

READING URBAN TRANSFORMATION
THROUGH THE CASE OF MAMAK, ANKARA

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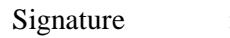
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ABSTRACT

READING URBAN TRANSFORMATION THROUGH THE CASE OF MAMAK, ANKARA

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The dissertation aims to understand and explain the different paces and patterns of spatial development in the Mamak district of Ankara, despite similar intervention backgrounds. It is suggested herein that understanding the characteristics of Mamak's transformation requires more than the available theoretical tools, which are more suited to dynamic transformation processes, in that Mamak's transformation has been rather slow.

The conceptual framework developed in this study endeavors to incorporate the slow and non-transformation phenomena that occur alongside state interventions into the account of urban transformation; and it is proposed that what is perceived as a state of non-transformation embraces inherently potentialities for transformation. These potentialities are formed and reformed as a result of the dialectical relationship between the interventions and the "socio-spatial fixity (SSF)" of an area, which also forms a potential space. Subsequently, this formation process evolves into a state of

transformation by producing a “transformation power,” the magnitude of which is explanatory in the different pace and patterns of development.

The study makes an analysis of Mamak using this new conceptual framework, tracing six sub-areas with either similar intervention backgrounds or similar locations. The case study contributes to the refinement of concepts for possible further uses, and presents a new means of categorizing sub-areas based on their transformation power. Some unplanned and unexpected physical and social patterns that have emerged in areas with low transformation power are evaluated as a policy input for an ameliorated environment for Mamak.

Keywords: urban transformation, Mamak, socio-spatial fixity, transformation power

ÖZ

KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜ MAMAK, ANKARA ÖRNEĞİNDE YORUMLAMAK

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Bu çalışmanın amacı Ankara Metropolitan alanında yer alan Mamak ilçesinde, benzer müdahale geçmişine sahip alanlarda ortaya çıkan farklı mekansal gelişme doku ve hızlarını anlamak ve nedenlerini açıklamaktır. Çalışmanın temel savı, dönüşüme ilişkin mevcut kuramsal araçların dönüşümün hızlı gerçekleştiği dinamik süreçlerle ilgilendiği, yavaş bir kentsel dönüşüm deneyimleyen Mamak için yeterli olmadığıdır.

Geliştirilen yeni kavramsal çerçeveyin hedefi, yoğun devlet müdahalesine rağmen yavaş dönüşüm ve dönüşmemeye olgularını kentsel dönüşüm anlatımına dahil etmektir. Çalışmada, dönüşmemeye olarak algılanan durumun, içkin olarak farklı dönüşme potansiyellerine sahip olduğu varsayılmaktadır. Bu potansiyeller, müdahale ve sosyo-mekansal sabitlerin diyalektiği ile ortaya çıkmakta ve aynı zamanda da “potansiyel mekanı” oluşturmaktadır. Bu diyalektik, bir “dönüşümsel güç” ortaya çıkararak kentsel dönüşümü getirmekte ve mekansal gelişme doku ve hızları bu gücün büyüğünü göre farklılaşmaktadır.

Bu kavramsal çerçeve ile Mamak'ta benzer müdahale geçmişleri olan ya da benzer konumlarda olan altı altbölge irdelenmiştir. Alan çalışması tezde ortaya konan kavramların ileriki çalışmalarında da uygulanabilir şekilde geliştirilmesine katkıda bulunmuş, bunun yansira altbölgelerin dönüşüm güçlerine göre değerlendirildiği yeni bir sınıflama geliştirmiştir. Gücü düşük dönüşüm alanlarında planlanmamış ve beklenmedik şekilde ortaya çıkan fiziksel ve sosyal dokular, çalışma kapsamında yerel bağlantılarına referansla yapılı çevreleri daha yaşanır kılma yönünde fırsat ve siyasa girdileri olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: kentsel dönüşüm, Mamak, sosyo-mekansal sabitler, dönüşüm gücü

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The scope and aim of the study

Mainstream theories of urban space within the neo-liberal capital accumulation regime have so far focused on the drastically transformed spaces or speculative rent formation processes resulting from neoliberal urban policies. All such theories contribute significantly to the construction of a sound criticism against neo-liberal capital accumulation strategies on urban space, yet over-look the phenomenon of non-transformation. The present study differs from those in the sense that it aims to involve the phenomenon of non-transformation in its account of urban transformation.

The motivation behind such a study is the transformation experience of the Mamak district in the metropolitan area of the city of Ankara. In Mamak, one can observe various forms of transformation that resulted from successive interventions targeting a physical transformation from squatter to apartment housing. While some areas go through politically motivated transformations in a short period of time, others experience these transformations more slowly, if at all; and at the same time become subject to further interventions. The cumulative effect of the successive interventions has formed a particular logic of spatial differentiation in Mamak, one that is distinct from the unevenness at the metropolitan scale.

It is proposed that understanding the characteristics of the transformation of Mamak requires more than the theoretical tools at hand, as these tools are more suitable for

dynamic transformation processes. The author believes that a new perspective and new concepts are necessary to comprehend the transformation/non-transformation process experienced in Mamak, and upon development, these concepts may be applied to other cases by different researchers.

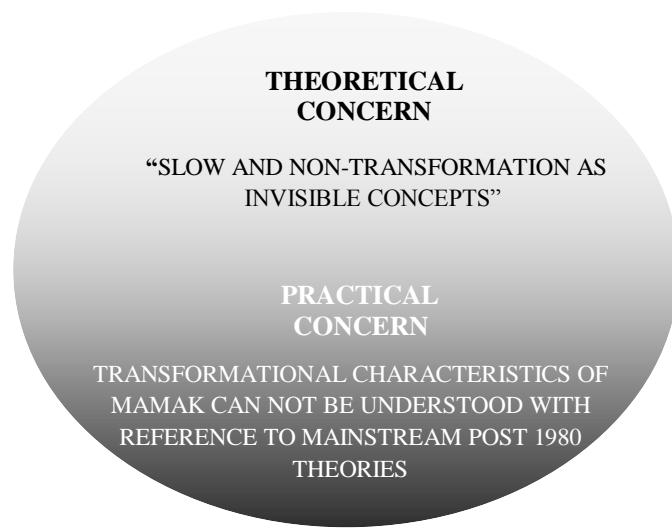


Figure 1.1 The problematic of the dissertation

It is important for the argument put forward in this thesis that the concept of “transformation” – as used in this thesis – does not refer to all kinds of spatial change, but only those triggered by state intervention into urban space. Furthermore, it should be noted that by “state intervention,” we refer to interventions by both the central and local state that target, either directly or indirectly, the transformation of squatter settlements across the urban space. An area is “transformed” when an intervention results in physical change; and similarly, “non-transformation” – as used

in this thesis – refers to a situation in which the desired physical change by and through state intervention is not realised.

On the subject of transformation, post-1980 urban theories often limit their arguments to the rather dynamic processes that dramatically transform urban space, and tend to overlook the relatively less-dynamic processes in which transformation is rather slow. In such studies, all areas seem to be subject to the neoliberal logic of capital accumulation, whose transformation is regulated by rent levels.

Literature on post-1980 urbanisation in Turkey considers urban policy and space from a similar perspective. In such contexts, the post-1980s are interpreted as a new stage in the urban experience of Turkey with respect to the economic, political, cultural and spatial structure of the cities (Ersoy, 2001; Şengül, 2003; Şenyapılı, 2004a; Ataöv and Osmay, 2007). On this basis, there have been a number of urban studies analysing the new channels of capital accumulation or the exclusion, displacement and polarisation of some social groups as a result of actual capital accumulation strategies (Uzun, 2001, 2005, 2006; Şen 2005; Arıkanlı, 2005; Kurtuluş, 2005; Özdemir, 2005; Sönmez, 2006; Öktem, 2006; Balaban, 2008).

Most of these studies emphasise the new capital accumulation processes across urban space, as well as their unjust practical outcomes, either globally or within Turkey; but what is common among these views is that they on the whole disregard those areas that have not become part of such accumulation processes. Put differently, most often, areas with limited capital flow remain peripheral to the accounts provided by these theories. As such, slow or non-transformation phenomena remain, in Althusserian terms (1965), as an “invisible concept” (see section 1.3) in mainstream theories, as well as in critical approaches.

In addition, the majority of studies deal with urban dynamics through periodic generalizations, concentrating on the changes in cities brought about by structural,

economic and political adjustments. For the sake of emphasising radical changes, they ignore substantially the way past interventions interact with the present.

It is on these grounds that this study aims to investigate the different urban spatial transformation patterns within relatively less dynamic processes, with emphasis on the cumulative effect of state interventions. In that vein, the Mamak district of Ankara provides us a suitable case.

Mamak has transformed gradually within the unevenly developing Ankara macroform, with the district's capacity for transformation being limited due to various reasons. As a result, the district requires considerable state interventions in order to acquire capital accumulation, which has two consequences for our study. Firstly, the slow pace of transformation allows us to view the transformation process from a broader perspective; and secondly, the cumulative effect of subsequent state interventions can be traced to a certain extent.

A study of the Mamak district of Ankara will look into a variety of cases that have undergone transformation at different paces and patterns, despite their similar histories of state intervention. The main research question is “How can the variations in the pace and pattern of urban transformation within the Mamak district of Ankara be explained?

It should be noted that Mamak has been one of the main casualties of inward migration since the foundation of the Republic in 1923, and so has witnessed the emergence of many squatter settlements. Up until the early 1990s, there had been no significant state interventions to transform the squatter settlements in Turkey, as well as Mamak; however, in the following decade the number of state interventions increased (for Mamak as well), and the formerly peripheral area of Mamak became more central and accessible within the growing Ankara macroform. Despite these changes, the district has to date been unable to attract significant capital flows within

the unevenly developing macroform; and almost 57 percent of Mamak remains as gecekondu settlements (Ankara 2023 Plan Report).

Although there are a large number of studies addressing the issue of squatter transformation in Turkey, they often look at specific project areas, usually dealing with post-transformation experiences and socio-economic consequences of transformations, or analyses the policy instruments. Few have concentrated on the Mamak district, one of the most problematic in Ankara in terms of squatter housing.

In her comprehensive study of squatter housing in Ankara, Şenyapılı (2004b) assessed the living and sustenance conditions of newcomers to the city, and discussed the squatter problem with respect to the economic integration strategies of the newcomers. In this study, Mamak is elaborately portrayed as a significant destination for immigrants.

Sat (1997) discusses the possible effects of the rehabilitation plans¹ on the social and demographic characteristics of Ankara, noting that the plans predicted a population rise of 2 million for the city of Ankara by 1990, however, that this population prediction has not been achieved. Following on from Sat's findings, Tuçaltan (2008) questioned why some gecekondu areas were not transformed under the Ankara rehabilitation plans, attributing the problem to the small land parcels, the complexity of property relations, topographical thresholds, not being located in the development direction of the city, and the uneven distribution of development rights. It should be noted that this study approaches Mamak as one unit of analysis, disregarding internal variations.

¹ In 1984, Squatter Acts Nos. 2805 and 2981 resulted in the “Rehabilitation Development Plans” (İslah İmar Planı) for the transformation of squatter neighbourhoods.

Yılmaz (2011) does not find it a satisfactory approach to relate the non-transformation phenomena to a geographical location or disadvantageous topographical threshold, attributing it in Mamak to policy inaction, especially from the 2000s onwards. According to this argument, the state authorities maintain a non-transformation status in order to undermine the landowner's position within the benefit distribution. In this scenario, the authorities favour a rent transfer to political power and to the interest groups supported by the municipalities (*ibid.*). This argument may well be true for attractive areas for capital flow (even in Mamak), but it has to be noted that the argument generalises the urban history of squatter areas where market conditions are not propitious, and as such, is misleading.

The study shares common concerns with such studies, in the sense that it deals with the squatter areas of Mamak and highlights the phenomena of non-transformation. It focuses on the research question of ‘How can the variations in the pace and pattern of urban transformation within the Mamak district of Ankara be explained? Meanwhile, it searches for an alternative account of urban transformation out of the phenomena of non-transformation and slow transformation.

Accordingly, some new concepts are developed to shed light on the very transition before transformation is observed. First of all, we assume the existence of three space categories; halting space, potential space and surrendered space. Halting space is defined as the space prior to a particular state intervention, while surrendered space is the one that responds positively to that intervention. In between these two space categories, we assume a continuous and gradual transition, and the existence of a “potential space”. Potential space is the central focus of the dissertation and assumed to embrace potentialities of different pace and patterns of transformation.

The possibility of potentialities of different pace and patterns of transformation is explained with socio-spatial fixity (SSF) and intervention dialectics. At this point, SSF appears as another key concept developed in the thesis. It is an extension of

Harvey's "spatial fixity" concept and encompasses historically formed physical and social accumulations in a specific area, including the built environment, as well as legal rights, knowledge, awareness, expectations and institutions. Learning agents are also a major component of SSF.

Given the new concepts, the explanation of the variations in the pace and pattern of urban transformation within the Mamak district is structured based on three hypotheses:

H₁: Potential space is formed and transformed as an outcome of the dialectical relationship between state interventions and SSFs.

H₂: The dialectical relationship between the state interventions and SSFs determines the transformational power of potential space.

H₃: The transformational power of potential space produces out the variation in the pace and patterns of urban transformation.

These hypotheses frame the discussions in chapter 4, chapter 5 and chapter 6, and are justified throughout these chapters. Thus, a preliminary model for the explanation of spatial variety including slow transforming and non-transformed areas is introduced.

1.2. The research methodology

The philosophical foundation of the thesis is structured with respect to several approaches. It adopts a (critical) realist ontology positing that reality exists independent of our understanding of it, differing from radical constructivist views that deny the existence of any reality apart from our constructions (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, while, we accept the existence of a real world, we admit that it is not

“objectively” knowable (Maxwell’s 2012:5). Maxwell states (*ibid.*), referring to different forms of realism (in which critical realism is included), that:

A distinctive feature of all of these forms of realism is that they deny that we can have any “objective” or certain knowledge of the world, and accept the possibility of alternative valid accounts of any phenomenon. All theories about the world are seen as grounded in a particular perspective and worldview, and all knowledge is partial, incomplete, and fallible.

In the multiplicity of valid accounts (of any phenomenon), critical realists insist on the possibility of choosing rationally between rival theories (Pratschke, 2003). Bhaskar (1975 in *ibid.*) states that, “the theory that has capacity to explain the widest range of phenomena has a higher explanatory power than its rivals”.

Our ontological and epistemological assumptions are in line with Maxwell’s summary (*ibid.*):

Critical realists retain an ontological realism (there is a real world that exists independently of our perceptions, theories, and constructions) while accepting a form of epistemological constructivism and relativism (our understanding of this world is inevitably a construction from our own perspectives and standpoint).

Our approach differentiates from (critical) realist ontology in the way it adopts an existentialist view, seeing reality as being in a state of continuous flux. This stance does not rule out the premise that reality exists regardless of our existence, but maintains that no existence is complete or finished, but is rather an ongoing process that we can never fully grasp.

The (scientific) effort to understand the reality is an inevitable act for a human being, and this entails a relativist epistemology, for two reasons: first, what we deal with is a part of the reality, not the whole; and second, our knowledge is historically situated and context-dependent. On this basis, our research does not seek universal laws, but

instead aims to develop concepts and ideal types that enhance our understanding of a phenomenon.

To illustrate, we should mention the ontological and epistemological approach of the dissertation. We accept that urban transformation is happening out there, but what we see and define as urban transformation is partial, incomplete and fallible. To understand this phenomenon, we assume, we step back from this formation for a while and freeze a moment of time in this continuity. Thus, we theoretically assume a completed process within this continuity, which we refer to as the “potential space” (between halting and surrendered space, see Chapter 4), and we make our analysis and derive our knowledge based on this potential space.

Considering the production of knowledge, our study is inspired by Althusser’s “theoretical practice” approach to explaining the production of knowledge, which he does in three stages known as Generalities.

In theoretical practice, the process of the production of knowledge, Generalities I are the abstract, part-ideological, part scientific generalities that are the raw material of the science; Generalities III are the concrete, scientific generalities that are produced; while Generalities II are the theory of the science at a given moment, the means of production of knowledge (1970:314)

From this perspective, the production of knowledge starts with work on raw material (which is not the real object, but the “object of knowledge”) that has been already elaborated and transformed by previous theoretical practices. Then, the conceptual framework or the theoretical tools are applied to the raw materials, and thus we derive scientific knowledge within a certain theoretical, ideological and social historical relations.

Althusser’s other inspiration for the thesis is his definition of the problematic and the invisible objects within a problematic. For Althusser, the “problématique” is a

theoretical and ideological framework in which a concept is used and becomes meaningful (1970:313). As he states (*ibid.*):

It (the problematic) is not the essence of the thought of an individual or epoch that can be deduced from a body of texts by an empirical, generalizing reading; it is centered on the *absence* of problems and concepts within the problematic as much as their presence; it can therefore only be reached by a symptomatic reading on the model of the Freudian analyst's reading of his patient's utterances.

In his definition of the problematic, Althusser underlines that² it is the field of the problematic that defines and structures the “invisible” (1968:26). By this, he means that what a theory does not see is not something that it failed to see (and which not pre-existed it), but rather something that it produced itself in its operation of knowledge. The blindness, according to Althusser, stems from fixing the eyes on the old question, seeking answers on the old horizon on which the new problem is not visible (*ibid.*: 24 in Marx Capital, T.II, p.210)

On these grounds, the dissertation sees non-transformation and slow transformation as invisible concepts of the mainstream and critical theories of capitalist urban transformation. It establishes a conceptual framework that is based on several previous abstractions and concepts related to urban transformation (such as spatial fixity, state intervention categories, etc). That said, in our study, the definition of new concepts does not precede the research, but is rather worked out during the course of the research. This is what Glaser and Strauss (1967, 1998, 2002) refer to as “grounded theory”.

² He posits this claim alongside the writings of classical political economists Ricardo and Smith, on the issue of the value of labor power. Althusser discusses that they render *labor power* invisible.

Blaikie summarizes (1993:191) Glaser and Strauss's approach as:

... theoretical ideas that come from other resources – such as existing theories or one's own or other's insights – are not simply tested during the course of the research, as is the case with Deductive strategy, but have to be worked out in relation to the data in a much less formal trial and error process. Theory generation is therefore an evolving process.

Blaikie expresses that (1993:193) "this is a method of qualitative data gathering which departs radically from the linear logic and procedures characteristics of Positivism and Critical Rationalism". Here, the idea is that while placing a research study within a theoretical framework remains of crucial importance, such a theoretical framework need not be constructed prior to the research, but can rather be refined carefully during the course of the research project.

Grounded theory helps to generate two types of theories (*ibid*: 192). The first type, substantive theory, is generated in specific contexts (i.e. transformation in Mamak), in which each case study is considered as a context-dependent (i.e. historically situated), complex phenomenon that is unique and significant. This position differs significantly from positivist perspectives, where each case is often of interest to the research study based in terms of what makes it different from the other cases, rather than the unique and distinctive character it displays as a whole. From this perspective, one can say that while a positivist perspective seeks to generalize phenomena and reduce their complexity, as well as explain away any inherent differences that do not fit into the totalizing positivist schemes, grounded theory affords a position from where one can fruitfully appreciate the variations between the different cases.

The second type, formal theory, is generated at a higher level of generality and involves concepts that can be applied to a number of substantive areas (*ibid*.). As Blaikie states (*ibid*:192), Glaser and Strauss preferred to develop new categories

rather than borrowing categories with selected data to fit the category, emphasizing the existence of many areas of everyday life for which there are no appropriate categories (*ibid*). The concepts are not necessarily derived from the lay language, but are rather labels that the researcher constructs for categories that are considered in the organization of the data (*ibid*).

Following the Althusian production of knowledge and grounded research strategy, this dissertation develops many new categories that are developed based on several previous abstractions and concepts related to urban transformation, further refined over the course of the research and that seek a certain level of generality as ideal types, while also remaining open to further development instead of being finished categories.

Among the new concepts, “the potential space” is the central focus of the dissertation which is assumed to be formed out of socio-spatial fixity and intervention dialectics, and embrace potentialities of different pace and patterns of transformation. The “socio-spatial fixity” (SSF), besides, is the entity that is assumed to enable the possibility of such potentialities thanks to the indeterminate nature of its component factors. Keskinok’s definition of structure (1997:40) contributes to the understanding the nature of SSF.

Structure for us, is a product (but not a simple sum) of a process of stabilization of the practices and actions. However this stabilization is realized in a given state of disequilibrium. In other words, it is a temporal state of *relative equilibrium*. This “relative equilibrium” is not neutral from the contradictions between itself and the other structures of the given social formation. Therefore the structure is a *stabilization* and *prolongation* of the contradictions of the social formation.

In line with the quotation above, SSF is not a simple sum of its constituent factors, or a static entity, but it is assumed to be in a temporal state of relative equilibrium,

embracing contradictions within itself and between other SSFs of other areas and scales.

The stabilization process of a structure, besides, is explained with reference to the dialectics of structure/agency (*ibid*). Similarly SSF embeds both structural and voluntarist elements that display a certain coherence and consistency (*ibid.*) but also effective in the transformation of an SSF. At this point, it is important to underline that, the study limits itself with intervention triggered transformations in an SSF. Moreover, we do not assign SSF as a transformative power on urban space. Urban transformation-as used in this thesis- is a product of the dialectics of SSF and intervention.

1.2. The structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of seven chapters. The introduction begins by presenting the theoretical and practical concerns together forming the foundation of the problem. This chapter also provides information about the methodology and organisation of the thesis.

The theoretical concern of the problem is evaluated further in Chapter 2, with the first three sections of the chapter devoted to an analysis of political and economic accounts of spatial variety. Here, the aim is to reach a non-reductionist explanation that takes both economic and political levels of determinations into consideration. The last section, 2.4, makes a critique of the theoretical findings, after which the findings are interpreted with respect to the Turkish case, and the problem is then reevaluated with respect to these findings. Finally, the theoretical perspective of the thesis is drawn for the rest of the thesis.

Chapter 3 elaborates upon the claim that Ankara is an unevenly developing city; with the implication being that Mamak district is part of that uneven macroform. After an

introduction to the history of Ankara's planned and unplanned development, the chapter draws attention to the squatter phenomenon and its transformation typologies in Ankara. This chapter also helps to view the Mamak district in the big picture.

Chapter 4 introduces new concepts before addressing the specific issue of Mamak, starting out from the claim of this thesis that the theoretical tools at hand do not permit a sufficient understanding of Mamak's transformation experience. Chapter 4 also introduces the "casing" approach as the case selection methodology, which signifies that each case has theory-driven boundaries.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the analysis of a field research with the application of new concepts. First, Mamak's intervention history is presented with reference to four intervention categories, while also laying down the historical context of the sub-areas. Then, the three research questions are answered for each subarea, providing an explanation of: (1) the intervention histories of each sub-area, (2) the ways they respond to different interventions, and (3) the factors that accelerate or slow down transformation. This provides us with a detailed intervention history and SSF of each sub-area.

Chapter 6 deals with the main concern of the thesis, which is to provide "an explanation of the different paces and patterns of transformation across Mamak". The "transformation power" concept – developed in this thesis in chapter 4 – is used to explain such phenomena. Transformation power is calculated for each sub-area, and each sub-area is categorised and evaluated accordingly. It is concluded that the areas with low and no transformation power enable the detection of the unplanned and unexpected physical and social patterns/behaviours that emerge throughout the process. These patterns characterise the transformation of Mamak as presented at the last section of chapter 6.

Finally, Chapter 7 presents a transformation policy proposal for Mamak. The thesis concludes with the evaluation of the possible contribution of our conceptual model to the understanding of spatial variety. Here, we suggest that such an approach can act as an alternative to reductionist explanations that assigns certain factors or interventions with transformative power, whereas for us the transformation power is produced out their dialectics.

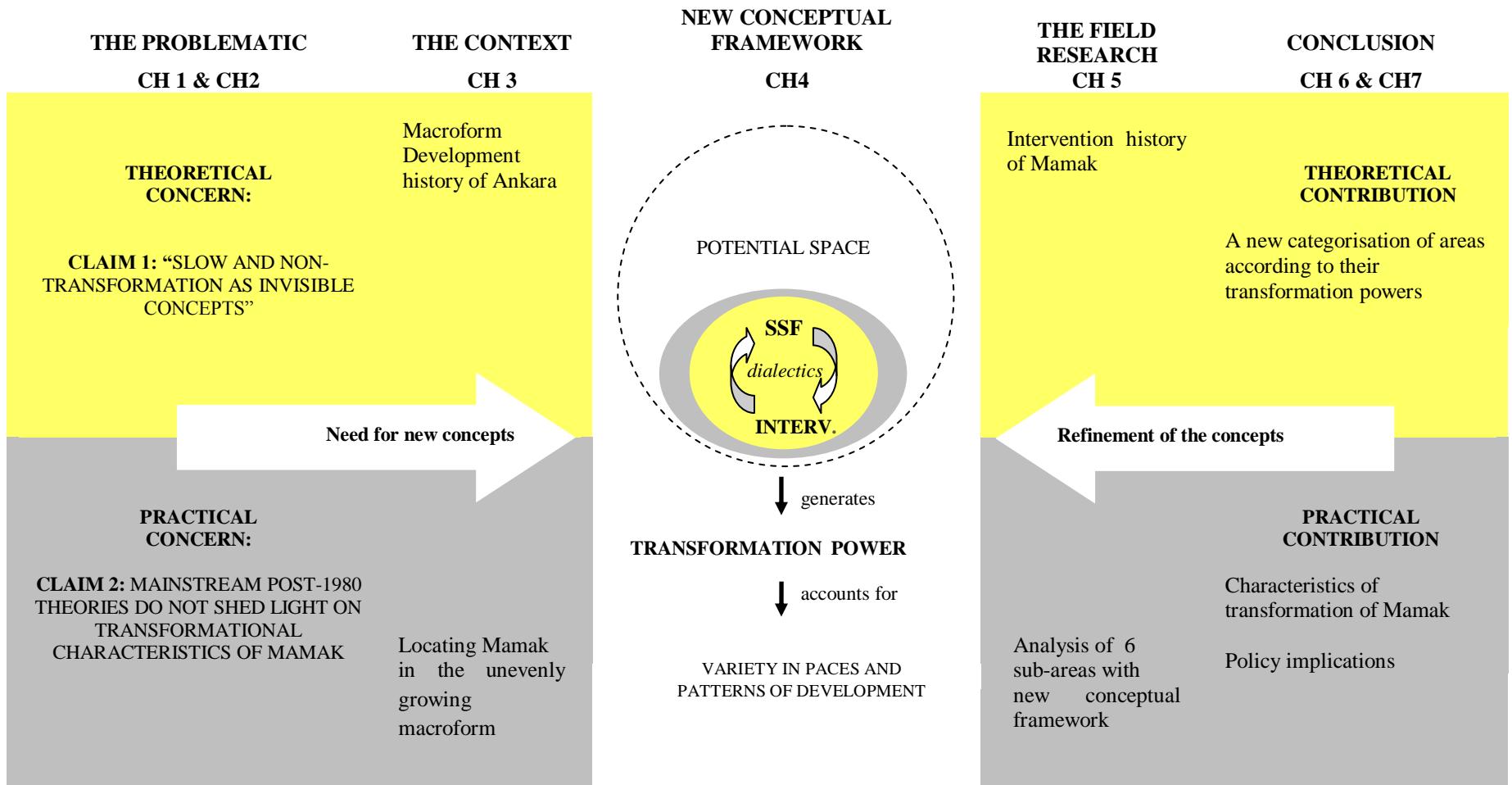


Figure 1.2 The structure of the thesis

CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL ECONOMIC ACCOUNTS OF SPATIAL VARIETY IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

2.1. Introduction

This chapter concentrates on the political and economic accounts of spatial variety, with the overall objective being to reach a non-reductionist explanation of spatial varieties, taking into consideration both economic and political levels of determination.

Concerning the spatial structure of urban areas in capitalist formations, three crude lines of discussion³ should be mentioned. For non-political accounts, among which Human Ecology⁴ can be mentioned, the city is an equilibrium-seeking and evolving system. Urban change results from population increases and technological development, which push the system from a state of equilibrium to a state of disequilibrium, which is overcome by struggles between rational actors that carry the system to a new and a higher stage of equilibrium. Meanwhile, the urban area seems to evolve from the traditional to modern and from the rural to urban, and in this sense, spatial variety is not a subject for concern, but a state of balance and a condition for the evolution of the system.

³ For a concise review of Human Ecology and Urban Managerialist views see Saunders (1981)

⁴ Human Ecology is established on the studies of Park, 1952, Tönnies 1955, Simmel, 1903 Wirth, 1938

Another line of reasoning relates to purely political accounts, among which urban managerialism can be mentioned. Urban Managerialists⁵ consider the city as a socio-ecologic system in which ecological constraints, such as scarcities of resources, are compromised according to the acts of urban managers, and that it is these acts and value judgements of urban managers (gatekeepers) that produce urban inequality in the city. In this sense, spatial variety can be explained in terms of policy action or inaction; that is the deliberate favour or ignorance of certain sections of the urban environment and their inhabitants by urban managers.

Finally, the functionalist line of reasoning should also be mentioned, which conceptualises the city as an instant expression of capitalist (devil) processes (Marx, quoted in Katzenbach, 1993). Accordingly, spatial variety can be considered as an expression and condition of capital circulation in the urban space.

While the ecological perspective rules out political and economic factors, the latter two perspectives are respectively political or economic reductionist. The following sections offer a review of the political and economic accounts of spatial variety in search of a non-reductionist explanation, considering both economic and political-level determinations.

2.2. Uneven development and rent gap models

In urban studies, discussions of spatial variety often refer to the uneven development model, in which spatial variations are seen as a systematic expression of the very constitution and structure of capitalism (Duncan et al. 1988).

Harvey (1982,1985,1989) explains the post-1980 urbanisation processes with reference to the crisis tendency of capital and its expansionary circulation. The

⁵ Urban Managerialism refers to the studies of Pahl, R. (1975), Rex, J. and Moore, R. (1967).

competition among capitalists in the primary circuit, which refers to the productive sectors, leads to an over-production of goods, based on an insufficiency of demand. At this point, the secondary circuit, which refers to the built environment, acts as safety valve against economic crisis and provides profitable investment opportunities.

Smith (1982:150) summarises the capital's switch to the built environment:

By way of the simplest explanation, with falling rates of profit in the major industrial sectors, financial capital seeks an alternative arena for investment, an arena where the profit rate remains comparatively high and where the risk is low. At precisely this point, there tends to be an increase in the capital flowing into the built environment.

Nevertheless, transferring the over-accumulated capital into fixed spatial investments is only a temporary solution to the over-accumulation crises, as soon, profit levels decline and the capital searches for more profitable options. Smith (1982:151) likens the overall processes to a "locational seesaw", considering "the successive development, underdevelopment and redevelopment of given areas as capital jumps from one place to another, then back again, both creating and destroying its own opportunities for development". It is this creative/destructive search of capital for profitable places that is the basis of uneven development.

According to Smith (1984:151), the most developed pattern of uneven development can be observed at the urban rather than international and regional scales.

Only at the urban scale has this see-sawing begun to complete a single cycle. Once developed, then underdeveloped, the central and inner cities are again in the midst of an active redevelopment.

Smith (1982:145) asserts that the main pattern of uneven development at the urban scale lies in the relationship between the suburbs and the inner city, determined

mostly by ground rent levels⁶ through their equalisation and differentiation between different places in the metropolitan region. This dynamism creates a rent gap, defined as “the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual (capitalised) ground rent capitalised under the present land use” (1979b:545 in Bourassa, 1993). In Smith’s words (1979:543 in Hammel, 1999):

Capitalised land rent is the actual quantity of ground rent that is appropriated by the land owner, given the present land use; alternatively, “sale price = house value + capitalised land rent”. Potential land rent represents ^a “the amount (of rent) that could be capitalised under the land’s “highest and best use.

Smith (1979) uses the “rent gap” concept in his account of investment patterns at the urban scale. When the disparity between the actual rent and potential rent is substantial, the rent gap provides the incentive for investment to return to the inner city (Bourassa, 1993), making it feasible for redevelopment or gentrification.

When, and only when, this rent gap becomes sufficiently large, redevelopment and rehabilitation into new land uses becomes a profitable prospect, and capital begins to flow back in to the inner city” (Smith, 1982:149).

The rent gap is the regulator of what Smith calls “third wave gentrification⁷” and the means of transforming any land use to new landscape complexes (*ibid.*). He explains these processes accordingly (1984:150):

The geographical decentralisation of capital in the construction of the suburbs led to the underdevelopment of the inner city. Capital was attracted by the

⁶ While he admits the existence of other social and economic forces behind such unevenness, he states that “they operate through the ground rent structure” (1982:145).

⁷ Third-wave gentrification refers to the post-recession (1987 stock market crash and 1989 inner city residential land market crash) gentrification that seems to be linked more to large-scale capital than ever, as large developers rework entire neighborhoods, often with state support (Hackworth & Smith 2000: 467).

rapid increase in ground rent that accompanied suburban development, and so the inner city, with already high ground-rent levels and therefore low rates of return, was systematically denied capital. This led to the steady devaluation of the entire areas of the inner city, whether obsolete port, commercial and warehousing land uses or residential neighbourhoods. At some point, the devaluation of capital depresses the ground-rent level sufficiently that the “rent gap” between actual capitalised ground rent and the potential ground rent (given a “higher” use) becomes sufficiently large that redevelopment and gentrification become possible. The inner city which was underdeveloped with the suburbanisation of capital, now becomes a new locus of development (or rather redevelopment).

The disinvestment aspect in the rent gap argument is noteworthy. Wilson's defines the rent gap with emphasis on the disinvestment and devaluation dimension of the rent gap (1991:404):

Investment accumulates where potential property value is not captured under its present use, where usually substandard buildings and property predominate. Areas are seen to undergo progressive disinvestment that creates a gap between the potential and actual land rents being extracted. When this gap is most pronounced, investment flows back to the area to close the rent gap. Devaluation, therefore, sets the stage for profitable investment. Metropolitan change becomes spatially uneven, profit-driven and pronounced in areas where property value potential is currently unfulfilled.

While Smith argues that uneven development is most pronounced at the urban scale, and that the rent gap discussion is developed at the urban scale; he states that the unevenness is similar⁸ for all scales:

No matter at what scale, capital moves spatially for similar (not identical) reasons, and it is this similarity of purpose and structure that engenders a similar spatial unevenness at different scales (Smith, 1982:142).

⁸ Nevertheless, Smith admits that “elaborating the general dynamic of differentiation remains one of the most challenging obstacles to the construction of a general theory of uneven development [p.82, 144].

Hammel's contribution to the rent gap theory (1999) in a way opposes this view, criticising that the issue of scale is implicit in the original rent gap theory. He suggests that land rent must be determined at a minimum of two scales (*ibid*: 1289), with potential rent determined at the metropolitan scale, and capitalised rent determined at the neighbourhood scale (*ibid*.).

Potential land rent is determined at the metropolitan scale, that is, by the factors that work at the scale of an entire city. The amount of rent a parcel should be returning is based on its location in the metropolitan area, the size of the metropolitan area, proximity to major thoroughfares, etc. Thus, the pattern of potential land rent is similar to the theorised pattern of land rents that is quite familiar to urban scholars, with inner-city properties having relatively high potential land rents, and areas on the fringe having lower potential land rents.

Capitalised land rent (*ibid*):

...is determined largely at the neighbourhood scale. The general socioeconomic characteristics of the neighbourhood, including land use, act to limit land rent. Thus, the capitalised land rent of a particular site may be less than its potential if the land use of the surrounding parcels is not of the type that will allow the full measure of potential land rent to be captured.

In other words, “localised land uses play an important role in determining a parcel’s price and its land rent (*ibid*: 1291)”. This challenges Smith’s view that the spatial unevenness is similar at all scales. Moreover, for Bourassa (1993) when we accept that land rent is determined by the land use, capitalised land rent becomes nonsensical because it is in conflict with land rent theory, which states that it is the land rent that determines land use, and not vice versa.

Similarly, Wilson (1991) criticises the common application of uneven development in two aspects: First, he states that mainstream studies see locally constructed investment incentives as unimportant in attracting capital; and second, that they

neglect the role of local culture, politics and individuals in the structuring of uneven development. He states:

While such studies shed a wealth of insight into contemporary metropolitan change, they fail to fully integrate the importance of local processes (1991:406), including the restructuring influence of local culture, politics and individual idiosyncrasy (*ibid*: 407).

Based on several studies of US metropolitan areas, Wilson's conclusion challenges the rent gap perspective (1991:409):

... Municipal redevelopment policy plays a crucial role. Investors frequently bypass rent gap zones to invest in redevelopment districts. The provision of tax abatements, rehabilitation grants or land write-downs frequently offer competitive rates of return or high probabilities for successful restructuring ... Investors are not simplistic and undifferentiated agents, inevitably drawn to optimal rent gap locations.

Bourassa (1993:1734) in the same manner draws attention to the fact that investments are not necessarily regulated by rent gap levels:

For a specific example of this, consider two inner-city sites, of which one is a vacant waterfront site, likely to yield maximum return if developed as a luxury hotel; and the second is an old loft building, currently used as a warehouse but likely to yield maximum return if developed into rental housing. The rent gap on the first site is quite high relative to that on the second site, both because the first site currently yields no rent and also because the river view affords a premium in potential rent. Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that the waterfront site will be developed prior to the loft building. This raises the question of the optimal timing of development.

Clark provides an alternative explanation to this investment discontinuity in rent gap zones (1995:1491):

It is due to the sheer size of building investments, the durability of buildings, and primarily the interest of financiers to harvest returns on investment that

we do not experience instantaneous and continuous adaptation in the urban space economy to every small change in potential land rents.

For Clark (*ibid*), the inertia required to recover building investment, that is, a spatial fix, is the real basis for the identification of actual land rent as distinguished from potential land rent. In this statement, the spatial fix concept is used as an obstacle against the new restructuring of capital.

At this point, the spatial fix concept deserves further attention, as it is another key concept that drives uneven development. When first developed by Harvey in 1981,⁹ it referred to the geographical expansion and urbanisation of capital to escape economic crisis. It is through the provision of the necessary physical and social infrastructure that over-accumulated capital is absorbed by space; and, this over accumulation crisis is delayed when the capital surplus becomes spatially fixed. Contrarily, spatially fixed capital soon creates obstacles in the way of new restructuring. The fixed capital and infrastructures tend to lock in capital, and geographical inertia occurs. Duncan et al. (1988) extends the scope of the spatial fix concept, suggesting that it involves the awareness local people and urban policy. In this sense, the spatial fix is not restricted to the economic logic – as in Clark's view – but covers any obstacles in the way of the restructuring of capital.

2.3. The new urban policy

As nations experience a shift from Keynesian to post-Keynesian regimes, urban policy has also entered a new phase. The Keynesian local politics of collective/social consumption for the reproduction of labour left its place to the local politics of growth for the reproduction of the conditions of capital accumulation (Harvey, 1989; Cox, 1998; McLoad and Goodwin, 1999, Swyngedouw et al., 2002).

⁹ Harvey (1981), "The Spatial Fix: Hegel, von Thunen and Marx" vol.13, issue:3, page:1–12, *Antipode*.

Harvey (1989) explains this regime shift with the “1973 recession, deindustrialisation, widespread and seemingly ‘structural’ unemployment, fiscal austerity at both the national and local levels … and much stronger appeal (though often more in theory than in practice) to market rationality and privatisation”.

Swyngedouw et al. (2002:552) defines the shift in urban policy as follows:

One of the key components of the new mode of socioeconomic regulation in cities has been a gradual shift away from distributive policies, welfare considerations and direct service provision towards more market-oriented and market-dependent approaches aimed at pursuing economic promotion and competitive restructuring.

This trend is known as the “new urban policy”, and it is realised via urban development projects (Swyngedouw et al. 2002). State intervention appears as key component for new urban policy.

In contrast to discourses of market-led and entrepreneurial activity (risk taking, market-led investments), the urban development projects are decidedly and almost without exception state-led and often state-financed (*ibid*: 556).

In this context, local governments are no longer seen as part of the local welfare state, but are supposed to be innovative, entrepreneurial and competitive to regenerate the local economy.

There are two theoretical orientations underlining different dimensions of this trend, the first being Pluralist and Weberian approaches in urban politics. These can be categorised as “urban growth theories,”¹⁰ drawing attention to the strategies and interactions of local interest groups for local economic development. Harding (1995)

¹⁰ Under this category can be mentioned urban regime, (Stone, 1989; Stoker, 1995; Elkin, 1987), growth coalitions, (Gottdiener, 1985), growth machine, (Logon & Molotch, 1987), institutional thickness (Amin & Thrift, 1994), etc.

refers to these theories as “the revival of community power debate” due to their emphasis on the agency.

Marxist structural and regulationist approaches conceptualise urban policy as a channel for capital accumulation, as well as for economic survival, and Harvey (1989) labels this new urban policy as entrepreneurialism. Cities should be part of the inter-urban competition to attract the free-floating and spatial fix-seeking capital, in order to survive in economic terms. For Smith (2002), urban policy is no longer a mechanism of reproduction, which diminishes social inequality. He draws attention to the social outcomes of such a transition in urban policy, such as the displacement of working classes through gentrification; and urban transformation projects in favour of the alliance between the state, financiers and real estate agents (*ibid*). Swyngedouw et al. (2002) define urban policy as a tool for attracting capital under the logic of growth. They refer to urban transformation and mega projects as the materialistic expression and means of urban growth under neoliberalism.

The regulationist perspective conceptualises urban policy within the conditions of the rise of the urban scale as part of the inter-scalar restructuring of state (Brenner, 1999; Macload and Goodwin, 1988, 1999; Jones, 1998). In other words, neoliberalism reveals itself at the local and regional scales by way of new urban policies.

While the capitalist state urban policy is explicitly to eliminate barriers and open new channels for capital accumulation on space, local state policies may diversify in pursuing this objective. Duncan et al. (1988) give explanation to the reason why the behaviour of local state institutions vary by situating local state institutions in a complex mediating position between capital, civil society and nature rather than existing as a mere reflection of the uneven development of capital (*ibid*:113). Moreover, local people are not seen as passive agents within capitalist development, but “able to monitor and learn from their experiences, they adapt, and this adaptation may mean attempts to change and control what is happening around them”

(ibid:111). As one such means of adaptation, Duncan et al. (ibid) mention “the creation of a spatial fix”, to establish some sort of geographical stability (ibid: 111)”. They state that: “Hard-won spatial configurations, social as well as physical, should not be abandoned or destroyed as soon as they are created” (ibid). The state, meanwhile, appears as the main actor in sustaining or dismantling old fixes, and replacing them with new ones. Eventually, Duncan et al. (ibid) extends the scope of the spatial fix concept in a way that involves the awareness of local people and state interventions. Spatial fixes are one means of variation of urban policy across different localities.

Based on their study of several British cities, Jones and Ward (2002) consider urban policy from a different perspective,

Urban policy appears to be a response to the socio-political and geographical contradictions of previous rounds of urban policy, not the underpinning contradictions of accumulation (2002:490).

In this way, they break the direct relation of urban policy with capital accumulation, but relate it to crisis management, and in this context, the urban policy deals with past government failures. In sum, urban policy under capitalist accumulation regime, may not always serve to the conditions of capital accumulation on urban space.

2.3.1. The path-dependent and incremental nature of urban policy

New urban policy is not imposing itself in a vacuum. Brenner and Theodore (2002) underline the contextual embeddedness and path-dependent evolutionary character of neoliberal projects within the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices and political struggles. They identify the realisation of neoliberal ideology as a process called neoliberalisation, whose formation and consequences are uneven across geographies (Brenner et al., 2010):

(W)e view neoliberalisation as a variegated form of regulatory restructuring: it produces geoinstitutional differentiation across places, territories and scales; but it does this systemically, as a pervasive, endemic feature of its basic operational logic. Concomitantly, we emphasise the profound path-dependency of neoliberalisation processes, insofar as they necessarily collide with the diverse regulatory landscapes inherited from earlier rounds of regulatory contestation (including Fordism, national developmentalism and state socialism), and their forms of articulation and institutionalisation are quite heterogeneous. Thus, rather than expecting some pure, prototypical form of neoliberalisation to emerge across divergent contexts, we view variegation – systemic geoinstitutional differentiation – as one of its essential, enduring features.

In a similar vein, we can mention the path dependent character of urban policy, for which it would not be wrong to borrow the very same expression for state intervention on space: "... insofar as they necessarily collide with diverse regulatory landscapes inherited from earlier rounds of regulatory contestation, their forms of articulation and institutionalisations are quite heterogeneous".

Jones and Ward's (2002) approach to crisis management presented above also mentions the continuity of the new urban policy with previous policies. The claim that urban policy has to consider the contradictions of the past government policies assigns them an incremental nature. Similarly, Dye (1984) identifies public policy as a continuation of the activities of past governments with only incremental modifications. Policy makers generally accept the legitimacy of established programmes and tacitly agree to continue previous policies (*ibid.*).

Although the tendency towards the imposition of new urban policy is valid in capitalist countries, its realisation and outcomes vary across spaces owing to the diverse regulatory schemes, the existence of past government activities, and the contradictions of past government activities.

2.4. Theoretical discussion

An examination of the views on uneven development, the rent gap and the spatial fix leads us to several conclusions. In the original sense, the uneven development concept is used as an explanatory term for the spatial variety that is produced by the profit-seeking capital, and the structuring, deconstructing and restructuring geographies. Different levels of transformation across space are seen as inevitable consequences of uneven development. For instance, an area with a slow (or no) transformation pace and an area with rapid transformation pace are both complementary parts and conditions of an uneven development pattern. The difference in paces is explained by the geographical rhythm of uneven development. Even at the neighbourhood scale, we tend to see the differences with reference to uneven development and rent levels. Explanations of any variations in urban space (regardless of the level of transformation or scale) with reference to uneven development can be considered as tautology.

The rent gap concept results in a mechanism of uneven development at an urban scale; however, there are several ambiguities. First, the means of calculation of potential rents is problematic, being calculated on the highest and best use of an area, while in truth being only a vague estimation of what may or may not be realised. Second, it embodies the dilemma: “is the increased rent gap the *cause* or *result* of the transformation? These issues make it difficult to operationalise the concept.

Hammel’s argument throws some light on this dilemma. Considering potential rent meaningful at the macroform scale helps us to evaluate whether a place gain or lose value, given its location and overall investment pattern in the macroform. Besides this, considering actual rent as a function of land uses, plan restrictions and socio-economic characteristics allows local influences to be understood, and from this we can speculate whether an area is a potential target for investment and whether it is

likely to transform. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that such a determination would be no more than speculation.

The spatial fix concept can be mobilised as an umbrella concept for the elaboration of the local influences acting against the structuring of capital. Spatial fix, in its original sense, refers to the absorption of over-accumulated capital by the built environment. In a way, it is a fix of economic crisis; but nevertheless, it imprisons (or fixes) the capital in its place, making it difficult for capital to move out. In this contradictory sense, the spatial fix acts as an obstacle to new transformations. This concept has potential to be extended to cover a range of obstacles (see Chapter 4).

It is acknowledged that urban policy is a necessary condition for capitalist accumulation on space. Urban policy may facilitate, and even produce, a certain economy of scale for capitalist accumulation; however, urban policy is not always instrumental to accumulation under capital logic, as the incremental nature of policy and the spatial fixes may act in opposite directions. Moreover, as Jones and Ward state (2002), urban policy may not even deal with the contradictions of accumulation, but only its past failures.

2.4.1. Theoretical Relevance for the Turkish urban policy

Before discussing our problem definition in the light of the theoretical conclusions, we should first assess whether these views are relevant for the Turkish urbanisation case. This section aims to justify whether “new urban policy” has been effectual in Turkey and in Ankara.

2.4.1.1 Uneven development and the State

The economic programme announced on the 24th of January, 1980 marked a turning point for the Turkish economy towards neoliberalisation, as well as a new phase in

the urbanisation experience of the country (Ersoy, 2001; Şengül, 2003; Balaban, 2008; Eraydın, 1987, etc.). Şengül refers to this period as the “urbanisation of capital”.

Balaban (2008) draws attention to the enabling state interventions and the changes in the legal and institutional aspects of Turkish urban development, and their contribution to the production of the urban built environment. Balaban (*ibid*) mentions three major channels through which the state intervened in the production of the urban built environment in the mid-1980s.

The first channel is the “amnesties” enacted in 1983, 1984, 1986 and 1987 for the rehabilitation and redevelopment of illegal squatter settlements. Among these amnesties, Law No. 2981, introduced in 1984, was the most comprehensive, giving district municipalities the authority to prepare “Rehabilitation Development Plans¹¹,” that not only legalised the squatters, but also provided owners with further development rights. The phenomenon brought a certain dynamism to the housing construction sector and housing market in Turkish metropolitan cities.

Another channel was “the construction of mass housing projects” (*ibid*.). The Mass Housing and Investment Administration (TOKİ) and Mass Housing Fund were founded in 1984, and became important instruments in the financing of the housing sector in Turkey (Buğra, 1998, 308 in Balaban, 2008). While the latter was intended to support housing production for middle and higher income groups, the former was meant to support housing production for low-income groups.

Another important change in the mid-1980s occurred in the legal and institutional aspects of planning and the urban development system, comprising the third channel of state intervention. The Urban Development Law (No. 3194), enacted in 1985,

¹¹ Islah imar planı

decentralised the authority for the preparation and implementation of urban development plans to the individual municipalities (*ibid.* 100). The new law multiplied the number of urban plans and construction activities, while in turn contributing to the increase in the building stock after the 1980s in Turkey (*ibid.*).

Balaban (*ibid.*) refers to post-2002 as another significant period in the urbanisation of capital, in which production of the built environment increases. For this period, Balaban (*ibid.*) lists five major channels of capital accumulation and circulation provided within urban built environment: (1) The sale of designated public properties, (2) empowerment of the Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) and the promotion of (mass) housing production, (3) promotion of tourism investments and investors, (4) promotion of profit-oriented investments along coastlines, and (5) urban regeneration.

Among these regulations, urban regeneration is related directly to urban space, including regulations that eliminate barriers related to the physical renewal of decayed or illegally constructed areas by profit-oriented built investments in order to gain from urban rents (*ibid.*).

These regulations all facilitate capital accumulation in the urban space, while the creative/destructive character of capitalism on urban space is encountered especially in the inner city, where rent gap seems to be large. The sale of public property is a major component in this trend, with housing, schools, public offices, etc. in the city centre being transformed to take advantage of more profitable land uses. The empowered TOKİ emerged as the main actor of regeneration. On these grounds it would not be wrong to assert that the “new urban policy” and unevenly developing macroforms were the reality in Turkish urbanisation.

Squatter settlements were an additional source of problems in Turkish cities. The contradictory nature of the previous squatter housing policies, which date back to

late-1940s, made the problem much more complicated; and it is the crisis management role and the incremental nature of Turkish urban policy that come to the forefront when speaking of the squatter issue.

2.4.2. Implications for the problem definition

This section aims to refine the problem in the light of the discussions given above. The uneven development, spatial fixity and rent gap concepts will be revisited for the city of Ankara and the Mamak district.

2.4.2.1. Unevenly developing Ankara macroform

As the capital of the Republic of Turkey, Ankara has always been a target for capital investments on urban space. Thanks to its status as the capital, the conditions of capital accumulation have always somehow been sustained. Enabling state interventions have been steadily pronounced in Ankara since its declaration as the capital (see Chapter 3.1).

It would not be wrong to claim that whether planned or unplanned, the Ankara macroform has grown unevenly from the very beginning of planning efforts¹² (see Chapter 3.3). The main factor of growth up until the early 1980s was the population dynamics, as the rate of population increase seemed to outweigh the planned urbanisation, and squatter houses became the main components of macroform growth. After the cease of formation of squatter settlements after the 1980s, growth became an urbanisation strategy supported by macro plans; and many mega infrastructure and housing projects, not necessarily on squatter areas, have been realised since then bringing about a new form of uneven development (see Chapter 3.3).

¹² For a comprehensive study of the macroform development history of Ankara from a growth and sprawl perspective, see “Politics of Urban Sprawl: the case of Ankara” by Yaşar, C.G, 2010.

The first theoretical inference important for the rest of the thesis as follows: The fact that the macroform is growing increases theoretically the magnitude of the potential rent for the Mamak district, which is becoming rather central within the growing macroform (see Chapter 3.3). This automatically points to an increase in the rent gap; however, the way in which capital moves within the Mamak district cannot always be traced in terms of the magnitude of the rent gap.

2.4.2.2. Socio-Spatial fixity

Another theoretical inference central to our discussion is about the spatial fixity concept of Harvey. In this study, we emphasize the obstructive role of spatial fixity in the way capital is restructured, rather than its crisis-fixing role as emphasize by Harvey. The term spatial fixity is thus revised as “socio-spatial fixity (SSF)” to underline an expanded use of the term (see Chapter 4, table 4.5 for the components of SSF in detail). At this point, the emphasis is on the intervention- related fixities, such as legal rights, built environment, etc., as well as the fixities related to the agents and their attitudes towards such interventions as knowledge, awareness, expectations and, finally, on the institutions established within this context (modes of housing production, dispute resolution, etc.).

In the elaboration of the intervention- related fixities, attention is drawn to the cumulative nature of subsequent interventions. The interventions under scrutiny in the study are related mainly to the provision of development rights. Each plan brings new legal rights, knowledge and expectations, as well as new institutions serving as mediators between the actors. Each subsequent intervention, one way or another, has to consider the previous interventions in an incremental manner; and as such, the cumulative effect of such successive interventions are an important component of the socio-spatial fixity of an area.

In summary, the SSF is a concept that signifies the totality of the geological characteristics of an area, as well as the historically accumulated physical and social components. These include the built environment, legal rights, knowledge, awareness, expectations, institutions, etc., that act for or against the new restructuring of capital.

2.4.2.3. Historical formation of land rent

It has been stated previously that the transformation (in Mamak) could not be traced solely from rent levels. As defined by Hammel, land uses, plan restrictions and socio-economic characteristics determine land rents, although we should also mention the effect of rumours. Rumours are usually born out of the declared political intentions of political leaders in prominent positions, and from this perspective, land rent is a historically produced value in a specific socio-spatial context.

When the above theoretical discussions are considered, the perspective of the study is shaped as such: “The historical context that comprises the cumulative effect of the successive interventions, as well as the socio-spatial factors, forms a particular logic of spatial differentiation; one that is distinct from the unevenness at the metropolitan scale”.

Based on this argument, this study develops new conceptual tools to scrutinize spatial variety in Mamak.

CHAPTER 3

UNEVEN ANKARA MACROFORM

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the planned and unplanned urbanisation history of Ankara, with emphasis on the development trajectory of the Mamak district. It also deals with the theoretical claim (in section 2.4.2.1) that the Ankara macroform is growing in such a way the potential rent for the Mamak district is increasing. The chapter serves also as an introduction to the macro context of the case studies.

In the previous section, it was stated that Ankara macroform was growing in an uneven manner due to both planned and unplanned development. One would expect the macro plans to be comprehensive, aimed at alleviating unevenness; however, in some cases in Ankara this has not been the case. It was only in 1966 that the government declared the squatter housing problem to be a policy issue,¹³ which explains to a certain extent the lack of reference to the squatter housing areas in the plans, and this contributed inevitably to unevenness in the macroform.

It has been emphasised previously that the proclamation of Ankara as the capital city was a major channel for capital investments in the city, which should be considered as an important initiative to alleviate the uneven development at a country scale against the primacy of İstanbul. Although this strategy seem to be successful at the country scale, however , Ankara itself could not avoid the uneven development

¹³ Gecekondu Law No.775

phenomenon within its macroform, and the following section throws some light on this issue.

3.2. Development of a capital city via the state will

The selection of Ankara as the new capital was the most important spatial strategy related to the foundation of the Republic of Turkey (Keskinok, 2010). First, it was a pioneering step in the regional development strategy to deal with regional underdevelopment:

The development of Anatolia and the most rational distribution of public services led to the idea of a place for capital other than İstanbul. The policy of creating new development centres were in contrast to the economic policies of the single large city and growth focus in İstanbul, being the major point of capitalist integration at the beginning of the 19th century (*ibid*:175).

For this reason, in the 1924–1938 period, a decisive policy was pursued to build a railroad network to connect the Anatolian centres, with Ankara at the hub. This increased Ankara's importance in the national economy (Eraydın and Köroğlu, 2006), and was accompanied by national industrialisation strategy. Among other Anatolian industrial centres, Ankara was also becoming industrialised through public investments, and was also the main locus of the publicly led national financial institutions, banks and insurance companies (*ibid*.).

Thanks to the investments flowing into the development of the city, Ankara became a centre of attraction. The new job opportunities, especially in the public sector and national defence service, combined with rural migration dynamics made Ankara the fastest growing city in the early period of the Republic.

Apart from the regional development strategy, building the city of Ankara was also meaningful within the modernisation project of the Turkish Republic. Successful

development of the capital city would be a measure of the modernity of the Turkish Republic (Keleş and Duru, 2008), and Ankara was conceived not only as an official capital, but also as a reflection of the desired modern community (Şenyel, 2006).

To this end, considerable resources were mobilised for the urbanisation of Ankara; the most important step being the expropriation of around 3 million m² of land for the development of the new city. Almost all of the new development area for Ankara was expropriated, ensuring that the new development would be built on publically owned city land (Keskinok, 2006). However, as Keskinok (*ibid*) states, no precaution was taken against speculative rent increases and increasing land prices, which would affect urban development in an adverse way. Another resource transfer occurred with the establishment of the Emlak and Eytam Bank for housing finance in 1926, which transferred most of its credits to the cooperative housing production in Ankara.

In addition to financial privileges, Ankara also gained advantages from developments in the legal framework. It was for the benefit of Ankara that the Municipality Law (1930), the Law of Municipal Banks and Law of Building and Roads (1933), the Law of Land Registry (1934) and the Municipal Expropriation Law (1939) (Keleş and Duru, 2008) were enacted.

In the 1950s, Ankara's share of investments decreased as the new government favoured İstanbul in the allotment of state-led urban development investments. By the 1980s, Ankara has also lost its importance as a financial centre in favour of İstanbul.

Ankara is still an important metropolitan area and still enjoys the privileges of its capital city status. It became a Metropolitan Municipality in 1984, and in the post-1990s many large-scale investments were realised, such as the construction of the ring road, a new airport and a metro system. Moreover, there are still some mega projects, some of which were launched based on laws that are specific to Ankara (see section 3.4).

3.3 Development of Ankara through the macro plans

This section presents a brief introduction to the planning history of Ankara, with focus on the direction of urban development and the macroform proposal of each master plan. This section raises two specific points: (1) that Mamak (and its squatter housing problem) was never directly addressed in the plans, but somehow got involved in them, and (2) that the relative location of Mamak in the overall Ankara macroform – although indirectly – became more central with the development of the macroform.

The first plan for Ankara was the Lörcher plan, prepared in 1924. Aside from the existing settlement in Ulus, then the Central Business District (CBD) of the city, the plan proposed a new housing development area in the south known as Yeni Şehir (Sıhhiye-Kızılay), with Atatürk Boulevard connecting the old town and new town forming the backbone of Ankara city.

This expansion stretched further to the south with the siting of the Presidential Palace (PP in figure 3.1) in Çankaya, and macroform development occurred predominantly in this distinct north–south direction. Talatpaşa Boulevard formed the east–west corridor, connecting the railway station (ST in figure 3.1) and the district of Cebeci. The commuter train line, built in 1929, and İncesu River, running in an east–west direction, served both as green area and as a separator of the old and new cities. Although the commuter train passed through Mamak, the district at that time fell outside the urban development boundaries.

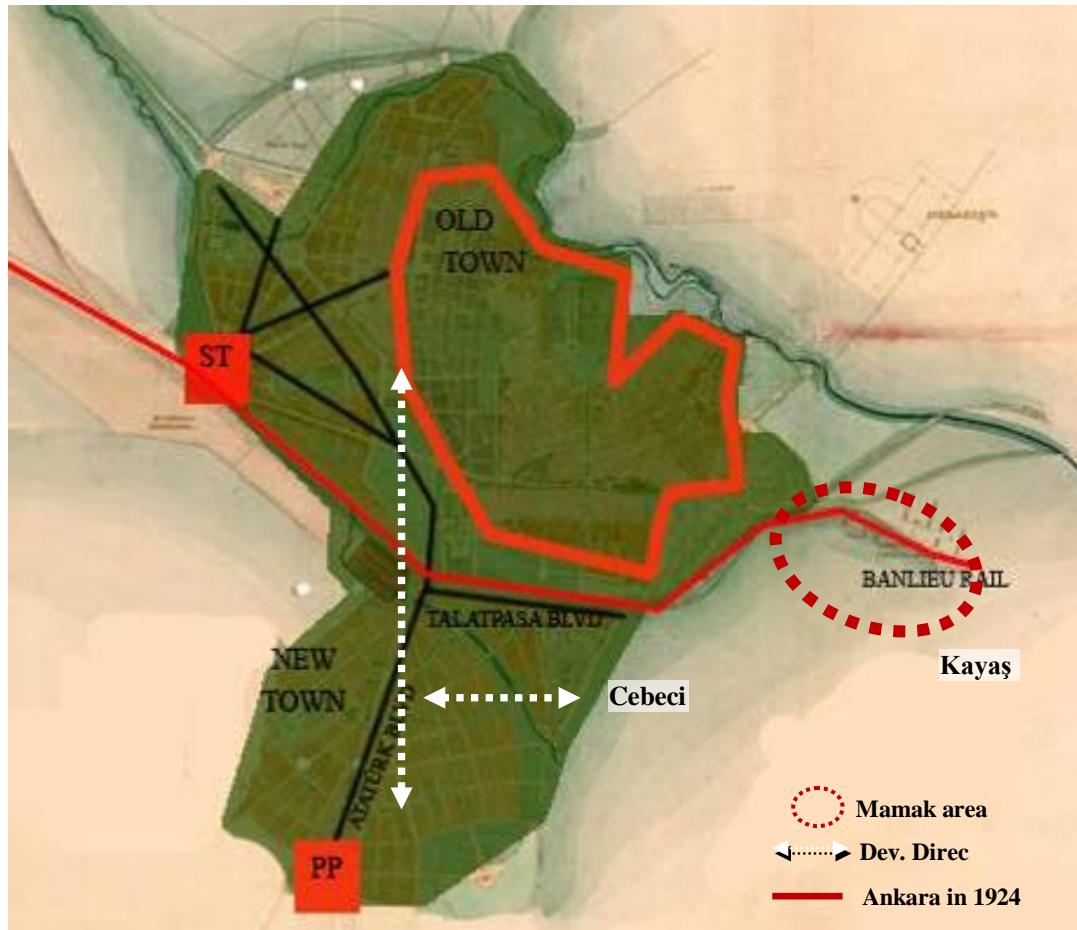


Figure 3.1 Lörcher Plan

The state spent considerable efforts, both fiscally and legally, for the expropriation of land on which Yeni Şehir was planned; however, speculative rent increases and increasing land prices impeded the desired urban development (Keskinok, 2006).

Lörcher Plan remained as the main planning document until the **Jansen Plan** of 1932 (see figure 3.2), which followed Lörcher's north–south direction development strategy. The main features of the Jansen Plan related to the macroform were the enlargement of Atatürk Boulevard, the construction of a new cluster of ministries (M on figure 3.2) between the old city and Çankaya, and the formation of a system of

green areas along both Atatürk Boulevard (Stadium–STD, Gençlik Park) and Talatpaşa Boulevard (University District). Finally, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa Boulevard (GMK) and Ziya Gökalp Boulevard were two important roads that would reinforce Kızılay as the CBD.

The plan proposed housing for low income groups in the north in the Workers District (WD), lower-middle and middle-income groups in the old city, middle-income groups in Sıhhiye and Cebeci, higher-middle in the cluster of Ministries and finally higher-income groups in the Kavaklıdere–Çankaya direction (Şenyapılı, 2004).

It should be noted that at the time the Jansen plan came into force, Mamak fell outside the plan boundaries and did not have an urban character, serving at the time as the picnic area for Ankara (Gültekin and Onsekiz, 2005, 139 cited in Poyraz, 2011), covered with orchards and agricultural lands.

From the 1930s onwards, the newcomers started meeting their own housing needs in the form of squatter housing, mainly on the hilly and non-serviced areas in the east and north-east of the city, around the settled areas. In 1936, the Jansen plan had to be revised, and Mamak was categorised as an “urban development priority area,” along with Keçiören, Etlik and Dikmen (Şenyapılı, 2004:110).

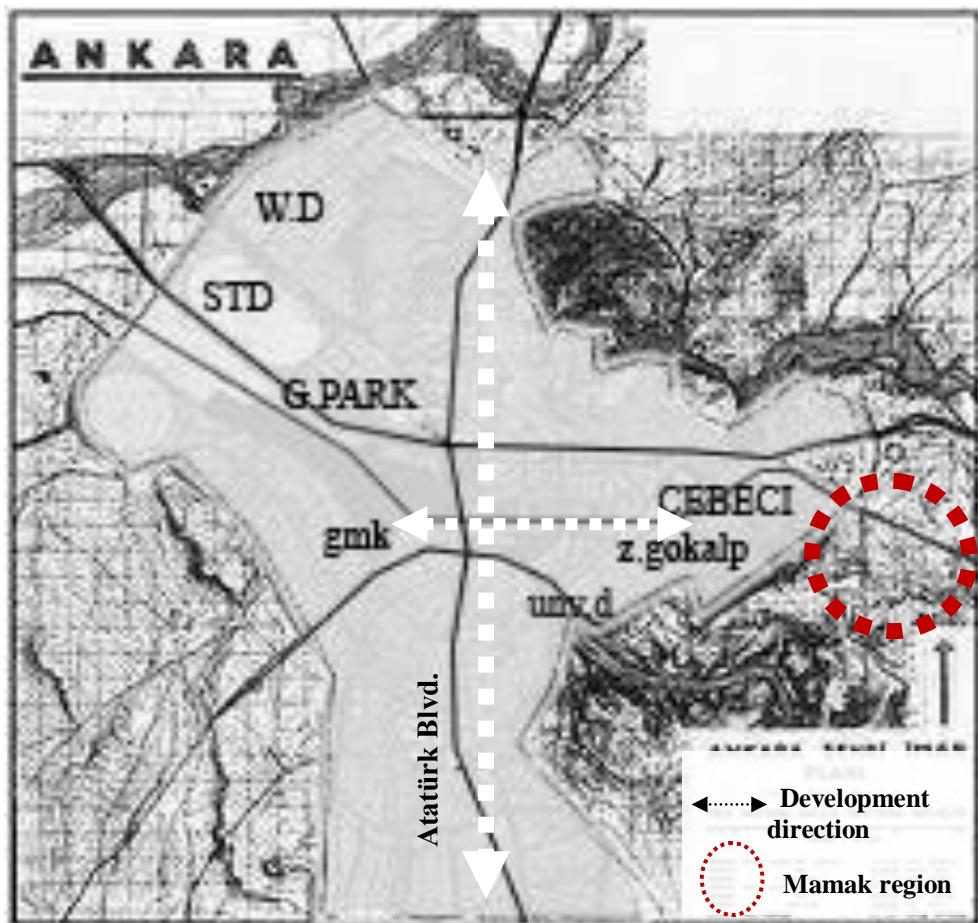


Figure 3.2 Jansen Plan (as approved in 1932)

Housing cooperatives emerged as another solution to the housing problem, outside the urban boundaries. The Bahçelievler and Yenimahalle Housing Cooperatives were authorised attempts to overcome the housing shortage, and while the squatter settlements were predominantly in the east and north-east, the cooperatives were in the west and north-west of the city.

The Jansen Plan's 50-year population estimate for Ankara was reached in only 20 years due to inward migration, and increases in land prices, unauthorised housing

and population reached a peak in the 1950s, highlighting the need for a new plan. **The Yücel-Uybadin Plan**, approved in 1957, covered a total net area of 5720 ha, while Jansen plan had covered only 1500 ha, signifying the increase in squatter housing between 1932 and 1957 (2023 Plan Report, 2006).

A crucial decision of the new plan for both the city macroform and Mamak was the construction of new arterial road (Konya-Samsun Road), which made Mamak more accessible, and thus more attractive for squatter development. Finally, in 1959 a 1/1000 implementation plan for Mamak was approved (Şenyapılı, 2004 p.215) and the western parts of the region became an urban development area.

The Yücel-Uybadin Plan pursued an intensification strategy in a north–south development direction within the existing macroform, which was facilitated with the enactment of a regulation¹⁴ in 1965 (2023 plan report) that not only increased floor numbers, but also detached ownership from land, meaning that more than one right holder could own a specific plot of land. This facilitated organised construction and introduced a new housing supply mechanism to the housing market, known as “build-sell”¹⁵ (Uzun, 2006). The increased land prices and new regulations soon resulted in eight-storey buildings springing up in the city centre, overruling the Yücel-Uybadin Plan.

¹⁴ 1965’de kabul edilen 634 sayılı Kat Mulkiyeti Kanunu’nun yapılmasını zorlaştırdığı 1968 tarihli Bolge Kat Nizami Plan

¹⁵ Yap-Sat

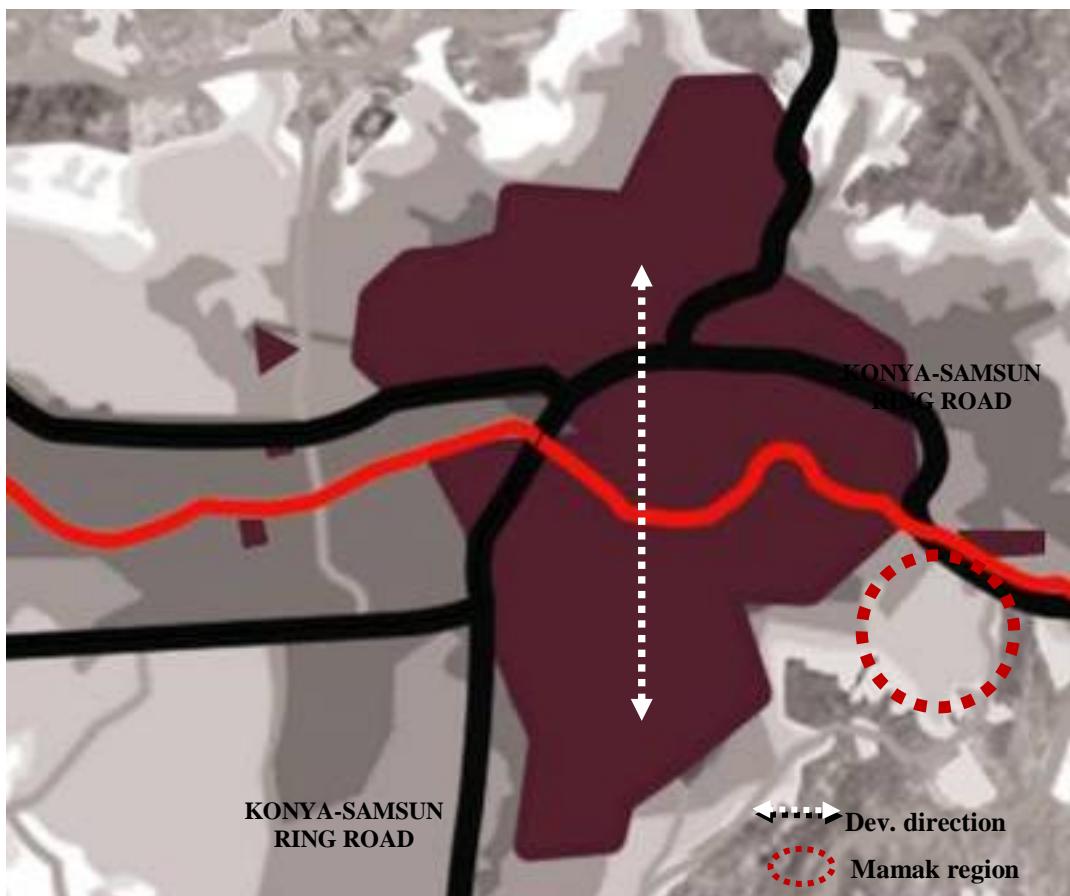


Figure 3.3 Yücel-Uybadin Plan 1957

The plan's 30-year population projection was realised in only eight years, by 1965 (*ibid*), and by the 1970s, almost 70 percent of housing demand was met by squatter housing in Ankara (2023 plan report). The population of Ankara increased to more than 1,230,000 people across an area of 22,500 ha, almost four times bigger than the planned macroform.

Eventually, the city began to suffer as a result of inefficient urban services, air pollution and unauthorised housing (Şençel, 2006). In addition, land speculation escalated, especially reconstruction activities with the increase in permitted storey

heights, and uncontrolled urban expansion beyond the boundaries as a result of the Partial Development Plans (*ibid*). Despite these problems, this plan remained in effect until a new plan was approved in 1982.

The new plan, known as the “Ankara 1990 Metropolitan Plan”, was approved in 1982, and followed a basic decentralisation policy to counteract the high-density development within the city’s boundaries that had been facilitated by the previous plan. Accordingly, the plan proposed a macroform development along the western corridor (see figure 3.4), with Sincan, Fatih, Batıkent and Eryaman along the İstanbul Highway, and Çayyolu, Koru Sitesi, Konutkent along the Eskişehir Highway (2023 Plan Report, 2006). The development of new corridors occurred through mass housing and large-scale development projects. Şenyel states (2006:89):

Urban decentralisation gained a new momentum through mass housing projects, with new developments located 10–15 km away from the urban core. It was an alternative development undertaken by non-profit housing cooperatives or private corporations, operating at the urban fringe, in reply to the speculative small-scale house-building operating at the centrally located neighbourhoods. Batıkent, Eryaman and Or-An are the well-known examples of the mass housing developments that were initiated in the 1970s, the former two by non-profit housing cooperatives, and the latter by a private corporation.

Apart from housing, the plan proposed heavy industry along the commuter rail line in Elmadağ, Temelli, Osmaniye and Sincan; high-tech industry in Esenboğa in the north; and small industries around Yenimahalle and Macunköy along the western corridor (2023 Plan Report, 2006). In Mamak, 80 ha was proposed for the siting of warehouses and small industries, however this could not be realised.

The plan made suggestions for addressing the squatter housing problem, though only partially, with the determination of Squatter Prevention Zones. For Mamak, the plan proposed a squatter prevention zone in Tuzluçayır, although this was never

implemented, and the greenbelt proposed along the İmrahor Valley and Hatip Stream basins were not sufficient to prevent further squatter development in Mamak.¹⁶

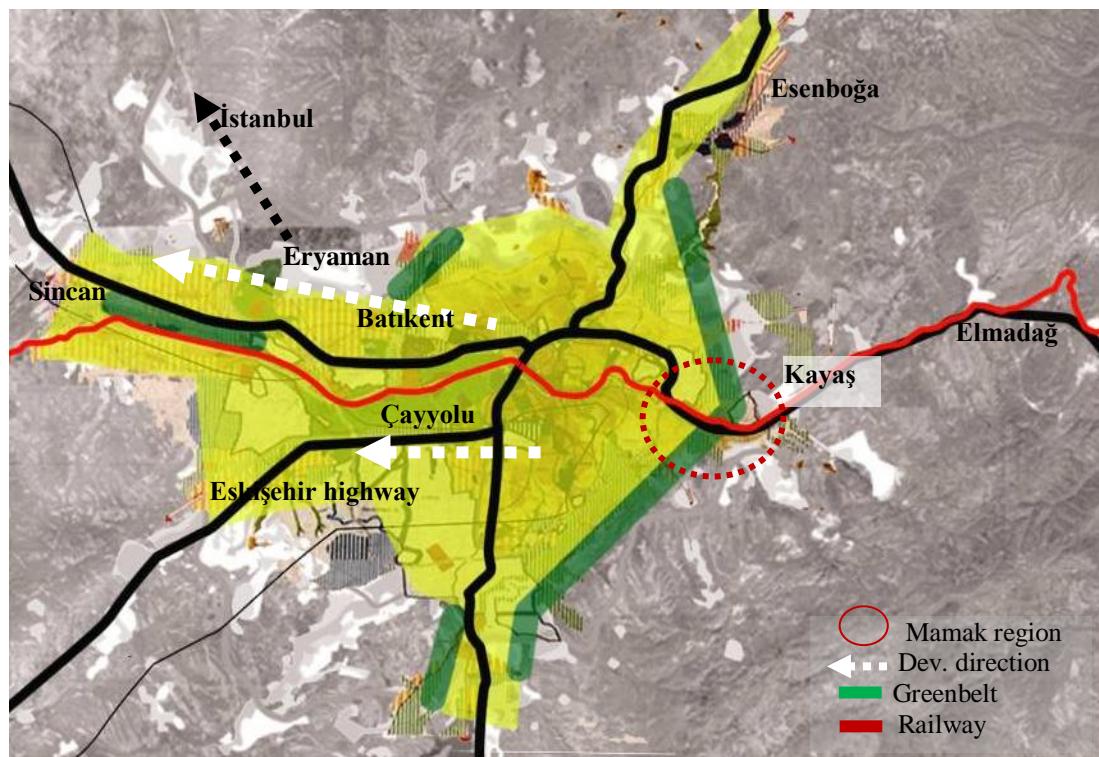


Figure 3.4 Ankara Development Plan, 1990

Together with the new development trends, socioeconomic segregation and an uneven development pattern became more visible in the city. As Şenyel states (2006:97) a hypothetical line can be assumed, following the line of the railway. “While the northern and north-eastern parts are primarily occupied by middle-

¹⁶ It was after Ankara shifted to a two-tier municipal government in 1984 that Mamak was officially designated as a municipal district within enlarged boundaries.

income and low-income households, the southern and south-western parts are mainly occupied by high-income and middle-income groups (*ibid.*)”.

In 2007 a new plan was prepared for Ankara known as **2023 Plan**, which is currently in effect. The plan continues the decentralisation policy of the previous plan, supporting existing growth along the western and south-western axes. Concerning Mamak, the plan report draws attention to the fact that the eastern part of Ankara is suffering from unauthorised housing and a lack of developed land; and the eastern region (including Mamak) is categorised as the most problematic part of the city in terms of socio-economic indicators. To remedy the state of underdevelopment, the plan proposes several sub-centres (SC in figure 3.5) in Mamak: one in the area of Hatip Stream and the other at the intersection of Doğu Kent Boulevard and the Mamak–Çankaya Viaduct. These centres are supposed to “trigger transformation via the regulation of the disordered housing pattern in this area” (2023 report), although the sub-centre in the south seems to have flourished prior to this plan. This area forms part of the case study of this thesis.

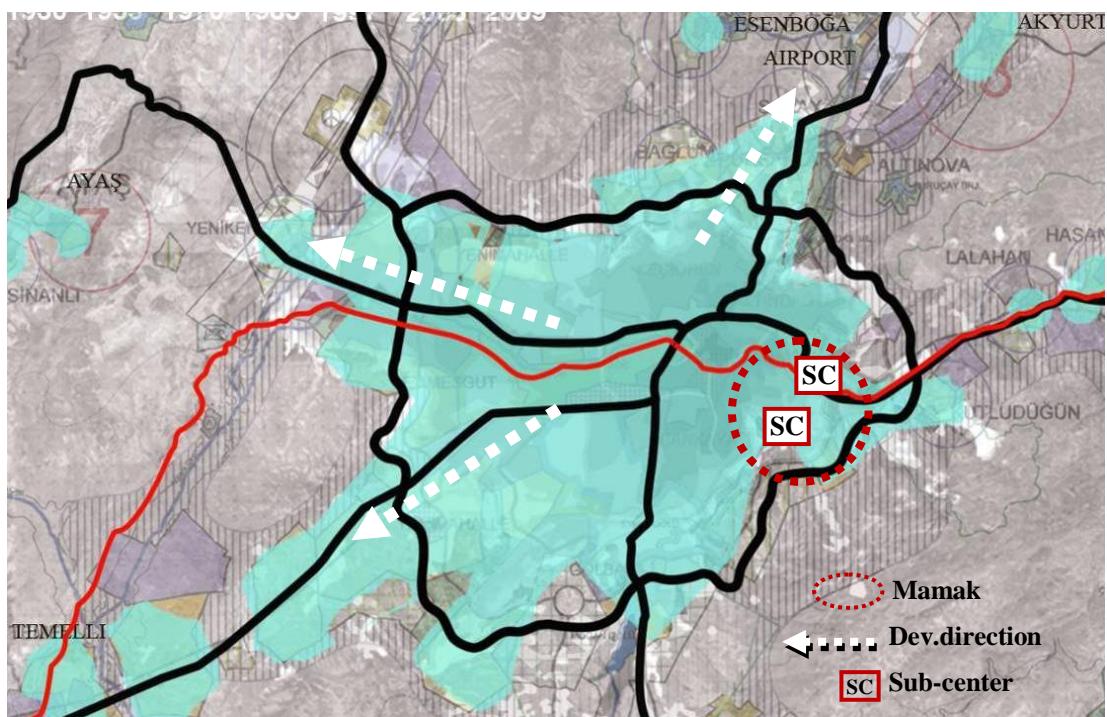


Figure 3.5 Ankara 2023 Plan, 2007

3.3.1. Transportation network

The mid-1980s saw a pressing need for a transportation plan for the city, for which a comprehensive study was launched that led to the creation of the “2015 Structural Plan”.¹⁷ This plan underlined the city’s need for a metro line, especially along the İstanbul and Eskişehir highways, and proposed the construction of a ring road for the city.¹⁸ These proposals led to the creation of the Transportation Master Plan,

¹⁷ Although the plan was not official, it steered the macroform development of the city. The focus in the 2015 plan was the decentralisation of the city in order to resolve the rising problems in the core and the increasing air pollution and population (2015 Plan Report, 1985).

¹⁸ This route was not realised, although a different was implemented that overlooks considerably natural resources and existing settlements.

prepared in 1994 (Babalık-Sutcliffe, 2006), and in 1996 the light rail between Dikimevi and AŞTİ (bus terminal) was opened, followed in 1997 by the metro line between Batıkent and Kızılay (see figure 3.6).

The ring road opened in 1996, and although it improved the relative location of Mamak in the overall city macroform, there is still no project to extend the light rail to the area. As a result, the Samsun Road and the commuter rail link are still Mamak's main means of access.

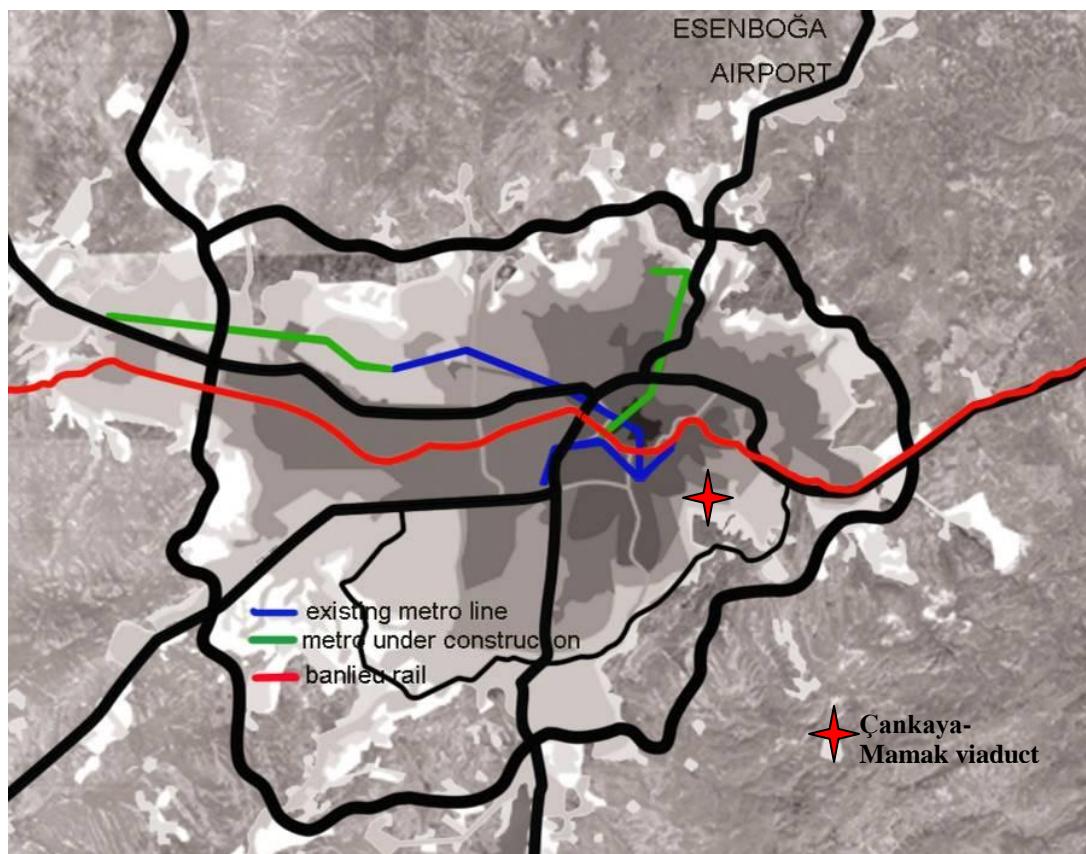


Figure 3.6 Transportation infrastructure

A more important link for the area was the construction of a viaduct connecting Çankaya and Mamak (see figure 3.6.), which opened to use in 1999. Connecting the least developed district with the most developed district brought certain dynamism to the southern area of Mamak, and the area was afterwards designated as a sub-centre in the 2023 Plan.

3.4. Unplanned development of Ankara

In this section, the squatter development history of Ankara will be presented with reference to the population and migration dynamics. Migration played a significant role in Ankara's urbanisation, with many incomers attracted by the newness and accessibility of the growing capital city. In the 1930s, 85 percent of the population increase was attributable to migration, and this trend continued until the mid-1970s (Tekeli, Güvenç, 1985: p.21). Within the national urban and overall population increases, Ankara had always rated above average. Between 1927 and 2000, the urban population of Turkey increased 20 fold, compared to 45 fold for Ankara. It was in the 1950s, during the years of mechanisation in agricultural production, that the rate of population increase was at its peak, both nationally and for Ankara.

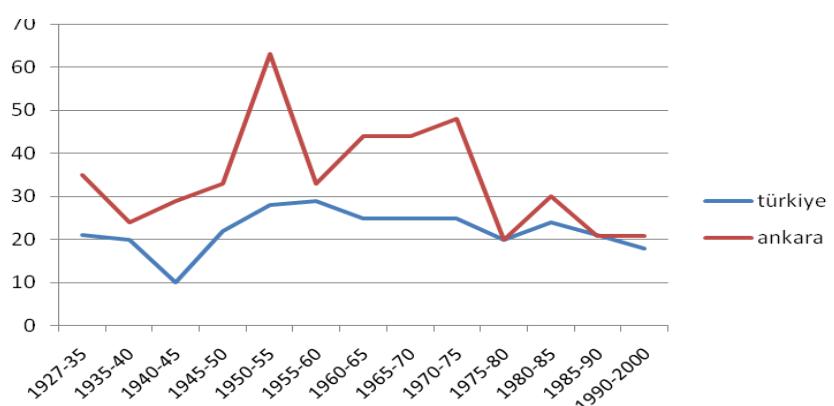


Figure 3.7 .The rate of population increase for Turkey and Ankara, 1927–2000 (2023 Plan Report, Chapter 5, p179)

Despite the fact that most Emlak and Eytam Bank credits were being granted in Ankara, there was still a shortage of housing, especially for newcomers. By 1935, almost 5 percent of Ankara's housing stock was illegal squatter housing, the first of which were built in İncesu and Akköprü in Çebeci. With the opening into service of the Mamak-Kayaş commuter train in 1929, new squatter settlements appeared to the south of Çebeci, along the İncesu River Valley and in its the water catchment area.

The second half of the 1940s witnessed large-scale migration to the cities, and Ankara's population growth rate was at its highest in the 10 years that followed. Housing production was mostly a result of individual efforts, with a small proportion carried out by cooperatives. This was accompanied by an increase in squatter construction. In 1945, the Altındağ, Telsizler, Atıf Bey, Aktaş, Yenidoğan and Yenihayat districts were home to almost 36,000 gecekondu dwellers (Tekeli, p.93), accounting for almost 16 percent of Ankara's population at that time. In the 1940s and 1950s construction demand increased in Mamak too, and in 1948, construction and parcellation decisions were taken for Saimekadın and Mamak.

In 1948, two amnesty laws were passed related to the squatter issue. Law No. 5218 noted that squatter settlements covered 67 percent of Altındağ, Atıf Bey, Yenidoğan and Telsizler; 41 percent of Gülderen and its environs; and all of Balkırız, Seyranbağları, İncesu and Topraklık (Şenyapılı, 2004, p.284). The common characteristics of these areas were that they were either on steep inclines (more than 25 percent slope) or lands that were prone to flooding or landslides. The enactment of the law brought about two decisions: firstly, the municipality would sell squatter owners their land at a low price; and secondly, the vacant lands in Dikmen Karabiber Çiftliği, Çerçi Deresi, Etlik and İvedik were to be transferred to the municipality for further urban development. The municipality would provide serviced land in these areas. The second regulation was Law No. 5228, which extended the squatter amnesty countrywide and contributed to individual housing production by providing

public land and credits to individuals. In Ankara, these laws could be implemented successfully only in Yenimahalle and Etlik.

The Floor Ownership Law, passed in 1954, was a turning point for housing production in Ankara. It detached ownership from land and defined independent shareholders for single plots of land. This saw the rise of a specific construction type known as “build-sell,” which overcame the constraints in housing finance considerably and brought a significant dynamism to the construction sector.

On the other hand, increasing land prices made cooperative housing an important alternative, for which locations outside the plan boundaries were more preferable. Bahçelievler and Güvenevler were the first examples of cooperatives (Altaban et al. 1985, p.92), followed by Aydınlıkevler, Subayevleri, Gazi Mahallesi, Yeni Mahalle Subayevleri, Çankaya İş Bankası Blokları and Basın Sitesi, all of which were built with credits from the Social Security Fund.

All of these interventions contributed to the construction of high- and middle-income housing, while the lower-income housing problem was untouched by the authorities. In the 1950–55 period, Balgat, Dikmen, Altındağ, Şafaktepe, Gülveren, Harman, Bahçeleriçi, Abidinpaşa, Aktepe and Hasköy were all gecekondu areas, and 1955–60 saw the addition of Gültepe, Gülseren, Bahçelerüstü, Türközü, Kartaltepe, Tuzluçayır, Köstence, Küçük Kayaş and Bağlarbaşı to this list (Şenyapılı, 2004, p.243). Illegal settlements also began cropping up in the west in Etismesgut, and in 1960–65, Öveçler, Derbent, Uluğbey, Topraklık, Şehit Cengiz Topel and Karşıyaka also succumbed. A 1963 Ministry of Construction and Settlement document states that 64.4 percent of all properties in Ankara were squatter housing, and provided accommodation for 59.22 percent of the city population (Şenyapılı, 2004, p.240 based on Ministry of Construction and Settlement report, 1968). The Mamak region at that time was fully covered with squatter developments.

In 1966, a new act was passed related to gecekondu housing, numbered 775, which legalised the existing stock and aimed to prevent further gecekondu construction. To this end, between 1965–76 period, 15 Squatter Prevention Zones (SPZ) with a combined area of 3,208.3 ha were expropriated (Altaban et al. 1985), among which only Aktepe and Sincan-1st SPZ were successful, as most of the rest saw further squatter development.

In the 1970s, in addition to Atıf Bey, Yenidoğan, Gülveren, Gülseren, Mamak, Balkeriz, Türközü, Topraklık and İncesu, new illegal settlements cropped up on the hilly areas to the west of the city in Balgat, Aşağı, Yukarı Öveçler, Dikmen, Yıldızevler and Çukurambar (Şenyapılı, 2004).

In the 1970–80 period. Squatter settlements spread to Çubuk Baraj and Karapürçek in the area between Mamak and the skirts of Hüseyin Gazi mountain (Altaban et al. 1985), Kayaş, Mühye and the İmrahor Valleys (Büyükgöçmen, 1997). Also in this period, the Demetevler and Yıldızevler districts saw an increase in illegal housing, followed by Şentepe, Eğlence, Danişment, Kuşcağız, Dutluk, Hasköy, Önder and Ulubey in the north, and Tuzlucayır, Akdere and Türközü to the west (Şenyapılı, 2004). In 1980, the squatter population reached its peak, with 72.4 percent of the city's population housed in illegal settlements (see table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Facts on the squatters in the overall city

Years	Number of squatter houses	Squatter population	percentage in city population
1950	12,000	62,000	21.8
1960	70,000	364,000	56.0
1966	100,000	520,000	57.4
1970	144,000	748,000	60.6
1975	202,000	1,156,000	64.9
1978	240,000	1,300,000	68.4
1980	275,000	1,450,000	72.4
1985	NA	1,560,000	70.0
2005*	156,245	654,274	21.18

Source: Keleş, Ruşen, 1982 Konut 81 p.23 in Büyükgöçmen 1997, Göksu, 1988:9,

*source: 2023 Plan

In 1983 and 1984, all squatter houses were once again legalised, with the residents given title deeds based on Squatter Acts Nos. 2805 and 2981. After that date, there was no longer an all-embracing law, but rather partial legalisations under the name of “transformation projects”.

In 2005, more than 654,000 people – more than 22 percent of the city population – still inhabited squatter houses in Ankara. The Mamak and Altındağ districts suffered the most from the squatter housing problem (table 3.2), with 56 percent of Mamak and 46 percent of Altındağ’s populations still living in squatter houses. Figure 3.8 shows the squatter areas in Ankara in 2006 (yellow coloured areas) as well as the topographical threshold (blue line).

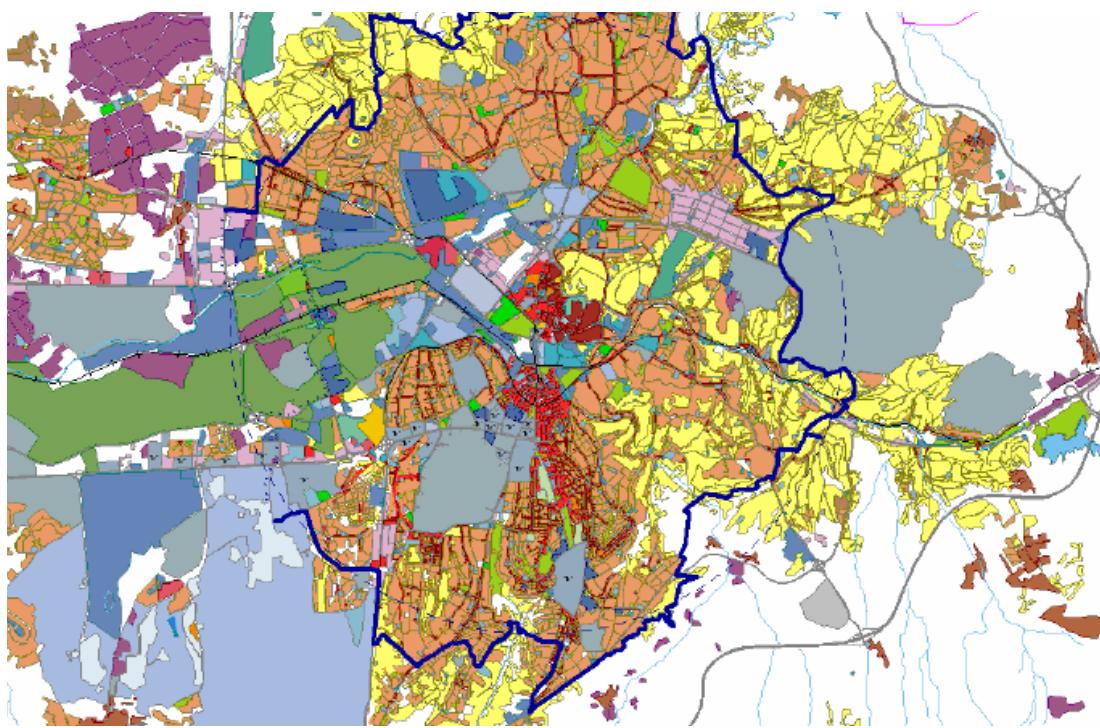


Figure 3.8 The squatter areas in Ankara, 2006 (2023 plan report)

Table 3.2 Facts on squatter housing in 2005, Ankara

District	Population	Squatter Population		Squatter Area		Number of squatter houses	
		%	Area	%			
Altındağ	399,411	186,596	46.72	6,415.5	1,521.6	23.72	43,265
Çankaya	758,490	44,748	5.90	1,3496	1,216.5	9.01	11,717
Etimesgut	88,558	16,583	18.73	1,781.1	227.9	12.80	4,172
Keçiören	626,743	112,970	18.02	5,836.1	1,901.2	32.58	26,337
Mamak	414,477	233,724	56.39	7,717	2,573.1	33.34	56,600
Sincan	267,879	1,674	0.62	2,676.1	39.75	1.49	412
Yenimahalle	534,103	57,979	10.86	10,004	826	8.26	13,742
Total	3,089,661	654,274	22.46	47,926	8,306.1	17.33	156,245

Source: Ankara 2023 Plan Report

3.4.1. Transformation Typologies of Ankara

There are three main spatial typologies that can be observed in the squatter transformation areas in Ankara; (1) Market-led Rehabilitation Plans, (2) Speculative Market-led by Revision plans, (3) Local or Central State-led Transformation Projects., They differentiate from each other in terms of the level of intervention by the administration, the developer and the origin of the capital (local, national or international), the finance model, participation and consent model, cooperation and coordination balance between State and the market, benefit distribution pattern among involved parties, and target income groups. Although they have gained or lost importance historically, they are all still apparent in the housing market and on urban space today.

3.4.1.1 Market-led rehabilitation plans

It was only in 1966, with the enactment of Law No. 775, that the government recognised explicitly the gecekondu phenomenon as a social problem and approached it as a policy issue. In 1984, Squatter Acts Nos. 2805 and 2981 brought the means for the transformation of squatter neighbourhoods with “Rehabilitation Development Plans,” with the first definition of the rehabilitation plan made in Act No. 2805:

...it is an urban development condition drawn on existent maps that determines building regulations with the aim of bringing balanced, regular and healthy conditions for unhealthy, uncontrolled built up areas or building in clearly defined borders with the consideration of existing conditions” (cited in Sat, 1997).

These plans aimed at ameliorating the existing squatter settlements with minimum intervention. They were semi-regulatory, allowing two to four storey development with partial first-floor commercial uses, yet providing very little urban infrastructure

and social facilities. The district municipalities were responsible of the preparation of their own plans, and were to provide the necessary infrastructure in these rehabilitation areas.

The main actors in the process were the constructor, known as “*yap-satçı*” (meaning build-sell), and landowners; and construction was organised according to the needs and income levels of the landowners. The constructors had little or no capital, but would obtain the land free from the landowners and sell the housing units prior to construction to raise the capital for construction. The target group was the original landowners and the people within their social networks.

Using this method, many single, low-rise houses or squatters were demolished and replaced by multi-storey apartments, which meant not only a considerable density increase for the city, but also a physical and social infrastructure insufficiency. The built environments produced generally failed to meet the legal standards in the regulations. Table 3.3 shows the existing, proposed and required technical and social infrastructure in the year the rehabilitation plans were prepared for the districts. It can be seen that the proposed infrastructure in the rehabilitation plans is far less than that demanded by the standards of Act No: 3194 (Sat, 2007).

Rehabilitation plans were prepared for almost all of Ankara’s squatter areas in the 1990s (see table 3.4), while some were not included in the plans due to their location in disaster-prone areas. The effectiveness of the rehabilitation plans differed from district to district. The plans were successful for the transformation of the squatter houses in Çankaya and Etimesgut (Tuçaltan, 2008), Çankaya being the most desired district in Ankara, attracting people from the middle- and high-income groups. Accordingly, the land prices were high and market conditions were ripe in this district. Etimesgut was on the planned development corridor of the city after the 1982 plan, and the related dynamism may have contributed to its transformation. Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak remained considerably non-transformed (Tuçaltan,

2008), which can be attributed to the immature market dynamics in these areas (see chapter 5.2 for a detailed analysis of Mamak).

Table 3.3 Social and technical infrastructure gap in the rehabilitation plans

	Education			Health			Socio-cult.			Green area			commercial		Tech.infr.		
	exs	pro.	gap	exs	pro.	gap	exs	pro.	gap	exs	pro.	gap	exs	pro.	exs	pro.	
Altındağ	1.1	45.0	160.4	-	4.1	47.2	-	4.2	149.9	-	140.8	218.6	-	7.2	69.8	n.a	434.1
Çankaya	15	56.4	178.3	-	8.2	50.4	-	5.4	170.6	-	205.6	205.1	-	10.7	77.3	n.a	198.6
Etimesgut	-	17.3	89.5	-	3.9	22.8	-	7.4	72.7	-	124.8	62.2	-	10.4	29.7	n.a	146.7
Keçiören	7	66.4	239.2	-	11.7	64.7	-	19.2	210.0	-	175.7	359.0	-	14.2	100.4	n.a	205.0
Mamak	24	93.5	191.6	1.2	10.8	60.5	-	5.0	208.8	-	73.8	525.0	-	63.6	43.3	n.a	21.0
Y. Mah.	0.6	25.0	199.8	-	3.4	52.8	-	3.7	165.0	-	71.1	322.4	-	11.3	73.1	n.a	13.9
Total	47.7	303.6	1058.8	-	42.2	298.4	-	44.8	977.0	-	791.8	1592.3	-	117.4	393.5	n.a	1019.3

Source: N. Aydan SAT, 2007

(values are in hectar)

Exist.: Existing technical and social infrastructure in the year the rehabilitation plans were prepared for the districts

Prop.: Proposed infrastructure in the rehabilitation plans

Gap: The amount of social and technical infrastructure area still to be added to the proposed to recover the standards of Act No: 3194

Table 3.4 Rehabilitation Plan areas by Districts, 1991

District	Existing Gecekondu Area (Ha)	Implemented Rehabilitation Plan Area	
		ha	%
Altındağ	1,668	1,567	94
Çankaya	2,171	1,495	69
Etimesgut	633	368	57
Gölbaşı	264	264	100
Mamak	4,147	4,007	97
Keçiören	1,970	1,893	96
Sincan	9	9	100
Yenimahalle	957	957	100

Source: Şenyapılı, and Türel (1966) and Büyükgöçmen 1977 in Güzey (2009)

3.4.1.2 Speculative market led by Revision Development Plans

Some non-transformed areas were further subjected to “Revision Development Plans,” which allowed for a more flexible development than the Rehabilitation Plans, rearranging the social and physical infrastructure based on population projections, and thus producing a relatively more functional and qualified living environment. The results were project areas of high-rise buildings on large and merged parcels, with adequate physical and social infrastructure. Geçak, Portakal Çiçeği and Çukurambar are such areas in Çankaya. It was in this period that the landowners became the real receptors of urban rents.

The Geçak and Portakal Çiçeği projects are often referred to as urban transformation projects in literature, however in legal terms they cannot be described as such. Both projects were undertaken by organised groups of landowners who contracted construction firms to build the projects, with the municipality being either a shareholder or arbiter in the projects, accelerating the realisation of the projects. In both projects, the metropolitan municipality sought participatory, democratic, well-designed and feasible methods; however, this does not change the fact that they were tailor-made projects for the landowners.

While for the Portakal Çiçeği project the target group was middle-income groups, Geçak aimed to retain the existing residents in the area (Uzun, 2005), although land rents did increase speculatively. Accordingly, household patterns changed, and the prestigious site became home to high-ranking bureaucrats and professional people (Şenyel, 2006).

Çukurambar is a further example of speculative development in the central city. Initially a rehabilitation area, increased land prices in Çukurambar resulted in a few speculators reaping the rents that were created and sending the squatter owners out of the area.

3.4.1.3 Local or Central State-led Transformation Projects

After Habitat II in 1996, urban renewal was adopted as a new local policy instrument. The legal framework for urban transformation projects in Turkey is based upon Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 (2004); Municipalities Law No. 5393 (2005); and the Law on the Restoration, Preservation, Conservation, Maintenance and Utilisation of Worn Out Historical and Cultural Immovable Assets No. 5366 (2005). In addition, the Housing Development Administration (Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı – TOKİ) in 2004 has been given more power with the transfer of authority for 775.

According to Article 73 Law No. 5393, the Metropolitan Municipality is authorised to launch urban renewal projects in a wide range of areas:

Article 73: The municipality can carry out urban transformation and development projects that are appropriate to the existing development process of the city, with the purpose of rebuilding and restoring its old parts; creating residential, industrial and commercial areas as well as technological parks and social settings; taking measures against earthquake hazards; or protecting its historical and cultural texture.

However, the municipality is bound by a consent obligation:

Evacuation, demolition and expropriation of buildings within areas subject to urban transformation and development projects are processes based on consent. Lawsuits filed by municipalities and proprietors bound by urban transformation and development projects are handled in courts and adjudicated upon (5393/73).

Unlike the municipalities, TOKİ has right to buy or expropriate private property in case of any disputes with the landowner based on Article 31 of Law No. 775 and Article 4 of Law No. 2985. Moreover, Article 7 of Law No. 775 empowers TOKİ to launch projects under its own initiative, bypassing municipalities.

TOKİ engages in three main forms of intervention. The first type is the “Squatter Transformation model,” in which the municipality applies to TOKİ for the transformation of a squatter area. TOKİ then makes a feasibility study, comparing the costs of transferring shareholders to vacant lands with the gains of the new constructions on the area at hand. If TOKİ finds it feasible, a protocol is signed between the municipality and TOKİ.

The second intervention type is called “Social Housing model,” which has four sub-categories: (1) housing for the poor with green cards, that is, people who are officially registered as “poor,” (2) housing for lower income groups, (3) housing for various income groups, and (4) “revenue-sharing”. Revenue sharing is applied in the case of expensive land, where TOKİ tenders the construction and receives, on average, 30 percent of revenues after the completion and marketing of the entire project area.

The last intervention type is “Housing in Disaster Areas,” which is limited to areas designated as such by the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency.

Several projects have been initiated in Ankara based on the recent transformation laws. Among them, the most ambitious are the North Ankara City Entry Project,¹⁹ approved in 2000 on 1,582 ha.; the Samsun Road Ankara City Entry Project (Mamak), approved in 2002 on 950 ha.; and the Renewal of the Ulus Historical Centre on 5,366 ha. Other significant projects include the Şentepe (Yenimahalle) Urban Transformation and Development Project, approved in 2004 on 425 ha., Demetevler 2nd stage UTP, on 270 ha.; and Dikmen Valley 4–5th Stage, 176 ha. (Güzey, 2009).

¹⁹ To overcome obstacles a new law, No. 5104, was enacted that was specific to the project.

3.4.1.4 Politics of transformation typologies

The previous sections have elaborated upon three different transformation typologies for the transformation of squatter settlements. Although these seem to address the squatter phenomenon, the content of the problem and the motivations of the politicians have been in a state of constant change.

The squatter transformation issue in Turkish cities cannot be separated from central politics. The political base of the post-1980 ANAP (Motherland Party) government was the squatter dwellers, who at a time accounted for more than 70 percent of the Ankara population; and the amnesty laws and rehabilitation plans were populist interventions that had the purpose of winning the support of this voter base.

In the same manner, the decentralisation of planning powers engendered a clientalist mode of representation, in which certain actors with strong political networks reaped the benefits of speculative urbanisation. The clientalist relations were most pronounced at the local municipality level in the form of tailor-made plan revisions.

In the post-2000 period, under the AKP (Justice and Development Party) government, political interest in the squatter inhabitants lost emphasis as focus shifted to certain capitalist fractions, and urban transformation projects can be seen as part of this political tendency. The state became an important actor of urbanisation through the strengthening of metropolitan municipalities and TOKİ. Balaban (2008) calls this tendency a “sector-based recentralisation of planning powers,” referring to the devolution of planning powers to state organisations, depending on the sector or area. All of this promoted a fast policy regime, accelerating the turn-over time of policies, and thus depleting the energy and capacity of any possible opposition movements (Peck, 2001).

Although both the post-1980 and post-2000 eras encompassed the neo-liberalisation path of Turkey, it would be a mistake to think there was continuity in the squatter transformation objectives. While the aim had been, to a great extent, to win the political support of squatter dwellers and integrate them into housing market in the 1980s, in the 2000s the leading incentive was to open channels for certain fractions of capital. The squatter dwellers lost significant political power between these two periods.

3.5. Socio-economic panorama of districts of Ankara

This section presents a comparison of the socio-economic characteristics of Mamak with those of the other Ankara districts. As Mamak became an official district in 1984, our concern is limited to the post mid-1980s, and especially to the very recent situation.

Until 1950, Ankara was essentially one district; until Çankaya was established in 1950, followed by Altındağ in 1955 and Yenimahalle in 1960. In 1984, under Law No. 3030, Ankara became a Metropolitan Municipality, while Keçiören and Mamak became municipal districts. By the late 1980s, the number of districts in Ankara grew to eight with the addition of Sincan, Etimesgut and Gölbaşı; and after 2004, as a result of the extension of Ankara's boundary to 50 km, seven more districts were added – Akyurt, Ayaş, Bala, Çubuk, Elmadağ, Kalecik and Kazan.

Table 3.5 Population by district

Years	Çankaya	Keçiören	Yenimahalle	Mamak	Altındağ	Etimesgut, Gölbaşı, Sincan	Ankara
1985	665,128	433,559	360,573	371,904	403,871	-	2,235,035
1990	712,304	523,891	343,951	400,733	417,616	186,099	2,584,035
2000	758,490	625,167	534,109	412,771	400,023	472,802	3,203,362

Source: 2023 Ankara Plan Report

Mamak's population in 2000 was about 412,000, accounting for one-eighth of the urban population, and making it the fourth most populous district in Ankara (see table 3.5). The 2000 census indicates that from 1980 onwards, Mamak's rate of population increase was below the city average, corresponding with the years in which inward migration slowed. The highest rates of increase can be observed mainly along the western development corridors of the city, such as in Etimesgut and Sincan (figure 3.9).

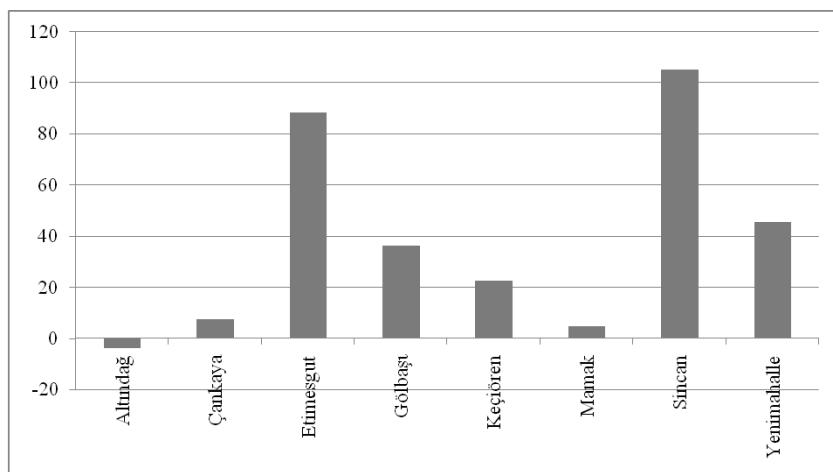


Figure 3.9 Population increase by district, 1990–2000

Mamak contains the greatest number of buildings among all of Ankara's districts, a direct result of the dense squatter settlements, followed by Altındağ and Yenimahalle respectively. This figure is aggravated by the fact that 93.6 percent of all buildings in Mamak are housing units (see table 3.6), accentuating the lack of social infrastructure and other land uses, such as commercial, industrial, etc.

Table 3.6 Building functions by district in 2000

	Residential		Mixed ¹		Business and industrial		Social infrastructure ²		Other	Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.
Altındağ	49,605	80.1	3,115	5.0	6,912	11.2	519	0.8	1,748	61,899
Çankaya	37,277	75.0	8,126	16.3	1,840	3.7	1,848	3.7	615	49,706
Etimesgut	9,112	73.8	434	3.5	1,985	16.1	494	4.0	329	12,354
Gölbaşı	2,469	77.7	350	11.0	269	8.5	44	1.4	45	3,177
Keçiören	39,095	87.6	4,055	9.1	582	1.3	547	1.2	368	44,647
Mamak	58,868	93.8	2,170	3.5	1218	1.9	271	0.4	232	62,759
Sincan	8,890	75.3	1,517	12.9	1,080	9.2	182	1.5	131	11,800
Yenimahalle	43,384	74.5	2,949	5.1	10,414	17.9	909	1.6	569	58,225

¹ Non-residential and residential mixed

² Education, cultural, sports, health, public, religious uses

Source: Building census, statistics DİE, 2000 in Ankara 2023 plan report

Among the eight districts, unemployment rates are highest in Keçiören with 15.6 percent followed by Sincan with 14.8 percent,, Mamak with 14.6 percent. When gross domestic product is considered, Mamak's share of Ankara's production accounts for only 5.6 percent, while Çankaya meets 21.26 percent, Altındağ 20.44 percent, Yenimahalle 14.05 percent and Keçiören 11.24 percent of total production (see table 3.8). This again clarifies the lack of trade and industry in Mamak.

Table 3.7 Unemployment ratio in Ankara by district (2000)

Ankara	Total	Unemployment
Workforce	population	ratio %
Total	3,356,877	13.01
Altındağ	407,101	16.00
Çankaya	769,331	10.10
Etimesgut	171,293	10.16
Gölbaşı	62,602	11.35
Keçiören	672,817	13.25
Mamak	430,606	15.58
Sincan	289,783	14.85
Yenimahalle	553,344	12.82

Source: Population Census, DİE, 2000 in 2023 Ankara Plan Report

Table 3.8 Gross domestic product by district (1996)

	GDP Purchaser's price) 000 000 TL	% within Turkey	% within Ankara
Altındağ	237,586,380	1.61	20.44
Çankaya	247,199,665	1.67	21.26
Etimesgut	36,937,135	0.25	3.18
Gölbaşı	23,502,247	0.16	2.02
Keçiören	130,717,792	0.88	11.24
Mamak	69,239,741	0.47	5.96
Sincan	46,726,954	0.32	4.02
Yenimahalle	163,279,868	1.11	14.05
Total	955,189,782	6.47	82.17

Source: 2023 Ankara Plan Report

Some 24 percent of Mamak's work force is employed in the industrial sector in Yenimahalle, Sincan, Esenboğa Road-Akyurt and Çubuk. Mamak, itself contains around 200 ha of industrial area on the Samsun Road, where around 5,000 people are employed, mainly in the food sector. In addition, there are some factories in the military zone, such as the Gas and Fişek factories (2023 Plan Report), and also some stone-sand, brick industries in the İmrahor Valley, which are threatening the local ecology.

In summary, in many aspects, Mamak's socio-economic indicators are below the city average, and the slow transformation of the built environment in Mamak should not be considered as separate from this.

3.6 Discussion on the macroform development of Ankara and Mamak

Considering the macroform proposals of all of the master plans, it is apparent that major revisions concerned the north–south direction (along Atatürk Boulevard) in the earlier plans, while in the later plans emphasis was on the west and south-west directions. Topographical and other natural boundaries seem to have played a significant role in the elimination of the north, south and east as alternative (planned) development directions (Altaban, 1986). Figure 3.10 shows the overlapping macroform proposals of each master plan for Ankara.

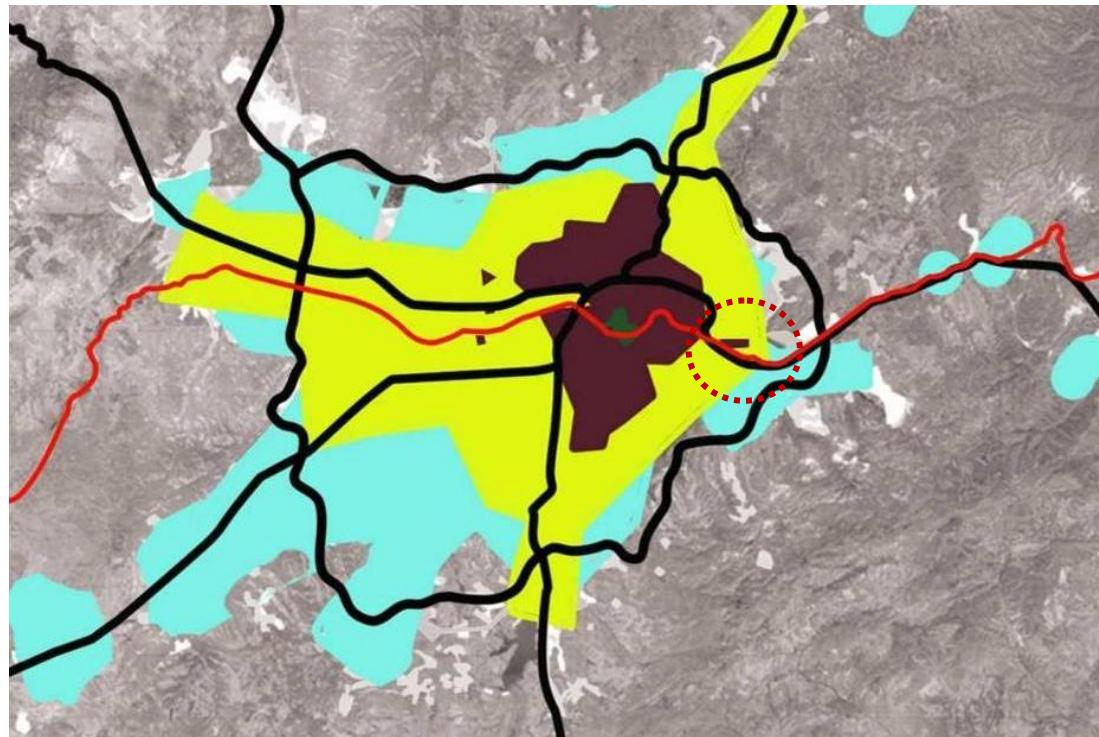


Figure 3.10 Overlapping macroform proposals of macro plans (Jansen to 2023 plan)

As illustrated, the Mamak region was first included in the 1990 plan, but at this stage there had been no effective macro decisions aside from the greenbelt, and this geographical threshold was no deterrent to unauthorised housing. Figure 3.11 shows the authorised and unauthorised development of Ankara in 2010. While unauthorised housing features mostly in northern and eastern Ankara, authorised development takes place mostly in the west and south-west of the city.

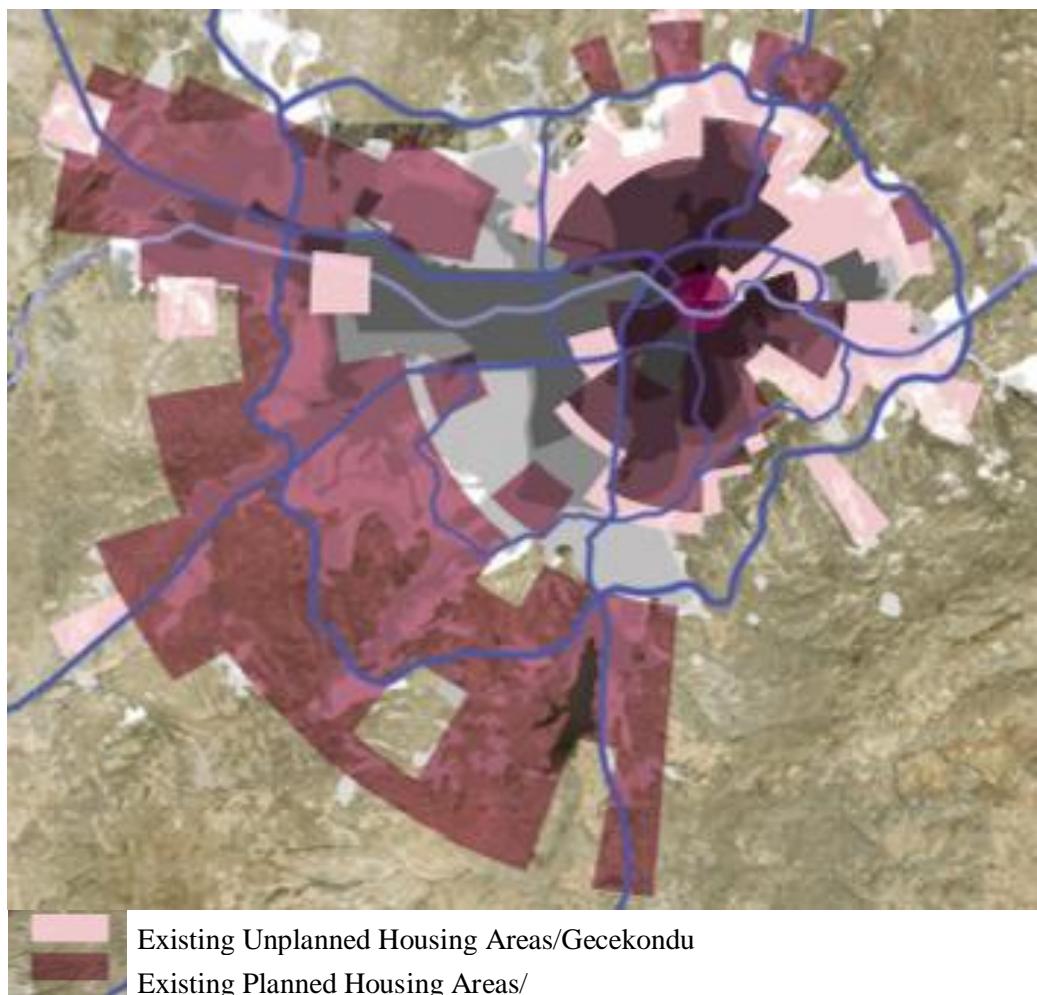


Figure 3.11 Housing development typology of Ankara (Yaşar, 2010)

When considering the overall macroform, Ankara seems to have been confined by the ring-road to the north, south and east (8–10 km), while it has sprawled beyond it to the west (20–25 km). Consequently, Mamak, once on the periphery of Ankara, has today a more central position within the entire macroform (see figure 3.12).

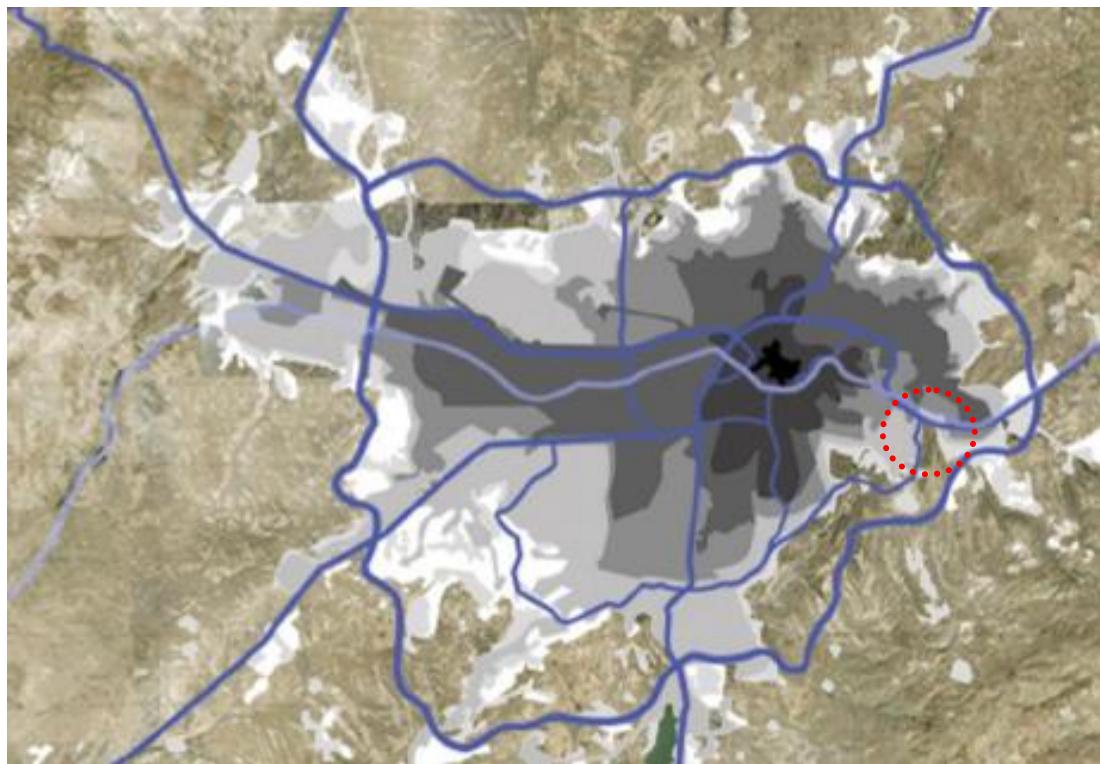


Figure 3.12 Macroform development of Ankara: 1930–2009 (Yaşar, 2010)

Mamak's slow rate of urbanisation has been supported by its socio-economic characteristics, which is in line with Şenyapılı's (2004) argument that the squatter housing problem is more than just a problem of shelter, "One of the main determinants in the evolution of the squatter housing problem has been the relations in the labour market" (*ibid*). The inhabitants' level of integration into the economy determines their housing conditions, with statistical data showing that Mamak's unemployment rates are high, and that those that are employed are working in the insecure sectors of industry or construction.

CHAPTER 4

NEW CONCEPTUAL TOOLS AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Conceptual framework and introduction of new concepts

As stated in the problem definition of the thesis, mainstream theories usually deal with dynamic urban processes and exclude less dynamic ones in their accounts; Meaning that, slow transformations or non-transformations are generally overlooked. It has also been noted that continuities between interventions, or in other words, their cumulative effects, are often ignored in accounts of spatial transformation.

Accordingly, it is the intention in this chapter to develop some conceptual tools that will shed light on this previously neglected blind spot, and the new concepts will deal with the stages before an area is visibly transformed.

4.1.1. New space categories: Halting, surrendered and potential space

To highlight the very process of transition through which an intervention results in transformation on urban space, it is necessary to go beyond two-stage space category of non-transformed and transformed.

The new categories are developed with reference to the existence of state interventions (specifically urban plans) on space. An urban space, prior to a particular state intervention, is referred to as a “halting space”; and when an area responds to an intervention positively, it termed a “surrendered space”. These two space categories are visible to the observer as non-transformed and transformed, respectively. As such, the term “transformation” refers to the phenomenon of transition from a halting space into a surrendered space, triggered by an intervention.

As mentioned above, urban studies deal with dynamic processes in which transformation from halting space to surrendered space is perceived as a discontinuous leapfrog step; and related to this false perception, the first assumption is as follows:

“The process of transition from a halting space into a surrendered space is a continuous and gradual process”.

To emphasize this transition, we further assume a third space category:

“Halting space and surrendered space are linked by a hypothetical potential space”.

Potential space is invisible as a non-transformed space, yet it is the meeting point of the transformation and non-transformation. The ontology of potential space is the dialectic of socio-spatial fixity (see 4.1.2) and intervention (see 4.1.3). Thanks to such a space category, we can embrace the tangible and intangible accumulations along the gradualness and continuity between two granted states of transformation.

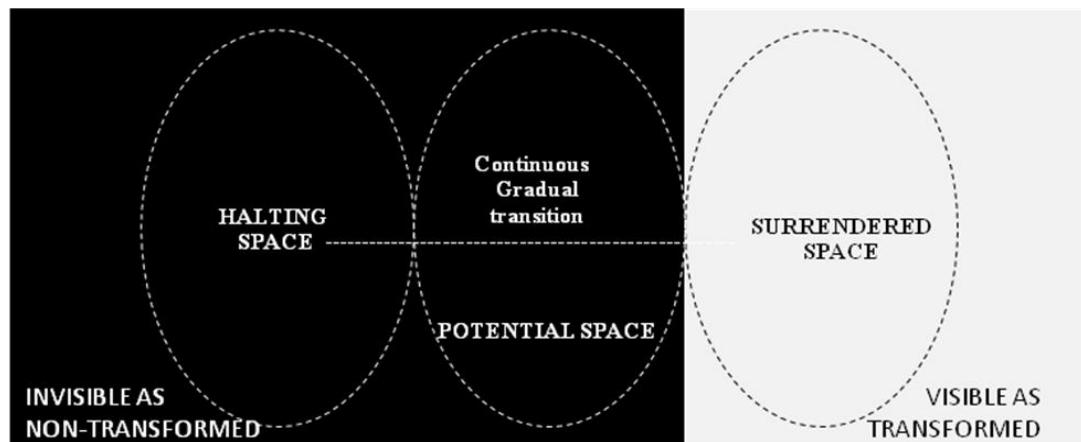


Figure 4.1 New space categories

The research theoretically focus on the potential spaces of areas and searches transformation potentials in their potential spaces. In other words, the dissertation seeks answers to its questions in the processes after an intervention takes place but before a transformation is realized on certain areas.

4.1.2. Socio-Spatial Fixity (SSF)

SSF captures theoretically what has been previously referred to as “the tangible and intangible accumulations of the potential space,” and is an extension of Harvey’s “spatial fixity” concept (see Chapter 2). Socio-spatial fixity encompasses historically formed physical and social accumulations in a specific area, including the built environment, as well as legal rights, knowledge, awareness, expectations and institutions. Learning agents are also a major component of socio-spatial fixity.

SSF is an umbrella concept for the factors that play a role when urban transformation is at stake. The factors alone may act for or against transformation but it's their totality that characterizes the transformation process of a certain area.

The field research traces certain factors (see table 4.1) that are assumed to form the SSF of the sub-areas. The factors are mainly derived from a literature review on the urban transformation projects in Turkey, and compiled based on their compatibility with the Mamak case. However, it is noteworthy that the content of the factors are fulfilled during the field research.

It is also important to note that SSFs are not stable, but rather change across space and time. As the study deals with intervention related transformations, we will emphasize the changes incurred by interventions. The change in SSFs can be explained as such: SSFs are made up of several factors, such as geological, locational, demographic, legal, etc. When an intervention takes place, these factors are affected in one way or another, and the altered factors together form a new SSF. In the same manner, the new SSF becomes an input for the next intervention. Thanks

to such dialectics, the SSF has the potential to lead to different paces and patterns of transformation; and in this sense, SSFs do not act directly with reference to their constituent factors, but display characteristics that go beyond the individual features of their components.

Table 4.1. The component factors of SSF

1 .Appurtenances	5. Property attachments
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical conditions of the houses • planted land, garden, trees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership statue:title-deed, no title deed, title allocation • Inhabitant status:owner, tenant
2. Demographic attachments	6. Conflict mediation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • income level, • number of households per unit • Neighbourhood identity, • Level of kinship, citizenry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • constructors disputes • shareholder disputes(number of shareholders) • Treasury or public as shareholder • Construction organization method • Bargaining power of squatters; ruin costs • Law suits
3. Soil attachments	7. Plan-imposed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • slope • soil characteristics-risk prone 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Floor number • Parcel-base development • Block-base development
4. Locational attachments	8. Discursive
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accessibility from city centre • The waste dumping area/cemetery image • (Non)Existence of technical and social infrastructure • Transformation in the vicinity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rumours and expectations • Political declaration

4.1.3. State intervention typologies

State intervention refers to central and local state interventions that either directly or indirectly target the transformation of squatter settlements across the urban space. State interventions may differ depending on the problem definition, the level of intervention by the state, the available policy instruments and the actors involved. Accordingly, a categorization is necessary to refine the ways in which interventions deal with SSF.

When presenting Ankara's development typology in chapter 3.4.1, three typologies were mentioned under the headings of: (1) Market-led Rehabilitation Plans, (2) Speculative market-led by Revision Development Plans, and (3) Local or Central State-led Transformation Projects, and in this section, these categories will be refined.

The Rehabilitation Plan typology can be enhanced into "populist intervention," considering its overarching inclusion of all squatter houses, which are treated the same regardless of their location or market potential. Squatter amnesties and the provision of technical infrastructure can be considered as populist interventions. Such interventions take place at the district municipality level under the legal arrangements of Law Nos. 2981 and 775.

The Revision Development Plan typology can be refined into "customized interventions". Featuring custom-tailored plan revisions, such interventions are generally made as a result of clientelist relations and through the provision of extra construction rights, profitable land uses or investments to the benefit of certain actors. The level of intervention is again the district municipality, and the relevant policy instruments are the legal planning framework and the loopholes in the framework.

The Transformation Project typology can be further categorized into two streams: authoritarian interventions and totalitarian interventions. While both may involve urban transformation projects on squatter areas, on vacant land, urban renewal, etc., authoritarian interventions are conducted by the metropolitan municipality, while totalitarian interventions are carried out by TOKİ.

The most significant difference between the two is that TOKİ wields more authority than the municipality in overcoming obstacles and circumventing procedures. In the consent issue, the municipalities are bound:

“Evacuations, demolitions and expropriations of buildings within areas subject to urban transformation and development projects are processes based on consent. Lawsuits filed by municipalities and proprietors bound by urban transformation and development projects are handled in courts and adjudicated upon” (Law No. 5393/73).

Whereas, in respect to the following articles, TOKİ holds the right to expropriate urban areas without entering into judicial acts with legal entities:

The article 31 of the Law No. 775: “In accordance with the services mentioned in this law, TOKİ holds the right to sell or expropriate privately owned lands and parcels and, if they exist, complexes and facilities therein subsequent to agreement with the owners”.

The article 4 of the Law No. 2985: “Within the framework of its legal remit, the Prime Ministry reserves the right to expropriate lands and parcels and all structures on them that are owned by real and legal persons”.

Finally, TOKİ holds the right to bypass municipality decisions:

The article 7 of Law No. 775: “TOKİ holds not only the right to reject, accept, accept with modifications or send back for revision the suggestion of municipal councils regarding urban areas, but also to demand from the municipalities that they reserve other areas for this purpose”.

These exceptionalities make TOKİ’s interventions totalitarian, in contrast to other types of intervention.

Table 4.2 Intervention typologies for urban transformation

	Populist intervention (SI)	Customized intervention (CI)	Authoritarian intervention (AI)	Totalitarian intervention (TI)
	State-initiated	landowner or capital owner initiated	Local State initiated	Central State initiated
Scope	Amnesties, Rehabilitation plans, Provision of basic technical and social infrastructure	Revision plans, Extra development rights, Investments to trigger urban development	UTP (squatter to legal housing) UTP (land use change) Urban renewal	UTP (squatter to legal housing) UTP (land use change) UTP (on vacant land) Urban renewal
Policy instruments	2981 775	3194 5216 5393/69	5216, 5393/73 5366	775 by TOKİ 2985/4&7 TOKİ Law 5104 North Ankara 5393/73, 5366
Level of intervention	District municipality	District municipality Metropolitan Municipality (MM)	Metropolitan Municipality (MM)	Ministry of Environment and Urbanism TOKİ, MM
Developer	Constructor local capital	Construction firm national capital	Large construction firms and holdings national and international capital	
Economies of scale	Parcel scale	Block scale	>5000 housing and infrastructure	
Development model	Agreement between contractor, proprietors on land-share basis	Agreement between developer, proprietors on land-share basis	Self-financing, cross-financing Agreement between metropolitan municipality, and/or TOKİ, and developer (passive land-owner)	
Advantaged actor	Contractor	Land owner	MM or construction firm	TOKİ
Example cases	Rehabilitation areas in Çankaya and Etimesgut	GEÇAK Çukurambar Portakal Çiçeği	Tarlabası Dikmen Valley	Başbüyük North Ankara

4.1.3.1 Incremental nature of intervention typologies

The four intervention types follow each other with reference to their execution dates, and it would be fair to say that historically, there is a shift from populist to totalitarian interventions, although all four intervention types coexist in urban areas.

Despite the fact that the interventions have been designed in different political and economic contexts, and have been implemented by different institutions through different instruments, the approach is similar in its “definition of the squatter housing phenomenon as a physical transformation problem”. In this sense, there are continuities as well as ruptures between the different interventions.

Each intervention produces development rights and raises awareness among people (as captured in the term SSF above), which becomes an input in the case of further interventions. For instance, the rights delivered through populist interventions open a path to customized interventions. In the same manner, authoritarian and totalitarian interventions can be viewed as a means of coping with accumulated rights and awareness, in that the interventions have to take the effects of the previous interventions into consideration, which renders them incremental.

4.2. Research Questions, Assumptions and Hypotheses

The major research question of the study is as follows: *“How can the variation in pace and patterns of urban transformation within the Mamak district of Ankara be explained?”* In approaching the question, new concepts are developed and are further refined throughout the case study, which aims to lay bare the historical and spatial conditions that act for or against urban transformation in selected areas. To this end, the field study, of six selected areas, seeks answers to the following questions:

1. What are the intervention histories of each sub-area?
2. How did each sub-area respond to different interventions?
3. What factors accelerated or slowed the transformation of each sub-area?

The answers to these questions will provide us with the SSFs of the selected areas, while also giving hints about the nature of SSFs in general. After defining the sub-areas and their SSFs in detail, we will focus on the very process of transformation through an investigation of their (hypothetical) potential spaces. The assumptions were given previously as:

“(1) the process of transition from a halting space into a surrendered space is a continuous and gradual transition, and (2) they are linked with a hypothetical potential space”.

Once the SSFs and potential space concepts are settled, we deal with the main research question, based on three **hypotheses**:

H₁: Potential space is formed and transformed as an outcome of the dialectical relationship between state interventions (I) and socio-spatial fixities (SSF).

H₂: The dialectical relationship between the state interventions and SSFs determines the transformation power of potential space.

H₃: The variation in the pace and patterns of urban transformation is produced out of the transformational power of potential space.

Figure 4.2 details the transition from a halting space to a surrendered space. The transition is an outcome of the power created out of the dialectical relation between the socio-spatial fixities and state interventions on space. The pace of transition and the different patterns are determined by this power of the potential space.

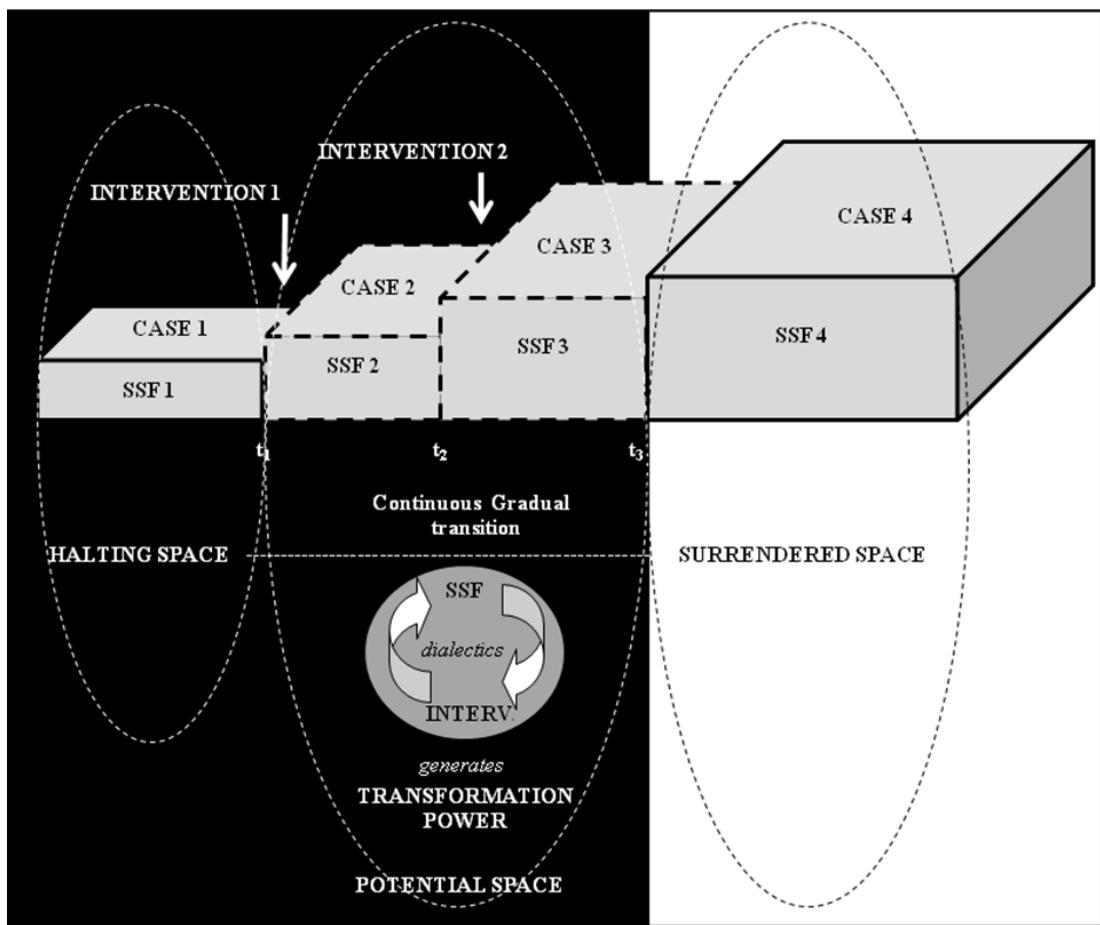


Figure 4.2 The conceptual model

4.3 Case selection methodology

The case study of the thesis looks at six sub-areas within the Mamak district. The areas are not juristically chosen, that is, they are not defined according to official district or neighborhood boundaries, but rather based on their intervention histories and their varying responds to these interventions. Such a definition of the case boundaries is based on the “casing approach” (see below, section 4.3.1), which considers the case boundaries as a product of the theoretical conceptualization used by the researcher (Rueschemayer, 2003:320 in Donatello, 2008 :227).

4.3.1. Casing

As Venesson (2008) states, cases are not out there waiting to be studied. As such, “the case is the product of a preliminary, and then of an ongoing, effort to define the object of study” (Ragin, 2000: 14, 43–63 in Donatello, 2008: 230). Ragin (1992: 218) defines casing as:

The process through which researchers delimit, define and describe cases contributes to carving an aspect of reality that is different from the ways in which the phenomenon, or the event, is taken for granted. Researchers make something into a case: they are ‘casing’.

While Venesson’s (2008: 230) definition is as follows:

...‘casing’ implies a critical reflection on the conventional boundaries and commonly accepted categories of social and political phenomena ... The researcher is breaking with a commonsensical representation of a historical process, and she is conceptualizing a problem.

In the same manner, Rueschemayer (2003:320 in Donatello, 2008: 227) emphasizes the ongoing efforts to define case boundaries:

...the case is not *a priori* spatially delimited. The delimitation of the case, spatial and otherwise, is the product of the theoretical conceptualization used by the researcher. These boundaries are by no means obvious or to be assumed: they result from theoretical choices.

Similarly, Ragin (1992: 218–21) states:

The boundaries of the phenomenon are defined by the investigator. Quite often the process of ‘casing’ leads the researcher to define units of analysis in a way that is different from conventions, legal, bureaucratic or otherwise.

In summary, casing not only refers to an object of analysis, but also to a theoretical effort to break away from a commonsensical representation of a historical process.

4.3.2. Selection criteria of sub-areas

An area's attitude vis-à-vis an intervention defines a case. For instance, if an area responds well to the first intervention (I_1), then it provides us with a case. In the same manner, if an area does not respond well to I_1 , but does to I_2 , then it provides us with another case. In addition, an area that does not respond to any intervention is another case. That is to say, the intervention histories of areas and their responses to these interventions are the basic criteria used in the selection of a case, rather than the official juristical boundaries. The physical boundaries of each case (sub-area) besides, are drawn considering a certain spatial totality within a sub-area.

Table 4.3 Abstraction of case selection methodology

	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4
Intervention 1	Non-transformed	Non-transformed	Non-transformed	transformed
Intervention 2	Non-transformed	Non-transformed	transformed	
Intervention 3	Non-transformed	transformed		

Table 4.3 presents an abstraction of the case selection methodology. The real intervention backgrounds of sub-areas are presented in table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Intervention backgrounds of each sub-area

	Sub-area 1	Sub-area 2	Sub-area 3	Sub-area 4	Sub-area 5	Sub-area 6
I-1	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
I-2	(+)	(+)	(+)		(+)	(-)
I-3						(+)

(I) intervention (-) ineffective intervention (+) effective intervention (transformed or start-up transforming)

The first five sub-areas are located adjacent to each other within the Mamak district (see figure 4.3), while the sixth is in a different region of Mamak. All areas, aside from sub-area 5, share a squatter housing background and have been subjected to similar interventions. More importantly, the six areas contain examples of each populist, customized, authoritarian and totalitarian intervention type.

The first, second and third sub-areas (respectively Durali Aliç inner section, Durali Aliç slope and Doğukent Caddesi) have been subject to populist interventions, while the fourth and fifth sub-areas (respectively İmrahor plan and Durali Aliç Urban Transformation [UTP]) have been subject to customized interventions. Finally, the sixth sub-area, Yatık Musluk UTP, has been subject to populist, authoritarian and totalitarian interventions.

Table 4.5 Intervention backgrounds of sub-areas by type

Sub-area intervention	1	2	3	4	5	6
Populist intervention	(-)	(-)	(-)	(0)	(0)	(-)
	(+)	(+)	(+)			
Customized intervention	(0)	(0)	(0)	(-)	(-)	(0)
					(+)	
Authoritarian intervention	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(-)
Totalitarian intervention	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(+)

Sub-areas: 1: Durali Aliç inner section 2: Durali Aliç slope 3. East and west side of Doğukent Avenue 4: South- East Side of Doğukent Caddesi, İmrahor Plan 5. Durali Aliç UTP 6.Yatık Musluk UTP

(-) intervention with negative response

(+) intervention with positive response

(0) no such intervention



Figure 4.3 Five sub-areas in Duralı Aliç and Akşemsettin Neighborhoods

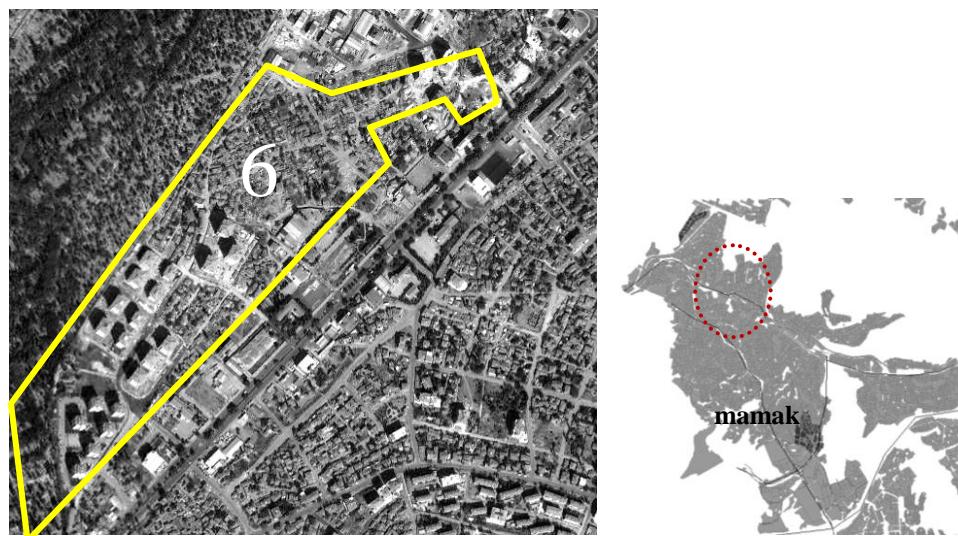


Figure 4.4 Sixth sub-area in Yatık Musluk neighborhood

4.4. Operationalization of the conceptual model

This section makes a brief explanation of the underlying logic of Chapters 5 and 6. The transformation trajectory of Mamak evokes great interest, given the different transformation patterns that have emerged, despite the common intervention backgrounds. In addition, the slow pace of transformation in Mamak allows the transformation process itself to be viewed from a broader perspective. As the concepts at hand are not sufficient to deal with this broader perspective, new concepts such as socio-spatial fixity (SSF), potential space and four intervention typologies have been developed.

The new concepts interrelate with each other as such; the dialectics of SSF and interventions form and reform potential space, and thus brings transformation; while potential space embraces the potentialities of different paces and patterns of transformation due to the peculiarities in SSFs.

This study applies these new concepts to Mamak, primarily aiming to understand the basis of the different paces and patterns of transformation in the district, and refining further the conceptual framework. As a first step, the history of Mamak's interventions is presented with reference to the four intervention categories (section 5.2); and the interventions are laid down layer by layer, with emphasis on the continuities and their cumulative effects. This section also introduces the context of each sub-area.

As a next step, in section 5.3 the sub-areas are analyzed with reference to the three research questions; and accordingly, the intervention histories of each sub-area, the ways they respond to different interventions, and the factors that accelerate or slow down the transformation of each sub-area are explained in a clear manner.

This means of analysis unfolds the socio-spatial factors that together form the character of a sub-area, which is referred to as the “SSF” of an area and is valid throughout an intervention period. This character is prone to change when encountering a new intervention; in other words, certain factors gain or lose importance when subjected to new interventions, and the combinations of new factors produce a new SSF, and thus different opportunities in the transformation.

Once the intervention history and SSF of each sub-area is open to scrutiny, the potential spaces of sub-areas come to order in Chapter 6. It should be recalled that potential space is the framing concept of both SSF and intervention dialectics, being where the dialectic takes place and produces a cumulative effect that we refer to as “transformation power”.

The overall objective in Chapter 6 is to address the major research question: *How can the variation in pace and patterns of urban transformation within the Mamak district of Ankara be explained?*”

To resolve this question, each sub-area is reevaluated taking into account the SSF-intervention dialectics, from which the transformation power can be calculated. First, the time between the date of the intervention and the starting date of the transformation is calculated in terms of years, with the date of intervention accepted as the official approval date of a plan, and the starting date of the transformation accepted as the average date of all construction licenses by 2012 in the area. This duration signifies the average length of delay before the start of the transformation. Once the delay is calculated, then the transformation area is divided by the delay time, giving a figure that represents the area transformed per year, or its transformation power, and has the unit $m^2/year$.

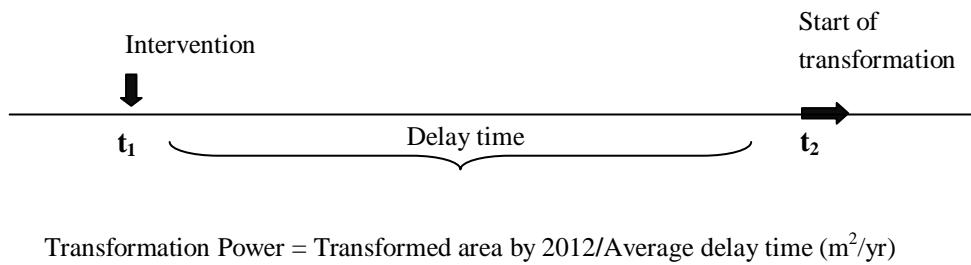


Figure 4.5 Calculation of transformation power

Although such a value alone is not meaningful, it is a significant value for the comparison of sub-areas. Accordingly, each area is further categorized according to its transformation power (as “areas with low, high and no transformation power”), from which some conclusions are drawn related to their pace and pattern of transformation in Chapter 6.

Areas with low transformational power displayed unexpected emergences or outcomes (social/spatial patterns), which allowed us to sketch a transformation characteristic for Mamak. These were further evaluated as policy inputs, as mentioned in Chapter 7.

4.5. Data collection and analysis methods

The research of Mamak necessitated both documentary research and a field survey. The documentary research included analyses of planning documents, official correspondence and plans, which were obtained from the municipality of Mamak, the Metropolitan Municipality or TOKİ; while the field survey comprised semi-structured in-depth interviews with several actors in the area.

The documentary research provided information about the intervention history of Mamak's sub-areas, based on plans and plan reports, and the documents related to the urban parcels in the case study include original construction licenses,²⁰ title deeds and construction-base documents. Such data is available at the City Surf Database of the Municipality of Mamak, and the data drawn from the database is listed in table 4.6.

Table 4.6. Data drawn from city-surf database

Document	Data drawn from the document
Construction license	Number of floors (above and below the ground level),
	The number of housing units
	The construction area
	The constructors' origin and statement of capital
Title deed	The number of shareholders
	Land per shareholder
	Shareholder composition (public, private, constructor)
Construction-base document	Plan notes
	Construction codes (height limitation, setback distances, etc.)
	Floor area ratio
	Type of the required geological study

The data drawn from the database is analyzed to identify its relation to transformation, and presented within the text if found to have had an effect on the start of any transformation, either positive or negative.

²⁰ Translated from respectively, İnşaat ruhsatı, iskan belgesi, tapu, inşaat çapı.

The field survey covered the whole of Mamak, with special interest in the six sub-areas. The survey included semi-structured in-depth interviews with six mukhtars²¹, 13 inhabitants of sub-areas, six constructors at different capital scales, one construction firm²², two real estate agents, and authorities from the municipality and TOKİ. Although the case studies are made in three different neighborhoods (Duralı Aliç and Akşemsettin and Altınevler), the mukhtars of the surrounding neighborhoods were included in the survey to increase the scope and reliability of the information provided.

The field survey aims to classify the SSFs of sub-areas in terms of their demographic, geographical or intervention-related factors. The interviews were structured in line with a number of previously defined factors, as given in table 4.7, and the findings of the study have either confirmed, refined or invalidated these factors.

The factors that are observed as efficient in a sub-area are weighted from 1 to 3; from the weakest to strongest. The total effect of the factors represents the manner in which the area responds to intervention. Finally, the transformation powers are calculated for each sub-area (see section 4.3 and 4.4. for data resource and calculation method). The subareas are further categorized with respect to their transformation powers, and conclusions are drawn accordingly (see Chapter 6).

²¹ Muhktar is the head of a neighbourhood elected by the people of the neighbourhood.

²² In this thesis, the term “constructor” is used to refer to “yap-satçı and müteahhit”-type builders, who tend to have only limited capital ownership, a particular form of production relationship and usually lacking a professional team of engineers, architects, etc. They are usually local builders, working solely in a certain district or neighbourhood. When speaking of a “construction firm,” we are referring to a rather professional, institutionalized company that undertakes construction projects at the city or national scale. Constructors, as used in the thesis, are defined in detail throughout Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Table 4.7 Factors sought in semi-structured interviews

Factors	Measurement criteria
f1. Appurtenances	Physical condition of houses
	Planted land, garden, trees
f2. Demographic attachments	Income level
	Number of households per unit
	Neighborhood identity/image
	Level of kinship, citizenry
f3. Geological attachments	Slope
	Soil characteristics-risk prone
	Ecological value
f4. Locational attachments	Accessibility to city center
	Land values
	Waste dumping area/cemetery image
	Transformation in the vicinity
f5. Property attachments	Ownership status: title-deed, no title deed, title allocation
	Inhabitant status: owner, tenant
f6. Conflict resolution	Constructors disputes
	Shareholder disputes (no of shareholders)
	Treasury or public as shareholder
	Construction organization method
	Bargaining power of squatters, ruin costs
	Law suits
f7. Plan-imposed	Floor number
	Floor area ratio (FAR)
	Development scale: parcel, block, project base
f8. Discursive	Rumors and expectations
	Political declaration

4.5.1. Limitation of the research

The concept of transformation relates to a set of approaches that include reconstruction, revitalization, renewal, redevelopment, regeneration, etc. These types of intervention represent the simplest way of dealing with negative societal impacts of urban decline through spatial transformation; however, there is also an emphasis shift from physical concerns to economic and environmental ones, as one move from the concept of reconstruction to regeneration (Hall, 2006, Roberts and Sykes, 2000). It is beyond the scope of this study, however, to question whether or not these different concepts of intervention retain the potential to be effective and/or their effect on each other. For the purpose of this thesis, they are included under the umbrella concept of transformation, while acknowledging the differing historical, geographical and political contexts from which they derive legitimacy.

Another limitation is related to data. As the sub-areas have not been defined according to jurisdictional boundaries, there is no official demographic data pertaining to each sub-area, and so the required data has been gathered as part of the field survey via in-depth interviews. Nevertheless, as the study takes demographic data into consideration in terms of its influence on the transformation, this deficiency is not significant for the study.

CHAPTER 5

SPATIAL VARIETY IN MAMAK

5.1. Introduction

It is proposed in Chapter 4 that spatial variety is rooted in the very process of transition from halting space to surrendered space. This process is treated more than merely temporal, considering its accumulations, and is thus referred to as “potential space”. The accumulations refer to the knowledge, legal rights, institutions etc. formed by the dialectical relationship between the socio-spatial fixity of an area and the state interventions. On this basis, this chapter aims to present the socio-spatial fixities of Mamak’s sub-areas and their intervention histories.

First of all, section 5.2 presents the intervention history of Mamak with reference to the four intervention categories noted in Chapter 4. This introduction will not only serve to explain the context of the sub-areas, but will also lay bare the logic and motivations of the interventions that have taken place in Mamak.

Secondly, the socio-spatial fixities and intervention histories of each sub-area will be introduced so as to answer the three research questions: *What are the intervention histories of each sub-area? How did the sub-areas respond to different interventions? What are the factors that accelerate or slow down transformation for each sub-area?* The explanation will seek clues about the dialectics of how interventions accord with SSFs, and how the interventions form or change SSFs.

5.2. State intervention History of Mamak

In simplest terms, when an intervention fails, another follows it, and these interventions overlap and intertwine. From such a perspective, this section attempts to unravel the layers of intervention as much as possible.

5.2.1. The first layer: Populist Interventions

The first intervention layer concerning Mamak occurred under the 1959 Plan (a.k.a the Menderes Plan), prepared by the Ministry of Construction and Settlement, which was the planning authority of that time. The plan covered the areas adjacent to the city center, including the Demirlibahçe, Saime Kadın, Abidinpaşa, Balkırız, Aşık Veysel, Hüseyin Gazi and Kartaltepe neighborhoods (I on figure 5.1), Büyük Kayaş to the east alongside the railway line (II on figure 5.1), and the Yatık Musluk neighborhood (III on figure 5.1). At the time there were no other settlements in Mamak other than these.

The 1959 plans were simple land divisions among landholders allowing two or three-story housing development, rather than detailed and elaborated plans. Construction started in these planned areas in the early 1980s, and the transformation of the central locations has been completed, and furthermore, the in-depth interviews conducted as part of the field study revealed that regeneration has started in Demirlibahçe, Saime Kadın and Abidinpaşa (for a neighborhood map of Ankara, see Annex 1). Houses with an average age of 30 are being replaced by new houses on the same parcels with only one extra floor increase. In contrast, Küçük Kayaş, Hüseyingazi, and, despite its central location, Yatık Musluk underwent a squatter transformation very recently after 50 years.

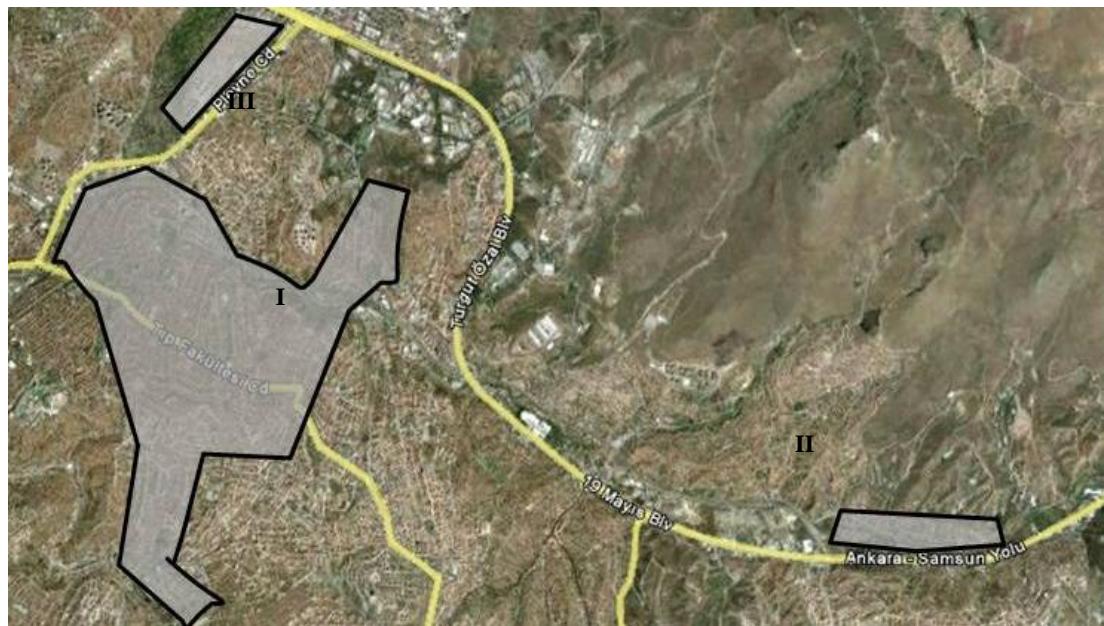
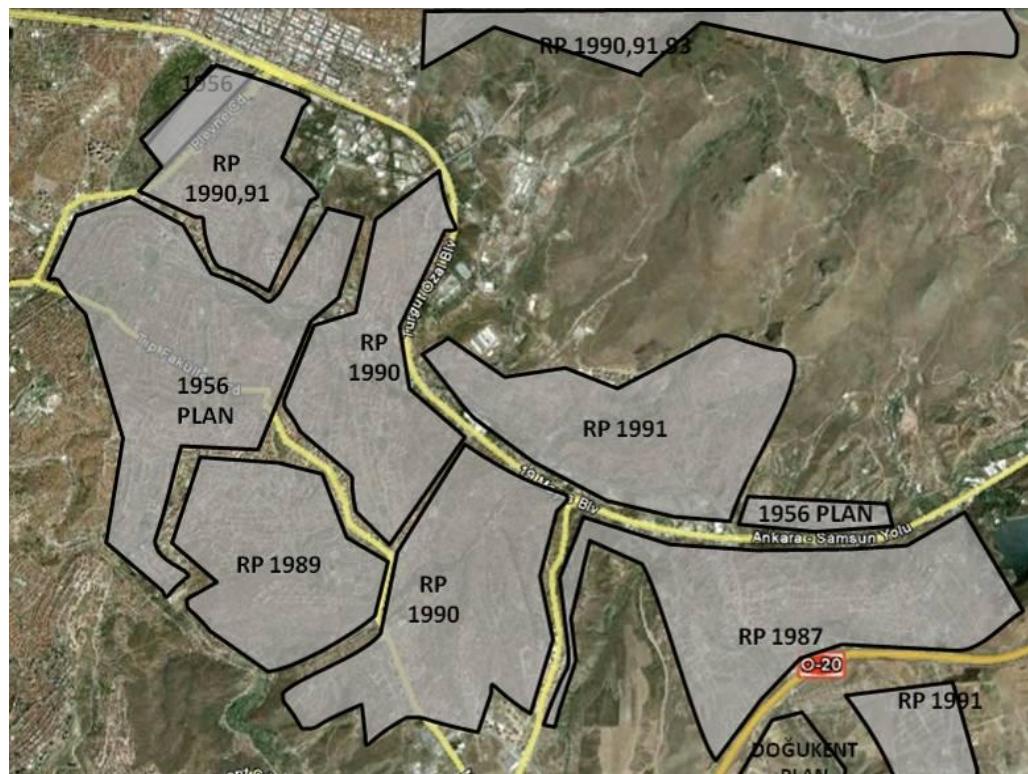


Figure 5.1 Areas affected by the 1959 Plan

By the 1980s, the entire landscape of Mamak (aside from the above-mentioned areas) was covered with squatter housing, and in 1984, Amnesty Law No. 2981 legalized the squatters built before November 1985, and assigned the owners title deeds to their properties as part of the Rehabilitation Plans. Beginning in 1987, the district municipality prepared Rehabilitation Plans covering almost all squatter areas in Mamak (see figure 5.2).



RP: Rehabilitation development plan

Figure 5.2 Populist Intervention through Rehabilitation Plans in Mamak

The main intention with the plan was to regulate property ownership by authorizing 2, 3 or 4-story apartment blocks with minimum intervention into the existing property pattern. As it was an inclusive intervention covering all squatter areas (built before 1985), this type of intervention is categorized as “populist” in the thesis.

The plan established a particular housing market in Mamak that saw the introduction of new actors, although squatters built after 1985 were ascribed no such right, and the owners were thus excluded from the housing market. The main actors in the construction of the new buildings were small-scale developers (referred to as constructors hereafter) with very little or no capital. The constructors would take the land from the landowners at no cost; and sell the potential housing units prior to

construction to raise capital for construction.²³ The housing units were shared between the constructor and the landowner, with, in the case of Mamak, 30 percent going to the landowner and 70 percent to the constructor. 30 percent land ratio appeared as a benchmark in Mamak. The construction activity would expand to the periphery with similar range of land ratio as the local municipality provided the basic infrastructure in these rehabilitation areas. In locations that were more favorable, the land share increased to 40 percent. The case study reveals that the “build-sell” mode of construction still dominates in Mamak with a similar range of land share, and leads usually to a very dense built environment with very poor social and physical infrastructure.

By the 2000s, more than two-thirds of squatters were still to be transformed in Mamak, primarily those located in the topographically and geologically challenging areas where the provision of public services was very costly and there was potential for landslides. These areas could be found in the Akdere, Cengiz Topel, Türközü, Boğaziçi, Şirintepe, Fahri Korutürk and Dutluk Akşemsettin neighborhoods, and were declared as either “construction-prohibited areas” or “construction-limited areas” in the plans, either blocking construction altogether, or limiting buildings to two stories due to the risk of landslide. Limiting construction to two stories made development unfeasible, as people rarely had the savings to pay for construction without the benefit of additional housing units to be put up for sale. As a result, the non-transformation status continued in these areas, leading to further interventions in 1995, 1999 and 2006. These new interventions did away with both the limited and prohibited construction precautions in the area, equalizing the development rights with other neighborhoods, and so are also categorized as populist interventions.

Squatters in the waste dumping areas were another significant problem. Mamak hosted three official waste dumping areas of Ankara: the Ege, Kartaltepe and Mamak

²³ This type of organization is also known as “build-sell,” however, in Mamak, local constructors refer to this process more accurately as “sell-build”.

Waste-dumps. As soon as Ege and Kartaltepe were closed they were occupied by squatters, despite the geological and waste-related risks. The only solution to this problem was to transfer the squatters to a vacant area, however this was beyond the municipality's financial and administrative capacity, and the inhabitants were also reluctant to move far away from their existing locations. Accordingly, the problem still exists, despite interventions.

The Yatık Musluk and Gülseren districts constitute a further type of non-transformed area, where the genuine owners have left their properties for various reasons within the last 60 years. These areas soon became a locus of urban crime and thus were ignored by official authorities as well as constructors. Finally, some other non-transformed areas can be found on the very periphery, in such districts as Ekin and Başak.

5.2.2. Second layer: Customized Interventions

Apart from geological or social barriers mentioned above, the rehabilitation plan itself created an obstacle against transformation. Some parcels were so small that it was impossible to build a standard building on the parcel within the given set back distances; and in the same manner, such small parcels would not be allowed to realize their total construction right under the conditions of height limitations.

Although such problems occurred in almost every part of Mamak, only those who were able to influence the local municipality could turn this situation to their advantage. The municipality was persuaded to prepare revision plans²⁴ that provided more advantageous planning conditions for owners of small parcels of land; and thanks to this type of intervention, area-specific obstacles could be surpassed, to the benefit of the owners. Such approaches are referred to as "customized interventions"

²⁴ Revizyon imar planı

in this thesis, and figure 5.3 shows areas that were subjected to revision plans in Mamak.

From the local actors' perspective, revision plans have been the most desirable intervention in Mamak, allowing both landowners and constructors to increase their financial gains. The local municipality has gone beyond playing only a regulatory role, becoming a stakeholder in these projects. Indeed, for some areas, the involvement of the municipality has played a decisive role in the determination of the project area.

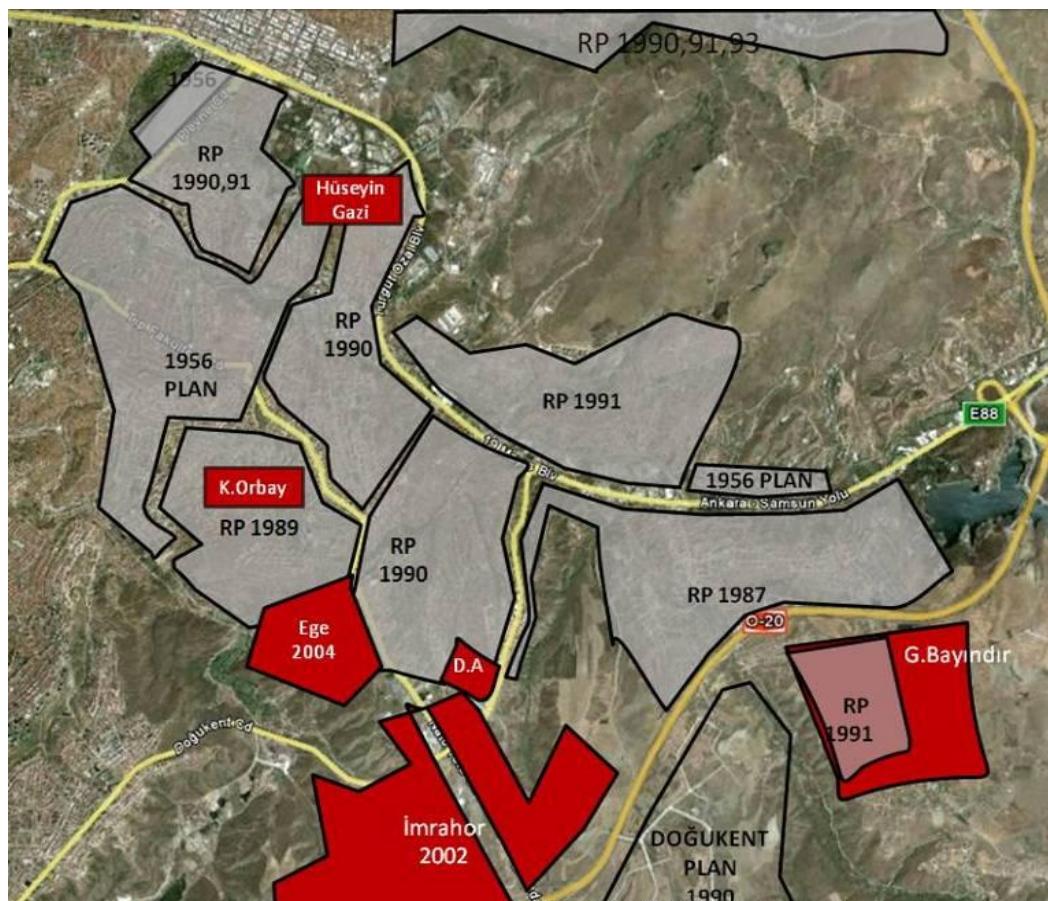


Figure 5.3 Customized Interventions through Revision Plans in Mamak

The revision plans for the Ege, Kazım Orbay and Hüseyin Gazi districts are typical examples of customized interventions on rehabilitation plans, by which the small parcels of former intervention were merged, more flexible construction conditions were applied and vertical development was promoted. This resulted in an increase in land values, and consequently, an increase in the wealth of the landowners. The quality of construction and variety of housing supply increased, and in some areas, quality of life as a result of improved social infrastructure seems to have improved.

5.2.3. Third layer: Authoritarian Interventions

For the geographically and topographically challenging areas, neither rehabilitation plans nor revision plans were effective. In such areas “urban transformation projects” have been declared by either the metropolitan municipality or the district municipality based on Article 73 of Law No. 5393. This is a relatively more comprehensive intervention than the former in terms of the planning instruments, in which both levels of municipality attempt to overcome the obstacles against transformation with instruments that are more authoritative. Accordingly, this thesis categorizes this approach as “authoritarian intervention”.

Among the new instruments, the most important is the consolidation of property in the hands of the municipality. In this case, the landowner loses his power as an actor, and the municipality takes over the lead role as a developer. Even though the land-share method is applied between the developer and the municipality, the redistribution of benefits becomes dependent on the municipality’s redistribution model, and each transformation project has its own. Generally, the benefits to the landowners decrease when compared to their possible former gains.

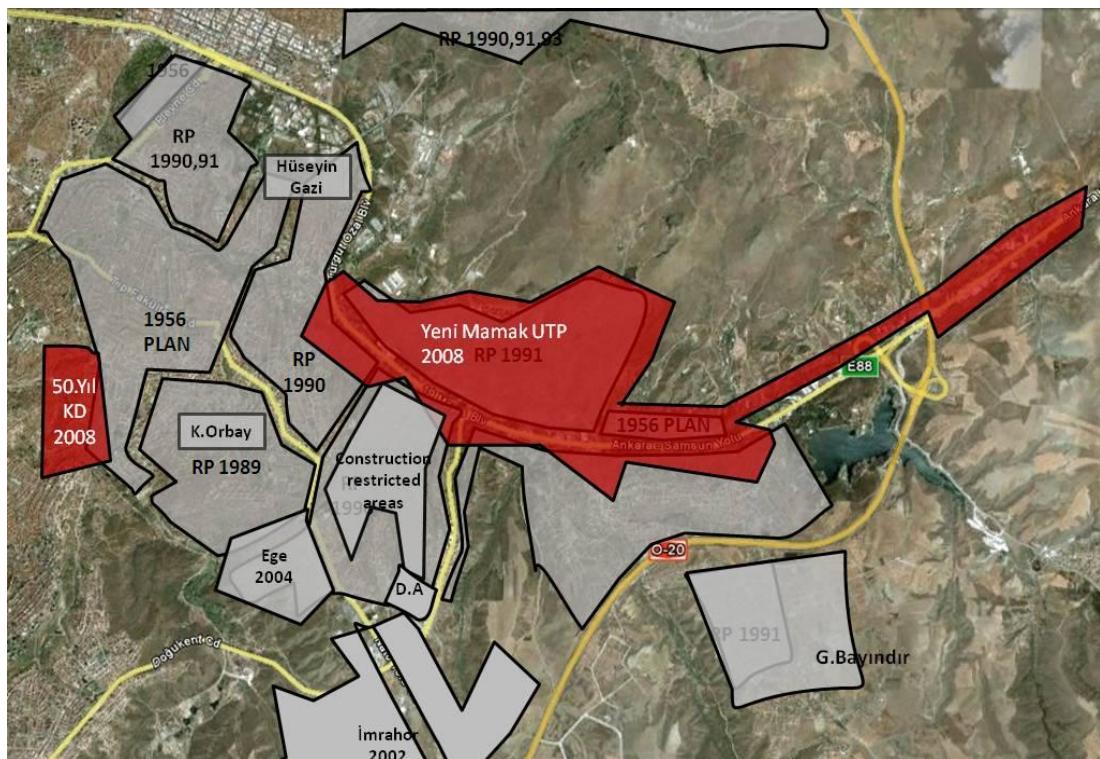


Figure 5.4 Authoritarian Interventions through Urban Transformation Projects (UTP) in Mamak

Yeni Mamak UTP and 50.Yıl UTP were two such authoritarian projects declared by the metropolitan municipality (see figure 5.4). The municipalities expect high gains from these projects and do not invite the Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) to take part in the process. That said, funding for the Yeni Mamak UTP seems to be a long time coming, and an interview with a municipality representative revealed that the metropolitan municipality had recently shifted the responsibility for fund raising to the local municipality. Accordingly, the process is blocked for the time being.

Although authoritarian interventions are more forceful than the other types of interventions, they are prone to deadlocks in the municipality. As municipalities are

elected bodies, they cannot remain fully blind to their electors' demands to maintain legitimacy; and moreover, Article 73 of Law No. 5393 brings a condition of "agreement basis" between the municipality and the landowner, according to which the inhabitants have right to reject the plan and maintain the existing situation. A similar situation has arisen in the Yeni Mamak UTP.

5.2.4. Fourth layer: Totalitarian Interventions

When the project is beyond the financial and administrative capacity of the local municipality, it may choose to cooperate with TOKİ. The Yatık Musluk UTP (see figure 5.5) is such a project, being initiated by the local municipality but handed over to TOKİ due to a lack of financial and administrative capacity. Unlike the municipalities, TOKİ has right to buy or expropriate private property in case of any disputes with landowners, based on Article 31 of Law No. 775 and Article 4 of Law No. 2985. Moreover, Article 7 of Law No. 775 empowers TOKİ with the ability to postulate a project on its own initiative, bypassing municipalities. This extended authority makes TOKİ a "totalitarian interventionist," yielding centralized control over all aspects of urban transformation.

As mentioned in section 3.4.1.3, TOKİ engages in three types of intervention, all of which are present in Mamak: (1) the squatter transformation model, (2) the social housing model, with 4 sub-categories (housing for the poor with green cards; housing for lower income groups; housing for various income groups; and revenue sharing); and (3) "Disaster housing".

The "Squatter Transformation model" has been applied in the Yatık Musluk, Gülseren and Altıağac districts. Although Gülseren UTP is essentially a squatter transformation model, interviews with the administration imply that the project will produce valuable urban lands for "revenue sharing," thanks to its central location in the city. The second existing TOKİ intervention type found in Mamak is "social

housing for the poor,” which has been realized in two different areas, in the Kusunlar neighborhood and the nearby Gaz-Maske factory. Finally, the disaster housing type of intervention has been realized in the Kıbris neighborhood, in the landslide-prone area (Figure 5.5).

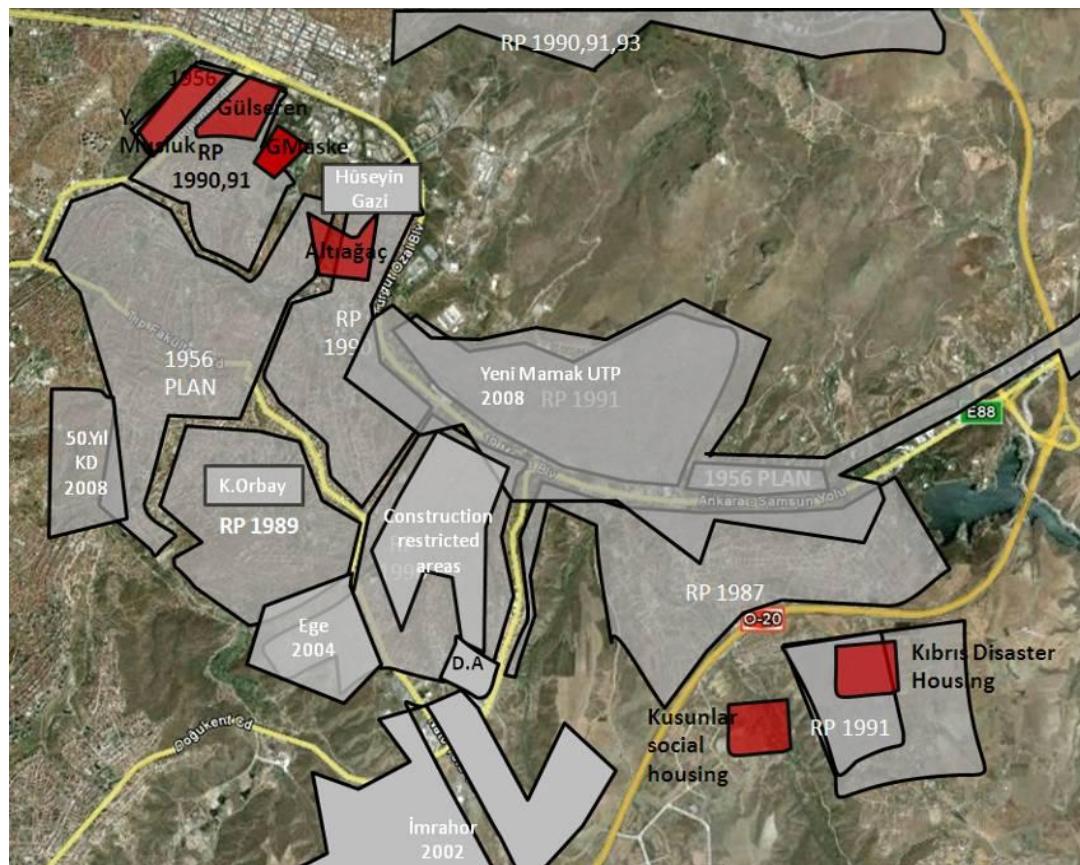


Figure 5.5 Totalitarian Intervention through Urban Transformation Projects in Mamak

The case study of the thesis covers all four intervention types mentioned above; and the sub-areas are introduced and analyzed in the following sections.

5.3. Sub-areas

The case study concentrates on two different locations with six sub-areas. The first location covers the Duralı Aliç and Akşemsettin districts (A-1 on Figure 5.6), and comprises five sub-areas that are adjacent to each other in the south of Mamak at the intersection of Sultan Fatih Caddesi and Doğukent Caddesi (see figure 5.7). Doğukent Caddesi is linked to the viaduct that connects Turan Güneş Bulvarı in Çankaya with the area. The second location and the sixth sub-area is the Yatık Musluk UTP in the Yatık Musluk district (A-2 on figure 5.6), which is located on the west of Plevne Caddesi and south of Turgut Özal Bulvarı. The area is surrounded by Cebeci Cemetery to the west, a small industrial site to the north, and authorized and squatter housing to the east and south (see figure 5.8).

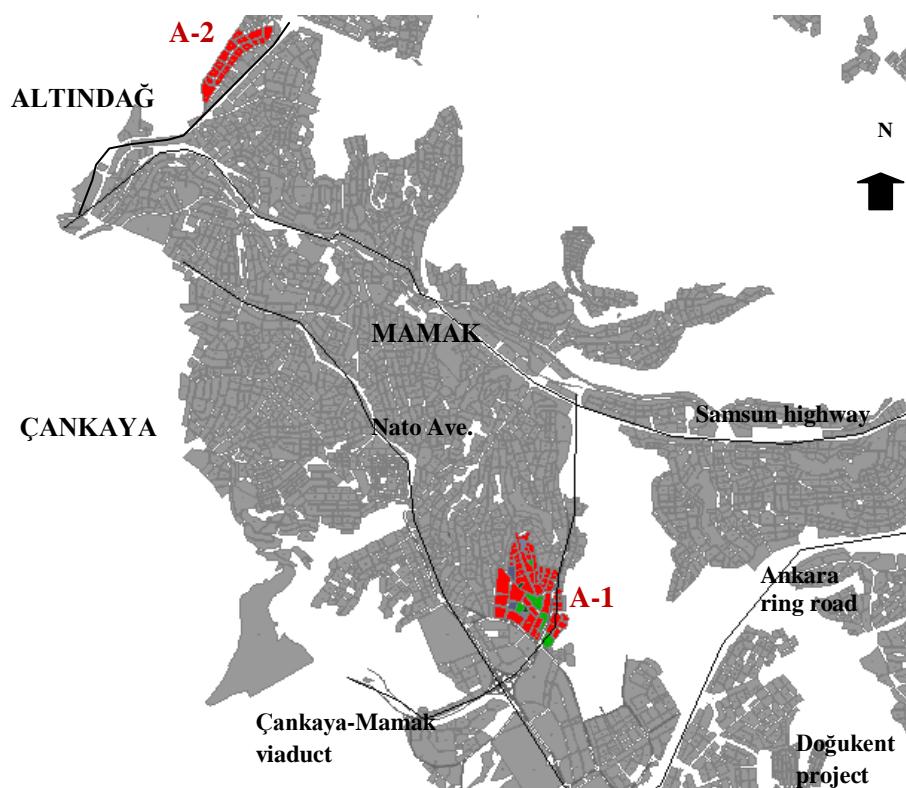


Figure 5.6 Case studies

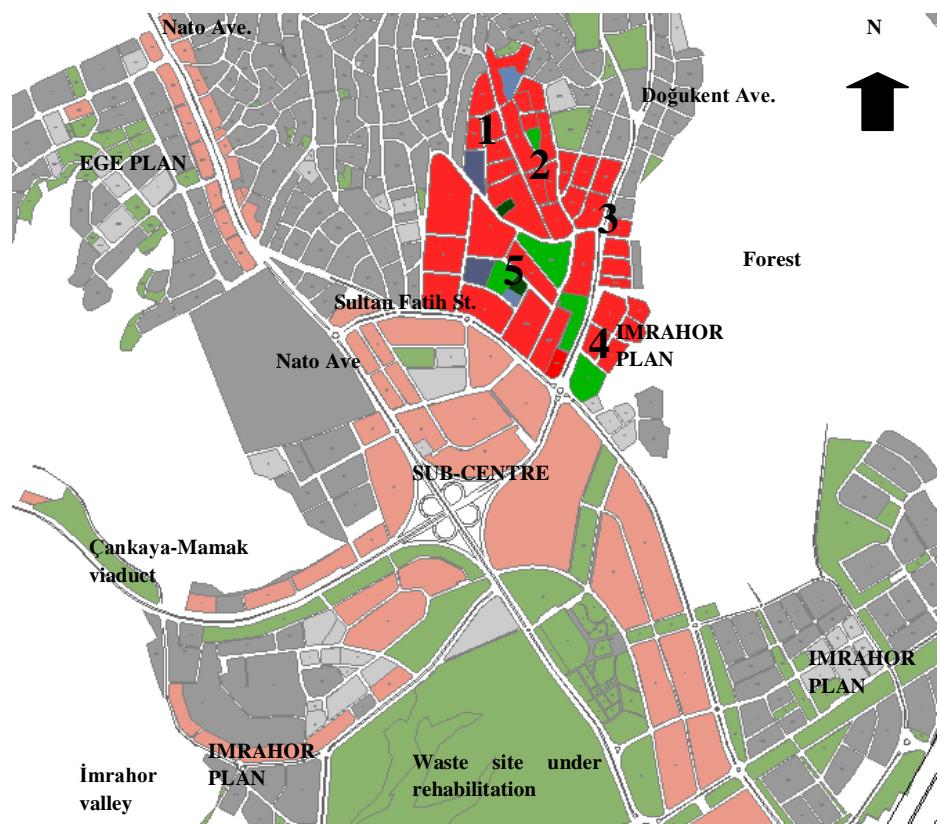


Figure 5.7 Sub-areas 1 to 5 and their surroundings



Figure 5.8 Sub-area 6 and its surroundings

5.3.1. City scale investments in the area

The section aims to explain the city-scale investments realized by the metropolitan municipality in the case study areas. Such investments have a common influence on the sub-areas and produce a certain economic feasibility for transformation in the area in general. They are mostly about the increasing the accessibility of the region or the elimination of negative externalities.

The first location (five sub-areas) gained a somewhat locational advantage after the construction of the Ankara ring road in 1996; yet, it was after the opening of the viaduct in 1999 that the location most notably improved within the overall macroform, connecting the least developed Ankara district with the most developed one, and rendering Mamak more accessible.

The area has for a long time been negatively affected; first, by the presence of the Ege waste dumping area, and later by the opening of the Mamak waste dumping area in the 1950s. It wasn't until 2005 that the dumping area was opened for rehabilitation with a project contracted to a private firm in exchange for a 49-year land lease. As a result, the negative externalities of the area declined considerably.

The situation was further improved with the opening of the Metro Shopping Center in 2008 and IKEA in 2011. Moreover, the 2023 macro plan of Ankara (2006) designated the area at the intersection of Doğukent Caddesi and Nato Caddesi for metropolitan commercial use.

There is little doubt the increased accessibility, the rehabilitated waste-dump and the new shopping malls reduced the negative image of the region. Figure 5.1 shows how land values in the region started to increase after 2002.

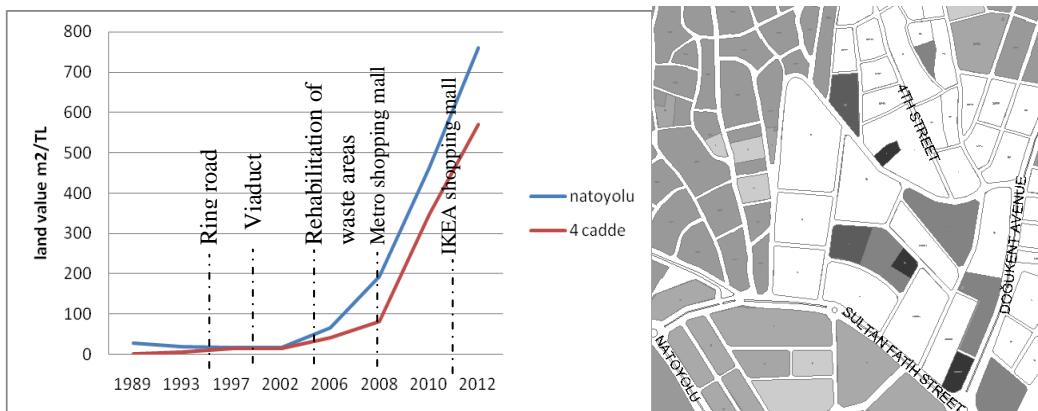


Figure 5.9²⁵ Land values in Durali Aliç, assessed by the municipal committee²⁶

Figure 5.2 represents the land values on the main routes passing around or through the five sub-areas. The land value is highest on Sultan Fatih Caddesi, which lies to the south of the 5 sub-areas, serving Durali Aliç UTP (the 5th sub-area) and the Metro Shopping Center.

Land values have increased by more than 60 percent for the entire area in the last two years, and the price of even the cheapest house has increased from about 80,000 TL to 120,000 TL (approx. US\$44,000 to US\$66,000). In the same manner, monthly housing rents increased from about 350 TL to 500 TL (approx. about US\$190 to US\$280). Most importantly, after 2004 the area began to raise interest among local constructors.

²⁵ Owing to a lack of reliable data, the values of only two streets could be illustrated in figure 5.9, which date back to 1989 (inflation corrected values). For 2002 and onwards, see figure 5.10

²⁶ Interviews with realtors confirm the assessed market values for 2012.

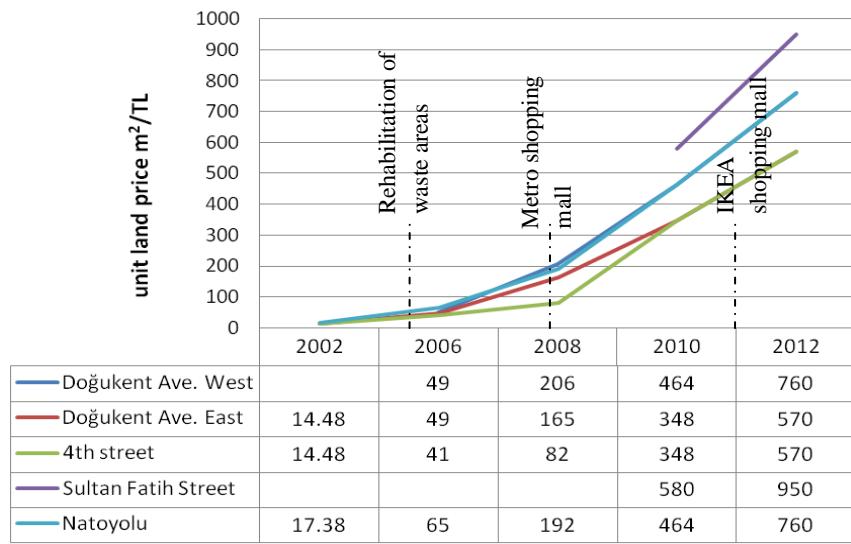


Figure 5.10 Land values in Duralı Aliç, assessed by the municipal committee (corrected for inflation)

The sixth sub-area is the Yatık Musluk UTP in the Yatık Musluk district on the north-west border of Mamak. This has been designated a transformation area since 2001, first by the municipality of Mamak, and later by TOKİ. In 2012, the area of squatter houses to the east of Plevne Caddesi was declared as an urban transformation project by TOKİ (see figure 5.8), and is now subject to intensive interventions. Plevne Caddesi, on the east border of the Yatık Musluk project area, is a commercial zone that is close to the city center and small industrial areas. While land values²⁷ on the street are relatively high, land in the Yatık Musluk area is generally much less valuable (figure 5.3).

When main avenues of all sub-areas are compared in terms of land values (see figure 5.12), Yatık Musluk Caddesi has the lowest value, while Plevne Caddesi has the highest, despite their close proximity to each other. Figure 5.13 shows all six sub-areas that are going to be analyzed thoroughly in the following sections.

²⁷ Pre-2002 land values for certain streets could not be presented due a lack of data.

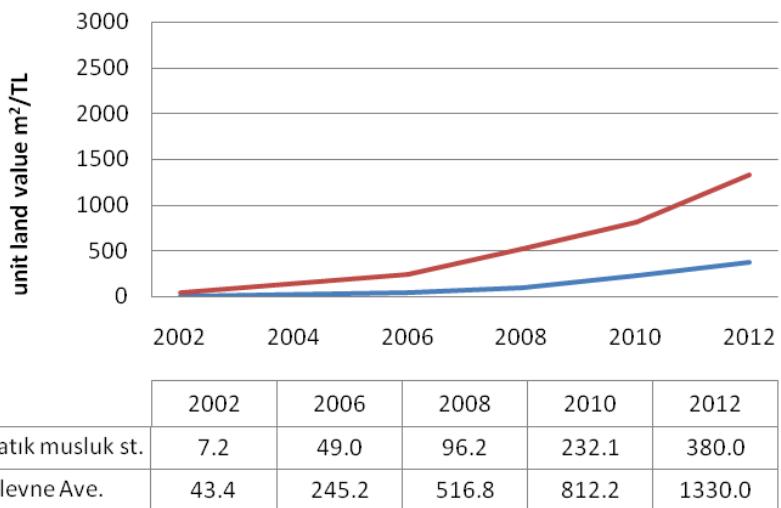


Figure 5.11 Land values in Yatık Musluk sub-area

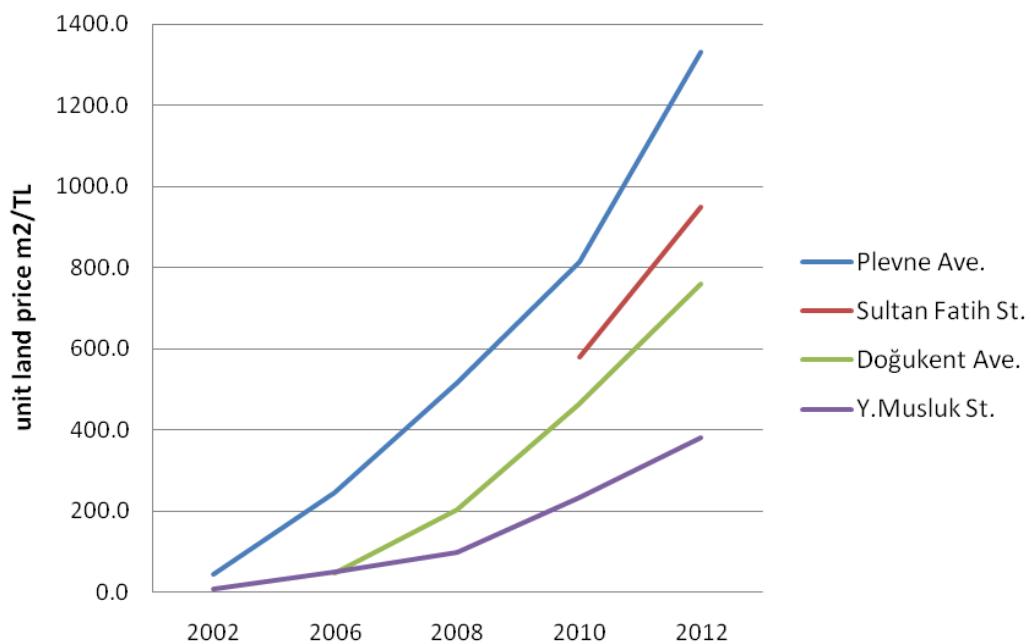
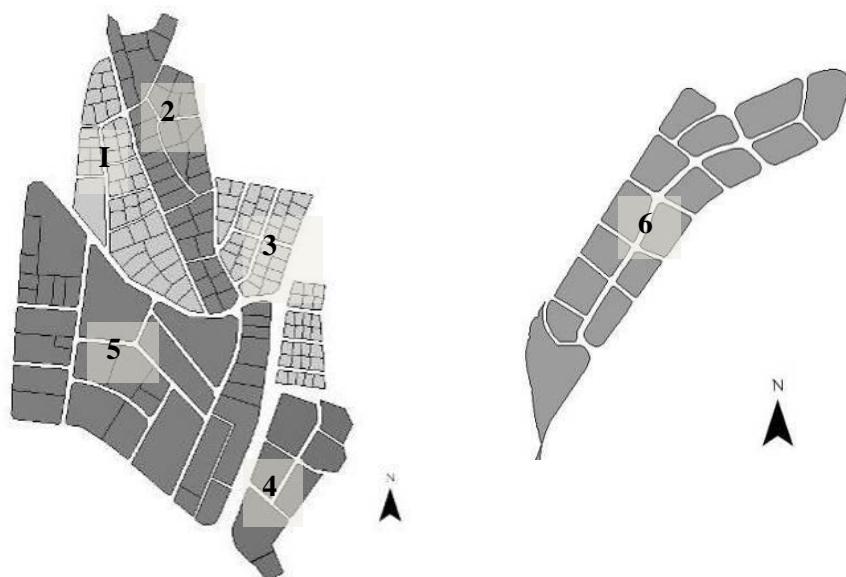


Figure 5.12 Land values on main avenues

In the light of these trends, it can be said that land values have increased in general since 2002; and similarly, as the following sections present, transformations started in these areas in the post 2000s. In other words, certain economies of scale have been created thanks to such state interventions as the ring road, the viaduct, rehabilitation of waste dumping areas and authoritarian and totalitarian interventions. That said, the sub-areas have all experienced transformation differently under these common conditions, with great variation witnessed in both the pace and pattern. The following section addresses each of the six sub-areas in detail.

5.3.2. Intervention history and SSFs of the sub-areas

This section aims to introduce each sub-area in terms of its intervention history and its socio-spatial fixity (SSF).



Sub-areas: 1: Durali Aliç inner section 2: Durali Aliç slope 3. East and west side of Doğukent Caddesi 4: South-east Side of Doğukent Caddesi, Imrahor Plan 5. Durali Aliç UTP 6.Yatık Musluk UTP

Figure 5.13 Sub-areas

As defined in Chapter 4.1.2, the sum of several socio-spatial factors, including the effects of interventions, forms a specific SSF for each area. As implied in Chapter 4, the SSF has three bases: Demographic, geological and intervention-related.

In terms of demographic factors, the interviews reveal little differences in the first four sub-areas, while a more significant difference is apparent in the other two areas. The demographic features of the six sub-areas will be presented in brief as a whole in the following paragraphs.

The in-depth interviews inquired the city of origin, level of kinship, income, household size of the respondents.

According to the interviews with the mukhtars, the people living in the first four sub-areas (areas 1, 2, 3 and 4) were originally from the villages of Çankırı, Yozgat, Kırşehir, Çorum and Sivas, and had moved to the area since the 1970s. The high proportion for people from the same town/village in the neighborhoods makes information sharing quite fast, meaning that the squatter owners are aware of the conditions related to construction agreements in the area, and so they retain a certain bargaining power.

With the transformation of squatter houses, the composition of the population has started to change, with newcomers migrating from cities closer to Ankara, such as Kırıkkale and Yozgat. Moves within Mamak itself are also common, as when a squatter transformation is at stake, ethnic divisions do not seem to matter in the organization of people or in their choice of constructor.

The squatter houses are on average 80-100 m², not including the garden, and the average household size is 4 in the sub-areas. They are mostly nuclear families, with one household leader, and are mostly house owners, which facilitates transformation in the area.

The inhabitants are mostly low-income workers working in the industrial sector in Ostim or Siteler, or on construction projects in the area. Both the mukhtars and local residents stated that the increasing construction activity and the shopping malls increased employment considerably in the area; however, this type of employment is not covered by social security. There are also few civil servants in the area.

Sub-areas 5 and 6 (Durali Aliç UTP, and Yatık Musluk UTP) reveal some significant differences in demographic terms when compared to the rest of the sub-areas. Firstly, the Durali Aliç UTP does not have squatter background, but is rather a cooperative venture, with the shareholders mostly being middle-income civil servants. Yatık Musluk, one of the oldest squatter neighborhoods in Ankara, dating back to 1940s, has a fragmented ownership as a result of the ever increasing number of inheritors. The original property owners have on the whole already left the area, and so most of the inhabitants were tenants or occupiers (until a transformation project was launched in 2001). Interviews with the municipality and constructors underline the bad reputation of the neighborhood in terms of urban crime and drug dealing.

5.3.2.1. Sub-area 1: Durali Aliç inner section

Durali Aliç inner-section was first subject to a rehabilitation plan that was approved in 1990, when the area was completely covered with squatter houses. As the area is located along a valley, the plan designated the area as a “construction-limited area,” and limited construction to two stories, and the land parcels were designed taking into account this limitation.

Municipality representatives said during interviews that the restriction of two floors was given based on geological concerns, while the mukhtars stated that the real reason was the lack of sewage infrastructure. It was claimed that leaking waste water

had weakened the soil, raising the risk of landslides, and that fixing the infrastructure would eliminate the need for constraint based on geological concerns.

Although the plan legitimized the squatter houses, it was not enough to mobilize the squatter owners to become new actors in the housing market as the 2-story limit made development unfeasible for both the landowners and the constructors, and as a result, no transformation took place. Another reason behind non-transformation was the presence of 4-story developments in the vicinity, which the inhabitants found unfair given the restrictions on their own properties. Under pressure of local demands and equity concerns, the local municipality made a reassessment of the geological conditions in the area and allowed 4-story housing in 1999. However, it is only since 2010 that applications for construction licenses have been made.

As can be seen on figure 5.14, the sub-area consists of 42 blocks, 16 of which have been subject to a construction agreement in the last two years. The average number of shareholders on a parcel with a construction agreement is six, and constructors have expressed that when there are more than 10 shareholders, conflict resolution becomes difficult under the current plan restrictions. Interviewees have highlighted shareholder disputes as one of the main factors in the slow-down of transformation; however, they do not consider it to be a major problem, given that “such disputes rarely delay construction for more than a few months”.

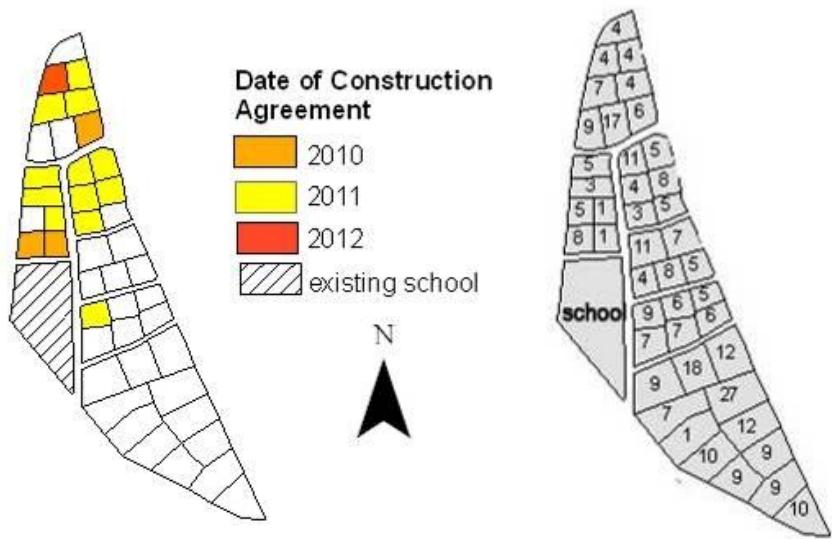


Figure 5.14 Parcels with construction license and number of shareholders

This immediately raises the question of what happened in 2010 that brought a boom in construction in the area? Inhabitants claim that once construction started in the area, other new constructions were triggered. One inhabitant's answer clarifies the situation: "When your neighbor is towering over you like a dragon, you stand there like nothing. It just doesn't work anymore". In a way, the inhabitants were forced into a certain course of action, as verified by one constructor in the area:

Even the most disadvantaged area becomes attractive when a single construction starts. If I am to undertake a construction in an area, I advise my colleague to become involved in the same building block before other constructors arrive. Each construction increases expectations and triggers another.

This is justified to an extent by the observation that transformed parcels are often adjacent to each other. In addition, research has shown that in the 16 parcels that are under construction there are 11 different constructors (Citysurf Database).

The construction agreements are quite advantageous for the landowners in this area compared to its counterparts. Each 100-120 m² of land is entitled to one housing unit. Figure 5.11 shows how land area per person is favorable for possible construction agreements.

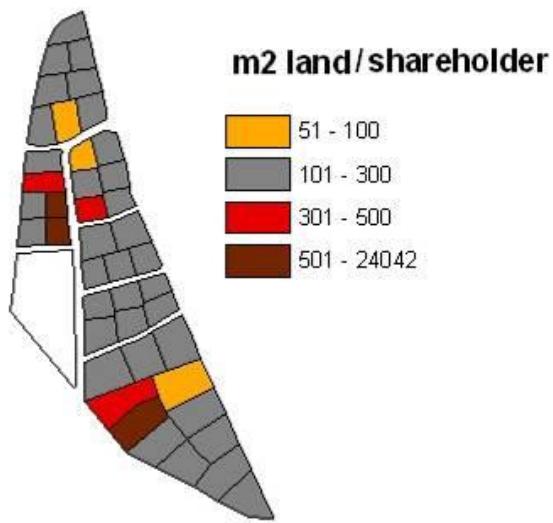


Figure 5.15 Land area (m²) per shareholder

Although the average sizes per shareholder are rather reasonable in the area, the existence of high numbers of shareholders, however, increases the transaction costs of reconciliation. A constructor explains the consequences of this:

It is not hard to convince an involuntary shareholder; just provide him with some returns and he will be convinced. We compensate for this loss somehow within the total construction. It is necessary to pay money to the notary each time an agreement changes; it costs us around 3,000 TL (approx. \$US1,700).

Another constructor who complained about shareholder disputes spoke about the maximum time taken for dispute resolution. He states, “It is not an easy task, we had a parcel with 15 shareholders, and it took a whole 3 months to resolve it”.

In case the dispute cannot be resolved, the constructor can take the case to court (*izaleyi şüyu*) to resolve the partnership on the land to the benefit of the highest bidder. However, it is a well-known fact that courts generally decide in favor of neither party, since none of the partners can collect enough money to buy the shares of the others. In such cases, the court gives the decision of “compulsory sale by auction,” by which the shareholders lose their rights in the parcel. To avoid this outcome, the controversial shareholder tends to end the dispute by agreeing to slightly higher gains. The rest of the shareholders, in the same manner, have no choice other than to give their consent.

The constructors act flexibly according to the needs and capacity for payment of the inhabitants. When a shareholder does not have enough land to compensate for a housing unit, then the excess payments are made in installments, depending on an agreement between the constructor and shareholder according to their capacity.

Another payment mechanism, especially for the new buyers, is the exchange of land for a housing unit,²⁸ in which the client hands over his land parcel (elsewhere) to the constructor in return for a new housing unit. This model is convenient for the constructor as well, in that it guarantees the continuation of the job, and is a common practice in Mamak, accounting for a considerable number of sales.

The constructor redistributes the new housing units according to the landowners initial land sizes and payment capacities, however distribution can be a complicated part of the process:

²⁸ trampa

One wants south façade, the other wants an upper floor, it always matters ... we resolve it somehow. The owner of the largest share gets the top floor, southern façade, while the owner of the smallest share gets the entrance floor. As for the rest, those who make more additional payments get relatively better units.

The organization of the development by constructors reduces the significance of the income level of the shareholders to a minimum. Firstly, the landowners' stake in the bargaining process is based not on their financial earnings, but on their plot sizes. Secondly, the fact that the constructors sell housing units prior to completion decreases prices by 20 percent. Finally, the constructors' custom tailored approach equalizes the payment capacities of landowners. In this sub-area housing prices range from 70,000 to 130,000 TL (approx. US\$39,000 to US\$72,000).

The interviews reveal that the tenant ratio is not high in the area, and that expected transformations have a deterrent effect on rental houses, as people are reluctant to rent houses when transformation is on the cards.

The constructors mention three major factors that slow down transformation in an area. The first is the existence of squatters that were provided title deeds in another parcel (shifted ownership) rather than on their original sites. This raises problems when the owners of a certain parcel attempt to construct an apartment, as the constructor has to convince the owners of such shifted parcels to vacate their property so that it can be demolished. This is done by paying a ruin cost for the squatter, and in some cases paying the short-term rents of the mover. In such cases, squatter owners usually ask for high compensation, and taking the issue to court can increase costs to 20,000 TL (approx. US\$11,000). As taking the issue to court delays the process by about two years, constructors try to resolve the problem without going to court, and although the cost may be similar, shorter times are involved.

Another factor that may slow transformation relates to disputes between constructors. There is an ethical code among constructors not to become a shareholder in a parcel in which another constructor already has a stake. In other words, when there is a constructor as a shareholder in a parcel, he guarantees to undertake the job; however, some constructors intentionally buy very small shares of 1–5m² in a parcel, and thus become the second constructor shareholder. Subsequently, the second shareholding constructor may attempt to sell his land to the initial constructor at a price above the market value. This is a common complaint of both constructors and landowners, and there is no authority to prevent such transfers of private property. Among the many constraints, this situation has the potential to cause the greatest delays.

Table 5.1 SSF components of sub-area 1 in the first intervention period

Factors	Intervention period: I
f3. Geological characteristics	3S
Slope	0
Soil characteristics-risk prone	3S
f4. Locational attachments	6S
Accessibility from city center	3S
Waste dumping area/cemetery image	3S
Transformation in the vicinity	0
f7. Plan-imposed	S
Floor number	S
Parcel-base development	0
Block-base development	0
f8. Discursive	2S
Rumors and expectations	2S
Political declaration	0

(S is for slowing down effect. The numbers indicate weights of the effect ranging 1–3; with 1 being the least effective, and 3 the most).

The slowing down factors against transformation are given in table 5.1 with assigned weights. Locational attachments, soil characteristics, plan imposed restrictions and expectation all seem to act against transformation, and all of these factors together form the SSF of the area for the first intervention period.

In the second intervention period, a new composition of factors emerged as the new SSF of the area. While some factors of the previous era become ineffective, others gained importance, and some new factors emerged (table 5.2). For instance, locational attachments became positive with the investments in the vicinity. The plan was an applicable one and property relations were reasonable, however conflict mediation became a major challenge. Under these conditions, the subarea has gone through a slow transformation process.

Table 5.2 SSF components of sub-area 1 in the second intervention period

Intervention period: II	
f4. Locational attachments	3A
Accessibility from city center	A
Waste dumping area/cemetery image	A
Transformation in the vicinity	2A
f5. Property attachments	6A
Ownership status: title deed, no title deed, title allocation	3A
Inhabitant status: owner, tenant	3A
f6. Conflict mediation	5S
Constructors disputes	S
Shareholder disputes (no of shareholders)	S
Treasury or public as shareholder	0
Construction organization method	A
Shifted ownership, bargaining power of squatters; ruin costs	2S
Lawsuits	0
f7. Plan-imposed	2A
Floor number	A
Parcel-base development	A
Block-base development	0
f8. Discursive	3A
Rumors and expectations	3A
Political declaration	0

(While S stands for slowing down effect, the A stand for accelerating effect. The numbers indicate weights of the effects ranging 1–3, with 1 being the least effective, and 3 the most).

5.3.2.2. Sub-area 2: Duralı Ahç slope

This area is in the same neighborhood as sub-area 1, and while the population composition is similar, the houses and gardens tend to be smaller, as they are on the hilly part of the neighborhood.

This area was declared a “construction-prohibited area” in 1990 by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (now the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism) due to the risk of landslide; however, the municipality was unable to decant the squatters due to lack of financial resources and authoritarian capacity, and the inhabitants, in the same manner, had no means of moving out. To settle the ownership status of the inhabitants and to respond their demands, the municipality reassessed the geological conditions in 1995, and based on the results, permitted 3-story housing in the area. Regardless of these efforts, no construction started as the parcel sizes were small and the topography unsuitable, with the digging costs outweighing the potential benefits. To overcome these obstacles, a third plan was prepared in 2006 that increased parcel sizes and amended the construction conditions. The number of shareholders per parcel was also increased, and the number of floors was increased to 12 (including an average of three stories below ground level). Regardless, the area remained untransformed until 2011. The figures below shows the dates of construction agreements with number of shareholders per parcel.

The transformed parcels have between 7 and 15 shareholders, with each shareholder allotted between 101 to 300 m² of land per shareholder. The same rule seems to apply as in the previous case, that construction in one parcel triggers construction in other neighborhood parcels. Six different constructors undertook the construction of the eight parcels (Citysurf Database). The service road passing to the east of these parcels was built by the municipality on demand. A constructor states:

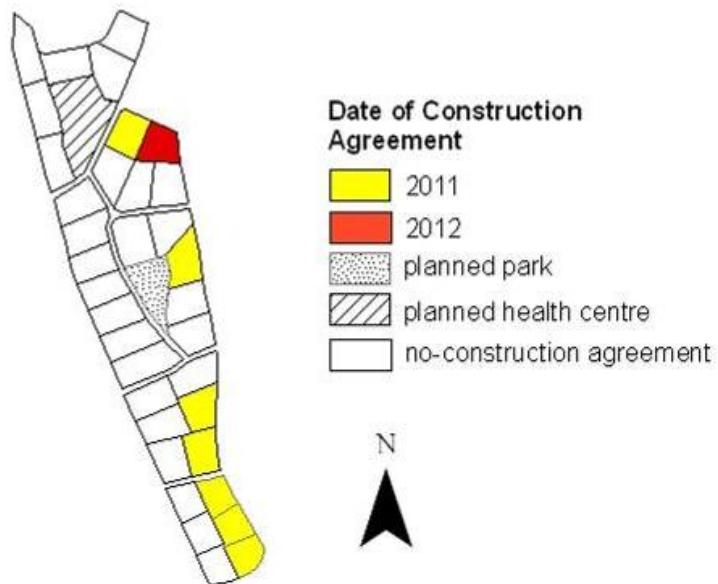


Figure 5.16 Parcels with construction license

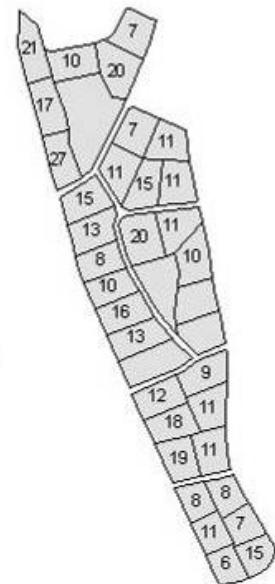


Figure 5.17 Number of shareholders

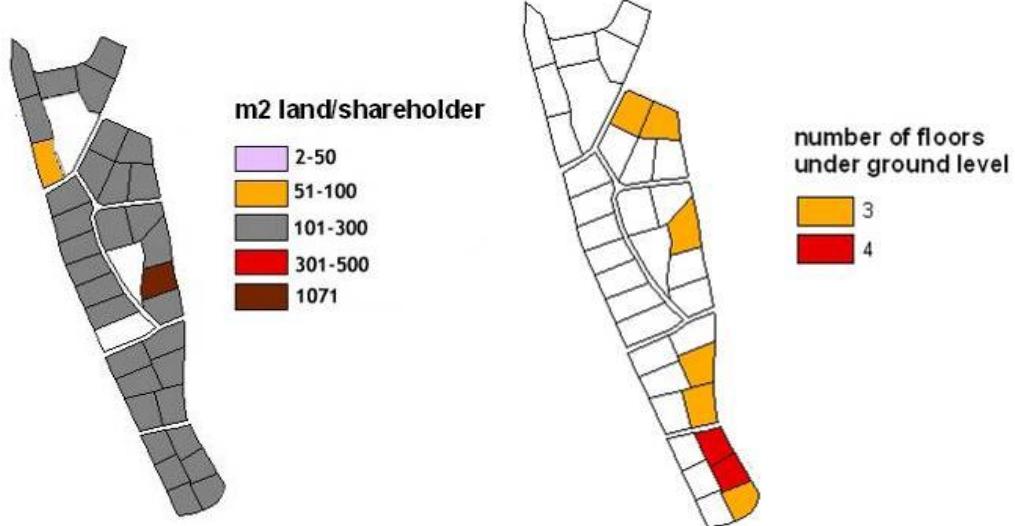


Figure 5.18 m² of land per shareholder

Figure 5.19 No. of floors below ground

The district municipality was responsive to our demands. On the eve of construction, the municipality provided the roads between the blocks. We had no problem with a lack of service roads.

Shareholder disputes were the most accentuated problem in the area. The 2006 plan changed the former property pattern, by which parcels were merged and the number of shareholders was increased, bringing additional transaction costs to the constructor.

Some constructors stated that they would not undertake any work in this area due to the problematic topography and the high number of shareholders; while others, significantly those with smaller capital, turned these conditions to their advantage:

These are high-rise apartments with flexible construction conditions. In a way, I produce higher quality housing with closed garages and two elevators, and so I can sell them at higher prices. The topography gives me an extra three or four floors. One floor becomes the garage, and the additional units cover the costs. I pay the workers with those units, for instance.

As implied above, floors below the level of the road are not counted as part of the permitted construction area, and so count as additional gains of the constructor, meaning an additional four to six housing units (see figure 5.19). The first two sub-floors can be used as housing, while the lower floors can be used as a garage or for storage. Some mukhtars elaborated upon this issue:

As opposed to those areas with high rents, here the land share is only 30–35 percent. Moreover, if a constructor makes contract on 35 percent, it is actually 20 percent, and somehow or another he makes additional floors. One floor means four extra housing units, and if he can sell them at a price of 75,000 TL (approx. \$US40,000), it is satisfactory! Why do you think constructors are rich?

The most common complaint of constructors is the “lack of social infrastructure” in the area. Even if there are planned health centers or sports facilities, most of them

have not been implemented yet. For constructors, their implementation is a benchmark. Speaking on this issue, one constructor says:

When the municipality provides the infrastructure, the constructors immediately enter the area. Social facilities would guarantee our profit, but now we can only tell the customers ‘this field is a park, this is where the road passes,’ but what they see instead is a cow. It is in the plan, but who knows how many years it will take to implement it. We are not only selling houses, we are selling lifestyles.

The lack of physical infrastructure may also pose problems, however complaints are not generally related to the responsibilities of the district municipality. Constructors state that when construction begins, the municipality provides the roads between blocks; however, almost all of the mukhtars and constructors complained about the shortfalls in the services provided by the Metropolitan Municipality, such as insufficient sewage systems. In the first intervention period, soil characteristics, locational attachments together with the level of desperation formed a strong SSF against transformation in sub-area 2.

Table 5.3 SSF components of sub-area 2 in the first intervention period

Factors	Intervention period: I
3. Geological characteristics	6S
Slope	3S
Soil characteristics – risk prone	3S
4. Locational attachments	6S
Accessibility from city center	3S
Waste dumping area/cemetery image	3S
Transformation in the vicinity	0
8. Discursive	3S
Rumors and expectations	3S
Political declaration	0

In the second intervention period, soil characteristics were almost eliminated as an obstacle, and locational attachments turned positive as a result of the investments in the area. The plan was also compatible with the property pattern, and the area seemed to have been transformed by small capital constructors. Nevertheless, constructor disputes and shareholder disputes still slowed the process.

Table 5.4 SSF components of sub-area 2 in the second intervention period

Factors	Intervention period: II
4. Locational attachments	0
Accessibility from city center	A
Waste dumping area/cemetery image	0
(Non)Existence of technical and social infrastructure	S
Transformation in the vicinity	A
5. Property attachments	2A
Ownership status: title deed, no title deed, title allocation	A
Inhabitant status: owner, tenant	A
6. Conflict resolution	3S
Constructors disputes	2S
Shareholder disputes (no of shareholders)	3S
Treasury or public as shareholder	0
Construction organization method	2A
Shifted ownership Bargaining power of squatters; ruin costs	0
Lawsuits	0
7. Plan-induced	3A
Floor number	A
Parcel-based development	0
Block-based development	2A
8. Discursive	3A
Rumors and expectations	3A
Political declaration	0

5.3.2.3. Sub-area 3: East and West Sides of Doğukent Caddesi

Sub-area 3, located in the Akşemsettin neighborhood along Doğukent Caddesi, has almost completed its transformation. The eastern part of the road was first planned in 1987, in the same year Doğukent Caddesi was constructed, having been previously a poor quality two-lane road. The western part of the road was planned in 1990, and both areas were initially earmarked for 3-story housing. In 1991 the eastern part, and in 1999 the western part gained 4-story rights; however, this 8-year gap between the two interventions seems to have made little difference when the dates of the construction agreements are considered (see figure 5.20). Construction activities on both sides started after 2000, and became more intense after 2005.

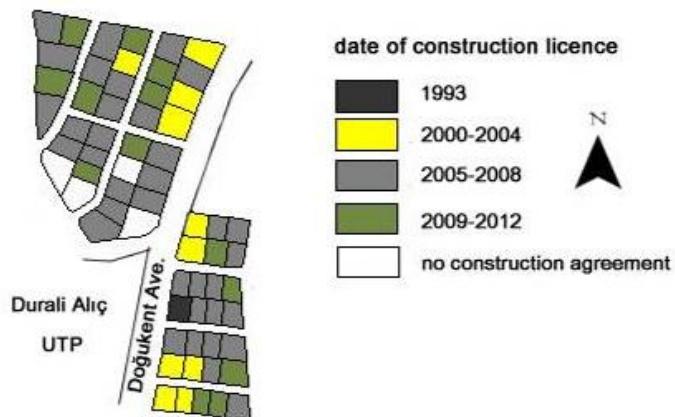


Figure 5.20 Parcels with construction licenses

The revival of construction activity may well have been related to the investments in the vicinity. In 1999, the Metropolitan Municipality upgraded Doğukent Caddesi into

a four-lane road, and the opening of the viaduct in 1999 was related directly to this investment. In 2002 the road was widened into an avenue.

It would not be wrong to assume that the construction activity in the area increased in parallel to the development of Duralı Aliç UTP (sub-area 5). The higher quality development in the nearby blocks increased house prices in the area, thus encouraging further constructions.

Following 2011 onwards, the arrival of IKEA and the Anatolia Shopping Mall contributed to this trend, and even last year, house prices increased, from about 90–95,000 TL to about 130–140,000 TL (approx. US\$50,000 to US\$75,000). In addition, the rental housing demands of the shopping mall employees brought a further dynamism to the housing market, however, real estate agents stated that rumors were extremely influential in price increases: “The viaduct, university, the biggest aquarium in the world, the hospital ... Nobody cared about these places; but in the last 7–8 years it has gone out of control”.

Nevertheless, this sub-area had already transformed, before such rumors began, which may well have prevented further speculation in the area. As shown in table 5.5, the SSF of the first intervention period indicates the unfavorable conditions in the area, based on the lack of accessibility to the city center, the waste dumping area and the low expectations of the people in the area.

Table 5.5 SSF components of sub-area 3 in the first intervention period

Factors	Intervention period: I
4. Locational attachments	6S
Accessibility from city center	3S
Waste dumping area/cemetery image	3S
(Non)Existence of technical and social infrastructure	0
Transformation in the vicinity	0
8. Discursive	S
Rumors and expectations	S
Political declaration	0

The second intervention, related to the granting of permission for extra floors, did not trigger the transformation one would expect. Thanks to the transformation in the Duralı Aliç neighborhood, and the change in the profile of the newcomers, construction activities in the area gained speed. In contrast, the fact that the area developed before the shopping malls prevented speculative approaches in the area.

Table 5.6 SSF components of sub-area 3 in the second intervention period

Factors	Intervention period: II
4. Locational attachments	4A
Accessibility from city center	A
Waste dumping area/cemetery image	0
(Non)Existence of technical and social infrastructure	A
Transformation in the vicinity	3A
5. Property attachments	2A
Ownership status: title deed, no title deed, title allocation	A
Inhabitant status: owner, tenant	A
8. Discursive fact	A
Rumors and expectations	A
Political declaration	0

5.3.2.4 Sub-area 4: South- East Side of Doğukent Caddesi, Imrahor Plan

This sub-area has somewhat different intervention background to the three previous sub-areas. Although it is completely covered with squatter houses, there was no rehabilitation plan, as the squatters were built after 1985.²⁹ The local people have lived here for about 20 years; and while some squatters have obtained title deeds as a result of individual efforts, others have not (figure 5.21). One inhabitant expressed the situation as follows:

Formerly, it was a very odd place. No minibuses would come here, and we would have to walk here from the Ege neighborhood. Probably they (those who do not have title deeds) showed no concern for it. Probably, they did not want to spend any money for this place. Nevertheless, we paid our taxes and bought the land 20 years ago.

In the absence of a previous plan, transformation was not an option, and it wasn't until 2001 that the area was finally planned. In this area there were two basic conflicts against transformation, the first being that more than half of the dwellers did not hold title deeds. Actually, there are about 150 inhabitants living in 42 squatters on the property of the Undersecretariat of the Treasury; and second, the inhabitants with title deeds did not actually want a plan (which is still to be approved).

²⁹ Note: Amnesty Law No. 2981 of 1984 legalized and assigned title deeds to squatters built before November 1985.

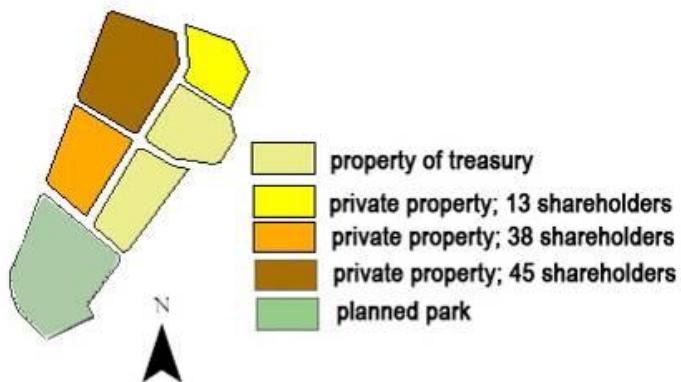


Figure 5.21: Property ownership pattern

The 2001 plan was part of the larger İmrahor Development Plan (see figure 5.7), which was actually a customized plan put forward by land speculators, mobilizing the support of both the metropolitan and the local municipality. The plan raised many objections, including the threat to the ecology of the valley. Moreover, the landowners in the area were reluctant to accept the plan because the land deductions of the plan reached 70 percent³⁰, meaning only 30 percent of each landowner's land would be given them back as a construction right, the rest being allocated as a green areas in the valley.

From the very beginning of the process, the Chamber of City planners, the Association of Çağdaş Başkent Ankara, the district Municipality of Çankaya, and the landowners in the area went to court to have the plan overruled, and the İmrahor plan has been delayed the fourth time by the court since then. In September 2011, all construction activity was stopped once again by a court decision.

³⁰ According to the Article 18 of the Law No. 3194, the land deductions for public uses (parks, roads, autopark, etc) of a certain plan is maximum 40 percent of the cadastral parcels involved in the plan. The deductions above this amount should be subject to expropriation. But in this plan it reached up to 70 percent.

One title owner explained their objection:

In the actual case, a big firm will undertake the project as a whole, and our returns will be very low. They say, ‘houses will be luxury as in the case of Durali Aliç UTP,’ but they will ask for greater amount of land in exchange. With the actual amount of land I have, a constructor would give me three housing units, while the (metropolitan) municipality will give me only one unit. Moreover, we might even have to make additional payments ... It would be nice to live in a high standard environment with parks and green areas, but at the last instance everybody here is more interested in the quantity of housing units,rather than their quality. We want to provide our children with houses too.

Inhabitants on the treasury land await the results of the court cases, as it is after the approval of the plan that the Treasury could open a tender to sell their land. The inhabitants have established a cooperative in order to participate in the tender, however, they state that they have only limited financial resources. Based on rumors, they speculate that Melih Gökçek, the mayor of the metropolitan municipality, will buy the land, or TOKİ will simply enter the area, and so they have little hope about their future in the area. Right now, their sole properties are their squatter houses. A worst-case scenario would be them being eligible only for ruin costs, which, according to rumors, have been determined as 38,000 TL (approx. US\$21,000) by the municipality.

Since 2002, the İmrahor Plan has been approved and cancelled several times due to court decisions, or has been rejected by the citizens or NGOs. Although the sub-area is not itself in the valley, the lawsuits are binding for this specific area as well. The intervention lacks legitimacy vis-à-vis the inhabitants, the chambers, the NGOs, etc.

Table 5.7 SSF components of sub-area 4

Factors	Intervention Period: II
3. Geological attachments	3S
Slope	0
Soil characteristics-risk prone	0
Ecological value	3S
f5. Property attachments	3S
Ownership status: title deed, no title deed, title allocation	3S
Inhabitant status: owner, tenant	0
f6. Conflict resolution	3S
Constructors disputes	0
Shareholder disputes (no of shareholders)	0
Treasury or public as shareholder	0
Construction organization method	0
Bargaining power of squatters, ruin costs	0
Lawsuits	3S

5.3.2.5. Sub-area 5: Duralı Alç UTP

This is a cooperative area, and was planned as an undertaking of the cooperative in 1987, and since then no development attempt has been made for 15 years. The area was very close to the last two waste dumping areas, and a small proportion of the area has been occupied by squatter houses since then.

In 2001, the municipality prepared a new plan under the initiative of the cooperative that overcame the deficiencies of the previous plan, according to which larger plots were planned and height restrictions were removed. This was the period when the accessibility of the area increased thanks to the opening of the viaduct in 1999.

As the land was privately owned by the cooperative, the squatter houses were eliminated without any ruin cost payments; and the district municipality was involved in the plan both as a shareholder and as a regulator. To trigger transformation in the area the municipality started construction of a park and shopping center prior to the housing construction; and while construction of the housing units started in 2004 and is now almost complete, the social infrastructure, aside from the shopping center and the park, has not yet been implemented.

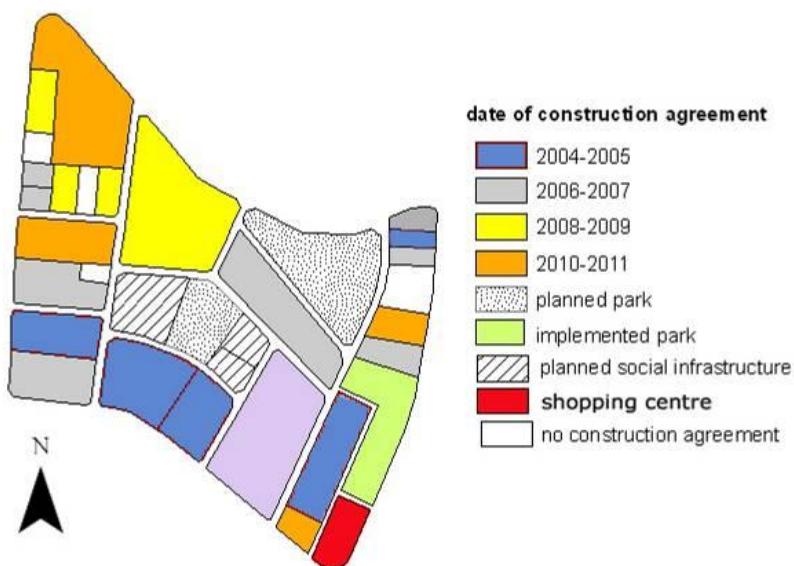


Figure 5.22 Parcels with construction licenses

The existence of a sole authority (the cooperative) in the development accelerated the process, while also increasing the bargaining power of the cooperative. For each block, the cooperative made agreement with a different firm or constructor, who were the more notable constructors of Mamak, with relatively higher capital. There is

only one national firm in the area that does not originate from Mamak, and is the first national firm to undertake construction in the district.³¹

An interview with the national firm provided information on the development characteristics of the area. The national firm made a 33 percent land-share agreement in one of the larger parcels of the project area. The firm is financing 253 housing units using its own capital sources, 87 of which will belong to the cooperative; while the rest will belong to the company. The project area will contain more than 2,500 housing units, some 900 of which will return to the cooperative of 287 members.

The firm claims that their housing units are almost sold out, having been bought mainly by teachers and military staff from the Çankaya, Yıldız and Birlik neighborhoods who plan to live there after retirement. Prices vary from 130,000 to 250,000 TL, with payment conditions arranged by the firm according to the buyer's budget.

Constructions are carried out not on a parcel basis, but on a block basis including green areas and commercial units (known as project basis development). The national firm does not turn over the project until each item is completed. This approach is new in Mamak, as an official stated:

For instance Ege UTP, is not an UTP, but is rather a sole building on merged parcels. There is no project logic. Buildings stand alone, side-by-side ... Moreover, they sell the houses before the construction is over. We are not like other firms; we do not sell the houses before the social infrastructure and the surroundings are resolved. This is the real "build-sell" method; the constructors' method is 'sell-build'.

³¹ Within the last year the second national firm entered Mamak, for the construction of the IKEA campus.

When asked about the inner squatter areas, the firm official stated that they would be reluctant to undertake any project in the squatter areas considering the complexity of the negotiations with the squatter people. He adds:

We do not enter areas with 10–15 housing units; the benchmark is 100 units for us. Even if we consider entering such an area, we do not want to negotiate with all of the squatter owners (who are many in numbers), but only with one representative. That is, the only condition encouraging us to enter the squatter areas is the dislocation of people by the municipality ... The fact that the blocks have already been partially developed (in the inner sections) already rules out a holistic solution.

An employee of the firm considers Mamak-Duralı Aliç to be more attractive for business than Çankaya, as land is cheaper in Mamak and the municipality is less cumbersome. Although profit volumes are smaller in Mamak, the profit margin is similar (for the whole of Ankara), and it has been said that recently, investors are rushing to Mamak with entrepreneurial motivation. Mamak's image problem is not waste-dumping area anymore. It has vanished with IKEA and Metro Malls. But the name "Mamak" still has a negative connotation.

In the first intervention period, the main components of the SSF of the area were the existence of waste dumping area that lowered expectations of any rise in status of the area. Moreover, when the conditions were ripe, the plan technically impeded transformation (table 5.8). In contrast, with the increased accessibility combined with the rehabilitation of the waste dumping area, expectations were heightened. The plan is revised accordingly, and these factors together formed a new SSF for the area (table 5.9).

Table 5.8 SSF components of sub-area 5 in the first intervention period

Factors	Intervention period: I
4. Locational attachments	6S
Accessibility from city center	3S
Waste dumping area/cemetery image	3S
(Non)Existence of technical and social infrastructure	0
Transformation in the vicinity	0
7. Plan-imposed	S
Floor number	0
Parcel-based development	S
Block-based development	0
8. Discursive	2S
Rumors and expectations	2S
Political declaration	0

Table 5.9 SSF components of sub-area 5 in the second intervention period

Factors	Intervention period: II
4. Locational attachments	5A
Accessibility from city center	3A
Waste dumping area/cemetery image	0
(Non)Existence of technical and social infrastructure	2A
Transformation in the vicinity	0
6. Conflict resolution	3A
Constructors disputes	0
Shareholder disputes (no of shareholders)	3A
Treasury or public as shareholder	0
Construction organization method	0
Bargaining power of squatters, ruin costs	0
Lawsuits	0
7. Plan-imposed	4A
Floor number	2A
Parcel-based development	0
Block-based development	2A
8. Discursive	3A
Rumors and expectations	3A
Political declaration	0

5.3.2.6 Sub-area 6: Yatık Musluk UTP

This sub-area was one of the earliest squatter settlements in Mamak. Although it was first included in the 1959 plan and again in the 1991 rehabilitation plan, no transformation has yet taken place. Its history as a planned area made the transformation issue very complicated in terms of the ever-increasing numbers of shareholders. In addition, the owners have already left the area, meaning that most of the inhabitants are tenants.

In 2001, Mamak Municipality launched a transformation of the area, designing a seven-stage project that used the fill-empty method. The first stage was to build a high-rise building on municipal property, and decant the owners of a certain plot into this building, emptying their plot in preparation for the next stage. However, the municipality could only carry out the first stage of the project, and were unable to transfer the target groups to these new blocks, which in the end were sold to the third parties at higher prices.

When the project was blocked, the municipality were forced to invite TOKİ to take over the project in 2001. At the time TOKİ did not wield the power it has today, and so it had to carry out the project on a consent basis. This slowed down the process and TOKİ could only succeed in constructing one block by 2004. In 2007, responsibility for the project was undertaken completely by the empowered TOKİ under the category of “squatter transformation project”.

The figure below shows the issue date of the construction licenses of the plots. The municipality was able to carry out the first stage of the project in a short time as it was building on its own property; however the second stage was delayed for about seven years, after which it was transferred to TOKİ. For the following phases of the project, the strategy has changed. TOKİ merged the five stages into one and added a condition that “owners of land sizes smaller than 50 m² cannot be considered as

titleholders". Despite the objections raised by many owners, they were overruled based on TOKİ Law No. 2985.

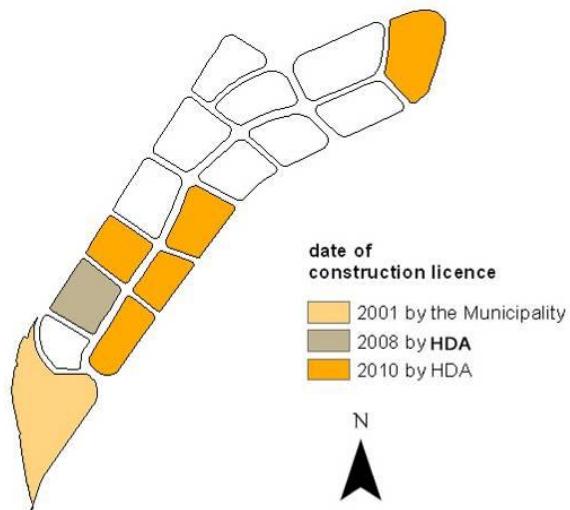


Figure 5.23 Date of construction license

In Yatık Musluk, 27 percent of the land property is under public ownership, including the Municipality of Mamak, Hacettepe University, Ministry of Finance, Electric, Gas and Bus Enterprise (EGO) and the Organization of Mosques, while the remaining 63 percent belongs to individuals (see figure 5.24). The existence of Treasury land is an advantage for TOKİ, as it can take possession automatically of all its property.

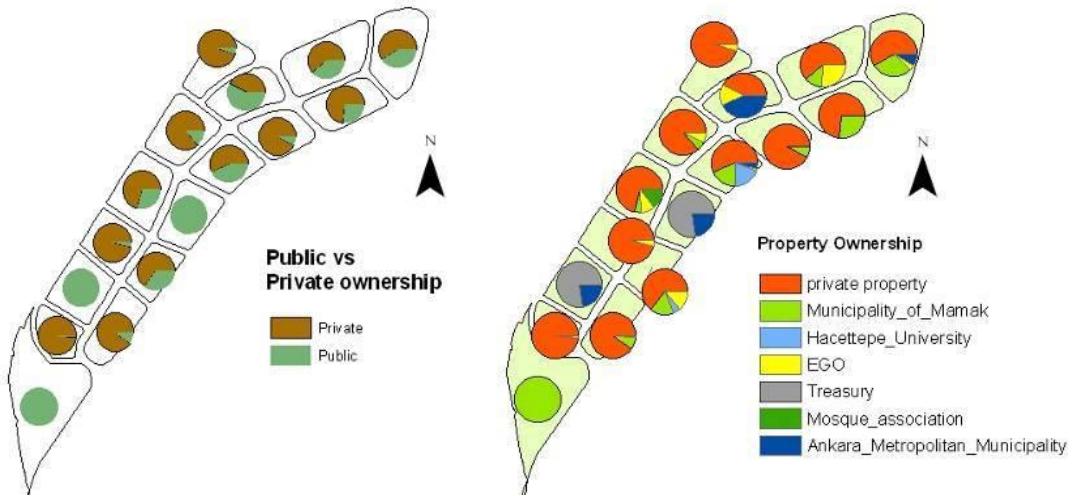


Figure 5.24 Property pattern

The reputation of the neighborhood as an area with a high urban crime rate explains why the area has waited so long for transformation. Constructors are reluctant to enter into negotiations with the tenants, and in any case, it would be very difficult to find buyers for the new houses in such a problematic area. As one constructor states:

It is a central area, but the property pattern is very fragmented. The real owners have already left the area and so most of the occupants are tenants. Almost all of them are engaged in illegal activity, so no constructor wants to enter the area, and even if he does, he could not sell any houses; people would not buy. The social environment is dangerous there. They sleep in the morning and work at nights ...

Accordingly, the target group of the project is not the original residents of the area, and the current tenants will have to move elsewhere. The nearby neighborhood has also recently been declared as a Squatter Transformation Project by TOKİ, where there are similar problems related to multiple ownership of the land and high urban crime rates, constituting the justification of the project. However, with the launch of this project, land prices have increased. Although the project is categorized as a

“squatter transformation,” TOKİ officials also foresee prestigious development under the category of revenue sharing.

In the first two intervention periods, several factors acted together against any transformation. Despite the high land rents, the neighborhood identity and the high rate of tenancy were two significant factors that outweighed the market mechanism and municipal authority in both intervention periods. The municipal share in the area launched a certain transformation in the area, but the process was soon blocked due to the lack of financial and technical capacity of the municipality.

Table 5.10 SSF components of sub-area 6 in the first two intervention periods

Factors	Intervention period: I		II
	3S	3S	
2. Demographic attachments			
Income level	0	0	
Number of households per unit	0	0	
Neighborhood identity	3S	3S	
Level of kinship, citizenship	0	0	
4. Locational attachments	0	A	
Accessibility from city center	0	A	
Waste dumping area/cemetery image	0	0	
(Non)Existence of technical and social infrastructure	0	0	
Transformation in the vicinity	0	0	
5. Property attachments	3S	3S	
Ownership status: title deed, no title deed, title allocation	0	0	
Inhabitant status: owner, tenant	3S	3S	
6. Conflict resolution	S	A	
Constructors disputes	0	0	
Shareholder disputes (no of shareholders)	0	0	
Treasury or public as shareholder	S	A	
Construction organization method	0	2A	
Bargaining power of squatters, ruin costs	0	2S	
Lawsuits	0	0	

In the third intervention period, locational attachments gained importance when the other factors were suppressed by a totalitarian authority (Table 5.11). A totalitarian intervention, in a way, aims to erase the SSF of the area.

Table 5.11 SSF components of sub-area 6 in the second intervention period

Factors	Intervention period: III
2. Demographic attachments	S
Income level	0
Number of households per unit	0
Neighborhood identity	S
Level of kinship, citizenship	0
4. Locational attachments	3A
Accessibility from city center	2A
Waste dumping area/cemetery image	0
(Non) Existence of technical and social infrastructure	0
Transformation in the vicinity	A
5. Property attachments	S
Ownership status: title deed, no title deed, title allocation	0
Inhabitant status: owner, tenant	S
6. Conflict resolution	3A
Constructor disputes	0
Shareholder disputes (no of shareholders)	S
Treasury or public as shareholder	A
Construction organization method	3A
Bargaining power of squatters, ruin costs	0
Lawsuits	0

5.3.3. Evaluation of SSFs for the sub-areas and the intervention periods

It was the intention in the field study to identify the socio-spatial fixities (SSFs) of each sub-area, and so the interviews were structured according to the socio-spatial factors presented in Chapter 4, table 4.1. The findings of the study have either refined or invalidated some of these factors.

Factors related to appurtenance category were not observed in the area; while the adhesion of the residents to their houses, gardens and trees did not have a slowing-down effect on squatter transformation. The fact that the transformation is occurring in a fragmented manner has already led to the destruction of the natural environment. Local inhabitants do not find it desirable to retain a garden between huge buildings, and are prepared for apartment houses when this is combined with the difficult living conditions in squatter houses.

In addition, some demographic factors are not exclusive to certain sub-areas. For instance, household size is similar for all sub-areas, at about 3 or 4 people; and likewise, income levels differ little among the inhabitants due to the fact that their bargaining sources are their land shares. On this basis, the entry of people into the housing market is influenced very little by their level of income. Also, the political persuasion of the inhabitants seems to play no direct role in different transformation patterns, and their level of kinship or citizenship is not a determining factor in their actions and choices related to any stages of a transformation.

Indeterminacy of the factors

An analysis of the factors in the SSF tables reveals that some factors gain importance or have a lesser effect depending on the intervention period or the area. For instance, “parcel-based development” increased the likelihood of transformation in sub-areas 1,2 and 3, while in contrast it was an obstacle for sub-area 5, in that it limited

architectural variety. Similarly, soil quality, once the sole obstacle for sub-area 2, lost its effect in the next intervention period. The weighting of the factors related to location, externalities and expectations also changed between different periods. Obviously, the SSF of each intervention period acted in a different manner, and the changing influence of SSF for different intervention periods is an outcome of the dialectics between the intervention and the factors. The factors and the interventions alter each other reciprocally, and the altered factors reshapes the SSF.

Table 5.1 presents the components of SSFs for each sub-area, in which the SSFs are presented with their relative weights and their changing influence for the different intervention periods. The overall attitude of SSF towards intervention is also given in the final column of the table. Note that the overall behavior of SSFs is not simply the sum of the weights of each factor, as the weights show rather that a factor's effect may change in time and space. It is also noteworthy that the sub components of the factors have come out mainly during the field research.

While sub-areas differ from each other in terms of some factors or their changing weighs, one can detect that some factors loom large for the entirety of sub-areas. This commonality of factors can be interpreted as a SSF of the district of Mamak, characterizing its transformation experience. The SSF of Mamak district and its transformation characteristics are going to be evaluated in the following chapter, after an attempt is made to give an account of different paces and patterns of development.

Factors	AREA		1		2		3		4		5		6		
	Intervention period: I		I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	II	I	II	III	
1. Appurtenances	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Physical conditions of the houses	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
planted land, garden, trees	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2. Demographic attachments	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3S	3S	S	
income level	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
number of households per unit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neighbourhood identity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3S	3S	S	
Level of kinship, citizenry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3. Geological attachments	3S	0	6S	0	0	0	3S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
slope	0	0	3S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
soil characteristics-risk prone	3S	0	3S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ecological value	0	0	0	0	0	0	3S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4. Locational attachments	6S	3A	6S	0	6S	4A	0	6S	5A	0	A	A	3A		
Accessibility from city centre	3S	A	3S	A	3S	A	0	3S	3A	0	A	2A			
The waste dumping area/cemetery image	3S	A	3S	0	3S	0	0	3S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Transformation in the vicinity	0	2A	0	A	0	3A	0	0	0	0	0	0	A		
5. Property attachments	0	6A	0	2A	0	2A	3S	0	0	0	3S	3S	S		
Ownership statue: title-deed, no title deed, title allocation	0	3A	0	A	0	A	3S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Inhabitant status: owner, tenant	0	3A	0	A	0	A	0	0	0	0	3S	3S	S		
6. Conflict resolution	0	5S	0	3S	0	0	3S	0	3A	3S	S	3A			
constructors disputes	0	S	0	2S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
shareholder disputes (no of shareholders)	0	S	0	3S	0	0	0	0	3A	0	3S	S			
Treasury or public as shareholder	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	S	A	A			
Construction organization method	0	A	0	2A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2A	3A		
Bargaining power of squatters, ruin costs	0	2S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2S	0		
Law suits	0	0	0	0	0	0	3S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7. Plan-imposed	S	2A	0	3A	0	A	0	S	4A	0	0	0	0		
Floor number	S	A	0	A	0	0	0	0	2A	0	0	0	0		
Parcel-base development	0	A	0	0	0	A	0	S	0	0	0	0	0		
Block-base development	0	0	0	2A	0	0	0	0	2A	0	0	0	0		
8. Discursive	2S	3A	3S	3A	0	A	0	2S	3A	0	0	0	0		
Rumours and expectations	2S	3A	3S	3A	0	A	0	2S	3A	0	0	0	0		
Political declaration	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		

S: slowing down effect A: accelerating effect 0: no observed effect

Figure 5.25 The changing roles and weights of SSFs for each sub-area and for different intervention periods

CHAPTER 6

POTENTIAL SPACE AND SPATIAL VARIETY

6.1. Introduction

Chapter 5 provided answers to the three research questions (given in Chapter 3), and presented the intervention histories of each sub-area and their varying responses to these interventions, with emphasis on the factors that accelerated or slowed the transformation of each sub-area. Accordingly, the socio-spatial fixities (SSFs) of each sub-area are presented for each intervention period. In this chapter, an attempt will be made to answer the main question of the thesis: “How can the variations in the pace and pattern of urban transformation be explained within the Mamak district of Ankara?”

Before dealing with the question further, it would be helpful to summarize the discussions made so far. The collection of factors acting on an area in a specific intervention period has been referred to as SSF, and it has been clarified that these factors may act differently across space and time. Based on this claim, any explanation of transformation with reference to certain (general) factors can be considered as reductionist and deficient. Similarly, it can be inferred that an account of transformation with reference to the interventions without the consideration of SSF fall short of explanation. We propose, instead, that the dialectics of SSF and the interventions can be considered as producing a transformation power,³² and thus bring about a transformation.

³² The means of calculation of transformation power is presented in Chapter 4.4 as: “the amount of transformed area (m^2), divided by the duration (yrs) between the date of intervention and the average starting date of transformation”.

The magnitude of transformation power gives an idea of the reasons behind the variation in the pace and pattern of urban transformations. Accordingly, the next section revisits the sub-areas with emphasis on the dialectical relationship between SSFs and interventions, as well as the transformation power of each sub-area.

6.2. Transformation powers in sub-areas

The first sub-area, the Duralı Aliç neighborhood inner section, was first subjected to interventions in 1990; however, the plans were subject to topographical constraints and the presence of a waste-dumping area, which were the most effective obstacles against transformation. In addition, the inhabitants were opposed to any transformations under the restricted plan conditions, especially considering the presence of 4-story developments in the near vicinity (sub-area 3). These combined dynamics were not sufficient to initiate a transformation.

The proprietorship and expectations created by the first intervention shaped the second intervention in 1999, which doubled development rights, bringing them in line with the surrounding area. Regardless of these developments, the transformation would not begin for almost 12 years. Although topography was no longer an obstacle in the plans , the waste-dumping area continued to be a problem until the mid-2000s. From 2005 onwards, although the externalities became more positive, construction did not start in the area until 2010.

The factors that slowed-down transformation in the second intervention period were ruin costs, and disputes between shareholders and between constructors. In parallel to the transformation in the vicinity, the interest of constructors increased in the area, which increased the bargaining power of the inhabitants resulted in a more positive opinion of transformation. Construction was able to start in a short time thanks to the title-ownership and owner-occupier structure in the area, and constructors offered

different alternatives to financing, further contributing to the process by eliminating deficiencies related to income levels.

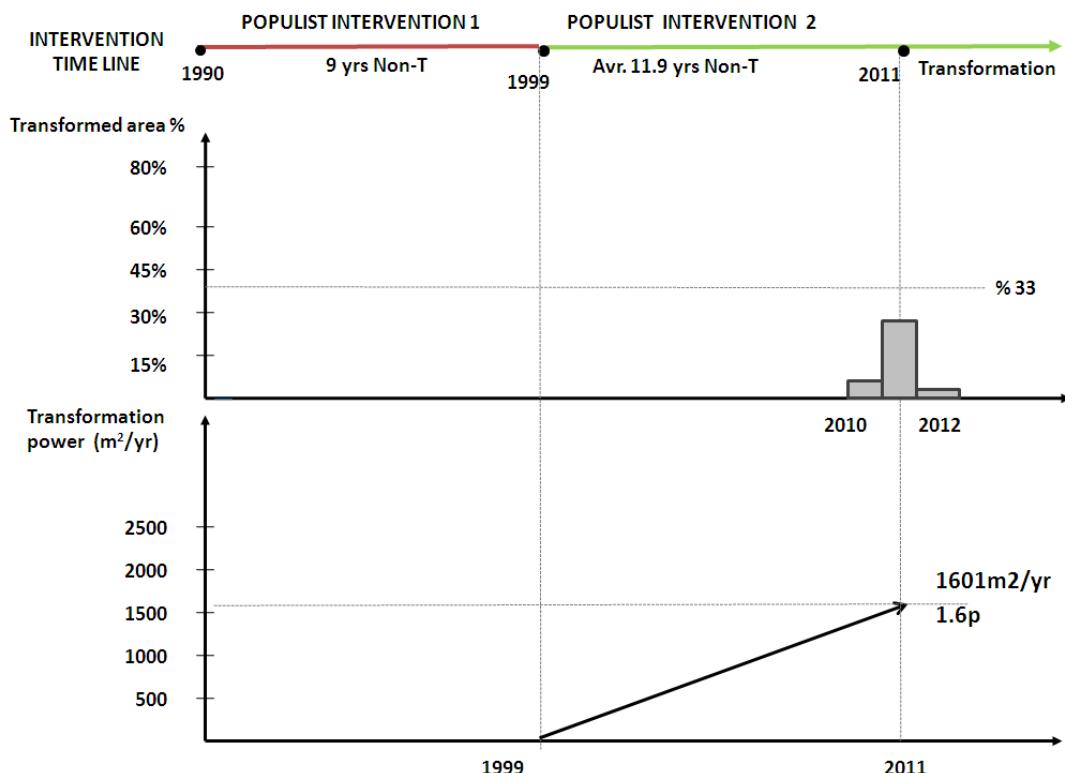


Figure 6.1 The transformed area and transformation power in sub-area 1

With an average 11.9-year delay³³ after the last intervention, construction activity started on 33 percent of the area, with an average of 1,601 m² of the area being

³³ The dates of the issuance of construction licenses are taken into consideration in the calculation of average delay times. Construction licenses (rather than occupation licenses) yield more accurate data for such an evaluation; and the availability of such data is high. In Mamak, the completion of construction after the issuance of a license takes, on average, 2 years.

transformed per year. This is abbreviated as 1.6p, and denotes the area's transformation power (see figure 6.1).

The second sub-area, Duralı Aliç neighborhood slope area, was first subjected to intervention in 1990 when the area was declared as a "construction-prohibited area" due to the landslide risks. Squatter owners were unable to obtain the title deeds to their homes, unlike their counterparts in the nearby neighborhoods. Moreover, the municipality was unable to move the squatters out of the area due to lack of financial resources and authoritarian capacity. The solution the ownership problem of the inhabitants came in 1995 when restrictions on development were eased, permitting the construction of 3-story housing in the area; however, no construction started.

In addition to the negative externality posed by the waste-dumping area, the parcel sizes were small and the topography was a considerable threshold in the area. In addition, digging costs were so high that constructors would not undertake constructions in the area with the 3-story limit in place. To overcome these obstacles and encourage construction in the area, a new plan was approved in 2006 that merged small parcels into larger ones and increased the total floor area by again increasing the number of permissible stories.

Still, no construction started until 2011, with the SSFs that slowed transformation being the increased number of shareholders due to the merging of small parcels and constructor disputes. Somehow, the ameliorated plan restrictions, flexibilities in the construction organization and owner-occupation that eventually gave a certain impetus to transformation. In one constructors' opinion, the topography turned out to be an advantage in the sense that it provided for the construction of additional floors, and the perception that "high rise apartments are more qualified compared to low rise ones" increased housing prices in the area.

With an average 5.1-year delay since the last intervention, construction activity has now started, covering 19 percent of the area, corresponding to an average of 2,948 m² per year, abbreviated as 2.9p (see figure 6.2).

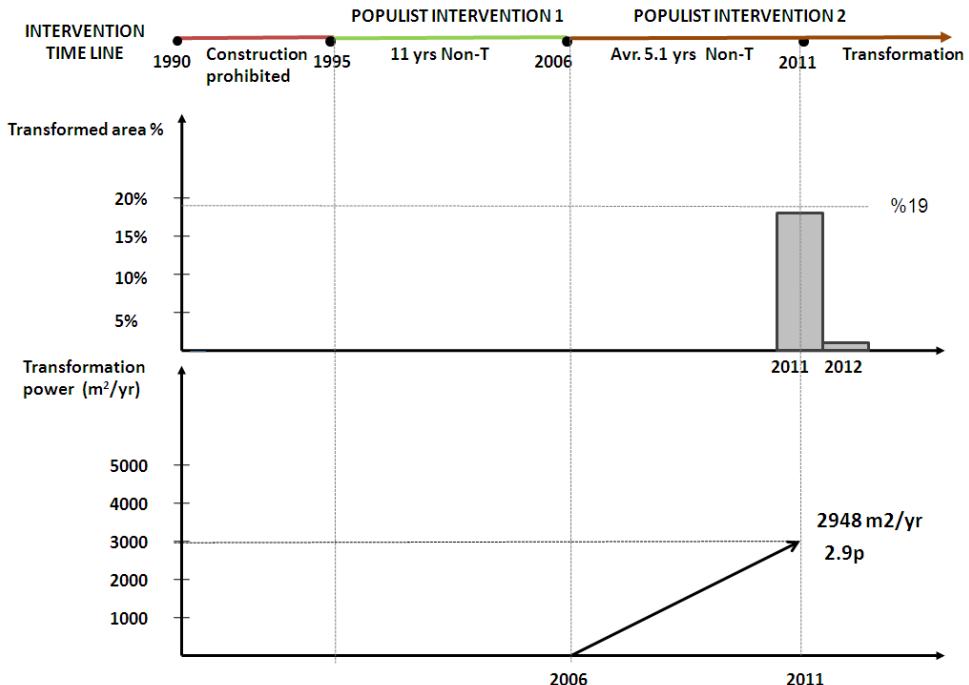


Figure 6.2 The transformation power in sub-area 2

The third sub-area, the eastern section of Doğu Kent Caddesi, was first planned in 1987, followed by the western section in 1990. Both sides were initially planned as 3-story housing; however, restrictions on story heights were eased to four stories for the eastern section in 1991 and the western section in 1999. Nevertheless, increasing the story numbers was not sufficient to launch a transformation on either side. In the early 2000s, Doğu Kent Caddesi gained considerable importance with the opening of a viaduct connecting the affluent neighborhoods of the city to Mamak, giving

impetus to construction activity. In 2005, construction intensified thanks to the beginning of construction of Durali Alış UTP in the vicinity, and high rates of owner occupation contributed further to the transformation of the area.

The Akşemsettin side of Doğukent Street experienced an average 14.2-year delay before the whole area was transformed, which occurred at an average rate of 1,332 m² per year, abbreviated as 1.3p.

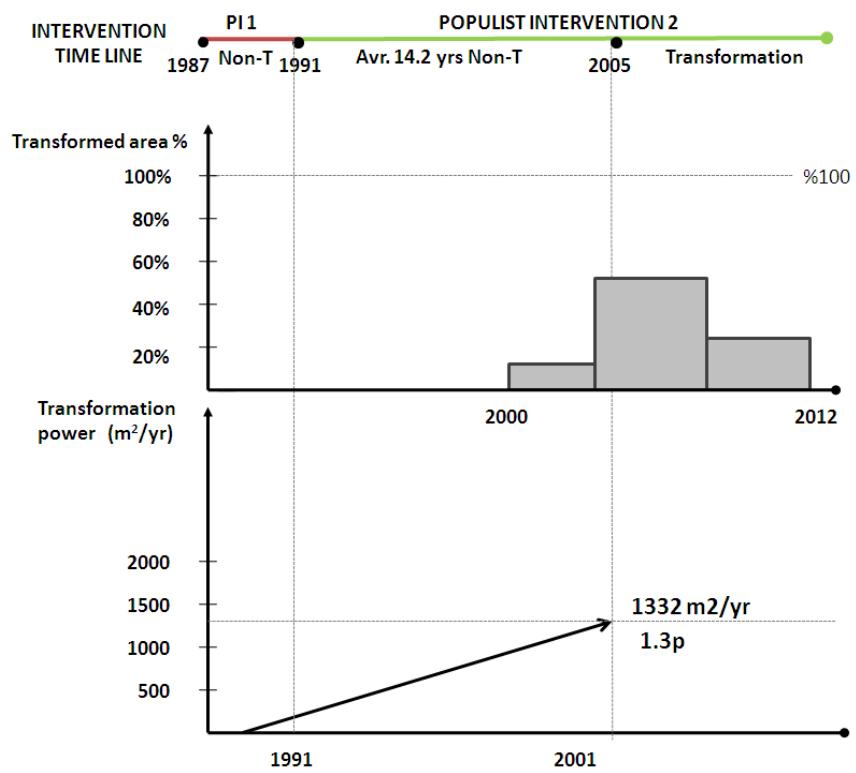


Figure 6.3 The power of transformation in sub-area 3a-Akşemsettin part

For the Durali Aliç side of Doğukent Street, we see an average 7.9-year delay prior to the transformation of 88 percent of the area, transforming at an average rate of $4,217 \text{ m}^2$ per year, abbreviated as 4.2p.

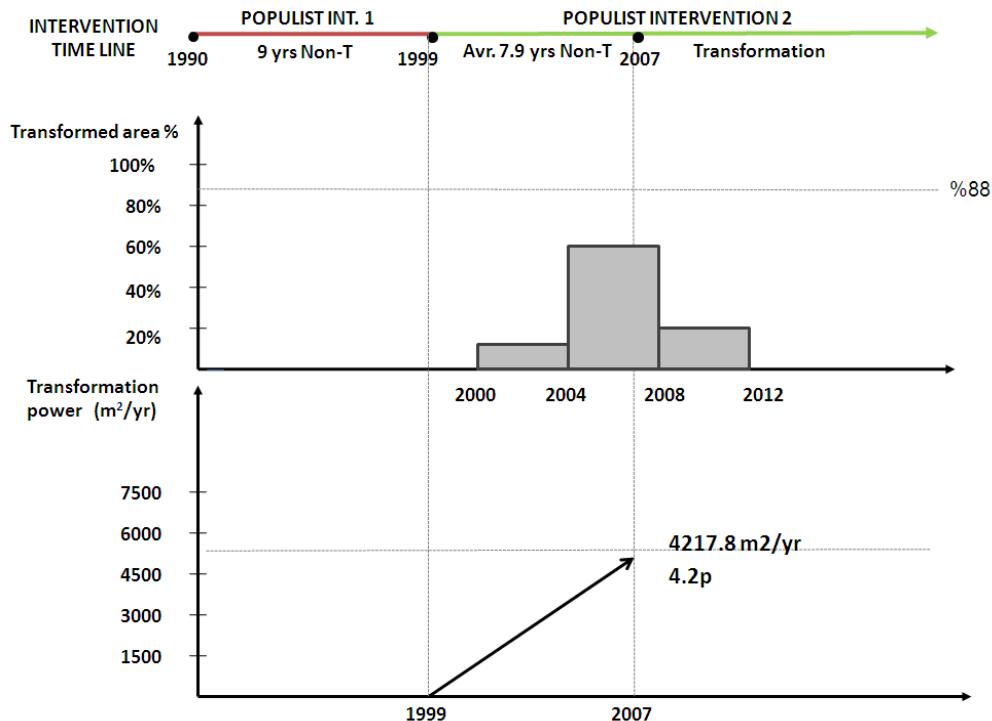


Figure 6.4 The power of transformation in sub-area 3b-Durali Aliç part

The fourth sub-area, the “South-East side of Doğukent Caddesi in the Imrahor Development Plan,” has no rehabilitation plan base, as the squatter houses were built after 1985. Although some squatter owners managed to obtain the title deeds to their properties, they did not gain the right to build apartments due to lack of a development plan. The metropolitan and the local municipality cooperated in the development of a new plan in 2001, however the plan failed to win the approval of both non-governmental organizations and the inhabitants due to ecological concerns

as well as unfair land deductions by the landowners. The İmrahor Development plan has been delayed for the fourth time by the court since 2001.

For the time being, there has been no significant transformation activity, despite the advantageous location, the positive externalities and the willingness of both municipality levels.

The fifth sub-area, Duralı Aliç UTP, was first subject to intervention in 1987 under the initiative of a cooperative; however, the peripheral location of the area and the presence of a waste-dump site have had a deterrent effect on the expectations of landowners. When the market conditions for transformation improved in the 2000s, the existing plan did not sufficiently meet the increased expectations of the cooperative, which had envisioned high-rise prestigious housing – supported by the district municipality. With the initiative of the cooperative and the support of the district municipality, a new plan was prepared in 2001, in which the municipality was not only the regulator, but also a shareholder. To accelerate development, the municipality launched construction of a park and a shopping center in the project area at the very outset.

Improving the quality of the environment and raising expectations were the primary components of SSF for transformation; and the municipality's support with the provision of the park and shopping mall also accelerated the construction process. The result was a single-ownership and block-base development that contributed to a more professional organization of construction in the sub-area, yielding a higher quality environment.

With an average 6.3-year delay after the last intervention, construction activities have transformed 84 percent of the area, transforming an average of 27,364 m² per year, abbreviated as 27p.

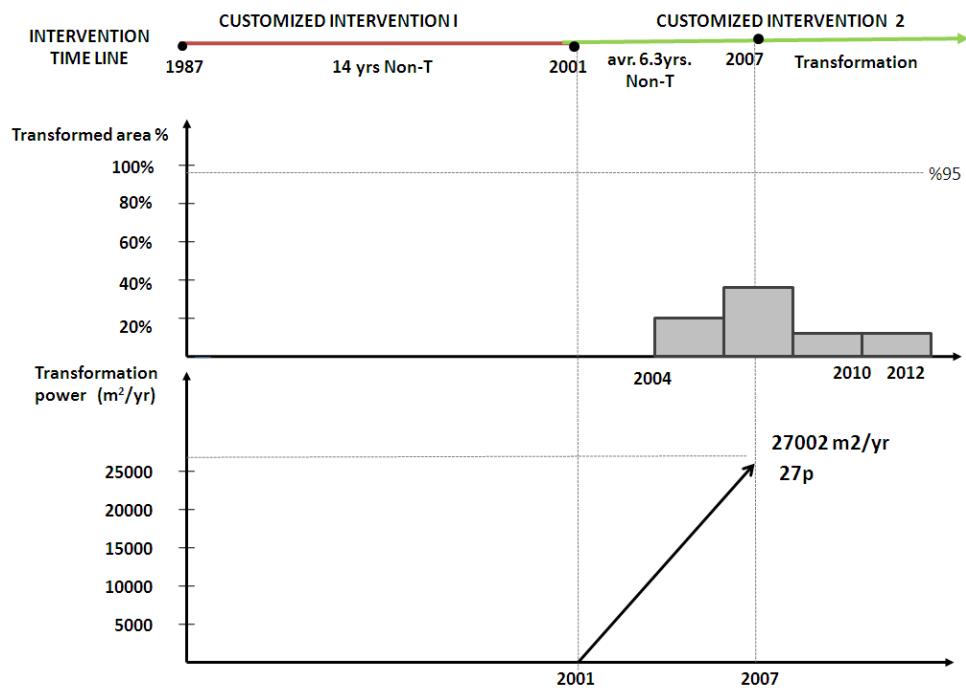


Figure 6.5 The power of transformation in sub-area 5

The sixth sub-area, the Yatık Musluk neighborhood was one of the earliest squatter settlements in Mamak, and was first subject to intervention in 1959. It was in 1991 that a rehabilitation plan was prepared, but despite the district's central location, no transformation has taken place due to the increased number of shareholders since the 1950s. With the changing population, the neighborhood lost its owner-occupied identity, and these days most of the residents were tenants, living in an area with a high crime rate and drug problem. As a result, contractors have been reluctant to take on projects in the area, despite its central location. In 2001, the Mamak Municipality launched efforts to change the existing status of the area; however it lacked the administrative capacity to complete the project. The municipality invited TOKİ to the project in 2004, and in 2007, the responsibility of the project was completely transferred to the empowered TOKİ.

In the first intervention period (1991–2002), it was the neighborhood identity and tenant-occupier profile of the neighborhood that prevented transformation. Later, in the authoritarian intervention period (2001–2007), while the existence of municipal property in the area and flexible construction conditions brought a certain dynamism to the transformation, the process was obstructed by the high number of shareholders, ruin cost obligations and a complex implementation method (empty-fill), which exceeded municipal capacity. When TOKİ took over the project, it was able to use its totalitarian instruments to accelerate the project, given the location of the area and the advantageous construction conditions. The existence of public property in the area facilitated the bargaining process for TOKİ.

With an average 3-year delay after each intervention in 2001 and 2007, construction activity has seen the transformation of 45 percent of the area. The municipality has transformed an average of 13,299m²/year with 12p, while TOKİ transformed 10,447 m²/year with 10p.

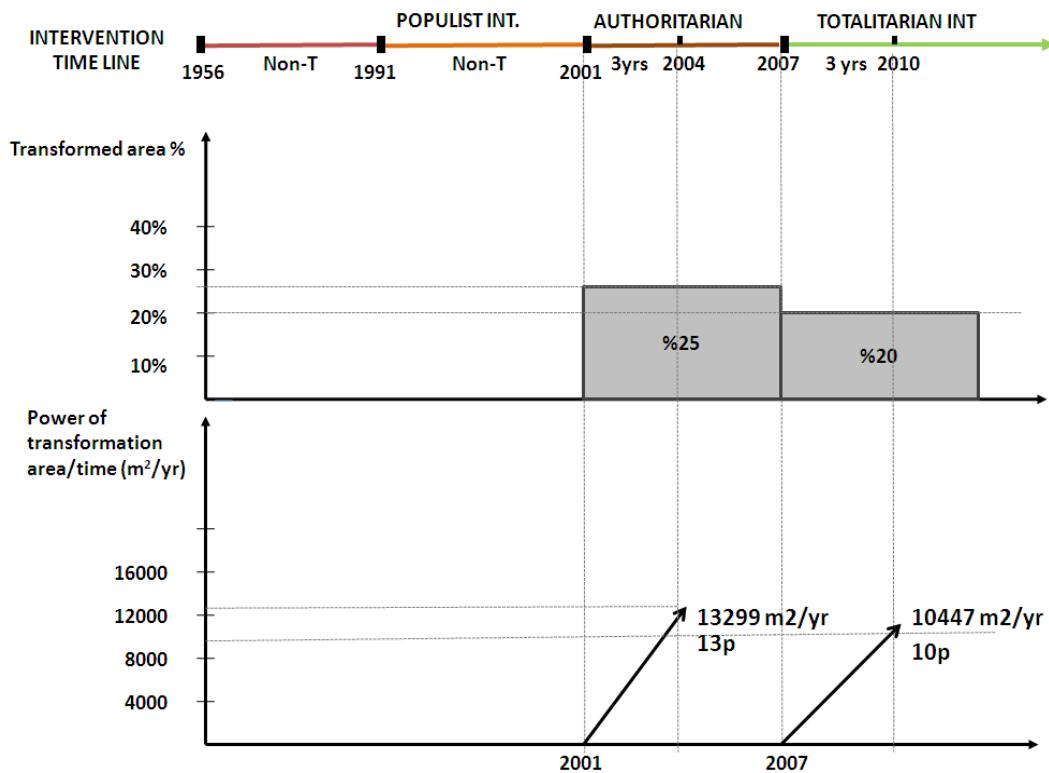


Figure 6.6 The power of transformation in sub-area 6

Table 5.2 displays the transformation power of each sub-area. For sub-areas 1, 2 and 3 the transformation power ranges between 1.3p to 4.2p, which for Mamak is slow when compared to other sub-areas. The paces of 10p to 27p can be categorized as fast, while a rate “0” refers to non-transformation. The last row of the table also represents an average time (of 15.6 years), in which an intervention takes effect for the Mamak district.

Table 6.1 Sub-areas and their transformation powers

Intervention type	Sub-area	Transformed area		Duration between intervention and start of transformation		Transformation power		
		(m ²)	(%)	(last intervention onwards-yr)	(1 st intervention onwards-yr)	(m ² /yr)	Abr.	Categorization for Mamak
populist	1. D.A inner	18445	33	11.5	20.9	1601	1.6p	LOW
	2. D.A slope	15035	19	5.1	16.1	2948	2.9p	
	3. Doğukent Caddesi-west	33405	88	7.92	16.9	4217.8	4.2p	
	3. Doğukent Caddesi-east	18924	100	14.2	18.2	1332	1.3p	
customized	4. DA southeast	0	0	-	0	0	0	NON
	5. D.A UTP	170925	95	6.3	20.3	27002	27p	HIGH
	6. YM 1 st phase	38968	25	2.9	14.0	13299.6	13p	
	6. YM 2 nd phase	31342	20.3	3	3	10447	10p	
Mamak average					15.6			

6.3 Different paces and patterns of transformation

This section will open a discussion of how different levels of power relate to different paces and patterns.

6.3.1 Areas with high transformation power

Transformation with a high transformation power indicates that SSF is not an obstacle to intervention. That is, the intervention is either designed with respect to SSF, or designed to repress SSF. In such contexts, transformation begins at a high rate, and the intervention characterizes the process, rather than the SSF. There is little room for unplanned or unexpected outcomes, as the process is fast and structured. The intervention (the plan or project) targets are reached to a great extent.

Sub-area 5, Duralı Aliç UTP, can be given as an example of an area in which the intervention was compatible with the SSF. The plans considered inherently the SSFs, and as such they did not pose an obstacle in the way of transformation. The area has witnessed the fastest transformation among all sub-areas, and accordingly, the built environment is in parallel with the plan, with little divergence from the plan targets (see annex 2).

The pace of transformation in sub-area 6, Yatık Musluk UTP (see figure 6.2), has been also considerably high, although in this case the intervention aimed to destroy the SSF of the sub-area. The authoritarian and totalitarian instruments have repressed the SSF to a great extent, alienating the local people. In this way, the resistance of the SSF is minimized, however it cannot be overcome in an instant. The built environment is again in parallel with the plan prospects (see annex 2), although with slight delays in the planned schedule.

6.3.2 Areas with low transformation power

Transformation with low power indicates that the intervention and SSF are incompatible; that is, the intervention has not been designed with respect to the SSF. Similarly, it shows that the SSF resist the development prospect of the intervention, although somehow the transformation is able to start under these conditions.

In such contexts, it is the SSF that characterizes and guides the process more than the intervention, and so the local people are not alienated in the process. There is generally a divergence between the plan targets and what is actually realized, assisted by the slow transformation process, and there exists a certain pattern of relations and pragmatic solutions that were not planned beforehand. Such emergences, meanwhile allow for the adaptation of the SSF to the interventions, and the transformation power tends to accelerate over time.

Sub-areas 1, 2 and 3 have experienced slow transformation rates, with apparent divergences from the original plan targets (see Annex 2). Such a process is prone to emergences, such as pragmatic solutions in dispute resolutions, as well as partial plan revisions, land use changes, etc.

6.3.3 Areas with no significant transformation power

Transformation with no significant power indicates that the intervention and SSF are incompatible. With the lack of any visible transformation, it can be assumed that dialectics are in play between the SSF and intervention in the potential space. That is, the SSFs resist the development prospect of the intervention, while the intervention tries to repress the SSF.

In such a situation, there are two possible outcomes. The first is that the SSF alters or adapts to the intervention, and a transformation may start at a slow pace, as in the

slow transformation power category; or, the intervention is reproduced with a new legitimacy basis to repress the SSF. In this event, transformation may begin at a rapid pace.

For instance, sub-area 4 has no visible transformation power (see Annex 2), or more acutely, the transformation power has not reach the threshold at which transformation can begin. There are two possible solutions to this: First, the plan can be revised taking the SSF into consideration, which may lead to a relatively slow transformation; and second, the project can be handed over to the metropolitan municipality or TOKİ, under which a new legal³⁴ basis is applied to repress SSF (and thus exclude local people). In this way, a relatively fast transformation may be achieved.

6.3.4 Evaluation

The categorization with respect to transformation powers yields several conclusions, especially for areas with slow or non-transformation. As to fast transforming areas, it can be understood that either the intervention represses the SSF, or the SSF characterizes the intervention. The former condition can be observed in the totalitarian and authoritarian intervention areas, while the latter is more likely to be observed in customized intervention areas in our case.

Non-transformation and slow transformation implies an ongoing conflict between the intervention and the SSFs, and the interplay between, as well as the emergences, can clearly be felt. The following section compiles the transformation characteristics of Mamak with respect to slow transformation areas, which also acts as the basis for the policy suggestion in Chapter 7.

³⁴ The legal basis does not necessarily have to consider SSF, as it may be a hegemonic political discourse such as “capital without squatters, secure city, etc.”

6.4. Transformation characteristics of Mamak

It is implied that the low-power transformation areas display emergences that are worthy of note in terms of policymaking. The term “emergences” refers to the divergences between the plan targets and what is actually realized, that is, certain patterns of physical and social relations and pragmatic solutions that were not planned beforehand. These patterns are directly related to the SSF of Mamak’s non-transformed and slow transforming areas, being produced out of the geological, locational and property attachments of Mamak, as well as plan-imposed factors, and conflict resolution methods and discourse driven expectations of the actors.

All of these signify a peculiar form of capitalist urban transformation for Mamak. The pillars of this capitalist formation are (1) the economic rationality of the actors , (2) dispute resolution methods, (3) professional and ethical codes among the constructors, (4) market dynamics, and (5) role of externalities on the land market, (6) local people’s expectations and their level of awareness, (7) attitude towards TOKİ and Metropolitan municipality and (8) the characteristics of the built environment.

The economic rationality of the actors

The research findings indicate that Mamak is transforming under its own limited local capital; and the limited access to financing of the constructors³⁵ and the landowners has resulted in a specific type of relationship that minimizes the effect of the volume of the capital and the level of income. As the capital of local constructors is not large enough to undertake one block³⁶ at a time, the unit of construction is the parcel.

³⁵ Constructor in the thesis refers to companies engaged in the “Yap-satçı” (build-sell) mode of construction.

³⁶ Each block is made up of several parcels.

There are more than 1,000 registered local constructors in Mamak, 600–700 of which are active in the market. Most of the constructors do not have enough capital to complete a building within the limits of their own capital, and so undertake the construction of a few buildings at a time. In many cases may make an overall loss and leave the market completing a few buildings.

Constructors who have acquired a good reputation number no more than 50, and there is only one constructor who has undertaken work outside Mamak (but failed due to lack of a network, despite mature market conditions). Similarly, there are no constructors from outside the district engaged in construction activities there. There are only two firms at national scale that have taken part in projects in Mamak: one being the developer of the IKEA campus, and the other the developer of a plot in Duralı Aliç UTP (sub-area 5).

All of the constructors find prestigious residential areas such as Çankaya more profitable, yet their social network in Mamak keeps their activity more sustainable in the district, with sales are based on good references in the district. They are aware of the fact that the prices in Çankaya are higher despite similar costs, but they are reluctant to take risks in Çankaya.

The existence of high numbers of constructors in the district results in a high demand for any potential construction projects, although constructors become more selective as their capital increases. As a general characteristic, reputable constructors tend to avoid building on sloped topographies, while some will only build on the main routes and others specialize in mixed-use buildings. Many constructors, however, do not differentiate by location, and may even seek the least disadvantaged locations, regardless of topography, as they can turn it to their advantage through the construction of extra floors (below road level) as compensation for their outlay.

They may be rather sensitive during the selection phase of a constructor and the preparation of the contract, and will prioritize quantity over quality. Once their contract demands are met in terms of quantity, they allow the process to continue without controlling the rest of the process.

Dispute resolution methods

Constructors propose flexible models depending on the needs and payment capacity of the inhabitants, which is an approach that reduces the importance of the income levels of the shareholders to a minimum. The debris value of the house is taken into consideration in the constructors' negotiations with the owners, to the owners' benefit. In addition, properties bought prior to completion are discounted by as much as 20 percent, however constructors prefer to receive money up front – even when they know they could obtain more in the future.

Constructors facilitate mutual agreement among shareholders, providing housing of varying sizes or through the tuning of payment schedules. When a shareholder does not have enough land to compensate for a housing unit, than the excess payments are divided into installments that the shareholder can afford. Properties are distributed according to the landowners' initial land sizes and payment capacities. For instance, while the owner of the largest share receives a flat facing south on the top story, the owner of a smaller share receives a flat on the ground floor. Another payment mechanism, especially for the new buyers, is bartering, that is the exchange of land elsewhere in Mamak for housing. This model guarantees the continuation of the job and is common practice in Mamak, accounting for a considerable number of sales.

If one particular shareholder opposes an agreement, the dispute is overcome by providing this shareholder with more advantageous returns. While this may increase transaction costs, it is a quick solution, usually causing only a few months in delays.

All stakeholders know that if a dispute ends up in court,³⁷ everyone will lose out to some extent.

Another potential for dispute exists between the legal owners of a parcel of land and the squatter owners on the same parcel (who were provided title deeds in another parcel and shifted ownership). To convince the owners of such squatter residences to move out and determine a ruin cost is quite a problematic issue for both parties. Constructors attempt to resolve such issues without taking the case to court by paying the squatters ruin costs and providing for temporary housing.

Professional and ethical codes among constructors

Constructors on the whole take care not to buy land in a parcel in which a constructor is already a shareholder. This is an ethical code among constructors, as when a constructor is a shareholder in a parcel, he guarantees to undertake the job. That said, a few constructors intentionally buy very small shares of between 1–5m² of land, becoming shareholders in many parcels at the same time, regardless of the existence of another constructors, as a speculative investment. Such acts block progress, and force the initial constructor to pay above the market price for the shares of the second constructor.

Aside from such disputes, constructors tend to work with their colleagues in the sector. Once they start a profitable construction on a parcel, they may involve their colleagues on another parcel nearby, and this is the feasibility criterion, met through the encouragement of colleagues. This produces a pattern in which one construction triggers another.

³⁷ Known as “İzaleyi şuyu,” meaning the “resolution of the divided ownership of a plot of land through the legal enforcement of the sale of dividends to a single owner”. In such situations, all right holders lose their rights.

Market dynamics

Social networks play the most important role in both the choice of constructor of landowners and sales. Local people in Mamak are originally from Kırıkkale, Ankara, Çankırı and Yozgat, and so are the constructors, and so the citizens of those towns become potential buyers through the good references provided by their relatives in Mamak.

Another criterion in the choice of constructor by landowners is the highest returns, and they tend to choose quantity over quality, and select constructors accordingly. This results in relatively low quality of housing in the area, which is made worse by the fact that the houses are sold prior to completion, which again deters constructors from maintaining quality.

Recently, real estate agents have begun to play an effective role in the market. In addition to land and housing sales, they act as a bridge between the constructor and the shareholder on a land-share ratio. However, this mechanism is not yet as effective as it is in Çankaya, as constructors in Mamak still prefer to undertake all stages of construction on their own.

Finally, the housing market is easy to vitalize in Mamak. Once a single construction starts and the existing pattern is demolished, new constructions follow. The feasibility criterion for many constructors relates to the existence of another constructor in a certain area; or, alternatively, when social infrastructure is provided, construction is immediately triggered in the vicinity.

Role of externalities on the land market

The Mamak waste dumping site, once the biggest problem in the area, is no longer considered a problem by the constructors or firms, as the land values and housing

prices have increased the most after the construction of the IKEA and Anatolia Malls, although the Metro Mall was not that effective.

Rumors are more influential than actual investments on prices. The rumors about the possible establishment of a new university (Doğukent University), a new terminal for inter-city buses (East Terminal), the biggest aquarium in the world, hospital, etc. increased housing prices by almost 50 percent (from 90–95,000 TL to 130–140,000 TL – approx. US\$50,000–US\$75,000) in a year. The expectations of actors are high in the area, and local people speculate that no more squatters will remain in 3 to 5 years.

Local expectations and level of awareness

The titleholders' attitude is positive towards transformation; however they would rather see it through the constructors than the metropolitan municipality or TOKİ, who are not tolerated in the area. As mentioned above, they tend to prefer constructors who offer them the highest land share, in other words, economic concerns outweigh concerns related to quality of life.

Although there is no pronounced attitude against transformation, some people draw attention to the fact that there is no other option than to agree to it. When their neighbor's houses are transformed into apartment blocks, there is no point in insisting on squatters, as, for instance, tall apartments block the passage of sunlight to the squatter houses nearby. In other words, once the neighborhood pattern is disturbed, the balance tips towards transformation.

Information flow is high among inhabitants. In particular the landowners, both men and women, seem quite aware of the processes, as well as the past and present plan decisions. They are also aware of the experience of others who have made recent construction agreements, at what land share ratio, with which constructor, etc.

The squatter owners with title deeds have a certain bargaining power over constructors, and may not agree to participate unless they get the desired amount of housing. In several cases, they demand high ruin and rental costs for moving out, and thus have the ability to delay work for a long time. Despite this, the interviews show that the constructors are quite influential in the inhabitants' decisions.

Local people envision remaining in their neighborhood after transformation due to the amount of time they have invested in the process to obtain their houses, and consider it an investment of their time.

Attitudes towards TOKİ and the Metropolitan Municipality

The mukhtars and local people's attitude towards TOKİ is quite reactive. They consider TOKİ interventions as an unfair usurpation. The people interviewed claimed that transformation through a project decreases their gains by three times, and so they prefer parcel-based development through the use of constructors.

The local people's reaction to TOKİ stems from recent implementations in the Yeni Mamak UTP, although this project does not belong to TOKİ, but to the Metropolitan Municipality.

The constructors also hold a negative opinion of TOKİ, and state that their buildings are of better quality than TOKİ's, which is a view that is supported by officials in the district municipality, however, the constructors do not have organizational capacity to collaborate and resolve Mamak's housing problem.

The role of the municipality

The district municipality has only a minor regulatory role in the provision of small-scale physical infrastructure, and it is acknowledged that the municipality is also passive in the organization of urban transformations. That said, the pronounced problems in the area fall mostly under the responsibility of the Metropolitan

Municipality, such as the inadequate sewage system, the lack of public bus routes to the city center, signaling, etc.

Characteristics of the built environment

Above all, the main problem faced by Mamak is the production of a built environment with a poor quality of life. The district's social and physical infrastructure is inadequate and the built environment lacks a certain urban design aspect. Moreover, this type of development (parcel-based development by constructors) seems to reign in the short term, considering the institutional complexity of the ownership rights and the demands of the landowners.

In the light of the discussions above, there are a number of issues (both positive and negative) that can be emphasized for policy makers. First of all, mechanisms need to be established for the resolution of disputes between constructors, and between constructors and shareholders, and the problems related to shifts in ownership need to be addressed. The municipality would be advised to establish ways of mobilizing the knowledge and experience of the constructors in the resolution of disputes, analyzing their means of cooperation, the level of awareness and interest in the process of local people, etc. An additional primary concern is the lack of social infrastructure in the district, which, if addressed, will encourage the creation of a built environment with a higher standard of living.

The constructors seem to be the key drivers of opinion in the district, and tend to be on good terms with both the district municipality and local people. Accordingly, the efforts of the municipality should take their views into account in policy making to achieve a higher quality of life. In Chapter 7, a proposal is presented related to these findings.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The dissertation started out from the concern on the reasons behind the different spatial development patterns in Mamak, a district within the borders of the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, despite similar intervention backgrounds. Mamak's urban transformation experience, which has been rather slow when compared to some other parts of the city, allowed us to trace the different modes of state intervention and the different outcomes on space. In observing these trajectories, the study has introduced a new conceptual framework to account for the variety in paces and patterns of development.

The new conceptual framework is an endeavor to incorporate the slow and non-transformation phenomenon into the account of urban transformation, with the claim that they have been rendered invisible in mainstream accounts of urban transformation. The transition from the state of non-transformation to transformation is considered to be a continuous and gradual process, and it is this very transition onto which this research aims to shed light.

The study proposes that what is perceived as the state of non-transformation embraces inherently the potentialities for transformation. We assume theoretically the existence of a potential space that is formed and reformed by the dialectical relationship between the interventions and socio-spatial fixity (SSF) of an area; and this formation process evolves into the state of transformation. That is to say, neither intervention nor any of several individual factors alone are enough to bring about transformation, as what is needed is rather their collectivity in the potential space;

and what results is a “transformation power,” the magnitude of which explains the different pace and patterns of development.

The study approached Mamak with this new conceptual framework, with the intention of tracing six sub-areas with either similar intervention backgrounds or similar locations. During the course of the case study, the concepts developed in the thesis were refined. From the cases studied, it could be understood that the components of socio-spatial fixities (SSFs) are not determinate and static, but rather have spatio-temporal characteristics. In other words, certain factors might act differently in different areas or in different periods. The reason for this variability is that the factors do not act alone, but rather in a totality (called SSF), and it is this very indeterminateness of SSFs that brings variety and different possibilities for development by making room for voluntary acts.

The prominent components of SSFs in our case study are related mainly to topographical conditions, the changing effect of location in the macroform (with regards to technical infrastructure investments and elimination of externalities), the complex property ownership pattern, pragmatic conflict resolution methods, discourse-driven expectations and the high level of awareness of local people. While these components have varying weights in different sub-areas, they together exhibit a peculiar transformation characteristic in the area that goes beyond their individual features. On the other hand, the existence of multiple interventions contributes to the SSF formation in terms of the high level of knowledge and awareness, as well as the complex relations between the actors.

The field study gave way to a new means of categorizing the sub-areas, other than in terms of the intervention categories (developed in the thesis). The new categorization is based on transformation powers (see table 5.2), which vary depending on the relationship between the SSF and the intervention. In cases where the intervention is designed to repress the SSF, the transformation power seems to be high, meaning a

fast rate of transformation with a built environment that does not diverge from the plan. In such cases, the SSF, or the tradition of an area, is ignored and thus the local people are alienated. Another condition for a high transformation power occurs when an intervention is designed in line with the SSF, which again results in a fast rate of transformation and a built environment that is in parallel with the plan targets. In this case, the local people are not alienated, as they take a direct or indirect part in the preparation of the plan.

In areas with low transformation power, it can be assumed that the SSF and the intervention dialectics are acting in a way that both the intervention and SSF adapt to each other reciprocally. This produces a slow rate of transformation, as well as some divergences in the built environment with regards to the plan targets. In addition, some unplanned or unexpected physical and/or social patterns may emerge. The dissertation considers such patterns as an opportunity for an ameliorated environment, in that they have local affiliations and as such do not alienate local people.

On these grounds, the areas that have no transformational power can be evaluated in two ways: first, the intervention is not totalitarian enough to repress the SSF, and second, there has as yet been no significant adaption between the SSF and the intervention. In such a case, it is necessary to develop a strategy with reference to the implications above. If a relatively fast, non-alienating and a planned transformation is desired, the strategy should reconsider the intervention with respect to the SSF.

7.1 Policy implications for Mamak

As stated previously, the unplanned and unexpected physical and social patterns that emerge out of slow transformation processes can be seen as an opportunity for an ameliorated built environment.

It seems likely that Mamak will develop through the efforts of constructors for the foreseeable future. Considering the flexible approach of the constructors, there is no area in Mamak that is not appropriate for development; nevertheless, these processes produce built environments that lead to a poor quality of life, and so policies should be developed that ultimately deal with this deficiency.

It has been established that almost all constructors in the district are local to Mamak, and they command some respect as a bridge between the local municipality and the local people. Moreover, most of the local stakeholders (including local people, constructors and in part the local municipality) are opposed to interventions by the metropolitan municipality and TOKİ. Based on these inputs a transformation organization model is proposed in which the constructors play a leading role, although the loose organization among them could prove to be a hindrance. As local constructors do not have the organizational power to undertake larger scale projects and are not professional enough to cooperate and share profits, it is suggested in this dissertation that a regulative role in this regard be given to the municipality of Mamak and MİMDER. The municipality of Mamak could coordinate the constructions in the area by designating construction zones, and determining their primary problems. Each construction zone could be under the responsibility of certain constructors. MİMDER could establish some ethical codes to guide the resolution of constructor disputes.

Meanwhile, special attention should be given to certain problems in the field. One of the problems is the squatter owners that have been provided title deeds in another parcel (shifted ownership). Convincing the owner of such squatters to move out and determining a ruin cost is quite a problematic issue for both parties. The municipality should determine such areas and organize construction in such a way that deprivations are overcome. For instance, such inhabitants could be collected in a parcel, the development of which could be made before any other disputes can arise.

Another issue is related to constructor disputes. The speculative ownership of small shares of land by constructors blocks transformation processes. The Association of Constructors, Mamak (MİMDER) should design codes to regulate constructor disputes.

Another problem arises out of the merging of small parcels into larger ones. Although this enables economies of scale on a certain parcel, it becomes a deterrent to constructors when there are more than around 10 shareholders. To resolve this problem, the municipality should consider this threshold in the distribution of shareholders, regardless of the parcel size.

Finally, Mamak has no public park larger than 5,000 m², and despite the number of planned schools, health centers, sport facilities, etc., many are yet to be implemented. This factor should be addressed in line with residential constructions.

Such an organization model of municipality, constructors and local people has several advantages. A coordinated approach to construction and the provision of technical and social infrastructure would certainly increase quality of life. More important is the fact that constructors are acquainted with the SSF or “tradition” of the areas, as they are Mamak residents. Their solution would somehow involve the local people in the overall process, rather than alienating them (as in the case of authoritarian and totalitarian approaches). In the medium term, however, the application of the instrument of transfer of development rights would be of vital importance in addressing the transformation problems related to construction-prohibited areas, river basins, waste dumping sites, etc.

7.2. Rendering non-transformation visible: Why does it matter?

The core emphasis of this thesis is that the “slow and non-transformation phenomena has remained an ‘invisible concept’ (in Althusserian terms, 1965), and has been largely overlooked in mainstream theories as well as in critical approaches”.

At this point, it is necessary to discuss in what sense the elaboration of slow or non-transformation phenomenon can benefit the accounts of spatial variety and transformation. As discussed previously, in most studies the cause of transformation has been attributed to certain factors. For instance, such expressions as “the area transformed thanks to its advantageous location, accessibility, etc.” are common, and while that may sound true, we maintain here that the advantageous location becomes meaningful and effective only as part of the collection of factors. This is based on the fact that no explanation can be made of the pre-transformation stage, despite the same advantageous location.

Urban land rent is the most often cited explanation for urban transformation. Transformations are often associated with (potential) rent increases in an area with reference to the rent gap theory, and the demand and speculation for rent among the actors may well be true, but we propose that it is not a cause for transformation. In our account, we consider it rather as a result of several factors and a sign of a certain economic threshold for an area, and not necessarily leading to transformation.

Urban land rent is used in the thesis to introduce the sub-areas to signify an economic threshold for all sub-areas in the overall macroform. As stated in Chapter 5.3.1, thanks to several citywide investments, the area has reached certain economies of scale for transformation. When focusing on sub-areas separately, however, the relevance of rent levels diminishes in our account, as they can be considered as an outcome of several factors (SSF). For instance, despite similar levels of potential rent in the subareas, different paces and patterns of transformation within different ranges

of urban land rents can still be seen. In summary, rent for us is a historically produced value, embodying economic, political and voluntary factors that may vary across space and time.

Similarly, some studies explain urban transformations as inevitable consequences of authoritarian interventions, while in this study, such transformations are explained with reference to interventions and the dialectics of SSF. Any authoritarian intervention without a strategy to address the SSF of an area may fail or may suffer delays in reaching its targets.

On these grounds, the perspective developed in the dissertation rules out any conventional explanation for urban transformation that assigns certain factors and interventions with transformative power in a reductionist manner.

As we finalize our discussion, we should mention a number of related factors that could not be addressed in this dissertation due to restrictions of time and scope. We developed our arguments and refined our concepts with regards to the Mamak district of Ankara; however, it would be possible to extend the study to the other squatter areas in Ankara with the application of the same conceptual tools. Such an analysis of other transformation areas in Ankara would contribute to the model in several ways. First, the effect of local policy variations (if any) in the formation of SSFs could be subjected to a comparative analysis. Second, new cases would enrich the variety in the SSF components (and their possible effects), which in return would contribute to a more dynamic model. Third, a comparison of the transformation powers (of the districts) would allow us to evaluate the micro and macro reasons behind the power differences. Above all, the problems and potentials of slow transforming areas could be addressed to encourage better living environments; and as a matter of fact, slowly transforming areas still constitute a large proportion of the Ankara macroform.

As a further study, the conceptual model could be improved in such a way that other geographical scales, such as city scale, region scale, etc., are covered. For instance, the different sections in the macroform could be evaluated with regards to certain intervention and SSF dialectics. In such a case, the components of the SSF, as well as the content of the intervention, would be different to those in our study, which would give us further insight into the SSF of Ankara. In addition, by calculating the transformation powers (alternatively “realization power of a certain intervention”) of different areas in the city, a rhythm of transformation at the macroform scale may be identified; and following a similar line of reasoning, at the regional scale, the realization of a certain policy could be evaluated with such a conceptual model, and so on.

The dissertation has established a preliminary, if not ambitious, framework for understanding spatial variety and urban transformation. This was accomplished specifically in an area with limited capital flow, as such areas remain peripheral to the accounts provided by mainstream theories. The methodological choice of the thesis, besides, benefits both the Althusserian production of knowledge and (the formal theory generation aspect of) the grounded theory approach. In developing new concepts, it is inspired by Althusser’s “theoretical practice” approach that sees previous abstractions and concepts as the raw material of the science. Accordingly, new concepts are developed out of a study of previous concepts. Yet, to avoid generalizations, we follow a grounded theory approach in the definition and refinement of the concepts, that is they are worked on during the course of the research.

This framework may raise more questions than it answers, but this fact supports our ultimate objective, which is to reconsider and break away from the common sensical representation of urban transformation. The framework has the potential to open several fruitful directions for analysis in the future and to be developed in greater detail.

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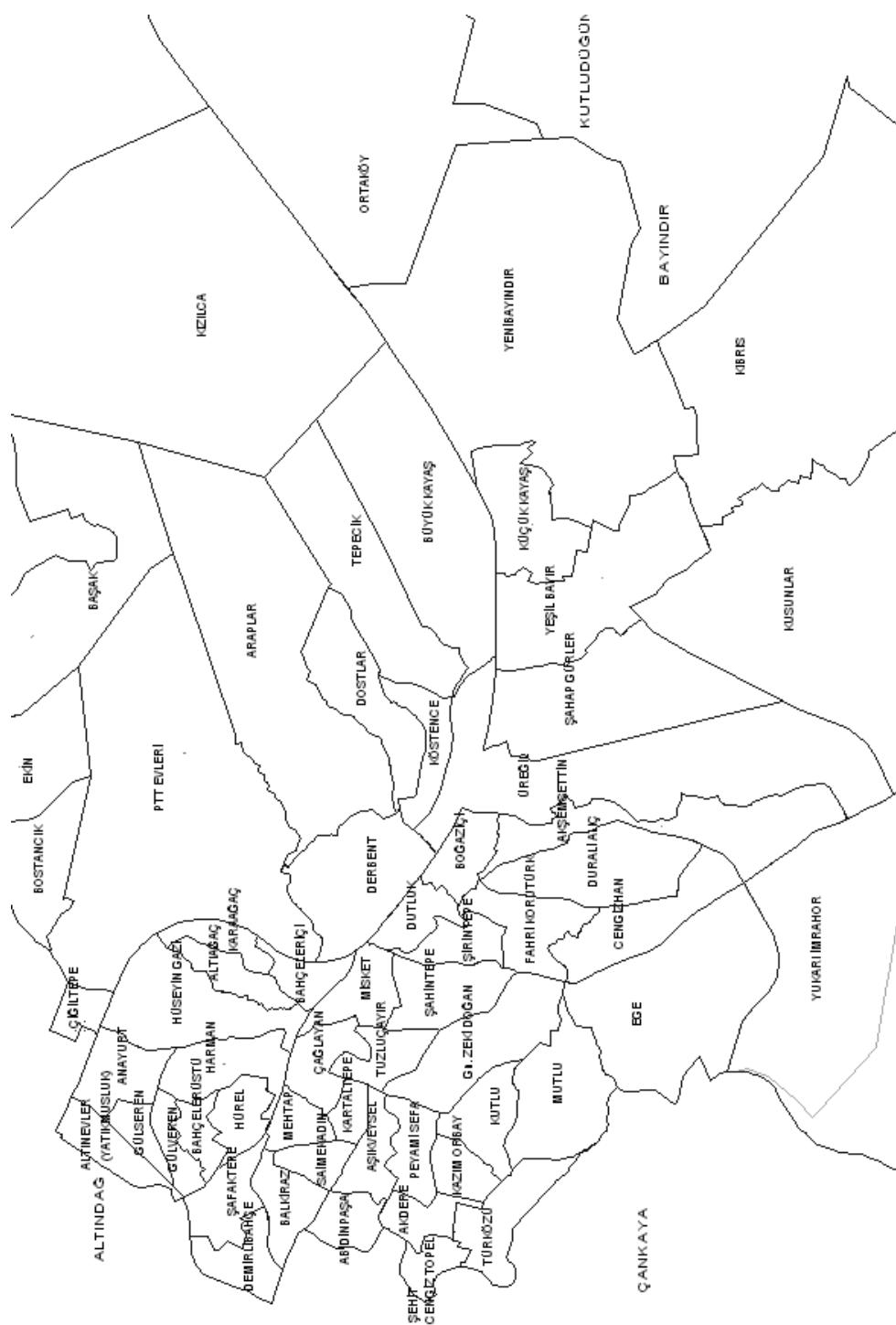
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. NEIGHBOURHOOD MAP OF MAMAK DISTRICT



APPENDIX B. VIEWS FROM THE SUBAREAS



Subarea 5: From Doğukent Ave. westward



Subarea 5: over subarea 1



Subarea 6



Subarea 6: from Plevne street westward



Subarea 1 from subarea 2



Subarea 1



Sub area 2: over subarea 1 eastward



Subarea 3: from subarea5 north-eastward



Subarea 4: the empty section on the left: From Doğukent ave. Southward



Subarea 4: From Doğukent ave. eastward

APPENDIX C. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Somali, Fatma Süphan
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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MA	IHS, Erasmus University Rotterdam	2006
BCP	METU City and Regional Planning	2002
High School	Manisa High School	1998

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2009-2012	METU Department of City and Regional Planning	Research Assistant
2007-2009	ODTÜ, MATPUM	Project assistant
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2002-2003	A private planning Office, Ankara	City Planner

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

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PUBLICATION

1. Nakiboğlu, S. (2010), Yeni İmar Kanunu Tasarısı Işığında Türkiye ve Dünyadaki Plan Uygulama Araçlarının İrdelenmesi. *Toprak Mülkiyeti Sempozyum Bildireleri*, Memleket Yayınları,

APPENDIX D. TURKISH SUMMARY

Neoliberal sermaye birikim rejimi bağlamında kentlere ilişkin geliştirilen başlıca yaklaşımlar, neoliberal siyasalarla tasarlanan, büyük kapsamlı ve spekülatif dönüşüm süreçlerine odaklanmışlardır. Bu yaklaşımlar neoliberal sermaye birikim stratejilerine karşı sağlam bir eleştirel pozisyon geliştirme pahasına, dönüşmem ve yavaş dönüşüm oglularını göz ardı etmişlerdir. Bu çalışma dönüşmem ve yavaş dönüşme oglularını kentsel dönüşüm anlatımına dahil etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Böyle bir çalışmanın motivasyonu Ankara metropolitan alanı sınırları içindeki Mamak ilçesi'nin dönüşüm deneyimidir. Mamak'ta gecekondudan apartmana dönüşümü amaçlayan ardıl müdahaleler sonucu oluşmuş farklı dönüşüm biçimleri gözlemlerek mümkündür. Bazı alanlarda müdahale ile amaçlanan dönüşüm kısa bir sürede gerçekleşirken, bazı alanlarda bu dönüşüm yavaş olmakta, ya da hiç olmamakta ve bu alanlar yeni müdahalelere konu olmaktadır. Birbirini izleyen müdahalelerin birikimli etkisi Mamak'taki alanlarda, metropolitan ölçekteki eşitsiz gelişme mantığından farklı bir mekansal farklılaşma mantığı ortaya koymaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, makroform ölçünginde, bölgeler arası farklı mekansal dokuları eşitsiz gelişme kuramına ve rant düzeylerine referansla tartışmak mümkünken, bu yaklaşımlar Mamak içi altbölgeerdeki mekansal doku farklılıklarını açıklamada yetersiz kalmaktadır.

Bu noktada bu çalışma, Mamak'taki dönüşüm özelliklerini anlamak için elimizdeki kuramsal araçların yetersiz olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Dinamik süreçler gözetilerek geliştirilen bu kuramsal araçlar dönüşümün görece az dinamik olduğu alanları anlatım dışı bırakmaktadır. Bu nedenle, Mamak'taki dönüşüm süreçlerini anlamak için yeni bir bakış açısı ve yeni kavramların geliştirilmesi gerektiğini düşünmektedir. Yeni bakış açısının sadece Mamak'a özgü olmayıp, başka alanların dönüşümünü anlama ve açıklamada da başvurulabileceğini öngörmektedir. Yine bu

noktada vurgulanması gereken bir husus ise, yeni bakış açısı ve kavramların geliştirilmeye açık dinamik bir yapıya sahip olması gerektidir.

Tezdeki tartışmanın net ifade edilmesi açısından “dönüşüm” ile ne kastedildiğinin açıklanması önemlidir. Tezde kullanıldığı şekli ile “dönüşüm” kavramı her türlü mekansal değişimi içermemekte, sadece devlet müdahalesi ile tetiklenen dönüşümleri kapsamaktadır. Devlet müdahaleinden kasıt ise merkezi ya da yerel, doğrudan ya da dolaylı, gecekondu dönüşümünü etkileyen müdahalelerdir. Bu çerçevede bir müdahale amaçladığı fiziksel dönüşüm ile sonuçlanırsa o alan dönüşmüştür. Çalışma kapsamında “dönüşmeme”nin tanımı ise, arzulanan mekansal değişimin gerçekleşmediği durumdur.

Bu çerçevede, çalışma, dönüşümün görece yavaş olduğu alanlarda, müdahalelerin birikimli etkisini de göz önüne alarak farklı dönüşüm doku ve hızlarını araştırmaktadır. Mamak ilçesi bu amaç için uygun bir saha çalışması imkanı sunar.

Mamak eşitsiz gelişen Ankara makroformunda çeşitli nedenlerle dönüşümün yavaş gerçekleştiği bir bölgedir. Bununla birlikte, bölgede belli bir sermaye birikimine ulaşabilmek için önemli ölçüde devlet müdahaleleri olmuştur. Bunların çalışmamız açısından iki sonucu vardır: Birincisi, yavaş dönüşüm hızı dönüşüm sürecini daha geniş bir perspektiften izlememize olanak sağlar, ve ikincisi, müdahalelerin birikimli etkisini izlemeyi mümkün kılar.

Mamak ilçesinde yürütülen çalışma, benzer müdahale geçmişlerine rağmen farklı dönüşüm hız ve dokularına sahip çeşitli alt bölgeleri incelemektedir. Başlıca araştırma sorusu şudur: Mamak ilçesinde benzer müdahale geçmişine sahip alanlarda farklı dönüşüm hız ve dokularını nasıl açılarız?

Bu sorunun cevabına geçmeden önce 2. Bölüm’de yürütülen kuramsal tartışmaya degenilecektir. Eşitsiz gelişme, rant farkı ve mekansal sabit gibi bakış açıları ve

kavramları irdelediğimizde bazı sonuçlara varmaktayız. Eşitsiz gelişme kuramı kar arayışındaki sermaye tarafından üretilen, yapılan, yıkılan, ve yeniden yapılan mekansal farklılıklar açıklayıcı olarak başvurulan bir yaklaşımdır. Bu yaklaşımda, mekandaki farklı dönüşüm düzeyleri kapitalist eşitsiz gelişmenin kaçınılmaz bir sonucu olarak görülür. Örneğin, herhangi bir dönüşüm olmayan, ya da yavaş dönüşen, veya hızlı dönüşen alanlar eşitsiz gelişmenin parçaları ve koşulları olarak görülür. Dönüşüm hızları arasındaki farklar eşitsiz gelişmenin coğrafi ritmi olarak açıklanır. Mahalle ölçügine inildiğinde bile farklılıkların eşitsiz gelişme ve rant düzeyleri ile açıklama yoluna gidildiği görülmektedir. Her tür mekansal farklılaşmayı, (ölçek, dönüşüm düzeyi ve hızı gözetmeksizin) eşitsiz gelişmeye referansla açıklamak bizce totolojiktir.

Rant farkı kavramı kent ölçüginde eşitsiz gelişmenin mekanizması olarak ortaya konulmaktadır, fakat bu kavram çeşitli belirsizlikler barındırmaktadır. Öncelikle, potansiyel rant denilen, “en yüksek ve en iyi kullanım” üzerinden hesaplanan bu değerin hesaplanmasında zorluklar vardır. Aslında bu bir ihtimal üzerinden yapılan kaba bir kestirimdir. Ikinci olarak da şöyle bir ikilem barındırır: artan rant değeri dönüşümün bir sebebi mi yoksa bir sonucu mudur? Zira, bir alanda rant farkının yüksek olması ancak dönüşüm koşullarının olduğu anda anlam kazanır ve değerlendirme kapsamına alınır. Bu gibi hususlar kavramın dönüşümü açıklamada kullanılabilirliğini zorlaştırmaktadır.

Hammel (1999)'den esinlenerek bu ikilem aşılabilir. Hammel “Potansiyel ranti” makroform ölçüginde açıklayıcı görür. Yani, makroformdaki yatırımlara ve bir alanın makroformdaki genel konumuna bakarak, (herhangi bir potansiyel rant değeri hesaplamasına gidilmeksizin) o alanın potansiyel rantının arttığı ya da azaldığı şeklinde değerlendirme yapmak mümkündür. Bunun yanısıra, Hammel “güncel ranti” arsa kullanımlarının, plan kısıtlamalarının ve sosyo-ekonomik özelliklerin bir fonksiyonu olarak görür. Böylece yerel etkiler de değerlendirme dahil edilir. Bu

noktada bir alanın yatırım çekme ya da dönüşme potansiyeli olup olmadığı değerlendirmesini yapabiliriz, fakat yine de bu bir varsayımdır.

“Mekansal sabit/ayar kavramı” çalışmamızda sermayenin mekanda yeniden yapılanması karşısındaki yerel etkileri içeren bir kavram olarak geliştirilme potansiyeline sahiptir. Bu kavram, orijinal anlamıyla, birikim fazlası sermayenin yapılı çevre tarafından absorbe edilmesini ve bir nevi ekonomik krizi önleyici “ayar” getirmesini anlatır. Fakat yapılı çevre diğer yandan sermayeyi olduğu yere “sabitler”, hapseder. Bu anlamda mekansal sabit yeni mekansal dönüşümlere engel teşkil eder. Tez çalışmamızda bu kavram çeşitli engelleri de içerecek şekilde genişletilmiş ve sosyo-mekansal sabit olarak ifade edilmiştir.

Son olarak kentsel siyasalara bakışımız ise şöyledir: Kentsel siyasa mekanda sermaye birikimi için gerekli bir koşuldur. Kentsel siyasalar sermaye birikimini sağlayacak ekonomik ölçegin üretimini doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak destekleyebilir, fakat bu siyasalar her zaman sermaye birikimi için araçsal değildir. Yani her zaman siyasaların mantığı ile sermayenin mantığı örtüşmez. Bunu biz bu tezde siyasaların parçacık doğası ve mekansal sabitlerin varlığı ile açıklıyoruz. Yani her müdahale/siyasa kendinden önceki siyasaların getirilerini, eksiklerini dikkate aldığı gibi, o alandaki mekansal sabitleri de göz önünde bulundurmak durumundadır. Tüm bunlar dahil edildiğinde bir siyasa kapitalist mantığın tersi yönde de sonuçlar doğurabilir. Jones ve Ward (2002), bu iddayı daha da ileri götürerek kentsel siyasaların sermaye birikiminin çelişkileri değil, sadece geçmiş siyasaların başarısızlıklarını ile ilgilendirdiğini iddia etmektedirler.

Yukarıdaki dephinilen kuramsal tartışmalar dikkate alındığında tezin problematığını şu şekilde yeniden ifade edebiliriz. Eşitsiz gelişen Ankara makroformun bir parçası olan Mamak ilçesinde potansiyel rant artmaktadır. Bu durumun bölgede belli bir ekonomik hareketlilik getirdiği söylenebilir. Fakat bölgenin alt yapılara baktığımızda benzer rant düzeylerindeki alanlarda farklı dönüşme doku ve hızları

gözlemlenmektedir. Bu farklılıklar açıklamada eşitsiz gelişme ve rant farkı kuramları yetersiz kalmaktadır. Tezde bu farklılıklar sosyo-mekansal sabitler ve devlet müdahalelerinin birikimli etkisine referansla açıklanmaktadır. Bu çerçevede arsa rantına tarihsel olarak üretilen belli süreçlerin bir sonucu olarak bakılmakta, açıklayıcı bir güç atfedilmemektedir.

Kuramsal olarak belli tespitleri yaptıktan sonra tezde geliştirilen yeni kavramsal çerçeveye değinebiliriz. Bu çerçeve diğer yaklaşımalar tarafından görünmez kılınan yavaş dönüşüm ve dönüşmemə olgularını kentsel dönüşüm anlatımına dahil etme çabasının bir ürünüdür. Dönüşmemə durumundan dönüşmeye geçişin sıçramalı değil sürekli ve dereceli bir geçiş olduğunu varsayıarak, bu geçiş sürecinin kendisine ışık tutmayı amaçlar.

Bu süreci gözlemleyebilmek için öncelikle dönüşme/dönüşmemə ikiliğini aşmamız gereklidir. Bunun için bu çalışma üçlü bir mekan kategorizasyonu önerir; durağan mekan, potansiyel mekan ve teslim mekan. Durağan mekan belli bir devlet müdahalesi öncesi mekana işaret ederken, teslim mekan bu müdahaleye olumlu yanıt vererek dönüşümün başladığı mekandır. Bu iki mekan kategorisi arasındaki geçiş ise potansiyel mekan sağlar.

Potansiyel mekanın kabulünün altında şöyle bir metodolojik yaklaşım yatar. Gerçekliğin bizim bilgimizden bağımsız olarak varlığını, sürekli bir oluş halinde olduğunu ve tamamlanan bir süreç olmadığını varsaymaktayız. Tamamlanan süreçler bizim anlama ve tanımlama çabalarımızın bir ürünüdür, ve parçacı, eksik ve hatta hatalı olabilir. Bu yaklaşımı, potansiyel mekan, bizim oluş halindeki gerçeklikten bir adım dışarı çıktığımızı ve gerçekliği bir anlık dondurduğumuzu varsayıarak, tanımladığımız, hipotetik bir mekandır. Çalışmanın da merkezinde yer almaktır.

Potansiyel mekan, farklı dönüşüm doku ve hızları için potansiyellikler taşıyan mekandır. Bu mekan, sosyo-mekansal sabitler (socio-spatial fixity/SSF) ve

müdahaleler arasındaki diyalektik ile oluşur. Bir alana yapılan her müdahale, o alandaki SSFleri dönüştürür, yeni SSFler ise bir sonraki müdahaleye girdi oluşturur. Bu diyalektik ilişki sonucu potansiyel mekanda dönüşümsel bir güç oluşarak yeni bir mekansal forma geçilir.

Sosyo-mekansal sabit kavramı Harvey'in mekansal sabit kavramının genişletilmiş halidir. Bir mekandaki tarihsel olarak birikmiş fiziksel ve toplumsal birikimleri içerir. Buna yapılı çevre, yasal haklar, aktörlerin bilgi birikimi, bilinç düzeyi, bekłentiler ve aktörler arası kurulan ilişkiler ve kurumlar dahildir.

Sosyo-mekansal sabitlerin bileşenleri Türkiye'deki kentsel dönüşümlere ilişkin kaynak taraması ile oluşturulmuş, Mamak örneğine uyumluluğuna göre belirlenmiş dönüşümde doğrudan ya da dolaylı etkisi olabilecek bazı faktörlerdir. Her faktörün kendi içindeki bileşenleri ise alan çalışması ile ortaya konulmuştur. Alandaki başlıca faktörler; coğrafi özellikler, konumsal özellikler, mülkiyet dokusu özellikleri, aktörler arası anlaşmazlık çözme metodları, imar planı ile gelen kısıtlar ve dönüşüme ilişkin söylentiler ve politik söylemlerdir.

Alan çalışmasında görülmüştür ki, sosyo-mekansal sabitleri oluşturan faktörler, farklı mekanlarda ve farklı müdahale dönemlerinde farklı etkilere sahip olmaktadır. Yani etkileri belirsizdir. Bunun sebebi faktörlerin tek başına değil, SSF diye adlandırdığımız bütünlük içinde birbirleriyle etkileşimli varolmalarıdır. SSF içерdiği faktörlerin ötesinde davranışan, faktörlerin tek tek davranışlarıyla açıklanamayan, belirsizlik ve potansiyellikler içeren bir bütündür. Her alanın ve dönemin SSFsi farklıdır.

Devlet müdahalesi bu çalışmada 4 kategoriye ayrılmıştır: 1. Popülist 2. Talebe göre şekillenen/kişiselleştirilmiş 3. Otoriter 4. Totaliter. Bu sınıflandırma tarihsel olarak müdahalelerin evrildiği yönü göstermekle beraber, günümüzde mekanda her dört

müdahaleye de rastlamak da mümkünür. Bunlar yer yer içiçe geçmiş ve birbirleriyle parçacı bir şekilde eklenmektedir.

Kavramsal çerçeveye kısaca dephinildikten sonra araştırma sorusunu hatırlatıp, hipotezleri ortaya koyabiliriz. Araştırma sorusu: Ankara'nın Mamak ilçesinde farklı dönüşüm doku ve hızlarını nasıl açıklarız? idi. Bu soruya 3 hipotezle yaklaşıyoruz:

H₁: Potansiyel mekan devlet müdahaleleri ve sosyo-mekansal sabitler arasındaki diyalektik ilişki sonucu şekillenir ve dönüşür.

H₂: Devlet müdahaleleri ve sosyo-mekansal sabitler arasındaki diyalektik ilişki potansiyel mekanda bir güç ortaya çıkarır.

H₃: Potansiyel mekanın dönüşüm gücü dönüşüm doku ve hızlarında farklılaşma ortaya çıkarır.

Yukarıda sunulan kavramsal çerçeve ile Mamak ilçesindeki altı alt bölgede temel araştırma sorumuza cevap aranmıştır. Altbölgelerin seçim yöntemine de kısaca dephinmek gerekirse, altbölgeler, kavramsal çerçevenin test edileceği idari sınırlara göre belirlenmiş alanlar değildir. Aksine, sınırları, kuramsal çerçeveyemeye göre belirlenen, sadece bu çalışma için anlamlı olan, kurama dayalı alanlardır. Yani, alanların seçiminde, her dört müdahale tipinden bir veya bir kaçını içeren, ve farklı mekansal dokulara sahip alanlar seçilmiş, bu alanların sınırları araştırmacı tarafından belli bir mekansal bütünlük gözetilerek belirlenmiştir.

Altbölgeler, alanların bir müdahaleyle karşılaştığında verdiği yanıta göre belirlenir. Örneğin, eğer bir alan ilk müdahaleye olumlu yanıt verirse o bir altbölge olarak seçilir. Aynı şekilde diğer bir alan ilk müdahaleye yanıt vermez fakat ikincisine verirse o başka bir altbölge olarak belirlenir. Bu müdahalelerden hiçbirine yanıt vermeyen alan da bizim için bir altbölge tanımlar. Yani, altbölgelerin seçiminde

başlıca ölçü alanların müdahale geçmişleri ve müdahalelere verdikleri yanıldır. Altbölgelerin sınırları ise, idari sınır ya da plan sınırından ziyade, belli bir mekansal bütünlük gözetilerek belirlenmiştir. Alt bölge seçme metodu aşağıdaki şekilde gösterilmektedir.

	Altbölge 1	Altbölge 2	Altbölge 3	Altbölge 4
Müdahale 1	Dönüşmemiş	Dönüşmemiş	Dönüşmemiş	Dönüşmüş
Müdahale 2	Dönüşmemiş	Dönüşmemiş	Dönüşmüş	
Müdahale 3	Dönüşmemiş	Dönüşmüş		

Altı altbölgeden beşi birbirine komşudur, altıncı alan ise farklı bir bölgede yer almaktadır. Beşinci altbölge dışındaki altbölgelerin hepsinin geçmişinde gecekondu vardır, ve hepsi benzer müdahale geçmişine sahiptirler. Altı altbölge toplamda popülist, kişiselleştirilmiş, otoriter ve totaliter müdahale tiplerinden hepsini barındırır.

Birinci, ikinci ve üçüncü altbölgeler (Duralı Aliç iç bölge, Duralı Aliç yamaç, Doğukent caddesi) “popülist” müdahale geçmişine sahip iken, dördüncü ve beşinci altbölgeler ise (İmrahor Planı ve Duralı Aliç Kentsel Dönüşüm) “kişiselleştirilmiş” müdahale geçmişine sahiptirler. Son olarak altıncı alt bölgenin popülist, otoriter ve totaliter müdahale geçmişi vardır.

Alt bölgelerin müdahale geçmişleri

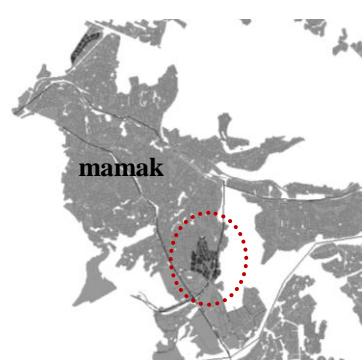
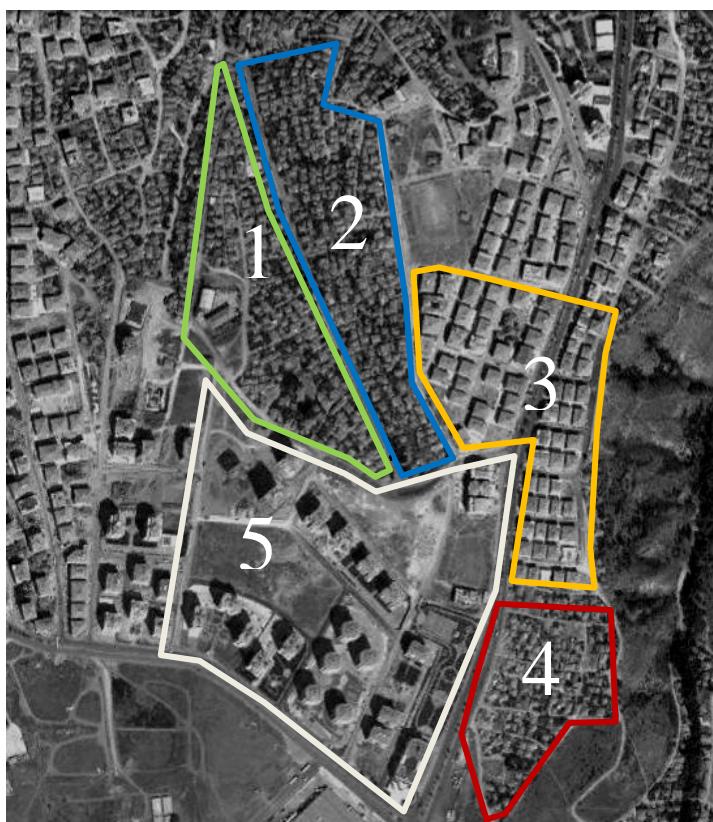
müdahale	altbölge	1	2	3	4	5	6
	müdahale	(-)	(-)	(-)	(0)	(0)	(-)
Popülist müdahale	(+)	(+)	(+)				
Customized müdahale	(0)	(0)	(0)	(-)	(-)	(0)	
Otoriter müdahale	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(-)	
Totaliter müdahale	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(+)	

Sub-areas: 1: Durali Aliç iç bölge 2: Durali Aliç yamaç 3. Doğukent Caddesinin Doğu ve Batısı 4: Doğukent Caddesinin güney doğusu Imrahor Planı 5. Durali Aliç Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi 6.Yatık Musluk Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi

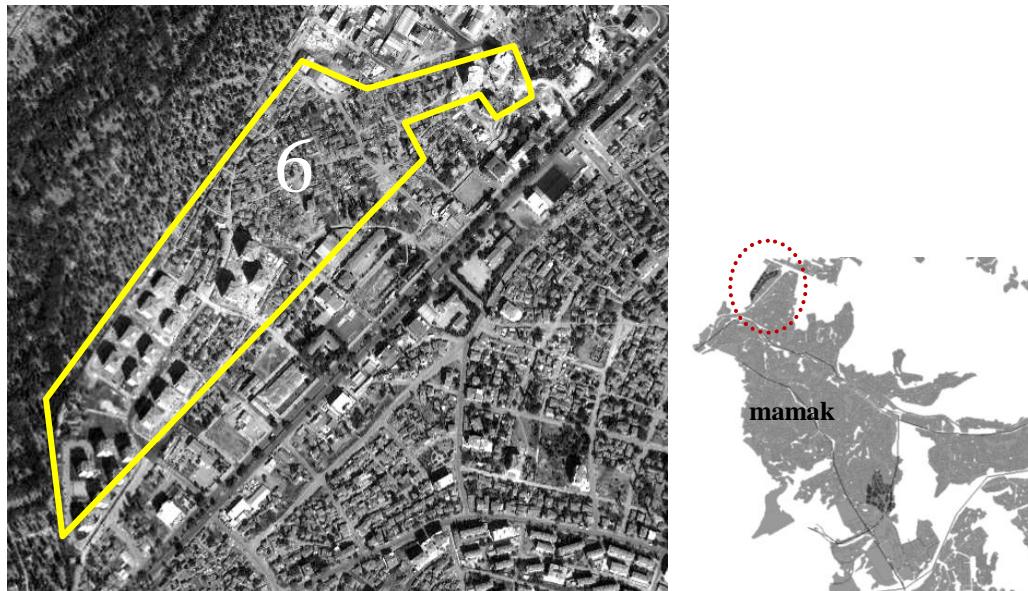
(-) etkisiz müdahale

(+) etkili müdahale

(0) müdahale yok



Durali Aliç ve Akşemsettin Mahallelerindeki beş alt bölge



Yatık Musluk Mahallesindeki altıncı altbölge

Çalışmanın 5. Bölümü saha çalışmasına ayrılmıştır. Öncelikle Mamak ilçesinin müdahale tarihi dört müdahale kategorisine referansla anlatılmıştır. Müdahaleler tabakalar halinde aralarındaki geçişlere ve birikimli etkilerine vurgu yapılarak ortaya konulmuştur. Bu bölüm her alt bölgeyi de Mamak içinde bir bağlama oturtmaktadır.

Yine bu bölümde her alt bölgede üç araştırma sorusuna cevap aranmıştır:

1. Alt bölgenin müdahale geçmişi nedir?
2. Her müdahaleye nasıl yanıt vermiştir?
3. Müdahalelerce tasarlanan dönüşümü yavaşlatan veya hızlandıran faktörler nelerdir?

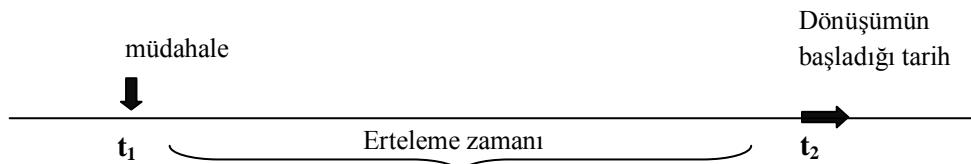
Bu soruların cevaplanması ile her alt bölgenin belli bir müdahale dönemindeki özellikleri, ya da diğer bir deyişle “sosyo-mekansal sabitleri (SSF)” ortaya konulmuştur. Sosyo-mekansal sabitler her müdahale ile değişmekte, bazı faktörlerin

önemi artmakta ya da azalmakta, ve yeni faktörler yeni bir SSF oluşturmakta, bu da dönüşüme ilişkin yeni fırsatlar anlamına gelmektedir.

Her alanın müdahale geçmişi ve SSF'si ortaya konulduktan sonra, 6.Bölümde altbögelerin potansiyel mekanları ortaya konulmuştur. Kısaca hatırlatmak gerekirse, potansiyel mekan, SSF ve müdahale diyalektini çerçeveyeleyen, bu diyalektin gerçekleştiği ve dönüşüm gücü olarak ifade ettiğimiz bir gücün üretildiği zemindir. 6. Bölümdeki amaç, temel araştırma sorusu olan “Mamak ilçesindeki dönüşüm doku ve hızlarındaki çeşitliliği nasıl açıklarız?” sorusuna yanıt vermektir.

Bunun için her altbölge SSF-müdahale diyalekti ile yeniden değerlendirilmiştir. Bu değerlendirme sonucunda bir dönüşüm gücü değerine ulaşılmıştır. Bu değeri hesaplama yöntemi aşağıda verilmiştir:

“Öncelikle müdahalenin yapıldığı tarih ve dönüşümün başladığı tarih arasında kalan zaman dilimi hesaplanmıştır. Müdahalenin başladığı tarih 2012 yılı itibarı ile altbölgede alınan inşaat ruhsatlarının ortalaması olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu zaman dilimine bir müdahalenin etkili hale gelmesine kadar geçen “ortalama erteleme zamanı” denilmiştir. Bundan sonra, dönüsün alan miktarı bu erteleme zamanına bölünerek “bir yılda dönüsün alan miktarı” hesaplanmıştır. Bunun birimi $m^2/ yıl$ 'dır.



$$\text{Dönüşüm Gücü} = \text{Dönüşen alan}/\text{ortalama erteleme zamanı} (\text{m}^2/\text{yıl})$$

Dönüşüm gücү hernekadar tek başına anlamlı bir değer olmasa da, altbölgelerin hızlarını kıyaslamak için başvurulabilir. Bu değerlere istinaden altbölgeler “dönüşüm gücü düşük alanlar, dönüşüm gücü yüksek alanlar ve dönüşüm gücü olmayan alanlar” olarak sınıflandırılmıştır.

Dönüşüm gücü değerleri, örneğin, $1601 \text{ m}^2/\text{yıl}$ yerine 1.6p şeklinde kısaltılarak kullanılmıştır. Altbölge 1,2 ve 3 için dönüşüm gücü 1.3p ve 4.2p arasında seyretmektedir. Bu Mamak’ta diğer alanlara kıyasla düşük bir güçtür. Dönüşüm 10p , 13p ve 27p olan alanlar ise yüksek dönüşüm gücü olarak nitelendirilmiştir. Dördüncü alt bölgede ise dönüşüm gücü sıfır, henüz bir dönüşümün gözlemlenmediğini ifade eder. Aşağıdaki tabloda son satırda yer alan Mamak ortalaması ise elimizdeki örneklerden yola çıkarak, Mamak’ta bir bölgeye müdahale edildikten sonra ortalama 15.6 yıl sonra dönüşümün başladığını göstermektedir.

Müdahale tipi	Alt bölge	Müdahale tarihi ve dönüşümün başlaması arasında geçen süre		Dönüşüm gücü	
		(son müdahaleden sonra-yl)	(ilk müdahaleden sonra-yl)	Kısalt.	sınıflanma
popülist	1. D.A iç	11.5	20.9	1.6p	DÜŞÜK
	2. D.A yamaç	5.1	16.1	2.9p	
	3. Doğukent Caddesi-batı	7.92	16.9	4.2p	
	3. Doğukent Caddesi-doğu	14.2	18.2	1.3p	
kişisel	4. DA güneydoğu	-	0	0	YOK
	5. D.A KDP	6.3	20.3	27p	
otoriter	6. YM 1. aşama	2.9	14.0	13p	YÜKSEK
	6. YM 2. aşama	3	3	10p	
Totaliter	Mamak ortalaması		15.6		

Farklı dönüşüm güçlerinin farklı dönüşüm hız ve dokularıyla nasıl ilişkilendirileceği konusuna gelince, “yüksek dönüşüm gücü olan alanlar” da SSF’nin müdahaleye bir engel teşkil etmediği çıkarımını yapabiliriz. Yani ya müdahale SSF’i gözeterek ya da onu ezecek şekilde tasarlanmıştır. Böyle durumlarda, dönüşüm yüksek bir hızda başlar ve dönüşüm sürecine karakterini, SSF’den ziyade müdahale verir. Planlanmamış ve beklenmedik sonuçlar için pek mahal yoktur, çünkü süreç hızlı ve yapılandırılmıştır. Müdahale (plan ya da proje) hedeflerine fazla sapma olmadan ulaşılır.

Alt bölge 5, Duralı Aliç KDP, müdahalenin SSF ile uyumlu olduğu duruma örnektir. Hazırlanan plan SSF’i içselleştirmiştir ve dönüşümün önünde engel kalmamıştır. Bu

alan tüm altbölgeler arasında en hızlı dönen alanıdır, ve yapılı çevre plana paralel gelişmiştir, plan hedeflerinden çok az sapma olmuştur.

Altıncı alt bölge olan Yatık Musluk Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi’nde de dönüşüm gücünden oldukça yüksektir. Fakat bu durumda, müdahale sosyo-mekansal sabiti (SMS) bastıracak şekilde tasarlanmıştır. Otoriter ve totaliter müdahaleler ile SMS büyük ölçüde bastırılmış ve yerel halk sürece yabancılasmıştır. Bu şekilde SMS’nin direnci minimize edilmiş, fakat ortadan da kaldırılamamıştır. Bu alt bölgede de yapılı çevre plana paralel gelişmiştir, ancak plan uygulama takviminde bazı gecikmeler olmuştur.

Dönüşümün gücün düşük olduğu alanlara gelince, bu müdahale ve SMS’nin uyumsuz olduğuna bir işaretir. Yani, müdahale SMS’yi gözetmemiştir. Aynı şekilde, bu durum SMS’nin müdahale hedeflerine direndiğini de gösterir. Yine de bu koşullarda dönüşüm başlamıştır. Bu durumlarda, süreci müdahaleden ziyade SMS karakterize eder. Bunun doğal bir sonucu olarak yerel halk süreçten dışlanmamıştır. Genellikle plan hedefleri ile gerçekleşen çevre arasında sapmalar vardır, ve yavaş dönüşüme eşlik eden belli dokular ve pragmatik çözümler karşımıza çıkar. Bu yavaş dönüşüm süreci içinde “zuhur” eden bu oluşumlar aynı zamanda SMS ve müdahalenin birbirine adaptasyonunu sağlar, ve dönüşüm zaman içinde hızlanma eğilimine girer.

Alt bölge 1,2 ve 3 düşük hızda dönüşmüştür, ve orjinal plan hedeflerinden bariz sapmalar mevcuttur. Bu alanlarda aktörler arasındaki anlaşmazlıklarını çözmek ve planla gelen kısıtları aşmak konusunda pragmatik çözümler ortaya çıkmıştır

Hiç dönüşüm gücünün olmadığı alanlarda da müdahale ve SMS’nin uyumsuz olduğu çıkarımı yapılabilir. Görünürde bir dönüşüm olmasa da, müdahale ve SMS arasında diyalektik ilişkinin mevcut olduğunu kabul etmekteyiz. Yani, bir yandan

SMS müdahale hedeflerine direnirken diğer yandan müdahale de SMS'yi aşmaya çalışmaktadır.

Bu durumda iki olası sonuc vardır. Birincisi, (düşük güçte dönüşümörneğinde olduğu gibi) SMS ve müdahalenin birbirinin içeriğini değiştirmesiyle, düşük güçlü bir dönüşüm başlayabilir. Veya, müdahalenin yeni bir meşruiyet zemininde yeniden tanımlanmasına ihtiyaç vardır.

Örneğin, alt bölge 4'te görünür bir dönüşüm söz konusu değildir, daha doğrusu, dönüşüm gücü henüz dönüşümün başlayacağı belli bir eşiye ulaşmamıştır. Buna iki şekilde müdahale edilebilir: birinci yaklaşım, planın SMS dikkate alınarak revize edilmesidir. Ancak bu şeklinde insanları dışlamayan, ve plan hedefleri ile uyumlu bir sonuca yaklaşılabilir. Diğer bir yaklaşım ise müdahalenin yeni bir meşruiyet zeminde, SMS'yi baskılacak şekilde yeniden tanımlanmasıdır. Bu durumda yine hızlı fakat insanları dışlayıcı bir sonuca varılması olasıdır.

Yavaş dönüşen alanlarda beklenmeyen planlanmamış oluşumların ortaya çıkabileceğine degenilmişti. Bu çalışma bu tip oluşumları yerel bağları gereği dikkate alınması gereken fırsatlar olarak kabul etmektedir ve yerel siyasa girdileri olarak değerlendirmektedir.. Bu oluşumlar yavaş dönüşen ve dönüşmeyen altbölgelerde görülmektedir ve iddia edilebilir ki aynı zamanda Mamak'ın da SMS'sini ya da dönüşüm özelliklerini de ortaya koymaktadır. Saha araştırmasına dayanarak, bu SMS 'nin bileşenlerinin jeolojik, konumsal ve mülkiyete dair özellikler, planla gelen kısıtlar, anlaşmazlık çözme metodları ve aktörlerin politik söylem ve söylentilere dayalı beklentiler olduğunu söylemek mümkündür.

Tüm bu özellikler Mamak'a özgü bir kapitalist kentsel dönüşüm biçimini sunar. Bu kapitalist oluşumun ayakları şunlardır: (1) aktörlerin ekonomik mantığı , (2) anlaşmazlık çözme metodları, (3) müteahhitler arası profesyonel ve etik kodlar, (4) piyasa dinamikleri, (5) arsa piyasasında dışsallıkların rolü, (6) yerel halkın

beklentileri ve bilinç düzeyleri, (7) TOKİ ve Büyükşehir Belediyesine karşı tavır ve (8) yapılı çevre özellikleri.

Bunlardan ne kastedildiğine kısaca değinmekte fayda vardır. Araştırma sonuçları Mamak'ın sınırlı yerel sermayesi ile dönüştüğünü ortaya koymaktadır. Müteahhitlerin ve haksahiplerinin kısıtlı finansman olanakları, sermaye ve gelir düzeyi hacimlerinin etkisini minimize edecek bir ilişki türü ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Mamak'ta binden fazla kayıtlı mütteahit vardır ve bunların 600-700'ü piyasada aktif olarak iş yapmaktadır. Örneğin, müteahhitlerin ada bazı girişimler için yeterli sermayesi olmaması inşaatların parsel bazında olması sonucunu doğurmuştur. Yine çoğu, sermayeleri sınırları içinde bir binayı başlayıp bitirememekte bu yüzden maliyetleri azaltmak adına aynı anda (farklı konumlarda) bir kaç inşaat yürütme yoluna gitmektedirler. Bu yaklaşımla bir çögünün sonucunda kar etmediği, bir kaç bina yapıp piyasayı terk ettiği bilinen bir gerçektir.

Bölgede Mamak dışında inşaat işi yaptığı tespit edilen sadece bir müteahhit vardır, o da o bölgede tanınmadığı ve sosyal ağları olmadığı için başarılı olamamıştır. Aynı şekilde Mamak'ta sadece iki ulusal firma inşaat yapmaktadır. Bunlardan biri IKEA kampüsünün üreticisi diğer de Durali ALİÇ Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi alanında bir adanın üreticisidir. Yerel müteahhitler işlerinin devamlılığını iyi referanslar üstünden sürdürülerinden dolayı, her ne kadar Çankaya gibi bölgeleri karlı bulsalarda Mamak'ta kalmayı daha uygun görmektedirler. Mamak'ın yerel halkı Kırıkkale, Ankara, Çankırı ve Yozgat gibi illerden olduğundan bu illerin insanları da iyi referanslara bağlı olarak potansiyel alıcılar olmaktadır.

Müteahhit sayısının çokluğu, Mamak'ta her alanı cazip hale getirmektedir. Her ne kadar bazı müteahhitler bazı alanlardan (özellikle eğimli olanlardan) özellikle kaçınırken,(özellikle piyasaya yeni giren) bir çok müteahhit konum ayırt

etmemektedirler. Hatta kimileri için, eğimli alanlardaki ekstra kat imkanı bu alanları avantajlı hale getirmektedir.

Hisse sahibi halk ise müteahhitlerin seçimi ve sözleşme hazırlığı aşamasında oldukça seçici ve dikkatli davranışmaktadır. Henüz bölgede edinilecek konut sayısı konut kalitesinden daha önemlidir. Bu da sözleşme yapıldıktan sonra halkın süreçle ilgisinin kesilmesinin, edinecekleri konutları takip etmemelerinin nedenini açıklamaktadır. Tüm bunlar alanda düşük kalitede konutlarla sonuçlanmakta, bina tamamlanmadan satışların yapılması, müteahhitin sorumluluğunu azaltmaka, durumu daha da kötüleştirmektedir.

Müteahhitler hissedarların ödeme kapasitesi ve ihtiyaçlarına göre esnek öneriler sunmaktadır. Bu şekilde gelir düzeyi farklılıklarını en aza indirmektedirler. Örneğin öncelikle, ev enkazları hisse sahiplerinin lehine hesaba katılmaktadır. Ayrıca, konutların tamalanmadan satılması da konut fiyatlarını yaklaşık %20 oranında düşürmektedir. Müteahhitler sermaye ihtiyacı içinde olduğundan bu yönteme başvurmaktadırlar.

Müteahhitler, hisse sahipleri ile anlaşmazlıklarını çeşitli büyülüklerde ev sunarak ve ödeme koşullarını çeşitlendirek çözmektedirler. Eğer bir hak sahibinin bir konut alacak kadar arası yoksa, üzerine ödemesi gereken borç arsa sahibinin alacağı konutun katına ve büyülüğüne gore hesaplanır ve ödeyebileceği taksitlere bölünür. Konutların bölüşümü arsa sahiplerinin ilk arsa hisseleri miktarı ve ödeme kapasitelerine referansla ayarlanır. Örneğin, en büyük arsa miktarına sahip hissedar en üst güneye bakan katı alırken en düşük hisseli hissedar alt katlarda yer alır. Bir diğer ödeme mekanizması, özellikle yeni alıcılar için, trampa diye adlandırılan, başka bir yerdeki arsanın konut ile takasıdır. Bu yöntem, müteahhitin işlerinin devamlılığını sağlaması açısından önemlidir, aynı zamanda Mamak'ta yeni yapılan konutların bir çoğunun alıcı bulmasını da açıklar.

Eğer bir hissedar anlaşmaya yanaşmazsa, bu anlaşmazlık basitçe bu hissedara daha karlı çözümler sunularak aşılmaktadır. Bu hernekadar işlem maliyetlerini arttırsa da, yine de en fazla bir kaç ay gecikme doğuran en hızlı çözümdür. Çünkü şu bilinmektedir ki mahkemeye giden bir anlaşmazlık, izaleyi şuyu ile giderilmekte, yani ortaklık bozulmakta, bütün hissedarlar yapılaşma haklarını yitirmekte ve arsa zorunlu satışa çıkarılmaktadır.

Diğer bir sorun kaymış mülkiyet sorunudur. Yani bir parsel üzerindeki hisse sahipleri yapılaşmak istediklerinde, parselin sınırları içinde hissesi başka arsadan verilmiş bir gecekondu varsa onun yıkılması ve taşınması problemidir. Bu tür gecekoduların sahiplerini evlerini yık Maya ve dışarı çıkmaya ikna etmek zordur. Eğer konu mahkemeye götürürlürse gecekondu sahibine ödenmek üzere yüksek meblağlarda enkaz bedeli belirlenemebilmektedir. Bu yüzden, müteahhitler en azından zaman kaybetmemek için mahkemeye gitmeden çözüm aramakta, benzer değerde enkaz bedelleri ödeyerek, yer yer ev kirası sağlayarak bu sorunu çözmektedirler.

Müteahhitler, başka bir müteahhitin hissedar olduğu parselde arsa almama konusunda birbirlerinin dikkatli davranışlarını beklemektedirler. Bu aralarında oluşturdukları etik bir kuraldır; eğer bir parselde müteahhit varsa, o arayı dönüştürecek olan da odur. Fakat yine de, birkaç müteahhit kasıtlı olarak 1 ila 5 m² büyülüklerinde arsalar satın alarak, birçok parselde hissedar haline gelmektedirler. Bunu yaparken de arsalarda başka müteahhitin olması onlar için engel teşkil etmemektedir, çünkü burada asıl amaçladıkları inşaatı yüklenmek değil, spekulatif arsa satışı yapmaktır. Bu durumdan ancak diğer hissedar müteahhitler piyasa fiyatlarının üstünde spekulatif arsa alımı yaparak çıkabilmektedirler.

Bu tür anlaşmazlıkların yanısıra, müteahhitler sektördeki iş arkadaşları ile birlikte çalışma eğilimindedirler. Karlı bir inşaata başladıklarında, iş arkadaşlarını da civar parsellere çekmeye çalışmaktadır. Aslında iş arkadaşının cesaretlendirmesi bir tür fizibilite kriteri olrak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu bir inşaatın diğerini tetiklediği bir doku

üretmektedir. Saha çalışması göstermiştir ki, ne zaman ki bir parselde inşaat başlasın, mevcut gecekondu dokusu bozulsun, diğer inşaatlar takip etmektedir. Aynı şekilde herhangi bir sosyal altyapının inşaatı da diğer inşaatları tetiklemektedir.

Bir zamanlar alandaki en büyük sorun olan Mamak çöplüğü, rehabilite edildikten sonra, müteahhitler ve firmalar açısından artık sorun olarak görülmemektedir. IKEA ve Anatolia alışveriş merkezleri ise arsa ve konut fiyatlarını arttırmıştır. Fakat henüz söylenti niteliğinde olan projelerlerin arsa değerleri üstünde etkisinin bunlardan daha büyük olduğu gözlemlenmektedir. Alanda yeni bir üniversitenin kurulacağı, şehirlerarası otobüs terminalinin gelecek olması, dünyanın en büyük akvaryumunun burada yapılacağı söyleşisi, hastane projesi, ve benzeri bir çok söylenti fiyatları bir yılda %50 arttırmıştır. Alandaki tüm aktörlerin beklentileri oldukça yüksek olup, 3-5 sene içinde gecekondu kalmayacağı yönündedir.

Yerel halkın dönüşüm bakişi olumludur. Fakat bunun TOKİ ya da Büyükşehir belediyesi değil, müteahhit kanalıyla olması talebi sıkça vurgulanmaktadır. TOKİ ve Büyükşehir belediyesi alanda hoş karşılaşmazken, müteahhit'e olan talebin sebebi haksahiplerine daha az arsa karşılığında daha çok konut sağlanmasıdır. Kalite açısından da diğer kurumların üretikleri konutlardan daha kaliteli olduğu iddia edilmektedir.

Her ne kadar dönüşüm karşıtı vurgulanan bir tavır olmasa da, kimi arsa sahipleri şunu belirtmektedir: Komşunuz gecekonduşunu apartmana dönüştürdüğü zaman, bu apartmanlar güneşini kesmekte, çevre bozulmakta, bizim için dönüşümden başka çare kalmamaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle mahallenin dokusu bir kez bozulduğu anda denge dönüşüm yönünde değişmektedir.

Alandaki bilgi akışı oldukça yüksektir. Hem erkekler hem kadınlar süreçlerden haberdar, geçmiş plan kararlarını ve mevcut durumu bilmektedirler. Yine, çevrelerinde yapılan inşaat sözleşme koşullarını da takip etmektedirler. Bu bilgi

akıştı, gecekondu sahiplerine müteahhitlerle belli bir pazarlık gücü vermektedir. Yine de müteahhitlerin bölge halkı üzerinde etkileri fazladır. Çünkü insanlar hayatlarının belki de en önemli yatırımı olan gecekondu dönüşüm kararını inceleyip sık dokuyarak vermektedir, bu süreçte müteahhitlerle çokça fikir alışverişinde bulunmaktadırlar. Yerel halk, gecekondularını dönüştürdükten sonra bölgede kalmayı hedeflemektedir.

Yerel halk, TOKİ ve Büyükşehir eliyle dönüşümlerine karşı oldukça tepkilidir ve bu uygulamaları adaletsiz olarak görmektedir. Bu yargının kaynağı özellikle aksayan Yeni Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesidir. Çünkü bu alandaki hissedarlar müteahhitle dönüşüme kıyasla üç kat az oranda konut hakkı edinmişlerdir. Müteahhitler de benzer şekilde TOKİ'ye karşı tepkilidirler. Kendi konutlarının daha kaliteli olduğunu iddia etmekte, ve bu görüş belediye çalışanlarında da onaylanmaktadır.

Ilçe Belediyesinin düzenleyici rolü sadece küçük ölçekli altyapı sağlamaktan ibarettir, ve dönüşümü örgütlemede pasif davranmaktadır. Tüm bunların sonucunda Mamak'ta düşük kaliteli bir konut çevresi oluşmaktadır. Bölgedeki sosyal ve teknik altyapı yetersiz, ve üretilen çevreler herhangi bir kentsel tasarım nosyonundan yoksundur. Oysa, bölgedeki sorunların karmaşıklığı dikkate alındığında müteahhit eliyle parsel bazı dönüşüm kısa vadeli hakim olacağa benzemektedir.

Bu tartışmalarlığında bazı konular siyasa yapım süreçlerinde dikkate alınmalıdır. Özellikle (1) müteahhitler arası anlaşmazlıklara, (2) müteahhitler ve haksahipleri arası anlaşmazlıklara ve (3) kaymış mülkiyet sorununa odaklanılmalıdır. Müteahhitlerin bilgi birikimi ve deneyimi, işbirliği kurma şekilleri ve halkın sürecde olan ilgisi ve farkındalığı belediye tarafından değerlendirilmesi gereken fırsatlardır. Aynı şekilde belediye tarafından dikkate alınması gereken başka bir konu bir parseldeki hissedar sayısında belli bir eşigi aşmamaya çalışması gerekliliğidir (bu

rakam müteahhitlerce en fazla 10 hissedar olarak ifade edilmiştir). Yine, ele alınması gereken önemli bir konu da sosyal altyapı eksikliğidir.

Müteahhitler bölgede kanaat önderleri olarak rol oynamakta, gerek belediye ile gerek yerel halk ile iyi ilişkiler içinde bulunmaktadırlar. Ve görünen odur ki, Mamak yakın gelecekte müteahhit eliyle dönüşecektir. Müteahhitlerin esnek yaklaşımı dikkate alındığında dönüşmeye uygun olmayan alan kalmamaktadır. Fakat bu durum yaşam kalitesi düşük çevreler üretilmesini beraberinde getirmektedir. Bu konuda siyasaların geliştirilmesi gereklidir.

Bu çalışma, müteahhitlerin yerel bağlarını, ve belediye ve halk ile iyi ilişkilerini ve halkın TOKİ ve Büyükşehir belediyesine tepkilerini dikkate alarak müteahhitler eliyle bir dönüşüm modeli geliştirmesini önermektedir. Fakat müteahhitlerin örgütlenme kapasitesi sınırlıdır. Bu noktada ilçe belediyesinin bu konuda düzenleyici bir rol alması önerilmektedir. İnşaat sahaları belirlenerek inşaatlar örgütlenebilir. Her sahada belli müteahhitler görev alabilir. Mamak İnşaat Müteahitleri Derneği de müteahhitler arası anlaşmazlıklarını belli kurallar koyarak düzenleyebilir.

Böyle bir örgütlenmenin çeşitli avantajları vardır. Teknik ve sosyal altyapının belli bir koordinasyon ile sunumu şüphesiz çevre kalitesini artıracaktır. Daha önemlisi müteahhitlerin alanın SSF'sine- *diğer bir deyişle geleneğine*- aşina olmaları, halkın yabancı kılmayıp sürece dahil edecektir. Orta ve uzun dönemde ise, imar haklarının transferi gibi araçların kullanımı dere yatağı, çöplük alanı gibi riskli alanlardaki gecekonduların dönüşümü için kaçınılmaz görülmektedir.

Çalışmanın asıl vurgusu yavaş dönüşüm ve dönüşmemeye olgularının hakim anlatımlarda görünmez olduğu idi. Biz bu çalışmada bu görünmez alanı görünürlüğe ve kentsel dönüşüm anlatımına dahil etmeye çalıştık. Potansiyel mekan olarak ifade ettiğimiz, görünürde bir dönüşüm olmadan önce konumlandırdığımız hipotetik mekan ve zaman aralığında, farklı dönüşüm doku ve hız olasılıklarını

doğuracak belli faktörlerden bahsettiğimizde, tüm faktörlerin birarada oluşturduğu bütüne sosyo-mekansal sabit (SMS) dedik. SMS’yi oluşturan faktörlerin bütün içinde anlam kazandığını, tek başına dönüşümü açıklayıcı rolleri olmadığını belirttiğimizde. Yine aynı şekilde müdahalenin nitelikine referansla da dönüşümlerin açıklanamayacağını, SMS’i dikkate almayan bir müdahalenin ne kadar totaliter olursa olsun aksama ya da başarısız olma ihtimali olabileceğini ima ettik.

Peki tüm bu tartışmanın kuramsal açıdan önemi nedir? Bize ne gibi yeni açılımlar sağlar? Öncelikle, birçok çalışmada gördüğümüz, dönüşüm belli faktörlerle açıklanması eğilimine sorgulayarak bakarız. Örneğin, bir alanın konumunun iyi olduğu için dönüştüğünü ifade etmek artık bizim çerçeveyimizde yetersiz bir genellemedir. Çünkü bizim iddiamız avantajlı konum ancak ve ancak belli koşullarda, belli faktörlerin biraradalıkta dönüşüm açısından anlam kazanır. Tek başına bir dönüştürücü gücü olamaz.

Kentsel arsa rantı kentsel dönüşümü açıklamada en çok başvurulan nedendir. Dönüşümler genelde potansiyel rant artışları ile ilişkilendirilir. Yüksek rant talebi, ya bunun için spekülasyon yapılması her ne kadar gerçek olsa da bizim iddiamız rantın da dönüşümün sebebi olamayacaktır. Bizim açıklamamızda rant birçok faktörün sonucudur, ve ille de dönüşümle sonuçlanmayan belli bir ekonomik eşiktir.

Bu çalışmada arsa rantı altbölgelerin makroform ölçekte belli bir ekonomik eşeğe ulaşlığını göstermek için başvurulmuştur. Tek tek alt bölgelere baktığımızda rantın açıklayıcılığı kalmamıştır. Örneğin benzer potansiyel rant düzeylerindeki altbölgelerde hala farklı dönüşüm doku ve hızlarına rastlanmaktadır. Özette, rant bizim için, tarihsel olarak üretilen, zaman ve mekanda çeşitlenen ekonomik, politik, iradi faktörler içeren bir değerdir.

Aynı mantıkla bazı çalışmalar kentsel dönüşümleri otoriter müdahalelerin kaçınılmaz sonuçları olarak değerlendirmektedir. Oysa bu çalışmada her dönüşüm, müdahale

SMS diyalektiği ile anlatılmaktadır. SMS'ye yönelik bir stratejiden yoksun herhangi bir otoriter müdahale hedeflerine ulaşmada gecikmeler yaşayabilir ve hatta başarısız olabilir.

Bunlara dayanarak, bu çalışmada geliştirilen çerçeve belli faktörlere ve müdahalelere dönüşümsel güç atfeden her türlü indirimci açıklamayı reddeder.

Tartışmamızı sonlandırırken, tezin kapsamında yer almayan bazı konulara degeinmekte fayda vardır. Her ne kadar çalışmamızı Mamak'ta gerçekleştirmiş ve kavramlarımızı burada oturmuş olsak da çalışmayı aynı kavramlarla Ankara'nın diğer gecekondu bölgelerini kapsayacak şekilde genişletmek mümkündür. Ankara'daki diğer gecekondu alanlarına benzer bir bakış ile bakmak çerçeveye bazı yönlerden katkı sağlayabilir. Birincisi, farklı yerel politikaların SMS oluşumundaki etkisi karşılaştırılmalı çalışılabilir. İkincisi, yeni sahaların incelenmesi SMS içeriğini zenginleştirebilir, ve daha dinamik bir çerçeve geliştirilebilir. Üçüncüsü, farklı bölgelerdeki bariz dönüşüm güçleri arasındaki farkların arkasında yatan mikro ve makro sebepler değerlendirilebilir. Hepsinden öte, yavaş dönüşen ve dönüşmeyen alanların problemleri ve potansiyelleri ortaya konularak daha yaşanır çevreler üretme yönünde değerlendirilebilir. Çünkü, şöyle bir gerçek vardır ki, hala gecekondular Ankara makroformunda önemli bir yer kaplamaktadır.

Ileri çalışmalarında, kavramsal çerçeve farklı coğrafi ölçekleri de içerecek şekilde de geliştirilebilir. Örneğin, makroformun farklı kesitlerinde belli bir müdahalenin gerçekleşme gücü, müdahale ve SMS diyalektiği ile ele alınabilir. (Bu durumda, SMS bileşenleri şüphesiz çalışmamızdaki içerikten farklı olacaktır). Ya da bölgesel ölçekte bir politika benzer bir değerlendirmeye tabi tutulabilir.

Bu tez mekansal farklılıklarını anlamak için bir yeni çerçeve ortaya koymaya çalışmıştır. Bu özellikle, diğer açıklamaların çeperinde yeralan, sermaye akışının kısıtlı olduğu bir alanda gerçekleştirılmıştır. Tezin metodolojik olarak da bir arayış

içindedir. Hem Althusser'in bilgi üretimi kavramından hem de “gömülü teori” yaklaşımından beslenmektedir. Yeni kavramların üretiminde Althusser'e referansla önceki çalışmaların soyutlamalarını, kavramlarını ham madde olarak ele almış ve bunların irdelenmesinden yeni kavamlar geliştirmiştir (SSF, müdahale biçimleri, vs.) fakat, kavramların tanımlarının inceltimesini gömülü teori yaklaşımını izleyerek saha çalışması sırasında gerçekleştirmiştir.

Bu çerçeve belki de verdiği yanıldan daha çok yeni sorular ortaya atmaktadır, fakat bu bizim, asıl hedefimiz olan “kentsel dönüşümü alışlageldiği şekilde değerlendirilmesini aşma” hedefimize uygundur. Bu çerçeve ileride geliştirilmeye açıktır.

APPENDIX E. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> x |
| Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Enformatik Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Somali
Adı : Fatma Süphan
Bölümü : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Reading Urban Transformation through the case of Mamak, Ankara

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora x

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. x
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: