error, or is it ideology? The latter, more than likely.⁶

⁴ Katznelson, 1993, pg.97

⁵ Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991

⁶ *ibid*, pg. 94

For Lefebvre, criticism of space is crucial in order to find the new form of social space. He says that, the ideology he mentions above does not use the necessary critical terminology while it comes to the critique of architectural or urban space.⁷

The recent condition of urban structure decentralized within economic order can be comprehended by Katznelson's remarkable description of the cross-border flow of capital. He remarks that capitalism has turned into a global interdependent system of flight; financial sector and production became inseparable; old style, band-type 'Fordist' manufacturing has been left, instead economic structure and its social relations depended on new developed means of production like, service sector, design intensive industrialization, high technology production. Conjoined with all of these, he continues, capital and labor have mobilized. The capital is no more strict or stable with regard to its previous relation to space. After the great technological developments especially at information and communication technologies, the commodity in late capitalism has been the information itself, instead of material product. Another thing Katznelson mentioned is the shift in production such as since the information is the major commodity, process became more valuable than the product itself. As a last thing he states, the habits of work have altered and separated from any particular place, allowing free flow of labor. With Katznelson's words, "Decentralization and flexibility in labor as well as capital markets are new hallmarks of the economy."⁸

Similar to Katznelson, American geographer David Harvey states that urban structure of the modern age is first constructed by and lately defined in terms of market relations. He says urbanization is a social form, a lifestyle that is depended upon a specific hierarchical order of functions generally in correspondence with the dominant production style and the specified division of labor.⁹ According to him,

⁷ Lefebvre, 1991

⁸ Katznelson, 1993, pg.285

⁹ David Harvey, Social Justice and the City, (transl. Mehmet Morali), İstanbul: Metis Press, 2003, pg.187

city space is not originated from itself; it is a result of industrial capitalist system. Harvey states the importance of the space for the capitalist economical system by referring to the centralized movement of surplus value. In capitalist economy surplus value in charge increased via the capitalist accumulation of it. In order to provide this turnover with extensive profit, dense spatial organization of capitalist accumulation is an important factor.¹⁰

City space is a productive force as well as an object of consumption. Besides, it is a political object. Thus, the social agents who use the space in a proper way have the chance to control the dynamics of society efficiently.¹¹ Urban spaces, with their dynamic structure and their being enticement centers, are proper places to provide both accumulation of capital and the control over it. The role played by state during all phases of capitalism has been correspondent to capitalist necessities. As Harvey states it:

...the tension between the fixity (and hence stability) that state regulation imposes, and the fluid motion of capital flow, remains a crucial problem for the social and political organization of capitalism. This difficulty (to which we shall return in part 2) is modified by the way in which the state stands itself to be disciplined by internal forces (upon which it relies for its power) and external conditions – competition in the world economy, exchange rates, and capital movements, migration, or, on occasion, direct political interventions on the part of superior powers. The relation between capitalist development and the state has to be seen, therefore, as mutually determining rather than unidirectional. State power can in the end, be neither more nor less stable than the political economy of capitalist modernity will allow.¹²

So the idea of command becomes critical together with the role of state. According to Henri Lefebvre within capitalist system, controlling space provides absolute power to

¹⁰ Harvey, 2003, pg.211

¹¹ Güven Arif Sargin, Critical Urban Theories, lecture note

¹² David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, Oxford and Cambridge: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1990, pg.109

command over social structure. So the relation of state with urban structure becomes critical since Urbanization, differentiation of urban centers, and communications between these centers are important factors within the contemporary capitalist system.

Considering city interconnected to late capitalist economy, in order to provide contextual framework for an analysis on today's concept of urban transformation, together with a preliminary study on contemporary comprehension of urban space will certainly require understanding this system, namely neoliberalism, and its socio-political, and spatial construct that is to say globalization.

Since, urban space, as being both space of production and a type of commodity at the same time, cannot be separated from capitalist system while operations take place within this space cannot be separated, as well. Consequently, urban transformation activities as partial operations within urban structures should be analyzed within this framework. As it will be discussed later at this study, urban transformation activities can mostly be appointed to be the operating tools of economic order over spatial structure; hence they become the representations of power. Therefore understanding these power relations, and the unevenness it caused in physical and social geographies require an analysis on neo-liberal methods of transformation at all layers of social structure beginning from economy-politics.

CHAPTER 2

2-Redistribution via Urban Operations

2.1- Introduction

As it is previously mentioned, making an analysis of contemporary urban renewal concept calls for comprehending preeminent role of cities within the globalized scheme overspread the world. Neoliberalism as the new phase of capitalism mastering political-economics and inexorably social structure of most countries constitutes the underlying structure for this kind of analysis on issues related to urbanization process. So, it is crucial to understand attributes of this late capitalist order. Apparently, providing a brief description of capitalist organization of space setting out from the industrial period up to present neo-liberal era is the desideratum to make an inquiry of neoliberalism and spatial conditions occurred in response to it. The most significant phenomenon concomitant to emergence of neoliberalism is globalization effects of which on cities will inevitably be dealt as a part of analysis on neo-liberal urbanism.

Before capitalism prevailed, there were ruling powers of several groups who had been controlling urban centers of pre-industrial ages. With the significant qualitative change in production system, says Harvey, concepts like “political processes; class alliances; the categories of rent, interest, merchants’ profit, and taxation, and the assets of physical and social infrastructure”¹³ had been reversed in terms of their role within politico-economics of society and became tools of capitalism. This power substitution was consequence of evolving to capitalist mode of production and at the same time laid the ground for initiatives of capitalist urbanization. Transition to capitalism and capitalist urbanization cannot be claimed as a sudden, steep shift that took place at all dimensions and layers of production at all geographies over the world. Still, it had been recognized as a general principle of economic structure that came to pass via similar processes especially at industrialized countries. The absolute

¹³ David Harvey, The Urban Experience, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University, 1985, pg.24

geographies of domination have left their places to relative geographies of capitalist organizations. The ruling power had evolved into nation states acting as provider, controller and ruler of capitalist system. Capitalism was inevitably entailing shifts in political and social schemes and as well in urban structure.

These circumstances did not take place only in industrial countries, and their affect spread over the world via instruments of capitalism, like colonialism, exportation-importation relations and such several modes of exploitation. Following these capitalist movements new urban centers, incorporating different class alliances than previous urban structures did have cropped up, additional to altered existing pre-industrial cities.

Considering in a very general manner, capitalist city can concisely be defined as the centre of accumulation of capital and labor power, and as a result can be defined as the inevitable container for over-accumulation of surpluses. Since, capitalism's trademark was exploitation of labor power to produce surpluses; industrial city had become the area for "concentration of labor power and productive force (epitomized in the factory system)", and this provided industrial city to become open to world market, "which, in turn, meant the consolidation of universal money and credit."¹⁴ Emphasizing importance of urbanization process and its diverse capacities for the capitalist system to function effectively, Harvey says;

...The geographical patterning of labor and commodity markets, of spatial and social divisions of production and consumption, and of differentiated sociotechnical mixes within the labor process became much more pronounced within the urban landscape. Intercapitalist competition and class struggle pushed the whole dynamic of urbanization toward the production of rational physical and social landscapes for capital accumulation. The search for profitable trade-offs between commands over and creation of advantageous locations, coupled with adaptations in the sociotechnical

¹⁴ Harvey, 1985, pg.29

conditions of production, became a much more visible moving force within the urban process.¹⁵

Attending a crucial role to industrial city as the centre of accumulation, it should be noted that city or urban structure of capitalism has usually been a typical part of a whole “a more and more generalized capitalist system of uneven geographical development¹⁶” that affected most of the world. To add, this inequality can either emerge on the inside a city or come forth in an interurban form.

Harvey marks the main disparity of urbanization at developing or under-developed countries from that of industrial ones as, the accumulation activity. That is, still being capitalist, urbanization at these countries or territories has been constructed by concentration of increased amounts of labor power over an area that lacks capital accumulation. This devaluation of labor power laid the base for most important problems of either urban or state governance at these countries or territories. Industrial city, on the other hand, had to confront the problem of absorption of over-accumulation. In order to overcome devaluation, the solution had been spatio-temporal displacements of surpluses, which meant mobilization of both capital and labor surpluses. Cities, the nodes of accumulation, came forth as places for immediate production and consumption as a response to absorption problem.¹⁷ Capitalism had to shift its focus from production to consumption and redistribution. After a comparatively long and tough learning period, big capital have realized the importance of first; competition and second; controlling and manipulating space in order to get advantageous positions within market structure.

The innovation of Fordism -mass production and mass consumption- has solved the problem of over-accumulation for a while. When the irregularities and inabilities from within the system of capitalism itself could not be handled by capital holders,

¹⁵ Harvey, 1985, pg. 29

¹⁶ Ibid, pg. 30

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 24-28

Keynesian regulations concentrating on the role of state in furnishing proper political necessities for the system reached and settled capitalism. Freer trade under heavier state hegemony has survived until the crisis came about early 1970s. This crisis is the corner stone for neoliberalism to rule, but the ideology has a parallel period to the realization of individual rights¹⁸. Neo-liberal process can be defined by distinctive role of space within the system, as it can easily be deduced from the very basics of popular coeval phenomena of globalization.

Within this perspective that considering city interconnected to capitalist economy, analyzing today's concept of urban transformation, beginning with the concept of urban space, will certainly require understanding contemporary economical conditions together with its socio-political outcome, that is to say neoliberalism. It should be noted that, on the inside this study, globalization phenomenon is not considered as just being contemporaneous to neo-liberal politico-economical system, but as an intrinsic and structural component inherent to it.

This chapter aims to analyze neoliberalism and its urban forms as a whole system of latest capitalist accumulation regime embedded in each layer of social and political contents. To do so several periods foregoes the recent system will be examined primarily. This necessitates to draw a general framework describing capitalist economy briefly and to make an inquiry in pertaining spatial conditions as well. At this point, Harvey's chronological description and conceptualization of capitalist urbanization will constitute the underlying structure for this particular inquiry. In the first place, conditions -at specifically speaking the period during and after Modern era- creating city space and the changes within this space is described, in terms of a complex relationship between economical, political and social dynamics of the period, accrediting economy as the leading incentive. This "regime of accumulation" period will be issued as Fordist-Keynesian political-economic structure, with an elaborate description of how the diverse structure of capitalism requires a parallel

¹⁸ David Harvey, A Brief History of Neoliberalism, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009

diversity in both socio-political structure of the society and geographical base of the economy.

Following this “neo-liberal ideology¹⁹,” more than an economical system controlling and transforming diverse characteristics of socio-politics will be particularized. Neo liberal urbanization will be examined as being both consequence of and consequential for neoliberalism. At this point differentiation of central and peripheral countries under capitalist order will become elementary. After that, politico-economical and social systems dominant in Turkey and principles of urbanization in Turkey will briefly be dealt conjointly. At the end of this chapter, the idea behind accelerated applications of recent urban transformation projects will be discussed within the framework drawn by debates on neo-liberal urbanization and the general idea of “capital’s restless seek for profit requires a constant renewal²⁰”.

2.2- A Brief History of Capitalist Urbanization: From Industrial City to Global City

2.2.1- Urban Centers of Accumulation

If space is indeed to be thought of as a system of ‘containers’ of social power (to use the imagery of Foucault), then it follows that the accumulation of capital is perpetually deconstructing that social power by re-shaping its geographical bases. Put the other way round, any struggle to reconstitute power relations is a struggle to reorganize their spatial bases. It is in this light that we can better understand ‘why capitalism is continually re-territorializing

¹⁹ Harvey, 2009

²⁰ Rachel Weber, *Extracting Value From The City: Neoliberalism and Urban Redevelopment*, Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004-2005, pp172-193

with one hand what it was de-territorializing with the other' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1984).²¹

Urban structures of the modern age were first constructed by and lately defined in terms of market relations. Hence for a better comprehension of basics of capitalist urbanism and the essence of changes entailing neo-liberal idea, there are several issues that should be raised within this part of the study. These are concisely; industrialization and entailing modern perception of spatio-temporality, Fordist-Keynesian phases of capitalism in terms of economical, social, and political conditions, altering position of state power all the way through urbanization of capital and as might be expected urban constructions and geographical unevenness resulting from capitalist organization of space.

Aforementioned above, the systematic appropriation of means of industrial revolution, mechanization and rationalization at a large scale transformed the old city centers rapidly. Unavoidably, the needs and necessities of rapid industrialization should have to be confronted. At spatial dimension the solution was establishment of new cities of this age close to means of transportation, energy resources, raw material resources, and cheap labor force. Factors of industrial capitalism have to be analyzed in a close connection to the industrial developments which were the leading forces of the technical innovations as well as technological innovations improved the industrial capacity rapidly. Similarly, the same was valid for the interaction between urbanization and industry, such that, the modern city, with the exception of old city centers, occurred as a sub product of industry. As Katznelson clearly states:

A critical transformation occurred with the shift from the mercantile to the industrial city. Now, rather than the city being a generative force for change, industrializing factors exogenous to cities reshaped their size, form, and function. The city became a wholly dependent entity.²²

²¹ Harvey, 1990, pp.237-238

²² Katznelson, 1993, pg.97

Aforementioned in Introduction part, the changed relations within politics and economy, and development of individualism as a new ideology, class relations begun to be shifting. Cities have been centers for these, where property relations and ownership of land became a very important status in social structure. Physical features of the city came to be an important part of capitalist economy during industrial period.

By the time this changeover in spatial use -or land use- had took place, cities begun to develop very fast. Developments at these modern metropolises were, generally, considerable amount of increase in population, enlargement of the size of city space, becoming a locus for production and consumption of all means, outgrowth of wage labor working class, and following all of these, many environmental and social problems. According to Katznelson, emergence of this new division of labor, different zones of living working or consuming entailed a new life style on physical structure of modern city.²³

As a result of coinciding rapid developments at several layers of social, political and economical structures, there happened an inevitable alteration in perception of space and time. In order to analyze components of this shifted perception of spatio-temporality power relations concerning the will to dominate them should be understood. There is an undeniable significant nexus of social power as a corollary of intersectant bidding over money, time and space, and this is the basic condition internal, generally speaking, to monetary systems, and particularly to capitalist society. Mentioning the importance of controlling spatio-temporal network for profiting, Harvey extrapolate by saying, “money can be used to command time (our own or that of others) and space. Conversely, command of time and space can be

²³ Katznelson, 1993, pg.15

converted back into command over money.”²⁴ This dialectic relation between spatio-temporality and fiscal means is elaborated by two general implications.

Money becoming the exclusive appraising medium at almost all layers of social life and social relations bring about inevitable changes in characteristics of space and time. This first entailment refers back to Modern understanding of dominating nature by ways of setting up control over time and space. In terms of temporality, an orderly conduct of production was provided by measurement and division of time in a strict manner and ended up with a temporal discipline. Coinciding this, domination over space via appointing cartography at work provided private use of space to emerge, together with ideological appropriation of it. Capitalism as an augmenting economic order has discovered the price of time and space as a prerequisite for effectual trade and exchange that brings about requested organization of commercial networks.²⁵

The second deduction can be grasped by following the first is the determination of space and time within market relations. Considering the fundamentals of capitalist economy, Harvey points at the necessity of special movement for material commodity exchange to take place. Providing a spatial organization and movement requires time and money, thus there is the accurate fact that profit-seeking nature of capitalist economic system requires speeding up of turnover-time. As he stated, “The faster the capital launched into circulation can be recuperated, the greater the profit will be. The definitions of ‘efficient spatial organization’ and of ‘socially necessary turnover time’ are fundamental norms against which the search for profit is measured²⁶”. This idea of space as one of the core attributes within capitalist system is elaborated by Harvey as such;

...The incentive to create the world market, to reduce spatial barriers, and to annihilate space through time is omni-present, as is the incentive to

²⁴ Harvey, 1990, pg.226

²⁵ Ibid. pp.227-228

²⁶ Ibid. pp.229-230

rationalize spatial organization into efficient configurations of production (serial organization of the detail division of labor, factory systems, and assembly line, territorial division of labor, and agglomeration in large towns), circulation networks (transport and communications systems), and consumption (household and domestic layout, community organization, and residential differentiation, collective consumption in cities).²⁷

A systematic analysis on necessities, success and failure risks, and general configurations of capitalism, brings forth domination of space as one of the main characteristics of capitalist system. Expressing the importance of controlling the production of space for increasing social power, Harvey puts his statement as, “the one who can effect the spatial distribution of investments in transport and communications, physical and social infrastructures, or the territorial distribution of administrative, political, and economic powers can often reap material rewards²⁸”.

It is a substantial consideration that capitalist urbanization is a social form, a lifestyle that is depended upon a specific hierarchical order of functions generally in correspondence with the dominant production style and the specified division of labor.²⁹ Emphasizing the importance of providing a determined control over space to protect or alter power relations, Tarık Şengül goes about urbanism as a complex structure. There are three major actors, he mentions, whose dialectical relations with each other construct the urban structure. According to him, while capitalist urbanization is being analyzed habits and acts of capital power cannot be framed as stabilized or fixed. Yet, it is definite that within capitalist city exchange value is the default option when compared to use value³⁰. Şengül directs attention to importance of understanding contradictions between these two values of urban space for an elaborate and appropriate comprehension of capitalist urbanization. Nevertheless, it

²⁷ Harvey, 1990, pg.232

²⁸ Ibid. pg.233

²⁹ Harvey, 2003, pg.187

³⁰ H. Tarık Şengül, Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçleri Üzerine Yazılar, (Contradictions and Politics of Urban, transl. By the Author), İstanbul: WALD, 2001, pp.9-42

is still the economical system that determines socio-political relations on the inside capitalist urban structures.

As for Harvey, the industrial city did not originate from itself; rather it was consequential to industrial capitalist system. He states the importance of the space for the capitalist economical system by referring to the centralized movement of surplus value. In capitalist economy surplus value in charge increased via the capitalist accumulation of it. In order to provide this turnover with extensive profit, dense spatial organization of capitalist accumulation is an important factor.³¹ Formulating the process of capitalism under two basic phases of accumulation, he states that to get the inner logic of flexible accumulation regime (so-called neo-liberal capitalism), the passage to this specific regime of accumulation should be defined elaborately and thus as the seminal concept “accumulation regime” should primarily be understood.³²

Beginning a survey of intricate relations between two major phases of capitalist accumulation regimes mentioned above, it will be useful to articulate dates those are rendered as differentiating points in time line for periods of these two phases studied within this study. A general acceptance about the late capitalist system is that recession years during 1970s have made basic relations of capitalism to be transformed in order to provide survival of the system. Compatible with the general opinion, Harvey defines the period after 1973, the year at which first major post-war recession has been confronted, as a transition period in the regime of accumulation and its associated mode of social and political regulation³³. Harvey binds capitalist society to political economics tightly and claims that the political economic system shapes the social structure. While looking into the socio-politics of Modern period he expresses, it is crucial to understand the economic structure of the era, namely Fordism, because essentials of this system has grounded the particular regulating order of modern society. Preliminary to neo-liberal system indications of which has

³¹ Harvey, 1990, pg.211

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid. pg.121

begin to be seen by 1970s, since from the very beginning of the 20th century Fordist regime of accumulation had been the mostly accepted economic system. As development of capitalism has accelerated and large corporations have started to control large-scale geographies, this preceding process of mass production, namely Fordism has begun to be utilized³⁴.

What makes Fordism special is a very simple way of labor organization with revolutionary consequences. Ford's discovery of the idea that mass production meant mass consumption had resulted in, as Harvey states, "a new system of the reproduction of labor power, a new politics of labor control and management, a new aesthetics and psychology, in short, a new kind of rationalized, modernist, and populist democratic society³⁵".

Fordism, having intricate problems especially at the early stages had to overcome some structural and legal obstacles to become as Harvey defined a *fully-fledged and distinctive regime of accumulation*³⁶. First thing to overcome was about the inner relations of capitalist production such that the laborer becoming the mass consumer as Fordism proclaimed had not been achieved with a full compliance out of America, up until second world war. Another impediment in front of Fordism avoiding it to determine an overall domination over social forms was the state, which was insufficient to confront Fordist necessities in terms of providing necessary regulations and conditions. At this point Harvey states, Keynesian solution to the problem was accepted. Keynes was recommending "arriving at a set of scientific managerial strategies and state powers that would stabilize capitalism while avoiding the evident repressions and irrationalities, (...)." ³⁷ Harvey expresses that regulating the critical conditions for capitalisms reproduction by introducing new political, institutional and social arrangements accommodating incapacities of the system was

³⁴ Harvey, 1985, pg.35

³⁵ Harvey, 1990, pg.126

³⁶ Ibid. pg.126

³⁷ Ibid. pg.129

achieved by the end of World War II and this mode of capitalist production system had been hale from 1945 up to 1973.

Fordism became a mature distinctive regime of accumulation by the time world-war two ended and “it then formed the basis for a long postwar boom that stayed broadly intact until 1973³⁸”. Harvey states the terms providing the base for this boom as such:

It was consolidated and expanded in the postwar period, either directly through policies imposed in the occupation or indirectly through the Marshall Plan and subsequent US direct investment. The latter, who had sputtered along in the inter-war years as US corporations sought market outlets overseas to overcome the limits of internal effective demand, sprang to life after 1945. This opening up of foreign investment (chiefly in Europe) and trade permitted surplus productive capacity in the United States to be absorbed elsewhere, while the progress of Fordism internationally meant the formation of global mass markets and the absorption of the mass of the world’s population, outside the communist world, into the global dynamics of a new kind of capitalism.³⁹

By the time the war ended mass production from assembly line had started to spread around Europe, and as Harvey noted, during this post-war boom, advanced capitalist countries have grown their economies. This period “from 1945 to 1973, was built upon a certain set of labor control practices, technological mixes, consumption habits, and configurations of political-economic power⁴⁰,” and it is defined as a Fordist-Keynesian configuration.

As it is briefly mentioned above problems of the Fordist regime of accumulation were rehabilitated by Keynesian prescription which was recommending a dominating

³⁸ Harvey, 1990, pg.129

³⁹ Ibid. pp.136-137

⁴⁰ Ibid. pg.124

and regulating role for state on the inside capitalist system. This interventionist approach assisting in restoration of Fordist regime of accumulation after the great depression and ensuing Second World War can in its core be defined as authorization of state over capitalist activity. State regulations on loan and debt activities allows for ‘unlimited credit’ as Harvey defines it, that is used in restructuring of physical and concomitantly social structure. This act of limitless crediting in exchange of deficit financial aftereffect was recommended by Keynes as a temporary solution to capitalisms inner-crises but became a permanent state policy. Behind the activity of re-construction and construction took place during this period, utilization of capital and labor surplus in production of physical and social infrastructures and capitalizing by obtaining more accumulation acted as a locomotive of welfare policies.⁴¹ State, becoming decision maker behind capitalist development, directed the capital investments mostly to building of urban infrastructure.

Increased intensiveness of capital on urban infrastructure accompanied dense activities in terms of shaping and re-organizing urban space. Referring to US examples, Harvey points at a critical concept which is “land speculation”. Land, primarily being reduced to a commodity and then became a “pure form of fictitious capital” provided urban sprawl, and rapid transformation of urban space.⁴² The case of suburbanization as a result of urban sprawl has triggered off other industries and in response urban sprawl has expanded in a more accelerated way as technological innovations sped up. Harvey describes this crucial role of urbanization within the flourished Fordist-Keynesian period of capitalist system as by saying;

The whole process rested, however, on continuous and radical restructurings of the space-time matrices that frame economic decisions as well as social and political life. The revolution in space relations overwhelmed the punctiform settlement patterns of industrial capitalism and replaced them with “space-covering” and “space-packing” patterns of labor and

⁴¹Harvey, 1985, pg.38

⁴² Ibid. pg.39

commodity markets merging into pure megalopolitan sprawl. The urban-rural distinction was swamped with respect to production in the advanced capitalist societies, only to be reproduced as an important consumption option.⁴³

Individual's habits especially of urban life gained more interest than it did before, since it was possible to mastermind masses and to create necessary demand for consumption of accumulation. Disparate, but not different in its essence, than well known class struggles, unbalanced consumption capabilities among inhabitants brought about status differences within society and urban structure as well. "Living spaces were made to represent status, position, and prestige. Social competition with respect to life-style and command over social space and its significations became an important aspect of access to life chances."⁴⁴ This ended up with emergence of competition based distribution, consumption and ownership like struggles within society.

In short, urban process under Keynesian rule can be described as attempts to create a post-industrial city aiming to overcome the problem of under-consumption. Accentuating that these regulations have solved many of capitalism's problems, Harvey recapitulates postwar urban process as:

Demand-side urbanization produced a very different-looking city of low-density sprawl, distinctive spaces of consumption (ranging from produced rural bliss to intense in-town living separated by what increasingly appeared as the no man's land of the suburb), and strange significations of life-style and social status etched into a landscape of unrelieved consumerism. Production increasingly meant the production of space and of long-term investments, behind which stood powerful growth coalitions that managed the new-style urbanization of capital in ways symbiotic with their own

⁴³ Harvey, 1985, pg.39

⁴⁴ Ibid. pg.40

interests...Keynesian city increasingly appeared, then, as a post-industrial city, as a consumption artifact nourished by service provision, information processing, and the support of command functions in government and finance.⁴⁵

It can be deduced that, Keynesian policies has a social dimension that is efficacious over urban construction and reshaping activities. But, as Harvey criticizes, Fordist-Keynesian period had failed in achieving social evenness, freedom and balanced development⁴⁶. While for a limited circle of elites elevated their status and brought in high levels of profits, majority of people had to live under state pressure. Similarly Neil Smith points out the problematic consequences (especially the ones crystallized in social structure) of these policies executed during this period. The subvention of Keynesian state for large urban spaces of social production, “from housing to welfare transportation infrastructure”, is the most apparent evident of the intact relation between urbanization and social reproduction.⁴⁷ Hence the crisis came about at 1970s “having to do with the dysfunctionality of racism, class exploitation, and patriarchy and the contradictions between an urban form elicited according to criteria of accumulation and one that had to be justified in terms of the efficiency of social reproduction.”⁴⁸

Redistribution by way of urban processes laid the ground for social problems like income differentiation and deprivations. Urban form of Fordist-Keynesian period was being interpreted as a redistributive system. Proliferation of urban developments under Keynesian regulations had its limits and growth in economy has slowed down. Under these circumstances of high inflation and deepening social inequalities social movements and uprisings have started. Harvey, for who, unequal distribution is a

⁴⁵ Harvey, 1985, pg.43

⁴⁶ Harvey, 1990, pg.139

⁴⁷ Neil Smith, *New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy, Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004-2005, pg.85

⁴⁸ Ibid. pg.85

probable result of coercive laws of competition, explains this particular idea while defining concept of scarce intrinsic to capitalism. He says that, since the market system is based upon the exchange values, which could only exist in a condition that, if the commodity in charge becomes scarce, then the concept of scarcity gets meaningful in some specific social and cultural context.

Here, scarcity, he means, is of any kind like job opportunities, land, food or any other goods. The reason behind is simple according to Harvey; in order to support the market in terms of appraisal at exchange values of commodities, scarcity ascertained in some way, should be provided within the social structure. As well, redistribution of profit should be under control to put up the condition of scarcity to continue. A significant way to achieve this is the use of regulations about property assigning, which are protecting the exchange value in market and at the same time avoiding scarcity to end. If it is admitted that concept of scarcity should be prolonged to make market system work properly, then the accompaniment of concepts like deprivation, ownership and exploitation to the market system should be accepted. Considering space, the reflection of this situation will be a series of activities in terms of ownership, which result in some regions to exploit, some others to be exploited. This fact is clearly visible in urban systems because as a common historical knowledge, urbanization is based upon the possession of surplus value or ownership.⁴⁹

In his description for urban condition during the end of Fordist-Keynesian period, Harvey says that, capitalist city partially becomes a place for consumption, partially acts as a diverted resource of physical demand. While in past the surplus value has usually been used for the construction of physical structures of city (like monumental architecture or such), at the new phase it has to be used by city itself in the process of expanding consumption.⁵⁰ He means that the social status of city is reduced to the

⁴⁹ Harvey, 2003, pp.108-109

⁵⁰ Ibid. pg.245

activity of consumption, which is a reproduction of the surplus value without producing anything at all. This type of socializing -attitude of consumption in forms of shopping, entertainment and tourism kind of activities- is possible only by means of exchange, whose material equivalent is money. Moreover, basic human needs and so-called social rights like education, medical services and housing have already require a certain economical capacity.

Eventually, the end of the postwar Fordism has come from within the system itself. As long familiar, capitalism needs inner crises to reproduce the system, at different time intervals. One of these crises was lived through 1970s, such that excess amount has increased so much and resulted in high inflation rates in especially capitalist countries. “Fixed capital investments and physical structures in existing locations were consequently threatened with massive devaluation, thus undermining property tax base and fiscal capacity of many urban governments at a time of increasing social need”⁵¹.

Harvey states the critical date for this crisis as 1973, the year of oil crisis, and for him this is the temporal threshold where Fordist regime of accumulation leaves its place to *flexible accumulation* regime. Flexible accumulation regime is marked by struggle of market structure against solid structure of Fordism. This regime depends upon flexible movement of money when compared to “labor processes, labor markets, products, and patterns of consumption”. As Harvey continues;

...It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new markets, and, above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovation. It has entrained rapid shifts in the patterning of uneven development, both between sectors and between geographical regions, giving rise, for example, to a vast surge in so-called ‘service sector’ employment as well as to entirely new industrial ensembles in hitherto underdeveloped regions (such as the ‘Third Italy’, Flanders, the

⁵¹ Harvey, 1985, pg.259

various silicon valleys and glens, to say nothing of the vast profusion of activities in newly industrializing countries). It has also entailed a new round of what I shall call 'time-space compression' in the capitalist world – the time horizons of both private and public decision-making have shrunk, while satellite communication and declining transport costs have made it increasingly possible to spread those decisions immediately over an ever wider and variegated space.⁵²

The pivotal structural difference of flexible accumulation from Fordism is at the balance between inner forces of capitalism at work, such that, corporate state and personal financing has become secondary operations when compared to banking and financing sectors. About preserving inner balance between capitalism and state (here it is nation state that is to be focused)⁵³ Harvey puts emphasis on the parallel aggrandizement in authority of both finance capital and nation state.⁵⁴ At this point, a new critical complex role of state rather than being just nation oriented comes into criticism. With the rising agreement on globalized market and its necessities, international monetary movements had become authorized by internationally working finance organizations such as the widely known IMF and World Bank. Harvey explains the new situation as such; nation states, having turned over their regulating authority on finance sector, and begin to play a more intricate role within globalized world. So the role shift mentioned here does not mean state intervention is disentangled, on the contrary, the state's duty within global market structure can now be described as more demanding and complex.

2.2.2- Changing Roles: The Essentials of Transition

This shift in capitalist system was a necessity for the system itself, to overcome the crisis that effected whole parts of the world that can be called as ambit of capitalism.

⁵² Harvey, 1990, pg.147

⁵³ Harvey claims there is an intricate role of nation state in propulsion phase of Fordist regime of accumulation, though definition of nation state, together with its necessities had started to be discussed at this new phase of capitalism.

⁵⁴ Harvey, 1990, pg.165

Harvey states the date 1973 as the start point of the transformation of capitalism at the late 20th century. Profit remaining the basic organizing principle of economic life there has been changes in the way capitalism operates at interrelations between state power, market holders, market places, and labor processes.⁵⁵ The so-called transition in the regime of accumulation broadly affected its associated mode of social and political regulation. About this transition, Harvey states that;

I broadly accept the view that the long postwar boom, from 1945 to 1973, was built upon a certain set of labor control practices, technological mixes, consumption habits, and configurations of political-economic power, and this configuration can reasonably be called Fordist – Keynesian. The break up of this system since 1973 has inaugurated a period of rapid change, flux, and uncertainty. Whether or not the new systems of production and marketing characterized by more flexible labor processes and markets, of geographical mobility and rapid shifts in consumption practices, warrant the title of a new regime of accumulation, and whether the revival of entrepreneurialism and of neo-conservatism, coupled with the cultural turn to postmodernism, warrant the title of a new mode of regulation, is by no means clear.⁵⁶

He points at 1970s as the period for consolidation of neoliberalism as the new ruling system of economy-politics at especially developed countries⁵⁷. On a democratic basis, some streams of thought, like freedom, liberty and individualism, have been used as subservient of big capital by way of media and “a crisis of capitalism was interpreted as a crisis of governance”. This was an effective way of dissolving union power and any kind of collective understanding. As Harvey states, notions like family values, private property, individualism and personal responsibility were heightened to an extent that any constitution of social solidarity has faded away. Underlying motive beneath this social structure shift is creation of a mass of people

⁵⁵ Harvey, 1990, pg.121

⁵⁶ Ibid. pg.124

⁵⁷ Harvey, 2006

rather than a communion, on the account of operating capitalist economy in a more profitable environment with less effort. Neoliberalism departs from liberalism at this very ultimate objective of it; financialization of everything and capital accumulation concentrating at some owners and financial institutions for the sake of system to operate⁵⁸.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the shift from Fordist type of production to high technology domination on new ways of production of various mediums like information, communication, knowledge, and images, service sector became the leader in late capitalist system. So the new type of production required new types of mediums to operate within where space still has an important part within this system, previous features of location for fixed capital and closeness to it left for flexibility and easy flow possibilities.

There have been numerous changes ongoing since from the neo-liberal turn at 1970s, but a critical point that should be raised here is about how the perception of urban space has departed from previous industrial city. The previous form of urbanization was dependent on industrial activity in terms of its density and structure, but at this late phase of capitalist order urban structure has come to be the leading actor which is dominating redistribution process, the second circuit of industrial activity.⁵⁹ It would not be overstating to claim geographical ground of neoliberalism deserves to be emphasized as one of the core factors. Since it is impossible for any human being not to occupy space, from the very basic level space becomes one of the most suitable commodities. Additionally, conflicting condition of use value with exchange value inherent to capitalist market system requires a complete control over space for the sake of profitability. So it can be interpreted that “uneven geographical development of neo-liberalism suggests that its implantation was as much an outcome of diversification, innovation and competition (sometimes of the

⁵⁸ Harvey, 2006, pp.11-25

⁵⁹ Katznelson, 1993, pg.97

monopolistic sort) between national, regional and in some instances even metropolitan models of governance and economic development”⁶⁰

Domination over almost all features of social, political and economical structure as well as the every day practices is an absolute must for neoliberalism. Despite the motto of *freedom for each and every individual*, neoliberalism ended up with a more suppressive state.⁶¹ That is because; this kind of a major transformation in socio-economic structure can only be done interlaced with state power. Thus the role played by state during the neo-liberal turn is evidently determinative, for the sake of ‘good business climate’.

Here it is necessary to note that, on the inside this particular study, neoliberalism as a complex entity will also be referred to as both reason and the result of globalization phenomenon, at least partially. The relation between neoliberalism and globalization is considered to be grounding on economical basis that is free flow of accumulation and commodities over a global scale market. Considering this relation and affects of globalization on cities all over the world, urban space has become one of the most valuable as well speculative commodities within the era of neoliberalism, as they become the crossings within the network of globalized market. It can be observed that this situation is in no way coincidental or accidental, rather it is the way late capitalist order extending its control all over the world while seeking for more profit. Dispersal of neo-liberal political economy all over the world during the last few decades has caused almost all types of relations within society to be transformed.

Having assigned a major economic role, transformation of either physical or social forms of city space -and though the urban structure as a whole- happens to be the obvious grounds for the idea of ‘urban structure or as for this particular study, contemporary applications urban transformation to be comprehended as

⁶⁰ Harvey, 2006, pg. 33

⁶¹ Harvey, 2009, pp.1-39

representation of power'. Hence, to set the grounds for this idea, it is necessarily prerequisite to go over and understand characteristics of neo-liberal economy politics from within a critical perspective and draw a conceptual framework to work within.

2.2.3- Neoliberalism: The Creative Destruction of Urban at Crossings

2.2.3.1-A Concise Explanation of Neo-Liberal Ideology

Despite the fact that utmost rapidity of developments especially at fields like information, transportation and communication technologies has provided capital to gain the ability for extending its limits, there are social and political structures as potential obstacles in front of free flow of market. In order to make it available for capital and surpluses flow freely, these impediments have had to be passed over by neo-liberal capitalism. Because, it should be noted that it is neoliberalism as a socio-political ideology paving the path for globalization of; finance, commodity market, and production, and as well labor power. Aforementioned above, it is not a coincidence that arising of neoliberalism being coeval with emergence of globalization phenomenon. As for Harvey, it is crucial to agnize that the correlation between globalization and neoliberalism cannot be defined just by co-existence, it is an intact relation that globalization is a corollary of concept of neoliberalism as well neo-liberalist economy entails globalization of capital⁶². So the scope of neoliberalism cannot be degraded to mere economy, on the account of that, neoliberalism provides conditions for construction of a global market, conducts control over social structure and dominates political era. It should be evaluated as the ideology behind the complex plan of late capitalism with great power relations lying beneath.

The origins of neo-liberal ideology dates back to emergence of liberal ideology by the period right after Second World War⁶³. Liberalism focalizes to individual rights

⁶² Harvey, 2006

⁶³ Harvey, 2009, pg.20 David Harvey indicates the year 1947 as the date for emergence of liberal thought. This is the year at which “a small and exclusive group of passionate advocates” held their

as the common priority to be considered at all dimensions of socio-political and economical structures. Neo-liberal ideology takes a few steps forward and “proposes that human well being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade⁶⁴”. The essentials of global market, finance sector webbing the world, notions of individual and social, re-establishment of state power in a disparate way, and rescaling of geographies together with their administrative manners under-construction are the features building up neoliberalism as a theory of political economy.

Neoliberalism is a return to liberalism’s origins, that creation of a free and democratic environment through advancement of individualism as the rudimentary purport is a common denominator for the two ideologies⁶⁵. Assuming individualism as the best possible way of common good and designating free market as the tool for succeeding in placement of private property at the base of individual stake is another associated course shared by the preceding idea of liberalism and neo-liberal ideology. However there is a featured difference between preceding liberalism and neoliberalism. According to Smith this is basically extending mobilization of state power in terms of organizing and utilizing at dissimilar geographies of various scales⁶⁶. The new role of state as the ‘good business’ provider, social reproduction of labor under the reign of globalization, justification of increased social control as a result of repressing against affright scenarios and obvious role shift of city governance as to become almost independent in policy making processes are constituents of neoliberalism Smith puts forward in order to explicate neo-liberal urbanism. As he says, “...there is also a rescaling of urban practices, cultures, and

meetings and declared a society called Mont Pelerin Society, with a founding statement declaring themselves as liberals.

⁶⁴ Harvey, 2009, pg.2

⁶⁵ Smith, 2004-2005, pp.80-103

⁶⁶ Ibid. pg.82

functions in the context of changing global relations and a dramatically altered fate of the nation-state⁶⁷”.

Preliminary to particularization of fundamental features building up neo-liberal ideology, some significant events and issues considered as cornerstones of neo-liberal system should be noted. Dating back to late 1970s and early 1980s, as Harvey directs attention, there has been a concurrent alteration of economy-politics of central capitalist countries, into a similar scope of view and perspective. He points at the parallel operations driven by state power in favor of freer market, and claims that these are inaugural maneuvers of a long term project, namely neoliberalism.⁶⁸ Emphasizing the fact that in order to succeed at intervening social structure, any theory shall come up with an idea covering basic human instincts, public values and also everyday practices all at the same time. In case of neoliberalism the elementary idea is “political ideals of human dignity and individual freedom as central values of civilization⁶⁹”. Supposing freer trade and free flowing market are the ways to ensure necessities to reach this noble idea of individualism, neo-liberal policies and applications have started to be applied at central capitalist countries. Ensuing this, most of the capitalist world have met with neoliberalism either by will or by way of enforcement.

In search for a reason d’etre, Harvey assigns a retrospective thinking, and comes up with two possible but distinct objectives those neo-liberal ideologies might have aimed to proceed. First one is that; neo-liberal idea aimed utopian project to actualize a theoretical design on the re-organization of international capitalism; the other possible intention is that; this aimed to be a political project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites. The second possibility has been the result that neo-liberal capitalist organization justified; it helped for reconstruction of big capital or elite power. Intrinsic tools of capitalism with new forms and ways of application have played their role in this reconstruction

⁶⁷ Smith, 2004-2005, pg.82

⁶⁸ Harvey, 2009, pp.1-39

⁶⁹ Ibid. pg.5

act. There is an evident corroboratory role played by market in consolidation of monopoly power as by boosting competitiveness and innovative technologies, as well as pushing peripheral (or developing) countries towards indebtedness with the promotion of 'free market fundamentalism' put to work by international finance institutions.⁷⁰ Previous form of state apparatus, regulations of which was decelerating free flow of capital has altered to a more suppressive and less social determined status and become the prevalent regulating power in search for profit. Space becomes one of the main commodities and plays a dominant role over politics, as well. The potential resistances, that is, all forms of social solidarity "were to be dissolved in favor of individualism, private property, personal responsibility and family values"⁷¹. Social togetherness and forms of communions are defeated by neo-liberal individualism, which propagates private property, entrepreneurialism or private investments to be perceived as priorities of masses. Gough summarizes this matter by saying:

Neoliberalism poses itself as the end of social. It seeks to unshackle social actors from social and political constraints, to enable the firm freely to maximize its profits and the individual his or her "utility". Private property is to be freed from collective rights and obligations, in particular from state interference, though the state is required all the more strongly to protect property from infringement by others. This implies particular relations between capital and labor in which the worker confronts capital as an individual rather than a member of a collective or a citizen, freeing capital both in its purchase of labor power and in the latter's consumption within the workplace.⁷²

Since it is creative and destructive in its very nature, social solidarity is not the only thing disintegrated by neo-liberal ideology, but a very core acquirement. This ideology is also a misrepresentation of its political practice and market provisions

⁷⁰ Harvey, 2009, pp.13-27

⁷¹ Ibid. pg.23

⁷² Jamie Gough, *Neoliberalism and Socialisation in the Contemporary City: Opposites, Complements and Instabilities*, Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004-2005, pg.58

because, neo-liberal ideology contradicts with everyday practice. Brenner and Theodore elaborate this situation as by explaining the disparities between ‘aim and result’. First contradiction is that despite theorizing idea of constructing a free market structure without strict regulations by state, under neo-liberal rule, a repressive and more disciplinary state has come into being which renders the essentials of market control over social structure with minimum effort. Second contradiction the authors raise is about very recent rules of market structure. Where the ideology of neoliberalism presupposes the best possible conditions of living can most likely be achieved by creation of a self-regulating, freer market, response to these economy-political practices have come to pass in form of market downfalls and polarization within social life, and additional to these, there emerges unevenness at almost all scales of spatiality.⁷³

Defining from a critical perspective, neoliberalism is a process of public and popular realms’ assets transfer to the private and class-privileged domains⁷⁴. The two basic operations, first identifying individualization as the destructive element against social solidarity and second deputing state apparatus as leading benefactor of international capital have prepared the proper conditions for neoliberalism process. Harvey remarks four constitutional elements while putting the definition of neoliberalism up. These four elements he points at are, privatization, financialization, management and manipulation of crises, and state with a selectively redistributive role.

Once state oriented towards neo-liberalist policies, -including the ones related to vital and social rights- all resources together with production and service systems are channeled towards a few privileged capital holders by privatization of utilization, management or control of these resources. Financialization policy, another factor in neo-liberal idea, puts its basis on the indebtedness crisis, during which finance sector

⁷³ Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, *Cities and Geographies of “Actually Existing Neoliberalism”*, *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004-2005, pg.5

⁷⁴ Harvey, 2006, pg. 45

had immersed by a considerably few investors. This coexists the period of rendering similar monetary policies of neo-liberal capitalism in a confirmed manner. Complete control over this financial system is provided by way of intermittent crises, those entail exchanging power relations as well as the direction, location and possession of money. Within this intricate relation, state as the fourth element in Harvey's theory on operation process of neoliberalism, plays a crucial role at the crisis management part, together with international finance institutions⁷⁵. At this new phase of capitalist system, that is to say neoliberalism, states are expected to provide proper conditions for global finance capital to flow easily, while searching for new profitable markets and making them available for any kind of business. Additional to this, boundaries states move within should be defined by such proper regulations that provide priority for national interest as well.⁷⁶

Moreover, neoliberalism has to confront unforeseen difficulties originating from its basic characteristic of being a path-dependent ideology. Brenner and Theodore issue at these as partially inveterate but wholly internal problems of neo-liberal experiment. Primary difficulty is destabilized structure of capitalist accumulation inherent to the system. Secondly, it is the contradicting act of creative-destruction of space -dialectic of territorializing and re-territorializing- which can be issued as a chronic pitfall. The problem of uneven development, implicit in capitalism, comes next as a result of several factors like drive to mobilization, inter-capitalist competition and required constant diversity by way of de-valorization and re-valorization. Another integral failure of neo-liberal ideology is about territorial redistribution and development strategies, which fetch up a series of regulations leading uneven-development, while said to be aiming to balance the unevenness. Lastly, there has remained the dual role of state left to be mentioned as a problematic attribute of neoliberalism; which can be described as state being both provider of a

⁷⁵ Harvey, 2006, pp. 43-50

⁷⁶ Harvey, 1990, pp.141-172

relatively stable landscape for capital's movements, and being the apparatus regulating the imbalanced conditions resulted from capitalism.⁷⁷

The fundamental mission of the neo-liberal state can eventually be defined as to create optimal conditions for a “good business climate”, even if this means contradicting with the social democratic state that seeks social welfare for all citizens. Harvey puts forward that the parole of neo-liberal state is “flexibility” in labor markets and in the deployment of investment capital⁷⁸. Ensuring the cost effectiveness of non-profit-making public sectors -mostly at the core of social welfare-, and privatization of every possible dominion is elementary operations of neo-liberalist state. While examining neo-liberal state regulations providing privilege to market, it should be noted that the effects of these reforms on institutions, legal forms within society and capitalist geographies will be lasting longer than they will be on capitalist economy. That is to say, these short term reforms of economy might end up with more efficacious consequences at other fields of life.⁷⁹ On the significance of social dimension of neo-liberal ideology Harvey states:

Neoliberalization required both politically and economically the construction of a neo-liberal market-based populist culture of differentiated consumerism and individual libertarianism. As such it proved more than a little compatible with that cultural impulse called ‘postmodernism’ which had long been lurking in the wings but could now emerge full-blown as both a cultural and an intellectual dominant. This was the challenge that corporations and class elites set out finesse in the 1980s.⁸⁰

While examining principles of contemporary rescaling of the urban space, Brenner and Theodore emphasize neoliberalism as an ideological system rather than being just an idea subsidiary to economy. It is a widespread prominence of open,

⁷⁷ Brenner and Theodore, 2004-2005, pp.6-10

⁷⁸ Harvey, 2006, pg. 25

⁷⁹ Brenner and Theodore, 2004-2005, pg.16

⁸⁰ Harvey, 2009, pg.42

competitive and unregulated markets since from late 1970s to 1980s. Among a variety of solutions for the two inner problems within capitalism, which were declined profitability of mass production industries and inner-crisis of Keynesian welfare policies; neoliberalism egressed with its specific responses to some issues. Neoliberalism provided adequate ground for; “deregulation of state control over major industries, assaults on organized labor, the reduction of corporate taxes, the shrinking and privatization of public services, the dismantling of welfare programs, enhancement of international capital mobility, the intensification of inter-locality competition and the criminalization of urban poor⁸¹”. All the same, it should necessarily be remarked, as the two authors state as well, neo-liberal ideology is an experimental process operating with trial-error method, which lay the grounds for description of neoliberalism as a path-dependent system.

Social and political constraints limiting corporate activities or market processes were remains of previous regulatory system that has to be transformed and turned into a more flexible structure that suits to neo-liberal scope. Modification of economy or the process of neoliberalization had a more extremist style in terms of its utilization of political and social equipments. Because it has a path dependent structure, this attitude of relinquishing social well-being in favor of market progression prolonged during 1980s, has left its place, by 1990s, to more moderate applications concerning social affairs⁸². Here it is crucial to express that these processes and posture shift of neoliberalism were being applied at central economies, where developing and underdeveloped economies were pushed to change their politico-economical structure as a response to deregulation, enhanced capital mobility, trade liberalization and expanded commodification. With the help of swift acceptance of globalization idea, and the context it became possible issues like “lean bureaucracies, fiscal austerity, enhanced labor market flexibility, territorial competitiveness and free flow

⁸¹ Brenner and Theodore, 2004-2005, pp.1-32

⁸² Ibid. pg.15

of investment and capital⁸³” to be inserted in prevailing political programs in these countries.

Neo-liberal ideology, aftermath the termination of communism has come to be appraised as the ideology of new imperialism not with a total control and domination over all parts of the world; neoliberalism is utilized to command states of the other⁸⁴. As it is mentioned above, “disciplinary political authority that enforces market rule over an ever wider range of social relations throughout the world economy” lies at the core of the neo-liberal context of use. To achieve this, neoliberalism –process of institutional creative destruction-, tends to dominate social, political and economical relations and provides them to be destructive in fields of geopolitics and geo-economics⁸⁵.

Geopolitics comes out as a key concept in determining political tendencies, at this point. Parallel to Brenner and Theodore’s statement mentioned above, Harvey claims that system of neoliberalism is not a provisioned and settled ahead one, but an experimental, interchanging process. This characteristic of it can be deduced from the geographical irregularity ensuing configurations of neo-liberal urbanization and globalization. As he continues:

The uneven geographical development of neoliberalism, its frequently partial and lop-sided application from one state and social formation to another, testifies to the tentativeness of neo-liberal solutions and the complex ways in which political forces, historical traditions, and existing institutional arrangements all shaped why and how the process of neoliberalization actually occurred.⁸⁶

⁸³ Brenner and Theodore, 2004-2005, pg.14

⁸⁴ Harvey, 2009, pp.87-98

⁸⁵ Brenner and Theodore, 2004-2005, pg.15

⁸⁶ Harvey, 2009, pg.13

Holding in mind the fact that, acceleration of movement on space over time paving historical-geographical path that capital accommodation follows, the consequent intensifying unevenness at geographical base should be scrutinized. The fact that this unevenness is a process continuously re-organized under the effect of capital accumulation should not be neglected, even if historical forms of social and cultural environment might be misleading.

2.2.3.2-Neo-Liberal Urban Operations

Cities are now the nerve centers of globalization and of globalizing capital, and equally play a crucial ideological and political role within this system. To maintain competitive viability, cities have to consolidate or offer some sort of place advantage to prospective investors. Now, cities -like industries, like people everywhere- have to be much more competitive and entrepreneurial, if only to survive.⁸⁷

Capital exists potentially in many forms and conversion of almost all means of social life into commodities with exchange value is a vital moment in capitalism's history and within this whole process, urbanization plays a key role. Fundamentals of capitalist urbanization as urban concentration of wealth, urban based wealth by means of property and rent, and various mechanisms of redistribution –taxation and rentals- are extant in neo-liberal city. Additionally, improvements at fields of information and transformation technologies together with outgrowth of service-based financial economy have led to more easily circulation of capital. As a result of geographical concentration of surplus and its utilization for material investments in cities, urban space and relations of -and in- it have begun to be re-valORIZED in terms of commodity and exchange value while use value has degraded.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Andy Merrifield, *Dialectical Urbanism: Social Struggles in the Capitalist City*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002, pp.12

⁸⁸ Harvey, 1985, pp.1-59

Geographical unevenness within the capitalist world has accelerated apparently over the last few decades, so it is absolutely essential to construct a theory on consequential relation of neo-liberal policies with uneven geographical development. There are several reasons causewaying this process of spaces becoming unequal and unbalanced. Looking from a general perspective, Harvey says that these can be analyzed as factors those are describing the spatial narrative within the system of capital accumulation⁸⁹.

The primary factor to mention is market exchange activity, which has been and still is the heart and soul of capitalist system for all phases. Definitely, profitability is the principal objective of capitalism and localization of capital is crucial, but at the same time it becomes an impediment before mobility of capital accumulation, when diverging structure of capitalism that is initiated by involvement of growth and technology has been considered. Producing and transporting with the least feasible cost and marketing with the highest possible costs require re-organization of geographies, and inequality appears to be the inevitable result. Next factor is competitive characteristic of capitalism. Temporariness of capitalism's production space in relation to powerful competitive structure of the system causes instability and location dynamism ending up with geographical unevenness. At this point it should be noted that urban process plays an important role as both locus of the production and consumption activities. Furthermore location of labor and control over labor power becomes territorialized. At the age of neoliberalism, subsequent to factors above another factor concerning urban structure has emerged that is formation of key sites as a result of increasing centralization of capital together with necessity of protecting know-how information. These centers of capital accumulation, as commonly known 'global cities'⁹⁰, can be referred as ascertaining representations of uneven geographical division.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Harvey, 2006, pp. 71-96

⁹⁰ This conception of 'global city' has begun to be used commonly for last few years, with reference to American Sociology Professor Saskia Sassen's definition of the subject. She defines 'global city' as the major city playing a leading role in the organization and management of world economy. Global

Next thing to mention is again a basic component of capitalism that is “annihilation of space through time” in order to minimize the turnover time of capital. High mobilization of capital causes differences between various geographies and resultant to this, urban spaces became intensified. With diversification of territorial divisions and under the combined effect of both freer trade and easy transportation inequality between spaces has been deepened. Concentration of infrastructural investments at particular locations and production of spatially-ordered urbanization as a result ends up with speculative land values and causes imbalanced rent creation. Capital accumulation has to deal with regional structures; it has to confront and if necessary revolutionize them. But it is certain that the production of a regionality considering particularity of localities and societies results in unevenness.

Unsteadiness of spatio-temporal structure of capital accumulation requires a scalar transformation of its geographical base. Dominating space is a major necessity for capitalism that allows for introducing regional aspects over which, capital is projected to flow. Free movement of capital requires a concentrated power that will provide necessary conditions as well. At this point it necessitates directing attention to the particular role of neo-liberal state in creation of uneven geographies, because as Harvey says, the state functions more clearly, at the age of neoliberalism, as an “executive committee of capitalist class interests” than any other time in history⁹². States struggle as a result of inescapable (considering capitalism’s conditions) competition. The situation come to pass as such; political entities of various scales like municipalities, cities, states etc. are drawn in competition with one another in order to gain advantageous position in both areas of politics and economics. This entails a political instability and ends up with spatial inequality at various

cities emerge as forms of sub national components of global economy, replacing the forms of decomposed national economies. And the crucial role deployed to these urban centers requires global cities to compete at the global arena constantly. The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001, pp.3-15

⁹¹ Harvey, 2006, pp. 95-100

⁹² Ibid. pg.106

dimensions. Complying this, another factor of geographical unevenness is resulted from operations by capitalist power holders' will to control territories, namely 'geopolitics of capitalism'.⁹³ Contemporary capitalist geopolitics requires the auto-centric national economy to be destabilized and leave its place to globalized world under neo-liberal rule.

Sassen, underscoring cities as production places of recent technologies and information industries, says that patterns of late capitalist corporate economy is reflected by infrastructures of contemporary urban structure⁹⁴. As it is mentioned above, atomization of space, as in case of rescaling market regulations from national territories to city space, facilitates capitalist socio-political and economical relations to be widely recognized. Moreover, interregional competition, despite it is dating back to 1950s, has become the chairing influence behind unevenness of geographical conditions, with the help of fluid and open market and at last assured neo-liberal spread⁹⁵.

While describing urbanization of neoliberalism, Brenner and Theodore mention a global-national-local (glocalized) interaction to define the outcome of dynamic modification of capitalist territorial organization of previous nationally configured networks. The new glocalized structure has a crucial departure; that none of the nodes or crossings within the global network is deployed as the pin point of accumulation, regulation, distribution or social struggle⁹⁶. Where nation states have overturned at capitalist economical arenas by monetary regulations, urban governances have taken their place. In this context, the authors say:

... cities -including their suburban peripheries- have become increasingly important geographical targets and institutional laboratories for a variety of

⁹³ Harvey, 2006, pp.106-109

⁹⁴ Saskia Sassen, "*Cities, and Communities in the Global Economy*", *The Global Cities Reader* (ed. Neil Brenner and Roger Keil), New York: Routledge, 2006, pg.84

⁹⁵ Harvey, 2009, pg.87

⁹⁶ Brenner and Theodore, 2004-2005, pg.16

neoliberalism policy experiments, from place marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations, public-private partnerships, and new forms of local boosterism to workfare policies, property-redevelopment schemes, business-incubator projects, new strategies of social control, policing, and surveillance, and a host of other institutional modifications within the local and regional state apparatus.⁹⁷

Social structure and every day conditions that urbanization developed upon are transformed by rescaling of state power. Urban and national governments have continued to dominate urbanization of capital except for the denominating idea behind capitalist re-organization of space was no longer a nationally patterned or centralized one. As Neil Brenner says, supranational patterns of spatial organization are prevailing at neo-liberal phase⁹⁸. Particularity of urban space for capitalist operations and neoliberalism is resulted from intricate relationship between dialectics of capitalism and space. As Brenner says:

Because urban regions occupy the contradictory interface between the world economy and the territorial state, they are embedded within a multiplicity of political-economic processes organized upon a range of superimposed geographical scales. (...) The rescaling of urbanization leads to a concomitant rescaling of the state through which, simultaneously, urban and regional spaces are mobilized as productive forces and social relations are circumscribed within new political boundaries and scalar hierarchies.⁹⁹

Urban space has become the main field of market operations and upper-class consumption by way of mobilization and this situation is induced by the neo-liberal experiments. These operations altered urban implementations as, participation of cooperative business in local politics, local economic development policy forms that

⁹⁷ Brenner and Theodore, 2004-2005, pg.21

⁹⁸ Neil Brenner, "*Global Cities, 'Glocal' States: Global City Formation and State Territorial Restructuring In Contemporary Europe*", *The Global Cities Reader* (ed. Neil Brenner and Roger Keil), New York: Routledge, 2006, pg.261

⁹⁹ Ibid. pp.265-266

increase cooperation and industrial clustering between corporations, facilitating social exclusion, advancement of interrelated forms of local state intervention, regional institutions promoting urban market by intergovernmental coordination¹⁰⁰.

Internal to path-dependent structure of neoliberalism, neo-liberal urbanization has altered in time. By 1980s, nation states have left their policies of promoting growth and establishment of socio-political settlements, moreover and by the time city governances have been forced to minimize their expenditures in order to set state administrative costs of social and capitalist production lower. Concomitant to ascent of privatization of politico-economy, public necessities became secondary. Commenting on how the interpretation of “urban entrepreneurialism” come to be normalized, Brenner and Theodore states that:

Under these conditions, enhanced administrative efficiency and direct and indirect state subsidies to large corporations and an increasing privatization of social reproduction functions were widely viewed as the ‘best practices’ for promoting a good business climate within major cities.¹⁰¹

Following the shift from welfare city to neo-liberal one achieved by a trial-error method, by 1990s new forms of ‘glocalization’ have emerged. World cities and their becoming instruments of global network of capitalist market plied big capital to overcome the immanent problems of neoliberalism covering the ones about market structure, state and governance. Consequently, “cities have become increasingly central to the reproduction, mutation, and continual reconstitution of neoliberalism itself during the last two decades¹⁰²”.

The general law of capitalist accumulation that is selling and buying has always been relevant to land as property but commodification of space in neo-liberal order has

¹⁰⁰ Brenner and Theodore, 2004-2005, pg.27

¹⁰¹ Ibid. pg.26

¹⁰² Ibid. pg.28

become integral to urbanization. Consequently, not just physical infrastructure, but social relations composing city is being defined in terms of exchange values of urban spaces.

“New urbanism”, says Smith is an outcome of neo-liberal urbanism as both rescaling of production toward the metropolitan scale and rescaling of global by means of globalization. The fundamental shift internal to spatiality of production can briefly be described as a shift from industrialized regions of nation capital to production platforms of globalized capital. Concerning historical development of global market system, and stating globalization as a story dating before 1980s –as for him globalization is not consequence but reason of expanded stock and currency markets and widely deregulation of finance-, Smith claims economic conditions after late 1970s have intact connection to concurrent urbanism, such that:

...neo-liberal urbanism is an integral part of this wider rescaling of functions, activities, and relations. It comes with a considerable emphasis on the nexus of production and finance capital at the expense of questions of social reproduction. It is not that the organization of social reproduction no longer modulates the definition of the urban scale but rather that its power in doing so is significantly depleted. Public debates over suburban sprawl in Europe and especially the US, intense campaigns in Europe promoting urban “regeneration,” and the emerging environmental justice movements all suggest not only that the crisis of social reproduction is territorialized but, conversely, that the production of urban space has also come to embody that crisis.¹⁰³

Neil Smith conceptualizes operations on urban space applied at this period of globalization, or specifically speaking, restructuring of economy interlaced with the processes of “urban transformation” as an urban strategy, having the undeniable consequence that is gentrification. Specificities like more prominent social, economic

¹⁰³ Smith, 2004-2005, pg.88

and political relations within urban space of any particular city are demonstrated by gentrification of its places. Pointing at intensified business relations between private corporations and local states, he continues mentioning the new role of the global capitalism, namely neoliberalism, is to lay the ground for gentrification to become a common urban strategy. The particular role of local administrative forces, are altered as market oriented rather than being social wellness based, such that; “urban policy no longer aspires to guide or regulate the direction of economic growth so much as to fit itself to the grooves already established by the market in search of the highest returns, either directly or in terms of tax receipts.”¹⁰⁴,

Aforementioned above, new urbanism, that is to say neo-liberal urbanism, drags cities into competition with each other to become a ‘global city’, and this is not a condition valid for only early capitalist industrialized cities but other ones emerged lately and serving as production, information or finance centers of a globalized network despite having no industrial past. This competitive environment require available cities for capital investment and as a result urban transformation (or renewal) projects -which are all in actual fact gentrification projects according to Smith- are being practiced in a very great deal. This contemporary urban situation is gaining capital interest in exchange of social necessities or priorities. Monetization of anything including the social space has been the circumstance that lived through since neoliberalism and globalization of finance have become a general guiding principle on the inside capitalist system.

While previous *raison d'être* behind capitalism’s development was industrialization within and of space in form of urban structure, neo-liberal urbanism is now dominating industry of contemporary age, as well. Since neoliberalism is propelled by geographical or spatial redistribution take place within the diverse structure of global network of market, and cities and relevantly urbanization make up the crossings of this global network, urban strategy should be comprehended

¹⁰⁴ Smith, 2004-2005, pg.94

accordingly. It is obvious that the concept of urban transformation, or gentrification as Smith expresses, is very much effective in economic expansion of urban structure¹⁰⁵.

Urban transformation projects can be considered as important components of neo-liberal spatial operations. Because fixity with its dual character is both advantageous and disadvantageous for capitalism, the very materiality of urban space and built environment has the possibility of profitability through generation of rent¹⁰⁶. In order to create more flexible and profitable conditions for generally investors and particularly real estate capital, the emphasis in urban policies have shifted from consideration of public advantage to improvement of commerce conditions. When an opportunity of short term turnover of capital appears, capitalist investors prepare the land for gentrification or building upgrading. As Weber runs over, “Uneven development sets the stage for the movement of capital in the relatively fixed built environment as new opportunities for value arise from the ashes of the devalued¹⁰⁷,” Aggrandizement of exchange value of ‘land’ while use value is degraded complies with the idea that “capital’s restless search for profit requires a constant renewal¹⁰⁸”.

2.3-Economy-Politics and Urbanization in Turkey; A Brief Inquiry

Under the hegemony of neo-liberal ideology and with the agency of globalization phenomenon, space has come to be the focus of debates on globalization and its attributes. Geographical unevenness, being immanent to neo-liberal ideology and globalization of market, become visible either by way of competition between cities to become a world city, or through unbalanced and differing urban rent relations on the inside a city. For almost all third world countries, globalized free market and its ideology caused a rapid increase in urban populations, but insufficient and unequal regulations like law making, legitimation, economy, housing, and socio-cultural

¹⁰⁵ Smith, 2004-2005, pg.100

¹⁰⁶ Weber, 2004-2005, pp.172-175

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. pg.176

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. pg.175

structure in terms of urbanization created unevenness within city in forms of slums either at old city centers or along peripheries of cities. The condition is same for all the way through urbanization process in Turkey, such that; by the year 2005 the ratio of slums or *gecekondu* population to the whole urban inhabitants was 42.6%¹⁰⁹.

Reproduction of urban land with the aid of legislations concerning illegal occupation of urban land has been a critical problem ever since but the latest form of *gecekondu* settlements have recently been highly speculative and profit oriented, and this circumstance is a distinctive consequence of neo-liberal policies predominant in economy, politics and inevitably social structures in Turkey. Urban transformation projects make up the core conduct of planning and architectural debates as well as social studies, lately. Here it is crucial to mention that, this study claims that interpretation of urban transformation operations should be concerning conditions resulted from abrasive competitive status of prevailing neo-liberal ideology and concomitant globalization phenomenon. Recent applications of urban transformation projects accelerated especially by mid 1990s in Turkish metropolitan areas are dealt within this framework which is one of the most critical point neoliberalism gives rise to be, the commodification of urban space, as both the location and the most valuable article of commerce. This point of view will make conjoined and complex relations of power between state, municipalities, entrepreneurs, and inhabitants of cities comprehensible along the process of redistributing and reconstructing urban space.

Broadly speaking, two basic effects for urban development can be asserted as ‘push and pull’¹¹⁰ effects. Urban development in industrialized countries is mostly bechanced as a result of labor power demanded by industrial facilities, while for unindustrialized countries urban density is increased by push effect occurred as a result of declining opportunities at rural areas. Furthermore, in unindustrialized countries, which were considered as underdeveloped during the Fordist period, urban

¹⁰⁹ Mike Davis, *Gecekondu Gezegeni*, (org. Planet of Slums, Trsl. by: Gürol Koca), İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık, 2007, pg. 40

¹¹⁰ Keleş, 2002

density was accelerated by non-planned demographic structure and rapid increase in both urban and rural population. Urban development of Turkish cities and specifically Ankara can be analyzed within a similar framework with the second effect of push. However, especially beginning with 1980s, urban operations provide evidences for parallel (to other capitalist countries) motives, considering recent interpretation of space in capitalist or neo-liberal terms. Therefore this correspondence period of Turkish economy-politics to global conditions should be defined intelligibly, that how recent increment in urban transformation applications can be interpreted as representations of neo-liberal hegemony over urban space and urbanization. At this point a brief return in time will be helpful to make a comparative analysis of under which conditions and through which policies urbanization in Turkey has come to pass similar with and for some specific cases integrated to global network of capitalist market structure.

2.3.1-Before and After 1980

By the time Turkish Republic established, existing tendency in economy-politics was an independent one unwilling to rest on any kind of external debt or interference, and regarding national industrialization and advancement as precedent. Previous conditions of Ottoman economy was far from being independent but with the crisp shift through the act of founding a new regime under new rules provided the opportunity of dismissing former agreements. Boratav dates back the grounds of capitalist Turkish economy to reformist movements in Ottoman economy-politics those took place at early years of century, at specifically the year 1908. He states that the semi-colonized socio-economical structure that was open to foreigners at upper limits could not been altered to conditions advantageous to Ottoman economy, and these conditions had been inherited by Republic of Turkey¹¹¹. From the

¹¹¹ Korkut Boratav, Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2002, (History of Turkish Economy 1908-2002, Title translated by the author), Ankara ve İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları (press), 2005, pp.19-32 Understanding the economics of Ottoman State at the beginning of 20th century is crucial in order to comprehend fundamentals of Turkish economy, which were drawing the framework that is defining the relation between politics and economy. Issuing the three basic factor of ottoman economy at that age as raw material export and in return industrial product import, debt, and political concession to

establishment at 1923 up to year 1939, closed type of state capitalism has been applied together with increment plans. These regulations have resulted in prosperity despite the conditions of great depression, one of the well-known inner-crises of capitalism that affected almost the entire capitalist world. With major involvement of state in various phases of production as capital holder, industrialization to some extent has been achieved. Additional to this agricultural production has been increased by that time.¹¹²

The years of Second World War were recession years for Turkish economy, and following this period, at 1946 self-governing policy in economy has been left behind and external debts has been owed, which is, for Boratav, a historical pin point for chronic debt problem of Turkey that lasted so far.¹¹³ Post-war period was framed by rising leadership of USA over the world economy-politics and affiliation of Turkey's economy-political structure to the American one is coeval, as well. Despite liberalism was preferred as a state policy instead of state intervention as an idea, weak structure of national private sector was not sufficient to accomplish large-scale entrepreneurialism, though state-led capitalist development has continued for a few more decades. With aid of transition to parliamentary democracy and pursuing governance shift, external based indebtedness as a state policy have been conducted and international institutions like IMF and World Bank has begun to influence economy-politics of Turkey either by agreements or via ascendancy of Turkish professionals trained in America.¹¹⁴ It should be emphasized at this point that,

provide foreign investment entrance, he states that the idea which says, 'political independency is a must for economical independency but not being sufficient for development' had become a common thought for Ottoman ruling power, especially through the period between first world war and independence war. The basic difference between this understanding before and after 1923 was at this point that new republic administration was seeking for a complete independence in economy-politics.

¹¹² Boratav, 2005, pp.57-70

¹¹³ Ibid. pp.94-95

¹¹⁴ Ibid. pp.100-101

American imperialism utilized ‘similar methods’¹¹⁵ in constituting and spreading its domination over especially underdeveloped or developing countries.

By 1950s as a result of technological developments in agriculture, many unemployed people immigrated to cities and irregular urbanization begun to be seen, what is more, populist policies primarily ignoring than allowing illegal land occupation resulted in well-known continuing problems like urban poverty and income inequalities. Beginning at about 1960s the idea of self-fulfilling political-economy has left its place to export-led; debt based economical structure of unevenness. Boratav issues years between early 1960s, up to second half of 1970s as the period at which, Turkish political-economy was connected to industrialized countries’ Keynesian policies, and at the same time, intense corruption in terms of using state power in behalf of capital holders who have intricate relations with governing power has come to be determined.¹¹⁶ Policy of indebtedness provided an artificial expand in economy and created a relative welfare state but this lasted up to late 1970s, and an economical crisis came to pass at 1977. Boratav elaborately explains that, as a result of precedent economic boom, wages have been increased to a degree that become problematic for capitalist ruling elites, ‘*gecekondu*’ areas have become politically critical stabilizing or stressing elements, and additional to these state has relatively moved out of public affairs¹¹⁷, and following these a redistribution crisis inevitable within capitalism’s nature has been passed through. Economical regulations of IMF has been implemented to overcome this crisis but solid resistance of labor force together with polarized socio-political structure did not allow the government to apply regulations demanded by IMF, and at last all these disorder conditions have laid the ground for a sudden and decisive change in government through the agency of military coup.

¹¹⁵ David Harvey explains the spread methods of American imperialism as constitutional similar ways of insuring domination through the agency of socially and politically powerful figures from local people, who has been educated accordingly. Harvey, 2009, pp.5-38

¹¹⁶ Boratav, 2005, pp.107-123

¹¹⁷ Ibid. pp.126-132

The year of 1980 is considered as a threshold indicating a great shift in almost all socio-political and economical layers in Turkey, but the determinant shift has been in economy foremost. At the beginning of 1980, a new economical reform program known as January 24 codes¹¹⁸, which was a program representing neo-liberal ideology, had been enacted. Boratav asseverates fundamentals of this particular program as, solidification of capital's ultimate domination and control over labor forces, and creation of provident state apparatus guaranteeing uttermost flexibility for free entrepreneurialism¹¹⁹. As commencement of neoliberalism in Turkey, January 24 codes can be assessed according to three elementary consequential conditions. When the ensuing regulations are analyzed, it is apparent that economic reform program achieved much more domination over labor forces than IMF intended to do by 1977; ordinances are concentrated on strengthening of free market and capital against labor force rather than focusing on economical stability; and September 12th, 1980 military coup, which was the searing factor in implementation process of January 24 codes, has rendered necessary enforcement over any resistant group, and avoided any form of social solidarity impeding capitalist objectives. For Boratav, the period beginning with military coup at 1980 up to 1988 can be labeled as 'capital's counterattack' years.¹²⁰ Fundamental instrumentalities utilized in accomplishment of neo-liberal ideology are individualism, entrepreneurialism, financial liberalization, and lately accelerated privatization. Here it is of the essence to mention causal agency of prosperity during 1980-1988 period, because this positive conclusion was not a result of proper economic policies and regulations but consequential to overabundant amounts of debt given by IMF and World Bank. In reality, says Boratav, prosperity values of this particular period is not proportional to industrial development, since it was housing market that led the economy with high amount of investments, as a result of rapid and dense urbanization.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ January 24 code known as in Turkish '24 Ocak Kararları'.

¹¹⁹ Boratav, 2005, pg.147

¹²⁰ Ibid. pp.147-148

¹²¹ Ibid. pp.160-162

Since more than a half of urban population was *gecekondu* dwellers at three big cities of Turkey (İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara) by the early 1980s¹²², squatter population was an important element amongst populist policies after 1980s. The political potential of squatters that was observed before the coup should have been controlled for prevention of resistance against economy-politics of free flowing market of neo-liberal ideology. At this point first thing to change was the social roles of people from production based ones to fiscal based statuses, that is from laborer or agricultural worker to citizen, *gecekondu* dweller, urban poor or consumer. Following the military governance, ANAP¹²³ government and municipalities governed by mayors elected as representatives of ANAP have been utilized for this transformation of resistance groups, primarily the ones living at *gecekondu* settlements, into opportunist masses.¹²⁴ Referring this period up to 1988, policies pertaining *gecekondu* areas can be generalized as; amnesty laws different from previous in terms of scope, meaning embracement of all types of illegality; discountenance of prospective planning in favor of land rent possibilities for individuals; and interchanging the identity of urban laborer with masses of individuals defining their identity with reference to space based localities like districts or neighborhoods.

Consequential to ideological imposition of neoliberalism, social solidarities have been transformed into congregation type of relations. Financial liberalism created a market oriented economy, which has by acceleration of privatization ended up with less industrialization but more foreign investment oriented economical structure. As a result of IMF policies agricultural economy has been disregarded, and with push effect metropolises of Turkey has come to be densely populated and irregularly expanded uneven geographies.

¹²² Keleş, 2002, pg. 542

¹²³ ANAP is the governing political party elected right after the military government, at 1984. The prime minister was Turgut Özal, who was the minister responsible from economy at previous military government, and he is known as the author of January 24th codes.

¹²⁴ Boratav, 2005, pp.152-153

During the period after 1980s, coercive neo-liberal ideology in form of de-regulated liberal capitalist policies of IMF has resulted in similar conditions of corruption at primarily economical structure in Turkey. Imposition of neo-liberal ideology, economy-political system that is commonly agreed by America, IMF and World Bank, to developing or underdeveloped countries has been apprehended as an esteemed ideology amongst Turkish capital power whose motto by this particular period has become immediate neo-liberalization.¹²⁵ Hence, the faults and potential problems those would have been occurred consequential to a freer market and entrepreneur system of de-regulation have been disregarded. Corruption among civil servants services, and especially bribery and misuse of authority according to acquaintanceship has been increased to such an extent that these begun to be normalized in society as justifiable opportunism that is regular within the context of individual liberalization.

By the time these problems has been realized, at the early 1990s Turkey's agenda was full of abuse and corruption events, and a fight against this pervert understanding of opportunism has begun. But the problems could not be solved; therefore, the concomitant acceleration in privatization policies should be evaluated within this framework of highly corrupted political-economic conditions. As Boratav claims, privatization in Turkey has come to be a way of personal enrichment of a few capital holders, which are determined according to their acquaintanceship or other corrupted uneven conditions, rather than considering public and national interest as done in developed countries. Around the early years of new millennium, defrauding through the agency of privatization was one of the chronic problems of economy, together with indebtedness substantiated by external-based economy policies. Turkish economy by this period of early 2000s was particularized with two conjoined issues; while searching solutions for inner problems of free market system of neo-liberalism, making regulations at the legislative arena those will allow full liquefying of labor power, since it is considered as the barrier in front of global

¹²⁵ Boratav, 2005, pg.213

market system to operate properly.¹²⁶ The inevitable result of open market hegemony over economy in a hardly liberalized political and social context was unevenness within society, and at the very beginning of 21st century, this consequence tried to be avoided by educational and health care reforms.

Aforementioned above, neo-liberal policies are claimed to be recent ways of exploitation over underdeveloped and developing countries. Befittingly neo-liberalization process of Turkey is ensured by international monetary institutions; such that, beginning from 1994 up to 2001 an instable economic structure shaped by crises ended up with transferring whole control of Turkey's economy to IMF and World Bank policies. The result of this transfer is an external dependent socio-political system correspondent to externally bounded free market structure.¹²⁷ As a sign of augmenting unevenness by way of neo-liberal policies, Boratav directs attention to the statistics demonstrating a critical decrease in state investments in public service at year 2002, which is 50% less when compared to previous periods' public investment ratios.¹²⁸ As repeatedly expressed within the neoliberalism part above, the role shift of state during neoliberalization process should intricately be realized. An analysis of neo-liberalization policies applied in Turkey since from 1980 evidences the importance of state's role. By the end of 1990s, this act of purging state domination from socio-economical services and structures still required an inevitable and absolute dominancy of state, this time as the legislative and regulating power. The most critical perspective within this new role is the inviolable reality of monetization of even elementary public services through the process of so-called ineluctable neoliberalization.¹²⁹

The result is a paradoxical condition, such that; liquefying state is claimed to be a necessary act that should be accomplished immediately in order to end corruption in

¹²⁶ Boratav, 2005, pp.171-175

¹²⁷ Ibid. pp.182-183

¹²⁸ Ibid. pp.184-192

¹²⁹ Korkut Boratav, Yeni Dünya Düzeni: Nereye?, (New World Order: Whither?, Title translated by the author), Ankara and İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları (press), 2004, pg.25

distribution of state-based rents and to avoid misuse of state power as a way of unfairly obtaining of rent, but contrarily the clearance act has resulted in controversial privatization operations through which enormous amounts of rents have been redistributed to peculiar groups of capital holders in a way disregarding national interest. Nevertheless, this role shift for state was not supported by necessary legislative and checking tools that, uneven and indecent regulations laid the ground for an uncontrolled environment that is available for various defraud and misuse acts in social, economical, and political terms to be utilized. Boratav defines the basic failures consequential to this particular situation as; abusing economical incitements by unreal trade operations, distorting privatization acts into an easy way of plundering public assets, and misusing urban planning as a tool for obtaining huge urban property rents.¹³⁰

Similar to most unindustrialized developing countries, before capitalist industrialization has been satisfactorily accomplished in Turkey, external-led politico-economical conditions based on a globally open market system has replaced the mainstream economical ideal of a fully-fledged industrialization. Eventually, the expansion of service sector and consumption without a productive fundament -that is similar to cases of industrialized countries-, limited the growth rates and facilitated bounding the economy externally¹³¹. Turkish capital power has gone far away from industrial production and begun to prefer disproportionately big, exaggerated profit that became possible to be gained by ways of state based resources. These easy ways of moneymaking were; using profitable financial mediums, entering construction business, enrolling tourism, and being land speculators.¹³² The most attainable and highly profiting attribute, since early 1980s, is evidently urban space. As a result of deficient neo-liberal policies with the attendant de-regulated politico-economical conditions, unjust urban rent relations have started to be observed. Development plans were loosened in favor of personal interests, enormous amounts of urban rent

¹³⁰ Boratav, 2004, pp.25-26

¹³¹ Boratav, 2005, pp.215-216

¹³² Boratav, 2004, pg.189

was obtained as a consequence of extensive amnesty laws and hence, inevitably these huge potential of urban rent caused contention between municipalities and governments.¹³³ These expediency conditions shaped the ways of dealing with urban issues like illegal land occupation, urban rent redistribution, urban transformation, and role of municipality and governments during post 1980s. As it will be realized while analyzing urbanization process in Turkey, neo-liberal shift, grounds of which was provided through the agency of military coup, shifted perception of urban space and policies related with it in such a way that the previous interpretation of urban space as an entity appraised via use-value has left its place to a speculative commodity defined in terms of exchange-value independent of qualities creating its use-value.

As mentioned above, economical conditions in Turkey shall be evaluated with respect to specific periods clearly dissimilar to western capitalism that of industrialized west from which neo-liberal ideology originated. Boratav differentiates the periods determined according to changes at economical policies of Turkey as such; between years 1926 and 1939 a state interventionist based on state-led industrialization and agriculture was applied; next, liberal type of economy open to and effected by external capitalist regulations of west kept on from 1948 to 1963; following this a mixed economy policy based on internal and external indebtedness was executed up to 1976; lastly with a closed type of beginning at the first few years contemporary dominating ideology of neo-liberal economy-politics is ongoing since the year 1981.¹³⁴ Being a developing country, Turkey is subjected to neo-liberal ideology of free flowing global market and extensive commodification. As remarked before, neo-liberal ideology bases its fundament over exploitation via globalized free flowing market resulting in harshly competitive regulations and consequently underdeveloped and developing countries with their weak capitalist infrastructures together with problem of indebtedness become convenient for exploiting. As

¹³³ Boratav, 2004, pp.185-186

¹³⁴ Ibid. pg.267

repeatedly stated the crucial point in here is that, to create a neo-liberal perspective the most necessary issue is training contentious leading figures at all layers of socio-political and economical practices.

Aforementioned above, despite being parallel in some periods and with some regulations, to western capitalism political-economical conditions in Turkey shall not be evaluated as industrialized countries' has been done. However, by the devastating affect of globalization phenomenon a type of approximation in economical representations of neo-liberal ideology at various parts of the world can be observed. The issues like production relations, class configurations and the regulations for labor and personal rights cannot be compared between industrialized world and developing world within an analysis made retrospectively, but contemporary conditions especially concerning spatial unevenness is a shared problem for almost whole capitalist world. Developed countries seem more advantageous than others in solving problems caused by annihilating supremacy of global market, because social, political, legal, cultural, and economical infrastructure of a relatively even liberalization can be considered almost immanent in developed societies. The situation is similar in terms of architecture, planning, and related legislative regulations. On the other hand, despite the fact that urbanization process in Turkey follows a dissimilar path from the urbanization of developed countries of industrialized world, recent perception of urban space is a shared experience similar in terms of representing how neo-liberal ideology monetize space. Superiority of exchange-value over use-value is the elementary factor in shaping and reshaping urban environments, what is more, by these operations on urban space monetary and though power relations are reshaped, as well. In order to apprehend how urban transformations become representations of power, it is necessarily important to dig into background conditions and acts concerning urbanization of modern Turkish city. To do so, a brief history of urbanization in Turkey with a stress on the issue of *gecekondu* will be stated at the following part of this particular study.

2.3.2-Evolution of Urban Towards Free Market Rules

Urbanization in Turkey can be studied at three periods which are determined according to politico-economical occasions. The first of these periods is from the establishment of republic up to governance shift by first elections held by 1950, second period begins with the year 1950 to another governance shift by military coup at 1980, and the last one following this covers from the year 1980 up to present day, that is the neo-liberal period of Turkey.

As an important part of creating nation state following the establishment of Republic, by 1930s a modern and scientific understanding of urbanization has become an issue for politics in Turkey. Cities and the process of urbanization itself at this period should be conceived as an important part of modernization project, though urban issues were conducted by state with middle class pioneering. The way of urbanization and restructuring of urban space by central authority can be interpreted as indications of the reality that urban space has become a tool for creation of a nation state. Şengül emphasizes that, this kind of a spatial policy that both comprises whole country and envisages state investments reaching to all regions, provides distribution of capital and production at a scale across-the-board. Hence numerous cities are encompassed within development scope and this led to a balanced development scheme over multiple regions. Between 1923 and 1950, he says, statistics showing that all of newly developing cities were out of Marmara geographical region indicate how the location of production, labor and though accumulation have had been enlarged.¹³⁵ In other words these early urban policies applied in Turkey exemplify how geographical unevenness could have been overcome by way of proper planning and use of space.

Making a similar chronological analysis on Turkish urbanization processes, Keskinok states principles those shaped urbanization during 1930's as; conception of a national economy; conjoining rural with urban and liberating rural labor; an inter-

¹³⁵ Şengül, 2001, pp.69-73

regional unification, supporting industrialization and designing its urban dimension, providing a local administrative system compatible to central authority; utilizing urban development over expropriated land; and patterning public spaces those represent republican citizen.¹³⁶ During this early period a controlled and planned development of state-led economic structure and public interest oriented state policies were adopted in principle.

By the 1950's parallel to will of liberalization in economy and democratization in socio-political environment, state's program that aimed to provide balanced inter-regional economical conditions has been left partially through the process of integration with the capitalist world. As a distinctive example to integration with external commerce, Şengül points at mechanization process in agriculture which was financially supported by debts taken from America, as a part of the framework drawn by Marshall Plan.¹³⁷ Aforementioned at the previous part, this economical shift has been the forerunner of chronological indebtedness problem and as long-familiar; this problem resulted in externally led politico-economical conditions to dominate Turkey's inner-dynamics and caused conditions against national interests to occur, one of which had been the unplanned growth of major cities. Altered policies of this particular period those were intensely endeavored to become integrated to external capitalist world brought about geographical imbalance and unevenness which, as mentioned above, created the push effect that had enforced poor and unemployed to immigrate from rural to cities to earn fundamental necessities of living. Keskinok points at regardless alteration of rural oriented regulations and abandonment of regional development objective as two major causes of this immigration and problems confronted consequentially.¹³⁸ The 1950s can be considered as beginning times of uneven and imbalanced urbanization by two interlacing cases, such that; while inter-regional differentiation of state investments creating unequal capital

¹³⁶ H. Çağatay Keskinok, Kentleşme Siyasaları (Politics of Urbanization), Title translated by the author), İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2006, pg.26

¹³⁷ Şengül, 2001, pp.74-76

¹³⁸ Keskinok, 2006, pp.23-46

accumulation, migration resulted from this gave rise to inequality within cities, because of the insufficient economy-politics. Populist policies disregarded rapidly increasing masses of poor and unemployed people who were illegally occupying mostly peripheries and still some deteriorated central areas of metropolises, and one of the chronic problems of urbanization –that is to say *gecekondu* settling- had begun to be seen.

According to Şengül's opinion, there are structural and economical reasons hindered the continuation and accomplishment of early spatial policies, therefore by this period of alteration spatial policies focalizing on development of Istanbul have been revisited. He states three elementary effects created a shift in urban policies as; financial resource insufficiency, alteration in government by way of first general election, and discovery of potentials of urban space as a commodity and conflict in personal interests coming along as a result. With the devastating affect of Second World War on Turkish economy, state-led politico-economical applications and urban policies implemented before the 1950s have come to be experiencing declination. It was because, while existing urban infrastructural necessities were hardly being afforded, the needs of increasing numbers of people migrated to cities could not be supplied sufficiently.¹³⁹

By the year 1955, urban population in Turkey were about five and a half million people with a 4.96% of them living at *gecekondu* settlements, and by 1980's there were twenty million people living at cities where 23.36% of these were *gecekondu* dwellers.¹⁴⁰ Even this kind of singular information on statistics of urban population might be considered to be indicating hints of primary problems lived through at especially metropolises in Turkey. Rapid increase in urban population as a result of push effect from impoverished geographies should be considered as the primary factor in irregular and uneven urbanization in forms of *gecekondu* settlements, but

¹³⁹ Şengül, 2001, pp.69-76

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. pp.76-77

unequal economical conditions, insufficient population policies, lack of industrialization, improper agricultural programs together with an inattentive political attitude on housing are other factors worthy to mention.

Şengül says that, during the period from 1950 to 1980, state intervention to urbanization was at minimum level and local governments have been left to be policy makers working on their own.¹⁴¹ This liberal perspective did not work in creation of strong civil administrative structures as in forms of municipalities because of numerous infrastructural deficiencies. Therefore liberalization idea was resulted in populist approaches those were hardly proposing solutions to problems of urbanization, but instead providing suitable ground for manipulation of public by politicians for interest of both themselves and their acquaintances. It can be interpreted that, urbanization in Turkey during the period after the 1950s was impeded by domination of populism over politics in Turkey, despite the efforts like switching to progressive planning at 1963 and seeking for development. By way of these progress plans, each of which are prepared for following five years period beginning from 1963, Keleş makes an analysis on altered perception of urban issues from point of state authority's view.

The first progress plan that was supposed to be stipulating policies between 1963 and 1967 singles out two issues directly concerning urbanization which are, necessity of inter-regional balance in terms of economical development, and necessity of formulating the proper scale for a city. The second progress plan (1968-1972) emphasizes urbanization as an important factor with possibility of economical stimulating power for development, while repeating the importance of providing balanced development between regions. Plan for 1973-1977 periods can be comprehended with reference to neo-liberal ideology, such that, this third progress plan degrades the balanced interregional development while ascendancy of local administrative units has been supported. The fourth progress plan prepared for years

¹⁴¹ Şengül, 2001, pp.76-77

between 1978 and 1983 has brought in neo-liberal ideology of competitive cities in a global market system. Additional to these, this plan introduced important urban issues like livability, urban necessities, and preservation of natural, cultural and historical environment. Contrary to the previous tendency to prevent rapid growth for metropolises, this plan also endorsed increment in urban population. Following the switch to neoliberalism as politico-economical framework for creation of urban policies, the fifth (between 1985-1989) and the sixth (between 1990-1994) progress plans similarly put stress on cruciality of providing regulations to solve problems concerning and resulting from –especially rapid- urbanization. Regulations mentioned to be necessary within these two progress plans concern matters of, primarily, migration to metropolises, problems in superstructure occurring consequent to this migration, deficiencies of physical infrastructure in terms of transportation and housing kind of elementary urban issues, and related legislative needs those should have been prepared in order to accomplish basic standards for a livable urban structure. Additionally the fifth and sixth progress plans recommended inter-city participation and just development that should be overspreading to all geographical regions in Turkey. The seventh progress plan emphasizes criticality of providing an immediate solution to the problem of demographic accumulation at metropolises, which has had become a chronic problem by the end of 1990s. However, the necessity of creating at least one “global city” was put forward within this plan that stipulated politics during the period from 1996 to 2000. Having this idea on the inside the progress plan, dominating state policies at this particular period can be regarded as crucial examples representing the affect of neoliberalism on transformation of both policies concerning and physical structure of cities in Turkey. The eighth plan (between 2001-2005) points at the importance of concerning national cultural structure while making regulations to fit global needs and transforming urban structure accordingly.¹⁴²

¹⁴² Keleş, 2002, pp. 77-84

The shifts in urban policies after 1980 should be interpreted to be transmuted according to essentials of neo-liberal urbanization those are premeditated by global capital power. Keskinok states that while discussing this particular period, evaluations concerning adjustment problems to global network of cities, disregards the essential fact that problems lived through urbanization are consequential to absence of social improvement policies.¹⁴³ Regulations seeking for conforming Turkish urban structures to global network instigate inter-urban inequalities with the help of nation state in its new form as provider of good business climate –as stated above within neoliberalism part-, while freeing capital to float over global cities those compete with each other to become an agent in global market structure.¹⁴⁴ About the after-coup urbanization, Şengül states two distinctive implementations; the first one is, aforementioned several times, putting in free enterprise as practices regarding redistribution rather than production. The second implementation is compelling *gecekondu* population, which is, according to him, prerequisite to activate neo-liberal ideology. The most important consequence of the first implementation can be observed as ascending private and public investments concentrated in cities. Accordingly, and inevitably, cities become target places for intermediary and big capital to gain profit. As Şengül states, cities have always been inextricable within capitalist system but at the period of neoliberalism, urban became the determinant in capitalist market relations of global era. Moreover, the coral role of military coup on the inside this transition from labor oriented urbanization to the one focusing on capital in Turkey should be evaluated together with economy-political environment after the 1980s, which involved urban enterprise hegemony provided by way of channelizing central public resources towards free-enterpriser through the agency of local administrations.¹⁴⁵ Execution of neo-liberal ideology in Turkey resulted in both transfer of resources to capital, and redefinition of meaning of local administration for capitalists, where urban space has become a strategically important commodity that bears potentialities for profiting at several layers of it.

¹⁴³ Keskinok, 2006, pp.50-53

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. pp.81-86, Keleş, 2002, pg. 54

¹⁴⁵ Şengül, 2001, pg.88

Keskinok says that, dominating concepts of liberalization and privatization come forth as absolute ways of adjusting conditions to the unavoidable phenomenon of globalization, while at the same time globalization of the city is imposed as a must. This opened up a way for contemporary state of urban land and built area to be unconditionally used according to the will of capital owners, and as a result of this case proper planning of urban structure has become almost impossible in Turkey.¹⁴⁶ On the subject of urban planning at the age of neoliberalism, Keleş says that if there will be any kind of urban planning under the hegemony of neo-liberal ideology, this will not consider national and public interest as it was before, but will be a tool for creating beneficiary conditions for international capital.¹⁴⁷

The new world order asserts dichotomy between globalization and localization, and this ends up with two problematic matters defining the framework within which contemporary urban structures are re-shaped under uneven conditions. According to Keskinok, first thing to mention is passing the authority on issues of planning, social progression and localization from national level to urban one. Second thing interrelated to the previous one is the problem of local autonomy becoming an infrangible objective rather than being a tool for social progression.¹⁴⁸ Ruling power puts effort to spread the market as much as possible while condensing the development to atomized, geographically squeezed areas. By the way, urban policies of nation states become liquidized and local administrations start chasing the biggest capital investment for their cities. Urban transformation projects those frequently take place in various Turkish cities at recent years play a crucial role within this context that is defined by terms of neo-liberal power relations.

There are three determining agents, namely, nation state, local authorities and *gecekondu* phenomenon, conversion of whose role should be stated clearly in order to understand urban operations being conducted during last three decades, in Turkey.

¹⁴⁶ Keskinok, 2006, pg.17

¹⁴⁷ Keleş, 2002, pg. 56

¹⁴⁸ Keskinok, 2006, pp.18-20

The vital thing that should be emphasized about inter-relation between these three determinants is the contradictory consequence of their agreement, such that; while reasonable apprehension of a concordant structure of nation state, municipalities and *gecekondu* seem positive in terms of providing solutions to problems of urbanism, the common share of these three agents in Turkey had become a major factor in rootage, and furthermore, increment of urban problems. At this point local issues like, redistribution of urban land, property relations, public benefit, and citizenship are re-interpreted under the hegemony of neoliberal understanding spread through globalization. Together with conditions of unevenness inherent in neo-liberalism, the slimline context of populist political system in Turkey hinders the possibility of rational urbanism to be fulfilled. Unevenness -in society and of space- as the unavoidable consequence of profit oriented neoliberal policies is partially balanced via several regulations of social state in developed countries. In these countries, rational formation of physical and social structures of city to provide advanced conditions for city dwellers is an important part of neoliberal urbanism. The role played by social agents in the city governance comes forth at this point, and that is what makes nation state, local governments, and *gecekondu* important for a discussion on dynamics of latest urban applications of transformation.

2.3.2.1-Turning Point for the Nation State: Neo-liberal Modifications

Position of state in the process of urbanization transformed parallel to political periods those are mentioned previously in this chapter. While analyzing state efficiency in urbanization Işık and Pınarcıoğlu make a temporal categorization between three main politico-economical periods Turkey passed and still passes through. To begin with the period before 1950, the first quarter of the Republic, city and urbanization had a significant importance due to the symbolic power of architecture and urban structure in creation of a nation state and national images. Hence this period provided conditions for rational city planning and representational architecture.

After 1950, state policy concerning urbanization was a dismissive one discarding results of push effect by economical conditions following the agricultural production reform. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu mentions that until the 1980, this situation has continued and socio-political vacancy occurred after state's suspending its regulator position made self-perpetuating systems of informal or formal urban processes -mostly seen in solution of housing problem- possible to be practiced and by the way shape the urban structure in especially big cities of Turkey.¹⁴⁹ According to the two authors, before 1980, urban rent was not realized by bourgeoisie but a common share that was allowed to be distributed among middle class and lower class people. Despite its being a problem for rational planning, they claim that this kind of a solution by state for housing need can be considered as a financially self-supportive one and this method was able to create source from nothing.¹⁵⁰ This social compromise left its place to flexible and temporal relations depending upon class struggle by regulations defined within the framework of 24th of January code that has been conducted right after the military coup.

As mentioned before, nation state has a critical function through the implementation of neoliberalism on economy-political and social structures, hence urban related regulations done since the 1980 can be considered as synoptic presentations of this altered part played by nation state of Turkey. First implications representing the alteration in role of state were privatization and localization by ways of which publicity that is fundamental for nation state to bear its authority was disintegrated. While state become the agent of neoliberalism providing movement of capital easily and freely, urban and regional administrative units come to be sharing nation state sovereignty and create accommodative conditions for global market operations through smaller scaled geographies which alleviate capitalist control over space. This decentralization of force was a part of Turkish local government regulations by

¹⁴⁹Oğuz Işık And M. Melih Pınarcıoğlu, Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk Gecekondulaşma ve Kent Yoksulları: Sultanbeyli Örneği, (Eng. Poverty by Turns, Squatter Settlements and Urban Poor: Example of Sultanbeyli), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005, pp.110-114

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. pp.120-121

1980's. Despite this situation being considered as a democratic attitude, effects of it on democratic, social, or political structure could not be practiced in Turkish cities.¹⁵¹ Aydınli states the reason behind this situation as inadequacy of legislations those are providing the head of local government autocracy. According to Tekeli, this autocracy is a result of the main problem avoiding democratization and development of Turkey, which is populism. Aforementioned in this study, highly populist policies together with neoliberal economic regulations settled in Turkey since from the 1980s, and interchanging roles of nation state and local governments were re-defined within this context.

2.3.2.2- From Local Governing to Local Governance

Aydınli analyses role transfer from nation state to municipality in terms of structural shifts and says that effects of post-Fordist tendencies those are accelerated in Turkey by the 1980s can be traced in public administration and local governing issues, as well. Within the period between 1950 and 1980, increased population and accelerated problems of urban structure led municipalities to search for alternative production and consumption programs those are independent from central government. Aydınli calls this alliance between multiple municipalities that is done in search for new resources for solution of their problems as a new way of governance. The major reason that forced municipalities to make this kind of consent was the disparity between local governments and central authority that come out apparent by especially 1970's.¹⁵² As a part of social disintegration and neo-liberal politics this democratic solution has changed in its core idea and consequently, economic effectiveness has transferred to private sector after 1980.

Putting an emphasis on increased autonomy of municipalities in use and control of city resources, Aydınli asserts structural elements of this period as such;

¹⁵¹ İlhan Tekeli, Kentsel Arsa, Altyapı ve Kentsel Hizmetler (Eng: Urban Land, Infrastructure and Urban Services), İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009, pp.98-106

Halil İbrahim Aydınli, Sosyo Ekonomik Dönüşüm Sürecinde Belediyeler (Eng: Municipalities at the Process of Socio-Economical Transformation), Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım, 2004, pp.174-195

¹⁵² Aydınli, 2004, pp.166-171

organizational diversity provided on the inside the great municipality conceptualization; decentralization of authority in preparation of development plans; increase in the importance given to individual house ownership system; changes in finance systems and employment policies of local governments; diversifying alternative services those can be given by municipalities¹⁵³.

The great municipality notion has had begun to be applied in major European countries like, England, France and Germany by the early 1980s. The rational motive behind this application was preparing the city to play an important role at the world stage on its way to become a global city. Creation of a singular authority for big cities as by unification of small municipalities should be analyzed and understood within this framework. As a reflection of this neoliberal context, by the year 1984, ANAP government had declared three major cities of Turkey, namely Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir as ‘Great Municipalities’ by act coded 3030, which provided the head of the great municipality an autocratic power in city governing with a development plan preparation authority next to it.¹⁵⁴

According to Aydınli transfer of authority to prepare development plans to local governments, could not be considered democratic on the whole, because of the exception of *gecekondu* areas from this authority and leaving regulations over these areas to central authority¹⁵⁵. (It should be noted at this point that, this situation has changed later and moreover, with the regulations concerning urban transformation, first of which was the particular law order 5104, the authority of municipalities even at *gecekondu* settlements has been enlarged to a very disputable extend). Tekeli, too, mentions this transfer of authority in preparation of development plans to local governments as a democratic regulation, but puts an emphasis on problems caused as a result of incapacity of municipalities to fulfill this duty. According to him next to insufficient infrastructure of municipalities, populist policies had been highly

¹⁵³ Aydınli, 2004, pg.174

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. pp.175-176

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. pg.177

influential on both political environment and urban structures in Turkey.¹⁵⁶ Municipalities mostly preferred to use their authority to gain political and financial support and produced temporal solutions for critical problems of cities. The control over rent relations cause personal interest oriented partial plans forming a collage, rather than a totalitarian development plan.

The next structural issue Aydınli mentioned is individual housing ownership, which actualized in Turkey by the early 1980s.¹⁵⁷ The main reason behind was the extended problem of housing which, again, should be considered as a consequential problem that has become deepened as a result of rapid and unplanned urbanization. In order to solve this problem there needed to be provided acts at the governmental level, so for the urban poor with low income Mass Housing Fund (Toplu Konut Fonu) has been established, for the middle class housing credits were provided by Emlak Bank, which was another foundation by government. Construction cooperatives were another dimension of this framework, and entered in Turkish urban and social life replacing previous patron-client relationship to a great extend. These early applications have been altered in time and a mortgage system has begun to be used for crediting, while Mass Housing Fund has a different name Housing Estate Management (TOKİ- Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi) with a similar mission at the present time.

During the post-Fordist transformation period another change mentioned by Aydınli is in financial structures of municipalities. Especially by the mid 1980s the amount of share distributed to municipalities has been increased up to 25% within national budget while it had has been around 8% before 1980s.¹⁵⁸ This was a part of entrepreneurial municipality understanding that was also supported by European Union. Aydınli points at the difference between European countries and Turkey in

¹⁵⁶ İlhan Tekeli, Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması (Eng: City Planning by the Time Modernity is Surpassed), Ankara:İmge Kitabevi Press, 2001, pg.33

¹⁵⁷ Aydınli, 2004, pg.177

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. pg.186

terms of attitude of state towards local governments, such that, where countries like England and Germany have been cutting down local government income as a reaction to previous applications of welfare state policies and as a part of neoliberalism, things happened reversely in Turkey, and financial support to local governments had been increased in general budget, in order to confront necessities ascertained due to rapid urbanization and as a part of populist policies.

On the other hand, according to Keskinok, entrepreneurial municipality, that was reflection of neo-liberal policies on urban structure induced many problems because together with authority transfer these regulations facilitated conversion of public property into commodities open to big capitals purchase.¹⁵⁹ He calls this situation as reification of cities and stresses out the regulation concerning municipalities' economical effectiveness in terms of being equipped with authorities of providing direct relations to international finance and using credits from international organizations as a fundamental and solid example of this reification.¹⁶⁰

Another point that was significantly differed by 1980 in local governance structure was employment rates. This rate has been 55% by the early 1980s while it has dropped down to 30% by the end of 1990s.¹⁶¹ The critical regulation in employment ways for local governments has been establishment of temporary employee status for municipalities with Staff Decree number 190 accepted by the year 1993.¹⁶² This was critical because by this kind of a regulation, populist approaches of patronage has been legalized as a way of election commitments. Moreover the continuum of municipality bureaucracy have had been broken with this particular decree, and partisan understanding in employment has come to be normalized at municipalities.

¹⁵⁹ Keskinok, 2006, pp.57-68

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. pg.81

¹⁶¹ Aydınli, 2004, pg.189

¹⁶² Ibid. pg.189

One another point that Aydınli referred as changed at municipality structure after the 1980 was the increment of alternative services supplied by local governments. According to him, this was another effect of a general approach that was possible to be observed at different parts of the world, and done by congruence to rational administration rules by way of alternative production and distribution methods. The shifted role of municipality could be defined as mediator, since consumers mostly deal with municipality but services are given by private firms. At this point, as Aydınli mentions, public has been integrated to market at most public services as a result of neo-liberal abstraction.

The last shift Aydınli mentions about local government's altered structure after 1980 is the idea of participation, and governance decrement that came into existence in relation to it. He says that, Turkey has met the concept of governance by the early 1990s with the effect of UN Habitat conference held at 1992. In this conference civil organizations and city councils independent from municipality structures were provisioned as a part of democratization process, but civil movements and organizations could not be effective in city administration or urban structure in Turkey.¹⁶³ At this point Tekeli's claim on 'lack of citizenship' in Turkey comes forth in making a proper reasoning for problems of democratization lived through within urban structure. According to Tekeli there are three main constituents those should be grasped in order to understand or discuss Turkish urbanization at any dimension, these are patron-client relationship, urban rent economy, and inability to create citizen.¹⁶⁴ Inability to create citizenship is critical that it causes a constant legitimating crisis by deflecting a series of regulations like, constitution of a planning discipline, organization of supervision, and legal renovation to improve existing practices.¹⁶⁵ The issue of *gecekondu* becomes critical under these circumstances. Beginning with the formation of this phenomenon, processes of *gecekondu* as both a

¹⁶³ Aydınli, 2004, pg.195

¹⁶⁴ Tekeli, 2001, pp.45-57

¹⁶⁵ Tekeli, 2009, pg.104

spatial and a social factor on the inside urban structure have been playing a central role in Turkish urbanization as well as in Turkish political arena.

2.3.2.3- Gecekondu: The Solution is the Problem

Gecekondu can briefly be defined as the informally occupied housing areas over non-planned public land, most of which are located at the outskirts of the city. On the other hand considering *gecekondu* just as a result of housing need would be simplifying a series of reasons into a narrow area of thinking. In Turkey, the ratio of *gecekondu* inhabitants to the overall urban population was 27% by the year 2002, where in Ankara this ratio was 62.5%.¹⁶⁶ These statistics indicate the importance of understanding *gecekondu* and its potential of determinacy at almost all layers of urban life, especially in metropolitan areas. Nevertheless, these numbers should be pointing to necessity of understanding this fact within its own process as well as that of urbanization.

By the early years of republic, meaning the 1930s, ratio of urban poor was very little when compared to overall population in cities. As a matter of fact, these people were living in broadly different conditions than *gecekondu* dwellers did. Şenyapılı differentiates the state of these early settlements of urban poor from later forms of *gecekondu* concept. According to her, those who used to live at early slums were illiterate, poor, and unqualified people without any possibility of gaining social status in the city, but they were rather working at simple service jobs, like, gardening, janitorial works, cleaning and etc. with very low wages.¹⁶⁷ By the end of 1940s, housing has had become a problematic issue especially in major cities of Turkey, and regulations like providing bank crediting for real estate in terms of either building or

¹⁶⁶ Keleş, 2002, pp.541-542

¹⁶⁷Tansı Şenyapılı, Barakadan Gecekonduya: Ankara'da Kentsel Mekanın Dönüşümü 1923-1960 (Eng:From Shelter to Gecekondu: The Transformation of Urban Space in Ankara 1923-1960), İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2004, pg.85

land had been made. But, the perspective of government on slums had been an intolerant one that it had found the solution to these in demolition.¹⁶⁸

By the first critical turn point of Turkey's socio-political and economical history, that is to say the year 1950, with the effect of accelerated migration to cities early examples of *gecekondu* had begun to be seen. Şenyapılı explains this transformation of temporary slums into permanent *gecekondu* settlements by way of several factors; urban economic structure that was allowing unskilled people to be employed in service area; low income level of these people that avoided a whole family to get along with it; cultural and economical inability of new-comers' in adapting to urban life style; creation of speculative property relations over urban land; lack of stable and intelligible land and housing policies concerning rational and even urbanization; limited housing possibilities for the new-comers on the inside the existing urban structure; existence of leftover or uncontrolled land -almost all of which were state property- in and around city centres. By the early 1950s state's policy of exclusion towards urban poor and their needs had continued.¹⁶⁹ All these reasons together with the dismissive attitude of government had paved the road to formation of *gecekondu*.¹⁷⁰ Hence, *gecekondu* can be perceived as a consequential fact that had emerged as an indirect result of migration to cities.

For especially the early examples of these settlements those came into existence between the years 1948 and 1960, Keleş makes an assertion and calls them simple and cheap solutions to confront the basic need of sheltering.¹⁷¹ Consistent to this evaluation, Şenyapılı asseverates priorities of early dwellers of *gecekondu* areas as, integrating to economical space of city in any possible way, and becoming perpetual in that space. At this period, as a result of populist policies, state's attitude has

¹⁶⁸ Keleş, 2002, pg.569

¹⁶⁹ Tansı Şenyapılı, 'Gecekondu Olgusuna Dönemsel Yaklaşımlar', in Değişen Mekan, Mekansal Süreçlere İlişkin Tartışma ve Araştırmalara Toplu Bakış: 1923-2003, (Eng: 'Periodic Approach to the Fact of Gecekondu' in Unsettled Space, A Comprehensive Look to Discussions and Researches Concerning Spatial Processes: 1923-2003), Dost Kitabevi Press:2006, pp.86-88

¹⁷⁰ Şenyapılı, 2004, pp.269-270

¹⁷¹ Keleş, 2002, pg.568

become a tolerant one towards these districts of self-help buildings. After 1960, priorities of *gecekondu* dwellers had become much more advanced when compared to early ones, such that, new objectives of them were to gain legal spatial status and to get to advantageous positions in labor market.¹⁷² Another crucial feature of this period was, according to Keleş, recognition of rent at the urban land, especially by inhabitants of *gecekondu* settlements. During the following ten year period, just before the year 1980, first occupiers of *gecekondu* settlements had leased their dwellings for the late comers and activated the urban rent over *gecekondu* areas.¹⁷³

Keleş, analyses that, state policies applied especially after the mid 1960s were based to three major principles those were; betterment, eviction and prevention.¹⁷⁴ He directs attention to the two frontier regulations first of which had been conducted at the year 1963, namely the law code 327, and this code provided *gecekondu* areas infrastructural services to be given by municipalities. Following this at the year 1966, with the law code 775, well known ‘*gecekondu* act’, three steps mentioned above were accepted as the basis for state’s policy on illegal occupation of land. Furthermore this law allowed municipalities to extend their authority area in order to supply and use proper land as to prevent *gecekondu* formation. Şenyapılı points at another dimension of the self-help process and directs attention to general acceptance of this method as a way of solution to world wide economic crises by the 1970s. She says that, populist attitude allowing self-help housing and illegal occupancy was aiming to provide urban economic growth and though better economical conditions by this kind of an oblique way of redistributing urban rent.¹⁷⁵

Aforementioned above several times, with the military coup at the year 1980 and the accompanying economical regulations there have been great shifts in Turkey at multiple layers of socio-political and economical structure, as well as it had been for

¹⁷² Şenyapılı, 2006, pp.86-99

¹⁷³ Keleş, 2002, pg.568

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. pg.572

¹⁷⁵ Şenyapılı, 2006, pg.100

gecekondu phenomenon. Despite dynamic process of *gecekondu* formation and that's effects on Turkish urbanization processes, *gecekondu* can still be discussed in two main periods as before and after 1980, because of the critically important shift in general discernment of urban land in neo-liberal period. Following the interventionist approach of state with Massive Housing Fund, outskirts of city has come to be popular as proper places for luxury housing. According to Şenyapılı, this has totally changed the dweller's interpretation of *gecekondu*, such that, once it was a dwelling with a very important use value and less exchange value, it has become the way of earning excessive profit. Related to this, as she states, actors in *gecekondu* process have changed, too. Rather than owning, most of the inhabitants have come to be poor people who could only be renting these areas until the land become profitable for the landlord either by amnesty laws or development plan regulations.¹⁷⁶

Işık and Pınarcıoğlu emphasize the difference between the two main periods in the way *gecekondu* settlements treated. Examples before the 1980 were mostly constructed by the dwellers' own over lands of public treasury. These buildings were providing flexibility in terms of both physical structure and representational means. While they were flexible enough to allow constructions according to capabilities and necessities of inhabitants, they also provided conditions of transition and opportunities of jumping to a higher class.¹⁷⁷ Before neo-liberal understanding dominated the socio-political and economical structure in Turkey, as in other parts of society, there was an apparent solidarity among *gecekondu* population where fore comers were facilitating the latecomers' lives.¹⁷⁸ By the 1980's, neo-liberal regulations concerning urban space and its interpretation amongst social actors led this solidarity -as in case of all social solidarities-, to dismantle and leave its place to uneven power relations within the context drawn by competition and opportunism. According to the two authors, this degeneration in *gecekondu* or informal housing

¹⁷⁶ Şenyapılı, 2006, pp.110-113

¹⁷⁷ Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2005, pp.114-115

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. pg.118

should be evaluated as related to general degeneration in social structure that puts monetary relations and profitability at the centre.¹⁷⁹

Regulations pertaining *gecekondu* areas play a major part in this neo-liberal transformation process. Specifically two distinctive laws prepared by the mid 1980's caused the shift in determining role of *gecekondu* as one of the most important social, economical and political factor within urbanization process and the city structure. Renovations in *gecekondu* law provisioned the transfer of authority at *gecekondu* settlements to municipalities and transfer of all funds to Mass Housing Fund (early foundation of Housing Estate Management). Establishment of law code 2981 has been a more debated one that exempted *gecekondu* settlements and by the way facilitated illegal occupation while encouraged it as well. The result has been the uneven distribution of illegally possessed urban rent, renouncing urban structure on the whole.¹⁸⁰ Keleş directs attention to the most apparent effect of neoliberalization as the dominating policy over even urban applications. The coral idea of neoliberalism, namely individualism, creates the most critical contradictions. According to him, locating individual earnings over social interest leads to dismissal of equality that can only be grounded in social interests' extending personal gaining.¹⁸¹ And yet policies of state have been contrarily, such that these policies had provisioned a system on the inside of which members of various social classes have been able to counterbalance the loss in their income via urban rent.¹⁸²

Especially the amnesty laws after 1980 have grounded conditions causing *gecekondu* to become the most facilitated way of earning urban rent. According to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, main problem was not about being legal, because in case of urban rent relations position of the middle class had no difference from that of *gecekondu* inhabitants. It is the neo-liberal decrement of monetization that leads to

¹⁷⁹ Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2005, pg.177

¹⁸⁰ Keleş, 2002, pg.590

¹⁸¹ Ibid. pp.737-738

¹⁸² Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2005, pg.135

termination of formal.¹⁸³ However, problems of *gecekondu* population have various layers like adaptation hardship, identity issues, and spatial features like locating the immigrants.¹⁸⁴ Therefore, *gecekondu* is a very critical element of Turkey's urbanization and debates about it has both positive and negative connotations for cities. Keleş asserts these positive features as; self-reliant confrontation of housing need that state could not afford; development of solidarity as a result of mutually and self-help building system; social solidarity leading to self-confidence in immigrants; being reproductive in terms of construction way and labor enforcement style. On the other hand, he states that, constructing an analytical perspective of especially after 1980, the reasons of opposing view are; bad conditions of living at *gecekondu* as a result of environmental, infrastructural, and irrational urbanization together with low construction quality; financial disadvantages due to agedness or high disaster risk; problems due to conditions of deprivation or scarcity; being economical burden to city as a result of demolition and re-building processes; the alteration of solidarity and self-help idea with profit seeking uneven rent relations.¹⁸⁵ While both views can be considered veracious, the altered position of *gecekondu* has come to be coinciding with claims of opposing idea, since solidarity has dissolved under the effect of neoliberalism.

As Şenyapılı states by the 1990's there has begun acts of reconstruction, revitalization and gentrification at urban centers of Turkey by partnership of public institutions and private sector. Considering the effect of housing sector becoming locomotive for Turkish economy during the 1990s, the re-defined relations of patron-client and dismantled social solidarity, she directs attention to the heterogeneous structure of *gecekondu* that has begun to be realized by this period. Since from late 1990's, the issue of *gecekondu* became a complex concept that should be analyzed with respect to relations it has with socio-economical and physical spaces of urban

¹⁸³ Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2005, pg.178

¹⁸⁴ Şenyapılı, 2006, pp.99-100

¹⁸⁵ Keleş, 2002, pp.550-553

structure.¹⁸⁶ Having in mind the complex structure of *gecekondu*, urban transformation practices most of which are applied at these illegal settlements can be analyzed within a similar perspective.

State, local government and *gecekondu* as the three fundamental factors -affiliation of which can be apprehended within the neo-liberal framework seeking for increasing profitability- play critically important role during applications of urban transformation projects, those can be called as the most popular instruments in re-distribution of urban rent. During the last decade, urban transformation came to be interpreted as a prodigious solution for various problems in urban structure and through urban processes. However, a critical consideration of the basis of three main agents' association could be helpful to disclose the circumstances on the inside the relation of three agents with urban transformation activities. While the altered roles, interchanging authorities and late regulations facilitate the dominancy of capital over space, recent definitions of social classes with respect to locations represent legitimization and facilitation of globalization.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, an ostensive definition of recent applications of urban transformation can be contextualized within the process of neoliberalism.

¹⁸⁶ Şenyapılı, 2006, pp.113-118

¹⁸⁷ Keskinok, 2006, pp.160-163

CHAPTER 3

3-Correspondences and Particularities

3.1- Introduction

As mentioned before, there is an ascending intervention to urban space that has come out especially in forms of urban transformation projects, applied all around Turkey, where, lack of specific legal regulations -or even definitions- to draw framework of rules, conditions, or actors of urban transformation causes these acts, shaping social structure and future of cities together with physical environment, to be applied according to abilities of local governments and politicians. This leads to populist practices and manipulations to be preferred instead of searching for optimum and shared solutions to problems within urban structure. Though understanding urban transformation will provide helpful clues for the search of responsibilities of an architect throughout these urban processes.

It is difficult to make a single definition of urban transformation but regarding the term transformation as a general one, there are a series of acts mostly applied at industrialized European cities, and they differ in methods or ways of applying according to reasoning behind. There are certain infrastructural and socio-economical differences between early industrial cities those grew by pull effect and rapidly growing unindustrialized cities population of which increased as a result of push effect. Additionally, where in especially developed countries urban transformation has various definitions changing with respect to both existent conditions and contrived goals, in case of Turkey almost all acts named as urban transformations are debated for being redistribution tools of urban rent. Though in case of Ankara North Entrance UTP, all phases of the project and provisions about results of it become highly debatable, despite very little information about the whole process has been shared with public. In order to understand this specific case, it will require to make a general analysis on differences of Western cases, and to understand

the idea or the concept of urban transformation meaning diverse components and methods of it.

As Nil Uzun states there are several types of transformation either at urban scale or at building scale. These applications slightly differ from each other according to the conditions of the subject areas.¹⁸⁸ She describes these applications in a chronological manner, as; reconstruction, seen at destroyed parts of cities after world war two; revitalization, seen by 1950s at centers of industrial cities as a result of urban sprawl; renewal, seen by 1970s at especially industrial centers which were left to other uses after depletion of facilities from these areas; redevelopment, seen as a result of city centers' becoming financial nodes by neo-liberal policies of 1980s; and regeneration, seen by 1990s at again deteriorated city centers, to rejuvenate them. Uzun also states other types of transformation, mostly done at building scale which are; clearance, improvement, rehabilitation, conservation, restoration, and refurbishment.¹⁸⁹ As it is apparent urban transformation has a rich background and history in European cities, where by the effect of neo-liberal ideology at 1980s the apprehension of city space has shifted, but socio-political superstructure prevents deterioration that becomes possible by neo-liberal ideology of monetization of everything.

Pelin Pınar Özden points at the fact that, urban transformation became a commonly accepted European policy with declaration of a campaign known firstly as renewal and then later as urban renaissance. This campaign implemented four main objectives which can be asseverated as; improvement of urban living standards, discussing and defining present and future roles of cities, providing proper conduct of existent urban laws and enactment of new urban acts including regulations for betterment of urban living, and formulation of managerial and technical methods for

¹⁸⁸ C. Nil Uzun, "Ankara'da Konut Alanlarının Dönüşümü: Kentsel Dönüşüm Projeleri" (Eng: Transformation of Housing Areas in Ankara: Urban Transformation Projects), in Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı (Eng: Ankara of the Republic), (Ed. Tansı Şenyapılı), Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık (METU Press), 2005, pp.199-202

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. pg.202

solving problems within urban structure.¹⁹⁰ In European applications there are multiple ways in approaching urban space and its requirements which can easily be observed as deliberately considered socio-cultural and politico-economical relations within both existent situation and presumed one.

There are some key points in Western examples of urban transformation those can be called as successful, as Müge Akkar asserts. According to her, these projects have been; developed according to strategic planning approach with a perspective reached through a flexible path; provided collaborative planning; negotiated among different parts of society during processes of research, development, application, and control; managed by coalitions of multiple actors; considered physical, social, and environmental structures as a complex system that should be handled together; oriented to local necessities; applied through the directories of a specific organization established conveniently; decided, applied, and controlled as a collective act by participation of private/public sectors, voluntary institutions, civil organizations, and various parts of society.¹⁹¹

The major difference between European understanding of transformation and Turkish examples is about the subject area that while in cases of developed countries deteriorated areas mostly at city centers are transformed, in Turkey, these are *gecekondu* areas most of which are located at peripheries of cities. Earlier regulations making up legal background were constructed concerning property relations at these illegally occupied lands. Beginning with act 775 enacted at 1966, and following amnesty laws by early 1980s, *gecekondu* has been highlighted as one of the most important problems of cities. By the early 1990s, there has begun three well-known urban transformation projects in Ankara, at *gecekondu* areas left at a central area as a

¹⁹⁰ Pelin Pınar Özden, Kentsel Yenileme Yasal-Yönetmelik Boyut, Planlama ve Uygulama (Eng. Urban Renewal Legal-Governmental Dimension, Planning, and Application), Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2008, pp.53-54

¹⁹¹ Müge Akkar, “Kentsel Dönüşüm Üzerine Batı’daki Kavramlar, Tanımlar, Süreçler ve Türkiye” (Eng: On Urban Transformation Turkey and Concepts, Definitions, Processes in West), in Planlama (Planning Magazine), 2006/2, pp.34-35

result of city's enlargement. These are Dikmen Valley Urban Redevelopment Project (Dikmen Vadisi Konut ve Çevre Geliştirme Projesi), Portakal Çiçeği Valley Urban Redevelopment Project (Portakal Çiçeği Vadisi Kentsel Gelişme Projesi), and Transformation From Gecekondu into Modern House (Gecekondu'dan Çağdaş Konuta Dönüşüm Projesi), all of which are located close to districts of upper class with middle or high income.¹⁹² What makes these projects different from late examples of transformation can be observed with a close look to actors involved in project preparation and application processes, that despite being criticized for being insufficient in preserving preliminary inhabitants at these districts, the three cases resembles European examples in achieving participation of local people and civil organizations next to partnerships between public and private institutions.

Late examples of transformation, on the other hand, have been said to be political moves aiming rapid transformation at *gecekondu* areas, but as it is stated in 'Draft of Proposal Law Concerning Transformation Areas' almost any kind of land except for military zones are allowed to be declared as urban transformation area by municipalities, without requiring a certain or valid reasoning. The difference made by way of regulations in Municipalities' Act 5393, together with law code regulating conditions for historical preservation areas, which is act 5366, defines general outlines of an urban transformation area only by limiting the minimum size of the land to 50000 square meters. These laws also assign municipalities as the single authority those are free from applying development plans –if prepared previously-, which results in a kind of authority redistributing urban land, without any limitations or control over the results. Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project is considered as a prototype for following applications by the governing powers, and this multiplies cruciality of understanding the whole process of this particular project, as to grasp late applications on urban space.

¹⁹² Uzun, 2005, pg.206

About urban transformation acts lately become very popular in Turkish cities, Zafer Şahin directs attention to effect of economical conditions to these practices of transformation, and he claims that as a result of discontinuous structure of capitalist accumulation process economical growth cannot be continuous and stable in Turkey, where this accumulation is provided from rent relations over urban land. According to him all these recent applications of urban transformations are important tools for capitalist turnover which is a part of neo-liberal ideology dominating Turkey for almost three decades.¹⁹³ Therefore where urban transformation is a multidisciplinary act mostly applied by participation of various voices from society, and has the ability to initiate social developments next to spatial improvements in European or Western cases, for especially later examples being largely applied in Turkey there is the ideological part comes forth during the whole process of transformation.

At this point, Şahin backs his ideas up by referring to legitimating and plan preparation processes of the specific case of Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project, in terms of first, legitimating, second actors at the whole processes, and third approach to planning. He criticizes that, late regulations made in Municipalities Act do not describe anything about at what kind of urban spaces and in what conditions these acts of urban transformation are supposed to be applied, except for the minimum dimension, that is 50 000m², required for declaration of any kind of land, within or out of city borders, as urban transformation area.¹⁹⁴ Moreover in Draft of Proposal Law Concerning Transformation Areas, the specific law enacted for ANEUTP¹⁹⁵, which provided a single authority of municipality, with an option of disregarding development plans for the sake of speeding up transformation is stated as a pilot example that will be generalized by the supposed act. So, as mentioned

¹⁹³ Zafer Şahin, “Kentsel Dönüşüm; Yuvarlak Masa Toplantısı”, (Eng: Urban Transformation; Round Table Discussions), Dosya-1: Kentsel Dönüşüm Tartışmaları - 1 (Eng: File-1: Discussions on Urban Transformation-1), Attachment to TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch Bulletin, Ankara: Matsa Basımevi, 2006, pg.17

¹⁹⁴ Şahin, 2006, pp.17-18

¹⁹⁵ Abbreviation for ‘Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project’

above, an analysis on ANEUTP from the very beginning of it will provide to define perception of urban transformation in Turkish urban policies.

For this specific case of Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project the most important keyword has been melioration throughout the whole process that it is the primary motive behind urgent intervention to *gecekondu* districts at this area, as it is clearly stated in the particular law order. Keskinok digs into this emphasis and says that beneath the understanding of melioration lies the new urban neoliberalism, because conditions like insufficient infrastructure, environmental problems, urban poverty, or housing deficiency are evaluated as critical issues to be solved to provide urban efficiency. Immediate solutions are required only in cities valuable enough to deal with these problems from perspective of capital power, so according to him making an emphasis on urgent melioration at a specific area depicts the transformation of urban planning from its social context into a way of redistributing urban rent unevenly.¹⁹⁶

The three examples selected from three major capital cities in Europe can certainly be evaluated as valuable enough to be beautified, because all projects of London Docklands Area, Paris La Défense District, and Berlin Postdamer Platz already have potential to be developed and used for the sake of becoming global nodes. Transformation of these areas have also been debated too much concerning contractions of even-uneven, livable-non-livable, or gentrifying-rehabilitating, but still the socio-political background provided relatively successful examples in at least spatial and architectural quality when compared to Ankara North Entrance UTP.

¹⁹⁶ Keskinok, 2006, pg.21

3.2-Comparative analysis of Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project

3.2.1- Brief Information on the Project and the Process

Being one of the most important acts of urban transformation those take place in Ankara and even in Turkey, Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project is a principal project that deserves careful analysis. Having in mind the enormous scale of the UTP area, a specific law order regulating the application process of project area was enacted, where there was no particular law order among Turkish Legal codes for regulating the issue of urban transformation at all. As it is mentioned in rationale for Draft of Proposal Law Concerning Transformation Areas¹⁹⁷, this law order and project is an exemplary, a typical application for regulations, acts, methods, and even architectural images of urban transformation projects, those are either under process or will be applied all around Turkey.

The primary *raison d'etre* behind necessity of ANEUTP, as emphasized by the authorities many times, and stated also in the particular law order, has a direct relation with the location of the project because of its being the entrance used by protocol members visiting the capital city of Turkey. The project takes place on the area located along the road that connects Esenboğa Airport to the city centre of Ankara (See **Figure 3-1**). This area has been debated before in similar terms concerning the image of capital city and temporary solutions were applied such as, legally forcing *gecekondu* owners to paint all of their buildings to same color that was, white.¹⁹⁸ Assigning a representative role to urban space and architectural image, transformation of the said area has come to be apprehended as an immediate necessity.

¹⁹⁷ 'Dönüşüm Alanları Hakkında Kanun Tasarısı, Genel Gerekçe', at http://www.bayindirlik.gov.tr/turkce/dosya/tau/donusumalanlarihakkindakanungenelvemaddeGEREKcELERi18_1_2010_basbakanligagiden.doc, pg.9

¹⁹⁸ Baykan Günay, in unpublished 'Interview On Contemporary Acts Of Urban Renewal In Turkey', 2006

Aforementioned above, as its most important feature making this project specific among all other transformation projects, Ankara North Entrance UTP have its private law order. Broaching urgency of image reconstruction necessity, this law order was prepared in such a way that would prevent probable legal or other kind of obstacles those might avoid or delay phases of preparation, application and any other processes of the project. This specific law order, namely “5104 Kuzey Ankara Girişı Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi Kanunu” (the specific law order for Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project), was established at March 4th of the year 2004. An interesting point that should be raised as a part of analysis on relation of power relations and politics in spatial terms of either urban or architectural scale, the law order is known in public with name of Mayor of Great Municipality of Ankara, as Melih Gökçek’s Law. It is named after him, because this kind of a regulation with considerably wide spectrum was his personal request from the recent government of AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi – the governing political party in Turkey), and this particular law order was prepared in such a way that it would provide Great Municipality of Ankara to be the single authority at all processes of decision making, preparation, and application.

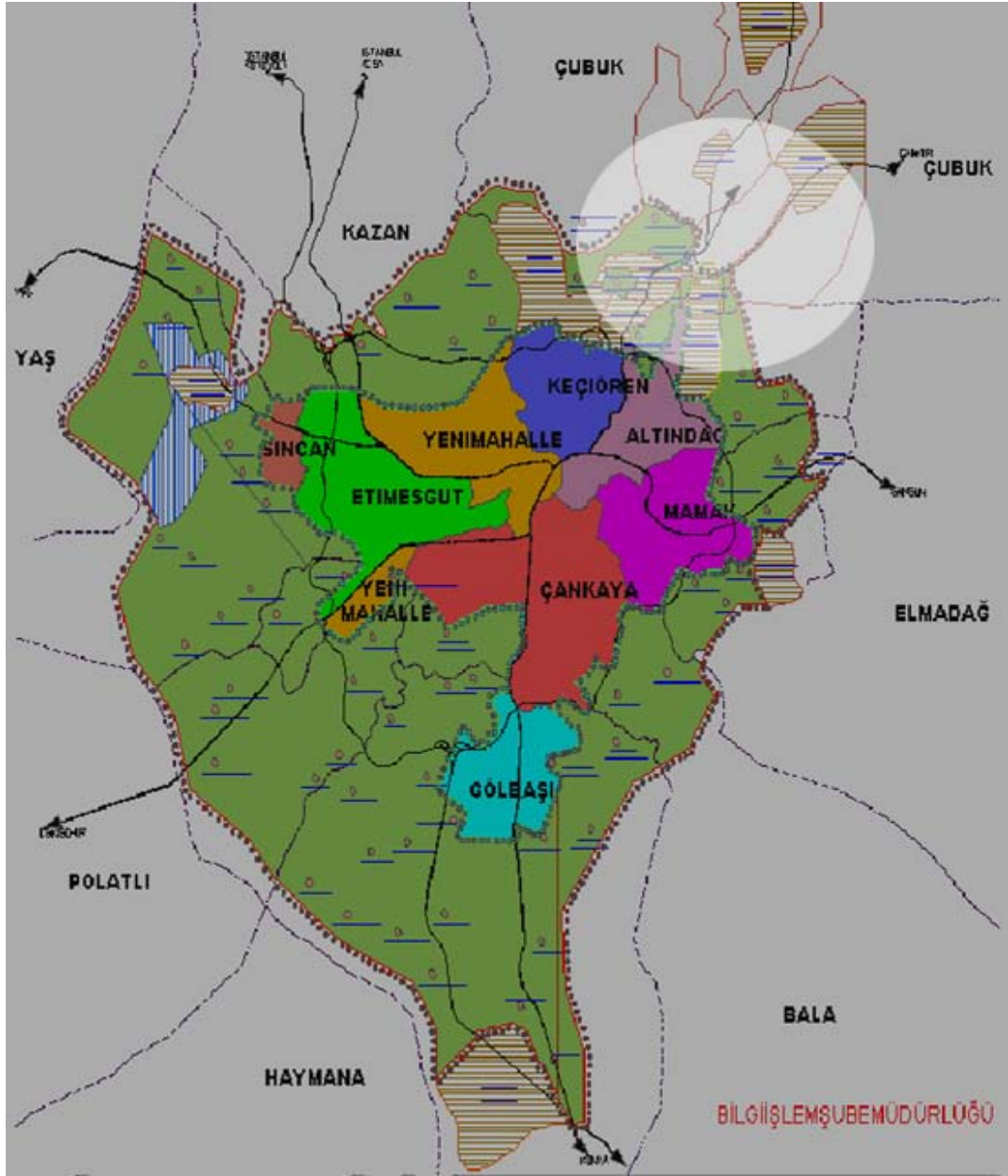


Figure 3-1 The project area on the city map. (The base map is obtained from TOBAŞ archive)

The initial objective of the project seems to be the reconstruction of the whole area along entrance to Ankara from north as a beautiful show window, which is supposed to provide a favorable first impression on either international or national VIP visitors of the capital city. Because as it is stated within its law, the rationale for ANEUTP is the urgent need of a beautification and melioration of the environment through which

the road coming from Esenboğa Airport to city center of Ankara passes. It is stated that unorganized, irregular and shabby view of squatter houses along the road creates a negative and bad implication on especially the privileged protocol visitors of the capital city. Besides this necessity, it is also mentioned in the law that living conditions of the people at that particular area are not proper such that, since the selected environment covers *gecekondu* districts, they were unhealthy, disordered and deteriorated, and so inhabitable. Therefore, as it continues, a project for betterment of life standards of the poor inhabiting at the specific area should immediately be prepared.¹⁹⁹

Since from the beginning of the debates and during the meetings held in parliament there was concordance among all opposing and governing groups on immediate passage of particular law code 5104 that was enacted at March 4th 2004. This agreement can be observed at parliament's minutes²⁰⁰ such that the only speech on the law code and its necessities is done by Mehmet Parlakyiğit, who was Kahramanmaraş representative of CHP (major opposing party). He emphasized four major reasons for explaining urgency of transformation to be activated as the area being; main gate in both national and international terms, the emblematic of Ankara's identity, backbone of the city in physical terms, and lastly *gecekondu* districts with bad, and unhealthy living conditions. Things that should have to be done in order to solve these problems were stated under four titles by Parlakyiğit, these were, clearance of *gecekondu* settlements from particular area and renewing the area into a prestigious one, development of an urban façade image, making necessary regulations, and legislations immediately to give a quick start of urban image-making, and facilitating bank crediting system for administrative units of project and avoiding any financial breakaway within transformation process.

¹⁹⁹ 'KUZEY ANKARA GİRİŞİ KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM PROJESİ KANUNU' (Eng. Law order on Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project), Turkish Parliament's Minutes, http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak_g_sd.birlesim_baslangic?PAGE1=1&PAGE2=1&p4=11465&p5=B, March 4th, 2004, pp.31-36

²⁰⁰ 'Meclis Tutanakları', 04.03.2004, at <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak>, pp.31-35

The law defines four main actors to operate at all phases of project, these are, Great Municipality of Ankara and Ministry of Building and Housing as the authority over local government, TOKİ (Housing Estate Management) and Presidency as the authority over TOKİ. According to the prescript all projects and plans those are going to be applied at the specified area will be prepared under the authority of the Great Municipality of Ankara, in order to accelerate the processes of preparation, decision and application of project. This dominance of local government was enlarged by modification made on law order 5104 that is law order 5481, which was enacted at April 5th, 2006 (see Appendix 2).

The early steps of the project have begun by January 2005 with Municipality Council's decisions concerning regulations on private properties and *gecekondu* owners' rights within the framework of 5104 (see Appendix 3). Following this the counselor firm TOBAŞ was established in March 2005. The project is held by TOBAŞ²⁰¹, whose center is located in the middle of the project area, within the borders of Şenyuva Quarter, over a hill dominating the whole area. This firm was established by the common enterprises of Great Municipality of Ankara and TOKİ to provide a single address dealing with all dimensions of the project, as in most examples of urban renewal or transformation projects. The share holders of the firm are Great Municipality of Ankara and TOKİ (Housing Estate Management) as big partners with 49% share of each, Emlak Pazarlama Yönetimi A.Ş. (Real Estate Marketing Administration Inc.) with 1% share, EGO (Electricity, Bus, Air Gas Enterprise Establishment of Ankara) with 0,05% share and ASKİ (Ankara Water Supply and Wastewater Systems Management) with 0,05% share.²⁰²

²⁰¹ In long form; Toplu Konut – Büyükşehir Belediyesi İnşaat Emlak Mimarlık ve Proje A.Ş. (Eng: Housing Estate – Great Municipality Construction Real-Estate Architecture and Project Inc.)

²⁰² information from TOBAŞ official web site at,

<http://tobas.com.tr/parts/tobasicerikoku.asp?readid=1165>, 2007, [Accessed: April 23, 2010]

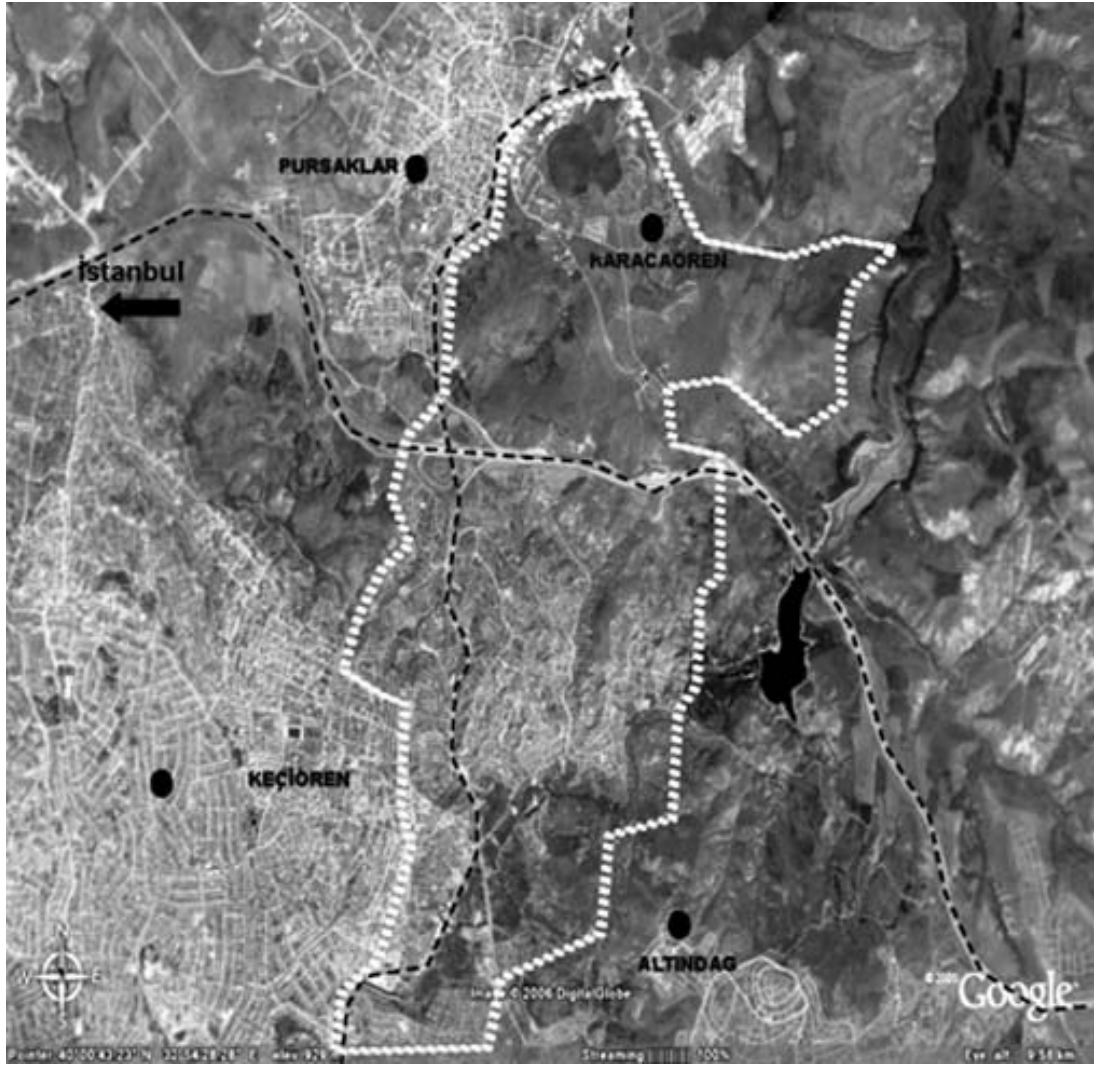


Figure 3-2 The project area plotted over the satellite view. (TOBAŞ archive)

The project area defined by the law code 5104, and demonstrated by the attached plot (see **Appendix 1**) (see **Figure 3-2**) covers approximately 16 million square meters, and this is another factor multiplying the importance of this particular urban transformation project. According to information obtained from within TOKİ's presentation²⁰³ notes, the exact area that Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project covers is 1582 hectares located alongside the road to Esenboğa Airport, comprising 932 hectares of private property, 158 hectares of

²⁰³ A briefing presentation made at 14th of March, namely 'kuzey_ankara_protokol_yolu.ppt'.

public property, and 492 hectares of parks, gardens, forest regions and unregistered land. The particular area that was decided to be transformed includes peripheral quarters of Keçiören and Altındağ Municipalities, which are legally dependent to Great Municipality of Ankara. Şenyuva, Güzelyurt and some part of Yeşilöz Quarters of Municipality of Keçiören, and Baraj Quarter within borders of Municipality of Altındağ are *gecekondu* districts those were decided to be demolished totally within the framework of ANEUTP. Total number of existent *gecekondu* within borders of this project area was 10500 according to numbers given by TOKİ in their briefing presentation.

As it is stated within this presentation the project was planned to be applied in two major phases. The first phase (see **Figure 3-3**) is the smaller one covering an approximate area of 400 hectares. Beginning with studies on transference of ownership rights by March 2005, the first stage of ANEUTP has had begun. The first contract was signed on 4th of April 2005²⁰⁴, where first demolishment on the area was done on 13th of July, 2005²⁰⁵ as declared by TOBAŞ. Within this dense program of transformation, the master plan of the area was prepared and approved by 10th of May 2005, following this preliminary architectural project of the first phase that was prepared by an architectural firm determined by the municipality were completed, as well.

Regulations concerning ownership statuses and *gecekondu* dwellers' rights were stated by both the ordinance prepared by Council of Great Municipality and the ordinance prepared by TOKİ. Since Great Municipality of Ankara and TOBAŞ have the authority of expropriation at all areas defined within this project and the objections are avoided by the law order 5104, this association had the authority to follow methods of their own on the specified land under conditions closed for any

²⁰⁴ Information taken from a briefing presentation made at 14th of March, by TOKİ, namely '**kuzey_ankara_protokol_yolu.ppt**'.

²⁰⁵ Information from TOBAŞ official web site at, <http://tobas.com.tr/parts/tobasicerikoku.asp?readid=1209>, 2007, [Accessed: April 23, 2010]

debate or opposition. All occupiers and land owners have to leave the area and make a deal with the administration, because, in case they reject to sign a contract, TOBAŞ has the right to expropriate that part of land by paying compensation. This led easy eviction of the area where all inhabitants moved into places either determined by municipality, or they had to find themselves.

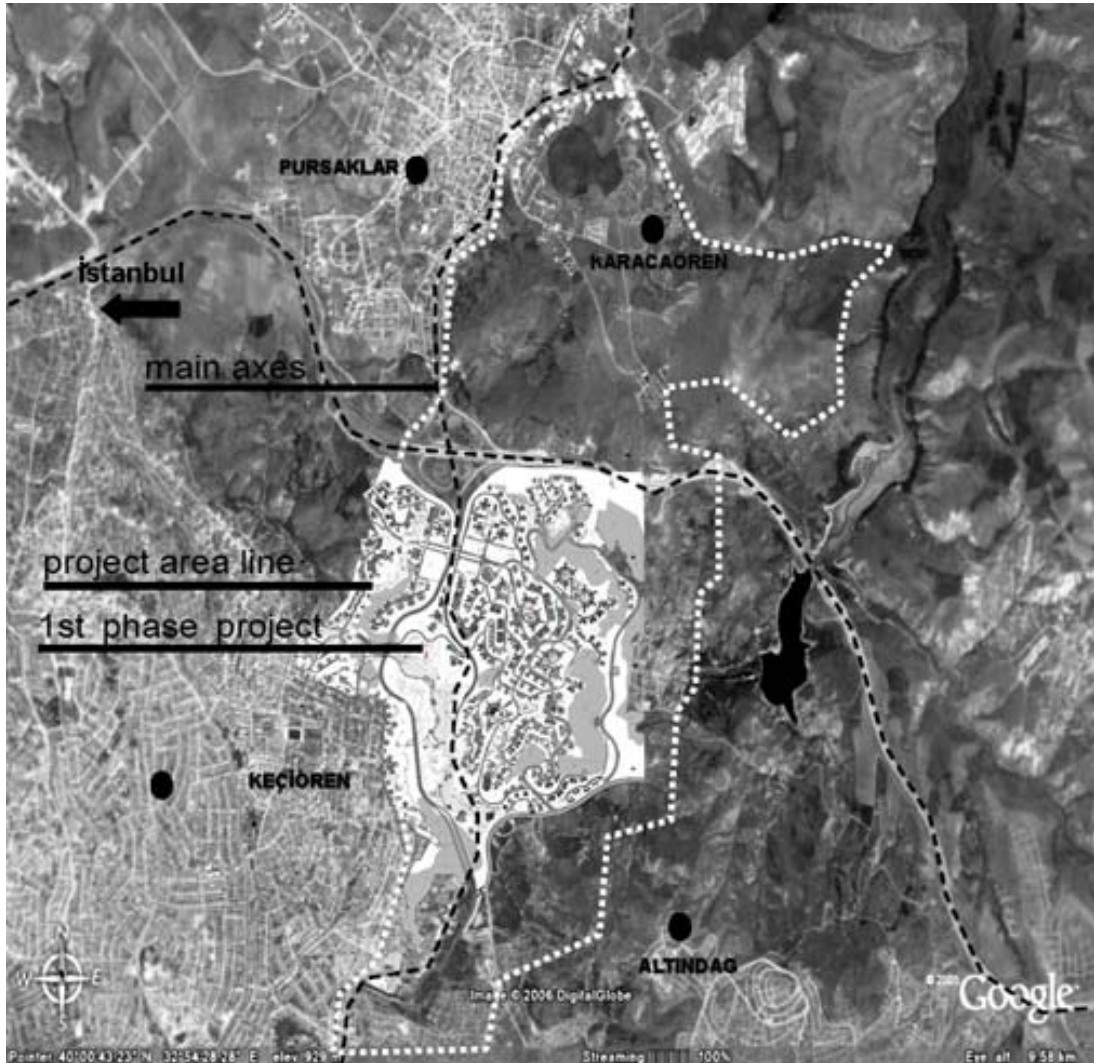


Figure 3-3 First Phase project area shown within the whole area plotted over the satellite view. (base map is taken from TOBAŞ archive)



Figure 3-4 The area before demolition, by March 2005 (Photograph is obtained from TOBAŞ)



Figure 3-5 The area after demolition, by March 2006 (Photograph is obtained from TOBAŞ)

According to information taken from TOBAŞ, on the inside the first step of the project, nearly 4500 out of 6570 squatter houses had been demolished from July 2005 up to May 2006, where by the year 2007 all works of demolishing has been completed and around 7000 *gecekondu* were demolished (see **Figure 3-4** and **Figure 3-5**). Occupiers of these houses had left their land and houses without any resistance. Great Municipality of Ankara and TOBAŞ promises to help the people who have the status of land owner, in two ways; either by giving 200 YTL hiring support –which has been 220 TL by 2007²⁰⁶- or providing some of these people to move into the lodgings belongings to Great Municipality of Ankara. Occupiers have a right to get one flat of 80, 100 or 120m², depending on the amount of their land expropriated within the framework of ANEUTP.

The ordinances by both TOKİ and Council of Great Municipality adjust the issue of property rights at the area concerning four types of ownership statuses. These are owners with land registry, owners with both land registry and built facility on it, owners with land registry designation, and illegal land occupiers, namely *gecekondu* owners.²⁰⁷ The conditions of land registry owners who earns housing unit from compensation are shown in the **Table 3-1**;

80 m2 house	minimum 200 m2 registered land over planned area, or
	minimum 333 m2 registered land over non-planned area
100 m2 house	minimum 250 m2 registered land over planned area, or
	minimum 416 m2 registered land over non-planned area
120 m2 house	minimum 300 m2 registered land over planned area, or
	minimum 500 m2 registered land over non-planned area

Table 3-1: The compensation values in terms of housing

²⁰⁶ Announcements dating back to 12th of March 2007, at <http://tobas.com.tr/parts/tobasihalelerliste.asp>, [Accessed: January 2010]

²⁰⁷ A briefing presentation made at 14th of March, namely ‘**kuzey_ankara_protokol_yolu.ppt**’, by TOKİ

For the people having land registry for minimum 100m² lands or illegally occupied land of minimum 167m², a system of debiting the rest of the housing price for 24 months is proposed as a choice. If these people have a facility built on the area, the price of this facility is subtracted from their debt. Also people with land registry designation have the option to be indebted for 48 months if they accept to pay for an 80m² housing unit. Additional to these, illegal land occupiers, meaning *gecekondu* owners who can present any property tax receipt taken before the date January the 1st, 2000, deserve to be owning one of 2400 TOKİ houses constructed at Karacaören region, within borders of Keçiören Municipality (see **Figure 3-6**).



Figure 3-6 Photograph of housing units at Karacören Region, for *gecekondu* owners having the right of housing within the context of *gecekondu* Law 775. (Photograph is obtained from TOBAŞ)

There were stipulations those put forward by people who were supposed to be benefiting from this application, such that owners of *gecekondu* buildings built before the year 2000 are considered as land owners as soon as they certified this fact with the property tax recipient dating before January 1st of 2000. The only solution

provided for inhabitants was this application of hiring aid and expropriation, and as the headman of Baraj Quarter, Arif Gümüş repeatedly emphasized, there were many people those could not take any aid for about 8 months time. He added that, many of the people who had built their houses before January 1st of 2000 were not admitted to sign any contract despite they had the right to. Some people whose *gecekondu* were not included in the first two steps of demolition continued to live within the ruins and waited for other steps of demolition the time of which had never been declared to them. This disinterest became problematic for them such that their needs like security, health, education, worship, transportation, energy, and communication could no longer be supplied. (see **Figures 3-7, 3-8,3-9 and 3-10**)



Figure 3-7 The project area, photograph showing lonely minarets amongst ruins, May 2006



Figure 3-8 The project area, view from hills of Baraj Quarter towards Şenyuva Hills, May 2006



Figure 3-9 The project area, condition of a high school at Baraj Quarter after demolition started at the area, May 2006



Figure 3-10 The project area, ruins of a mosque at Baraj Quarter after demolition, May 2006

An interesting point about North Entrance of Ankara Urban Transformation Project has come to be apparent right after first step demolishing completed. The minarets were not included in demolishment while mosques of them were completely smashed. This view of lonely minarets amid ruins of all other buildings attracted attention of both public and professionals. Considering the absolute hegemony of Minister of Great Municipality of Ankara, Melih Gökçek over the project, even in terms of architectural images of the buildings, and his party's conservative and religious ideology, the unavoidable interpretation amongst public has also been ideological. However, as stated by both TOBAŞ officials and project manager of

Türkerler Construction Company Rıza Topçu, the rationale behind this situation is to avoid this kind of an ideological perception about the project, such that Gökçek wanted these minarets to be left upright, so that if any oppositions or critics about abundant quantity of mosques those will be built as a part of transformation project, he would be able to prove that exact number of mosques existed in *gecekondu* districts are included on the inside this transformation project, as well. Consequently these minarets will provide to avoid any critics claiming existence of ideological planning and image creation processes within transformation project's general context. But ironically they represent very crucial inadequacies of the dominant understanding and the oblique point of view that shapes the architectural image, and identity of the city together with it.

The urban design and architectural projects of the preliminary stage are asked to be prepared by Gelişim Architecture Firm, owned by architect Öner Tokcan, and he prepared both urban design and architectural drawings of first phase project, preliminary plans of which was completed by the end of 2005 (see **Figure 3-11**). The particular area is located over Çubuk Dam's water basin and the ratio of land available for construction is limited, because of both extensive disaster areas designated by the master plan prepared for the subject area (see Appendix 4 for master plan notes) and topographical form of the land that consists steep inclinations (see **Figure 3-12**). According to architectural report the land out of disaster regions can be classified with respect to steepness of the topography, such that; 25% of the area has a degree of slope from 10% to 30%; 45% of the area has a slope between 30% and 45%; and the areas having a slope over 45% make up of the 30% of the whole land.²⁰⁸ Consequently, as mentioned in the architectural report, buildings to be designed and constructed at the area were conceived to be either high-rise or terraced

²⁰⁸ 'Preliminary Architectural Report Concerning Preparation of Architectural, Engineering, Urban Design, Landscape Application Projects of Buildings Planned to be Constructed Within North Entrance of Ankara Urban Transformation Project's First Phase', TOBAŞ and Gelişim Architecture, November 7th, 2005, pg.1

houses, since the supposed numbers of houses at the area were too much to create other alternatives.²⁰⁹



Figure 3-11 Preliminary drawing of First Phase project. (Image obtained from TOBAŞ, by May 2006)

²⁰⁹ Preliminary Architectural Report, pp.2-4

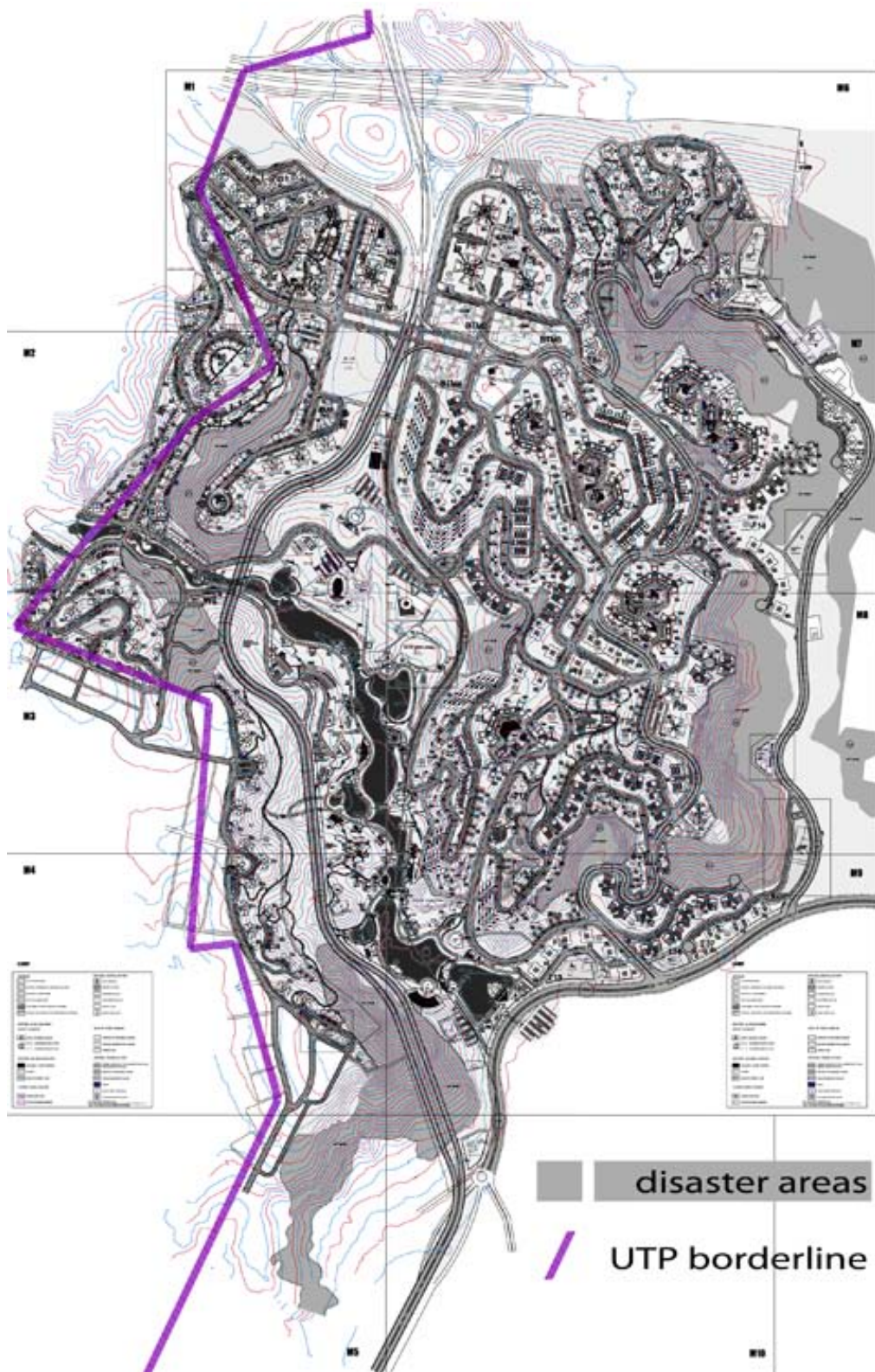


Figure 3-12 First Phase project, disaster areas and topographical conditions.

The architectural and spatial program of preliminary phase was declared by TOBAŞ and Great Municipality of Ankara as; a 650 000 square meters recreational area, a big trade centre, and approximately 18000 houses, that consists 8000 houses for landowners and 9945 *finansman konutları* -houses for sale in order to supply financial resource for the project-.²¹⁰

According to the *architectural report*,²¹¹ describing the conditions for preliminary project, the total area that the first stage of the project covers is about 4 million square meters. It involves housing for recent inhabitants, *finansman konutları*, leisure complexes and green areas. Recreation, leisure and resting spaces are supposed to take 830.000 m², an approximate 180.000m² of it will be artificial lakes, and 650.000m² area is bestowed for leisure and recreational facilities. There supposed to be a Congress and Convention Centre for 5000 people, two open amphitheatres, a self presentation and exhibition centre, a marriage hall, two five star hotels, primary schools and lyceums, medical centers, sport areas of various kinds, lots of cafes, restaurants, fast-food centers, teahouses, kiosks and guest houses of Great Municipality of Ankara included in recreational area of the first stage of ANEUTP²¹².

Additional to recreational areas there are other facilities defined as necessary parts of housing. As a part of owners' housing area 5 preliminary schools, 2 nursery schools, 2 high schools, 1 medical centre and 6 trade centers are planned. Within *finansman konutları* complex, there are unitary centers contents of which are not clarified

²¹⁰ Briefing about the projects on the official web site of TOBAŞ, at March 19th, 2007, <http://www.tobas.com.tr/parts/tobasicerikoku.asp?readid=1211>, [Accessed: January 27th 2010]

²¹¹ 'Preliminary Architectural Report Concerning Preparation of Architectural, Engineering, Urban Design, Landscape Application Projects of Buildings Planned to be Constructed Within North Entrance of Ankara Urban Transformation Project's First Phase', TOBAŞ and Gelişim Architecture, November 7th, 2005, pg.2

²¹² Declarations of Ferhat Ertürk, General Manager of TOBAŞ, published on the official web site of Great Municipality of Ankara at February 4th, 2006. at <http://www.ankara-bld.gov.tr/haberler.asp?offset=20>, [Accessed: 02.04.2006], and informations released at TOBAŞ official web site by March 2007, <http://tobas.com.tr/parts/tobasicerikoku.asp?readid=1209>, and <http://www.tobas.com.tr/parts/tobasicerikoku.asp?readid=1211>, [Accessed: January 27th 2010]

numerically yet, but social facilities like nursery schools and crèches, shopping centers, restaurants, cafes, and sports centers are planned to be included in.²¹³ According to the plan there are 7 unitary centers and 11 sports centers planned on the inside *finansman konutları* facilities. On the plan, the architectural programs of these centers seem diverse, so they cannot be classified as any typical example that is used repetitively, at least in terms of planar form.

As the initial step of the first phase project housing units those will be given to land owners are being constructed (see **Figure 3-13**). According to information taken from Türkerler Construction Company's Project Manager this preliminary part of the first phase project, that is to say owners' houses and social facilities within this complex is planned to be completed by May 2010 (see **Figure3-14**). Together with this the reconstruction of the main axis, the highway towards Esenboğa Airport has begun at February 2010 and it is planned to be finished in August 2011.

According to information taken from staff responsible at project processes in TOBAŞ, there is not an exact date for project ending yet, but the conditions of ongoing construction facilities are declared by TOKİ at their websites (see Appendix 5). About the recent conditions of the project by April 2010, TOBAŞ officials in charge states that the total number of houses to be built at the transformation area has remained as 18000 but the number of owners' houses have increased to 8100.²¹⁴ They add that the exact numbers and details of architectural project should be certified by the architect of the particular project.

²¹³ This particular information is given by Öner Tokcan, the architect of the whole project, told to the author on the phone, on 26th of April, 2010.

²¹⁴ Information is given by Ayşe Güven, TOBAŞ's authoritative official, within the phone call made with her on 26th of April 2010.

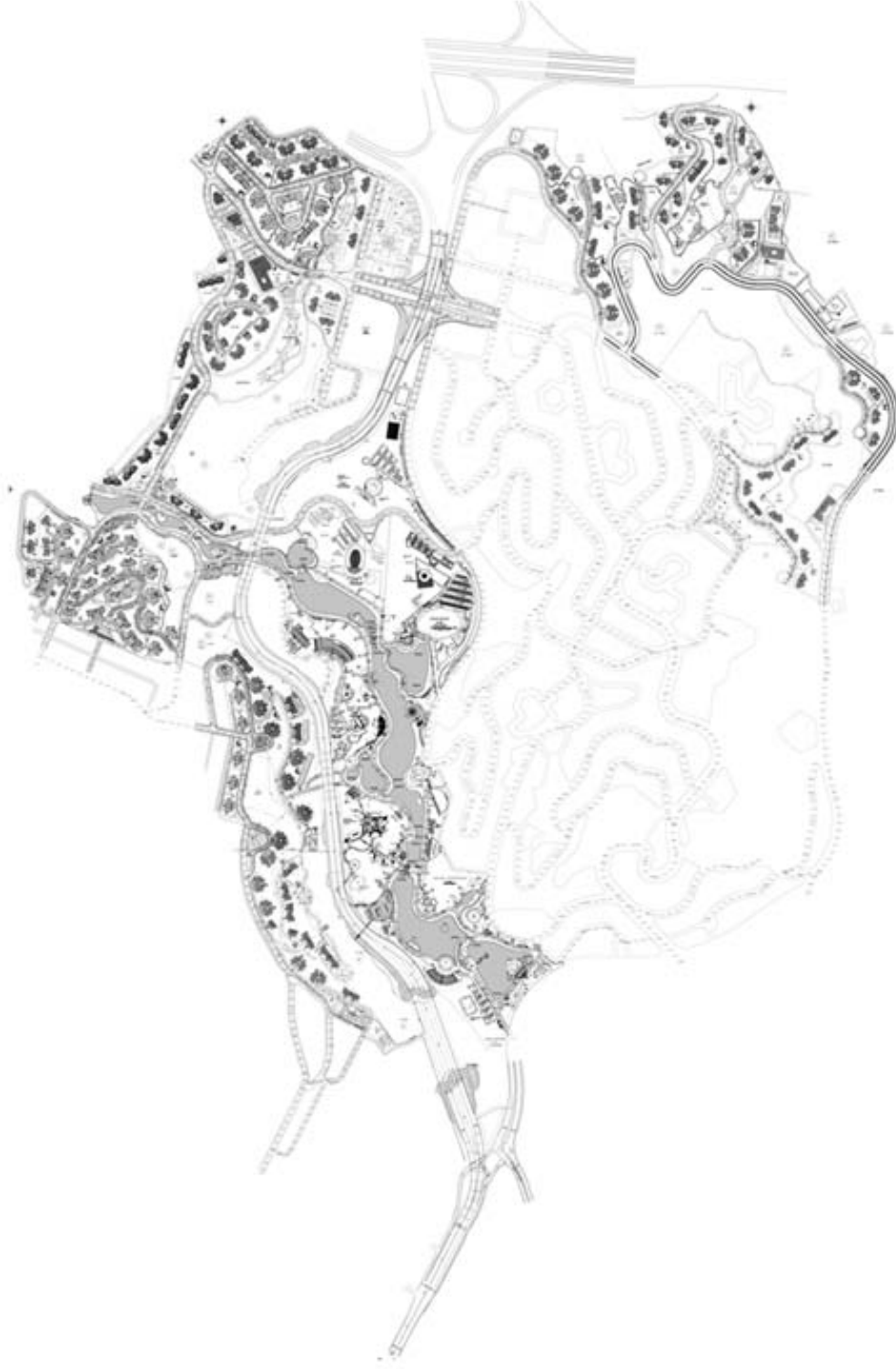


Figure 3-13 Drawing showing the Preliminary stage of First Phase project. (Drawing taken from Türkerler Construction Company)

This creates a confliction such that, according to Öner Tokcan, The architect of the project where the number of owners' houses increased from 8000 to 8100, the total number of housing units built at the area has differed from 18000 to 21000.²¹⁵ Additional to these Tokcan stated that they had completed the architectural project of the second phase but they are waiting for processes of preparation and approval of master plan of that particular area to share their urban design and architectural projects with public. As he continues, he says that architectural and spatial program of the second phase of ANEUTP is parallel with the first phase's program, meaning that, a dense housing complex with similar architectural forms. About issues of deciding architectural language and the general concept of the project, he insisted that the whole idea of traditional images and architectural forms belong to himself alone, not to Melih Gökçek or any other person.



Figure 3-13 The project area, photograph of ownership houses construction phase, January 2010

The choice of traditional semblances for this kind of a special case that is claimed to represent the identity of Turkish Capital city should be interpreted from a critical

²¹⁵ Information is given by Öner Tokcan, Gelişim Architecture Co., within the phone call made with him on 26th of April 2010.

perspective concerning neo-liberal ideology and its well known togetherness with neo-conservative ideologies. In fact, whole process of ANEUTP from the very beginning with lawmaking up to present situation of secretiveness in project preparation and decision making processes represent the oblique perspective of monetization and global integration that is coerced to underdeveloped or developing countries by neo-liberal ideology.

As to understand this oblique perspective and its reflection on spatial forms a comparison of this project with similarly large scaled and important urban transformation projects applied at capital cities of three developed countries of Europe, namely England, France, and Germany will be done concerning fundamentals of transformation acts applied during the last three decades. Urban Transformation acts of Docklands Urban Development Project in London, La Defense Development Area in Paris and Postdamer Platz Urban Regeneration in Berlin are solidifying examples for neo-liberal spatial policies and urban transformation as representatives of power relations at various layers of these relations. The case of ANEUTP is compared with these three characteristic urban acts concerning primarily the shifted role of state and effect of neoliberalism on this alteration together with the powerful symbolism and precedence as the shared features of four projects, as well. Disparities between the case of Ankara and these three projects, on the other hand, are evaluated within the framework of neoliberalism and its dissimilar ways of shaping urban structures of developed countries from underdeveloped or developing ones. Mentioning the disparities will open up a perspective from which it will be possible to get how transformation of space via similar objectives and tools could cause economically similar but spatially and socially different environments, and in what way this is related to neo-liberal spatial policies.

3.2.2- Role of State and Legitimizing Urban Transformation

As mentioned several times above, altered role of state at the age of neoliberalism is a crucial determinant through applications of urban transformation projects. The fundamental change is a twofold one, such that, transfer of public resources to capital holders within the framework of privatization as the ascendant act brought opaque processes of decision making especially in terms of regulating resource expenditures. Passing to a system that depends on this enforcing structure of neoliberalism contradictorily frustrated open governing system, where it is undeniably a democratic right to be informed or to become a participant in decision making processes. On the contrary it becomes a hegemonic and closed state structure that would conceal regulations those are inconsiderate to public interest where they provide favorable conditions for global mobilization of international -or for some developed countries- national capital. Urban space can be interpreted as the locus of these power relations and transforming it -with all types and at all dimensions- means a redefinition of the area itself as well as the power relations therein. Being the most important discovery of neo-liberal ideology, commodification of space by using a false dream named globalization triggered the will of marketing cities for what it worth. Hence, urban transformation projects those are both precedent to other applications and carrying symbolic meanings have been indicants of altered role of state within neo-liberal power relations.

Docklands Urban Development Project applied in London is the first example of transformation projects those will be analyzed within this framework. The role of state in Docklands UDP has a diverse path changed in time relative to changes in governing parties and ideologies. Effects of the location and problems dependent to shrinking economical activity to the overall urban structure and urban economy caused transformation of this area to be initiated in central government's agenda by the end of 1960s. Following this, at the year 1971 conservatives governing England had set up an examination group of professionals to make analysis on the conditions

of this particular dock area.²¹⁶ Proposing an economical regeneration program immediately, studies and reports of this group could not be activated because with the government change at 1974 policies concerning problems of Docklands have altered and the method of approaching to these have become a more participation oriented one as a result of social democratic ruling. The new social democrat government established Docklands Joint Committee, and the narrow area of debate was enlarged by providing participation of local governments and public to this committee. According to Urkun-Bowe, this methodological shift also points at the differing relation of ideological approaches with definitions of participation processes. The ideological difference also became apparent in the attitude of Docklands Joint Committee, such that, their report named ‘London Docklands Strategic Plan’, declared by 1976 has put providing investment opportunities secondary when compared with supplying local necessities at the subject area.²¹⁷

Aforementioned above, role of state in this project followed a spline like path until it became linear with conservatives’ reelection at 1979. Conservative government preferred to make more permanent and effective movements about the problem area of Docklands and firstly two fundamental issues, namely Urban Development Area – UDA and Urban Development Corporation – UDC, were defined within the law named as ‘Local Government Planning and Land Act’, which was enacted at 1981, just before well-known London Docklands Development Corporation - LDDC was established at the same year, by government.²¹⁸ Providing a wide authority to development corporations, Local Government Planning and Land Act do not take master planning authority from local governments but other than that, it causes UDCs to become autonomic public institutions having both mentality of private

²¹⁶ İlknur Urkun-Bowe, ‘*Londra Docklands Kentsel Gelişme Alanı: Ekonomik Hayatın Gerçekleri Karşısında Yerel Halkın Nostaljik Talepleri*’ (Eng: London Docklands Urban Development Area: Nostalgical Demands of Local Community Against Realities of Economic Life), Dosya-1: Kentsel Dönüşüm Tartışmaları - 1 (Eng: File-1: Discussions on Urban Transformation-1), Attachment to TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch Bulletin, Ankara: Matsa Basımevi, 2006, pg.70

²¹⁷ *ibid*, pg.71

²¹⁸ *ibid*, pg.71

sector and absolute power, at least within the spatio-temporal limits drawn by the particular project they has to be dealing with.²¹⁹

Defending its own methods and approaches as concerning economic realities, LDDC aims to serve inhabitants of Docklands area by improving life standards of Docklands people, as its establishment objective. On the other hand, while declaring the rationale for state intervention as the impossibility of private sector to handle an area of this much, the elementary duty of LDDC is defined as creating available conditions for marketing the area to private investors by using state funds and public resources.²²⁰ As it can be derived from these establishment rationales, in case of Docklands Urban Development Project the state primarily legitimates, and then establishes agents for re-distributing public assets to capital holders, and does all of these with primarily closing all paths of participation by declaring a single authority of its agent in charge.

According to Özden, in England, state's acts concerning transformation of urban space can be asseverated as; enactment of Local Government Planning and Land Act and establishing Urban Development Corporations as a part of this law order; establishing Housing Action Trusts as the Municipality-led corporations to build housing units; setting up Building Partnerships those are responsible from urban economic reconstruction; providing Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund to render balance amongst social structure; Preparing Planning Policy Guidance Notes concerning renewal and re-generation issues; and putting down Government Privatization Strategies to regulate institutional framework of urban transformation acts.²²¹

As the responsible agent at the area LDDC's declarations would be helpful to understand states point of view clearly. As they state in their official website, first

²¹⁹ Özden, 2008, pp.411-413

²²⁰ Urkun-Bowe, 2006, pg.72

²²¹ Özden, 2008, pp.411-420

objective of LDDC is –similar to case of Ankara- rapid improvement of image of Docklands.²²² Mentioning as the words clearly setting out the realities of Docklands, LDDC refers to a passage from a special issue of Journal For The Built Environment (OAP), namely ‘Changing Docklands’ in their web site, saying,

The redevelopment of the Docklands presents a unique opportunity for positive and massive renewal close to the heart of London. But the decisions that will transform a neglected and run down area into an attractive and viable community will not be those of the planner. The switches in investment priorities, the subsidies, the employment incentives –all are areas of political decision, which alone can give reality to the planners’ ultimate proposals...²²³

Putting this quote as their motto in urban development activities, LDDC also claims the immediate necessity of beautification of Docklands should have been done using as much public resources together with their governmental payments as to provide conditions attractive for private sector to remarket at the area. Within the framework of Docklands Urban Development Project, LDDC provided all necessary infrastructures, means of transportation, land, and even advertisement in the name of state, and the methods used on the inside this project process made up a typical example for definition of neo-liberal spatial approach and state’s role in this redistribution process via urban transformation projects.

La Défense district of Paris has a history dating back to post-war period Modernist urbanization acts. The name of the area originates from Triumphal Arch the very well-known monument built in 1883. Spatial choice of La Défense area had several reasons, such that, this area was the edge of the city by mid 1950s and it provided a

²²² Introduction, at <http://lddc-history.org.uk/beforelddc/index.html>, July 2007, pp.1-20 [Accessed: November 10th, 2009]

²²³ ‘The Docklands Joint Committee’, Introduction, <http://lddc-history.org.uk/beforelddc/index.html>, July 2007, pp.17-18, quoted from ‘*Changing Docklands*’, Journal For The Built Environment, OAP, August 1971

suitable ground for creating a dense use by way of building skyscrapers concerning especially two fundamental issues, which were possibility of constructing new infrastructures to supply the area and avoiding the historical network to be spoiled.²²⁴ Official setting up of operation of La Défense begun by establishment of Etablissement Public pour l'aménagement de la région de La Défense – EPAD at 1958, was covering a 750 hectares area province of which was shared by three municipalities, namely Courbevoi, Puteaux, and Nanterre.²²⁵ La Défense area is located at the end of the historical axis of Paris, and this has always had led to insertion of a symbolic sub-text to the area. Role of state at the area has been similar in terms of stressing out the representative role of this area in determining the place of Paris -and France in from wide perspective- in world.

Being imposed as the image of a powerful France, redevelopment and refurbishment of the area has continued to be at the top of French Governors' agendas. The second group of skyscrapers at the area begun to be built by the 1970s but with the economic crisis the expansion rates at the areas' business volume has slowed down.²²⁶ The third period of development at the area has begun with leadership of French President Mitterrand. Grand Projects²²⁷ provisioned and realized by Mitterrand's leadership between the years 1981 and 1995 were aiming to regenerate Paris as the cultural capital of the world. Including restoration of the Museum of Orsay, refurbishment of Grand Louvre Museum, Ministry of Finance Complex, The Opéra Bastille, Cité de la Musique, Parc de la Villette, Great Arch of La Défense, and Bibliothèque Nationale de France Mitterrand's Great Projects were mostly cultural

²²⁴ Information derived from several resources, Baykan Günay, 'Kentsel Politika' Forum, in *Mimarlık* (Eng: *Architecture Magazine*), Volume 327, İstanbul: Globus Dünya Basımevi, December 2005, pg.33, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_D%C3%A9fense, [Accessed: 24th April 2010], and <http://www.emporis.com/en/wm/zo/?id=100065>, [Accessed: 24th April 2010]

²²⁵ 'About This Zone', La Défense, Paris at <http://www.emporis.com/en/wm/zo/?id=100065>, March 2010, [Accessed: 24th April 2010]

²²⁶ Information derived from several resources, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_D%C3%A9fense, [Accessed: 24th April 2010]

²²⁷ Cana Bilsel and Namık Erkal, 'Büyük Projeler, Paris' (Eng: Grand Projects, Paris), *Mimarlık Kültürü Dergisi – XXI* (Eng: *Architectural Culture Magazine – XXI*), Issue 4, Ankara: Ofset Yapımevi Press, 2000, pg.117

ones built to represent Paris' role on the world stage. Being planned as a communication tower Great Arch of La Défense, the project of which was prepared by 1981, had a critical importance in symbolizing the transformations made on the city.²²⁸ This building was supposed to be a window located at the end of historical axis, looking towards the future of France, as a reinterpretation of Triumphal Arch that supposed to embody the power of communication, whereas a part of neo-liberal policies of Prime Minister Chirac triumph has been of capital and the Arch represented La Défense area to be an important node within international capital network of globalized world.²²⁹

EPAD has continued its work at La Défense area, in terms of infrastructural and transport oriented redevelopments. The area has been under construction for over fifty years and especially for last twenty-five years of this period neo-liberal understanding of transforming city to attract big capital seems to be normalized within France. As the latest part of this continuing redevelopment at the area, French President Sarkozy declared that EPAD has prepared a plan named "La Défense 2015" for redevelopment of 400 000 square meters of area that will expand La Défense district and over 150 000 square meters of existing area is planned to be demolished and rebuilt, at 2005.

Postdamer Platz has attracted attention before it became a business centre with its rich historical background, which became and erase-and-rewind process after fall of Berlin Wall. With the reunion at 1989 capitalism's victory over socialism were planned to be materialized in Berlin, and a great amount of public assets has been privatized in a very short time.²³⁰ The areas around Postdamer Platz were sold to big

²²⁸ Bilsel and Erkal, 2000, pp.116-124

²²⁹ Derived from the article, 'Architecture in France Under François Mitterrand' <http://hubpages.com/hub/Architecture-in-France-Under-Francois-Mitterrand>, [Accessed: 24th April 2010]

²³⁰ Cihan Arın, Sanayi Devrimi Kenti Berlin – II: Kent Gelişimi Sürecine Bir Bakış (Eng. Berlin The City of Industrial Revolution – II: A Glance at the Urban Development Process, *Mimarlık* (Eng. *Architecture Magazine*), Volume 314, at Web Archive

private corporations, intending Berlin Senate's ascendance in terms of what could be built at the area.²³¹ Following this an international competition for planning a master plan that will draw the framework of the area had held by Berlin Senate. Selcen Tuncer points at the importance of this process for understanding how architecture and urban planning became fundamentals of politics at the age of globalization.²³²

Similar to cases of La Défense and Docklands UDA mentioned previously, in Germany Development Firms are set up, with a duty to determine available development areas, prepare plans at all scales for these, improve infrastructures, and parceling work, so that private investors would find these areas attractive. Urban development planning is done by Senate Department for Urban Development, which is also responsible for public informing. The role of state in Berlin's transformation into a unified city is a much extended one including rehabilitation of former East-Berlin housing units, additional to rapid privatization of properties. Another role played by state in case of Berlin was erasing the memory of the wall and in fact Socialism as a part of capitalism's celebration. At this point the initial reaction of decision and image makers was pointing at Berlin's potential within global system of neoliberalism, as a service metropolis and a world city.²³³

In case of Postdamer Platz process of privatization can be interpreted as a clue for the well known neo-liberal scenario of transferring public resources to private sector for attracting capital. Considering this will, according to Cihan Arın, these areas around

<http://old.mo.org.tr/mimarlikdergisi/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=26&RecID=270>, 2003

[Accessed: March 2007]

²³¹ Özlem Gökbulut, "Urban Renewal; An Urban Dimension In Process of Change Within the Context of globalization: Case Study Ankara: Portakal Çiçeği Urban Renewal Project", Masters Theses Study in The Department of City Planning, 1995, pg.81

²³² Selcen Tuncer, 'Metropolitan Kent Merkezlerinde Kent içi Projeleri Gelişim Süreçleri ve Mimari Dönüşüm: Birleşme Sonrası Berlin Örneği' (Eng. Processes of Inter-Urban Development Projects at Metropolitan Urban Centers and Architectural Transformation: Example of Berlin after Reunion), Dosya-1: Kentsel Dönüşüm Tartışmaları - 1 (Eng: File-1: Discussions on Urban Transformation-1), Attachment to TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch Bulletin, Ankara: Matsa Basımevi, 2006, pg.76

²³³ Ute Lehrer, "Willing the Global City: Berlin's Cultural Strategies of Inter-urban Competition after 1989", The Global Cities Reader (ed. Neil Brenner and Roger Keil), New York: Routledge, 2006, pg.333

Postdamer and Liepziger Squares were sold to multinational corporations with a price 8 to 10 times lesser than the actual values of the lands as a result of the post-wall vision of German state who plans to turn Berlin into a metropolis that would get considerably rich by dominating elder Soviet Union markets by way of extending business volume via urban redevelopment around Postdamer and Liepziger Squares.²³⁴

Through this image reconstruction of Berlin via transformation of Postdamer Platz, debates have concentrated in nationality of this image such that while master plan approved after winning the first prize in international competition was envisioning a European metropolis with its spatial references to 19th century land use forms, the end result was way too American.²³⁵ Despite the idea of creating a world city had remained as an unspoken issue, the whole acts were to create one, and do this immediately. Lehrer evaluates this transformation process of Postdamer Platz as,

The employment of star architects and labeling of the mega-project at Postdamer Platz as “Europe’s largest construction site” all were part of Berlin’s strategy to become recognized as a significant player on a global stage.²³⁶

Postdamer Platz Urban Development project comes forth as a discriminative example of a social engineering project of amnesia that is another kind of show window, this time of capitalism’s victory over socialism.

Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project is being carried out by TOBAŞ, as mentioned before. TOBAŞ is responsible from counseling and control of project construction processes, and additional to these this firm is responsible from

²³⁴ Arın, 2003

²³⁵ Tuncer, 2006, pg.78

²³⁶ Ute Lehrer, “*Willing the Global City: Berlin’s Cultural Strategies of Inter-urban Competition after 1989*”, *The Global Cities Reader* (ed. Neil Brenner and Roger Keil), New York: Routledge, 2006, pg.333

preparing, controlling and making contracts with landowners. Being similar to examples of urban transformation or development projects asseverated above at first glance, TOBAŞ's authorities are way too limited when compared to those of LDDC, EPAD or Senate. Seeming more democratic, the extended authority of local government independent from the central government in case of ANEUTP, the extraordinary control of Great Municipality of Ankara is parallel to case of LDDC at this point, where the differences in applications are caused as a result of deficient legal, democratic and social structure of Turkey.

State is the main actor as decision maker behind necessity of ANEUTP and more importantly decision maker of extended authority of Great Municipality of Ankara. The only thing that is specified within the content of 5104 concerning the project is the location and a plot of area, next to regulations bypassing all related law codes while certifying the potency of municipality. As it mentioned above, cities are enforced to create show windows from which they can present themselves as a result of neo-liberal policies ruling almost all part of the world, and in above examples of developed countries, despite processes of urban development are mostly criticized because of the inherent unevenness they caused within city structure, state had a future vision for the city in each cases. Being a show window is emphasized in case of ANEUTP as the most important rationale behind the urgency of project preparation, but no other provisional comments related to urban structure made other than providing a better image. When compared to above examples from developed countries disparities of ANEUTP can be grouped in two; first the way authority interprets urban space itself and produces spatial elements in terms of both the land and the project, second the methodological processes concerning lawmaking, institutional organization and criteria determination. Redefining rent relations and socially restructuring the city according to these can be stated as shared results mostly become problematic and lead to social segregation or gentrification depending on the previous conditions of the site to be transformed. But the differences between European examples and Ankara North Entrance UTP are

important for at least understanding methods of obtaining spatial quality and sustainability as a part of large scaled urban projects.

Apparent in previously mentioned examples from Europe, urban transformation primarily requires a future perspective for the city next to local solutions for local problems. The legal background in Turkey does not cover specific acts; on the contrary all regulations concerning urban transformation, including the Draft of Proposal Law Concerning Transformation Areas, have ambiguous and scant statements allowing various interpretations. As the pilot application with all phases and methodology ANEUTP is also the typical example of populist urban policies, because it is used for redistribution of urban rent within deteriorated power relations, while having no future planning made to confront neither existent nor possible necessities of the city.

3.2.3-From Resource Creation to Moneymaking: Financial Issues

Docklands Urban Development Area was basically planned to become attractive area for developer firms and the financial resources those thought to be obtained from land sell or increased rents were supposed to help in decreasing LDDC's need for governmental payments. The financial resource for the project was planned to be a flexible system. LDDC explained its financial planning for the area as spending as much public resource as to charm developer firms to operate within the development area. There were two basic problems in economical terms that population of Docklands –most of which became unemployed between 1965 and 1980- were blue collars, which were not available for altered economic system depending on finance and service sectors. Another problem was the property conditions of the Urban Development Area that most of it belonged to public institutions.²³⁷ Considering the fact that most of the land in Docklands Urban Development Area belongs to various public institutions, most of the currency those previously spent for rehabilitation and preparation of these areas for sale was paid by LDDC. So primary step in financial

²³⁷ Urkun-Bowe, 2006, pg.70

terms was providing share for this corporation to use in expropriation, infrastructural works, and advertising from national budget. Another step for making the area attractive to invest has been defining an Enterprise Zone and exempting enterpriser who invested at the area from property tax.²³⁸

According to reports of LDDC, these public investments brought success such that the Enterprise Zone of Docklands Urban Development Area became a financial center and the business volume at the area has increased.²³⁹ From a different perspective Coupland explains a different scenario that, public sector's role was taking land from reluctant public landowners and preparing it for private sector development, building infrastructure and transportation facilities, moreover, marketing and advertising the area to attract investments. But while the plan was spending lesser money from public resources by the help of private sectors' investments those supposed to be increased at the redevelopment area, things happened reversely and more and more financial resource had to be created for expenditures of LDDC.²⁴⁰ Though according to him there is no success in handing public assets to private investors because, as he continues, the sites at the enterprise zone "were often disposed of at a price well below the value of publicly financed works²⁴¹".

La Défense area has been provisioned as a business district from the very beginning. The financial resource for preparation of area for construction is being spent from national budget. By the early 1990s with completion of railway connecting La Défense to other parts of Paris, business volume at the area expanded rapidly. By the year 2010, the area is described as the largest business center of Europe.²⁴² But in terms of finance sector La Défense is not a leading node of global finance

²³⁸ Özden, 2008, pg.456

²³⁹ Öden, 2008, pg.456

²⁴⁰ Coupland, 1992, pg.150

²⁴¹ Ibid. pg.156

²⁴² 'About This Zone', La Défense, Paris at <http://www.emporis.com/en/wm/zo/?id=100065>, March 2010, [Accessed: 24th April 2010]

network.²⁴³ Similar to LDDC, share of EPAD from national budget is certified by government and declared to public in a detailed way explaining the ratios of expenditures. Also for the case of La Défense primary investors has been national capital at the area and this caused a national financing system for the redevelopment project.²⁴⁴

Postdamer Platz was planned as a business district and the construction speed at the area became a part of its advertisement. All transformation, rehabilitation and reconstruction works including this particular project were a considerable amount of burden afforded by state but as Arın states; as a result of misled economical and demographical strategies this rapid and extended transformation caused an economic crisis, with construction sector heading it where office spaces around 1.5 million square meters and 140 000 residential units left empty by 2002.²⁴⁵ Berlin could not create a finance centre as thought to be as at the beginning of transformation process. Considering the facts that economic development being less than expected and population rates going down, Lehrer points at the shift in the objective of the city and says that, especially from the year 1998 on Berlin's vision has narrowed down from becoming a global city to a metropolis, that of neo-liberal system of late capitalism.²⁴⁶ Nevertheless the critical point in case of Postdamer Platz urban transformation is still in role of state who acts for creation of amnesia by manipulating, surpassing and relocation over space.

Ankara North Entrance UTP has a structure closed to public so constituents of financial system or allocated rates from the municipality budget are not information available to public, other than an assumption of 1.5million dollars to be spent. The

²⁴³ Phil Craig, 'Canary Wharf versus La Défense', at <http://www.efinancialnews.com/story/13-10-2009/canary-wharf-versus-la-defense>, October 2009, [Accessed: April 2010]

²⁴⁴ Ahmet Müfit Bayram, '*Kentsel Dönüşüm Tartışmaları*' (Eng. Discussions on Urban Transformation), *Dosya-1: Kentsel Dönüşüm Tartışmaları - 1* (Eng: File-1: Discussions on Urban Transformation-1), Attachment to TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch Bulletin, Ankara: Matsa Basımevi, 2006, pg.8

²⁴⁵ Arın, 2003

²⁴⁶ Lehrer, 2006, pg.334

compensation for 932 hectares of private property is planned to be paid off from within the three types of housing units built as land owners' blocks. Municipality is paying 220 TL hiring support to land owners until they moved into their residences. For *gecekondu* dwellers having no land registry but gaining housing according to *Gecekondu* Act, TOKİ provided housing blocks at Karacaören District. As Ayşe Güven states, there has been no financial income obtained from the project yet, both TOKİ and Great Municipality of Ankara are using up from their own budgets share of which is differentiating with respect to necessary amount for now. By the time housing units for financial resources are completed, the profit made from them is supposed to even out present expenditures, additional to these housing units social facility areas spared for hotels, gross markets or other unitary centers will be put to market after the infrastructure containing water supply system, electricity and roads have been completed. Other than owners' houses, social facility buildings and infrastructural work at the area, land designed to be planned as recreational areas together with buildings included within are going to be built by joint work of TOKİ and municipality.²⁴⁷

The lack of future planning can be observed in financial organization of ANEUTP, such that, neither the time of construction nor the amount of construction does not seem to be decided for following period. The only information about the amounts of money spent is shared at web sites of TOKİ or ASKİ be the prices of bidding end results. The similarity between European examples and the case of Ankara is basically the approach of ruling power towards the urban land as a commodity to be reproduced by using public assets, and to be traded with prestigious image -that is supposed to be created- in return.

²⁴⁷ Information is given by Ayşe Güven, TOBAŞ's official on duty, within the phone call made with her on 26th of April 2010.

3.2.4-Urban Planning Preparation and Application

Docklands as an early center of trade was covering a huge area over 2200 hectares, though re-planning the area was a complex one that should have been considered carefully. Following years of studies of conservatives and social democrats, LDDC's establishment narrowed down the actors took place in decision making and preparation processes of Dockland UD Project. In terms of master planning LDDC shared the authority with local governments and in terms of transportation the authority was shared between LDDC, local governments and London Transport.²⁴⁸ Nevertheless in practice the authority of Development Planning defined by the law of development corporations was allowing alterations in land use and master plan decisions under the name of flexible development planning.

Before LDDC, the Docklands Joint Committee focused on infrastructural planning and most of the applications started before 1981 were concerning issues like constructing better systems of transportation and water supplies or rehabilitation of existing infrastructure.²⁴⁹ According to Coupland, approaches of DJC during this pre-LDDC period had a future-planning concerning the health conditions and life standards of the neighborhood primarily. Following the establishment of LDDC, public sector involvement had turned into market-led approach and the role of planning minimized where market came to be determining "what should be built, and where it should be built"²⁵⁰.

Master plan of the area provisioned three different types of spatial uses such as; commercial, light industrial and residential. Planning transportation within the area has been a complex one including light railway, tube connection, highways, and an airport at Royal Docks Part (see **Figure 3-15**). The authority has shifted to local governments at the area in 1998, by abolishment of LDDC. Planning at the area

²⁴⁸ Özden, 2008, pg.456

²⁴⁹ Introduction, at <http://lddc-history.org.uk/beforelddc/index.html>, July 2007, pp.13-16 [Accessed: November 10th, 2009]

²⁵⁰ Coupland, 1992, pg.149

continues as a part of governmental policy of World City formation, concerning further development of transportation at and to the area and redevelopment at commercial zone in forms of new skyscrapers and grand projects.²⁵¹



Figure 3-15 Rail Transport in the Docklands in 2003 (image obtained from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London_Docklands, [Accessed: April 2010])

La Défense area has been planned as a part of future visioning of Paris as a powerful node integrated within global market.²⁵² The area had been planned as the office area and infrastructure and transportation to and in the area have been primary issues to be dealt by EPAD, which shared authority in master planning with local governments in charge. The primary attitude of government in early 1960s was a Modernist one with strict rules defining heights, ground areas and general concerns of skyscrapers to be built at the area. The early Modernist plans restricted the ground area of high-rise office buildings to 24 by 42 meters with 100 meters height, and all early buildings obeyed this rule but this planning policy was left by 1970s.

The altered definition of area as a global node by the beginning of The Grande Arche -The Great Arch- Project, EPAD renewed its urbanization plans to expand the area, where by 1986 250000 hectares redevelopment area added to La Défense District.²⁵³

²⁵¹ London Docklands, at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London_Docklands, [Accessed: April 2010]

²⁵² Bayram, 2006, pg.8

²⁵³ Flash presentation on La Défense History at, <http://www.ladefense-seine-arche.fr/la-gouvernance/gouvernance-general/la-defense-et-seine-arche---sunir-pour-lamenagement.html>, [Accessed: April 2010]

With the latest redevelopment project mentioned above, the area is planned to be expanded about 400000 square meters newly added area, 100000 of this will be residential while the largest part as 300000 square meters of area to be office buildings. Additional to these 150000 square meters of area within La Défense is planned to be demolished and rebuilt for office uses.²⁵⁴

According to Günay, redevelopment of La Défense is a successful example of development planning. He says that planning infrastructure, land properties and functional set up of modern centre of Paris took the pressure over historical center of the city, while using the rent of land for this transformation and creation of a magnificent public space.²⁵⁵

As mentioned briefly above, in case of *Postdamer Platz* urban regeneration process, planning has followed an interesting path. After reunification, beginning with privatization of public assets at former East-Berlin as the biggest problem, an immediate necessity for master and development plans were realized and within almost four years of time privatization of these lands including emptiness at previous wall area has been completed.²⁵⁶ According to Arn, planning was defeated by capitalism within this rapid transformation and reconstruction processes. Moreover, with decision of Berlin's becoming capital city central planning strategies applied at the city where all public institutions and ministries were moved in and mono-structural regions within the city created a potentially problematic urban structure in terms of transportation, environmental use and usage.²⁵⁷

Aforementioned, as one of the primary privatization acts the lands around Postdamer Platz and Liepziger Platz have been sold to considerably big private investors. Subsequently an international competition for preparation of master plan for the

²⁵⁴ information from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_D%C3%A9fense, [Accessed: April 2010]

²⁵⁵ Günay, 2005, pg.33

²⁵⁶ Arn, 2003

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

specified area of 480 000 square meters has been opened. Berlin Senate's provisional idea was to create a European style of master plan rather than an American high-rise setting, and they specified the 20% of the area for housing, 50% for office use and 30% for commercial and entertainment facilities.²⁵⁸ The winner was a project with patterns parallel to provisions of Senate that was prepared by architects Christoph Sattler and Heinz Hillmer. Private investors protested this attitude and make a counter competition winner of which was Richard Rogers. But their reaction did not change the master plan that covered about 350 000 square meters area. According to Gökbulut there are issues criticized about this master plan like lack of public spaces except for the Postdamer street and closed structure of the area that cannot connect with the other parts of the city.²⁵⁹

Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project's Master Plans are prepared at two phases as in case of the project itself. The most important case in planning process is the very well known and highly debated fact that project making replaced the complete master plan preparation policy where the unrestricted authority of municipality at the area without being obliged to consider any previous master or development plan as it is stated on the inside the act 5104 has laid the legal ground for partial interventions over the overall structure of the city. Together with the other two law codes, that is to say item 73 in 5393 municipalities act and 5366 renovation and restoration act, dealing with urban transformation, 5104 do not make a clear definition for urban transformation and urban transformation area, other than the limitation putting down the minimum area value as 50 000 square meters. Any types of area except military zones are included in definition of urban transformation area stated in these regulations. By this way great municipalities and municipalities of other provinces are allowed to declare any type of area within their borders as urban transformation area.

²⁵⁸ Gökbulut, 1995, pp.81-82

²⁵⁹ Ibid. pg.89

In case of Europe, with the enforcement of neo-liberal system to transform urban space immediately, similar problems of patch-work planning occur and city lots those cannot integrate with other parts of urban structure, like in case of Postdamer Platz, emerge within cities. But in Turkey, vague policies lead to inefficient spatial, physical and though social structures additional to possible deteriorations happening through the processes as unavoidable results of gaps within legal structure. The case of ANEUTP can be the representation of power relations shaping urban space in favor of personal choices, according to which the largest urban transformation ever is being realized.

3.2.5-Producing Buildings without Architecture

Docklands' deteriorated old image was reconstructed in a Modernist understanding²⁶⁰ compatible with aforementioned primary objective of LDDC as beautification of the area. The volume of commercial activity took place at the area became visualized at the silhouette created by skyscrapers (see **Figure 3-16**), high-technology buildings, and glass-clad architecture of Late Modernity. Architecture is an important part of *Docklands'* crucial role within the context of creating a world city, or preserving London's status as one of the most important nexuses of global marketing network. Since, power is primarily presented by features like bigness, tallness, or expensiveness of buildings where theirs become something more than architecture, the architectural image and production processes of this image become very important.

Architecture at *Docklands* area was a by-product of flexible relationship between land and developer that is constructed by LDDC, because after completing rehabilitation and improvement of infrastructure at the area LDDC did not constrain private developers in any terms including issues like height, land use, or environmental criteria which are usually topics regulated by master plans.

²⁶⁰ Berna Basatemür and Savaş Basatemür, '*Londra'nın Eski Liman Alanları: Docklands*' (Eng: Old Dock Areas of London: Docklands), *Mimarlık Kültürü Dergisi – XXI* (Eng: Architectural Culture Magazine – XXI), Issue 7, Ankara: Ofset Yapımevi Press, 2001, pp.148-161



Figure 3-16 Silhouette of Canary Wharf at The Dogs Island (image obtained from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London_Docklands, [Accessed: April 2010])

The development flexibility allowing master plan to be bypassed in fact provided a freer area for architects where it caused problems in terms of historical preservation necessities, regional identity, environmental issues and rent relations. In especially enterprise zone and light industrial zone existing historical buildings were allowed to be demolished, while five different preservation areas are declared and took under restoration except for the use of them.²⁶¹ In housing area the application of rent oriented housing led to increase of land rent at the area more than five times previous values and unemployed house owners making up around 50% of the planned housing population were excluded from the area.²⁶² The developers could be attracted to invest in housing districts by 1990s, and demographical alteration happened by this time. In reports of LDDC the conditions of quality in housing has been declared as possible by private investors act.²⁶³ Hence LDDC prepared land for investments as in case of commercial and light industrial areas and by 1990s living in Docklands housing districts became a status determinant and gentrification of the early

²⁶¹ Özden, 2008, pg.454

²⁶² Coupland, 1992, pg.158

²⁶³ Introduction, at <http://lddc-history.org.uk/beforelddc/index.html>, July 2007, pg.20 [Accessed: November 10th, 2009]

inhabitants became unavoidable.²⁶⁴ In housing district of Docklands, with governments de-escalating from housing area by the end of 1980s, land values at the area raised, existing house owners did not have the chance to renew their houses and all early dwellers left their houses for emolishment or refurbishment by private sector.²⁶⁵

At the commercial zone, private sector acted with the intention to direct big capital to this area and expectations of prestige and attractiveness caused buildings to be built by several architects and architectural groups most of which were famous architects and groups working world-wide.²⁶⁶ Being one of the biggest cities, and a world city London itself is an important city to design a building in, and so architects to be designing these very important buildings should have been good or popular enough to handle this job. Since architecture has been the most important tool in transformation of Docklands' image into a charming one.

According to Basatemürs, the diversity of users and functions at Docklands Urban Development Area caused a complex set of architectural forms, from preserved historical ones to high-technology examples and skyscrapers including the highest building of London.²⁶⁷ Assessing the architectural forms and spatial organization of buildings at the area as successful in their own –close- environment, they criticize the overall network to make up a collage-city.²⁶⁸ Still this complex structure caused by existence of older buildings and structures together with diverse functional mixtures could be interpreted as elements providing richness of urban network.

La Défense district has first been popular by CNIT building and it continued to be realized in architectural terms by emphasis of high-rise at the area. The idea of

²⁶⁴ Neil Smith, "Is Gentrification a Dirty Word?", The New Urban Frontier, London and New York: Routledge, 1996, pp.44-47

²⁶⁵ Coupland, 1992, pp.158-159

²⁶⁶ Ibid., pp.157-158

²⁶⁷ Basatemür and Basatemür, 2001, pp.148-161

²⁶⁸ Ibid. pg.151

opening to world market is symbolized by The Great Arch and its monumental architecture. Either the objective of becoming cultural capital of the world, as in dream of Mitterrand, or the will of creating finance centre architecture played the major role in redevelopment of Paris. Mentioning The Great Arch (see **Figure 3-17**) as ‘the window opening towards new horizons’, Bilsel and Erkal state that architecture of Grand Projects at all represented memory, identity, and enlightenment of a nation by way of putting architectural symbolism in front of functional necessities of buildings.²⁶⁹ At this point it is important to state that all projects financed by government has been obtained from architectural competitions held either at national or as in case of The Great Arch of La Défense international scales, except for Grand Louvre Project.²⁷⁰



Figure 3-17 Grande Arch de La Défense (image taken from <http://www.aviewoncities.com/paris/defense.htm>)

The late project La Défense 2015 has a similar approach realizing the importance of architecture in marketing cities and building high-rise (see **Figure 3-18**, **Figure 3-19**), such that architects of the biggest architectural firms of the world like Sir

²⁶⁹ Bilsel and Erkal, 2000, pp.119-121

²⁷⁰ Ibid. pg.117

Norman Foster who is popular with his American style of grand high-rises was at the press conference held by Sarkozy and EPAD on December 2005.²⁷¹

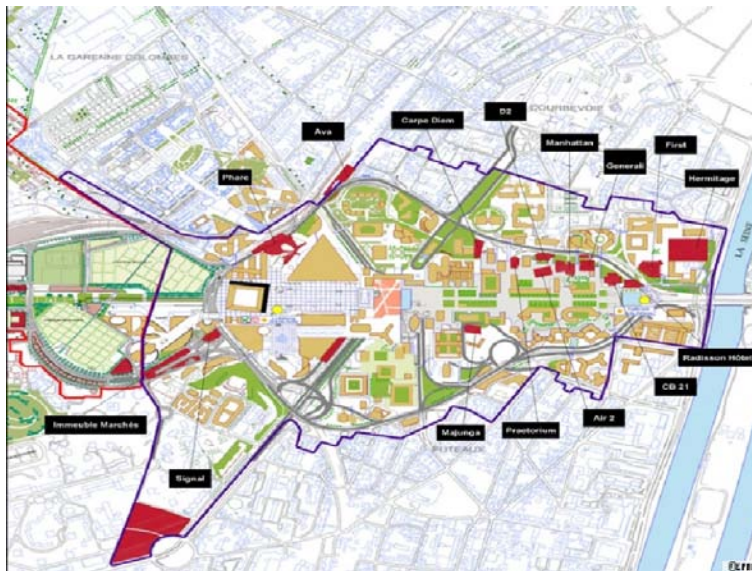


Figure 3-18 Skyscrapers of La Défense 2010 (image taken from <http://forum.skyscraperpage.com/showthread.php?t=173312>)



Figure 3-19 Skyscrapers of La Défense 2010 (image taken from blog.seattlepi.com/progressivelyunsuburban/)

²⁷¹ Flash presentation on La Défense History at, <http://www.ladefense-seine-arche.fr/la-gouvernance/gouvernance-general/la-defense-et-seine-arche---sunir-pour-lamenagement.html>, [Accessed: April 2010]

About Grand Projects and architecture of these buildings, Jean-Claude Moreno, who had worked within the projects' administration team, claims that producing architecture via especially international and national competitions helped French architecture to improve and became known world-wide.²⁷² Additional to this idea, according to Jean-Lois Cohen it is possible to say powerful words on citizenship, nationality and urban identity by way of architecture, but he continues, this should be good architecture.²⁷³

Postdamer Platz has a very important place within architectural history, especially concerning the symbolic power of architecture as well as the political one. Architecture can be assessed as the most powerful element equipped at this transformation process. It helped to reconstruct the area, the environment, the image and the history via manipulating memories as well. master plan prepared by Sattler and Hillmer, proposed high-rise as for representing power and prestige but formal issues concerning canopy height, façade material and façade color were regulated within this master plan.²⁷⁴ After this master plan obtained by an international competition has approved competitions for the buildings held and world-wide renowned architects and architectural groups designed buildings at the area (see **Figure 3-20**).

²⁷² 'Söyleşi: Jean-Claude Moreno (Eng: Interview: Jean-Claude Moreno), *Mimarlık Kültürü Dergisi – XXI* (Eng: Architectural Culture Magazine – XXI), Issue 4, Ankara: Ofset Yapımevi Press, 2000, pg.130

²⁷³ ibid, pg.133

²⁷⁴ 'Söyleşi: Cristoph Sattler ile Berlin'de İzlenen Güncel Kentsel Politikalar Üzerine' (Eng. Interview with Christoph Sattler), Volume 314, at Web Archive <http://old.mo.org.tr/mimarlikdergisi/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=26&RecID=270>, 2003 [Accessed: March 2007]



Figure 3-20 Postdamer Platz (image obtained from <http://www.german-architecture.info/BER-016.htm>)

Working with famous groups of architects and the architectural language created despite the regulations of master plan were ways of attracting capital toward city, which is in other words marketing the city by using architects and architecture as the advertisement image. As said by Lehrer;

In spite of a strong local building culture that favored clear height limitations and stone facades, images that fit into the rhetoric of global city formation were strengthened and elaborated: high-rise buildings, glass and metal facades, an enclosed inner city shopping centre all fit this agenda. They all demonstrate the urge to create the image of a global city that is in sync with other global cities by using an architectural language as well as building materials that is global in its uniformity.²⁷⁵

In *Ankara North Entrance UTP's* case architectural standards, spatial quality, image created for representation of Ankara's identity are narrowed down to a single mind without a process of public contribution or discussion, and projects of all types of housing units, recreational areas, and social complexes within these two are all designed by Öner Tokcan. The decision of high-rise, as mentioned before, is given

²⁷⁵ Lehrer, 2006, pg.337

considering the lack of ground land available for construction. This indicates that, no preliminary study concerning conditions and capacities of the specified area has been done other than the topographic survey, where number of houses has to be increased during project preparation process and this is done by mostly adding more basement floors to already high blocks of apartments.

The symbolic role of architectural image can be evaluated as similar to previously mentioned examples from European capitals. But with its past references, as in stated the architectural report prepared for the initial phase of the project²⁷⁶ the architectural image in Ankara has only an ideological representation that of which can be interpreted from the use of 'alem' (crescent and the star put on top of minarets and domes of mosques) over small domes put at the junction points of huge blocks designed as finance housing (see **Figure 3-21**). Beginning from the architectural project preparation process within a closed system depending on the choice of municipality, there are almost no criteria decided in terms of architectural image or quality other than supplying necessary numbers of spaces. The importance of architect and architecture in creation of a world city can be observed in previously mentioned cases, but for the case of Ankara, the similar political intervention transforming urban space with purpose of creating a beautiful show window and representing identity of the capital city does not interested in architectural or spatial quality, as long as the buildings are big and new. The only representational element came into architectural and political agenda of Ankara has been the well-known hotel proposal with an enlarged plane-like heading on top of it (see **Figure 3-22**).

²⁷⁶ Preliminary Architectural Report, 2005



Figure 3-21 *Finansman Konutları* (3D image is obtained from TOBAŞ archive)

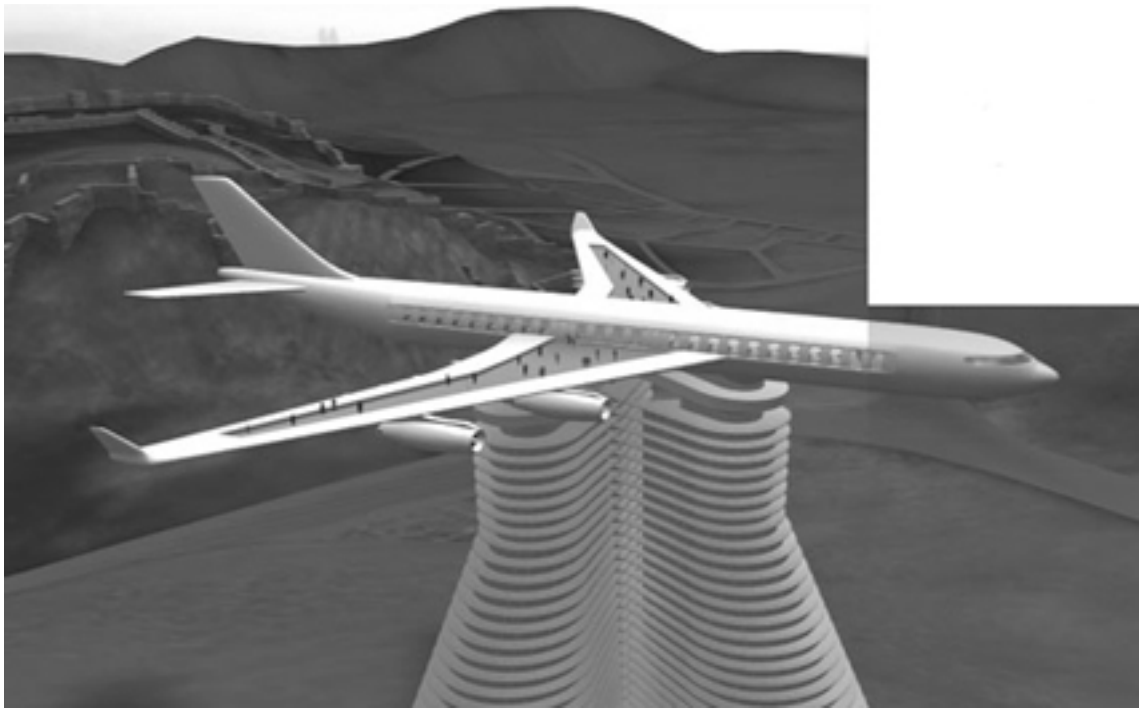


Figure 3-22 3D image of hotel proposal (3D image is taken from www.melihgokcek.com.tr/.../ypm06_ucakotel.jpg)

This hotel was a part of election propaganda by Gökçek and as he stated several times this was his idea to build a hotel with a plane-like form on top of it, but sued for several reasons. Additional to all these problems concerning architecture and its

production processes, the minarets left upright as a proof for number of existing mosques within the former *gecekond* area which was definitely an unplanned area and demolished in urgency as a result of their unorganized structure, became determinant in planning process of UTP.

The architectural approach and the approach of authority towards architecture are both problematic, as a consequence of deteriorated political structure allowing urban space to be used for uncontrolled redistribution of urban rent within a system lacking legal and professional infrastructure to provide at least spatial and material quality of the physical environment reproduced via urban transformation projects.

3.2.6-A Search for Participants

Docklands experience was a negative example in terms of participation. As stated above, while describing the role of state, LDDC as the agent responsible from all dimensions of Docklands UDP was composed of twelve councilors all of which were selected by Secretary of State for the Environment. Coupland refers to this structure of LDDC and the regulations concerning this corporation as a concealing one, such that the basic objectives of the corporation related to project area could be comprehended after years passed. At this point two other institutions working on issues related to urban transformation and established by state should be mentioned. According to Özden's view, establishing these two institutions can be interpreted as attempts to extend participating groups, but as she states, these two groups namely, Housing Action Trusts and Building Partnerships could not be effective enough to change the process despite their hard work on preparing alternative redistribution strategies.²⁷⁷

According to Coupland, LDDC and its extensive authority in almost all processes of UDP avoids participation. The only part shared with other public institutions or corporations were in form of briefing on what is being done or had been done, and

²⁷⁷ Özden, 2008, pp.413-417

moreover LDDC did never take the feedbacks which were supposed to be provided within 14 days into consideration, since they did not have to. Within this framework, participation of different groups was being avoided where public informative channels were almost fully closed.²⁷⁸ So according to him,

Docklands started as a story of hope; a dream of opening up the area to meet the needs and aspirations of the East-Enders who had lived there for generations. Once hi-jacked by the private sector developers in league with a new market-led government-sponsored approach, it rapidly turned into a nightmare of deregulated planning and massive over development. The huge glass- and marble-clad offices have little of relevance for the local community, and represent a long-term monument to how 'regeneration' can become a disaster in less than a decade.²⁷⁹

La Défense redevelopment did not change all hierarchies and relations of French ruling system, despite it required special attention. Public organization in terms of urban transformation is a widely participated area for institutions around a thousand in number, 250 of these are public institutions under control of local governments and 360 are limited corporations working at this area. The Responsibility in urban transformation acts is primarily of The Minister for Cities, which leads transformation policies and acts as the consultant in decision making processes of transformation projects. Policy making and financial resource providing duties are done by Interministerial Committee for Cities and Urban Social Development organization on the national scale, where the coordination and financial issues are done by local governments' own resources and central government's funds.²⁸⁰ Still *La Défense* area redevelopment is debatable with its past actions of demolishing sub-standard dwellings and EPAD's latest plan of demolishing and rebuilding at the area. But as a general characteristic of France, channels of public intervention is mostly

²⁷⁸ Coupland, 1992, pg.153

²⁷⁹ Ibid. pg.161

²⁸⁰ Özden, 2008, pg.423

open, as a result of democratic background which at least lead to seek most professional ways of doing things in order to avoid extreme criticism of public.

Postdamer Platz urban regeneration procedure can be regarded a participatory one considering the role of Senate Department for Urban Development and competitions as ways of taking public opinion substantiating acts. All the same, the senate as the leading figure plays the role written by neo-liberal ideology as a result of dense pressure globalization and its operations creating unevenness among cities. According to the statements took place at official website of the Senate Department discussions made on the results of urban development projects are evaluated as feedbacks taken into consideration for next steps of applications.²⁸¹ As Arin states, participation had once been a type of choice of which apartment to live out of two determined by state, as for former West-German people by mid 20th century, and it took time for both public and ruling power to develop ways of participation.²⁸² For the case of Berlin, participation has been an important issue in urban transformation process by the end of 1970s, where it still has little chance against neo-liberal systems requirements from urban geographies.

For the case of *ANEUTP*, participation can hardly be provided, because leaving alone intervening to any phase of project process, taking information about the processes, programs or financial resources of the project is almost impossible. There are no means prepared for public information other than the official web site of TOBAŞ that is not updated since March 2007. When compared to processes of Docklands UDA, La Défense District or Postdamer Platz Urban Regeneration process, the insufficiency of Turkey's legal, social and political background becomes apparent, since as one of the most criticized closed system of urban transformation, even the

²⁸¹ derived from the official web site of Senate Department for Urban Redevelopment, <http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/stadtentwicklungsplanung/en/einfuehrung/index.shtml> [Accessed 4thMay 2010]

²⁸² Arin, 2003

case of Docklands is definitely much more open to public than Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project did.

CHAPTER 4

4-Conclusion

At this point the importance of social structure and the professionals within this society comes forth, that it is possible to create or plan a project satisfactory for most possible amount of people and social groups by way of social solidarity. As stated several times, the major effect of neoliberalism and the ideal of individualism have been dissolving various forms of social solidarities. Beginning from the nation state, resistant groups, professional organizations, or any form of public communities are liquefying in a very rapid manner, parallel to the deterioration happening at various dimensions of social structure, that is from public organizations to personal relations. Urban space cannot be thought separate from these everyday practices; on the contrary it has a transformative power over social life that is produced through city space. Therefore understanding and formulating operations being applied at this space require a critical point of view. This study put a critical stand point as by comparing three relatively successful, large-scaled urban transformation projects, at again capital cities in order to express differences between European examples and Ankara North Entrance UTP, which would be helpful to enlighten the path for finding better ways of developing or transforming urban space.

The three European cases have common features valid for their processes, but Ankara has a distinctive path from the very beginning, and this is because several reasons mentioned throughout this particular thesis study. But as it can be seen in **Table 4-1**, reasons stated for applying large and effective transformation projects also include future perspectives for the city they applied within. London Docklands Urban Redevelopment Project is applied at an area with economical potentials and governments, despite differentiations in their attitudes towards the process, made effort for flourishing an old industrial area as a ‘shop window’ for London as a world city, where being a locus for accumulation provided the whole city to be benefited from this situation. Similarly in France the transformation of La Défense area did not

	ANKARA	LONDON	PARIS	BERLIN
SCALE	16.000.000 M2 Approximately 1.5 MILLIONS	2,146 ha. £1,859 million Public sector investment £7,200 million Private sector investment		
NECESSITIES AND REASONS	beautification	Clearance	Aiming a powerful France by culture policy	Reunion and celebration of capitalism's victory over socialism
	gecekondu clearance	Economic restructuring becoming a world city	Revitalization and beautification	the changing economic structure effects of globalization and becoming a world city
	the changing economic structure as an indirect result of globalization	Redevelopment	200th anniversary of the French Revolution	Erasing the social memory
			Enlightenment	
			Slum clearance	
URBAN POLICY PREPARATION - APPLICATION PROCESSES	Absolute leading of local authority	1979-1991: industrial sectors based regeneration	Totalizing a variety of renewal projects and becoming the commercial centre of Europe –economic revitalization	state policy; becoming the commercial centre of Europe –economic revitalization
	'Gecekondu' clearance in a very rapid and silent way	Thousands of unemployed inhabitants	Historical continuity & historical axis	erasing the memory re-constructing the memory
	No prior research has been done about the conditions of living	Large areas of public property	Spatio-temporal sustainability	post-communism urban development and rehabilitation
	No prior research has been done about physical properties of site and soil	After 1991: private companies preferring property based regeneration	The decisive character of the president about building high-tech mega projects 'Grand Projets'	u.d. competitions by Senate
	process of project preparation has not been announced	Absolute leading of central authority	u.d. and architectural competitions	architectural competitions by private investors
PROVIDING FINANCIAL RESOURCES	Semi-self reliant financial structure Municipality and TOKİ provides all resources and wait for housing units to be sold as a part of earnings	Privatization Competitiveness of enterprise and localities	Public resources, land selling, and Competitiveness of enterprise and localities	projects can be applied as a result of privatization at the land
SOCIAL & PHYSICAL CONDITIONS OF RENEWAL AREAS		Insufficient infrastructure	Historically important central spaces	the demolished city center
PLANNING AND PROJECT PREPARATION PROCESS	Dense lay-out as a compulsory result of too many land owners' houses End up with 'ideological' type of architecture	Compulsory purchase	Architectural sign and symbolism Simplicity Transparency as the way of highlighting "meaning"	urban image high-tech high rise buildings

Table 4-1: Comparison chart

only lead to turnover of capital at that particular area and increase in rent, but a betterment in welfare state at least for some Parisians, as a result of future perspective inserted within the transformation operation processes. In case of Berlin, Postdamer Platz, there are other contradictory conditions symbolized at this particular area, but similar to the previously stated two examples, there is a turnover to the whole city. At this point it is important to express that, the issue of unevenness is always questionable in these three world cities, but by putting a mark to neoliberalism and its dissimilar ways of shaping urban structures of developed countries from underdeveloped or developing ones.

When the specific case of Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project is analyzed, critical point of view brings forth several –and definitely crucial- questions to minds, but the opaque processes of this project avoid finding answers to questions. The primary thing to be asked is the reason and any future plans concerning the city of Ankara as a whole. The law code 5104 has the answer to the first part of this question, that is the reason, stated as immediate necessity of beautification within this law code, but there are no certain statements referring to any future perspective other than building up a prestigious ‘shop window’ for the VIP guests possibly be passing by from that area for a few seconds. This situation obviously points at an ignorance towards public interests and urban necessities, which is consequential to deterioration within socio-political structure promoted by neo-liberal ideology.

A similar disinterest can be seen in searching for answers of questions related to the amount of resources spent and being planned to be spending for the following period of the project, such that, there is no specific data showing a financial plan, and according to TOBAŞ officials the answer is simple that; whatever amount of money necessary will be spent. Without having a future perspective that proposes betterment in conditions of Ankara, an undeclared amount of public resources are being transferred to construction firms those are qualified enough.

Planning and architecture are left out of the whole process of transformation while it definitely requires an inter-disciplinary study with the leadership of these two professions. Dismissing development plans, and planning after project making processes, that is the number and physical qualities of various spaces and buildings have been decided. This is very distinctive that it reverses rules of planning but what is more critical at this point is apprehension of ANEUTP as a model for all other applications of urban transformation, all around Turkey.

Architectural qualities of the project become questionable, even in terms of neo-liberal system that requires a competitive system of free enterprise, such that all projects of various scales and the whole area of 16million square meter are designed by a single architectural firm, designated by the municipality without using any elimination method, even as in form of bidding. While in three cases of Europe architecture plays a very important role as the visual representation of greatness, prestige, and transformation of the area, in case of ANEUTP, architecture is behind the act of constructing new buildings at large areas in a very rapid manner. This does not fit to necessities of neoliberalism in its nature that as the commercial image, and for reputation of the area as a prestigious one, architecture plays an important role. That is why all three examples in European capitals most of the projects are obtained by way of international competitions. This condition of disregarding the architectural image can be questioned even in its core idea of creating a beautiful show window that the only thing achieved at this area could be replicating a larger copy of already existing urban environments and architectural examples under the title of urban transformation.

Hence, it is apparent that to create prosperous and livable environments by way of transforming urban space require elaborate discussions and negotiations together with participation of various groups next to public private partnerships, before beginning physical intervention. Seeking for public participation also makes it

possible to obtain public space as a coral part within project processes, and though leads to commonly accepted practices and livable areas.

Reification and commodification of urban space and prevalent representation of this situation by way of urban renewal and transformation projects are seen to be failing in solving problems of urbanization in Turkey. Contrarily, these neo-liberal ways of redistribution via re-organization of urban space deepen the existing inequalities while creating new spaces of unevenness. Moreover as a result of deteriorated politico-economical structure in Turkey during the production processes of these transformation projects the authorities tend to ignore comments or participation of professionals like architects or planners to the most possible extent because of the priority of profitability sidelong to other social and cultural deficiencies, these professionals concern in their analyses.

The situation is more likely a bare example of transferring public assets to private enterprises as it is stated before, as in Weber's statement that, "When an opportunity of short term turnover appears, capitalist investors prepare the land for gentrification, or building upgrading", where in case of ANEUTP, empty and unplanned lands around city are turned into rent additional to these.

Differentiation of consequences of neoliberalism at developed countries and developing ones became apparent after making a comparison on contradictions such that unevenness inherent in neo-liberal capitalist system gets greater with the help of insufficient socio-political background and specific case of Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project can be stated as materialization of this state.

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APPENDIX A

Kuzey Ankara Giriş Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi Kanunu

Kanun No. 5104

Kabul Tarihi : 4.3.2004

Amaç

MADDE 1. — Bu Kanunun amacı, kuzey Ankara girişi ve çevresini kapsayan alanlarda kentsel dönüşüm projesi çerçevesinde fiziksel durumun ve çevre görüntüsünün geliştirilmesi, güzelleştirilmesi ve daha sağlıklı bir yerleşim düzeni sağlanması ile kentsel yaşam düzeyinin yükseltilmesidir.

Kapsam

MADDE 2. — Bu Kanun, ekli "Protokol Yolu Sınır Krokisi"nde gösterilen Kuzey Ankara Giriş Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi alan sınırları içindeki her tür ve ölçekteki plânlar, inşa edilecek resmî ve özel her türlü yapı, alt yapı ve sosyal donatı düzenlemeleri ve kamulaştırma işlemleri ile Projenin amacına uygun gerçekleştirilmesine yönelik usul ve esasları kapsar.

Tanımlar

MADDE 3. — Bu Kanunda geçen;

- a) Bakanlık : Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığının bağlı olduğu bakanlığı,
 - b) İdare : Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığını,
 - c) Belediye : Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesini,
 - d) İlçe belediyeleri : Altındağ ve Keçiören belediyelerini,
 - e) Proje : Kuzey Ankara Giriş Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesini,
- İfade eder.

Plan ve ruhsata ilişkin hükümler

MADDE 4. — İlgili mevzuatına göre ilçe belediyeleri ve diğer kamu kuruluşlarına ait olan, her ölçek ve nitelikteki imar plânları, parselasyon plânları ve benzeri imar uygulamalarına dair izin ve yetkiler ile proje onayı, yapı izni, yapım sürecindeki yapı denetimi, yapı kullanma izni ve benzeri inşaata dair izin ve yetkiler Proje alan sınırları içinde kalan bölgede Belediyeye aittir. Belediyece hazırlanacak 1/5000'lik nazım imar plânları Bayındırlık ve İskân Bakanlığı tarafından onanarak yürürlüğe girer.

Proje alan sınırları içindeki tüm gayrimenkuller, bu Kanunun yürürlüğe girdiği tarihten önce mevzuata uygun olarak yapılmış ve onaylanmış herhangi bir ölçek ve türdeki imar plânı kapsamında kalsalar dahi, bu Kanuna göre yapılacak plân hükümlerine tâbi olurlar.

Proje alan sınırları içinde kalan bölgede, bu Kanunun yürürlüğe girdiği tarihten önce yapılmış olan plânların uygulanması Kanunun yürürlüğe girdiği tarihten itibaren durur. Bu plânların kısmen veya tamamen uygulanmaya devam edilmesi ya da bu Kanuna göre yeniden yapılması hususunda Belediye yetkilidir.

Proje uygulaması tamamlandıktan sonra, Belediyenin bu Kanundan kaynaklanan yetkileri ilgili mevzuatına göre ilçe belediyeleri ve diğer kamu kuruluşlarına devredilir.

Arazi ve arsa düzenlemesi

MADDE 5. — Belediye, Proje alan sınırları içinde bulunan binalı veya binasız arsa ve arazilerde yeni yapılacak imar plânlarına göre düzenleme yapar.

Fiilen bir kamu hizmetinde kullanılan ve üzerinde kullanım amacına yönelik yapı bulunan taşınmazlar hariç olmak üzere, Proje alan sınırları içerisinde kalan bölgede Proje için ihtiyaç duyulan arazi ve arsalardan, kamu tüzel kişilerinin mülkiyetinde bulunanlar bedelsiz olarak Belediyeye devredilir. Gerçek kişilerin ve özel hukuk tüzel kişilerinin mülkiyetinde bulunan gayrimenkuller ile 24.2.1984 tarihli ve 2981 sayılı İmar ve Gecekondu Mevzuatına Aykırı Yapılara Uygulanacak Bazı İşlemler ve 6785 Sayılı İmar Kanununun Bir Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanuna göre hak sahibi olan kişilerin haklarına konu gayrimenkuller, malikler ve hak sahipleriyle yapılacak anlaşmalar çerçevesinde Projede kullanılır. Bu anlaşmaların usul ve esasları yönetmelikle belirlenir.

Anlaşma sağlanamayan hallerde gerçek kişilerin ve özel hukuk tüzel kişilerinin mülkiyetinde bulunan gayrimenkuller Belediye tarafından kamulaştırılabilir. Bu Kanun uyarınca yapılacak kamulaştırmalar 4.11.1983 tarihli ve 2942 sayılı Kamulaştırma Kanununun 3 üncü maddesinin ikinci fıkrasındaki, iskân projelerinin gerçekleştirilmesi amaçlı kamulaştırma sayılır.

Proje alan sınırları içinde yapılacak plânlarda, kamu tesislerine ayrılan veya ayrılacak alanlar, daha önce Belediyeye devredilmiş ise, devir miktarını aşmayacak kısmı bedelsiz olarak ilgili kamu tüzel kişisine geri verilir.

Proje alanı içerisinde 2981 sayılı İmar ve Gecekondu Mevzuatına Aykırı Yapılara Uygulanacak Bazı İşlemler ve 6785 Sayılı İmar Kanununun Bir Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun ile aynı 2981 sayılı Kanunun bazı maddelerini değiştiren 3290 ve 3366 sayılı kanunlardan süre itibarıyla yararlanamayan, ancak 1 Ocak 2000 tarihinden önce yapıldığını belgeleyen ruhsatsız yapı ve gecekondu sahipleri, hak sahipleri için yapılacak konutlardan, bedelini on yıl içinde ödemeyi taahhüt etmek kaydıyla hak sahibi olurlar. Hak sahibi olacak kişiler, bu ödemeleri 775 sayılı Gecekondu Kanunundaki hükümlere göre yaparlar.

Proje alanı sınırlarında kalan ve içme suyu kullanımından vazgeçilen baraj ve koruma kuşaklarındaki su havzalarını plânlamaya ve bunlara ilişkin sınırları belirlemeye Belediye yetkilidir.

Proje yönetimi

MADDE 6. — Proje alan sınırlarındaki kentsel tasarım projeleri ile konut, sosyal donatı, çevre düzenlemesi ve teknik alt yapı projeleri ile yapım dahil diğer işler Belediye ve İdare tarafından, Bakanlıkça tespit edilecek görev dağılımına göre yapılır veya yaptırılır.

Projedeki müşavirlik ve kontrollük hizmetleri İdare ve Belediye tarafından özel hukuk hükümlerine göre kurulacak veya iştirak edilecek şirket tarafından bedeli karşılığında yürütülür.

Finansman ve gelirler

MADDE 7. — Proje için gerekli malî kaynak, ilgili yıl bütçe kanunlarında gösterilen miktarda İdare ve Belediye bütçesinin özel tertiplerine intikal ettirilecek ödenekler ile Belediye ve İdarenin kendi kaynaklarından ayracağı ödenekler ve satış gelirleri

dahil her türlü Proje geliriyle sağlanır. Bu ödenekler ve Proje gelirleri İdare ve Belediye tarafından açılacak müşterek banka hesabına aktarılır ve Projeye dair her türlü harcama bu hesaptan yapılır. Hesapla ilgili işlemler, kamu kurumlarının kaynaklarını banka hesabında toplamalarına dair düzenlemeler uygulanmaksızın özel hukuk hükümlerine göre yürütülür.

İdare, bütçesine aktarılan ödeneklerden veya kendi kaynaklarından, Projedeki konut, sosyal donatı, çevre düzenlemesi ve teknik alt yapı işlerinde kullanılmak üzere, Belediyeye konut kredisi sağlayabilir. Bu kredinin usul ve esasları yönetmelikle belirlenir.

Projeden elde edilen gelirler Projenin finansmanında kullanılır. Projenin tamamlanmasından sonra artan Proje geliri varsa, bu gelirin Bakanlık tarafından belirlenecek kısmı, İdare, Belediye, ilçe belediyeleri ve Proje alan sınırları içerisinde alanı bulunan diğer belediyelerin bütçesine, kalan kısmı ise genel bütçeye gelir kaydedilir.

Diğer hükümler

MADDE 8. — Bu Kanunda hüküm bulunmayan hallerde 3.5.1985 tarihli ve 3194 sayılı İmar Kanununun ilgili hükümleri uygulanır.

Belediye ve İdare tarafından yapılacak konut ve iş yeri satışları 2.3.1984 tarihli ve 2985 sayılı Toplu Konut Kanunu hükümlerine göre yapılır.

Bu Kanunda belirtilen yönetmelikler ile Kanunun uygulanmasına ilişkin diğer yönetmelikler Bakanlık tarafından hazırlanarak yürürlüğe konulur.

Yürürlük

MADDE 9. — Bu Kanun yayımı tarihinde yürürlüğe girer.

Yürütme

MADDE 10. — Bu Kanun hükümlerini Bakanlar Kurulu yürütür.

11/3/2004

PROTOKOL YOLU SINIR KROKİSİ (Kent Girişi)

NO	Y	X
1	492334.005	431847.714
2	492367.202	431698.210
3	492412.941	431257.864
4	492379.818	430713.083
5	492162.113	430723.643
6	492093.620	430644.731
7	492171.342	430522.318
8	492235.972	430402.784
9	492134.909	430268.349
10	492093.620	430163.341
11	492136.320	430177.117
12	492440.112	430226.944
13	492534.449	430438.710
14	492541.981	430563.438
15	492562.889	430681.480
16	492618.708	430783.258
17	491389.386	430783.258
18	491315.838	430737.437
19	490287.218	430737.437
20	490227.812	430786.238
21	490228.541	430790.771
22	490240.363	430818.784
23	490238.213	430856.306
24	490232.261	430967.980
25	490230.417	430972.913
26	490232.084	430913.632
27	490224.713	430815.088
28	490287.828	430842.385
29	490212.700	430782.485
30	490222.748	430810.578
31	490228.186	431378.143
32	490445.528	431887.829
33	490445.000	431893.000
34	491161.314	431788.082
35	491154.526	432036.190
36	491147.287	432148.312
37	491132.887	432218.443
38	491119.220	432886.525
39	491361.288	432917.266
40	491338.485	432154.868
41	491887.542	432281.081
42	491881.588	432348.186
43	491738.314	432625.545
44	491844.838	432819.567
45	492005.797	432895.541
46	492245.122	432852.178
47	492872.196	432819.415
48	492884.581	432810.711
49	492788.767	432817.158
50	492848.111	432817.845
51	492715.018	432888.462
52	492828.132	432888.730
53	494168.471	432102.194
54	494238.545	432890.480
55	494281.885	432811.396
56	494653.700	432810.849
57	494614.161	432801.723
58	494618.447	432745.182
59	494728.544	432720.872
60	494728.544	432720.872
61	494728.544	432720.872
62	494728.544	432720.872
63	494728.544	432720.872
64	494728.544	432720.872
65	494728.544	432720.872

APPENDIX B

KUZEY ANKARA GİRİŞİ KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM PROJESİ KANUNUNDA DEĞİŞİKLİK YAPILMASINA İLİŞKİN KANUN

Kanun No. 5481

Kabul Tarihi : 5/4/2006

MADDE 1 - 4/3/2004 tarihli ve 5104 sayılı Kuzey Ankara Giriş Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi Kanununun 4 üncü maddesinin birinci fıkrasının son cümlesi aşağıdaki şekilde değiştirilmiştir.

“Proje alanı içinde her ölçekteki imar planları Belediyece yapılır, yaptırılır ve onanır.”

MADDE 2 - 5104 sayılı Kanunun 5 inci maddesinin dördüncü fıkrasına aşağıdaki cümle eklenmiş ve beşinci fıkrası aşağıdaki şekilde değiştirilmiştir.

"Bu Kanun kapsamında Belediyeye devredilen gayrimenkullerden, İdare ve Belediyenin Proje kapsamında kullandıkları kaynak dikkate alınarak Bakanlık tarafından belirlenenlerin mülkiyeti, İdare adına tescil edilir."

"24/2/1984 tarihli ve 2981 sayılı Kanun ile 2981 sayılı Kanunun bazı maddelerini değiştiren 3290 ve 3366 sayılı kanunlara göre alınması gereken arsa bedellerini bu Kanunun yürürlüğe girdiği tarihe kadar ödemeyenler, bu bedeli 7 nci maddeye göre açılan müşterek banka hesabına Proje geliri olarak yatırırlar."

MADDE 3 - 5104 sayılı Kanunun 6 ncı maddesi aşağıdaki şekilde değiştirilmiştir.

"MADDE 6 - Proje alan sınırlarındaki kentsel tasarım projeleri ile konut, sosyal donatı, çevre düzenlemesi, teknik altyapı projeleri, müşavirlik ve kontrollük hizmetleri ile yapım dahil diğer işler Belediye ve İdare tarafından, Bakanlıkça tespit edilecek görev dağılımına göre yapılır veya yaptırılır.

Bu Kanun kapsamındaki proje, müşavirlik ve kontrollük hizmetleri İdare ve Belediye tarafından özel hukuk hükümlerine göre kurulacak veya iştirak edilecek şirkete bedeli karşılığında yaptırılabilir. "

MADDE 4 - 5104 sayılı Kanunun 7 nci maddesinin üçüncü fıkrası aşağıdaki şekilde değiştirilmiştir.

“Projeden elde edilen gelirler Projenin finansmanında kullanılır. Ancak Projenin devamı süresince İdare ve Belediye tarafından müşterek banka hesabına aktarılan ödenekler, müşterek banka hesabında biriken gelirlerden geri tahsil edilebilir. Projenin tamamlanmasından sonra artan Proje geliri varsa bu gelirin Bakanlık

tarafından belirlenecek kısmı İdare, Belediye ile Proje sınırları içerisindeki ilçe ve ilk kademe belediyelerinin bütçelerine, kalan kısmı ise genel bütçeye gelir kaydedilir.”

MADDE 5 - Bu Kanun yayımı tarihinde yürürlüğe girer.

MADDE 6 - Bu Kanun hükümlerini Bakanlar Kurulu yürütür.

APPENDIX C

T.C

ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI

EMLAK İSTİMLÂK DAİRE BAŞKANLIĞI KAMULAŞTIRMA ŞUBE MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

KISIM

:.09.03.TM.8.3/

...../...../2005

KONU : Kuzey Ankara

BAŞKANLIK MAKAMI'NA

5104 sayılı Kanunla; Kuzey Ankara Girişi Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi kapsamında 1. Etap olarak adlandırılan bölgenin çarpık yapılaşmadan kurtarılması, çevre görüntüsünün geliştirilmesi, güzelleştirilmesi ve daha sağlıklı bir yerleşim düzeni sağlanması, çağdaş kentsel yaşam düzeninin yükseltilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu amaçla; proje kapsamında ilgili yasanın getirdiği Belediyemiz yükümlülüklerinin yerine getirilmesi ve projenin amacına uygun gerçekleştirilmesine yönelik hak sahipleri ile yapılacak protokol, taahhütname, sözleşme, kira ödemesi, tahsis, tapu devri, tapu tescili gibi uygulamaya dönük usul ve esasların belirlenmesi için aşağıda maddeler halinde sıralanan konularda Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisince 14.01.2005 tarih ve 237 sayılı karar alınmıştır.

Ancak; haksahipleriyle uygulama ve konut sözleşmelerine başlanıldığında bazı Hukuksal boşlukların oluştuğu, uygulanması halinde geriye dönüşü imkansız sıkıntıların yaşanacağı anlaşılmaması sebebi ile konuyla ilgili alınan Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisinin 14.01.2005 tarih ve 237 sayılı kararının bazı madde ve şıklarının düzeltilmesi ile yeni maddelerin ilave edilmesi zarureti doğmuştur.

UYGULAMA ESASLARI:

MADDE 1: TAPULU ARSASI VE TAPULU ARSASI ÜZERİNDE TESİSLERİ BULUNAN

GAYRİMENKULLER İÇİN UYGULANACAK ESASLAR:

- a) Proje alanı içerisinde kalan ve üzerinde konutu bulunan tüm tapulu gayrimenkul sahipleri ile arsa miktarına bakılmaksızın konut sözleşmesi yapılacaktır.
- b) Tapulu imarlı arsası olanların;
Her 150 m2 arsası için 60 m2 Daire
Her 200 m2 arsası için 80 m2 Daire
Her 250 m2 arsası için 100 m2 Daire
Her 300 m2 arsası için 120 m2 Daire verilecektir.
- c) Tapulu imarsız kadastro veya tapulama arsası olanların
Her 250 m2 arsası için 60 m2 Daire

Her 333 m2 arsası için 80 m2 Daire
Her 416 m2 arsası için 100 m2 Daire
Her 500 m2 arsası için 120 m2 Daire verilecektir.

- d) Tapulu ve imarlı 100 m2 nin altında, kadastro ve tapulama 167 m2 nin altında kalan arsa hissedarları ile konut sözleşmesi yapılmayacaktır. Ancak küçük hisse sahipleri anlaşarak hisselerini birleştirip imarlı 150m2- 200 m2- 250 m2-300 m2, kadastro ve tapulama 250m2 - 333m2-416 m2-500 m2 büyüklüğü sağlamaları halinde hissedar sayısına bakılmaksızın, hisseleri oranında 1 adet konut sözleşmesi yapılacaktır.
- e) İmarlı ve kadastro parsel hissedarlarına proje alanı içinde üretilecek 60 m2 - 80 m2, 100 m2 ve 120 m2' lik hak sahibi konutlarından verilecektir.
- f) İmarlı ve kadastro (tapulama) arsa malikleri ile yapılan konut sözleşmelerinde eksik kalan arsa miktarları için her 1 m2 arsaya karşılık gelecek inşaat alanı hesaplanarak ilgili malike hissesi karşılığı düşen inşaat alanı inşaat maliyet bedeli olarak 1m2/298 YTL. Üzerinden Belediyeye 24 ayda eşit taksitlerle ödenecektir. İnşaat maliyet bedeli her yıl Bayındırlık Bakanlığınca yayınlanan değerler üzerinden uygulanacaktır.
- g) Proje dahilinde bulunan arsa malikleri ile yapılan konut sözleşmesinde artan imarlı her 1 m2 arsaya karşılık 1 m2/135 YTL, her artan Kadastro/Tapulama 1 m2 arsaya karşılık 1 m2/80 YTL olarak Belediye tarafından ödenecektir.
- h) İmarlı alanlarda KOP.(Kamu Ortaklık Payı) olarak ayrılmış hisseler konut anlaşması yapan maliklerin konut hesabına dahil edilecektir.
- i) Konut sözleşmesinde 60 m2' lik konut hakkı olan haksahiplerinin talepleri halinde borçlandırılarak 80 m2'lik konut sözleşmesi yapılacaktır.
- j) Arsa hissesi birden fazla konut sözleşmesine müsait olanlarla, talepleri halinde hisse oranlarına denk gelecek şekilde 60- 80- 100 ve 120 m2'lik konut sözleşmesi yapılacaktır.
- k) İmarlı, Kadastro ve Tapulama arsası üzerinde bulunan, tesis ve müstemilatla, Bayındırlık Bakanlığınca her yıl yayınlanan birim fiyatları üzerinden Kıymet Takdir Komisyonlarınca belirlenen bedelleri sözleşme ile Belediyeye verilecek Konutların maliyet bedellerinden düşülecektir. (±) fark hesabında maliklerin alacakları Belediyeye peşin olarak ödenecektir. Arsa sahibinin Belediyeye borçlanması durumunda ise ödemeler sözleşme tarihinden itibaren 1 ay sonra başlamak üzere 24 ay, eşit taksitler halinde yapılacaktır.
- l) Birden fazla konut düşen arsa maliklerinin (±) hesabında Belediye ye olan borçları sözleşme tarihinden itibaren 1 ay içinde Belediye ye peşin olarak ödenecektir.
- m) İmar, tapulama ve kadastro tapulu arsa ve tesis maliklerine konutları, bölgede yapılacak hak sahibi konutlarından verilecektir.
- n) Konut sözleşmesi yapılan tapulu tesis malikleri sözleşme tarihinden itibaren 7 gün içinde elektrik, su, doğalgaz ve emlak vergi borçlarını kapatarak Belediyeye boş olarak tesisi teslim edeceklerdir.

MADDE 2 : 2981 SAYILI YASAYA TABİ TAPU TAHSİS BELGELİ GECEKONDULARA UYGULANACAK ESASLAR:

- a) Tapu tahsis belgesi bulunan gecekondlu maliklerine proje alanı içerisinde üretilecek 80 m² lik hak sahibi konutlarından konut sözleşmesi yapılacaktır.
- b) Her 400 m² tapu tahsisli Gecekondlu malikine 80 m² konut verilecektir.
- c) Tapu tahsis belgesindeki tahsis miktarı 400 m²'den az olan maliklerin eksik arsa oranları konut sözleşmesi ile verilecek 80 m² inşaat maliyet bedeli oranı üzerinden hesaplanıp tesis ve müştemilata ait enkaz bedeli düşüldükten sonra borçlandırma yapılacaktır.
- d) Tapu tahsisli tesis, müştemilat ve ağaçların kıymet takdir bedelleri Belediyece oluşturulacak Kıymet Takdir Komisyonunca belirlenecektir. Maliklere verilecek konutlarda, Bayındırlık Bakanlığınca yayımlanan inşaat maliyet Değerleri üzerinden maliyet bedelleri belirlenerek maliyet bedelinden, enkaz bedeli düşülecek geri kalan bedel, sözleşme tarihinden itibaren bir sonraki aydan başlamak kaydı ile 48 ayda eşit taksitlerle ödenecektir.
- e) 2981 sayılı yasa kapsamında geriye dönük arsa borcu olanların arsa borçları defaten Büyükşehir Belediyesine ödenmeden konut sözleşmesi yapılamaz.

MADDE 3: BELGESİZ VE KAÇAK GECEKONDULARA UYGULANACAK ESASLAR:

- a) Proje alanı içerisinde kalan ancak 2981 Sayılı Kanun ile bu kanunun bazı maddelerini değiştiren 3290 ve 3366 Sayılı Kanunlardan yararlanamayan ancak 1 Ocak 2000 tarihinden önce yapıldığını belgeleyen gecekondlu sahipleri 775 sayılı kanun kapsamında hak sahibidirler.
- b) 775 Sayılı Gecekondlu Kanunu hükümlerine göre uygun şartları sağlayan hak sahiplerine Karacaören mevkiinde yapılacak konutlardan 80 m²'lik bir daire verilecektir.
- c) Hak sahibine ait gecekondlu, tesis, müştemilat ve ağaçlar için Belediyece oluşturulacak Kıymet Takdir Komisyonunca belirlenecek Kıymet Takdir bedelinin %10'u enkaz bedeli olarak hesaplanacaktır.
- d) Bu bedel yapılacak sözleşme ile hak sahibine verilecek 80 m²'lik konuta ait inşaat maliyet bedelinden düşülecektir. Kalan bedel hak sahibi tarafından belediyeye 10 yılda her ay eşit taksitler halinde ödenecektir.

MADDE 4 : Proje alanı içerisinde tesisi bulunan arsa malikleri ve tapu tahsis belgesi sahipleri ile, 775 sayılı yasadan yararlanarak konut sözleşmesi yapılan belgesiz gecekondlu sahiplerine tahliye tarihinden itibaren aylık 200 YTL kira bedeli Belediyece verilecek konutların teslim tarihine kadar ödenecektir. Kira artış bedeli her yıl Belediye Encümenince belirlenir.

MADDE 5 : Konut sözleşmesi yapan haksahipleri sözleşme tarihinden itibaren konut ve müştemilatlarını tahliye ederek 7 (yedi) gün içerisinde tesislerini yıkıp boşaltanlara yıkım karşılığı enkazları kendilerine verilecektir.

MADDE 6 : Proje dahilinde kalan ve Belediyemiz ile Konut Sözleşmesi yapmayan İmarlı, Kadastro arsa sahipleri ile tapulu ve tapu tahsisli tüm tesis müstemilat ve ağaçlar (tapulu, tahsisli ve kaçak) 2942 Sayılı Yasada değişik 4650 Sayılı Yasa kapsamında kamulaştırılacaktır.

Bu nedenle; Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisince alınan 14.01.2005 tarih ve 237 sayılı kararının yukarıdaki madde ve bentleri yazılı şekliyle tashihi kararı alınması ve Altındağ – Keçiören İlçesi hudutları dahilinde kalan ve 5104 sayılı kanun gereğince Kuzey Ankara Girişi Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi (Protokol Yolu) olarak tespit edilen, anılan kanunla proje sınırı belirlenen ve ek'teki planda da 1. Etap uygulama sınırı görülen alan içerisinde kalan şahıslara ait hisse ve taşınmazların 4650 sayılı kanunla değiştirilen 2942 sayılı Kamulaştırma Kanununu kapsamında; yukarıda 6 (altı) madde halinde uygulama esasları belirlenen projenin hayata geçirilebilmesi için Belediye Encümenine yetki verilmesi hususunda karar alınmak üzere yazımız ve eklerinin Belediye Meclisine havalesini Olur'larınıza arz ederim.

EK: İşlemleri Dosya,

Mehmet PAMUKSUZ
Daire Başkanı

Proje Sor. H.BİLGİN....../....../2005
Harita Tekn. E.ÖZER/....../2005
Şube Müd. Y.YALÇIN....../....../2005

UYGUN GÖRÜŞLE ARZ
....../....../2005

Ömer VURAL
Genel Sekreter Yrd.

MAKAM'A ARZ
....../....../2005

Kadir Ramazan COŞKUN
Genel Sekreter

O L U R
....../....../2005

İ. Melih GÖKÇEK
Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı

APPENDIX D

1. 5104 SAYILI "KUZEY ANKARA GİRİŞİ KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM PROJESİ KANUNU" VE İLGİLİ MEVZUAT HÜKÜMLERİNE UYULACAKTIR.

2. PLAN, UYGULAMA ETAP SINIRLARI BELEDİYE SINIRLARI OLMAK ÜZERE 2 ETAP HALİNDE UYGULANACAKTIR. UYGULAMADA DOĞABİLECEK SORUNLARIN ÇÖZÜMÜ AMACIYLA ETAP SINIRLARINI DEĞİŞTİRMEME VE BİRLEŞTİRMEME BELEDİYE YETKİLİDİR.

3. PLANLAMA ALANINDA ETİMESGUT, GÜVERCİNLİK VE ESENBOĞA HAVALİMANLARINA AİT HAVA MANİA PLANI KRİTERLERİNE UYULACAKTIR.

4. DOĞAL YAPIYA İLİŞKİN HÜKÜMLER:

4.1. PLANLAMA ALANINDA; AFET İŞLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNCE 21.04.2005 TARİHİNDE ONAYLANAN JEOLÖJİK-JEOTEKNİK ETÜD RAPORUNUN SONUÇ VE ÖNERİLER KISMINA VE AFET İŞLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNÜN 31.01.2006 GÜN VE 1287 SAYILI YAZISINA UYULACAKTIR.

4.2.1. PLAN ÜZERİNDE UOA (YERLEŞİME UYGUN OLMAYAN ALAN) İŞARETLİ ALANLAR HER TÜRLÜ YAPILAŞMA DIŞI TUTULACAK OLUP, PLANDAKİ KULLANIM KARARI GEÇERLİDİR. ANCAK KONUT KULLANIMINA GİREN BU TÜR ALANLAR YAPI YAKLAŞMA SINIRLARI DIŞINDA TUTULACAK, HİÇBİR ŞEKİLDE KONUT YAPISI YAPILMAYACAKTIR.

4.2.2. ANCAK, BU ALANLARDA PROJENİN ULAŞIM ŞEMASI, ALTYAPI VE PEYZAJ PROJELERİNİN GEREKTİRDİĞİ YAYA VE TRAFİK YOLLARI, KANAL, SU TESİSLERİ VE PEYZAJ ÖGELERİ V.B. TESİSLERİN GERÇEKLEŞTİRİLEBİLMESİ İÇİN HAZIRLANACAK AYRINTILI JEOTEKNİK ETÜD RAPORU AFET İŞLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNCE ONAYLANMADAN UYGULAMA YAPILAMAZ.

4.3. AFET İŞLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNCE 21.04.2005 TARİHİNDE ONAYLANAN RAPORDA ÖA1 VE ÖA2 (ÖNEMLİ ALAN) OLARAK BELİRTİLMİŞ ALANLAR, RAPORDA BELİRTİLEN YAPILAŞMA KRİTERLERİ VE ÖNLEMLERİNE UYULMAK ŞARTIYLA YAPILAŞMAYA AÇILABİLİR.

4.4. PLAN ÜZERİNDE AJE (AYRINTILI JEOTEKNİK ETÜD GEREKTİREN ALAN) İŞARETLİ ALANLARDA, KÜTLE TÜRÜ VE YER SEÇİMLERİ; HAZIRLANACAK VE AFET İŞLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNCE ONAYLANACAK AYRINTILI JEOTEKNİK ETÜD RAPORUNA GÖRE BELİRLENECEKTİR. BU ALANLARDA, AFETİN TÜRÜNE BAĞLI OLARAK, AYRINTILI JEOTEKNİK ETÜD RAPORLARI HAZIRLANMADIKÇA KONUT, YOL, ELEKTRİK, DOĞALGAZ VE SU İSHALE HATTI V.B. YAPILAMAZ.

4.5. KENTSEL TASARIM PROJELERİ, PEYZAJ PROJELERİ, ARAZİ TESVİYE PROJELERİ, MİMARİ PROJELER VE ALTYAPI PROJELERİNDE ÖNERİLEN HER TÜRLÜ YAPILAŞMADA "BAYINDIRLIK VE İSKAN BAKANLIĞI AFET BÖLGELERİNDE YAPILACAK YAPILAR HAKKINDAKİ YÖNETMELİK" HÜKÜMLERİNE UYULACAKTIR.

5. YOLLAR VE OTOYOLLAR:

5.1. YAYA YOLLARI GEREKTİĞİNDE YANGIN, ÇÖP VB. KULLANIŞLAR VE BİNALARA OTOYOL GİRİŞ ÇIKIŞI AMACIYLA KULLANILABİLİR.

5.2. ÖZEL OTOYOL GEREKSİNİMİ YÜRÜRLÜKTEKİ OTOYOL YÖNETMELİĞİ DOĞRULTUSUNDA ADA/PARSEL İÇERİSİNDE KARŞILANACAKTIR.

6. TEKNİK ALTYAPI:

6.1. PROJE ALANI İÇERİSİNDEKİ MEVCUT ENERJİ NAKİL HATLARI YER ALTINA ALINACAKTIR.

6.2. TEDAŞ ENERJİ DAĞITIM MERKEZİ, TELEKOM SANTRAL ALANI, TRAFO, DOĞALGAZ REGÜLATÖR İSTASYONLARI GİBİ TEKNİK ALTYAPI ALANLARINDA İLGİLİ İDARELERİN PROJELERİNDEKİ YAPILAŞMA KOŞULLARINA UYULACAKTIR.

6.3. PLANDA GÖSTERİLEN KENTSEL ALTYAPI ALANLARI DIŞINDA, GEREKSİNİM DUYULMASI HALİNDE, REGÜLATÖR İSTASYONU, TRAFO, SU DEPOSU VB. KULLANIMLAR YAPI YAKLAŞMA MESAFELERİ YOLLARA VE YAPILARA 5 M.DEN AZ OLMAMAK KOŞULUYLA YAPI ADALARI, PARK, REKREASYON VB. KULLANIMLAR İÇİNDE YAPILABİLİR. BU YAPILARIN YERİNİ KABULE BELEDİYE YETKİLİDİR.

7. KONUT ALANLARI:

7.1. KONUT ALANLARINDA PLAN ÜZERİNDE GÖSTERİLEN YAPILAŞMA KOŞULLARINA UYULACAKTIR.

7.2. PLAN ÜZERİNDE GÖSTERİLEN KİTLELER ŞEMATİKTİR. KONUT ALANLARINDA, PLANDA ADALAR ÜZERİNDE BELİRTİLEN MAKSİMUM KONUT SAYISI VE MAKSİMUM İNŞAAT ALANI AŞILMAMAK KOŞULUYLA, DEĞİŞİK ADET, BÜYÜKLÜK, YÜKSEKLİK VE NİTELİKTE KONUT YER ALABİLİR.

7.3. KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİNDE İHTİYAÇ DUYULMASI HALİNDE, PROJE İÇİN ÖNERİLEN TOPLAM 18.000 KONUT SAYISI AŞILMAMAK VE PLAN BÜTÜNÜNDEKİ İNŞAAT ALANI SABİT KALMAK KOŞULUYLA, KONUT VE BÖLGESEL TİCARET MERKEZİ ADALARI ARASINDA KONUT VE İNŞAAT ALANI TRANSFERİ YAPILABİLİR.

7.4. KONUT ADALARINDA KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİNDE BELİRLENECEK ŞEKİLDE KREŞ, SPOR MERKEZİ, LOKAL, TOPLANTI ODASI, YÖNETİM BİRİMLERİ, GÜNLÜK İHTİYACA CEVAP VERECEK MAMULLERİN SATIŞ ÜNİTELERİ, BAĞÇIVAN, ELEKTRİKÇİ, BAKICI VE KAPICILAR İÇİN GEREKLİ ÇALIŞMA ÜNİTELERİ İÇİN YER AYRILABİLİR.

7.5. KONUT ALANLARINDA UYGULAMA ADA BAZINDA YAPILACAKTIR. KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİNDE ÖNERİLECEK FARKLI KULLANIM TÜRLERİ VE YAPI TİPLERİ GÖZETİLEREK UYGULAMAYA YÖNELİK OLARAK İFRAZ YAPILABİLİR.

8. ±0.00 KOTUNUN BELİRLENMESİ:

YAPILAR YOLDAN, TABİ ZEMİN ORTALAMASINDAN VEYA ADA İÇERİSİNDE KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİNE GÖRE OLUŞTURULACAK SERVİS YOLLARINDAN KOTLANDIRILABİLİR. ADALARA AİT KENTSEL TASARIM PROJELERİNDE KİTLE GİRİŞ KOTLARI OLARAK BELİRLENECEK KOTLARA UYULUR. BU AMAÇLA YAPILACAK ARAZİ DÜZENLEMELERİNİ (KAZI VE DOLGU) KABULE BELEDİYE YETKİLİDİR.

9.KENTSEL ÇALIŞMA ALANLARI:

BÖLGESEL TİCARET MERKEZLERİ:

9.1. BÖLGESEL TİCARET MERKEZLERİNDE MAKSİMUM İNŞAAT EMSALİ E:4.00, MAKSİMUM BİNA YÜKSEKLİĞİ HMAX.:SERBESTTİR. BU ALANLARDA BÖLGENİN İHTİYACINA YÖNELİK TİCARİ KULLANIMLAR YER ALACAKTIR. BÖLGESEL TİCARET MERKEZLERİNDE KONUT KULLANIMININ YER ALIP ALAMAYACAĞI PROJE İÇİN ÖNERİLEN TOPLAM 18.000 KONUT SAYISI AŞILMAMAK KOŞULUYLA KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİNDE DEĞERLENDİRİLEBİLİR.

TİCARET ALANLARI:

9.2. TİCARET ALANLARINDA MAKSİMUM İNŞAAT EMSALİ E:1.00, MAKSİMUM BİNA YÜKSEKLİĞİ HMAX.:SERBESTTİR. BU ALANLARDA GÜNLÜK İHTİYACA YÖNELİK TİCARİ KULLANIMLAR YER ALABİLİR. KONUT KULLANIMI YER ALAMAZ.

TURİZM TESİS ALANLARI:

KONAKLAMA ALANLARI:

9.3. PLAN ÜZERİNDE GÖSTERİLEN YAPILAŞMA KOŞULLARI GEÇERLİDİR. BU ALANLARDA OTELLER, KÜLTÜR VE KONGRE MERKEZLERİ VE REKREATİF FAALİYETLER YER ALABİLİR.

KÜLTÜR-KONGRE MERKEZİ:

9.4. KÜLTÜR-KONGRE MERKEZİNDE MAKSİMUM İNŞAAT EMSALİ E:1.50, MAKSİMUM BİNA YÜKSEKLİĞİ HMAX.:SERBESTTİR. BU ALANLARDA KÜLTÜR VE KONGRE MERKEZİ YAPILARININ YANISIRA İLGİLİ REKREATİF KULLANIMLAR DA YER ALABİLİR.

BELEDİYE HİZMET ALANI:

9.5. BELEDİYE HİZMET ALANINDA MAKSİMUM İNŞAAT ALANI E:1.00, MAKSİMUM BİNA YÜKSEKLİĞİ HMAX.:SERBESTTİR. BU ALANLARDA BELEDİYENİN UYGUN GÖRECEĞİ SERGİ, KONGRE MERKEZLERİ, KONUKEVİ, NİKAH SALONU GİBİ SOSYAL-KÜLTÜREL TESİSLER VE HİZMET BİNALARI YER ALACAKTIR.

10.AÇIK VE YEŞİL ALANLAR:

KENTSEL REKREASYON ALANI:

10.1. KENTSEL REKREASYON ALANINDA MAKSİMUM İNŞAAT EMSALİ E:0.10, MAKSİMUM BİNA YÜKSEKLİĞİ HMAX.:SERBESTTİR.

10.2. BU ALANLAR; TOPOĞRAFİK ÖZELLİKLERİ DİKKATE ALINARAK PROJELENDİRİLECEK "ÖZEL PLANLAMA" ALANLARIDIR. BU ALANLAR, ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİNCE ÖZEL PROJE YAPILARAK/YAPTIRILARAK UYGULAMAYA AÇILIR.

10.3. BU ALANLARDA; TOPLAM İNŞAAT ALANINI AŞMAMAK KOŞULUYLA TÜM KENTİN KULLANIMINA YÖNELİK EĞLENCE-DİNLENME TESİSLERİ, FUAR ALANLARI, PİKNIK ALANLARI, ÇOCUK BAHÇELERİ, OYUN ALANLARI, LOKANTA, SINEMA, AÇIK HAVA TİYATROSU GİBİ SOSYAL TESİSLER, AÇIK VE KAPALI SPOR TESİSLERİ, GÖLET VB. REKREATİF KULLANIMLAR YER ALABİLİR.

10.4. BU ALANLARDA YER ALACAK YAPILARIN BÜYÜKLÜK, NİTELİK VE YAPILAŞMA KOŞULLARI, KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİNDE VE PEYZAJ PROJESİNDE BELİRLENECEKTİR.

PARK ALANLARI:

10.5. PARK ALANLARI İÇERİSİNDE ÇOCUK OYUN ALANLARI, HAVUZLAR, PERGOLALAR VE GENEL WC V.B. TESİSLER YAPILABİLİR.

11.KENTSEL SOSYAL ALTYAPI:

ÜNİTE MERKEZLERİ:

11.1. BU ALANLARDA; BÖLGENİN İHTİYACINI KARŞILAMAK ÜZERE ALIŞVERİŞ ÜNİTELERİ, SOSYO-KÜLTÜREL TESİSLER, İDARİ TESİSLER, SPOR ALANI, BELEDİYE HİZMETİ ALANI VB. SOSYAL VE TEKNİK ALTYAPI ALANLARI YER ALACAKTIR.

11.2. İDARİ TESİS ALANLARINDA; RESMİ KURUMLAR, RESMİ BANKA GİBİ KURULUŞLARA AİT HİZMET BİNALARI, MUHTARLIK BİNASI VB. TESİSLER YER ALABİLİR.

11.3. BELEDİYE HİZMET ALANLARINDA; BELEDİYEYE AİT DANIŞMA VE HİZMET BİRİMLERİ YER ALABİLİR.

11.4. ÜNİTE MERKEZLERİNDE YER ALACAK KULLANIMLARIN NİTELİKLERİ, BÜYÜKLÜKLERİ VE YAPILAŞMA KOŞULLARI KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİNDE BELİRLENECEKTİR.

İBADET ALANLARI:

11.6. İBADET YERİ ALANLARI İÇERİSİNDE YAPILACAK YAPILAR ÖZEL OLARAK PROJELENDİRİLECEK OLUP, BELEDİYECE UYGUN GÖRÜLMEDEN İNŞAAT RUHSATI VERİLEMEZ.

EĞİTİM ALANLARI:

11.7. ANAOKULU, İLKÖĞRETİM VE ORTAÖĞRETİM ALANLARINDA MAKSİMUM BİNA YÜKSEKLİĞİ HMAX.:SERBEST OLUP, BU ALANLARDA İL MİLLİ EĞİTİM MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNCE BELİRLENECEK YAPILAŞMA KOŞULLARINA UYULACAKTIR.

SAĞLIK ALANLARI:

11.8. SAĞLIK ALANLARINDA MAKSİMUM İNŞAAT ALANI E:1.00, MAKSİMUM BİNA YÜKSEKLİĞİ HMAX.:SERBESTTİR.

12. PLANDA BELİRTİLMİYEN HUSUSLARDA KUZAY ANKARA GİRİŞİ KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM PROJESİ KANUNU YÖNETMELİĞİ VE ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ İMAR YÖNETMELİĞİNİN İLGİLİ HÜKÜMLERİ GEÇERLİDİR.

APPENDIX E

TABLE SHOWING CONDITIONS OF CONSTRUCTION PHASES IN NORTH
ENTRANCE OF ANKARA UTP AREA

PHASE NAME	TYPE	CONDITION	RATIO
Ankara Protokol Yolu 1. Bölge 400 Konut	URP	COMPLETED	100%
Ankara Pursaklar-Karacaören Mh.Protokol Yolu [2. Bölge]	URP	COMPLETED	100%
Ankara Pursaklar-Karacaören Mh.Protokol Yolu 3.Etap [480 konut]+sosyal donatı [ilköğretim,lise,2 spor salonu]	URP	COMPLETED	100%
Ankara Pursaklar Karacaören Protokol Yolu 4. Bölge [1008 konut]+[kreş,ticaret merkezi,cami-şadırvan,sağlık ocağı,kütüphane,imamevi,kafeterya]	URP	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	99%
Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi 1.Etap +ilköğretim-24	URP	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	92%
Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi 6.Etap,ticaret merkezi,ilköğretim-32	URP	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	92%
Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi Protokol Yolu 2.Etap[Dönüşüm Alanı]Konut+Anaokulu	URP	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	91%
Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi Protokol Yolu 5.Etap	URP	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	91%
Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi Protokol Yolu 4. Etap +2 Adet Ticaret Merkezi,ilköğretim-32	URP	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	88%
Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi Protokol Yolu 3.Etap	URP	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	53%
Kuzey Ankara Kent Girişi 7. Etap Konut + Ticaret Merkezi	H+S	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	3%
Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi 7.Etap,Ticaret Merkezi	URP	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	2%
Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi 8. Etap 477 Adet Konut,1'er adet Ticaret Merkezi,Anaokulu,Sağlık Ocağı,Altyapı ve Çevre Düzenleme İşleri	H+S	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	2%

Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi 9.Etap 587 Konut,1 Adet Ortaöğretim Okulu İnşaatı ile Altyapı ve Çevre Düzenlemesi İşleri	H+S	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	2%
Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi 10.Etap 824 Konut,2 Adet Ticaret Merkezi,90825 Ada 4 Parsel A-Tip 2 Cami İnşaatları ile Altyapı ve Çevre Düzenlemesi İşleri	H+S	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	1%
Kuzey Ankara Kent Girişi 341 Adet Villa İnşaatı ile Altyapı ve Çevre Düzenleme İşleri	I+S	ON BOARD	0%
Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi 12. Bölge 533 Adet Konut,1 Adet Ticaret Merkezi ile Altyapı ve Çevre Düzenlemesi İnşaatı İş	H+S	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	0%
Ankara Kuzey Kent Girişi 14. Bölge 129 Adet Konut,1 Adet Ticaret Merkezi ile Altyapı ve Çevre Düzenlemesi İnşaatı İş	HOUSING	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	0%
Kuzey Ankara Kent Girişi 11.Etap 610 Konut,1 Adet Ticaret Merkezi,90744 Ada 4 Parsel A-Tip 7 Cami İnşaatları ile Altyapı ve Çevre Düzenlemesi İşleri	H+S	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	0%
Kuzey Ankara Kent Girişi 16.Etap 512 Konut,İlköğretim-32	H+S	CONSTRUCTION PHASE	0%

*URP: URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT

**H+S: HOUSING AND SOCIAL FACILITIES

***I+S: INFRASTRUCTURE AND SOCIAL FACILITIES

APPENDIX F

LIST OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECTS IN ANKARA*

			Project Start Date	Project Ending Date	Project Owner
GREAT MUNICIPALITY OF ANKARA	1	Kuzey Ankara Kent Girişi	2004	2010	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ, TOKİ; TOBAŞ
	2	Güneykent[Mühye]Kentsel Dönüşüm Ve Gelişim Projesi,[902 Parsel]	2005	2010	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ, MİLLİ SAVUNMA BAKANLIĞI
	3	Çankaya Çukurambar Kentsel Dönüşüm Ve Gelişim Projesi	2006	2009	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
	4	Nasrettin Hoca Kentsel Dönüşüm Ve Gelişim Projesi	2006		
	5	Batıkent I Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2006	2008	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
	6	Batıkent II Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2007	2008	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
	7	Çayyolu Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2007	2008	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
M. OF ÇANKAYA	8	Dikmen Vadisi I-II		1994, 1996	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
	9	Dikmen Vadisi III	1999- 2005	Completed	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
	10	Dikmen Vadisi IV-V	2004- 2005	2009	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
	11	Geçak	1993	Completed	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
M. OF ALTINDAĞ	12	Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Koruma Planı	1980	2000	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
	13	Atilla-Aktaş Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2002	2008	ALTINDAĞ BELEDİYESİ
	14	Kuzey Kent Girişi Dönüşüm Projesi	2004	Indefinite	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
	15	Gültepe-Çinçin Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2005	2008	ALTINDAĞ BELEDİYESİ
	16	Ankara Tarihi Kent Merkezi	2005	Indefinite	ANKARA

		Yenileme Alanı			BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
	17	Sincan Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2005	Indefinite	SİNCAN BELEDİYESİ
MUNICIPALITY OF MAMAK	18	Doğukent Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2005	2010	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
	19	Araplar Gecekondu Önleme Projesi	2000	2005	MAMAK BELEDİYESİ
	20	Durali Alıç Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2004	2007	MAMAK BELEDİYESİ
	21	Gaz Maske Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2005		MAMAK BELEDİYESİ
	22	Yatık Musluk Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2005	2007 And ongoing	MAMAK BELEDİYESİ
	23	Hüseyin Gazi Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	1998	Indefinite	MAMAK BELEDİYESİ
MUNICIPALITY OF MAMAK	24	Güney Doğu Ankara İmrahor Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2002	Indefinite	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ+MAMAK BELEDİYESİ
	25	Kazım Orbay Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2005	Indefinite	MAMAK BELEDİYESİ
	26	Kıbrıs Köyü Güney Bayındır Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2002	1st phase completed 2nd phase ongoing	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ+MAMAK BELEDİYESİ
	27	Samsun Yolu Doğu Ankara Kent Girişi Projesi	2002	2008	ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ+MAMAK BELEDİYESİ
	28	Ellinci Yıl Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2006	Indefinite	MAMAK BELEDİYESİ
M. OF Y.MAH.	29	Ekin Mahallesi Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	1992	Completed	MAMAK BELEDİYESİ
	30	Demetevler 2.Etap Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	2001	2004	YENİMAHALLE BELEDİYESİ
	31	Şentepe Kentsel Dönüşüm Ve Gelişim Projesi	2004	Indefinite	YENİMAHALLE BELEDİYESİ

*this table has been derived from Özlem Güzey's study in, Küresel Rekabette Bir Araç Olarak Kentsel Dönüşüm Uygulamaları: Ankara Örneği (Urban Transformation Operations as a Tool in Global Competition: The Case of Ankara, in Gecekondu, Dönüşüm, Kent (Eng. Gecekondu, Transformation, City), (Eds. Serap Kayasü, Oğuz Işık, Nil Uzun, Ebru Kamacı), Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, 2009, pp.177-195