HOUSING AS A LOCUS OF CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND HEGEMONY: TOWARDS A METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL AND LOCAL LEVEL DYNAMICS IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

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There is a tendency to focus on micro or macro levels in the current housing literature. On the one hand, victimisation experiences and coping strategies of individuals or local housing markets' dynamics are prioritised, the abstract powers and structures are highlighted on the other. Although the contributions of these studies cannot be underestimated, they may fall short of eliciting the totality of knowledge regarding the complex social reality. In this sense, the main aim of this thesis is to unfold the dynamics of the housing field at both national and local levels in a peripheral society like Turkey as questioning how the neoliberal project is carried out despite all its contradictions. In this regard, capital accumulation and construction of hegemony are identified as the prominent lines of investigation to understand how the relations in the housing field within the neoliberal rule are historically situated and socially constructed in the national and urban context. Accordingly, since urban renewal as a formative intervention that transforms urban fabric within the neoliberal adjustment policies offers insight to unfold dynamics in the housing field, a particular project, Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project, is examined as a case study. This is also an overarching methodological attempt to delineate different aspects of a complex urban phenomenon that reveals capital accumulation in motion and hegemonic agenda at work from various theoretical vantage points. In line with the retroductive research strategy, longitudinal qualitative and quantitative data gathered is used to develop mezzo-level concepts for a portrait of neoliberal urbanization.

Keywords: Housing, Neoliberal Urbanization, Urban Renewal, Capital Accumulation, Hegemony

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ÖZ

SERMAYE BİRİKİMİ VE HEGEMONYA ODAĞI OLARAK KONUT:
TÜRKİYE'DE ULUSAL VE YEREL DÜZEYDEKİ DİNAMİKLERİN
METODOLOJİK VE TEORİK BİR ANALİZİNE DOĞRU

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Mevcut konut literatüründe mikro veya makro düzeylere odaklanma eğilimi vardır. Bir yanda bireylerin mağduriyet deneyimleri ve başa çıkma stratejileri ya da yerel konut piyasalarının dinamikleri ön planda tutulmakta, diğer yanda soyut güçler ve yapılar öne çıkarılmaktadır. Bu çalışmaların katkıları küçümsenmese de, karmaşık toplumsal gerçekliğe ilişkin bütünün bilgisini ortaya koymakta yetersiz kalabilirler. Bu anlamda bu tezin temel amacı, Türkiye gibi çevre bir toplumda konut sektörünün dinamiklerini hem ulusal hem de yerel düzeyde gözler önüne sererek neoliberal projenin tüm çelişkilerine rağmen nasıl yürüdüğünü sorgulamaktır. Bu bağlamda, neoliberal düzen içinde konut alanındaki ilişkilerin tarihsel olarak nasıl konumlandığını ve ulusal ve kentsel bağlamda toplumsal olarak nasıl inşa edildiğini anlamak için sermaye birikimi ve hegemonya inşası öne çıkan araştırma hatları olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Buna göre, neoliberal uyum politikaları içinde kentsel dokuyu dönüştüren biçimlendirici bir müdahale olarak kentsel dönüşüm, konut alanındaki dinamiklerin ortaya çıkmasına ışık tuttuğundan, özel bir proje olan Yeni Mamak Kentsel Yenileme Projesi bir vaka çalışması olarak incelenmiştir. Bu aynı zamanda, çeşitli teorik bakış açılarından, hareket halindeki sermaye birikimini ve geçerli olan egemen tasavvuru ortaya koyan karmaşık bir kentsel fenomenin farklı yönlerini tasvir etmeye yönelik kapsamlı bir metodolojik girişimdir. Geridönümsel araştırma stratejisine uygun olarak, toplanan boylamsal nitel ve nicel veriler, neoliberal kentleşmenin bir portresi için ara düzeyde kavramlar geliştirmek için kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Konut, Neoliberal Kentleşme, Kentsel Yenileme, Sermaye Birikimi, Hegemonya

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To my lovely wife, Suna

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The economic crisis of the 1970s put an end to the state-led economic and welfare strategies and paved the way for establishing so-called neoliberal policy frameworks that have brought about a tremendous change in society. Whether as "a political project" (Harvey, 2016), "an art of government" (Foucault, 2008, p. 131), "a programme" (Bourdieu, 1998a), "a long-term, strategic organizing campaign" (Fink, 2017, pp. 160-161), "a collection of political ideas", "a political movement", "a set of policy practices" or "a way of organising the capitalist economy" (Cahill et al., 2012, p. 2), it consolidated the capitalist class power over the working class not only in the countries but also from core to periphery countries or Global North to Global South.

A severe shift in the political and social realm took place in Turkey as well. The neoliberal reforms and administrative restructuring in an authoritarian manner since the 1980s, targeting Turkey's integration into global capitalism, came to another phase with the 2000-2001 financial crises after the series of crises throughout the 1990s. In 2001, on the one hand, real gross domestic product decreased by 5.7%, consumer price inflation rose to 54.9%, Turkish Lira lost approximately half of its value against the major foreign currencies; on the other hand, due to the increasing unemployment and reductions in real wages workers paid the price of the economic crises (Yeldan, 2008, p. 1). Despite the turmoil, "[i]n the aftermath of the February 2001 collapse, new political actors did not supplant the existing political parties and their leaders, and the structures that sustained them were not subject to critical reevaluation and revision" (Cizre & Yeldan, 2005, p. 399). Newly established Justice and Development Party (hereafter AKP)[1], a mid-term outcome of 1980 coup d'état, put a distance to its "failed" predecessors and came to power in 2002 as a single-party government. The Party's pro-Islamist and populist discourse blended with political entrepreneurialism was established on the promise of easing the pain of the masses who carry the burdens of neoliberal policies. Nevertheless, albeit surged as a reaction to the neoliberal policies, AKP has been an embodiment of neoliberalism for more than two decades in Turkey.

Withdrawal from the welfare service provision due to 'neoliberal political rationality' necessitated reinforcement of patriotism, nationalism, religiosity, culture, and tradition as a backup within the 'neoconservative rationality' (Acar & Altunok, 2013, p. 15). As Patton (2006, p. 514) indicated, AKP has combined "neoliberal market reforms with targeted clientelism and other forms of "neo-patrimonialism" ". Clientelist relations that "are vulnerable to anything that disrupts the flow of material benefits to clients and supporters" (Brinkerhoff & Goldsmith, 2002, p. 4) has become the primary form (re)distribution in society.

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[1] AKP is the abbreviation of the Justice and Development Party in Turkish.

To sustain this redistribution flow, under the rule of AKP, when the capital structure of the companies, weak financial system, low tech, and low value-added industrial production, volatile, shallow and fragile domestic asset market of Turkey's peripheral capitalism is taken into account, construction sector and urban land and rent have given priority in the government agenda than ever before.

In the last 15 years, parallel to the legal and administrative changes, rising selective and authoritarian interventions of the Party in power at national and local government levels have transformed the almost whole fabric of cities in Turkey and have revitalised the construction sector. This is not surprising given the fact that actors in the construction and real estate sectors are also the prominent segment of the power bloc of Turkish politics. Moreover, the construction sector has created around 7 % of the gross domestic product (hereafter GDP) in recent years; and its contribution to the GDP reaches approximately 35 % when triggered economic activities of other sectors are considered in Turkey. Regardless of their size and scale, developers and contractors have coveted vacant lands, publicly-owned lands, old housing stocks and old urban fabric for investment opportunities. This trend has also created great expectations among social classes.

To sum up, even though so-called neoliberal policies show a great deal of particularity in Turkey, at least three common characteristics are common to all of them. Firstly, labour has widely lost its many gains and achievements in various economic and social life domains. Secondly, urban space - especially built environment - has become a prime target of so-called neoliberal accumulation regimes and strategies. Thirdly, despite the liberal maxim promoting the opposite, state intervention played a critical role in fostering so-called neoliberal policies (in urban space) while extending the capitalist hegemony in several ways in return. In this sense, transformation projects as an urban policy intervention that stimulates the construction sector, especially in the housing field, are essential in understanding how capital accumulation is sustained and hegemony is established in the neoliberal era. In a nutshell, the games in the housing field in the Bourdieusian sense that have taken place both at the national and local level flesh out the embodied forms of capital circulation and operation of hegemony.

Under the name of "urban transformation", various modes of intervention such as urban renewal, urban (re)development, urban revitalisation, urban rehabilitation, and urban renovation and their mixture/combination have been made in Turkey. Although it is possible to hypothetically classify the cases or projects in the light of Western literature, every attempt has a risk to fall short of reaching an adequate definition for these kinds of interventions, especially in the context of Turkey.

It has become a handy tool for (re)shaping the urban fabric depending on neoliberal spatial reconfiguration in the 2000s. It is a powerful urban policy intervention instrument that also transforms rural areas. It is possible to implement it almost anywhere under different names. It is a fuzzy concept that mainly plays a significant role in rent distribution and speculation.

Therefore, in this sense, the role played by these kinds of interventions for the sake of capitalist urbanisation processes put the definition discussions on the back burner. Considering the practice, techniques and applications faced in "the urban transformation game" for more than 20 years, it has become an empty or floating

signifier[2] presented as if it resolves conflicts and corresponding contradictions in the housing field. On the one hand, it is hard to address, define, evaluate and understand since it is a game that comprises various contradictory demands, hopes and desires. On the other hand, the vagueness strengthens the control of power over circulation, accumulation and redistribution by manipulating the conflict between classes.

The legal and administrative analysis also reveals the incremental and bold transformation driven by the actors in or related to the construction sector in urban transformation as a game played in the housing field. After a left-wing party's municipality had implemented the first urban transformation project in 1989, a specific law[3] was enacted to run the second project in 2004. When the "feasibility" of this law is realised despite some deficiencies[4], not to deal with specific regulations for every locality and to develop projects throughout the country, a legal and administrative framework was introduced firstly in the Municipality Law as an article[5] in 2005; then a comprehensive law[6] was enacted, and several amendments[7] were made on both legal sources to speed up the process and to meet the demands of the construction sector and local decision-makers/takers. In short, the dependency on the construction sector and the potential of urban renewal periodically rekindle contractors' increasing demands for more (de)regulations and incentives that give privileges and boost the urban transformation and housing transactions.

While urban transformation projects targeted physically and socially decaying publicly owned spaces, especially in the inner city in the core countries, for the peripheral countries like Turkey additionally "illegal" housing areas, squatters (gecekondu[8]), privately owned lands, state-owned lands, natural reserve areas and vacant lands are assessed for the transformation. Although the recent regulations in the legal framework empowered the authorities to carry out urban transformation even for an individual building on a single plot, squatter neighbourhoods have mostly become a target of so-called "urban renewal projects" involving both public authorities at the central and local government levels on the one hand and large and medium scale construction companies on the other.

In so far as squatter areas are concerned, these projects have created a great deal of conflict among squatter owners, policymakers and promoters with regard to the distribution of rents emerging out of renewal. At first blush, while contractors get high

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[2] See Şengül (2016).

[3] Law No. 5104 Northern Ankara Entrance Urban Regeneration Project.

[4] Several articles of the Law No. 5104 concerning the urban regeneration project of northern entry to Ankara was amended in 2006 by the Law No. 5481.

[5] Law No. 5393 "Municipality Law", Article No. 73.

[6] Law No. 6306 "Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks".

[7] The 73th article of the Law No. 5393 had been amended in 2010, 2012 and 2014. Also, several articles of the Law No. 6306 had been nullified by the Constitutional Court in 2012 and it was also amended in 2015 and 2016.

[8] Gecekondu is a housing form constructed illegally by migrant groups on a public or private land. Its meaning is "built over-night" in Turkish. Most of the gecekondus were built between the 1950s and 1980s under the insufficient housing provision by the state in the face of massive migration from rural to urban areas.

returns, politicians and decision-makers as facilitators become more visible in the eye of voters, and the dwellers or right holders, in the best case, get a share of land rent in contrast to diminishing returns compared to transformations by rehabilitation plans. In the eyes of squatter dwellers, transformation turned into a "state imperative" instead of a "market opportunity". It seems that dispute arises due to the quantity and size of the residences acquired in return as an equivalent of the squatter and/or the debt owed. Although it is impossible to underestimate the role of these bargaining processes, the whole life course of dwellers has also dramatically changed.

Throughout this process, besides commodification, revaluation, redistribution and dispossession, squatter dwellers have been faced with other dynamics, mechanisms and moments such as speculation, disinformation, financialisation, indebtedness, production of wants, needs and desires, displacement and relocation, marginalisation, isolation, the devastation of sociocultural structures, uneasiness, violence and insecurity. In response, dwellers have adopted various and, from time to time, contradictory stances (parallel to contradictions of capitalism) depending on their expectations, dispositions, and forms of capital throughout the projects (Poyraz, 2011). The amalgamation of these dynamics, mechanisms and moments with the dwellers' strategies, attitudes, tactics and power struggle is actually the crystallisation and embodiment of capitalist relations of production in the context of urban renewal in Turkey at the self-level. In other words, it is a hegemonic construct that produces accumulation and depreciation, though not a zero-sum game. Thus, it also reveals how capitalist urbanisation works and reproduces itself both at the national and local levels.

It should be noted at this point that all these interdependent and concurrent processes may transform into each other. They comprise tensions, contradictions and complex relations. They are different facets and dimensions of the same reality; respectively, they necessitate various vantage points to evaluate them in relation. Even though some of them are immaterial, they have material effects and consequences. And although they are contextually and historically dependent on particular space-times and histories, this specific case gives us a chance to uncover the broad contours of the totality of the capitalist mode of production by tracing out varying combinations and manifestations of its essential, constituent and relational parts.

"The rise of capitalism accomplished a separation between the production of value and surplus-value in the form of commodities on the one hand and the activities of social reproduction on the other" (Harvey, 2017, p. 14). This pseudo dichotomy disguises the relational motions of capital[9]. It would not be unfair to claim that while urban transformation projects as a state-orchestrated intervention have played a critical role in the sustenance of the economy by giving a boost to the construction sector, they are also quite instrumental and formative with regard to the lifestyles, mindsets, everyday life and urban rhythm of dwellers who experience, participate, enjoy, being forced and/or somehow involved in the urban transformation projects in those areas. What is

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[9] The unity of economy and politics that is mystified and deluded by liberal thought becomes apparent especially either in time of economic crisis or by rising populism. Rising authoritarian tendencies concomitant of populist politics which is one of the primary concern for this study have great impact on urban space. More recent attention has focused on this issue. For instance, set of articles in the September 2019 issue of IJURR (International Journal of Urban and Regional Research) throw a spotlight on geographies of right wing populism.

produced by an urban renewal project as a coercive and aggressive form of state-led intervention is not just an apartment block or a residence; it is a historically and socially unique space that contains, produces and reproduces the class relation between capital and labour. It is an inclusive, disciplinary and punitive tool within the social relations of capitalism. It is one of the varying configurations of systemic regularities. Therefore, unfolding the city residents' lived experiences is critical to understanding how the capitalist system works through capital accumulation and construction and embodiment of hegemony.

Although, up until this point, these assertions and observations seem to be familiar and banal to especially the critical urbanists, due to dozens of studies that evaluate the urban transformation and specifically urban renewal processes, the misinterpreted ontological assumptions and consequently resulted in epistemological fallacies may divert and prevent adequately positing the role of urban renewal in its historical and social context. Many valuable studies offer perspectives on either victimization of individuals and their coping strategies throughout the urban renewal processes or capital accumulation and hegemony construction at the national level. However, though they are welcomed, they may obtain partial and limited knowledge of the totality of the urban renewal intervention and may impede excavating further to find the material conditions within today's capitalist urbanisation. Concordantly, these conditions may pave the way for suffering from over-generalisations, irrelevant abstractions, and particularistic evaluations detached from the whole picture. Moreover, shortcomings in data sets that mostly stem from insufficient or inadequate data sets of institutions and irrelevant methods of researchers restrain the capacity of studies to understand concrete reality and produce its knowledge.

Some of these limitations significantly related to the Turkish academic field are also valid for this study. However, to overcome some of these obstacles, the author's Master of Science thesis that aimed to reveal the various attitudes of squatter dwellers towards an urban renewal project in the case of Mamak constituted a base especially for understanding the dynamics and social (re)formation at the local level. Besides the data that had been gathered during the field research, the previous experience facilitated entering the field and setting for stretching the extension of the study. The distinctiveness and complementarity of this study roughly laid out till this point are explained in detail in the next section under the title of aim and scope.

1.1. Aim and Scope

Many researchers have elucidated the impacts, consequences, influences of urban renewal projects in Turkey (Balaban, 2012; Korkmaz & Balaban, 2020; Köseoğlu & Sönmez, 2018; Soytemel, 2017; Tepe, 2016; Erman, 2016; Karaman, 2013; Uzun, 2003, 2005, 2019; Tekeli, 2011; Özden, 2008; Kurtuluş, 2005; Göközkut & Somuncu, 2019). Many others have discussed the central role of the construction sector as an integral part of capital accumulation processes affected significantly by housing policies and mainly through urban renewal projects as the means of dissemination of the hegemonic ideas (Türkün, 2011; İçli & Özçelik, 2012; Penpecioğlu, 2016; Tansel, 2019; Doğan, 2020; Ergüven, 2020; Yeşilbağ, 2021).

The author of this study has also strived to make humble contributions to the urban renewal and redevelopment literature through the Master of Science thesis and some

articles (Poyraz, 2013; Poyraz, Yaşar & Tezcan, 2014; Poyraz & Önder, 2015; Poyraz, 2015). The main research question of this thesis was "why do some people have positive attitudes toward the projects; others don't?". By looking at the squatter dwellers' perspectives in 2011, the clashes that embody the squatter dwellers' contradictory positions and motivations were revealed by adopting a Bourdieusian framework. Approximately more than 100 semi-structured in-depth interviews were held with the representative sample of mostly dwellers, shopkeepers and public servants from two different neighbourhoods, namely Derbent and Araplar. Moreover, several public officers in charge from Mamak Municipality and Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara were interviewed.

The findings indicated that the combination of several variables such as political cleavages and social cohesion in the neighbourhood, economic conditions, dispositions, ethnicity, religious sect, hometown, age, and gender of the dwellers relationally determine the diversified attitudes of dwellers towards the project. Besides ongoing controversies over urban renewal in the social realm, the data acquired, and knowledge and familiarity gained in the field during the former study encouraged to raise new questions that have the potential to make a contribution to the literature once they are answered. Moreover, these questions inevitably entailed reconsidering the aim and scope of the new study.

This thesis, firstly, asks systematic and critical questions that vary regarding different levels of generality and abstraction. Accordingly, the study basically questions how and in what ways the neoliberal rule is established and adopted via particular urban policy intervention in a peripheral society like Turkey. A research question that begins with "how" could be the most challenging one since it is preceded by "what" and "why" questions in a sequence[10]. Answering a "how" question, therefore, requires indicating features of a phenomenon with regard to the reasons for its existence. In this sense, some descriptive analysis of the political economy of housing in Turkey in relation to national and local dynamics is addressed throughout the thesis. Thus, it is aimed to see accumulation and hegemony in action in various settings and scales such as macro and micro or national and local.

It should be precisely mentioned at this point that the main agenda of this endeavour is a quest for elucidating the historical and social context of relations of production and reproduction by departing from the material reality of today's Turkish society and lived experiences of city residents. Within this very broad framework, there should be various main and sub-research questions that belong to different levels of abstraction to comprehend the totality of reality and draw out a satisfying response. By this motivation, relations among different scales and layers are examined through a housing policy intervention in a specific time and place to understand how an urban renewal project as an embodiment of the neoliberal project is historically situated, socially constructed, and realised in the national and urban context.

In a nutshell, although we mainly focus on the changes both in the life course of the squatter dwellers and in their everyday life experiences and dispositions concerning the urban renewal project to understand how the neoliberal agenda perpetuates itself,

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[10] See Blaikie (2007).

different levels and scales of analysis are needed within the framework of the relational methodology that will be explained in detail in the pages to come. Therefore, this study necessitates a multi-scalar approach on the one hand and a meticulous effort to determine the appropriate scope to focus on the other.

Besides the reasons, means, motions, dynamics, impacts and consequences (whether intended or not) of a particular urban renewal project, it is aimed to discuss the neoliberal turn in the 1980s and the rising significance of the construction sector, urban land and rent in the 2000s in relation to transforming meaning and implementation of the urban transformation within the thesis. As urban transformation is posited as a means for the extension of accumulation within the capitalist urbanisation process, it is also a formative totality for the people who experience it. In order to elucidate the mechanisms and the relations that indicate the production and reproduction of the neoliberal project, the process realised and experienced through an urban renewal project has to be historically and socially analysed by considering the relations between self and context[11], agent and structure, particular and total. It is a worldwide transformation and individual ups and downs moulded by its intrinsic necessities, imperatives, and contingencies. One cannot be detached or isolated from skyrocketing housing prices, mushrooming of shopping malls, wide-spreading mega projects, increasing individualisation, newly built or devastated close-knit communities (gated communities, slums, ghettos), privatisation of public services, shrinking public spaces and other recent trends that shape urbanisation and urban policies.

Therefore, one of the main parts of the thesis is dedicated to revealing the transformations, continuities, and discontinuities in life courses, everyday life practices and social reproduction strategies of the dwellers before, during and after the projects. "The precise description of interactions, routines, and ordinary practices sheds light on the way in which 'bits and pieces' of cities, neighbourhoods, or broader urban formations appear, are reproduced, balance each other, evolve, and transform" (Ababsa, Dupret & Denis, 2012, p. 2). Especially the aftermath of the intervention is critical to see the crystallisation of the neoliberal project in the life course of dwellers whose housing behaviour, housing mobility, community relations, position in the labour market and urban rhythm have changed due to this urban policy intervention.

To complete and see the whole picture, it is significant to systematically and analytically evaluate the dialectical relation between the so-called "the agent" and "the structure" that actually exists in unity in the social reality. It is an undeniable truth that due to time and resource limitations, most researchers could not find an opportunity to make retrospective or prospective studies and be obliged to focus on a certain period of time that most of the time hardly and partly gives an understanding of the extensive effects of the urban renewal projects.

Additionally, other reasons may obstruct or hinder the progress of the researcher. First of all, on the one hand, although most of the projects, except a few where the land rent is sufficiently high not to share with "occupiers" as the one carried out at Sulukule in İstanbul, give residence to the dwellers around or close to their previous demolished

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[11] Layder (1993) comes up with the "Research Map" scheme as a vibrant research strategy that reveals the relations among self, situated activity, setting and context to understand the social reality.

homes depending on their property ownership status, dwellers could opt for residing somewhere out of the newly constructed buildings in the project. Therefore, due to the unknown addresses of the "displaced" residents, it is barely possible to gather information about squatter dwellers' living conditions after the project in case they prefer to reside in these houses handed over by the authorities within the project. On the other hand, prompt interviews with the former squatter dwellers become problematic in the mixed residential areas that host mostly low-income groups. They become less visible among other residents in the newly constructed apartment blocks.

Secondly, dwellers' official mobility records have been held to see the implications of urban renewal projects neither by municipalities nor by central government bodies. Because urban renewal debates are stuck in a discussion on property rights and the contract among parties in the public and political realms, an impact assessment system has not been developed to see how this intervention influences people.

Therefore, to overcome these limitations and obstacles, a retrospective study that enables researchers to observe the longitudinal effects of a phenomenon becomes critical in terms of data collection and competency. Under these conditions, this endeavour, based on the fieldwork conducted in 2010-2011, over time, goes beyond the initial boundaries in terms of its aims and scope. By tracking the mobility of former squatter dwellers and collecting data about their residential location choice, urban experience, individual, familial and communal life transitions and trajectories, this thesis mainly seeks to navigate the relations between neo-liberal project and self through capital accumulation and hegemony construction in the context of Turkey's capitalist social formation.

When the former study was conducted, in addition to and linked to the anonymous individual data used for calculating the housing and money equivalents, anonymous contact numbers of the squatter dwellers within the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project were requested from the municipality for further research. Since they are anonymous, 4599 lines of data belonging to the squatter owners in the Derbent, Araplar, Üreğil, Şirintepe, Dutluk and Misket neighbourhoods were provided by the municipality. These are the neighbourhoods where the intervention is initially carried out. In the light of relations established throughout the former field research conducted for the Master of Science thesis, the data acquired from the municipality and the social media channels, by making phone calls and conducting field research between 2011 and 2020[12], information about the residential locations of 1294 squatter dwellers who used to live in these neighbourhoods have been collected not only to conduct quantitative analysis but also to see their residential mobility for determining the physical scope of the field research (Figure 1).

It should be noted that, according to our research, this number shows the residents who lived in the transformation project neighbourhoods as of 2011 and registered as

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[12] Within the framework of the study carried out for the master's thesis, in-depth interviews were conducted with 66 squatter dwellers and 30 former ones as of 2011. In the field study conducted for the doctoral thesis, in addition to these, 27 former squatter dwellers were interviewed. Since it is a longitudinal study, it was not possible to meet with each of these 123 people regularly for about ten years due to the loss of communication over time. However, about 70 former squatter dwellers' experiences with urban renewal have adequately been gathered in this approximately ten-year period.

property owners in the municipality records. Therefore, considering the households' average size, it should also be stated that we had an excellent opportunity to see the change triggered by the urban renewal project in the life of a population that is 3 or 4 times larger than the very same number indicated above. Another point worth noting, as evident from Figure 1, is that while most of the former squatter dwellers found a chance to take up residences in newly constructed high-rise apartment blocks on the northern side of the main road (19 Mayıs Boulevard), the construction of the apartments on the southern side of it has just started. Therefore, due to this ongoing process, many rights holders have been waiting for the completion of the buildings to move for years.

Apart from that, several factors such as the vast size of the project area (approx.. 950 ha.), a considerable number of squatters (approx. 13500), too many right holders (approx. 12500), fragmented ownership structure, legal and administrative problems, difficulties in finding resources parallel to the deteriorating economy of the country, reluctance, resistance and legal struggles of the residents who are dissatisfied concerning the project, etc. have paved the way for the long-lasting project. This eventually denotes spatial mobility continuing for many squatter dwellers. Therefore, while the obtained data on mobility as a potential critical turning point in the lives of squatter dwellers is evaluated and analysed quantitatively, due to the scope and limitations of the study, representative samples have been selected for the qualitative analysis based on the current conditions and the life stories of dwellers.
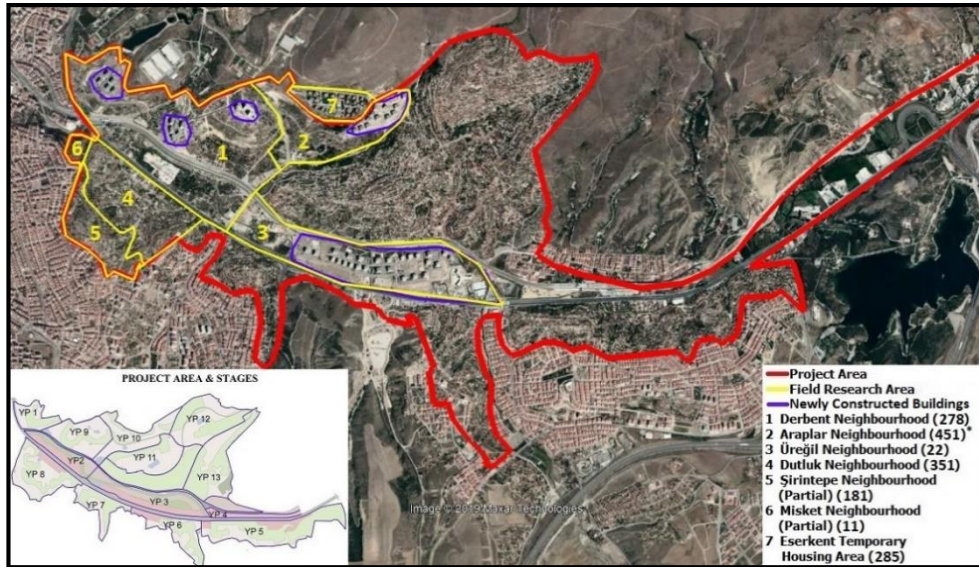
Figure 1. Project and Field Research Area, Neighbourhoods' Boundaries, Newly Constructed Buildings & the Numbers of the Squatter Dwellers by Neighbourhoods[13] in 2011

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[13] Eserkent Temporary Housing Area is a high-density high-rise housing environment in the boundaries of Araplar Neighbourhood. These houses are temporarily provided at no cost to the people who are included in the renewal process by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality till they take up residence. Therefore, Araplar Neighbourhood population includes both the former squatter dwellers who had resided in Eserkent Temporaray Housing Area and the squatter dwellers who had not involved in the Project yet in Araplar Neighbourhood in 2011.

To recap, the initial findings briefly shared in this section, to give an idea about the research, will be discussed in detail in the field study, including other (spatial, social and economic) mobilities that have taken place in approximately ten years.

As a result of this initial inquiry, it is seen that the scope of the field research goes beyond the boundaries of not only the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project but also the city of Ankara (Figure 2). Although most of the dwellers chose to reside in Ankara after the intervention, a small number of dwellers dispersed across various destinations in the country.

Figure 2. Residential Locations and Numbers of the Squatter Dwellers in Turkey (2019)

However, when the agglomeration patterns are considered in terms of the residential location choice of the squatter dwellers, in order to make valid inferences, the scope of the field research is limited to the urban renewal experiences of the people living in Ankara. The city scale is more appropriate to create typologies, to make comparisons and correlations. Moreover, by employing this fruitful data, the scope of the field research is determined, and significant quantitative analyses and rationale of qualitative research are constructed. With respect to the distribution and agglomerations of the dwellers, the field research locations are representatively chosen in Ankara (Figure 3).
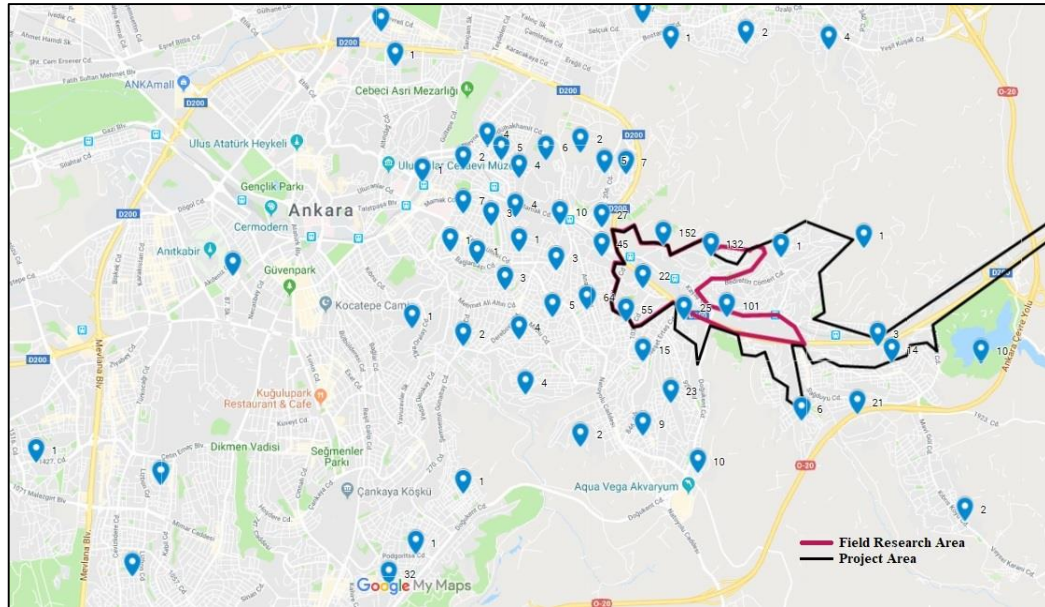
Figure 3. Residential Locations and Numbers of the Squatter Dwellers Around Project Area (2019)

Even though there are sub-divisions, there are basically four main groups regarding the distribution of moved or relocated squatter dwellers due to the urban renewal project. The first group is the right holders who are willing to or have already begun to live in newly built residences within the project in the project area. The second group is the dwellers who have not returned to newly built residences, although their residences are ready for living. Actually, this group can be separated into two subgroups. The first one is the dwellers living in Mamak, close to the project area or adjacent neighbourhoods. Second, the others who move to other municipal districts such as Etimesgut, Sincan, Pursaklar, etc. and even out of the city. The third main group is the people who live in Eserkent. These people are waiting in this temporary housing area of the Greater Municipality of Ankara till the completion of their residences to move. The fourth one is the squatter dwellers with no legal document to keep possession of either land or squatter house, therefore considered occupiers. They are offered to residents in Zirvekent[14] (Figure 4) constructed by the Housing Development Administration (hereafter TOKİ[15]) around 7.5 km from the project area at the periphery of the city without any compensation except the appraised value of their structures' debris.

At first glance, it is obvious that the squatter dwellers have mostly chosen or been compelled to reside either around and close to their former settlement or northern part of the city. As Uzun (2005, p. 197) stated, "[i]t is possible to say that Ankara is divided in two – a north/south divide – by a railroad crossing the city from east to west. This spatial division created segregation in residential areas". While high- and upper-middle-income groups reside in the southern part of the city, low- and middle-income

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14 Prior to Zirvekent, the region was known as Kusunlar. For this reason, in the text, Kusunlar and Zirvekent are used with reference to the same place.

15 TOKİ is the Turkish abbreviation for the Housing Development Administration also known as the Mass Housing Administration in the literature.

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groups populate the northern side. According to initial findings, this assertion seems still valid, but it also necessitates further explanations in the pages to come. Furthermore, possible residential location variations are analysed with respect to the squatter's ownership status, the total area of the squatter and the price estimated for the squatter.

Figure 4. Location of Zirvekent and Its Distance to Project Area

Spatial mobility of the squatter dwellers triggered by the urban renewal project is a critical process in squatter dwellers' lives. Therefore, its aftermath regarding the transformations in the everyday lives of these dwellers is focused on seeing the crystallisation, materialisation, differentiation, diversification, and contradictions of the neoliberal project that sneaks every part and parcel of urban life. Otherwise, it is almost impossible to excavate possibilities for alternatives.

Urban renewal projects as motions/activities of the construction sector and forms of housing policy are transformative interventions of established hegemony and the ways of capital accumulation that manifest themselves through particular dynamics, moments, contradictions and struggles at both national and local levels. In other words, the games taking place and the players and powers taking the stage in the housing field at different scales are analysed in this study. This investigation aims to understand "the process" by considering the accumulation and depreciation realised in the forms of capital that can give insight into the hegemony constructed and exercised. Within this scope and these goals, methodological reasoning is significant to produce coherent and critical knowledge while generating a comprehensive look at moments, processes, dynamics and mechanisms that unfold "how it works". Even though the way of thinking may be inferred from the previous lines above, before looking at the national and local context and presenting the case of urban renewal as an embodied form of the neoliberal project, epistemological stance, ontological presuppositions and methodological and theoretical framework that this study leans on are critically handled and explored in detail to respond the questions and meet the goals of this study in the pages to come.

In a nutshell, in this study, we aim to unfold the complexity of neoliberal urbanization, particularly over urban renewal processes depending on the relations in the housing field in a city of the Global South. In this sense, we distinguished two interconnected and mutually inclusive lines of investigation. The first one is comprehending the motions of capital accumulation, and the second one is uncovering the neoliberal hegemony. Although these hold significant promise for giving more insight into how neoliberal urbanization is embodied and reproduced while unravelling the motivations and dynamics in this particular game and field, it's a challenging task to make them apparent. While available macro data enables researchers to trace the capital accumulation and circulation at the higher level of analysis, gathering data is left to the researcher's initiative on a local and household level. Hence, it turns out to be a challenging commitment to reach a concrete basis and reproduce it by way of thought. Dealing with the concept of hegemony is even more tricky. It is a concept that attracts academic interest and is frequently employed to comprehend the exercise of power not only 'over society' but also 'in society'. However, as an amalgam of force and consent blended with ideology, hegemony and its construction could also seamlessly conceal itself by becoming embedded in the social setting. Accordingly, it is essential to focus on a particular case and witness hegemony at work to get insight into its construction.

In this regard, urban renewal processes are historically specific and socially formative class-based interventions that manifest how hegemony is constructed and how capital permeates every part and parcel of life. In the best-case scenario, the middle-class lifestyle imposed on squatter dwellers over urban renewal projects signifies a trade-off between social capital, cultural capital and economic capital. Unless squatter dweller loses all of them, they may only become economically better off. Nonetheless, one way or another, urban renewal projects mean greater integration into the labour and/or the housing market.

As the bearer of the urban renewal processes, the state plays a critical role in this integration through several dynamics, mechanisms, and moments. While unfolding, defining and conceptualizing them as mezzo-level concepts that embody the hegemony in action, a special emphasis is given to them.

Thesis studies, unavoidably obliged to focus on one level or one dimension due to limitations, are incapable of understanding the complex social reality and producing its knowledge. For instance, far too little attention has been paid to the transformation realized under the neoliberal project over the intermingled relations that take place at national, local, household and individual levels concurrently. In this regard, in the second chapter, we carried out methodological and theoretical discussions that led up to the development of an epistemological foundation. While contextualizing and positioning our investigation in its social and historical formation, we also touched upon the hot debates in urbanization that improve our understanding of methodological and epistemological confrontations. Correspondingly, in our humble opinion, one of the study's originality relies on the methodological framework developed in the second chapter, which enables approaching dynamics, processes and phenomena at any scales, layers and generality levels relationally in the light of different theoretical discussions and various vantage points and research methods.

Accordingly, thanks to the substantial contributions of theoretical and methodological debates, the strands of research depending on the proposed way of thinking have been

strived to be operationalized in the second half of the thesis, within the third and fourth chapters, by focusing on a controversial policy intervention in the housing field. The discussion held on housing has unpacked the mechanisms and dynamics interplayed between capital accumulation and hegemony construction while exposing the severe contradiction between use and exchange value.

By depending on the statistics at the national and local levels regarding capital circulation and accumulation, we primarily focused on the relationship of housing with the construction sector and the housing market dynamics for providing a concrete basis for conducting analyses and making inferences. Parallel to that, the political and ideological construction of hegemony is traced in the housing field. In the fourth chapter, we sought to comprehend the changing attitudes, motivations, and experiences of the squatter dwellers by distinctively employing the life-course approach, whether they have been willingly or unwillingly involved in an urban renewal project Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project. Thus, capital accumulation in the neoliberal era and the accompanying neoliberal hegemony have been examined at different levels; and theoretical discussions based on high-level abstractions have been embodied by applying mezzo level concepts. Although each chapter seems a distinct body of work, they are interrelated as the facets of the same social reality that may be diagnosed while focusing on the different levels of generality.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Urban renewal and redevelopment processes are hot topics that attract considerable attention, and many theses have been written on them; however, a study undertaken by Kavuncu and Poyraz (2015) demonstrated that just two out of forty-four theses had specified their methodology between 2008 and 2015 in Turkey. Although just including a methodology section and/or making shallow epistemological discussions do not suffice to reveal the researcher's systematic way of thinking (if any), this figure indicates in the best-case scenario that researchers are reluctant to place particular importance on the knowledge production processes.

As the philosophy and technique of academic studies, methodology lies at the foundation of all scientific endeavours, whether explicitly stated or not. However, numerous studies that do not challenge taken for granted value-laden theories, assumptions, reasoning, beliefs and concepts due to the absence of methodological, ontological and epistemological discussions, as distorting reality, leads to the spread of epidemic epistemological diseases in academia and the emergence of fallacies in the social realm. On the one hand, the absence or misinterpreted ontological assumptions and hasty epistemological inferences is perilous due to their sticky and toxic repercussions. On the other hand, regarding the social character of knowledge production, researchers' attitudes towards the subject matter differ on their background, formation and social positioning, including class, education, age, gender, religion, ethnic origin and etc. Besides and beyond these two factors that should be kept in mind, as bluntly asserted by Peet (1977a, p. 6),

> there is no such thing as objective, value-free and politically neutral science, indeed all science, and especially social science, serves some political purpose; …, that is the function of conventional, established science to serve the established, conventional social system and, in fact, to enable it to survive.

It would be appropriate to highlight the existing value systems and reasonings that are not questioned in the social sciences while producing knowledge regarding the sociality of human beings (Akbulut, 2011, p. 2). Therefore, within the field of epistemology, the absence of critical thinking towards knowledge production processes likely results in intended or unintended (re)production of existing uneven relations by the contributions of academics, researchers and experts. There is an urgent need for considering the material and historical basis and context of thought. In this sense, according to Chandhoke (1994, p. 18), the "[c]ritique, firstly, involves the interrogation of historically handed down knowledge systems, in order to examine their inconsistencies". For instance, it is accepted throughout the thesis that "[a]nyone who produces knowledge of a thing (people/place/community) can never be outside that thing" (Jazeel & McFarlane, 2010, p. 115). For this very reason, "[s]ubject and object are to be seen not as entities but as relationships one to the other." (Harvey, 2009, p. 297). However, not only the relation between researcher as knowing subject

and focus of attention as an object but also this primary subject-object distinction as a precept are formed throughout the history of society (Akbulut, 2011, p. 5). According to Kosik (1976, p. 1), human

> [a]pproaches reality primarily and immediately not as an abstract cognitive subject, as a contemplating head that treats reality speculatively, but rather as an objectively and practically acting being, an historical individual who conducts his practical activity related to nature and to other people and realises his own ends and interests within a particular complex of social relations.

In this sense, it is an undeniable truth that the historical and social context is propounded as one of the most influential factors that determines the process of knowledge production and organisation. Heur (2020, p. 12) summarizes the current situation in urban studies as follows:

> [T]he rapid expansion in the sheer volume of publications over the last two decades has contributed to a problematic academicization of research, with a seemingly increasing proportion of researchers engaging superficially with concept-led fashions in urban geography and other disciplines in order to produce publishable, but not necessarily interesting material (for the research community or for society in general, and I suspect not even for the authors themselves).

The knowledge production processes, their intended or unintended consequences, theories and concepts emerge in relation to changing societal and historical needs, configurations and forces. For this reason, before presenting the methodological positioning of this study, the current academic environment and context in which this study flourishes and produces knowledge are briefly discussed. Then, although an eternal contribution to the literature that is valid for all geographies is assertive under the changing pace of social processes regarding the social and historical character of knowledge production, this thesis shows an effort to present a kind of methodological tool at least for urban questions. In addition, this model is applied to a particular phenomenon, Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project, encountered in a certain social and historical context in the upcoming chapter.

2.1. Contextualising the Thesis

2.1.1. Discussion on Academic Division of Labour

The society and social structures that exist and operate independently of the human mind are self-evidently multifaceted and rather being static, especially its appearances continuously changing at some pace and in some way. Within this incessant transformation, "[t]he world must be depicted, analysed, and understood not as we would like it to be but as it really is, the material manifestation of human hopes and fears mediated by powerful and conflicting processes of social reproduction" (Harvey, 1984, p. 7). Human consciousness is moulded vis-à-vis the complexity of social reality and the fallibility of human knowledge by the dynamics of social existence through the production and reproduction of life's material conditions. As Ollman (2003, p. 12) notes:

> What we understand about the world is determined by what the world is, who we are, and how we conduct our study. As regards this last, in our day the problems involved in grasping reality have been compounded by an approach that privileges whatever makes things appear static and independent of one another over their more dynamic and systemic qualities.

Actually, 'dividing' as a way of engaging in research and producing knowledge is commonly carried out to understand the dynamics of concrete reality. Dividing to elaborate is critical for dialectical thinking as well. According to Kosik (1976, pp. 4-5),

> [t]he concept of the thing means comprehending the thing, and comprehending the thing means knowledge of the thing's structure. The most proper characteristic of cognition is its dividing the one… This division of the one which is a constitutive element of philosophical cognition - there is no cognition without division - displays a structure analogous to that of human activity: for activity, too, is based on dividing the one.

Apart from that, however, the current division of labour in academia has transformed the whole structure of knowledge production, which raises serious problems rather than facilitating the understanding of reality. Suffice it to say that isolating and separating "a piece of reality" from the rest and then capturing just a frame of it and moulding it to make formal abstractions and inferences is likely to bend and distort reality. It is obvious that social reality incessantly violates the conditions of ceteris paribus and virtual demarcations of sciences and disciplines. Exposing the reality, in this sense, necessitates going beyond the boundaries of specialised and narrowed disciplines that dominate the academic field all around the world. When the interdisciplinary formation of the field of urban studies is considered, even though it facilitates approaching issues from various standpoints, it invites a kind of eclecticism and obscurity in the absence of methodological questioning and positioning, especially in case of an incompatible combination of philosophies. Hence, understanding the contemporary knowledge production process and contextualising this thesis is significant to take advantage of an interdisciplinary approach while avoiding the possible pitfalls.

It will be better to start by questioning the most taken for granted separation in science: the distinction between natural and social sciences. These two main compartments of sciences paved the way for more and more cleavages and ruptures in science that hinder understanding the social reality. Commenting on this dichotomy, Marx and Engels (1998, p. 34) argue: "We know only a single science, the science of history. One can look at history from two sides and divide it into the history of nature and the history of" human. As natural science would eventually include human science and vice versa, there would be just one science (Marx, 1988, p. 111). Actually, the knowledge of humankind and its relationship with nature has been narrowed down to the 'science' and its divided/limited branches in capitalist-modern social reality (Akbulut, 2011, p. 1-2). According to Engels in Anti Duhring (1877, p. 26),

> [t]he analysis of nature into its individual parts, the grouping of the different natural processes and objects in definite classes, the study of the internal anatomy of organic bodies in their manifold forms - these were the fundamental conditions of the gigantic strides in our knowledge of nature that have been made during the

last four hundred years. But this method of work has also left us as legacy the habit of observing natural objects and processes in isolation, apart from their connection with the vast whole; of observing them in repose, not in motion; as constants, not as essentially variables, in their death, not in their life.

As a modern world enterprise, social sciences are divided into multiple disciplines "to secure and advance "objective" knowledge about "reality" on the basis of empirical findings (as opposed to "speculation")" (Wallerstein et al., 1996, p. 2, 13). Instead of a quest to understand the totality of reality, the divided form of knowledge production processes has been dramatically restructured under capitalist development, especially since the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Parallel to the dissolution of feudalism and the separation of the labourer from the means of production, under the capitalist mode of production, economic and political spheres are separated by the bourgeois forms of thought as one of the greatest success for its own sake.

Accordingly, "[t]he emergence of the 'autonomous' market, and the formal separation of political from economic activity, was absolutised and institutionalised by the division of social sciences" (Chandhoke, 1994, p. 17). Therefore, the formal distinctions that exclusively rest on the discontinuities between political and economic spheres are reproduced within the scope of social sciences in the capitalist/modern society structure (Akbulut, 2011, p. 5). In the course of time, the fragmentation of existence brought on the competing disciplines and plurality of knowledge that gave rise to the partial understanding of socialization while hindering the comprehensive and more profound look at the transformations of nature, society and individuals in relation. The concentration on various departments of realities that correspond to disciplines in science such as spatial (area or geography studies), socio-cultural (sociology), economic (economics), and legal and administrative (political science) lean on distinct social and historical configurations. Harvey (1984, p. 1), for example, draws out the following about spatial studies:

> The rise of merchant, and later industrial and finance forms of capitalism in the West, paralleled as it was by increasing spatial integration of the world economy under Western politicoeconomic hegemony, demanded and depended upon the crystallization of new forms of geographical knowledge within an increasingly fragmented professional and academic division of labor.

Existing distinctions pose challenges for the new field of study as well. Most traditional disciplinary divisions, particularly those between economics, politics, and sociology on one side and history and geography on the other, create challenges in linking time and space to comprehend social interactions (Urry, 1994, s. 20).

The political economy is the panacea for all this distorted knowledge of reality. The power of political economy comes from its holism, which signifies a "tight integration of the historical with the social, economic and political in a single framework so that the traditional divisions of social science are not recognized as separate bodies of knowledge" (Taylor, 1982, p. 16).

As urban studies have been turning into a prominent academic field with the contribution of the Chicago School in the 1920s and 1930s, the radical movements in the late 1960s and the related interest in the urban space created a tendency among

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Marxist thinkers to understand the "urban question" (Saunders, 1981, p. 149). According to Peet and Thrift (2001, p. 5),

> [r]adical geography originated as a critical reaction to two crises of capitalism at that time: the armed struggle in the Third World periphery, specifically United States involvement in the Vietnamese War, and the eruption of urban social movements in many cities, specifically the civil rights movement in the United States and the ghetto unrest of the middle and late 1960s in the United States, Great Britain, and elsewhere.

"[B]y the early 1970s, the main traces of the Chicago School, were being swept away by a powerful stream of Marxist and *marxisant* approaches" (Scott & Storper, 2015, p. 2). In an article published in 1986, Ball (1986, p. 447) asserted to criticize the previous period[16] that "the built environment in urban theories is generally treated as a passive backdrop to other social processes". Under these conditions, the way of thinking had begun to change irreversibly through the hot debates among critical urbanists. In the 1980s, parallel to the post-industrial societies' newly emerging social formations, the rise of the historical materialist, behavioural, phenomenological and humanistic approaches motivated "many urban geographers to consider afresh both the nature of their subject matter and their theoretical and methodological approaches to it" (Knox, 2003, p. 273). "Urban geography, if anything, was thus already a very diverse and sprawling discipline in the 1980s, and this only increased (for better or worse; opinions will differ on this) in the decades that followed" (Heur, 2020, p. 2).

Parallel to the rising uneven development, increasing spatial polarization, and the emergence of new urban practices, issues such as race, ethnicity, gender, poverty and related urban forms came to the fore, while not only the adaptation of contemporary interpretations of existing approaches but also the employment of theories considered contradictory intensified.

These endeavours also aimed to overstep the boundaries of conventional academic disciplines that have not been seriously challenged in the first half of the 20th century. Similarly, interdisciplinary approaches that have become trendy in the field of science after World War II comprise endeavours to overcome the obstacles of disunity of disciplines, especially in the recently specialised areas such as urban studies. Nevertheless, while the boundaries of the disciplines as limitations are the horizons of the studies, Radhakrishnan (1988, p. 143) draws attention to the possibility that "[t]oo much emphasis on a unidisciplinary approach in the social sciences results in the alienation of the social sciences from social reality as a whole".

Moreover, it should be noted at this point that emerging alliances among disciplines have much in common with the evaluation of capitalist production and its survival strategies as well. It is obvious that "universities across the globe come under assault from state and market" by "the commodification of research and privatisation of higher

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[16] Ball's critiques of existing urban theories are not limited to that. According to him (1986, p. 447) "[a] major weakness in the new Marxist urban studies of the 1970s is apparent in its treatment of the built environment". In this sense, Ball (1986, p. 448) introduces the concept of 'structures of building provision' that "highlights the existence of specific sets of historically specific and country-specific social relations involved in the creation and use of particular types of buildings".

education" (Burawoy, 2007, p. 145). Accordingly, new - inter but more specific - disciplinary formations that can pave the way for the reproduction of the capitalist system have been lately pursued in the academic world. According to Ollman (2003, p. 14),

> What are called "interdisciplinary studies" simply treat the sum of sum defects coming from different fields. As with Humpty Dumpty, who after the fall could never be put together again, a system whose functioning parts have been treated as independent of one another at the start can never be re-established in its integrity.

In the same line of thought, Wallerstein (2011, p. 11) argues:

> When one studies a social system, the classical lines of division within social science are meaningless. Anthropology, economics, political science, sociology—and history—are divisions of the discipline anchored in a certain liberal conception of the state and its relation to functional and geographical sectors of the social order. They make a certain limited sense if the focus of one's study is organizations. They make none at all if the focus is the social system. I am not calling for a multidisciplinary approach to the study of social systems, but for a unidisciplinary approach.

Therefore, when the reformist nature of interdisciplinary studies is considered, a reconfiguration that targets beyond the boundaries of disciplines is needed (Akay, 1998, p. 235). Otherwise, considering interdisciplinary studies with pluralistic discourses resting on liberal and identity politics and adopting different approaches to deal with a given object just pluralises the already existing disciplines in the same pot without challenging their boundaries (Yeğenoğlu, 1998, p. 296). Under these fragmentation, pluralisation and marketization, by accepting the potential of interdisciplinary studies that the urban renewal processes mostly dealt with, the discussion should be made by both constructing the relations (which is already there in reality but mystified) among disciplines and by violating the lines of disciplines drawn under the hegemonic power to elucidate the essence and appearances of processes comprehensively.

In this regard, on the quest for understanding the totality of social phenomena, Akbulut (2013) points out by being based on the analysis of Marx that the disciplines such as sociology, psychology, public administration, international relations, etc. should ground in history, economics and political sociology/science as the possible "basic social sciences". Additionally, the structure of divided knowledge can be overcome by considering the subject matter in question in its historical and social context without losing the object of examination (Akbulut, 2007, p. 8). Indeed, urban renewal, similar to many other evolving and dynamic processes, has a complex algorithm and specific historical configuration with many unknowns and variables. Therefore, the totality of urban renewal necessitates both analytical and relational thinking between the knowledge of total and particular within a specific context. Problematising and assessing the issue from different vantage points depending on the knowledge of various integral disciplines could be the most promising way to understand complex social processes. Correspondingly, this framework brings us to the point that while recognising the structural limits of prevalent production of knowledge, showing efforts to overcome these obstacles is one of the central epistemological and methodological goals of this study expected to differentiate it from many others.

2.1.2. Discussion on "Borrowings" in Urban Studies

The relation between forces and motions is constructed vis-à-vis the existing socially and historically embodied social setting in time with all its dynamics, contradictions and clashes. As a constitutive part of this historical and social context, researchers' level of dependency varies in relation to the nature of the object that exists outside itself. In this regard, "[o]nly by reference to and reliance on history can a correct chronological sequence of texts and thinkers be assured; the places, names, events, and institutions mentioned in the text be known; and the language of the author be grasped" (Wood, 1984, p. 1). Otherwise, "[t]he neutralization of the historical context resulting from the international circulation of texts and from the correlative forgetting of their originating historical conditions produces an apparent universalization further abetted by the work of 'theorization'" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999, p. 41).

In this sense, the social and historical dependence on intellectual practices is a double-sided sword. Although theories and concepts are expected to reveal the knowledge of a particular historical event or phenomenon without departing from material conditions, it is also common to accord social reality with respect to socially embedded and ideally constructed concepts that belong to distinct settings. While the former is a challenging but fruitful endeavour, the latter – concept-led or theory-laden studies – may signify severe problems in terms of knowledge production processes that distort reality. To explain this situation, Maloutas (2012) pays attention to the "contextual stretching" that indicates the usage of theories and concepts without considering their historical and social dependency on the conditions in which they are produced. Similarly, Akbulut (2006) uses the term "idiometric" to demarcate the idealisation and application of concepts and theories produced in the countries of central capitalism regardless of time and space. According to Lowe (2005, p. 410), Weber and his ideal type, in specific, are responsible for the institutionalization of such a knowledge production method that prioritizes modern Western society and Western rationality over the 'converged', 'varied', or 'deviated' ones. Weber actually "transformed the subjectivity of *verstehen*[17] into understanding based on the construction of rational models of social action" (Blaikie, 2007, p. 127).

In this sense, when the fields of academia, especially those related to human geography, are considered, it is significant to be cautious while discussing and/or applying theories generated in the core countries. Due to the context-dependency, value-laden and ideologically motivated theories may become controversial in case they are accepted as given. In other words, when geography matters to a researcher, discussion comes to the relation (consistency and/or contradiction) between unified urban theories and knowledge of particular/plural geographies.

In reference to social and historical transformation in the West throughout the 1980s, three lines of investigation became dominant in the field of urban studies: gender, ethnicity, race and class in the urban context; global urban system and effects of globalisation; reconceptualization of urban politics and governance

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[17] Ithalics in original. Verstehen, which means understanding in German, plays critical role in classical hermeneutics to penetrate and comprehend the subjective consciousness of individuals through the knowledge production process.

under neoliberal restructuring (Scott & Storper, 2015, p. 2). These lines of inquiries, intendedly or not, produced a priori theories, concepts and watchwords for the rest of the World within the spatial division of academic labour. For critical urban theorists today, the contested debate shifts to questions about how to assess these research topics and their variegated forms. Three currently influential versions of urban analyses are planetary urbanism, postcolonial urban theory and assemblage theoretic approach (Storper & Scott, 2016, p. 1114).

By following and reinterpreting Lefebvre (2003), political economy geographers (Merrifield, 2012; Brenner and Schmid, 2014, 2015) draw attention to the 'extended urbanisation' to grasp the scale of the planetary formation and expansion of capitalist productive forces. On the other hand, by adopting post-colonial urban theory, Roy (2016, p. 204) asserts that "[i]n a Lefebvrian sense, we can argue that urbanism is today a worldwide process. However, that does not necessarily mean that such urban transformations can be understood as the universalization of a singular and basic urban form". In this regard, the post-colonial approach draws attention to Southern urbanism's heterogeneity, distinctiveness, and uniqueness that can be neither reduced to just a 'variation' of European urban experience nor deemed 'exceptional' by relying on the Northern epistemologies (Roy, 2011; Roy, 2016). As a result, "[t]he geopolitical pattern of knowledge that prioritizes the North is now recognized as a major problem in social science" (Connell & Dados, 2014, p. 118). "Many defective theories have been formulated over the years and … many instances where ideas developed in one urban context are inappropriately applied in others" (Scott & Storper, 2015, p. 13). "This substantively complicates any discussion on the future of urban geography; in effect, any discussion on the state of global urban geography becomes a dangerous exercise in (ir)rational abstraction" (Heur, 2020, p. 11).

Nevertheless, post-colonialism is criticised for ignoring the comprehensively intrusive nature of the capitalist mode of production realised all over the world (Chibber, 2013). Following this line of reasoning, even though Scott and Storper (2015, p. 12) argue that "the Global South may necessitate a radical reformulation of urban theory, … the reformulation will not come solely from the fact that these cities exhibit *prima facie* empirical differences from those of the Global North (or, indeed, from one another)". In response, Roy (2016, p. 204) claims that "[h]istorical difference (i.e. difference constituted through the long histories of colonialism and imperialism) is misread as empirical variation" by Scott and Storper.

Finally, assemblage theory, which has some commonalities with post-colonialism, actually conveys the main ideas of post-structuralism. Assemblage lies with the tangled, fluid and discontinuous interactions, interconnections, relationships and arrangements among human and non-human elements that can be realised under the territorialised socio-spatial formations (Allen & Cochrane, 2007; Anderson & McFarlane, 2011). While assemblage theory offers an insight into contingencies and multiplicity in the urban context, its weakness lies in the incomprehension of the necessary relations and dominant forces that have certain generative powers in the urban setting.

The attempts to categorise and conceptualise 'the urban' by highlighting its specific dimensions are also debatable. According to Scott and Storper (2015, p. 10) although "the essence of the urbanization process resides in the twofold status of cities as

clusters of productive activity and human life that then unfold into dense, internally variegated webs of interacting land uses, locations and allied institutional/political arrangements", the empirical variations that occur among cities emerges due to differences in their economic development, rules of resource allocation, structures of social stratification, cultural norms and traditions, conditions of political authority and power. Nevertheless, Mould (2016, p. 157) criticises Scott and Storper:

> While there could indeed be a desire for a 'general urban theory', the 'vocabulary' offered by Scott and Storper is too instrumental, too deterministic and, more damagingly perhaps, too economistic in that it prioritizes financial and capitalistic accumulative activities over anything else.

On the other hand, when compared to Western counterparts, Schindler (2017, p. 47) asserts that the "Global South constitute a distinctive 'type' of human Settlement". According to him, "cities in the South tend to exhibit a persistent disconnect between capital and labor", "their metabolic configurations are discontinuous, dynamic and contested", and "political economy is not the overriding context within which urban processes unfold, but rather it is always already co-constituted with the materiality of Southern cities". In a similar vein, Connel and Dados (2014, p. 117) claim that "the formative role of the state, including the military; the expansion of world commodity trade, including minerals; agriculture, informality, and the transformation of rural society" is the crucial and distinctive feature that characterises the Southern neoliberal transformation. All in all, as Aalbers (2013, p. 1087) states that "[a]ctually existing neoliberalism is thriving in many places in both the West and 'the rest', but it is also intrinsic to neoliberalization that it does not work in exactly the same way in different places". As Harvey (1984, p. 2) bluntly argues:

> All societies, classes, and social groups possess a distinctive "geographical lore", a working knowledge of their territory, of the spatial configuration of use values relevant to them, and of how they may intervene to shape the use values to their own purposes. This "lore" acquired through experience, is codified and socially transmitted as part of a conceptual apparatus with which individuals and groups cope with the world…The form and content of geographical knowledge cannot be understood independently of the social basis for the production and use of that knowledge.

In the context of this study, the emergence and significance of the urban renewal projects in Turkey are related to the conditions of the Turkish urbanization process, capital accumulation and circulation, overall development of the country and its role in the global capitalist system. The generative mechanisms and dynamics behind this particular urban intervention are contextually embedded in a specific setting that fetishises the development in the built environment. Constructing roads, megastructures, infrastructures, residence sites, airports, and bridges is not only for capital accumulation and circulation but also the embodied form of hegemonic power relations. However, the literature in Turkey that dominates the field of inquiry refers mostly to the historically and socially constituted Western sources of knowledge. "The reason is understandable: the most accounts of neoliberalism are grounded in the social experience of the Global North, which is in fact only a fragment of the story" (Connell & Dados, 2014, p. 118). Correspondingly, many scientific endeavours in Turkey within the social sciences embrace and prioritize various concepts and theories without epistemologically questioning them.

As Akbulut (2005, p. 245) stated, unless the way of thinking that entails engaging in methodological discussions is primarily presented, studies concerning Turkey are limited to theories and concepts that emerge to explain different social realities in different countries. Even Marx historically "has to admit that the transition to capitalism (and the prospects for socialism) differs from place to place even within Western Europe (to say nothing of Russia and Asia)" (Harvey, 1994, p. 143). It is obvious that the societies experience different forms and trajectories of the same mode of production due to variations in their historically articulated social formations. To put bluntly, although we cannot talk about a universal form of capitalism that rules in every geography, in the same way, we can underline the common driving forces and motivations that penetrate, emerge and dominate in a distinct way under the same mode of production. It is obvious that the a priori considerations that treat every city as a special case by ignoring systemic regularities may lead researchers to the 'new particularism' (Scott & Storper, 2015, p. 11).

By considering the arguments on epistemological "borrowings" above, being sceptical towards the Western-centric knowledge construction and epistemic communities[18] does not mean negating the contribution of theories generated and studies conducted all over the world. In fact, the researches focus on urban renewal and redevelopment processes, especially in developing countries and the theories and the concepts that explain the capital accumulation and the production of built environment developed in both core and periphery countries are significant for this study.

To sum up, regarding the differences in levels of development, there should be "selective borrowings (and rejections) of knowledge from advanced countries combine with indigenous forms and conditions to produce distinctive national configurations of the division of disciplinary labour" (Burawoy, 2007, p. 146). It should be noted that the relationship between the nature of knowledge and the nature of reality changes according to how and under what conditions knowledge of reality be grasped. As Harvey (2009, p. 298) frankly specifies:

> Concepts and categories cannot be viewed as having an independent existence, as being universal abstractions true for all time… It is irrelevant to ask whether concepts, categories and relationships are "true" or "false". We have to ask, rather, what it is that produces them and what is it that they serve to produce?

Today neoliberalism is not only an epistemic object but also an epistemic subject privileging particular forms of knowledge production that creates severe tension in the academic critique of neoliberalism between 'knowing' neoliberalism and 'doing' something about neoliberalism (Bacevic, 2019, p. 386).

These discussions on context dependency and epistemological borrowings serve as warnings to the author to be more critical and open-minded while approaching the subject matter. The knowledge production process, which departs from the historical context and diverges from the material conditions, impedes the understanding relations

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[18] Western centric academia can be also divided into sub categories like continental Europe and Anglo Saxon traditions. Due to historical and social formations and differences regarding the level of development, roles in global division of academic labour may vary from geographies to geographies and countries to countries.

and links between the author, epistemology and the existing social system while increasing the fuzzy and ambivalent content of the concepts. On the other hand, more significantly, contextualising knowledge production processes facilitates constructing the methodological tool presented and discussed in the pages to come. The emphasis Heur (2020, p. 3) rightly made on contemporary urban studies below shed light on what has been attempted to be explained in detail in this study up to this point.

> Most critical urban geographers never get tired of emphasizing the importance of situated knowledge and the role of urban research in engaging with communities and social movements. Yet the moment we start to discuss the history and – either explicitly or implicitly – the importance of urban geography, our storyline becomes depressingly internalist. Thus, we read about the displacement of one theory by another, the struggle between quantitative and qualitative methodologies, or how a fascination for one empirical topic leads to the marginalization of another topic, but rarely do we read anything substantive regarding how these shifts and transitions relate to actual urban changes on the ground. Considering our theoretical and political commitment, this approach is far too disembodied and implies that many urban geographers do not practice what they preach.

As a result, the previous discussions on the academic division of labour and recent ways of thinking in urban studies – as an "interdisciplinary" field of study in which this thesis is grounded and meticulous as well while producing knowledge – are critical pillars for the methodological model that this study propounds. However, this model entails making further epistemological discussions that are also related to the controversial topics above. In this sense, to meet the necessities of this endeavour, historical (geographical) materialist and critical realist approaches are elaborated. These two and their variegated forms are the most applied epistemologies among critical geographers.

Even though the philosophical principles of historical materialism seem more promising for this study, the critical realist approach lately dominates urban studies due to its apparent contributions to particular case studies. Moreover, since critical realism as an intermediary epistemology implicitly challenges historical materialism in certain aspects, instead of solely introducing the basic premises of historical materialism, the methodological and epistemological discussion is held regarding critical realism. It is obvious that confronting these approaches is a risky but rewarding task while analysing a globally dominant but contextually specific process: 'neoliberalism'.

2.2. Epistemological Confrontation between Historical Materialism and Critical Realism

Being in a constant flux that detaches people from reality makes it difficult to see and understand what is going on in the big picture. Great transformations and their serious outcomes seem virtually invisible due to the broken links in the social realm, especially under the capitalist system. As Marx (1982, p. 433) indicated: "the general and necessary tendencies of capital must be distinguished from their forms of appearances". Lefebvre (1971, p. 14) suggests:

> Philosophy should not serve as a barrier nor should it oppose attempts at improving the world and perpetuate distinctions between triviality and seriousness by isolating on the one hand notions of Being, Depth and Substance and on the other events, appearances and manifestations.

As a matter of fact, "nothing-no event, institution, person, or process-is simply and solely what it seems to be at a particular place and time, that is, situated within a certain set of conditions" (Ollman, 2003, p. 16). Hence, it is obvious that "[t]o distinguish the fundamental from the seemingly changing phenomena is an arduous task necessitating a multipronged incessant effort" (Radhakrishnan, 1988, p. 143). Besides the ideological mystification and the hurly-burly of everyday life, the illusionary ruptures between appearance and essence, total/universal and particular, practice and theory, subject and object, economic sphere and political sphere and divisions/distinctions alike in the knowledge production processes become common in the way of thinking. The claim, which remarks on the unity of 'time and space' asserted by Wallerstein (1998, p. 71) and Peet (1977b, p. 1), is valid for almost all such dualities that constitute reality.

It is bluntly asserted among the aims of this scientific endeavour that even if it is like getting blood out of a stone, the totality of urban renewal is considered while producing knowledge throughout this thesis. Understanding the totality entails acknowledging the unity of capitalism and human experience that comprises relations between, on the one hand, particularity and generality; on the other hand, contingencies and necessities. It should be noted that there seems a tension between these dualities. As Keat and Urry (1975, p. 169) state that "[a]t the level of substantive social theory, the primary problem is how to develop theories that satisfactorily synthesize the structural analysis of different social formations, and the explanation of human action in terms of subjective states and meanings".

Especially within the spatial studies, locality, in which the case studies focused, is unique and diverse. In this regard, the generalisation of the case study's findings and their contribution to the theory development are raised as the two main concerns[19] (Blakie, 2010, p. 192). Despite commodification and homogenisation of capitalist invasion as a socio-spatial process, space is distinct due to its specific configuration. Does this mean embracing the pluralist understanding of the world? On the one hand, there is an epistemological stance that casts doubt on the plurality of knowledge as well as the totality of a methodology. According to Dickens et al. (1985, pp. 1-2), although the most well-known theories providing insight into housing in capitalist societies are those by Engels, Lefebvre, Castells, and Harvey, they may fall short of explaining what happens in the real world of particularities; since identifying capitalism's underlying mechanisms differs from understanding what unfolds in distinct capitalist societies. Accordingly, even if their theories are appropriate for the abstract levels, they may provide beginning points for elucidating why and how events

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[19] In order to overcome the concerns about generalization, Blakie (2010, p. 193) suggests "selecting 'typical' cases; studying multiple cases at different sites; the use of 'natural generalization'; the use of 'analytical generalization'; and the use of 'thick' description to facilitate 'transferability' or 'relatability' as key elements of methods of selection. When it comes to the theory building and theory testing, Blakie (2010, pp. 194-197) takes attention to the critical role played by the inductive, deductive, retroductive or abductive research strategies.

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take place. On the other hand, another perspective draws attention to the necessity of a comprehensive look at the instances and phenomena.

> [I]n order to comprehend the complexity of real historical and geographical processes in capitalism we must be armed with, and be prepared to operationalize, theoretical ideas about the workings of capitalism as a total system. Only in that way can we get behind the fragmentary, the contingent and the ephemeral characteristics of the modern (post modern) world, and tackle its underlying systematicities (Harvey & Scott, 1989, p. 222).

As Harvey (1987, p. 373) frankly states: "[t]here is nothing, …, to guard against the collapse of scientific understandings in to a mass of contingencies exhibiting relations and processes special to each unique event". The divisions, particularities and contingencies, therefore, have to be related to the broader picture or vice versa. Dialectical research that focuses on "the whole, the system, or as much of it as one understands, and then proceeds to an examination of the part to see where it fits and how it functions, leading eventually to a fuller understanding of the whole from which one has begun" (Ollman, 2003, p. 14) suggests significant hint to the study; nevertheless, at this point, Massey (1984, p. 9) draws attention to the relation between whole and part as such:

> The fundamental methodological question is how to keep a grip on the generality of events, the wider process lying behind them, without losing sight of the individuality of the form of their occurrence. Pointing to general process does not adequately explain what is happening at particular moments or in particular places. Yet any explanation must include such general processes. The question is how.

To quote at length, Massey (1993, p. 67) responds to this question by revealing the following relationship between the global and the local:

> [i]f one moves in from the satellite towards the globe, holding all those networks of social relations and movements and communications in one's head, then each place can be seen as a particular, unique point of their intersection. The uniqueness of a place, or a locality, in other words is constructed out of particular interactions and mutual articulations of social relations, social processes, experiences and understandings, in a situation of co-presence, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are actually constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, a region or even a continent. Instead then, of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings. And this in turn allows a sense of place which is extraverted, which includes a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local.

Massey has the idea that human geographies can be understood "through the conjoining of general processes or causal properties with contingent circumstance" (Cox, 2013, p. 14). She actually adopts the critical realist approach, an intermediary methodology, to find an answer to this question. In order to see the relevancy of her promising approach, it is necessary to address the basic premises of critical realist methodology briefly. Bhaskar (2014), in the 1970s, coined the term "critical realism"

as a philosophical approach to bridge the gap between idealism and realism. While Bhaskar rejects the idealist and individualist cast, he strives to differentiate critical realism from idealism, empiricism and hermeneutics.

Moreover, "[c]ritical realism raised issues of just how one might do empirical research; it is something that Marxist geographers have often had trouble dealing with, often showing a remarkable lack of self-consciousness about problems of abstraction or explanation" (Cox, 2013, p. 4). According to Bhaskar and Danermark "critical realism is not only the ontologically least restrictive perspective, but the epistemologically most heuristically suggestive one" (Bhaskar & Denmark, 2006, p. 295). Bashkar aims to reach the knowledge of reality by considering the unity between experience and reason on the one hand and empirically real and transcendentally ideal on the other. According to critical realism, the relation between knowing subject and object is fallible due to the differentiation and stratification of the world and reality. Therefore, the natural sciences differ from the social sciences. The events or phenomena, whether they are observed or not, are explained by underlying relations and dynamics that are produced and reproduced among actors, their positions and social structures. According to Bashkar (1989, p. 3),

> [s]ocial phenomena (like most natural phenomena) are the product of a plurality of structures. But such structures may be hierarchically ranked in terms of their explanatory importance. Such an approach allows us to avoid the pitfalls of both crude determinism (for example, of an economic reductionist sort) and undifferentiated eclecticism.

The idea of structure is especially significant to understand the changing paces and faces of the reproduction of capitalism. Critical realism is ultimately a search for generative and triggering mechanisms[20] or dynamics (Blaikie, 2007, p. 147). Critical realism defines three domains or levels of reality regarding transitive and intransitive categorisation of objects, namely real, actual, and empirical. Transitive dimension or philosophical sociology is completed with intransitive dimension or philosophical ontology. Bashkar (2014, p. 11) points out that "in the intransitive dimension, what is discovered exists independently of its discovery; and that, in the transitive dimension, it is not known prior to its discovery".

Critical realism, according to Gunn (1989, p. 88), is critical since it refuses to rely on what is seen on the surface and is realist because it acknowledges "that the 'structures' and 'mechanisms' which it regards as generating appearances exist not merely as theoretical constructs but objectively, and in practice". Within this schema, the intransitive dimension looks promising in terms of acquiring the knowledge of changing fallacious appearances of unchanging objects since "[i]f the world was somehow deceptive in the way it presented itself to the senses then method could simply reinforce that misunderstanding" (Cox, 2013, p. 4). In addition, by recognizing a balanced and dialectical relationship between structure and actor, an area has been opened especially for the importance of actor's knowledge. Sayer, Cooke and Gooding

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[20] According to Gunn (1989, p. 113) "there are no 'generative mechanisms'. Instead there is determinate abstraction: the existence of unity in difference and of the abstract in the concrete. The notion of determinate abstraction is the totalisation of appearance and essence".

(1983, p. 109) bluntly explain the advantageous situation that arises with the definition of this relation as such:

> Social structures are both the medium and outcome of social practices. Actions are not only constrained but enabled by structures (for example, speech by language) which only exist where they are reproduced, that is, their reproduction or transformation is not automatic but contingent upon actions. Actors are not automatons or dupes or mere passive bearers of roles, but possess skills, some of them tacit or unconscious, which are a condition of the most mundane of acts. It is therefore possible to recognise that actions take place in conditions and with resources which pre-exist, and which may not be acknowledged by actors but which are nevertheless a necessary condition of their execution, and also that the reproduction or transformation of these conditions is an (often unintended) consequence of the actions. Thus the twin errors of voluntarism (actors act independently of any constraints) and structuralist determinism (the conditions do the acting) are avoided.

A similar approach that considers these delicate balances can be followed in Dickens et al.'s (1985, p. 2) explanations:

> Societies can only exist spatially and temporally. On the other hand, this recognition that social forms (like housing provision) and their causes can only be completely understood in the particular does not mean that we should reject any identification of structural mechanisms. This would leave us in the fake world of voluntarism, where people do whatever they independently happen to think of next, as though no other people or society had ever existed.

This stance of critical realism towards the relationship between actor and structure has attracted the attention of many thinkers and researchers. According to Peet and Thrift (2001, p. 18),

> [p]erhaps realism's greatest impact has been in promoting the thoughtful conduct of empirical research… By the mid–1970s it had become crucial for those sponsoring a political-economy approach to demonstrate that they could do good empirical or concrete research, both in order to find out more about what was happening 'on the ground' and to demonstrate their skills in this area to colleagues sceptical about the work of abstract theorists. This meant that more careful attention had to be paid to how abstract theory could be applied in particular contingent situations.

In essence, in the process of abstraction, establishing a relationship between necessary and contingent has crucial potential to explain the transformation or disappearance of the necessary one and/or contingent one in another time or another case. In light of Massey's prior remarks, it is possible to assert that while abstracting, critical realists differ from historical materialists in analyzing the relations between 'abstract theories', 'necessary relations' and 'particular contingent relations and situations'.

According to Sayer (1984, pp. 146-152), it is hard to make relevant high levels of abstractions due to the particularity, contingency and uniqueness of the spatial configurations. In this regard, Maloutas (2012, pp. 39-43) underlines that abstraction as a process of de-contextualisation and generalization as a form of translation, in any

case, may cause a partial loss of meaning when the spatial and context-dependency of geography is taken into account.

In fact, the abstraction process is at the centre of these debates. All philosophies, without any exception, entail certain abstractions to generate theories and/or concepts, but the difference lies between empiricist (formal) abstraction and determinate abstraction (Gunn, 1989, p. 105). Although the critical realists' concerns are understandable to a certain extent regarding the empiricist abstraction, this is actually not the case for determinate abstraction. "Empiricist abstraction is purely first-order abstraction: to it belongs the distinction between species and genus and the problematising of universals over particulars" (Gunn, 1992, p. 18).

It also "abstracts from what makes objects, either taken as self-sufficient as in positivism, or in terms of their internal relations, as in critical realism, different from each other" (Cox, 2001, pp. 751-752). However, the determinate one corresponds "not to 'essential qualities' embodied in things, but to determinate social processes" (Clark, 1991, p. 141). "Determinate abstraction is abstraction *in and through* which phenomena obtain, unlike empiricist abstraction which is *abstraction from* the phenomena concerned" (Gunn, 1992, p. 23). In other words, determinate abstractions "have a historico-practical significance in that they arise only in the midst of that particular development of society which gives them an interpretive utility of a practical sort" (Cox, 2001, p. 752). In this respect, abstractions that are rooted in real concrete and rely on unity of theory and practice (instead of illusionary appearances, pseudo separations, causalities, ahistorical, reified or fetishized social relations) do not pose a threat to demonstrating the breadth of knowledge of the particular in relation to the whole or vice versa. As Marx (1971, p. 34) plainly indicates:

> The concrete is concrete because it is a combination of many determinations, i.e. a unity of diverse elements. In our thought it therefore appears as a process of synthesis, as a result, and not as a starting-point, although it is the real starting-point and, therefore, also the starting-point of observation and conception.

In this sense, the complex internal relations become critical to define the real concrete that enables thought concrete in mind. "[W]ithin a theory of internal relations, … set of relations that are historically constituted, fluid and constantly changing" define the entities (Wurst, 1999, p. 9). Moreover, "what is an internal relation between people and their objective conditions of existence comes to appear as external only under particular historical circumstances" (Cox, 2013, pp. 9-10). Though not precisely the same, this complex, sometimes misleading and contradictory relationship is also encountered between the image and the essence.

> The abstraction of appearance is relatively easy to determine. It is simply what strikes us when we look; it is what's on the surface, what's obvious. Essence is more problematical. It includes appearance but goes beyond it to take in whatever gives any appearance its special character and importance. As such, essence generally introduces systemic and historical connections (including where something seems to be heading as well as where it has come from) as parts of what it is. It brings into focus an extended set of internal relations (Ollman, 2003, p. 79).

> The world of the pseudoconcrete is the chiaroscuro of truth and deceit. It thrives in ambiguity. The phenomenon conceals the essence even as it reveals it. The essence manifests itself in the phenomenon, but only to a certain extent, partially, just in certain sides and aspects. The phenomenon indicates something other than itself and exists only thanks to its opposite. The essence is not immediately given: it is mediated by the phenomenon and thus shows itself in something other than what it is itself. The essence manifests itself in the phenomenon. Its manifestation in the phenomenon signifies its movement and proves that the essence is not inert and passive. But the phenomenon similarly reveals the essence. Revealing the essence is the activity of the phenomenon (Kosik, 1976, pp. 2-3).

Therefore, the abstraction should rely on this incessant dialectical relation that not only comprises but also goes beyond the whole dualities such as essence and appearance, whole and particular, necessity and contingent to understand the existence and totality of a phenomenon or a moment.

Otherwise, diverging from the real concrete and just dealing with appearances pave the way for more departures from thought concrete and essence, resulting in the idealization of ahistorical floating explanations and concepts, as Sayer (1987) indicated in his prominent book "The Violence of Abstraction". In this respect, as the analysis of daily life is the base for abstraction in the first instance, historical materialism necessitates concrete abstractions and their linkages to explain any mode of production as a working whole (Harvey and Scott, 1989, p. 225). Thrift (2005, pp. 1-2), however, sees capitalism as "a series of relations of relation instituted over time through different organizations of time-space"; according to him, "the world does not consist of unities or totalities. The unified field is a dream". Accordingly, Cox and Mair (1989, p. 129) suggest that "the specificity of localities can be addressed and explained through concepts at various levels of abstraction, including many that refer explicitly to the local, rather than being relegated to the realm of the concrete and contingent". These views, which seem to negate each other, essentially complement each other to establish the relationship between the whole and the part, the essence and the appearance, the constraints and the choices.

Social action is viewed as an amalgam of both constraints and choices. The material ground for the analysis is the human practice that comprises the varying relations among human beings and human relations with nature under different historical circumstances. Therefore, "[w]e need to show, …, how particular contingencies that on first sight appear as external and arbitrary phenomena are transformed into structured internal elements of the encompassing social logic of capitalism" (Harvey & Scott, 1989, pp. 227-228). In this sense, "[s]hifting abstractions helps clarify the range of phenomena to which concepts and generalizations extend (time/space, level of historical generality), and, moreover, helps build a model of the inner-connections between systems and their parts" (Paolucci, 2007, p. 118). In other words, we need to indicate

> how various configurations of agents and conditions are selected in, how they are articulated one with another, become the object of struggle and transformed into a structure of relations that can function as a necessary aspect of the circulation of capital as it seeks to suspend the barriers inherent in its own nature (Cox, 2013, p. 17).

Historical materialism seemed to offer an attempt to reach the knowledge of the totality by revealing internal relations and employing different levels of generality and abstraction and various vantage points within the unity of opposites that flourishes through contradictions, such as between use value and exchange value, mobility and fixity or social production and private appropriation within the capitalist mode of production, by putting the production and reproduction of life's material conditions and necessities at the core of its analysis. "It rejects, therefore, the various dualisms of agency and structure, the ideal and the material and society and space which are the stuff of so much contemporary debate in social science" (Cox, 2001, p. 751). Similarly, according to Harvey (1984, p. 4),

> academic geographers by "rejecting historical materialism as a basic frame of reference, they lacked methods to achieve synthesis and overcome the innumerable dualisms within their subject, between, for example, physical and human geography, regional specialization and systematic studies of global variation, unique and generic perspectives, quantitative and qualitative understandings.

To quote at length, Swyngedouw (2000, p. 45) strikingly explains the contribution of historical-geographical materialism to the way of thinking by indicating the space-dependent and space-forming nature of political-economic relations as such:

> Historical-geographical materialism starts from the premise that things (as objects and phenomena) exist, but that these objects or phenomena are the embodiment of (they interiorize) relationships; things become the outcome of processes that have themselves ontological priority. The latter means that an object or phenomenon (think of, for example, coffee, a romantic idea of nature, or a stock market issue) is the end result of a process. The coffee I sip in the morning reflects and embodies relations between peasants and landowners, between merchants and producers, shippers and bankers, wholesalers and retailers, etc. These relations and processes are more important in terms of understanding the objects/phenomena than the characteristics of things/phenomena themselves. Coffee is then no longer just coffee, but also a whole host of other things that are part and parcel of what constitutes coffee as coffee. The characteristics of coffee as a thing can only give me clues to what is hidden underneath. The excavation of these relational processes is at the heart of historical-geographical materialist inquiry. If I were to reconstruct the myriad social relations through which coffee becomes the liquid I drink, I would uncover a historical geography of the world that would simultaneously provide powerful insights into the many mechanisms of economic exploitation, social domination, profit-making, uneven development, ecological transformation, and the like.

The unity of dialectical way of thinking and materialism theorises the struggle between opposites as the constituents of historical analysis in the form of non-teleological historical laws while focusing on the experience and matter that forerun mind and consciousness to explain the change and interaction in the social realm (Peet & Thrift, 2001, p. 7). "Since change in anything only takes place in and through a complex interaction between internally related elements, treating change as intrinsic to what anything is requires that we treat the interaction through which it occurs in the same way" (Ollman, 2003, p. 67). In this way, historical materialist interpretation of history enables to capture the knowledge of the totality by dissolving the separations among the necessities and contingencies, externalities and internalities and by revealing the

complex interaction among them in the social realm within the analysis of modes of production, property relations, capital accumulation and hegemony construction which in turn pave the way for making certain generalisations. According to Wood (2008, p. 89),

> historical materialism suggests that social property relations, as the irreducible conditions of survival and social reproduction, set the terms of survival and social reproduction in a more fundamental way, allowing us to construct certain generalizations about the rules for reproduction they impose, which operate wherever and whenever those property relations exist, whatever their specific political or cultural context.

To sum up, critical realism received considerable attention in geographical studies as a philosophy and/or a method after the 1980s (Pratt, 1995; Yeung, 1997). However, while drawing attention to the contingency, particularity, plurality, lower level of abstraction and sensory experience, significantly surpassing historical materialism, the critical realist perspective faces the risk of imposing a particular view of the world against the totality of historically situated social reality[21]. Though the application and operationalisation of the critical realist approach in human geography are inviting, especially as a method due to practical reasons for some critical thinkers, the epistemological and methodological repercussions come with important caveats, as discussed above. In this respect, to answer the question raised on the previous page by Massey and similar controversial others that this study seeks to answer, a discussion on fundamental epistemological and methodological pillars of historical materialism and historical-geographical materialism, in particular, is essential to elucidate the totality of urban renewal while focusing on a particular example of it.

Regarding this framework and the debates under the previous sections, there is a need to operationalise what has been discussed so far. At this point, I want to bring Bertell Ollman into the conversation before embarking on the quest for the totality of urban renewal since the levels of generality, extension and vantage point employed by Marx, according to Ollman's (2003) interpretation, look promising to expose the dialectical relations among geographical scales, historical layers and abstraction levels while trying to understand the positioning of self/individual and dynamics of material conditions at the same pot. Marx and Engels (1970, p. 42) put forth in "The German Ideology" as such:

> [t]he premises from which we begin are not arbitrary ones, not dogmas, but real premises from which abstraction can only be made in the imagination. They are the real individuals, their activity and the material conditions under which they live, both those which they find already existing and those produced by their activity.

This relationality between real concrete and thought concrete is constructed regarding the generality levels between the existence and activity of real individuals and actual material life within the materialist method. According to Ollman (2003, p. 89), "there are seven major levels of generality into which Marx subdivides the world, seven plains of comprehension on which he places all the problems he investigates, seven

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[21] For more critics about critical realism see Roberts (1999).

different foci for organizing everything that is". The first level is the most specific one that focuses on the unique individual, his/her features, dates, events etc. The second level is about the activities and products of people within the existing mode of production. Level three makes a distinction regarding the practices of people in relation to the existing mode of production. The fourth one is the level of class society that specifies different organisations of society, such as capitalism, feudalism or slavery, with respect to the division of labour. The fifth one is the society that comprises the history of humankind. Although they are not at the centre of Marx's analysis, level six is the animal world that humankind is part of, and the last one is the nature that embraces all other six levels. Acknowledging these features of generality levels and relationality among them are essential to making reliable abstractions regardless of the subject matter at first glance. Moreover, this map (Paolucci, 2007, p. 114) enables tracing the route of any studies' way of dealing with the subject that moves either from general to specific or specific to general levels; or that directly jumps from the first generality level to the fifth one by ignoring others or that is stuck within the first and second generality levels (Figure 5).

Level of Generality	Ranges of Possibility	Conceptual Strategy
7. Traits Humans Share with Nature Matter, motion, speed, weight		Naturalism
6. Humans as Animals Reproduction, food, emotion, etc.		Species-Being
5. Human Society in General Material base and ideal superstructures		Historical and Materialist Analysis
4. Class Societies Ruling and working classes, states, ideology		Class Analysis
3. Capitalist Mode of Production Essential structural parts & central tendencies		Abstract Political Economy
2. Capitalism's Most Recent Era Strikes, wars, policies, rising & falling powers		Concrete Political Economy
1. Specific Individuals and Events Names, persons, dates etc. in the present		Action Informed by Political Economy (CP)

Figure 5. Marx's Levels of Generality and their Associated Conceptual Strategies

In relation to the extension that demarcates the spatial and temporal lines of a subject in certain aspects, vantage points pursue the relations among generality levels in order to reveal the different sides of the same social reality and give the opportunity to make multi-level abstractions of embedded and stratified processes through the social relations. According to (Wurst, 2015, p. 40)

> [a]bstractions of levels of generality entail alternating the focus from the specifics of a particular context to more generalised levels. Lower levels may entail all that is unique about a person, situation, or a particular context, while higher levels may entail all that is unique to people within capitalist society, the level of class society, or all that humans have in common. All of these levels are present simultaneously, and they are all equally real. At each of these levels, however, different aspects of the social relations are made visible. Vantage point, or 'point of view', refers to drawing abstractions from different sides of the same relation. Since dialectical relations represent a whole, both sides must be examined in order to understand that whole.

Overall, to grasp the totality of the complex social reality, 'levels of generality', 'extension' and 'vantage point' that the abstraction practice of the historical materialist approach is built on are significant pillars to meet the critical realist objections without prioritizing the particularity and contingency over the generality and necessity.

In epitome, the multi-faceted nature of the social reality is evident. Yet, this should not pave the way for the plurality of knowledge. Therefore, this study's epistemological and ontological stance relies on the possibility of achieving the totality of knowledge through the relational way of thinking as an arduous task, though. In the next section, this thesis suggests a method to understand 'the whole' of the studied phenomenon. However, it is crucial to underline that this process has its subtleties, as discussed to a certain extent above.

2.3. Three-Dimensional Process of Abstraction and the Tesseract

All the previous discussions up until this point indicated this controversial question: how do we understand the working/evolving principles of a system by making inferences from particular cases and practices under the divided branches of social sciences? Even though historical materialist methodology is significant to answer this question as it is presented in the previous pages, regarding the objections of the critical realist approach, there can be some contributions that embrace different techniques and functions to expose reality for the operationalisation of the historical materialist approach.

In this respect, in addition to levels of generality, extension and vantage point that are essential parts of the historical materialist methodology, geographical scales and historical layers are suggested as significant methodological pillars that are placed especially in relation to levels of generality to harness the complexity and irreducibility of reality. This is not remaking or recreating the principles of historical materialist abstraction; instead, this is just an effort to reconsider it to operationalise it within urban studies. In order to make this discussion as rich as possible, clear and concrete, I propose a way of thinking, a method, "the three-dimensional process of abstraction" that encompasses and interlocks a variety of time, space and actants combination. Since vantage point, levels of generality and extension are already issued, the contribution of scales and layers is briefly explained.

Firstly, scale is a socially, historically and spatially constructed flexible territorialisation that contains the power relations, strategies and struggles in relation to other scales. It does not only indicate the unit/level of analysis, but also it draws attention to the spatiality of a phenomenon. From the power that is exercised over the

social body to international relations, each scale is an arena in which different concerns and struggles take place (Bayırbağ, 2006, p. 59). There is a link between international politics to body politics that is also mediated by other scales.

It should be noted that the scale dimension is open to the creation or elimination of new forms of scales and territorialisation in relation to historical and social transformations and attributions[22]. Therefore, the demarcation of scales as organizational entities changes depending on the conflicts, contradictions and disorders under different modes of production. Lefebvre (1973, p. 83) asserts, for instance, that "[c]apitalism has not only subordinated exterior and anterior sectors to itself, it has produced new sectors, transforming what pre-existed and completely overthrowing the corresponding institutions and organizations" or actors. Thus, scalar strategies of representation can be understood as instruments for shaping, coordinating and linking newly emerging structures, re-producing the 'capitalist state as a condensed form of re-scaled social/class relations' that can no longer be constituted solely within the spatio-temporal matrix of the nation-state (Bayırbağ, 2010, p. 368). According to Brenner (2003, p. 310), "scalar selectivities are articulated and continually rearticulated within each trend and counter-trend of state reorganization as diverse socio-territorial forces struggle to reconfigure the scalar organization of state institutions and forms of state intervention towards their own particular ends". For instance, in the late 20th century, parallel to globalization, it is acknowledged that the urban scale is too critical to ignore for national and international actors and also too vital for the reproduction of daily life and social relationships. Nevertheless, although the urban scale has become a significant unit of analysis, today, there is a need to link the urban question to national, international scales on the one hand and community and body scales on the other hand.

Although we have scales that have lasted for a long time, such as body and universe, we have also constructed or formatted ones in time, such as nation or region. For instance, the national scale is a scale that takes place on the stage of history at a specific point in time. Therefore, a geographic scale should be theorised "as socially constructed rather than ontologically pre-given, and that the geographic scales constructed are themselves implicated in the constitution of social, economic and political processes" (Delaney & Leitner, 1997, p. 93). It means that, as Agnew (1993, p. 252) mentioned, there may be "hidden geographies" that existed, still exist, but we have not acknowledged or will occur, be constructed or be produced in the future.

Any scale, level or layer presents a sui generis level of analysis in particular, but any of them loses its clarity without revealing the already existing relations among them that manifest themselves in the complexity of the social reality. It is a multi-temporal and multi-spatial process. Although Lefebvre insufficiently analysed urbanization regarding the colonial and imperial aspects (Kipfer, 2018, p. 480), he (2003) holds a significant discussion on levels of analysis while questioning the role of urban. Lefebvre (2003, p. 78) offers: "Looking at present-day society, I distinguish a global level, which I'll indicate with the letter G; a mixed level, which I'll indicate with the

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[22] For instance, nation state is a 19th century phenomenon that cannot be classified as scale before that time. There is a possibility of extinction of identified scales and emergence of new ones in the course of time.

letter M; and a private level, P, the level of habiting" (Figure 6). Kipfer (2018, p. 480) elaborated his assertions as such:

> For Lefebvre, the 'urban' is not everything; it is an intermediate level of analysis (M), that of spatial relations, centrality/difference and periphery. As such, the urban mediates other levels: the general level (G) (macro political economies) and the 'private' level (P) (the level of everyday life, of routine and utopian imaginary, of reality and possibility). The urban is neither a mere scale nor the counterpoint to the 'country'. Instead, the urban may emerge within the urban field, as a nodal point in multi-scalar core-periphery relations.

Level G (global logic and political strategy of space)

0 ⟶ 100 %

Level M (mixed, middle, mediator)
Level P (private: habiting)

First critical phase
(agriculture is subordinated to industrialization)
Sixteenth century in Europe
(Renaissance and Reformation)

Second critical phase
(a) subordination of industry to urbanization
(b) subordination of the global to the urban and the urban to habiting

Figure 6. Lefebvre's Space-Time Diagram (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 100)

On the other hand, Taylor (1982, p. 15) makes an epistemological and ontological evaluation of control and separation by evaluating the relationship between scales through vertical divisions and area through horizontal divisions (Figure 7).

> A geographical perspective is identified in terms of the three scales of analysis found in many current textbooks. The political and geographical are brought together in a political economy of scale where the world-economy is the scale of reality, the state and nation represent the scale of ideology and the city is the scale of experience. The materialist framework offered specifies these geographical scales as structurally related in the form of ideology separating experience from reality.
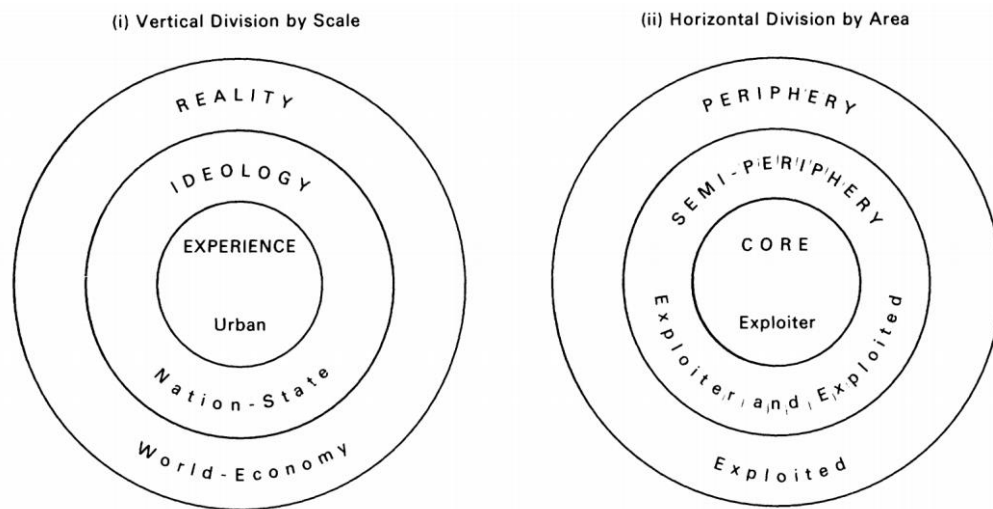
Figure 7. Taylor's (1982, p. 25) "Alternative Three-tiered Formats of Separation and Control" Schema

While Lefebvre's approach is essential and Taylor's schema is stimulating for defining the loci, foci and the motions of scales and understanding the relationships between them, Western (2008, p. 532) argues for two different approaches to the relations among scales. The first one, called "Russian dolls", adheres to the proceeding of scales hierarchically. This analysis, as Delaney and Leitner (1997, p. 93) state, "referring to the nested hierarchy of bounded spaces of differing sizes, such as the local, regional, national and global, is a familiar and taken-for-granted concept for political geographers and political analysts". However, this nested, straightforward, fixed movement from micro to macro scales has been criticised for ignoring the relationality among different scales that may be directly bonded to each other through power relations and struggles.

This challenge has brought us to the discussion that turns around bypassing and overarching relations among scales. This second approach is conceptualised by Western (2008, p. 532) as "scale skipping", which denotes an immediate leap from one scale to another without considering the hierarchy among them. This manner does not feel obliged to follow the order from self to continent. The lower scale is not always nested into the next-upper scale. Actually, the former is highly close to Smith's (1993, p. 102) "jumping scale" approach that challenges, criticizes and tries to abrogate the boundaries of scales since "geographical scale is hierarchically produced as part of the social and cultural, economic and political landscapes of contemporary capitalism and patriarchy".

Secondly, layers complete the tripartite system as the third dimension for abstraction. While providing a periodization of the Turkish urban experience, Şengül (2012) adopts a relational space approach by deftly merging Williams's (1977) 'epochal analysis' and Massey's (1995) 'geological metaphor'. Williams conceptualises four categories, namely archaic, residual, dominant and emergent, to explain complex cultural processes and systems.

The dynamic and variegated interrelations of these elements constitute the existing cultural structures and mechanisms. The dominant as a successor of residual and

predecessor of emergent is the hegemonic one in the recent past and will probably pursue its effect in the near future. Therefore, it carries and reveals the characteristics of both emergent and residual. Archaic also entails deliberate stimulus affecting the present like residual, but it differs from the residual one because residual is still active in the present as an existing weak but formerly dominant element in the current setting. Finally, emergent from the bosom of the dominant one brings new dynamics, mechanisms and practices. It should be noted that the relations among these layers are contradictory and conflicting as well. Therefore, "[e]very social formation is a complex amalgam of what Williams terms 'dominant', 'residual' and 'emergent' forms of consciousness, and no hegemony can thus ever be absolute" (Eagleton 1991, p. 47).

When it comes to Massey's line of reasoning, the consecutive production modes and their geographical sedimentations come to the fore to explain interrelated historical periods' complex and dynamic processes. According to Meert (2000, p. 320-1), "[c]omparable to the disposition of sediments caused by important and large-scale geological processes, economic activities are seen to be 'deposited' on a surface, with every sedimentary layer corresponding to changes in general production processes".

> [T]he layers themselves are constructed in part out of social relations, networks of interconnections across space, and the fact that - crucially - they interact. And they interact both in moulding the character the one of the other and in producing, in consequence, radical differences in anyone layer between different areas (Massey, 1995, p. 321).

By considering these two contributions jointly, Şengül's (2012, p. 406) trajectory of urbanisation embraces a relational space approach that recognizes the social production of spatial structures and the urban built environment. For this very reason, spatial structures and urban space cannot be detached from these relations; additionally, once spatial structures are produced, they become a reality that cannot be reduced to the social relations that produce them. Along the same lines, one of the dimensions made use of within this methodological inquiry is called "layer". Although a layer is conceptualised and elaborated regarding its certain features that diverge from others, it comprises previous, future layers and their clashes and conflicts as well. In relation to scale, it is also a container of multiple TimeSpaces[23] in the sense of Wallerstein's (1988) historical system understanding. Therefore, different layers and different scales contain different dynamics and mechanisms. In addition, these

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[23] By adopting Braudel's four times, namely episodic time, cyclical time, structural time, and the time of the sages, Wallerstein defines five different kinds of TimeSpaces. He asserts that every form of time has its space and these time and space cannot be detached from each other. For the very reason he chooses to call TimeSpace. The first one is episodic geopolitical TimeSpace that explains the reality by looking at a short period of time and in a certain space. Idiographic epistemologies mostly focus on this kind of TimeSpace. The second one is cyclico-ideological TimeSpace that conceptualizes the defining features of a trajectory. The third one is structural TimeSpace that comprises cyclical rhythms and preserves its unchanging characteristics by its hegemonic processes. The fourth one is eternal TimeSpace that takes the existing one as neutral and generalizes it without questioning via ahistorical and aspatial manner. The positivist and empiricist methodology mostly adopt this kind of TimeSpace. The fifth one is transformational TimeSpace that unravels the transformation potential for existing structural TimeSpace.

dynamics and mechanisms are composed of various complex relations that can be identified in different volumes as well.

Within this perspective, scales, layers and levels are the main dimensions that embrace the subject of study. This three-dimensional environment is constituted through infinite numbers and forms of relations. Each dimension mutually and inclusively contains the features of other dimensions. It is a complex system of relations instead of a highly particular or separate conceptualisation of space, time, event, or phenomenon. Without considering these three dimensions, the subject study can be seen as one or two dimensional from one's vantage point. It is also known that the three-dimensional object cannot be perfectly represented in its projection in two dimensions. Since "the process of being" comprises both order and accident or imminent and contingent, we need a dynamic and open schema that dwells on the mutual relations of dimensions. It actually aims to conceptualise the togetherness/unity of time, space and actant (human/object). It is a historical as well as a geographical product of interaction and interrelations. In this regard, Jakubowski (1976, p. 102) similarly suggests:

> [A] historical understanding of social relationships, of reality, is only possible if facts are brought out of the isolated position in which they appear to superficial consideration. Apparently isolated facts must be looked at in their relationship to the whole, if their supra-historical appearance is to be penetrated… The whole is not the sum of the parts. The parts find their meaning only in their relationship to the whole, in their integration in the totality. The category of totality, however, does not in any way suppress the individual moments. It is not an undifferentiated unity in which concrete phenomena disappear.

Due to this relational existence, the extension of subject matter cannot be strictly demarcated in this schema. At most, we can just pretend to see the strong relations that are conceptualised as necessary or internal ones in historical materialism. However, this does not mean excluding other relations that have the potential to turn into internal ones. This schema has several critical manoeuvres to produce reliable knowledge: increasing relationality among levels, augmenting and diversifying vantage points, considering dynamics of scales and internal relations of layers, and defining a permeable and supple extension.

In this sense, abstractions of extension refer to the delimitation of both spatial and temporal boundaries around the subject of our studies. In each case, it is necessary to specify the particular and contingent mechanisms and dynamics that have the potential to change the functioning of "order". We need "to locate both what had to occur (the realm of necessity) and what did occur (the realm of contingency) in order for the phenomenon in question to emerge", as Marx did (Paolucci, 2007, p. 116). Dickens et al. (1985, p. 248) suggest that "[n]ecessary relations may generate change but how this change becomes concretely manifest depends on interaction with contingent factors"[24].

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[24] Dickens et al. (1985, p. 246) clarify this way of reasoning through the 'home' as follows: "The concrete object is a complete combination of many diverse forces and processes, but this need not necessarily be observable and hence empirical. Abstraction in contrast refers to a one-sided or partial aspect of a subject. Again, this may well be empirically observable. This can be made clearer using the example of a house. If we conceptualize a house simply in terms of its outside appearance, this will be abstract in being partial and one-sided as well as being empirically observable. Other abstractions, with

Therefore, embracing all forms of relations by considering the driving forces and internal relations without excluding contingent ones is critical to acknowledging the singularity and totality of reality.

Metaphorically speaking, considering necessary and contingent relations in unity by adopting multiple vantage points enables us to see the fourth dimension. Although we cannot see or experience the tesseract due to being trapped in three dimensions, we can reach the knowledge of the fourth dimension by abstraction. The fourth dimension (tesseract) is formed in an almost infinite number of relations within each related subject. The relationality that is revealed among these three dimensions is the way to see the tesseract, the reality of the totality of the subject matter. In tesseract, every side and inside of the object of study can be realised. Actually, being able to explain the interaction and relationality between dimensions enable us to see the fourth dimension of the subject study.

"Real is relational" says Bourdieu (1998b, p. 3). This critical assertion should be considered for the fallible human mind. Relationality is not an adhesive used to hold together the seemingly divided and scattered fragments of life. They already exist as a whole. However, while some relations may seem strong and powerful, others may be weak and/or unobservable depending on the point we look at and the goal we determine to achieve. But this does not mean that the knowledge of reality is plural, relative or fragmented. The knowledge of reality allows the researcher to reveal itself as much as the researcher may penetrate the social reality and understand existing relationships.

It is a way of constructing or revealing already an independently existing concrete reality. Thereby, driving forces, dynamics and mechanisms that may appear to be the underlying causes turn out to be the obvious part of reality. To put it bluntly, the plurality of knowledge is the result of possible human frailty and fallibility. In other words, it could be related to either ideology of the thinker or not having a relevant mindset carrying on adequate methodological and epistemological discussions while producing knowledge. Since the existence of an event or a phenomenon is not dependent on the observation of the researcher, its reality is waiting to be comprehended as becoming and changing.

Actually, this stance is asserted as one of the fundamental features of objectivism by Blaikie (2007, pp. 18-19) as such,

> *Objectivism* views 'things' as having intrinsic meaning. The researcher's role is to discover the meaning that already resides in them. For example, a tree is a tree regardless of who observes it or whether it is observed at all; its meaning is independent of human consciousness and is simply waiting to be discovered. The thing takes precedence over the observer. Hence, all observers should discover the same meaning, the same truth about such things.

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different conceptual and empirical make-ups, would see the house as an architectural form, a tenure form, the outcome of production relations in construction, a social signifier. To make a completely concrete concept we would have to apprehend all the interacting relationships in which that house was involved".

Last but not least, the "3D Process of Abstraction" method welcomes individuals' interpretations as a significant part of the social reality (Figure 8). It is obvious that reality is not an entity that allows for studying it from the outside. The process of interpretation and meaning giving to a phenomenon depends on the self-engagement with the 'things'. However, this process does not change the reality of the 'thing'; instead, the subjective ideas provide significant input for understanding the social reality. The reality of a tree does not vary by calling it something else. Moreover, it is not dependent on the idea of "the tree". Its materiality can just be understood by considering not only its unique and common features but also its relations with the environment. In this sense, this method, which sees the mutual and reciprocal relations among three dimensions as vital for understanding the knowledge of created and recreated interlocking processes, is propounded to find the patterns of interaction between incessant flux and evolving relations.
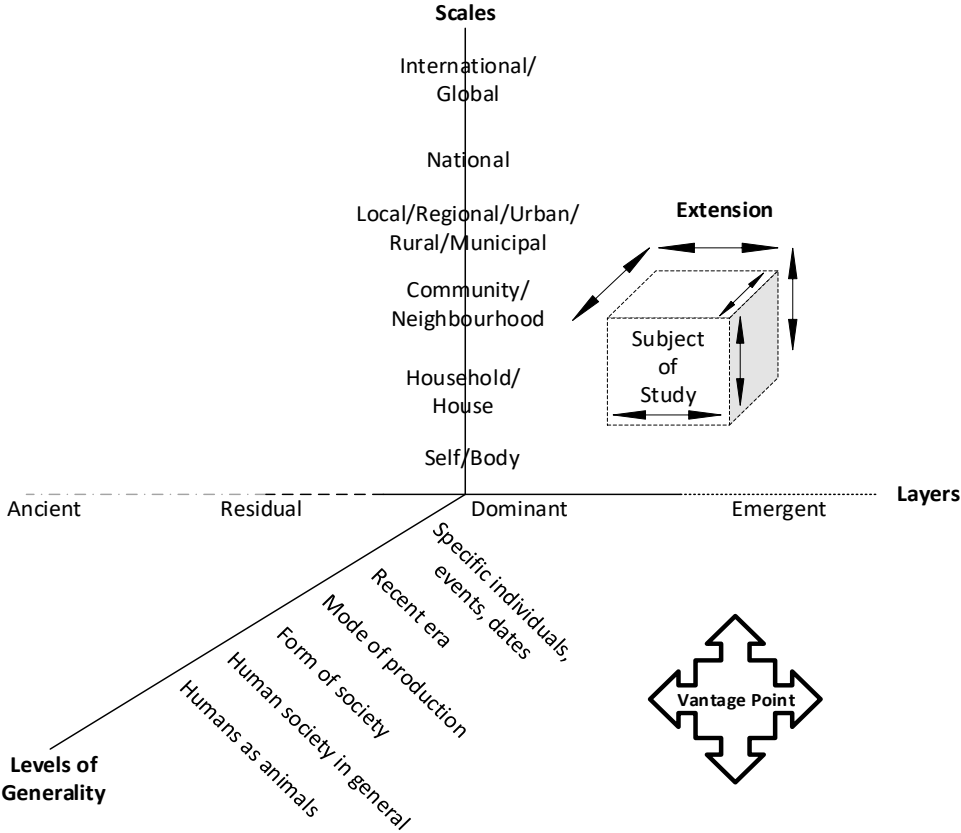
Figure 8. 3D Process of Abstraction

To sum up, it is postulated in this study that social reality has three dimensions: scales regarding (organizational) space, layers regarding time and levels of generality regarding materiality. In this schema, the reality is the unity of space, time and material conditions. These are unified into a single absolute thing that may be relative and experienced separately by anyone. Therefore, this unity has no relativity or personality; the individuals make it plural, personal or relative. It is hard to think about it since the human senses have evolved to perceive time and space as separate entities, which is beyond the common ways of thinking in the literature. To put the assertion more bluntly, the totality of social reality lies in the space-time continuum regarding

the material conditions of the universe. It entails considering whole derivatives taken in the third dimension that enables us to perceive the fourth dimension. It could be seen as a speculative schema. Exactly it is until now.

As stated above, the knowledge of totality embodied within the complex relations inescapably necessitates analysis of multiple scales and various levels of abstraction by employing analytical concepts through the real concrete to thought concrete. Since the 1980s, urban renewal in Turkey as an embodied form of the neoliberal project and as a social-formative mode of urban policy intervention provides tangible evidence to comprehend the process of capitalist social reproduction and property relations in a periphery country. The totality/essence embraces the whole necessities and contingencies that transform the existing particularities and appearances, just as each specific urban renewal process and each individual/personal perception and interpretation regarding it constitute this very same totality. Even if it is not deliberately avowed most of the time, between the lines of each story, many confirmations could be uncovered regarding how hegemony is constructed and how the ghost of capital haunts every renewal project. It is just a matter of abstraction reproducing the concrete in mind through concepts. Within this framework, beyond questioning the current ways of thinking and producing knowledge, the "three-dimensional abstraction" created in this thesis is adopted as a method throughout the study to see it at work.

2.4. Derivation of Material Integrity: A Theoretical Inquiry for 3D Abstraction

Life is the interpolation of dimensions that incessantly changes depending on the relations among them. "3D Abstraction" is suggested in the previous section to understand "how it works" in general.   In particular to this study, under this heading, we show an effort to realise the model through the subject of the study, related dimensional footprints and vantage point(s). In addition to the fact that various issues are discussed throughout this thesis, this study's main subjects are urban renewal and housing. The elaboration of these themes is dependent on the extension directly related to the scope of the study. Although extension and scope may be used interchangeably, determining or drawing the boundaries of extension entails theoretical discussions which certainly influence the vantage point(s) in the study.

It should be noted again that all dimensions described above are vital and essential to capture the reality of a phenomenon. However, determining the extensions and limits is equally important in terms of conducting the study. Therefore, some of the nodes and relations among the dimensions may be superficially mentioned or not mentioned at all due to the current conditions and limitations in the social formation and the development level. It is understandable and seems obligatory.

Nonetheless, this should not mean ignoring the existence of these nodes and relations. Due to the multidimensional nature of reality, jumping or leaping from one dimension to another while thinking or writing or speaking is understandable. However, "node-jumping" in a dimension may create problems. There is not a hierarchy but an order among each layer, level and scale that does not subordinate and suppress each other. In this sense, moving between them by ignoring the one or several and their respective relations and relationality is not welcomed. For instance, it is not sufficient to know

that s/he is living in a class-based society to understand the condition of a specific individual.

The mechanisms, dynamics and rationale in its particular form must be acknowledged. Without looking at the residual one, there is no way to understand the "dominant" or "emergent" one. It should be noted that as the relations may seem strong between the close ones, the bonds between the distanced ones look like they are weak or loose. As previously mentioned, it is difficult to focus and reveal all the relations among every node in every dimension, considering the extension of the study and other limitations. However, being aware of their existence and showing an endeavour to reveal the connections among them as much as possible is the pathway that is suggested and pursued in this study. In short, a researcher must be aware of the existence of dimensions and demonstrate this awareness but may be obliged to focus on the study over some nodes and relations due to the constraints.

In this study, we mostly focused on "residual" and "dominant" ones in terms of layers, "specific individuals, dates and events", and "recent era" in terms of levels of generality, and "body" to "local" in terms of scales. The study also shows that these processes are taken place under capitalism as a class-based society, with tightly structured relations between national and international scales, through inherent dispositions from the past and possible future expectations and hopes. Therefore, for the sake of the totality of knowledge, the study aims to reveal relations among dimensions as much as possible within the thesis's main goals. In this context, urban renewal and housing as a subject matter are evaluated depending on the conditions of labour, capital rationale and state formation under neoliberalism. The experiences, everyday life practices and reasoning of the squatter dwellers and the changing circumstances in their environment and setting provide us with a significant material base to understand "how it works".

Modelling the study within the "3D Abstraction" schema is a complex process. However, interpreting the subject of the study by considering the dimensions entails even more effort. Different perspectives are needed under the vibrant relations in this dynamic schema. The "vantage points" that able researchers to look at the same relations from different sides are critical in this sense. Thanks to those who have looked at the same phenomena through various lenses and perspectives, literature on different fields has been created, developed and updated. This offers researchers the chance to benefit from different theoretical frameworks. However, using different approaches is not mostly welcomed and may be blamed for eclecticism. We believe that the three-dimensional model has serious potential to avoid these kinds of situations. At this point, the reservations mentioned above regarding "academic division of labour" and "academic borrowings" should not be ignored.

From this point on, within the epistemological and methodological frameworks developed for the study, in the light of theoretical discussions, it is aimed to understand how the "forms of housing" are shaped in a periphery country dealing with neoliberal urbanisation dynamics such as urban renewal. In parallel with the extent and multidimensionality of the subject, it was deemed appropriate to include several theoretical discussions with various vantage points. David Harvey, Henry Lefebvre, Manuel Castells, Micheal Foucault, Antonio Gramsci and Pierre Bourdieu are the leading figures who enrich the elaboration of the themes. In addition to their theoretical

demarcations, 'circuits of capital', 'accumulation by dispossession', 'creative destruction', 'ideology', 'everyday life', 'reproduction of space', 'collective consumption', 'forms of capital', 'field', 'habitus', 'governmentality', 'coercion' and 'consent' are the concepts particularly underlined in this part of the study. These theoretical approaches and concepts are significant to address the processes, dynamics and mechanisms at different generality levels, scales and layers regarding the aim of the study that focuses on housing and urban renewal themes. However, though these leading figures' works prove fruitful for explaining "how it works", it should be noted that in this thesis, these ways of thinking are neither embraced without questioning nor accepted as given. Such a manner would be contradictory to the whole rationale of the study. On the contrary, after an investigation and a discussion regarding these frameworks are conducted, a schema that is nourished by the grounded empirical data and relies on the "real concrete" will be developed to explain "how it works".

As Harvey (1989, p. 111) argues:

> [w]hat Marx depicts, …, are social processes at work under capitalism conducive to individualism, alienation, fragmentation, ephemerality, innovation, creative destruction, speculative development, unpredictable shifts in methods of production and consumption (wants and needs), a shifting experience of space and time, as well as a crisis-ridden dynamic of social change.

Housing is at the very core of these processes. Beginning the discussion by focusing on the meaning and role of housing in the current social and historical context and then proceeding with the urban renewal intervention provides a deeper understanding of the relationality between the former and the latter. In this framework, it is evident that there is a need for theoretical frameworks and an accompanying set of concepts associated with housing. Before moving forward, as briefly mentioned above, housing as a part of the built environment has different dimensions that entail further discussions mainly through collective consumption, capital cycles, market relations, state interventions, ideology, culture, everyday life and other social relations in the focus of our study.

The role played by housing in social relations is transformed by urban renewal interventions. Through these projects, several dynamics and mechanisms (necessary or contingent, intended or unintended) occur depending on the changing conditions in capital and labour that influence motivations, strategies and behaviours of the self. This is a sort of equation of motion that includes the aforementioned formative forces and the significant variables such as individuals', households' or communities' dispositions and forms of capital. Thus, all constants and variables will be dealt with concerning the current historical and social context as much as possible. This is the simplest form of the framework that may provide an insight to understand "how it works".

In accordance with this purpose, the discussion initiated with Marxist urban literature proceeds with the problematisation of the sets of concepts that correspond to post or semi epistemologies, which are seen as complementary in terms of the struggle and transformation of the self as a generality level. The subsequent parts of the study mainly proceed with discussions carried out under the headings of 'housing', 'urban renewal' and 'dwellers'. Since it is impossible to demarcate these themes by strict

lines, we strive to place the discussion in the broader context instead of separating housing from the rest or vice versa. The relations between them are indicated under each sub-title as appropriate. Therefore, we use each of them as a unit of analysis by considering their unity in totality. We begin by looking at variegated responses to the housing question through various theoretical lenses. Accordingly, we situated a spatially specific and individually experienced but globally regulated and massively influential phenomenon into the social and historical context by considering motions to improve our insight regarding its particular form.

2.4.1. Situating Housing and Urban Renewal

It is apparent that housing is at the very heart of everyday life like never before. It is a basic need for everyone every single day. Even "homeless people" necessitate one in its simplest form. Without shelter, no one may survive for a long time. However, this basic need could turn into a luxury good. It is very related to the creation of new wants, needs and desires in the capitalist world. Commodity fetishism has transformed the nature of this basic need to a certain extent. People are seeking brand new houses, for the smart ones lately.

On the one hand, there are gated communities, villas with gardens, high rising skyscrapers, and so on. And on the other hand, there are squatters, slums, ghettos, and deteriorated or obsolete housing areas. People of the latter are trying to cope with serious problems such as insecure homes and insecure lands, divided land tenure structure, lack of basic amenities, poor infrastructure, etc.

Parallel to the changing social and historical context, different housing forms point out different settings, different social formations, different social relations and different dispositions. For instance, it is not surprising to see variations in housing forms and settings between the agricultural mode of production and the industrial one. Today, even though archaic forms of housing in relation to tourism and conservation coexist with various home types, the apartment building, for instance, is the dominant one, especially in metropolitan areas, provided for the usage of the masses. In this sense, the contradictions and transformations that emerge in the socio-spatial setting concerning the changes in the relations of production and the class struggle determine the direction of the discussion on housing.

Maybe as the most expansive basic need in the contemporary neoliberal urban system and built environment, housing has become one of the most debatable phenomena in spatial studies, public and social policy fields, economic and administrative sciences and many other fields of academic endeavour and anyone's everyday life. Although not particularly housing but "[t]he 'long waves' of investment in the built environment pre-date the emergence of industrial capitalism and can be clearly identified throughout the transition from feudalism" (Harvey, 1978, p. 121), radical thinkers, in particular, have not primarily focused on housing. Aalbers and Christophers (2014, p. 374) stated that

> … the issue of housing has not been granted an important role in post-war political economy. Housing-as-policy became the preserve of social policy analysis and of a growing field of housing studies that have both shown relatively little interest in the issues that typically concern political economists.

This tendency began to differentiate in the last quarter of the 20ᵗʰ century in parallel with the changes in the approaches towards the 'urban' since as "Lefebvre argues that the contradiction identified by Marx between the forces and relations of capitalist production has been overcome in the advanced capitalist societies by urban growth" (Saunders, 1981, 154). Recently, for the reason that as one of the significant elements of the built environment, housing is at the core of discussions regarding the production, reproduction of labour-power, capital circulation (particularly through financialization) and accumulation.

Contradictions, conflicts and alliances between social classes are traceable in these processes. However, since the housing question has dwelled chiefly on the contradiction between use-value and exchange-value and the processes of consumption and production, it may become challenging to elaborate or analyse. Moreover, under the capitalist mode of production, maybe more than any other commodity, both use value and exchange value are well integrated and intermingled in the housing. Besides, since it is a basic need in nature, it is also a hot topic for the state and public authorities. Through legal and administrative interventions such as provision, allocation, amnesties, transformation projects and many other regulations, the state shows its presence regarding housing even in the most liberal countries. Both state and market actors are well aware of local politics and are willing to be involved in the game played at the local and even at the national level to pursue their interests through different alliances that create new clashes and contradictions. Therefore, there is a need for a discussion that embraces various processes and motions embodied in the housing and housing question.

Housing involves property and market relations, reproduction of labour-power, and policy and state interventions. For instance, Aalbers and Christopher (2014, p. 375) discussed the centrality of housing to the political economy through "three primary, mutually constitutive guises: capital as process of circulation; capital as social relation; and capital as ideology". Although such an argument provides a framework in which the discussion can be developed, four pillars, namely collective consumption, circulation of capital, ideology and everyday life, are defined in this study to present a framework that summarises the central debates on housing in the literature. Although these analytical models seem functional depending on their relationality, they may not be sufficient to examine a social phenomenon such as urban renewal. In this sense, both the embodiment of these processes and recognition of the specific processes' traits may be needed. Long story short, discussions on housing may just become more comprehensive with subsequent discussions on urban renewal and individual positioning, at least for this study.

2.4.1.1.   Collective Consumption to Circulation of Capital

As Şengül (2001, p. 10) points out, in the works of Marx and Engels, although the city is not addressed systematically, it has been evaluated through its 'progressive' and 'regressive' potential depending on the capitalist mode of production. In his famous book, "The Conditions of the Working-Class in England", Engels precisely deals with the housing question of the workers. Engels (1993, p.71) describes the circumstances of labour in the following striking sentences:

I have to deal here with the state of the houses and their inhabitants, and it must be admitted that no more injurious and demoralising method of housing the workers has yet been discovered than precisely this. The working-man is constrained to occupy such ruinous dwellings because he cannot pay for others, and because there are no others in the vicinity of his mill; perhaps, too, because they belong to the employer, who engages him only on condition of his taking such a cottage.

Thus, the focus of discussion on class struggle has been not only the production but also the reproduction, considering the facilities and resources in the urban space. Castells highlights "spatial forms, urban 'ways of life' and 'urban problems'" to comprehend the complex relations "between urbanism and capitalist mode of production through making a distinction between factory as the locus of production and city as the locus of reproduction of labor-power" (Saunders, 1979, pp. 105-106). Althusser (2001, pp. 130-131) points out in one of his notable works that the reproduction of labour-power takes place essentially outside the firm through meeting the needs such as housing, food and clothing to make wage-earner go to the factory the next day. Using the Althusserian framework, Castells made his most significant contribution to the Marxist urban literature by examining the contradictions that arise in the reproduction processes of labour-power on the city scale (Şengül, 2001, p. 17).

As production and consumption are two sides of the same coin, the focus has shifted to consumption through reproduction in Castells's analysis of the urban setting. According to Castells (1977 p. 459), "[t]he state apparatus intervenes in a massive, systematic, permanent and structurally necessary way in the process of consumption, and in different forms". While the state opens the door of specific sectors to monopoly capital, it takes the responsibility of organising and regulating consumption by taking over the provision of the less profitable ones such as housing, health, education and other collective facilities to reproduce labour-power. For Castells, it is precisely these collective consumption processes that constitute the main focus of urban politics.

Before criticising these inferences, it would be appropriate to take a closer look at Castells's elaboration on housing regarding the "collective consumption" concept that mainly embraces not only the process of reproduction of labour-power but also the process of reproduction of social relations.

This collective consumption is… consumption of commodities whose production is not assured by capital, not because of some intrinsic quality, but because of the specific and general interests of capital: thus the same product (housing, for example) will be treated both by the market and by the state, and will therefore be alternately a product of individual or collective consumption, according to the criteria, which will change according to the historical situation. Thus I would distinguish my approach from that of an empiricism that consists in identifying a different social given (collective consumption) and a material product (housing as use value). On the other hand, these 'collective consumer goods' seem to be those that are necessary to the reproduction of labour power and/or to the reproduction of social relations, without which they would not be products, despite their lack of interest for the production of profit (Castells, 1977 pp. 460-461).

Several criticisms have been directed towards Castells's way of thinking, particularly his assessment of housing. According to Saunders (1979, p. 123),

> [w]hat is wrong, or at least confused, in the Castells thesis … is not the definition of the concept but the way in which it is used. This point can most usefully be illustrated with reference to the provision of the most crucial and significant element in the urban system of collective consumption - housing. The obvious point to be made here is that housing may be provided either collectively, by the state, or individually, through the market. In both cases, of course, it is consumed individually.

When access to housing is taken into account under the existing relations of production and related consumption patterns, it isn't easy to talk about the collective characteristics of housing. Due to the domination of exchange-value over use-value, deepening commodification and commodity fetishism, housing solely becomes the object of private consumption. Saunders's assessment, however, can be challenged as well. The serious weakness of his argument stems from his acceptance of existing capitalist social relations as given. Precisely for this reason, he ignores the fact that the socialisation of housing could be possible in a different social formation.

Castells's interpretation suffers similar drawbacks. Fields that are the subject of collective consumption, such as education, health, transportation and housing, which Castells does not consider profitable enough in the eyes of capital, have become highly profitable areas throughout the neoliberal era, depending on the necessary regulations and interventions of the state. In addition, it is evident that the state is incapable of regulating the housing provision for the reproduction of labour-power in the periphery countries such as Turkey, especially during the rapid urbanisation periods when industrialisation is on the rise. While the capital did not take a concrete step in the housing demand of the working classes as expected, the responsibility overtaken by the state in this regard was minimal. Thus the working class took care of themselves and satisfied their housing need through squatters. Reading the current interventions of the state in squatter areas through urban renewal projects as the reproduction of labour-power through the regulation of housing provision seems insufficient for reasons that will be detailed in the following pages. From this point of view, Castells makes an analysis that would either include a particular segment of the working class or focus on a specific historical period in particular countries. Although Castells made serious contributions to urbanisation literature, he did not pay enough attention to the unique formation of the urban space under the influence of Althusserian structuralism.

Considering urban space as a container rather than a specific setting and level of analysis and the dichotomy between consumption and production that put emphasis on the urban through "collective consumption" demonstrate the most significant inadequacies in Castell's interpretation. Harvey (1976, p. 267) draws attention to the misleading separation between the spaces of production and the spaces of reproduction as follows:

> [t]he split between the place of work and the place of residence means that the struggle of labor to control the social conditions of its own existence splits into two seemingly independent struggles… the dichotomy between living and working is itself an artificial division that the capitalist system imposes.

Unlike Castells, Harvey indicates that the key function of urbanization is stimulating new effective demand for the products of industrial capital (Saunders & Lloyd, 1981, 222). For this sake, Harvey (1978) defined the circuits of capital to explain "the urban process under capitalism". Depending on the necessities of the capitalist mode of production, excessive production and over-accumulation create a diminishing rate of return, falling prices and increases in unemployment in the industrial sector. The crisis that capital faces in this process, which is called the primary circuit of capital, can be overcome by the flow of surplus money into the built environment, which is called the secondary circuit of capital. Due to its contradictions and crisis-prone nature, capital needs the tertiary circuit that involves technological and social infrastructure investments to improve the "quality" of the labour power.

Thus, while capital postpones the problems of over-accumulation on the one hand, it sustains social order to a certain extent to ensure more accumulation. The main argument is that the secondary and the tertiary circuits have serious potential to solve the over-accumulation problem that arises at the primary circuit of capital. Although Harvey (1976, p. 271) describes the role of the state by saying that "[w]hen capital intervenes in struggles over the built environment it usually does so through the agency of state power", he was criticised for not plainly revealing the specific role of the state in and between circuits of capital. Balaban (2012) drew attention to the critical role of the state in terms of capital switching through the case of Turkey, and more importantly, instead of successive cycles, he unfolded the possibility of concurrent movements in every circuit. Gottdiener (1990, p. 387) highlights the contingent articulation that puts emphasis on the autonomy between primary and secondary circuits since they possess different logic, social cleavages, tensions, and investment patterns. Thus, instead of a linear articulation, valorisation and de-valorisation in circuits, it is necessary to make an assessment based on the historical and social context to see the circulation of capital and the relation between state and capital.

Rather than a criticism, a contribution to Harvey's model that also assists us in understanding the urban and housing questions in this scientific quest has been discussed after the mortgage crisis in the USA in 2008 that led to the global economic crisis. Harvey (1999, p. 253) notes that "[t]he circulation of capital imposes additional obligations and burdens upon the monetary system, which can be met only through the organization of the credit system as the basis for financial operations". Although he put the critical role of financialization bluntly in the capital switching model, Aalbers (2008, p. 149) conceptualizes the activities in financial markets by integrating them into the circuits of capital as follows:

> [f]inancialization is not just a finance-led regime of accumulation, but can also be reinterpreted as a new stage in the process of capital switching… Financialization can be characterized as capital switching from the primary, secondary or tertiary circuit to what I call the quaternary circuit of capital. Financialization not only implies the financialization of existing economies – i.e. the restructuring of existing markets into producer and consumer markets that are heavily tied to financial markets – but also the rise of financial markets for their own good; that is, the rise of financial markets not for the facilitation of other markets but for the trade in money, credit, securities, etc.

Although the peril of financialisation in the capitalist system has become more questioned after the mortgage crisis that shook the world economies in 2008, the break between the real economy and financial instruments dates back to much earlier. Through the derivatives of the former that seek more and more accumulation and profit, the fictitious capital crises have been getting more frequent and devastative lately. According to Lapavitsas (2009, p. 126),

> [s]ince the late 1970s, real accumulation has witnessed mediocre and precarious growth, but finance has grown extraordinarily in terms of employment, profits, size of institutions and markets… Finance now penetrates every aspect of society in developed countries while its presence has grown strongly in the developing world… Perhaps the most significant development in this respect has been the rise of financial expropriation of workers and others.

As an alternative to Lapavitsas's contribution, Fine (2010, p. 114) offers two essential components regarding financialisation as follows:

> The first is both to deny financial exploitation/expropriation as such as a systemic and pervasive aspect of contemporary capitalism, whilst accepting that economic and social reproduction (of the workforce) has become increasingly articulated with the financial system as part and parcel of a broader process of financialisation. Second are the implications for locating class-struggle in the current conjuncture. For, with the general, if not universal, weakness and disorganization of working-class and progressive movements, despite the de-legitimisation of finance in particular and of neoliberalism in general, the latter has not been matched by the posing of prominent alternatives in practice and through struggle.

In other words, "the circuit of money capital, or making more money from money, appears progressively divorced from production and the exploitation of labour, and is therefore seen as the most fetishized form of capital" (Marois, 2012, p. 139). The working class's involvement in the financial system through the countless market instruments for borrowing or saving is critical to understanding neoliberalism's survival. Under these assertions, while the necessities or imperatives are presented as opportunities to cover society, it becomes possible to discuss a setting creating dependency by paralysing, especially the working class.

Through investments in the secondary circuit, capital may overcome the over-accumulation problem on the one hand. It may also stimulate the demand by creating new desires and wants in the society, which facilitates capital circulation and sustains social order on the other hand. Particularly, homeownership title, especially gained through a mortgage that spans over the years, is critical for maintaining political stability. The unexpected situations and social ups and downs most of the time worry people who carry burdens, have responsibilities and own something to lose. Therefore, the promotion of homeownership, financialisation of housing, and securitisation of housing loans are the different facets of the same reality that is based on the class struggle. As Harvey (1978, p. 121) points out:

> The flow of investment into the built environment depends upon the existence of surpluses of capital and labour and upon mechanisms for pooling the former and putting it to use… Investment in the built environment took place primarily for

financial rather than use-value reasons-investors were looking for a steady and secure rate of return on their capital.

This inference is applicable not only to capitalists but also to part of the working class. Lately, having rental real estate has turned out to secure the future for most people in society while welfare state subsidies are diminishing. This tendency that promotes real estate ownership and increases the construction and finance sector activities augments the circulation of capital at the end of the day.

The 'housing question', therefore, should entail a reconsideration of the class struggle. However, as Harvey (1978, p. 125) states:

> we should also consider a whole host of qualitative aspects to labour power encompassing not only skills and training, but attitudes of mind, levels of compliance, the pervasiveness of the 'work ethic' and of 'possessive individualism', the variety of fragmentations within the labour force which derive from the division of labour and occupational roles, as well as from older fragmentations along racial, religious and ethnic lines.

Aalbers and Christophers (2014, p. 383) take this point further and claim as such,

> [w]hat is also clear, crucially, is that such divided social relations, and housing's role in their realization/reproduction, are not reducible to class dimensions alone. Race/ethnicity and gender palpably intersect with class, in all manner of different and complex ways, in producing the variegated landscape of social difference and inequality we associate with capitalist societies.

Besides these internal divisions in the working class related to self-positioning, consumption patterns, or cultural traits in the field of housing, alliances between certain segments of other classes may occur respectively (Harvey, 1976; Saunders & Lloyd, 1981). Firstly, through residential mortgage lending, the finance capital benefits from the worker who wants to be an owner of the house. Secondly, landed interest seeks to profit from rising demands. Thirdly, capital, particularly the industrial one, solves the over-accumulation problem that arises in the first circuit. Fourthly, the social order is ensured while homeowners struggle to avoid foreclosures in a debt-based economic system. Fifthly, capital in the service or industrial sector may act against the landed interest or put pressure on the state to provide affordable housing to the working class, which lowers the cost of reproduction of the labour class. Finally, these phenomena may occur concurrently, or one or more of them may trigger (an)other. Their appearances or the way of relation may change depending on historical and social conditions. But the important thing is to be aware of the possibility of various alliances or conflicts related to housing in the social arena.

It is clear that one of the most critical interventions in the secondary circuits of capital is urban renewal projects that trigger accumulation in the primary circuit, direct capital flows and intensify financialisation through devaluation and revaluation[25]. There is a

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[25] Smith (1981, as cited in Mitchell, 2017, p. 1) stated that devaluation and revaluation, depreciation and appreciation, and devalorization and valorization are three distinct pairs of concept in Marx's studies. Although it is not likely to carry out this discussion due to the limitations of the study, this assertion is worth considering.

need for an embodiment and contextualization of this process to understand these distinct moments in capitalism. In this sense, we identify urban renewal as a creative destruction practice. It is a (re)valuation of not only a piece of land and some houses but also of lifestyles, forms of capital and dispositions of people that will be detailed in the following pages.

According to Schumpeter (2003, p. 83), who identified and popularized the concept, creative destruction is based on "incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one. This process of Creative Destruction is the essential fact about capitalism. It is what capitalism consists in and what every capitalist concern has got to live in". Parallel to the glorification of technological developments and innovations, "[t]his economic system cannot do without the ultima ratio of the complete destruction of those existences which are irretrievably associated with the hopelessly unadapted" (Schumpeter, 1983, p. 253). The basis of Schumpeter's work lies in Marx's findings regarding the internal contradictions of the capitalist system. The intrinsic contradictory tendencies of capitalism, such as declining returns, over-accumulation, and insufficient demand, may be overcome through crises concluded with revaluation creating "winners" and "losers" at the end of the day. Capitalism may only survive thanks to these destructions and crises. In his own words, Marx explains this process as follows:

> Hence the highest development of productive power together with the greatest expansion of existing wealth will coincide with depreciation of capital, degradation of the labourer, and a most straitened exhaustion of his vital powers. These contradictions lead to explosions, cataclysms, crises, in which by momentaneous suspension of labour and annihilation of a great portion of capital the latter is violently reduced to the point where it can go on. These contradictions, of course, lead to explosions, crises, in which momentary suspension of all labour and annihilation of a great part of the capital violently lead it back to the point where it is enabled [to go on] fully employing its productive powers without committing suicide. Yet, these regularly recurring catastrophes lead to their repetition on a higher scale, and finally to its violent overthrow. There are moments in the developed movement of capital which delay this movement other than .by crises; such as e.g. the constant devaluation of a part of the existing capital: the transformation of a great part of capital into fixed capital which does not serve as agency of direct production; unproductive waste of a great portion of capital etc. (Marx, 1973, p. 750).

If there is something more significant in capitalism than the accumulation of capital, it is the continuity of the circulation of capital. The commodification and market transactions enable the cycle within the system to some extent. But when the inevitable slowdown in circulation with all the contradictions it carries begins to paralyze existing social relations and settings, it is a harbinger of a new capitalist formation. As Harvey (1989, pp. 105-106) states,

> [t]he effect of continuous innovation, however, is to devalue, if not destroy, past investments and labour skills. Creative destruction is embedded within the circulation of capital itself. Innovation exacerbates instability, insecurity, and in the end, becomes the prime force pushing capitalism into periodic paroxysms of crisis.

Therefore, creative destruction that may appear as a process or moment does not just occur when capital flows halt; on the contrary, capitalism necessitates it as a potential and kinetic energy not to experience stagnation. Berman (1988, p. 99) highlights this tendency as such:

> the truth of the matter, as Marx sees, is that everything that bourgeois society builds is built to be torn down. "All that is solid"—from the clothes on our backs to the looms and mills that weave them, to the men and women who work the machines, to the houses and neighborhoods the workers live in, to the firms and corporations that exploit the workers, to the towns and cities and whole regions and even nations that embrace them all—all these are made to be broken tomorrow, smashed or shredded or pulverized or dissolved, so they can be recycled or replaced next week, and the whole process can go on again and again, hopefully forever, in ever more profitable forms.

As two distinct but interrelated moments in capitalism, creation and destruction could be a critical part of what Bauman (2007) calls "liquid times". Creative destruction is anything but a 'hotbed of uncertainty' that occupies individuals' minds making relentless calculations. Perhaps the most troubling aspect of these individual efforts is that no one can be sure about the accuracy of the decisions made due to the accelerated pace of change. In this regard, it is necessary to include two related reservations about these determinations.

The first is that not everything is destroyed by the turbulence generated or concluded by the creative destruction processes. There are forces, phenomena and structures that preserve or alter their power and existence at the end of the day. For instance, "[t]he scenario of growth-crisis-growth-crisis, etc. is better for many actors in financial markets than the scenario of stability or slow steady growth" (Aalbers, 2013, p. 1088). Traders, shareholders or investors make money from fluctuations in the market. Instead of the real sector, the financial sector necessitates ups and downs to make more profit. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate what has been destroyed and what has been created through class struggle in today's social setting. Precisely for this reason, continuity and incremental changes are significant, as well as ruptures and discontinuities in times of turmoil. On the other hand, considering the kernel of this study, as seen in the built environment, destroying or changing something that has been produced or created once may not go smoothly depending on the struggles mentioned above. Also, as Harvey (2006) mainly explains in detail in his famous book "Limits to Capital", there is severe tension between spatial fixity and capital circulation. Therefore, spatial restructuring through creative and destructive interventions under capitalism does not follow a certain path. Depending on the contextual and historical flexibility of the neoliberal agenda, path-dependency in urban policy-making processes can evolve incrementally at certain times and places when and where creative destruction processes are challenged. In one way or another, as Brenner and Theodore (2002, p. 349) abruptly stated that "[t]he concept of creative destruction is presented as a useful means for describing the geographically uneven, socially regressive, and politically volatile trajectories of institutional/spatial change that have been crystallizing under these conditions".

Urban renewal projects, particularly in housing areas, play a significant role in creative destruction processes with all their transformative capacities due to the multi-

dimensional nature of housing. The housing may not be the subject of collective consumption, as Castells mentioned, in today's context. Still, it is essential to understand the conditions of labour and social relations regarding the circulation and accumulation of capital mentioned above. Aalbers and Christopher (2014) state that the multifaceted materiality of housing is pivotal for grasping the circulation of capital. "The cost of shelter is an important item in the cost of labour-power. The more workers have the capacity to press home wage demands, the more capital becomes concerned about the cost of shelter" (Harvey, 1978, p. 126). "Housing as carrier of practices of capital accumulation is variegated in space, across national manifestations of capitalism and is shaped by historical trajectories, culture and institutions" (Fernandez & Aalbers, 2017, p. 157).

Perhaps the most important and most controversial process depending on an ideally specific system of ideas that ensure the existence and reproduction of these relations in society is the ideology and everyday life, which have an intricate relationship with the coercive power of the mode of production. An object may refer to an ideology, or it may be the carrier of a particular ideology. However, its existence and its appearances are dependent on the social and historical conditions in which it flourishes. In this framework, ideology and its role in housing will be discussed in the next section.

2.4.1.2. Ideology and Everyday Life

The individual's attitudes between altruism and egoism as two opposite poles are unavoidably influenced by the dominant social formation. The concentrated and idealised capitalist social formation, which aims to penetrate every part and parcel of life, relies on a self-interested and utility maximising human model called homo-economicus. However, making incessant "rational calculations" cause a threat to the very existence of capitalist social relations. Although the model of the individual pursuing his/her interests is prominent, this does not indicate a sustainable social model. This situation marks the very moment when the liberal formula collapses. It is impossible to talk about such a plain formation because of its great contradiction and conflict with the social. Although there is the dominant form of relations in social formations, residual and even ancient ones may (actually have to) take place anytime under appropriate conditions. Therefore, social reality seems like a complex and intermingled formation that may both contradict and complement the dominant one depending on the context. The dominant one substantially determines the rules of the game, but the social is more than that. It exceeds what we call 'the dominant'.

In this sense, according to Braudel (1981, pp. 23-24), there are several economies in different societies instead of one. Suppose one is the 'market economy' that leans on production and exchange. In that case, another is the 'material life' or 'material civilisation' that lies underneath the first one and includes the infra-economy, informal activities, barter of goods and services and self-sufficiency. The third one is the 'capitalist economy' occupied by a privileged group of people who try to rule the circulations. In this hierarchical, tripartite system, while the 'market economy' is the most visible one in recent human history, others stay in the grey zone.

As Polanyi (1944) indicates in his prominent book Great Transformation that the 'exchange' dominates social relations and organizations lately, reciprocity and

redistribution have played a significant role in the principles of economic behaviours. In his own words:

> Broadly, the proposition holds that all economic systems known to us up to the end of feudalism in Western Europe were organized either on the principle of reciprocity or redistribution, or householding, or some combination of the three. These principles were institutionalized with the help of a social organization which, inter alia, made use of e patterns of symmetry, centricity, and autarchy. In this framework, the orderly production and distribution of goods was secured through a great variety of individual motives disciplined by general principles of behavior. Among these motives gain was not prominent. Custom and law, magic and religion cooperated in inducing the individual to comply with rules of behavior which, eventually, ensured his functioning in the economic system (Polanyi, 1944, p. 57).

For example, when we look at the characteristics of social formation, which is the focus of this study, Polanyi's assertions make sense. The transformation of residual agricultural production relations and dispositions belonging to the rural setting has taken place under the squatter economy, depending on exchange and reciprocity and redistribution principles more than the rest of the city. In accord with that, it is hard to penetrate and understand the 'capitalist economy' and 'material life' are embedded in everyday life and, most of the time, practised '(un)consciously' through ideologies.

Eagleton (1992, p. 219) states that "capitalism has generated a sumptuous wealth of capacities, but under the sign of scarcity, alienation and one-sidedness". The capitalist state formation, in this process, emerged as the guardian of private property while holding the power of using legitimate physical force in the Weberian sense as well (Weber, 2015). Therefore, it should not be surprising that it uses this privileged and prior position in the (re)production of urban space by making interventions for the benefit of a few instead of all, even if it means ignoring one of its aforementioned primary duties. However, the capitalist state, which emerged under certain historical conditions, is also a kind of field in which struggles are taking place between classes and in the classes. Although struggle and conflict are the most critical dynamics of social life, instead of severe changes and transformations, individuals most of the time experience self-destructive continuities and alienating stabilities that have been piled up over long periods of time. While the intense contradictions persist in every moment of daily life, existing power relations make great efforts to re-establish themselves.

This simple equation mainly specified not only production, (re)distribution and consumption depending on the material conditions but also the relations that also embrace the system of ideas to bend or disguise social reality. It may not always be the case, but due to the omnipotence of ideology, the possibility of divergence with the material reality remains. Ideology is not fairy dust or a silver bullet. It is only a state of the material basis shaped within the power relations. On the one hand, this is why ideology is functional and manipulative since not everyone becomes equally better off or worse off in the same way during power struggles.

On the other hand, beyond normative material gain or loss evaluations, adopting a particular ideology or an eclectic way of thinking could just be related to mental satisfaction. This creates a severe challenge to understand and analyse what is often encountered behind the ideological positioning. Weber's (2015, p. 193) contribution

in a different but related context is remarkable to understand the ideal and material roots of ideological reproduction.

> Anybody who wants to establish "absolute justice" on earth by the means of violence needs followers, a human "apparatus." He has to hold out to these followers the prospect of inner [psychological] and outer [material] rewards. They can be of heavenly or earthly nature, otherwise the apparatus does not work.

Therefore, ideological positioning seems mostly the amalgamation of various ideal and material motivations and expectations, to put it in a nutshell. In this context, a discussion that will be carried out through concepts such as ideology, false consciousness, mystification, misrecognition, everyday life is vital while searching for an answer to "how it works" related to the urban renewal phenomenon shaping the housing field both for the society in general and for the squatter dwellers who have to take an attitude even if they are highly confused.

Marx and Engels (1998, p. 42) put their approach regarding the relationship between materiality and consciousness that may provide insight regarding ideology as follows:

> The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men, appear at this stage as the direct efflux of their material behaviour… Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence of men is their actual life-process… Morality, religion, metaphysics, all the rest of ideology and their corresponding forms of consciousness, thus no longer retain the semblance of independence… Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life.

In this context, it is significant to know how ideology is realised, what kind of a role it plays, and how it reproduces itself in social relations through the relation between material one and ideal one. According to Lefebvre (1991a, p. 146), "[m]ost ideologies have been mystifications in so far as they have succeeded at certain periods in making men accept certain illusions, certain appearances, and in introducing those appearances into real life and making them effective there". "It is the classic concept of ideology as 'false consciousness', misrecognition of the social reality which is part of this reality itself. Our question is: Does this concept of ideology as a naive consciousness still apply to today's world? Is it still operating today?" (Zizek, 1991, p. 25). In the light of these evaluations, both Lefebvre's emphasis on mystification and illusion and the problem of the current applicability of the 'false consciousness' mentioned by Zizek, which emerged in relation to misleading appearances, are highly significant. With regard to this discussion, Burawoy (2012, p. 192) confronts a theoretical knot while rightfully questioning the differences between misrecognition and mystification in ideological stances.

Cormak (1995, p. 24) claims that the classic Marxist position is that ideology is a distorted (not simply false) view of reality and is contrasted with objective, scientific knowledge. Hetherington (2007, p. 57) clarifies the ideological link between actor and structure through elaborating commodity fetishism in the following way:

> Commodity fetishism is a theory of fetishism that positions subjects and objects (commodities) in a particular way, reading the commodity and commodified culture as an illusory representation of the world of production; something that seemingly involves consumers in the worship of the misleading figural or signifying qualities of material culture… The illusion arises because in capitalist societies people do see a true picture – but a true picture of a false reality.

In a similar vein, Eagleton (1992, p. 208) formulates the problem by stating that "in a mystifying 'now you see it, now you don't' logic, the commodity is present and absent simultaneously, a tangible entity whose meaning is wholly immaterial and always elsewhere, in its formal relations of exchange with other objects".

In our opinion, the answer varies depending on the vantage point and the level of generality. For example, according to Bourdieu's stance, this points to a question of recognition. In his own words:

> What I put under the term of "recognition," then, is the set of fundamental, prereflexive assumptions that social agents engage by the mere fact of taking the world for granted, of accepting the world as it is, and of finding it natural because their mind is constructed according to cognitive structures that are issued out of the very structures of the world" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 168).

The reason behind misrecognition could be mystification. Mis- or nonrecognition could pave the way for hyper mystification. While mystification mainly points to the upper generality levels in which power struggles occur for the sake of mass mobilisation, misrecognition depending on the material conditions, is primarily the process of individual intellect that signifies the lower generality level. The two are not the same thing, nor are they independent of each other. Urban renewal projects, as explained in the following pages, are among the best examples of how the processes of appropriation, rent creation and distribution by those in power are mystified. In this sense, although squatter dwellers are not passive agents, they may have difficulty recognising the manifestations of material relations under coercive control and with limited options. Eagleton (1991, pp. 41-42) argues "that advanced capitalism is a self-sustaining 'game' which keeps us in place much less through ideas than by its material techniques; and that among these techniques the coercion of the economic is far more effective than any sort of sermonizing".

When it comes to how ideology is actualised, "Althusser develops a theory of ideology which is more concerned with structure than with belief" (Cormak, 1995, p. 10). According to Althusser (2020), the exercise of the ideology different from the state's repressive apparatuses such as the army, courts and prisons relies upon the state's ideological apparatuses such as family, school, media, sport and art. Althusser's explanations regarding the social reality that leans on structuralism suffer from the actor-structure and base-superstructure dualities. The biggest problem in Althusser's approach to ideology is related to his vantage point that gives priority to certain generality levels regardless of their relations with others. Specifically, the passivity of the individual in his formulation creates a severe deficiency to understand how ideology works and is reproduced in society. Burawoy (1979, p. 77) obviously speaking of Althusser and his followers, expresses his criticism of this situation as follows:

> Following Marx, twentieth-century Marxism has too often and too easily reduced wage laborers to object of manipulation; to commodities bought and sold in the market; to abstractions incapable of resistance; to victims of the inexorable forces of capitalist accumulation; to carriers, agents, or supports of social relations.

Instead of understanding through institutions or structures and underestimating the role of the individual, it seems more meaningful to focus on the omnipresence of ideology at the expense of reducing its identifiability. For this very reason, we think that Lefebvre's (1973, p. 87) assessment of power can also be relevant for understanding ideology as a kind of potential power:

> Power can perish in various ways – sometimes actually from anxiety, but always in a state of anxiety. But power has extended its domain right into the interior of each individual, to the roots of consciousness, to the "topias" hidden in the folds of subjectivity… Government projects have always, in fact, had only one aim: to offload some of their responsibilities on to local and regional organisms while preserving the mechanisms of power intact.

In addition, when ideological positions are examined, it is clear that the relationship of individuals with power sometimes becomes pragmatic depending on the coercive and manipulative manoeuvres and tactics of the power holders. Eagleton (1991, pp. 35-36) observes that

> … if the system survives, it is more on account of social divisions between the various groups it exploits than by virtue of some overall ideological coherence. There is no need for those groups to endorse or internalize dominant ideological values, as long as they do more or less what is required of them. Indeed most oppressed peoples throughout history have signally not granted their rulers such credence: governments have been more endured than admired.

This relationship is a malign one that may be reproduced or sustained up to a certain point but then can create serious destruction for the whole society. This is how social corruptions and collapses occur. It is impossible to disagree with Jameson's (1997, p. 247) reservation:

> From within the system you cannot hope to generate anything that negates the system as a whole or portends the experience of something other than the system, or outside of the system.

Under these conditions, it is necessary for the survival of capitalist social relations that most people have to make 'sacrifices' depending on normative values. Values, beliefs, thoughts, and ideas may be manipulated, albeit constructive in life. This reveals the possibility of "various rationalities". Although the rationalities may differ due to ideological mystification, misrecognition or false consciousness, the social atmosphere that consists of coercion, necessities and numbness of 'everyday life' should be considered. While this makes the actor-structure duality meaningless, it points to a complex network of mostly reproduced and rarely contested relations. In this setting, it is necessary to focus on the complementary elements that make the ideology work. According to (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 180)

> Society becomes a mechanism and an organism which ceases to be comprehensible to the very people who participate in it and who maintain it

through their labour. Men are what they do, and think according to what they are. And yet they are ignorant of what they do and what they are. Their own works and their own reality are beyond their grasp.

Man has been unable to avoid this alienation. It has imposed itself in everyday life, in social relations more complex than the immediate relations of kinship and primitive economy.

In this regard, it is necessary to grasp the role of everyday life in the reproduction of social relations of production. As one of the foremost thinkers of everyday life, Lefebvre may provide insight into understanding the relations between the urban renewal processes and everyday life that spotlight how it works, especially in the eyes of squatter dwellers. According to Lefebvre (1971, pp. 59-60), "[i]n the modern world everyday life had ceased to be a 'subject' rich in potential subjectivity; it had become an 'object' of social organization". However, while the ordinariness of everyday life is intriguing, it is a challenging and complicated 'object' to elaborate on. De Certeau (1984, p. 71) highlights his concerns about the evaluation of everyday life practices as follows:

Like that of poets and painters, the know-how of daily practices is supposed to be known only by the interpreter who illuminates it in his discursive mirror though he does not possess it either. It thus belongs to no one. It passes from the unconsciousness of its practitioners to the reflection of non-practitioners without involving any individual subject. It is an anonymous and referential knowledge, a condition of the possibility of technical or scientific practices.

Braudel (1981, p. 29), in a similar vein, traces everyday life as follows:

Everyday life consists of the little things one hardly notices in time and space. The more we reduce the focus of vision, the more likely we are to find ourselves in the environment of material life: the broad sweep usually corresponds to History with a capital letter, to distant trade routes, and the networks of national or urban economies. If we reduce the length of the time observed, we either have the event or the everyday happening. The event is, or is taken to be, unique; the everyday happening is repeated, and the more often it is repeated the more likely it is to become a generality or rather a structure. It pervades society at all levels, and characterises ways of being and behaving which are perpetuated through endless ages.

According to Highmore (2002, p. 48), "Braudel does not provide a definitive guide to the history of everyday life. In many ways he does something more important by asking us to think about history as a plurality of different kinds of time".

Regarding everyday life, on the other hand, Lefebvre (1971, p. 27) adopts an approach that consists of "critical distancing, debating and collating" and focuses on the relationship between ideology, appearances, and capitalism with reference to its transformative power. In his own words:

Capitalism has not only subordinated exterior and anterior sectors to itself, it has produced new sectors, transforming what pre-existed and completely overthrowing the corresponding institutions and organizations. The same is true of "art", knowledge, "leisure", urban and everyday reality. It is a vast process

which, as usual, is wrapped in appearances and ideological masks (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 83).

As discussed in the previous chapters in the contradiction between spatial fixity and capital flows, the transformation of everyday reality for capitalism should not cause the existing power structures to be challenged. In this respect, daily life includes both motion and stagnation. To put it bluntly, look at people's lives. There are few days when there are practices different from the daily routine in their lives. Every day is a new day. But it is almost the same as the previous one. Waking up, eating, working, doing stereotypical leisure activities and sleeping are everyday activities that are lived and experienced for the first time every single day. Still, in their essence, they are a duplication of complex ordinariness moulded by repetitive actions.

> The quotidian is what is humble and solid, what is taken for granted and that of which all the parts follow in such a regular succession that those concerned have no call to question their sequence; thus it is undated and (apparently) insignificant; though it occupies and preoccupies it is practically untellable, and it is the ethics underlying routine and the esthetics of familiar settings (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 24).

Very few people can lead a life outside of this ordinary in the modern world presented as boasting diversity and pluralism, especially in the last couple of decades. Although the individual's intrinsic ability and effort to get rid of this routine is not lost, they depend on the contingencies or the power of overcoming certain imperatives or necessities that are at work. As Lefebvre (1991a, p. 189) stated,

> If on the one hand everyday life reveals the forces which work for and against man, on the other hand it has always been possible to erect the immediate as a barrier to wider and more farreaching ways of seeing. It is in the name of the immediate (immediate demands, immediate needs, etc.) that people have opposed and continued to oppose wider visions, wider solutions to their problems.

It is not possible to talk about a unilateral process, as in many others. Bayat (1997) draws our attention to distinctive, active and pragmatic positions that individuals may take by calling it "the quiet encroachment of the ordinary" in his famous book "Street Politics". Although it varies depending on the transformation of the historical and social context, as De Certeau mentions, everyday practices include all limitations and mediocrities as well as the potential of individuals to cope with and go beyond them.

> Many everyday practices (talking, reading, moving about, shopping, cooking, etc.) are tactical in character. And so are, more generally, many "ways of operating": victories of the "weak" over the "strong" (whether the strength be that of powerful people or the violence of things or of an imposed order, etc.), clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things, "hunter's cunning," maneuvers, polymorphic simulations, joyful discoveries, poetic as well as warlike (De Certeau, 1984, p. xix).

For instance, in a similar vein, such social practices as mockery, rumour, and gossip that are a significant part of the squatter setting may be the way of dealing with both the ordinariness of everyday life and the power.

Although the potentials in and the plurality of everyday life and the precise demarcations between economies are problematic under capitalist formation, the significance relies upon the emphasis on the mundane, material or daily relations surrounded and moulded by the market forces. According to Lefebvre, everyday life is both "sustenance, clothing, furnishing, homes, neighbourhoods, environment" (1971, p. 21) and recurrences, trivialities, superficialities that lead to the survival and reproduction of capitalism.

Just as socialism or communism poses a danger to capitalist social relations, the social structures that used to be dominant pose a threat to the extent that they are not controlled, tamed or integrated; these alternative practices and potentials need to be destroyed or transformed. What we want to do here is not glorifying or romanticising the squatter settings. On the one hand, it is evident that the squatter neighbourhoods and dwellers have also been experiencing commodification and capitalisation depending on the transformation in the urban processes and social relations. On the other hand, it is a fact that squatter neighbourhoods have distinct dynamics from the rest of the city in terms of sociospatial relations. It is precisely for this reason that urban renewal interventions are a practical, destructive and transformative tool of a not only incomplete but also clogged agenda.

In the sense that Kevin Lynch (1960) mentions in his book "The Image of the City", squatter dwellers have lost imageability based on identity, structure, and meaning regarding the squatters. Through the annihilation of the squatter neighbourhood and its elements, the memory of past experiences evoked and the practical and emotional distinctions attributed have faded away. Combining Lynch's approach to the sense of place and spatial imaginations of individuals and Althusser's (1971, p. 162) conceptualisation of ideology as "the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence", Jameson (2013, pp. 51-52) came up with the concept of 'cognitive mapping' that stretches Lynch's urban experience to national and global scales and presents as a political project in the realm of social structure. According to Jameson (1988a, p. 353),

> Ideology … as a necessary function in any form of social life has the great merit of stressing the gap between the local positioning of the individual subject and the totality of class structures in which he or she is situated, a gap between phenomenological perception and a reality that transcends all individual thinking or experience: but this ideology, as such, attempts to span or coordinate, to map, by means of conscious and unconscious representations.

For instance, cognitive maps become fragmented or transformed at best when creative destruction practices are at work, as embodied in implementations of urban renewal projects. If the capital system is breaking down the cognitive maps, those opposing must restore the cognitive maps (Ercan, 2009, p. 25). Otherwise, as Şengül (2018) pointed out, as the link between individual positioning and the global social totality is broken, the impossibility in the cognitive mapping leads to failures in claiming power and taking it.

Although Jameson did not indicate how to reveal cognitive maps, even showing an effort to know the squatter dwellers' "cognitive maps" can be pretty illustrative to comprehend their positions towards the urban renewal projects and how this process

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is progressing. Nonetheless, a significant defect of the concept and the approach derived from it could be found in Jameson's own words as such:

> Fully as striking on another level is the omnipresence of the theme of paranoia as it expresses itself in a seemingly inexhaustible production of conspiracy plots of the most elaborate kinds. Conspiracy, one is tempted to say, is the poor person's cognitive mapping in the postmodern age; it is the degraded figure of the total logic of late capital, a desperate attempt to represent the latter's system, whose failure is marked by its slippage into sheer theme and content (Jameson, 1988a, p. 356).

These assertions raise a few questions. First, what is necessary for individuals to position themselves in the global system depending on material base rather than ideologies or conspiracies? What is the way to do that? How can we distinguish the cognitive maps of the poor and others as an outsider? Could false consciousness be the reason for a poor person's cognitive mapping? Or could it be just the misrecognition or misinformation? In these regards, Mason (2002) draws attention to two major related problems: the first one is 'asymmetrical access to information' that enriches or impoverishes the cognitive mapping, and the second one is the difficulties in finding or creating relevant and legitimate distancing between one's position and the global society. This debate is essentially concerned with the dichotomy of "class for itself", "class in itself", "class consciousness", and "false consciousness", which cannot be discussed in depth here due to the limitations of the study. However, a brief evaluation will be made to understand the positions of the squatter dwellers in urban transformation processes in the following pages within the Bourdeusian framework.

Overall, although ideology and everyday life sometimes pose contradictions and sometimes go together, these significant factors intertwine while shaping the social reality. Neither a privileged position is attributed to ideology, nor it is argued that the squatter settings are independent of the rest of the city or free from the features of Lefevbre's 'quotidian'. The question to be asked at this point is: Has the urban renewal intervention made a change in "everyday life"? If so, in what direction and how did this take place? Have ideological positions had an impact on the urban renewal process? If so, how did it happen? In this sense, it is necessary to unfold the seemingly humble transformation in the recurrences, trivialities, and superficialities of everyday life to understand 'how it works'. In our opinion, urban renewal interventions carried out, especially in squatter neighbourhoods, are a kind of task for accomplishing the 'everyday modern life'.

It is expected within the brief discussions above that depending on the indivisibility of the spaces of production and consumption, an intervention clouded by ideology in the housing field transforms cognitive maps, habitus and everyday life. Instead of a break or rupture, this transformation emerges with a series of interventions that impose new imperatives that are essentially the same but incremental. Jameson (1988b, p. 47), in other words, concludes as such:

> The new Marxian version of the "state" will explain the originality of the features of so-called postindustrial society as a new stage of capitalism proper, in which the old contradictions of capital are still at work, but in unexpectedly new forms.

How it takes place, and its dynamics will be addressed over the urban renewal phenomenon in the next section.

2.4.1.3. Urban Renewal as a Formative Intervention

Gottdiener (1990, p. 391) suggests "that capitalist development is driven principally by its crisis tendencies which implicate antagonistic relations of the state and labour as well as capital". Under a series of severe contradictions detailed in the preliminary work of Harvey (2014), capitalism tried to overcome its crises by evolving. According to Lefebvre (1973, p. 47),

> [t]he collapse of free competitive capitalism has come about, through the concentration and centralization of capital; but this process has given capitalism an unexpected elasticity and capacity for organization. It resists crises and revolutionary convulsions – and especially in the advanced countries contrary to Marx's prediction.

Problems may have solutions, but contradictions do not. Due to the contradictory nature of capitalism that has become vaguer in the neoliberal era, it is impossible to find a remedy. Therefore, most of the time crisis of capitalism concluded with more capitalism (Aalbers, 2013).

Harvey (2004, p. 64) holds the view that "[g]lobal capitalism has experienced a chronic and enduring problem of over-accumulation since the 1970s… [T]he inability to accumulate through expanded reproduction on a sustained basis has been paralleled by a rise in attempts to accumulate by dispossession". "One of the prime functions of state interventions and of international institutions is to orchestrate devaluations in ways that permit accumulation by dispossession to occur without sparking a general collapse" (Harvey, 2003, p. 151). Rescaling of state economic intervention to privilege strategic supranational and subnational spaces of accumulation is signified as neoliberalism's moment of creation by Brenner and Theodore (2002, p. 365). On the other hand, as Yalman (2002, p. 316) mentions, devaluing class-based explanations and holding the state accountable for emerging crises present the neoliberal narrative as the universal truth to implement structural reforms.

Şengül (2016, p. 3) pointed out that the commodification in the neoliberal period, which brings the breakdown in democracy, the increasing visibility of coercion and violence through the primitive accumulation and the accumulation by dispossession and finally, the widespread creative-destruction processes, pave the way for critical changes in the political and social field. Although the primitive accumulation that transforms 'immediate producers' to 'wage labourers' by depriving them of the possession of means of production "forms the prehistoric stage of capital and of the mode of production corresponding with it" (Marx, 1963a, pp. 714-715), cases, implementations and practices show that primitive accumulation continues to exist quite up-to-date. "Some of the mechanisms of primitive accumulation that Marx emphasized have been fine-tuned to play an even stronger role now than in the past" (Harvey, 2003, p. 147). Although the dynamics differ to a certain extent, today's urban transformation projects, in this sense, carry the characteristics of primitive accumulation and accumulation by dispossession.

Urban transformation in general, renewal/redevelopment interventions in particular, comprise destructive moments and formative processes under the capitalist mode of urbanisation. These projects play a significant role not only for the capital accumulation by directly triggering construction and other related sectors, attracting investments and accelerating price movements in the land/property market, but also for the overarching capitalist social transformation and formation. Parallel to rising raw material production and increasing demand in the labour market, speculations and transactions in the real estate sector gear up the circulation of capital through projects. Many households' future labour is foreclosed on by long-term mortgages. Even while moving to a new place and furnishing the house, a significant amount of money is injected into the economy, and many households become indebted. Therefore, besides (re)development of urban land, economic and physical renewal/revitalisation of 'depressed' and 'declining' urban areas have been considered as an opportunity to fasten capital accumulation and circulation. Merrifield (2014) calls this process neo-Haussmannization that points to the transformation of the urban fabric as a new form of urban redevelopment under the rule of elites, financial institutions, and governments is taking place around the world in the context of planetary urbanization. It penetrates every inch of urban life.

Let's take a closer look at it. Due to the concentration of economic activities in big cities parallel to the decline in rural areas of periphery countries, metropolises turned magnets to migrants, especially after the 1950s. On the one hand, whereas the extensive suburbanization had been redefining the distinction between rural and urban areas in metropolitan areas of centre countries, urban decay had taken place in inner cities where low-income households could only find a chance to live. In the course of time, deindustrialisation in these countries also led to idle factories, docks, depots and etc. related to organisation of global production. On the other hand, in peripheral countries across the globe, squatters under various names such as barrios, favelas, basti, bidonville, katchi abadi, masseque, kampong or gecekondu had mushroomed[26]. The migrants who could not able to gain or find access to land and housing in especially big cities solved their shelter problem on their own by building squatters in vacant and mostly disaster-prone areas. The lack of interventionist state policies on housing played a critical role in increasing the number of squatters. "What the government could not provide was undertaken by the private sector and the people themselves" (Yonder, 1987, p. 215). Consequently, cities were faced with the rise of "Planet of Slums", as Davis (2006) indicated.

The period referred to as deindustrialization or post-industrialization covers basically the last quarter of the 20th century. In this sense, the distinctions seen in the global division of labour sharpened and the industrial production that was clustered in certain geographies parallel to the uneven development dramatically increased. Parallel to the rising significance of urban land for capital accumulation, these spaces of production that were abandoned by industrial capital and/or spaces of reproduction of labour-power have attracted capital investments. Then as handy urban policy instruments, these areas, whether they are in the centre or periphery countries, are (re)commodified

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[26] What is meant here is that the material foundations similarly shape the phenomena to the extent that the historical and social contexts are alike.

by various projects under different names such as renewal, redevelopment, regeneration and rehabilitation.

> Critical urbanists relate mainstream regeneration to the renewed conditions of profitability of the urban built environment in a post-modern context of flexible capitalism, increasingly commodified social relations and heightened circulation of commodities, information and people (Rossi & Vanolo, 2013, p. 160).

As with other commodities, homeownership through urban renewal projects is promoted by the authorities since being an owner of a commodity in several ways strengthens the bonds that keep the capitalist mode of production up. Besides its use-value, compared to other commodified goods, owning a house is a good way to preserve the exchange value since its market price increasingly or decreasingly increases most of the time if the exceptional crises are put aside. While promotion of homeownership at the end of the day augments the circulation of capital, having an extra rentable home also turns out to be a way of securing the future for most of the people in the society lately while the welfare state subsidies are diminishing. Converting squatter dwellers into entrepreneurs is offered by De Soto (2003) in his prominent book. Gilbert (2002, p. 4) summarizes how this process might work as follows:

> The key element required to convert them into successful business people is access to formal credit. Grant them legal title to their property and they will gain entry into the world of formal banking. With a legal title to permit them to use their capital assets as collateral, the world is their oyster.

Perhaps the most crucial feature of capitalism that makes it bearable for individuals is its capacity to create 'opportunities', albeit highly misleading. Besides the intrinsic crisis tendencies of capitalism, it can't reproduce itself in the long run in an atmosphere where opportunities have come to an end. The housing market, which also includes urban renewal projects, aims to create opportunities and encourage individuals' access to these "limited opportunities" as in other markets. Parallel to uneven development, although there are significant differences between individuals' access to opportunities, the motto of capitalism is that everyone has a chance to seize opportunities in one way or another.

While carrots, which they may hardly catch, are shown to individuals intertwined with and clouded by ideologies, their everyday lives are constantly moulded under the shadow of a stick. While urban transformation projects dispossess many, it presents and promotes themselves as an opportunity for some. At the end of the day, however, urban renewal is an imperative and formative intervention for all. It is a kind of configuration that redefine the social relations of (re)production and consumption in the housing field.

Capitalism is, except for a few moments, predominantly incremental. The regulation theory has been severely and rightfully criticized for a suggestion alike (Painter, 1995, p. 290). However, we want to make a different point. In our opinion, instead of incessant transitions from one regime of accumulation to another, capitalism creates severe crises that may terminate itself every day because of the contradictions on which it is founded and cannot solve them at the end of the day for the society at large. It is also doubtful whether it has such an agenda that targets easing people's pain. But

people are adaptive to a certain extent while paying the price. For instance, while talking about the transformation around 1960 in "all areas outside the centres of political decision and economic concentration of capital", Lefebvre (1971, p. 58) argues:

> [t]his well-organized exploitation of society involved consumption and was no longer restricted to the productive classes only; capitalism, while requiring that people 'adopt' to modern circumstances, had adopted too.

By the same token, the 1990s witnessed a turn to 'scale' that deciphers how global, national, regional, and local relations were being recalibrated through capitalist restructuring and state retrenchment (Jessop et al., 2008, p. 390). Since sustaining the capital accumulation and circulation urges expansion of development and market relations, the state once more has taken over a leading role concerning the rescaling process that the capital would prefer to avoid.

The phenomenon of urban renewal depending on the neoliberal agenda corresponds to such a moment. Therefore, in this sense, understanding the process and impact of urban renewal entails providing insight into not only the social configuration and relations but also the active participation of the state actors and institutions. Under capitalist transformation, this mostly requires the re-formation of the state depending on different social and historical contexts. As Jessop (2007, p. 6) mentions that "states redefine their priorities, expand or reduce their activities, recalibrate or rescale them in the light of new challenges, seek greater autonomy or promote power-sharing, and dis-embed or re-embed specific state institutions and practices within social order". Since the beginning of the 2000s, when the urban renewal projects began to be implemented intensively in Turkey, it appeared as a legal-administrative and social transformative and changing process.

In the Gramscian sense, the role played by hegemony, which includes coercion and consent and their interwoven forms, is very important in this sense. Otherwise, it would not have been possible to achieve such a "great transformation". According to Gramsci (1992, p. 235),

> Industrialism is a continual victory over man's animality, an uninterrupted and painful process of subjugating the instincts to new and rigid habits of order, exactitude, precision …In order to achieve a new adaptation to the new mode of work, pressure is exerted over the whole social sphere, a puritan ideology develops which gives to the intrinsic brutal coercion the external form of persuasion and consent.

Gramsci (1992, p. 169) holds the view that "[h]egemony is born in the factory and does not need so many political and ideological intermediaries". "For in effect, Gramsci extended the notion of hegemony from its original application to the perspectives of the working class in a bourgeois revolution against a feudal order, to the mechanisms of bourgeois rule over the working class in a stabilized capitalist society" (Anderson, 1976, p. 20).

> In a Gramscian view, politics is seen as a struggle for hegemony, a particular way of conceptualizing power which amongst other things emphasizes how power depends upon achieving consent or at least acquiescence rather than just having

the resources to use force, and the importance of ideology in sustaining relations of power (Fairclough, 2003, p. 45).

"Antonio Gramsci, whose originality lies in a periodization of capitalism not on the basis of the economy but on the basis of its superstructures and, in particular, on the rise of the state-civil society nexus that organized consent and absorbed challenges to capitalism" (Burawoy, 2012, p. 192). However, the relationship between civil society and the state is critical to establish and elaborate on. Some criticise the separation of civil society, state and economic spheres and the ignorance of ties or unity between them. Morton (2013, p. 133) draws attention to the discussion as follows:

> My contention is that this revision of hegemony and its redefinition of political society, civil society and the state is deeply problematic as it contains these spheres in what I term a relationship of 'ontological exteriority'. This means holding the spheres of political society, civil society, and the state as always already separate and then interacting realms.

Gramsci's originality is a relational approach that reveals that the state-civil society dichotomy can be functional at the methodological level in making concrete analyses in different historical contexts (Yalman, 2012, p. 60).

> "Gramsci rejected the positivist –and nomothetic - tendencies in the Marxism of the Second International: the positing of a line of causality from economy to politics, from base to superstructure. His alternative starting point was to conceive of historical materialism as the 'philosophy of praxis'. This meant a rejection of structural determinism - an affirmation that the social world is *constituted* by human practice" (Carroll, 1990, p. 392).

Moreover, "[h]egemony cuts across and integrates economy, politics and ideology, yet ascribes an authentic place to each of the within an overall focus upon politics and power, and upon the dialectical relations between classes and class fragments" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 76). On the other hand, as Yalman (2002, p. 327) stated, while hegemony blurs class relations, no prescription includes predetermined values or norms for the establishment of hegemony. The important thing is to prevent the emergence of counter-hegemonic forces at all costs.

While Gramsci, in his early conceptualisations, positioned hegemony and consent in civil society and sovereignty and coercion in the state, hegemony and consent were firmly embedded in the state formation in his later works (Anderson, 2007). In this sense, while the state in Gramsci's conceptualisation of the 'integral state' points to political society as a field of struggle, the class that wins the struggle for hegemony acquires the capacity to penetrate every field by becoming an 'integral state' (Yalman, 2012, pp. 67-68). Gramsci (1992, p. 267) explains the 'integral state' through state and part relations as follows:

> In the modern world, a party is such – integrally and not, as happens, a fraction of a larger party – when it is conceived and led in ways and forms such that it will develop integrally into a State (an integral State, and not into a government technically understood) and into a conception of the world. The development of the party into a State reacts upon the party and requires of it a continuous reorganisation and development, just as the development of the party and State into a conception of the world, i.e. into a total and molecular (individual)

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transformation of ways of thinking and acting, reacts upon the State and the party, compelling them to reorganise continually and confronting them with new and original problems to solve.

According to Humphrys (2018, p. 29), while it "posits an interconnection and dialectical unity of the state and civil society, where the latter is integrated under the leadership of the former", it is unstable and mostly failed to eliminate contradictions and tensions because of the cleavages in society and different social positions. In this context, urban renewal projects arise as an integral state practice that opts for coercion unless it manufactures the consent through dominant ideologies and material-social reproduction.

In other words, urban renewal projects as a part of a socially transformative agenda are efforts of a power bloc that wants to exercise its power in line with the neoliberal transformation. Therefore, it is seen and embodied through the case study that the destruction caused by the urban renewal projects that changed the lives of the squatter dwellers, depending on economic necessities and ideological preferences, aimed at a transformation at different scales.

The urban renewal projects are carried out in the amalgamations of opposites such as dispersion and concentration of power relations, avowed and covert interventions, coercion and consent scenarios, long-term and incremental policies, intended and unintended outcomes. In this sense, considering the relations among different levels of generality, urban renewal processes are power equations in a sense, which can also be explained as a form of 'governmentality' in a specific historical and social context. It should be noted at the outset that although Foucault's concept of governmentality has some epistemological fallacies briefly discussed below as well, it may provide a different vantage point regarding the formulation of power in the neoliberal restructuring process addressed in the case of urban renewal projects.

Foucault (1980, p. 39) defines the mechanisms of power as follows:

> I am thinking rather of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives.

According to Foucault (1982, p. 788), "[t]he exercise of power is not simply a relationship between partners, individual or collective; it is a way in which certain actions modify others". Specifically, the concerted actions taken by state bodies depending on the class struggle play a critical role in the concentration, dispersion and penetration of power. The governmental manoeuvres and techniques embodied in the complex set of decision or non-decision-making processes and direct or indirect interventions have the potential to direct, lead and manipulate populations. Foucault (1991, p. 102) holds the view that "the state can only be understood in its survival and its limits on the basis of the general tactics of governmentality". Suppose the creation and transformation of the self are embedded in the everyday dimension of power, as Foucault (2008) claims. In that case, the formation or production of individual positioning entails an analysis of governmentality that is defined as the 'art of government'. However, he (1993, pp. 203-204) suggests that

[g]overning people, in the broad meaning of the word, governing people is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself.

Foucault (1991, pp. 102-103) mainly points out three things regarding 'governmentality':

1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.

2. The tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of savoirs.

3. The process, or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes 'governmentalized'.

In a nutshell, while this quite complex ensemble takes its intellectual foundations from the political economy, it realises itself through security practices that focus on the population (Foucault, 2007, p. 108). Foucault (1991) traces the historical forms of governmentality by focusing on ruptures, discontinuities and transformations by elaborating on the texts depending on their historical context. While doing this, he could not go beyond focusing on the history of ideas. He takes initially Machiavelli's and then the others' texts for granted. However, these texts also formed after various abstraction processes. Since the power is dispersed according to Foucault, he does not point out any specific dynamic or mechanism. Additionally, he sees such an attempt as a reduction. He rejects the influence of the development of productive forces and the reproduction of relations of production. Therefore, while Foucault (2006, p. 55) asks the following questions, he is not curious about the answer indeed: "Who is speaking? Who, among the totality of speaking individuals, is accorded the right to use this sort of language? Who is qualified to do so?". This is because Foucault is more concerned with how power is exercised than its source. Dispersion of power relations to this extent leads to blindness to understanding what goes on beyond power. According to Eagleton (1991, p. 47), for Michel Foucault,

regimes of power constitute us to our very roots, producing just those forms of subjectivity on which they can most efficiently go to work. But if this is so, what is there 'left over', so to speak, to find this situation so appalling? What, including one Michel Foucault, could conceivably protest against this condition, given that all subjectivity is merely the effect of power in the first place? If there is nothing beyond power, then there is nothing that is being blocked, categorized and regimented, and therefore absolutely no need to worry. Foucault does indeed speak of resistances to power; but what exactly is doing the resisting is an enigma his work does not manage to dispel.

As power sneaks into every part and parcel of life, everyone has to feel it, often without naming and recognising it. Thus, one may hardly distinguish the motivations behind their actions and thoughts. This scenario that is also a part of the discussion related to ideology could be the darkest but one of the most successful forms of governmentality in the Foucauldian sense. In modern societies, we can come across such cases, moments, or at least agendas depending on social, historical, and geographical contexts. However, it should also be noted that in the modern world, governmentality is the art of coercion as well as the art of consent. In times when economic necessities and contradictions are so visible and palpable, power has to be concentrated as well as dispersed. People of some geographies have experienced one of them more disproportionately. For example, although disciplining the society over security concerns has become one of the most used methods, especially after 2000, there are many times when so-called "legitimate violence" is brutally used at varying levels in almost every country without any exception. While power was "controlling" the "resistance", people lost their lives.

Under these conditions, instead of brand new, disguised and mystified monolithic processes, it seems more likely to speak of governmentality as a selective mixture of practices that involve newly emerging techniques and updates of the older versions. Therefore, instead of ruptures or breaks in terms of techniques regarding governmentality, the methods are adopted incrementally until the social forces cannot bear the existing contradictions and conflicts. For instance, the urban renewal interventions that can be evaluated under a particular form of governmentality are both manipulative processes and embodied forms of apparent violence that are not expected to see in a so-called 'modern', 'civilized', 'liberal' world setting.

Foucault (1978, p. 138) sees that "[t]he disciplines of the body and the regulations of the population constituted the two poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed". In our case, the harsh implementations of the latter make the former visible. We are discussing disciplinary regulations that define which ones will be destroyed and which ones will be preserved and transformed through economic interests. With this agenda "to ensure, sustain, and multiply life, to put this life in order"[27] (Foucault, 1978, p. 139), we face multiple and successive interventions in the daily lives of individuals.

After expressing our reservations about both the discussion on the power in the Foucauldian sense that is blind to the class struggle and the context-dependency of governmentality, it is expected that Foucault may contribute to understanding the mechanisms and techniques of "neoliberal governmentality" in the case of urban renewal.

Although, as Foucault (2007, p. 109) highlights, "[w]e live in the era of a governmentality discovered in the eighteenth century", it would be more appropriate to call the current ensemble as neoliberal governmentality due to variations in the forms or appearances of the capitalisms of different geographies and necessary

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[27] This is how Foucault explains 'biopolitics'.

transformations for the survival of global capitalism. According to Hamann (2009, p. 37),

> [t]he central aim of neoliberal governmentality ("the conduct of conduct") is the strategic creation of social conditions that encourage and necessitate the production of Homo economicus, a historically specific form of subjectivity constituted as a free and autonomous "atom" of self-interest. The neoliberal subject is an individual who is morally responsible for navigating the social realm using rational choice and cost-benefit calculations grounded on market-based principles to the exclusion of all other ethical values and social interest.

It is a disciplinary process with no other option to choose. For instance, in her prominent book, Soederberg (2014) draws attention to the disciplinary role of the transformation through financialisation, especially for the lower classes of society. For the lower classes, in a system where private property is the basis of the game, it is only possible to reach high-cost commodities such as houses and cars with financial instruments. Participation of all households restricted formerly is welcomed under the name of financial democratisation or financial inclusion. Thus, while the financialisation of all social classes is ensured, the lower classes become a significant source of income for banks as the risk of default is higher than that of the upper classes. As mentioned above, in this way, people's futures are foreclosed while trying to own property that is also a basic human need and may be given up in the first place in case of a crisis. As Harvey (2003, p. 150) observes, "[f]inancial crises have always caused transfers of ownership and power to those who keep their own assets intact and who are in a position to create credit".

Thus, we evaluate that financialisation, essentially through mortgages, is one of the critical examples of a disciplinary society in the Foucauldian sense. Moreover, the mortgage can be conceptualized as a form of biotechnology "that engineers an increasingly intimate relationship between practices of everyday life and speculative practices of global real estate and financial markets" (García-Lamarca & Kaika, 2016, p. 313). Although the emphasis on engineering is an exaggerated description of the human mind in social transformations, it is a fact that financialisation deprives individuals of their control over their own lives, as in the case of mortgages. Harvey (2003, pp. 152-153) summarises a resembling process to what we see in our case study as follows:

> Consider, for example, a process in US housing markets known as 'flipping'. A house in poor condition is bought for next to nothing, given some cosmetic improvements, then sold on at an exorbitant price, with the aid of a mortgage package arranged by the seller, to a low-income family looking to realize its dream of home ownership. If the family has difficulty meeting the payments or dealing with the serious maintenance problems that almost certainly emerge, then the house is repossessed. This is not exactly illegal (buyers beware!) but the effect is to prey upon low-income families and bilk them of whatever little savings they have. This is accumulation by dispossession.

Besides the financialisation of housing, when we look at the spaces produced by urban renewal projects in place of demolished squatter houses, the current situation reminds us of Bentham's (1995) Panopticon and Foucault's (1997) analysis of that. Whether it is intended or not, the homes produced in the urban renewal projects assist the

transformation aimed at neoliberal governmentality through control and domination. The rules to be followed in the housing sites, the surveillance systems (security guards and cameras in and outside the apartment blocks), individualisation and introversion parallel to weakening social ties are several examples among many that force people to adopt a different lifestyle.

The integration into the financial system, becoming indebted, having a property to deal with (selling, renting) unless residing, breakdown of relations and loss of dispositions parallel to changes in spatial forms are formative. Each one has considerable disciplinary power over the squatter dwellers. Together, they pave the way for a social transformation. However, although there is no mastermind behind it, it would be appropriate to explain these mechanisms with a systematic, successive and penetrating but selective and gradually incremental neoliberal governmentality within the Foucauldian framework. Hamann (2009, p. 38) notes:

> [i]ndeed the central aim of neoliberal governmentality is the strategic production of social conditions conducive to the constitution of Homo economicus, a specific form of subjectivity with historical roots in traditional liberalism. However, whereas liberalism posits "economic man" as a "man of exchange", neoliberalism strives to ensure that individuals are compelled to assume market-based values in all of their judgments and practices in order to amass sufficient quantities of "human capital" and thereby become "entrepreneurs of themselves". Neoliberal Homo economicus is a free and autonomous "atom" of self-interest who is fully responsible for navigating the social realm using rational choice and cost-benefit calculation to the express exclusion of all other values and interests. Those who fail to thrive under such social conditions have no one and nothing to blame but themselves.

In this formation, individuals are connaturally competitors who are expected to act as entrepreneurs for the limited resources, options and opportunities. While the collectivism and collective structures are weakening, the goal is developing a smoothly processing individualised global economic model that is built on rational choices of so-called responsible individuals who have the ability to predict the consequences of their actions. However, these people have lost their ability to establish relationships between phenomena. They have limited access to data and knowledge to make "rational" decisions in the hustle and bustle of everyday life. These point out that the neoliberal agenda as a form of liberal governmentality is a fraud. Meanwhile, regardless of these contradictions, governments strive for setting the appropriate conditions for competition by (de)regulations. Governments, like individuals, must have the ability to act flexibly, selectively and irregularly in this schema.

Today's urban renewals projects prepare the social and historical conditions for rising of the homo economicus in this sense. However, the most critical point is related to the coercion resorted. Like the liberal order, neoliberal governmentality attempts and does not hesitate to use force and either symbolic or physical violence when necessary to create homo economicus. Perhaps the most crucial difference between them should be sought in the problematic relationship that neoliberal governmentality establishes with rationality. It should be noted that our intention is not to praise rationality. However, while rationality points out at least a framework, consistency or a set of principles, neoliberal governmentality destroys not only spaces but also individuals,

societies, memories, former rationalities and particularly relationality for its own sake. However, as Bourdieu (1998a) states:

> [I]n reality, what keeps the social order from dissolving into chaos, despite the growing volume of the endangered population, is the continuity or survival of those very institutions and representatives of the old order that is in the process of being dismantled, and all the work of all of the categories of social workers, as well as all the forms of social solidarity, familial or otherwise.

The rise of populism, nationalism and conservatism to the extent that they are functional make sense in the neoliberal era in this sense. Neoliberal governmentality necessitates cultural forms, figures and beliefs in a certain period to reinforce the pillars of its agenda. Thus, during the distortion of objective reality, it becomes more and more difficult to analyse what remains of destruction and what rises from the ashes. It is inverted rationality, and one may barely explore it via the previous one. Neoliberal governmentality is vague due to the selectiveness and flexibility necessary for its reproduction. This situation can be seen in the relations it establishes with other thoughts. Mirovski (2018) situates the foundations of neoliberalism as follows:

> Self-identified neoliberals are hard to come by. There is no political party or national regime that touts the "neoliberal" moniker. It does not denote a professional position in economics or anywhere else.

> For neoliberals, freedom and the market would be treated as identical… They could not acknowledge individual natural rights, because they sought to tutor the masses to become the agent the market would be most likely to deem successful. The market no longer gave you what you wanted; you had to capitulate to what the market wanted. All areas of life could be better configured to behave as if they were more market-like.

While the objective relationality that may enable the analysis of the whole is seen as outdated, there is a severe risk of detaching from reality. By bringing the disjointed and dispersed parts of reality together with mystification and manipulation, dominant ideologies are ruling the societies. As seen in urban renewal processes, therefore, being "in" this process becomes a necessity rather than a choice most of the time. While the majority is dragged in a rush to take a position, voluntarily or not, few individuals become players of this game. In this sense, the following analysis made by Hamann (2009, pp. 40-41) on "Ownership" is critical to understanding what we are dealing with:

> While the various discourses of "ownership" and the like have promoted the populist ideals of choice, freedom, autonomy and individualism, the reality is that individuals worldwide are more and more subject to the frequently harsh, unpredictable, and unforgiving demands of market forces and the kinds of impersonal judgments that evaluate them in terms of a cost-benefit calculus of economic risk, financial burden, productivity, efficiency, and expedience.

Therefore, the people's actions and reactions that may affect how it goes become more and more critical. While we have focused on theoretical frameworks capable of explaining relatively high levels of generality up to this point, the next section will briefly touch on the Bourdieuan theoretical framework that can enable us to explain individuals' behaviour, attitudes and positions towards social events. Thus, we will

continue to provide an in-depth understanding of the subject by applying different levels of generality and other vantage points.

2.4.2. Positioning of the Dwellers

Up to this point, the context of the study has been addressed by focusing on the higher levels of generality. Dynamics, mechanisms, moments, flows or movements are tried to be explained without ignoring the existence of individuals who produce them and are affected by them. However, although the rules of the 'game' and the dynamics of the 'setting' are outlined, it is essential to consider a theoretical framework that can be functional at lower generality levels to understand in depth the positions individuals take and the strategies they adopt. Thus, we could have comprehensive sets of concepts regarding the problem of "how it works" for each generality level demarcated by the study.

For this purpose, although we have some reservations, we believe that the Bourdieusian theory and concepts provide us with an applied framework. On the one hand, the changeability or transformation of notions over the relational approach makes Bourdieu's framework comprehensive and functional. On the other hand, the strength of the approach stemming from this "dynamism" and "liquidity" paves the way for certain criticisms that are addressed at the end of this section.

Initially, it should be noted that the notion of relationality that prevents the distortion regarding the cause and effect is critical in the Bourdieusian perspective. It seems fruitful to examine the phenomena through mutual relations rather than seeking a dominant and linear determinism between manifestations. Bourdieu describes his approach as follows:

> I could twist Hegel's famous formula and say that the real is the relational: what exist in the social world are relations— not interactions between agents or intersubjective ties between individuals, but objective relations which exist "independently of individual consciousness and will," as Marx said (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97).

Bourdieu focuses on "the field of relations" that embraces the relationships between powers and the related individual and social position-taking, struggling and engaging (Calhoun, 1993, p. 72). Thus, the outlines or settings of multi-dimensional array emerge between different levels of generality, powers, moments, events, cases and individuals. Bourdieu summarizes his approach as such:

> As a matter of fact, my entire scientific enterprise is based on the belief that the deepest logic of the social world can be grasped, providing only that one plunges into the particularity of an empirical reality, historically located and dated, but in order to build it up as a "special case of what is possible," as Bachelard puts it, that is, as an exemplary case in a world of finite possible configurations. (Bourdieu, Sapiro ve McHale, 1991, p. 628).

However, these relations must also become evident between certain dualities or oppositions that may hinder understanding reality. For instance, in the Bourdieusian framework, "[s]ocial reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside of agents" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127). In

this vein, according to Wacquant (2006, p. 266), "… the deep-seated opposition between two apparently antithetical theoretic stances, objectivism and subjectivism, which Bourdieu argues can and must be overcome". To indicate the dialectical articulation between the objectivist and subjectivist moments in his study, Bourdieu adopts the sync use of opposing perspectives, which he calls "structuralist conservatism" and "constructivist structuralism" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 11). Contrary to the rational choice theory or rational action theory, "the individual and collective history of agents through which the structures of preference that inhabit them are constituted in a complex temporal dialectic with the objective structures that produced them and which they tend to reproduce" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 123). As Burawoy (2012, p. 189) states, "Bourdieu is always seeking to transcend antinomies, subject and object, micro and macro, voluntarism and determinism. All too often, however, he does not so much transcend the antinomy as combine or alternate between the two opposed perspectives".

In the Bourdieusian theoretical framework, "[p]eople are not fools; they are much less bizarre or deluded than we would spontaneously believe precisely because they have internalized, through a protracted and multisided process of conditioning, the objective chances they face" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 130). People can voluntarily or involuntarily, or unconsciously, take part in more than one game played simultaneously. Roughly speaking, multiple games make up fields with the players, rules, and resources they contain. "In such fields, and in the struggles which take place in them, every agent acts according to his position (that is, according to the capital he or she possesses) and his habitus, related to his personal history" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 47). In other words, "[f]or Bourdieu, game playing accompanies deeply inculcated, almost irremovable dispositions, which, to some degree, vary from individual to individual, depending on their biographies" (Burawoy, 2012, p. 190). Thus, under certain constraints, to reproduce themselves, human beings adopt strategies and sometimes improvise.

In this framework, to understand how this process works, the concepts of habitus, forms of capital and field will be discussed, respectively, and the relationship between them will be revealed when appropriate. With the types of capital, habitus is one of the two most important factors that determine the capacity, ability, and moves of an individual involved in a particular game as a part of a field.

"Habitus is a socialized subjectivity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 126). It is "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53). "[H]abitus is an embodied, as well as a cognitive, sense of place… Habitus is the product of history" (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, p. 21). Either systematically or contingently accumulated and unified dispositions over time constitute the habitus of an actant. "Habitus, which are the products of the social conditioning associated with the corresponding condition, make a systematic set of goods and properties, united by an affinity of style, correspond to each class of positions" (Bourdieu, 1996, pp. 14-15). As noted by Bourdieu (2000, p. 138),

> social agents are endowed with habitus, inscribed in their bodies by past experiences. These systems of schemes of perception, appreciation and action enable them to perform acts of practical knowledge, based on the identification

and recognition of conditional, conventional stimuli to which they are predisposed to react; and, without any explicit definition of ends or rational calculation of means, to generate appropriate and endlessly renewed strategies, but within the limits of the structural constraints of which they are the product and which define them.

Bourdieu sees habitus as "the source of most practices" (Lamaison, 1986, p. 114). In his own words, "habitus produces practices and representations which are available for classification, which are objectively differentiated; however, they are immediately perceived as such only by those agents who possess the code, the classificatory schemes necessary to understand their social meaning (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 19). However, "[h]abitus is not the fate … Being the product of history, it is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133).

Another set of factors that affect individuals' positions taken and strategies adopted, intertwined with habitus, are forms of capital. Forms of capital are, in a sense, a categorisation of all the resources that individuals may have. While these resources gain value depending on the game played and the relations that constitute the field, their qualitative and quantitative transformation is possible as well.

> [S]ocial agents are not "particles" that are mechanically pushed and pulled about by external forces. They are, rather, bearers of capitals and, depending on their trajectory and on the position they occupy in the field by virtue of their endowment (volume and structure) in capital, they have a propensity to orient themselves actively either toward the preservation of the distribution of capital or toward the subversion of this distribution" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 108-109).

In a social setting as an "accumulated history", Bourdieu reconsiders the labour theory of capital over diverse capital forms accumulated and passed down to future generations (Calhoun, 1993, p. 67). Therefore, "[c]apital should be regarded not only as having its more usual economic connotation but as also having applicability to resources such as status, power, personal contacts and formal and informal forms of knowledge" (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, p. 24). "The kinds of capital, like the aces in a game of cards, are powers that define the chances of profit in a given field (in fact, to each field or sub-field there corresponds a particular kind of capital, which is current, as a power or stake, in that game)" (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 724).

> [P]layers can play to increase or to conserve their capital, their number of tokens, in conformity with the tacit rules of the game and the prerequisites of the reproduction of the game and its stakes; but they can also get in it to transform, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99).

> Thus agents are distributed in the overall social space, in the first dimension, according to the overall volume of capital they possess and, in the second dimension, according to the structure of their capital, that is, the relative weight of the different species of capital, economic and cultural, in the total volume of their assets (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 17).

In this framework, Bourdieu basically demarcates four different kinds of capital without ignoring the relationality between them and with the field in which they may be activated.

> Depending on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47).

While economic, social and cultural capitals are easier to understand and exemplify, symbolic capital, as the fourth form of capital, beyond the sum of these, refers to a person's position in society and in the eyes of others. In a nutshell, symbolic capital entails recognition of the forms of capital as resources that are deployed. "Symbolic capital is a credit; it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 23).

> "*Symbolic capital*, that is to say, capital—in whatever form—insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 56).

"Possession of capital means knowing the rules of the game and acquiring such knowledge is a lifelong process, derived from a matrix of familial, educational, and social structures and institutions" (McCormick, 2006, p. 258). In this regard, urban renewal as a game in the housing field in the Bourdieusian sense is quite striking. In the case study that we undertake, the squatter dwellers do not have any involvement in the planning and implementation processes of the urban renewal project in which the formal participation channels are closed. Under these conditions, for most of them who barely make their living and are isolated thanks to rising individualism, the financial resources owned become an essential determinant of the attitude towards the projects. While social capital that strengthens solidarity ties may affect collective action against or for the projects, cultural capital plays a significant role in having a claim worth pursuing. At the end of the day, when we bring the symbolic capital, which is the reputation gained depending on the historically constituted dispositions and the field, into the "forms of capital" equation, the squatter dwellers' positioning in the urban renewal game becomes more apparent.

As in the transformation of capital into another, whether a form of capital has value or not depends on the game played and the field in which it resides. "A capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101). However, also "there are cards that are valid, efficacious in all fields— these are the fundamental species of capital— but their relative value as trump cards is determined by each field and even by the successive states of the same field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 98). This approach enables the Bourdieuan framework to

strengthen the methodological bond it establishes between the subjective and the objective depending on a historical context. Thus, the material basis on which we can anchor or relate subjective experiences and explanations is embodied in the concepts of field and game.

> The social field can be described as a multi-dimensional space of positions such that each actual position can be defined in terms of a multi-dimensional system of coordinates whose values correspond to the values of the different pertinent variables. Agents are thus distributed, in the first dimension, according to the overall volume of the capital they possess and, in the second dimension, according to the composition of their capital – in other words, according to the relative weight of the different kinds of capital in the total set of their assets (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 724).

In analytic terms, Bourdieu highlights the field "as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions… objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions…" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97).

"At each moment, it is the state of the relations of force between players that defines the structure of the field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99). These power relations that embody the field do not emerge spontaneously but mainly with the participation of the players in the games. "*Interest* is to "be there," to participate, to admit that the game is worth playing and that the stakes created in and through the fact of playing are worth pursuing; it is to recognize the game and to recognize its stakes" (Bourdieu, 1998b, p. 77).

On the one hand, the players' dispositions, forms and volume of capital affect the characteristics and dynamics of the game; they also have the potential to transform the field. On the other hand, as Burawoy (2012, p. 189) argues: "Bourdieu sometimes used it – as a way of understanding the reproduction of social structure and its patterns of domination. Games obscure the conditions of their own playing through the very process of securing participation".

Therefore, the rules cannot be considered independent of the hegemonic power and dominant ideology concerning the game played. "[D]oxa as an uncontested acceptance of the daily lifeworld" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 73) is a critical concept that may hint at the ideological status quo and how it is reproduced in society.

> "Successful ideologies are often thought to render their beliefs natural and self-evident - to identify them with the 'common sense' of a society so that nobody could imagine how they might ever be different. This process, which Pierre Bourdieu calls doxa, involves the ideology in creating as tight a fit as possible between itself and social reality, thereby closing the gap into which the leverage of critique could be inserted" (Eagleton, 1991, p. 58).

Bourdieu (1998a) identifies the pillars of neoliberalism that can be linked to the doxa as follows:

> This tutelary theory is a pure mathematical fiction. From the start it has been founded on a formidable abstraction. For, in the name of a narrow and strict conception of rationality as individual rationality, it brackets the economic and

social conditions of rational orientations and the economic and social structures that are the condition of their application…. That said, this "theory" that is desocialised and dehistoricised at its roots has, today more than ever, the means of making itself true and empirically verifiable…. This project aims to create the conditions under which the "theory" can be realised and can function: a programme of the methodical destruction of collectives…. Neoliberalism tends on the whole to favour severing the economy from social realities and thereby constructing, in reality, an economic system conforming to its description in pure theory, that is a sort of logical machine that presents itself as a chain of constraints regulating economic agents.

Parallel to the marginalisation and stigmatisation of squatters, the normalisation of the destructions is precisely the result of such a process. Some squatter dwellers may be content with or be willing to be involved in the urban renewal projects due to several reasons; however, at the end of the day, the state's legitimate use of violence legitimised in the modernity project is outrageously exercised both physically and symbolically in urban renewal projects. According to Bourdieu,

[s]ymbolic violence, to put it as tersely and simply as possible, is the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity... To say it more rigorously: social agents are knowing agents who, even when they are subjected to determinisms, contribute to producing the efficacy of that which determines them insofar as they structure what determines them... I call misrecognition the fact of recognizing a violence which is wielded precisely in as much as one does not perceive it as such (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 168).

When viewed from this angle, it's not just buildings that have been destroyed. Social space, perceptions, positions, dispositions, and forms of capital also fall into parts throughout the process, and a need for reformation arises. In a nutshell, the necessities of neoliberal urbanization in the field of housing created a process that corresponds to the emergence of a game called "urban renewal". It is a forced and frustrating game. The squatter dwellers, who have become a player regardless of their positive or negative attitudes towards the projects, are in an effort to adopt a strategy within the framework of the imposed rules and established relations between the game and the field. To maximise material and symbolic profit, to become better off in time, we are talking about a system of strategies most of the time instantly determined or generated depending on the habitus instead of detailed, planned, objectified and intentioned (Bourdieu, 1990; Wacquant, 2016).

Last but not least, De Certeau's approach, which makes a distinction between strategy and tactics, is briefly introduced to enrich theoretical discussions. Essentially, what De Certeau calls tactics are close to what Bourdieu calls strategy, which is a set of thoughts or intentions that have the potential to be realised at any moment within the framework of structural constraints or the rules of the field. Moreover, in the Bourdieusian sense, "[s]trategy is the habitus in action. Habitus and strategy are about predisposition and the regulations of the social game, rather than about conscious choices" (Lingard & Christie, 2003, p. 325). On the other hand, to quote at length, De Certeau (1984, pp. 36-37) clarifies what he is meant while making a distinction between strategy and tactic as follows:

80

I call a strategy the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed. As in management, every "strategic" rationalization seeks first of all to distinguish its "own" place, that is, the place of its own power and will, from an "environment".

By contrast with a strategy (whose successive shapes introduce a certain play into this formal schema and whose link with a particular historical configuration of rationality should also be clarified), a tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power.

"In short, a tactic is an art of the weak", according to De Certeau (1984, p. 37). Tactics are entrenched in the paces and facets of modern life. In this sense, it would be more appropriate to talk about tactics that may change on a daily basis due to the volatile nature of capitalism instead of strategies in a game they were forcibly made a part of in the context of urban renewal for squatter dwellers trying to save the day.

When it comes to reservations, as briefly mentioned at the beginning of the section, although relationality and changeability look promising in terms of the holistic approach, it is clear that there are some problems while dealing with the social phenomenon. Wacquant (2016, p. 64), a close collaborator of his, points out that Bourdieu's

[A]im was to forge a dispositional theory of action suited to reintroducing time and the inventive capacity of agents within structuralist anthropology, without falling back into the Cartesian intellectualism that skews subjectivist approaches to social conduct, from behaviourism and phenomenology to symbolic interactionism and rational choice theory.

As 'theory in action' or 'theory in practice', Bourdieu presents a strong but liquid theoretical underpinning. For example, as stated above, Bourdieu himself pointed out the difficulties encountered while defining a field. Plenty of moments and incidents in time and trajectories in social space can be related to explain social reality. Still, the validity of these relationships in addressing the relevant issue depends on their relationship with the objective and material basis. Bourdieu does not overlook this critical point, but there is a possibility that relationality and changeability may lead to a vicious cycle in the absence of one or more anchors. Although the relationality in Bourdieu forces the researcher to consider various variables and relations among them, preventing them from falling into inappropriate or invalid short-cut cause-and-effect relationships, it leaves us with motifs or forces that may be claimed as dominant ones. But it isn't easy to make a definitive judgment at all. In this sense, although the notion of 'field' functions as an anchor, being attached to the individual's psyche makes it difficult to make clear inferences.

Especially in the applied, unable to identify the correspondence of these concepts makes it difficult to distinguish the main agents, dynamics and mechanisms. One may realise that a framework that is quite consistent and explanatory is not as practical as expected when it is employed to elicit the knowledge of the social phenomenon in the field research. In a way, this situation may not be related to the shortcomings of Bourdieu's theoretical strands. Still, it may signify that it is not as functional as expected to make sense of reality. Therefore, while trying to explain everything, the possibility of being tautological, confusing or redundant due to misleading causal ties remains on the table. For instance, according to Ross (1991, p. 61), under the name of the "Bourdieu Effect", Ranciere summarises that Bourdieu's inferences related to the university system are tautological, as follows:

> The "Bourdieu effect" could be summed up in this perfect circle: "they are excluded because they don't know why they are excluded; and they don't know why they are excluded because they are excluded". Or better:
>
> 1. The system reproduces its existence because it goes un-recognized.
>
> 2. The system brings about, through the reproduction of its existence, an effect of misrecognition.

Burawoy (2012, p. 192) argues in the same vein as follows:

> It is not that some social orders lead to mystification and others to transparency, but all social orders reproduce themselves through the inculcation of habitus and necessary misrecognition. We are all fish in water unable to comprehend the environment in which we swim – except, of course, Bourdieu and his fellow sociologists.

In this context, the distinctive position of the concept of 'habitus' relative to 'forms of capital' and 'strategy', which is at the centre of Bourdieu's theoretical framework in which concepts are so intertwined, should be carefully considered. In short, in the light of the relationship of concepts with each other and how they make sense of reality, although the Bourdiean framework is prominent in establishing the relationship of lower generality levels with higher ones, it is challenging and entails mastery of the field, deeper knowledge of the case and penetration in the social setting. Certainty is the enemy of the scientific endeavour. And constant search could be refreshing, but to continue the quest, concreteness, constants, and objective foundations are needed. One of the aims of this thesis along these lines is the search for a theoretical basis as well.

At the beginning of this chapter, the study is situated in a periphery country by a discussion that explores the academic setting and challenges the taken-for-granted assumptions. Then, the caveats issued by critical realism on historical materialism in terms of lack of attention to particularity, contingency and lower levels of generality lose their grounds within the approach towards the totality of social relations. In other words, instead of a new recipe as offered by critical realism, a method that can be subordinated to the theory of historical materialism suffices to obtain the knowledge of the self/individual systematically within the totality of reality. Then through comprehensive theoretical discussions that may cover different generality levels and may embrace various vantage points, we recommend a relational approach in the light of the "3D Abstraction". Finally, before evaluating the case study, we introduce the

"life course approach" since there is a need to reveal the transformation of constitutive and reproductive material practices and perceptions in a particular social formation.

In this thesis foci, we situated the squatter dwellers who somehow became a subject or player (in the Bourdeusian sense) of an urban renewal project as one of the urban policy interventions of the neoliberal agenda in Turkey, especially in the 2000s and onwards. However, their life course trajectories that signify the lower generality levels have to be associated with or related to higher generality levels. Therefore, contextual factors depending on the social and historical dynamics and theoretical strands are included and discussed as a must. We certainly do not claim that the only way to address the housing question is through the theoretical frameworks and concepts briefly discussed above. It is undeniable that the current urban renewal projects as an urban policy intervention in the neoliberal period that manifests itself through different methods, practices, and implementations under the capitalist mode of production necessitate a multi-dimensional approach and assessment. One may rightfully assert that such an effort would pave the way for an unmanageable task for an academic study under resource and time limitations. However, the distinctiveness lies in the methodological and epistemological quest that may be understood at first sight from the glittering main title of the study. It would also be problematic to restrain such ambitious and bold question that requires comprehensive answers, such as "how it works", to certain levels of generality and limited vantage points. In this context, a trial of the "3D Abstraction" method with the relevant theoretical frameworks is undergone. The following sections are planned to enrich the discussion by including and evaluating the knowledge of the field (in the Bourdieusian sense) and the case study within this framework.

The views and interpretations of squatter dwellers could make sense as long as the development of the capitalist mode of production and social relations in Turkey and urbanisation practices throughout this process is acknowledged. The analytical division of reality in the thought includes high risks that may pave the way for the creation of isolated fields, pseudo separations in knowledge production, and that may be concluded with a partial understanding of reality. However, in the light of different generality levels, various vantage points and relational thinking, the study would have a chance to reveal the dynamics of urban renewal in the case of Turkey while focusing on the life courses of the squatter dwellers.

Within this framework, two interrelated pillars of this research become more salient. The first one is the historical and social context in which the urban renewal had flourished and evolved over time in Turkey. And the second one is the changing conditions of squatter dwellers within these urban transformation processes regarding both the urban renewal project in their neighbourhoods in particular and urbanization dynamics in Ankara in general. While the former entails the analysis of the relation between the urban space and capitalist urbanization dynamics in the case of a periphery country. The life trajectories of dwellers are significant to elaborate on the latter as a form of social relations within the former one and grasp the impact and transformative capacity of urban renewal intervention as an urban policy instrument, among many others in the neoliberal agenda.

CHAPTER 3

THE SETTING: CENTRING URBAN RENEWAL IN HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

The neoliberal agenda has been proposed and imposed as enforcement of central states to the periphery ones to open up their economies to the global capital circulations via deregulation and privatisation since the 1980s. Although neoliberalism has been promoted by the crucial contributions of Milton Friedman, Gordon Tullock, George Stigler, Gary Becker and James Buchanan, such as public choice theory and rational choice theory based on neoclassical economics since the 1960s (Jones, 2014), the idea of it dates back to the studies of Friedrich von Hayek in 1940s at the University of Chicago (Fink, 2017, pp. 160-161). After the OPEC crisis broke out and the Bretton Woods system failed in the 1970s, neoliberalism lurked behind the scene, was suggested and/or imposed as a panacea to the whole world.

Though facets, implementations and outcomes of neoliberal policies have varied from the core to periphery countries or Global North to Global South (Connell & Dados, 2014), uneven development as "the hallmark of the geography of capitalism" (Smith, 2010, p. 4) has become acute, and the inequalities have increased across the globe not only between the countries but also within the countries[28]. It is an incessantly updated governmentality form of neo-classical economics. It diverged as a necessity over time in different geographies. Therefore, it is hard to define 'a' neoliberalism since it evolves and changes temporally and spatially depending on the crises of capitalism. However, for sure, the neoliberal era is a period in which labour and nature are evidently subordinated to capital worldwide under the so-called "unlimited" market opportunities that have "serious" potential for profit maximisation.

In a sense, because of the several reasons that this study also mainly wants to find out, there has not been a widespread reaction against this devastating and numbing process that has become recognised, normalised and internalised over time through either sudden or gradual state interventions and implementations.

As Marx (1973, p. 105) stated, instead of looking at previous forms to understand today's manifestations, retrospective investigations are critical to tackling the transformations in material conditions. In this sense, when the patterns are identified from the present to the past, neoliberalism seems to be not only a set of policies but also a hegemonic construction and a lifestyle that aims to embrace every single individual. While the 80s and 90s were the preparation era, the 2000s have signified the embodiment of the transformation, which is still ongoing. Mirovski (2018) lists the basic premises of "neoliberal thought collective" (NTC) as follows: active political construction of "free" market, the necessity for market validation, internalisation of market society, restructuring of state for a market-friendly culture, unification between

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[28] For detailed information please see Milanovic (2016) and Piketty (2017).

public and private, politics and market, citizen and entrepreneur-consumer, privileging "freedom to choose" under the imperatives of the market, freeing capital circulation around the world, praising inequality and competition, providing incessant solutions to market failure, as the most efficient economic system universalising free market. "Neoliberalism is best seen as a large-scale historical project for the transformation of social structures and practices along market lines" (Connel, 2010, p. 33). On the other hand, the restructuring paved the way for practices of "uneven and combined state capitalism" that signifies the "current aggregate expansion of the state's role as promoter, supervisor, and owner of capital across the spaces of the world capitalist economy" (Alami and Dixon, 2021, p. 23). In essence, neoliberalism was proposed as a development strategy for the periphery states to overcome economic stagnation; however, it has become a worldwide agenda that manifests itself as a necessity unfolding various forms of coercion.

Although urban renewal projects are only one of these practices, they are essential in revealing the characteristics of the period and the corresponding transformation. Through this direct intervention, on the one hand, while there are turmoils in the situation, social relations and lifestyle of the people (mainly working class) involved; on the other hand, important capital circulation and accumulation is ensured. As Harvey (2008, p. 33) points out:

> Surplus absorption through urban transformation has an even darker aspect. It has entailed repeated bouts of urban restructuring through 'creative destruction', which nearly always has a class dimension since it is the poor, the underprivileged and those marginalized from political power that suffer first and foremost from this process. Violence is required to build the new urban world on the wreckage of the old.

In this regard, Lefebvre (1991b, pp. 324-325) draws our attention to Marx's 'trinity formula' that combines three elements, namely Earth, capital and labour or, in other words, rent, profit and wages, goes beyond the binary opposition between capital and labour to understand relations in the capitalist mode of production.

In this regard, this section of the study is devoted to conducting an assessment that takes into account the characteristics of the neoliberal era, particularly in Turkey. In this framework, we also find a chance to take a closer look at the current situation within the global division of labour, of which Turkey is a part. Moreover, instead of the origin and historical evolution of urban renewal, which is discussed in detail in several studies (Roberts and Sykes, 2000; Akkar, 2006; Kocabaş, 2006; Ataöv and Osmay, 2007; Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010), we specifically focused on its manifestation in Turkey as an authoritarian housing policy intervention under neoliberal urban governance and restructuring of the capitalist state. Hence, to situate urban renewal in its context, its material foundations concerning the housing and the construction sector have to be revealed since it transforms one of the founding elements of the built environment and forms of urban life. In short, this chapter intends to clarify the meaning of urban renewal for Turkey and particularly for Ankara as the locus of interest just before focusing on the case study. Thus, while dealing with the relations between urban renewal, housing, and the construction sector, the story of neoliberal urbanisation is fleshed out with considerable quantitative data in this third central part of the thesis.

3.1. Natural Born Contractors

By ridiculing "the government view that everything should earn a full profit or not be done at all" (Chick and Dow, 2013, p. 15), Keynes (2013, p. 129) stated that

> [i]f the Treasury were to fill old bottles with banknotes, bury them at suitable depths in disused coalmines which are then filled up to the surface with town rubbish, and leave it to private enterprise on well-tried principles of laissez-faire to dig the notes up again (the right to do so being obtained, of course, by tendering for leases of the note-bearing territory), there need be no more unemployment and, with the help of the repercussions, the real income of the community, and its capital wealth also, would probably become a good deal greater than it actually is. It would, indeed, be more sensible to build houses and the like; but if there are political and practical difficulties in the way of this, the above would be better than nothing.

When we look at the developing countries' current situations, Keynes's proposal, however, does not seem ridiculous at all. More precisely, the neoliberal formulation of this proposition works quite well. Construction activities based on "digging a hole" in essence and orchestrated by the state authorities have become essential in capital circulation, accumulation, speeding up development, distribution of wealth, reducing unemployment, outperforming the market, and making power visible in people's eyes. Considering the World Bank data for the years between 1990 and 2019, the developing countries' regions have become distinct in infrastructure projects and investments

On the one hand, in countries where capital structure and capital accumulation are relatively weak, it is evident that the infrastructure investments orchestrated by the state are essential in the production of the built environment and, therefore, the dynamism of the construction sector. On the other hand, developed countries are solving their over-accumulation problems, particularly in infrastructure projects requiring severe financing, thanks to the construction sector by either providing credit or directly undertaking the project. Thus, they also have the chance to exercise soft power and establish their hegemony in different geographies.

When countries are ranked according to the number of projects and financial commitments, it is not surprising to see BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) countries shown as candidates for being developed ones for the near future in the first place. In recent years, Turkey has also made costly investments in infrastructure projects. Through the state-guaranteed or government partnership private infrastructure investments, Turkey ranks seventh in the number of projects and ranks fourth in investment commitments.

Parallel to national and local economic weaknesses, the transformation in the global economic network also has played a significant role in the reign of the construction sector in Turkey. It is well known that the raw materials of the periphery countries have been exchanged for the manufactured goods of core countries within the commodity chain since the Industrial Revolution. On the one hand, the unevenness of industrial development based on the agricultural surplus[29] has been persisted,

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[29] For a detailed discussion, please see Wood (1998).

administrated and even became more dramatic via several international setups such as World Bank (WB), International Money Fund (IMF) and Washington Consensus; on the other hand, globalisation under neoliberal rules especially after the 1970s and intensively in the 1990s transform the relations among and in the periphery countries. The firms and companies of the core countries engaged periphery countries both for low labour costs, cheap raw materials/land and to enlarge market share. Although the relations among periphery countries seem distinct from the relations between core and periphery countries, the level of integration into the global production network based on the production of value-added goods and services creates new forms of inequalities, uneven developments and exploitations among periphery countries (Horner, 2016). While industry shifts from Northern countries to emerging markets, regarding the rapid expansion and liberalisation of trade in periphery countries, especially in some countries like Turkey, "public and private capital tends to be invested in infrastructure and real estate, rather than production, and this is profoundly transforming cityscapes" (Schindler, 2017, p. 52). Furthermore, recently around the globe, "capital flow has tended to diminish with respect to value production while money capital seeks higher rates of monetary return elsewhere such as in land and property speculation" (Harvey, 2017, p. 20).

In this regard, examining the last 40-year period to understand the current situation in a country such as Turkey is of critical importance. The "neoliberal" era refers to the post-1980 period in the literature, which takes the relationship between capital and city to a different level called "urbanisation of capital" (Şengül, 2012). Thus, as Lefebvre (1976) stated, capital, discovering the vital role of space in reproducing itself, has opened up new spaces through glorified diversity and localities. The large-scale investments of the periphery countries, which have been seeking to produce their built environment mostly by their own means, contributed significantly to the increase in the capital's circulation speed after 1980. In this process, while interventions such as urban renewal, regeneration, rehabilitation etc., were taking place towards the ageing building stock and infrastructure of developed countries, statistical evidence suggests that the periphery and semi-periphery countries were rapidly "cemented" and "concreted" over. However, the transformation takes time. Crystallisation and internalization of the neoliberal agenda, especially for countries not in the core, took place after the 1990s. According to news in "The Washington Post", "China used more cement between 2011 and 2013 than the U.S. used in the entire 20th Century" (Swanson, 2015). On the one hand, this situation has become unstoppable within the framework of current development perspectives as many countries have become addicted to this type of growth all around the world. On the other hand, while significant steps have been taken to tackle climate change, cement manufacturing stands out as one of the most important drivers of increasing carbon emissions due to the use of fossil fuels such as coal in its production (Gregg et al., 2008; Liu et al., 2020).

Cement is generally produced for use in the country. Exporting cement is not preferred since transportation is costly. Considering the production of the leading countries in cement production between 2001 and 2018, the difference between the core capitalist countries and the others is noticeable (Table 1) (CEMBUREAU, US Geological Survey, Global Cement Report, Global Cement Directory).

While China has increased its production three and a half to four times annually in the last approximately 20 years, India has tripled, and Turkey has increased its output more than two times. If the European Union is considered as a single producer, Turkey is the fifth country that produces the most cement in the World as of 2018.

Table 1. Cement Production (Million Tonnes) of the Main World Producers (The G20 Group)

	2001	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
China	661	1644	1881,9	2063,2	2137	2420	2480	2350	2403	2316,3	2176,7
India	102,9	205	220	240	270	280	260	270	289,3	285	327,7
EU28	225,6	209,0	192,1	191,6	172,6	166,6	166,8	167,2	169,1	175,1	179,8
USA	88,9	63,9	65,2	68,6	74,9	77,4	83,2	83,4	84,7	86,1	87,8
Turkey	30	54	62,7	63,4	63,9	72,7	71,2	71,4	75,4	80,6	72,5
Brazil	39,4	51,7	59,1	63	68,8	70	72	72	57,6	54	53,5
Russian Federation	28,7	44,3	50,4	56,1	53	72	68,4	69	55	54,7	53,7
Japan	79,5	59,6	56,6	56,4	51,3	57,4	53,8	55	53,4	55,5	55,3
Indonesia	31,1	36,9	39,5	45,2	32	56	65	65	61,3	68	70,8
South Korea	52	50,1	47,4	48,2	48	47,3	63,2	63	56,7	57,9	55

For example, when Turkey's cement production and consumption data are analysed starting from the 1920s, a trend that began in the 1950s was broken upward in the 1980s. Then, steady and tremendous growth has been experienced in the cement industry (Figure 9). It should also be noted that the rate of increase seen in cement production and consumption is far beyond the population growth rate of Turkey.
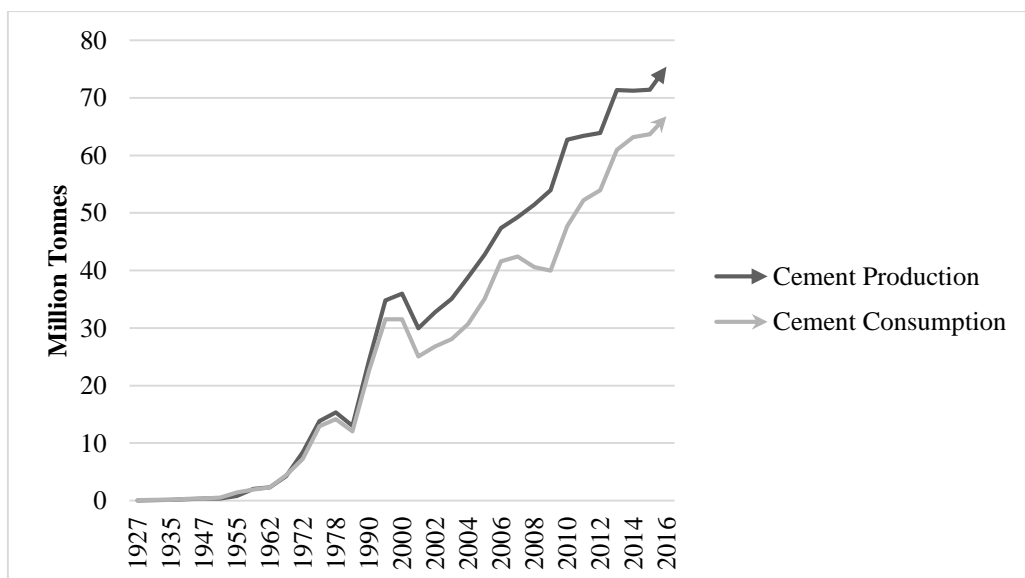
Figure 9. Cement Production and Consumption in Turkey
Source: Turkish Cement Manufacturers' Association (1999-2016), Başaran & Turunç (1927-1990)

Although cement is not considered an exportable product due to transportation difficulties, as it is mentioned above, the prices are relatively lower, and the economic instability directly affects the sector, the export rate, which was between 10% and 15% in recent years (Perilli, 2020), has exceeded 20% in 2020 (Dünya, 2020). In addition to America and Israel, the countries, namely Iraq, Syria and Libya, in which civil wars and foreign interventions have destroyed the built environment, are the top five where cement exports are made (TÇMB). Long story short, cement generally produced for the domestic market due to the costly transportation has become an export good in the 2000s.

Parallel to the increase in cement production, there occurred "contractor inflation" in the country. While there are 3800 contractors in Germany and between 20000 and 30000 in the whole of Europe, the number of contractors registered only in the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce is 60000 as of the end of 2017 (İlhan, 2017). There are serious dynamism and entrepreneurial activity in the construction sector. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute data, the number of employer enterprises in the construction sector increased from 160374 to 171494 between 2016 and 2018. While 11.8% of the entrepreneurs in the sector ended their activities in 2016, the number of entrepreneurs increased by 12% in 2018. Evaluating the total number of employer enterprises, as the construction sector's dead employer enterprises' share in 2016 was 10.8%, the newly born employer enterprises of the construction sector among all new ventures in 2018 was 9.1%. Based on the Ministry of Industry and Technology's scaling (TurkStat, The Data: Coverage, Periodicity and Timeliness)[30] regarding the companies' size, while the number of enterprises in the construction sector (Eurostat, 2008)[31] is gradually increasing, it is seen that the highest number of enterprises is micro-scale ones (Figure 10).

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[30] "Micro-Sized Companies: With respect to the employment criterion, companies with employment less than 10, or with respect to the total assets or net sales criterion companies with total assets or net sales less than 3 million Turkish Lira are classified as micro companies. Small-Sized Companies: With respect to the employment criterion, companies with employment less than 50, or with respect to the total assets or net sales criterion companies with total assets or net sales less than 25 million Turkish Lira are classified as small companies. Medium-Sized Companies: With respect to the employment criterion, companies with employment less than 250, or with respect to the total assets or net sales criterion companies with total assets or net sales less than 125 million Turkish Lira are classified as medium companies. Large-Sized Companies: With respect to the employment criterion, companies with employment over 250, or with respect to the total assets or net sales criterion companies with total assets or net sales over 125 million Turkish Lira are classified as large companies.

[31] According to NACE REV.2, "specialised construction activities" covers a wide range of economic activities from building and infrastructure constructions to demolition, roofing activities, and plumbing installations.
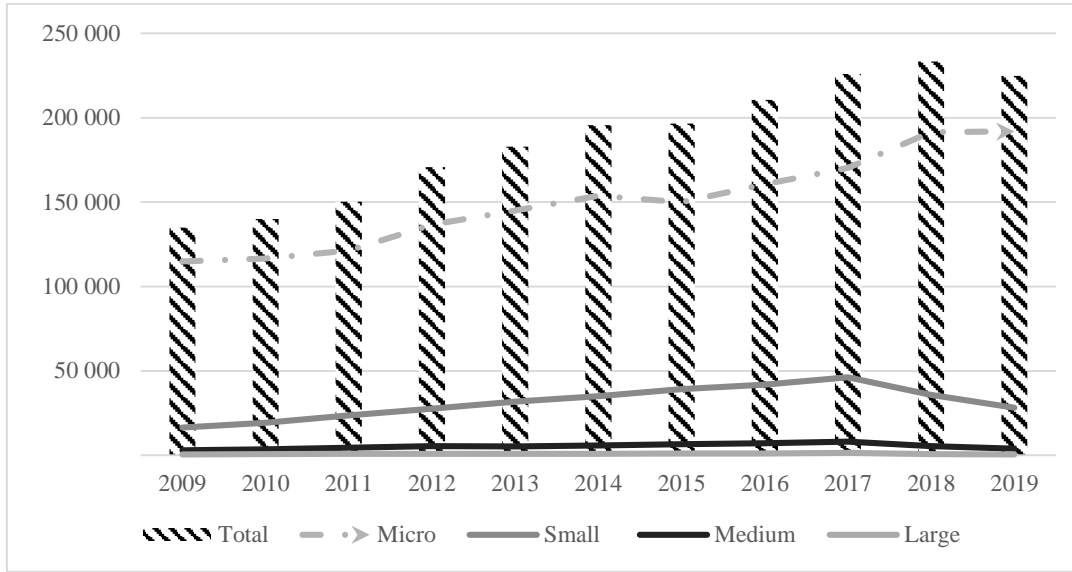
Figure 10. The Enterprises in the Construction Sector by Size Class, 2009-2019
Source: TurkStat

In 2018 the Minister of Environment and Urbanization declared that thanks to the number of contractors, around 450000, Turkey had been ranked second in the World ("Bakan Kurum: Türkiye'de 450 bin müteahhit var", 2018). Following the obligation to obtain an "Authorization Certificate Number" in 2012, the Ministry tried to find a solution by classifying approximately 435,000 contract authorization certificates issued until 2019 ("Müteahhit sayısı artınca Bakanlık sınıflara ayırdı", 2019). In 2020, according to the Engineering News Record's "World's Largest 250 International Contractors" list, while China was leading with 74 companies, Turkey took second place with 44 construction companies operating abroad ("Küresel Pazar Daralırken Türk Müteahhitler Yerini Korudu", 2020). In her statement at the beginning of 2021, the Minister of Commerce declared that Turkish contractors undertook 10,525 projects worth 418.7 billion dollars in 128 different countries (Çakır, 2021). Besides, the Minister stated that while the volume of economic activity undertaken abroad by Turkish contractors in the 30-year period covering the years between 1972-2002 was approximately 50 billion dollars, since 2002, it has exceeded 369 billion dollars. Nonetheless, in a nearly 20-year period in the face of this economic activity abroad, a striking result is that despite the fluctuations, the direct investments made from abroad for construction activities in Turkey greatly exceed the investments made by Turkish residents' foreign direct investments abroad. From 2001 to the end of 2019, the gap between the direct investments made from abroad and the direct investments made to other countries from Turkey concerning the construction sector activities has widened, and the total difference reached approximately 8 billion dollars (Figure 11).
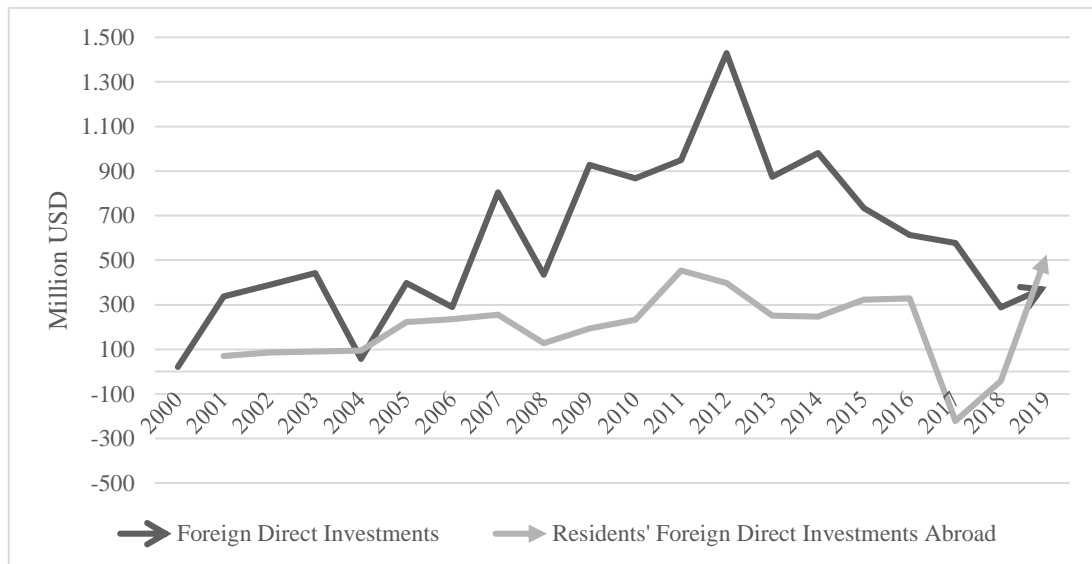
Figure 11. Construction Investment Comparison between Foreign Direct Investment and Turkish Residents' Foreign Direct Investments Abroad

Source: CBRT

Depending on its potential, Turkey's annual percentage growth rates have fluctuated due to its vulnerability to the global economic crisis and related fragile capital structure but have continued at a certain average at least for sixty years. Considering Turkey's population and economic conditions, this average, which is close to five according to the World Bank National Account Data, has to be reached every year so as not to face the prospect of mass unemployment. Post-2000, the single-party rule is no exception in this sense. There were even periods such as the years between 1963 and 1976 when more stable and better growth figures were reached. But the hallmark of the AKP era is the dramatic rise in GDP (at purchaser's prices). The slow upward pace between 1970 and 2000 gave way to a rapid rise during single-party governments. The GDP, which was $ 537 billion in 2001, reached the highest level in 2013 with $ 957799 billion and was $ 761425 billion in 2019. But behind this disproportionate economic expansion is debt-generating capital mobility, which also often includes hot money flows. When examining Turkey's net international investment position between 1996 and 2020, the difference between assets and liabilities post-2000 showed a significant change compared to the previous years (Figure 12). On the other hand, debt-driven growth is not particular to this period. As a matter of fact, regarding the ratio between liabilities and assets, there is even an improvement after 2000. However, the increase in the size of the liabilities and the economic growth figures are essential indicators that the country is increasingly dependent on foreign investments.
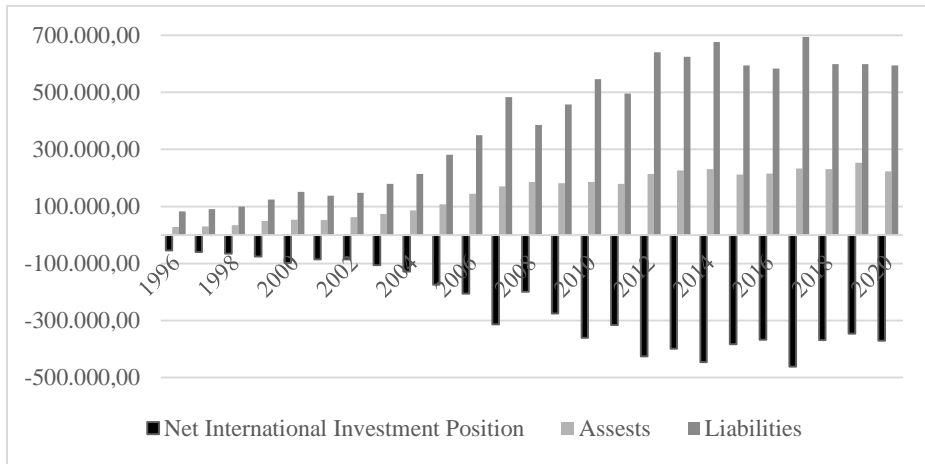
Figure 12. Turkey's International Investment Position (1996-2020) (Million USD)
Source: CBRT

It is clear that in the period defined as globalisation, differences and inequalities only became visible under the best circumstances, while more commitment to profit maximisation in parallel with the development of financial markets replaced the motivations for eliminating social inequalities. In this sense, the integration process with the global economy is unavoidably painful in countries like Turkey. World Bank's and TurkStat's GDP data reveal that Turkey needs resilient and robust economic activities against the financial crisis (Figure 13). It is clear that the construction sector is not among them. The construction sector responds sharply to both economic contractions and expansions. The construction sector's growth rate, which had already lost speed before the mortgage crisis that affected the whole world, dramatically declined in 2008. However, the sector, which experienced a rapid recovery thanks to the quantitative easing of the core countries, could not grow at a stable rate. The devaluation of currency experienced in Turkey in 2018 indicated how the sector is fragile and dependent on liquidity.
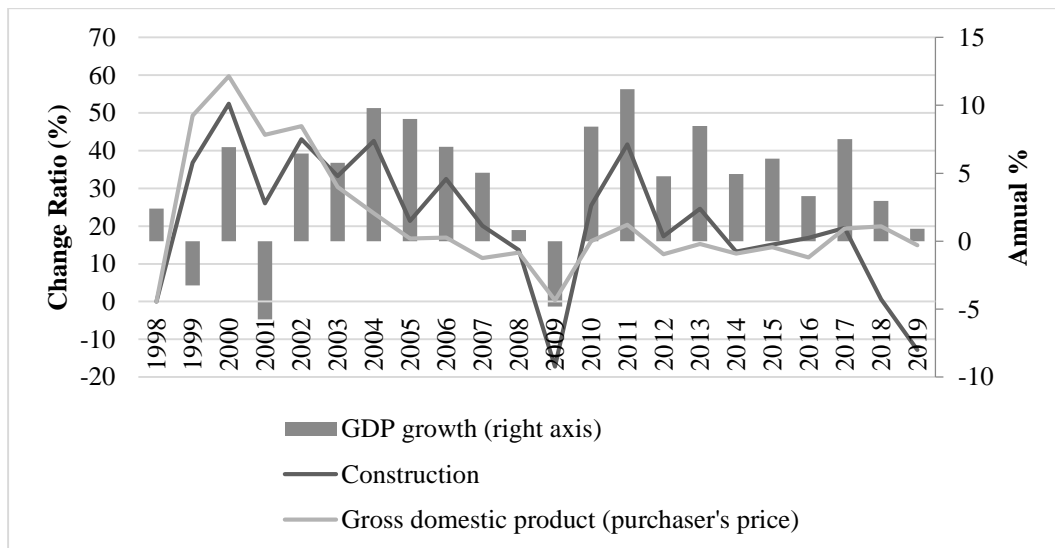
Figure 13. Annual Percentage of GDP Growth and GDP's and Construction Sector's Change Ratio (at current prices)
Source: World Bank & TurkStat

Considering the shares of leading economic activities in the GDP between 1998-2019, although the construction sector does not have a relatively large share, the average of the years between 1998 and 2009 was 5.6, despite the significant shrinkage in 2019, between 2010 and 2019 the average was 7.4 (Figure 14). Moreover, while other economic activities have either declined or moved relatively stable in the period of about 30 years, the dynamism in construction and real estate activities is remarkable.
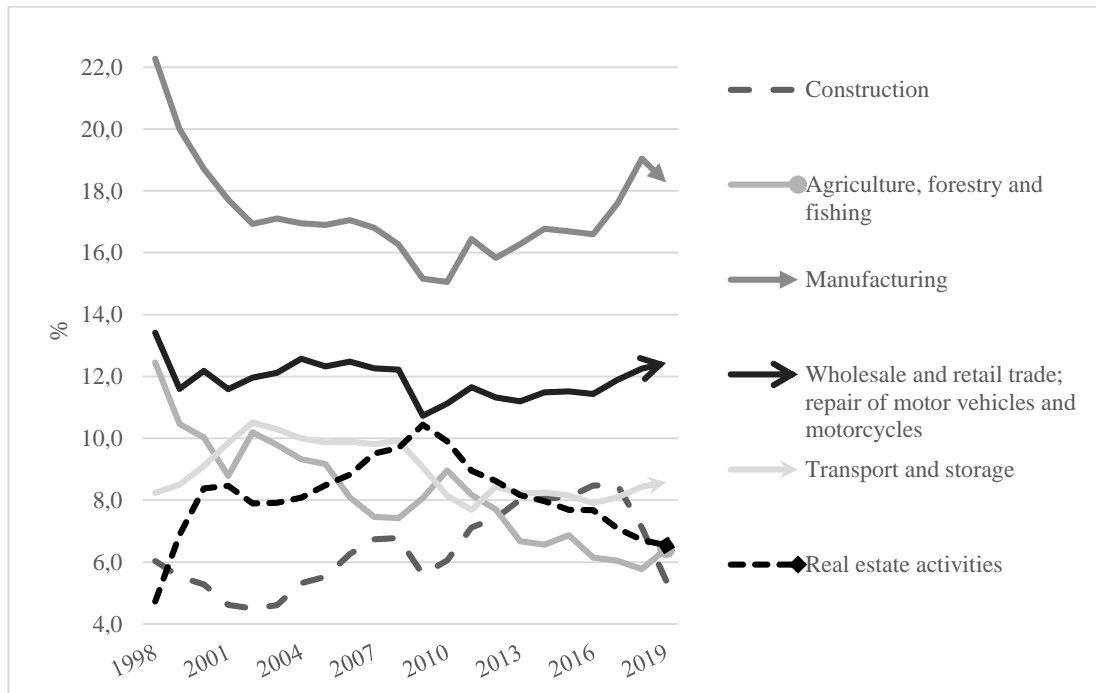
Figure 14. GDP Share (%) of Leading Economic Activities
Source: TurkStat

Although the technology-intensive investments have increased after the crisis at the beginning of the 2000s, Turkey is trapped in medium-level technology production due to the comparative advantage of Asia's emerging markets, such as low cost of labour and low foreign exchange rate. The production in the Turkish economy had begun to rely on importing intermediate goods from emerging markets and exporting them to Europe's developed markets as final products. Therefore, compared to similar countries, Turkey became an assemblage industry instead of pursuing technology-driven change that brings value-added products.

Not being able to create products with high added value also played a critical role in this process. According to the Turkish Exporters Assembly's export unit value data calculated by dividing Turkey's US dollar-denominated export prices by the weight of the total goods exported, it is observed that between 2005 and 2020, beyond the significant ups and downs, there was a significant decrease, which fell behind the beginning of the 2000s, especially after 2014 (Figure 15).
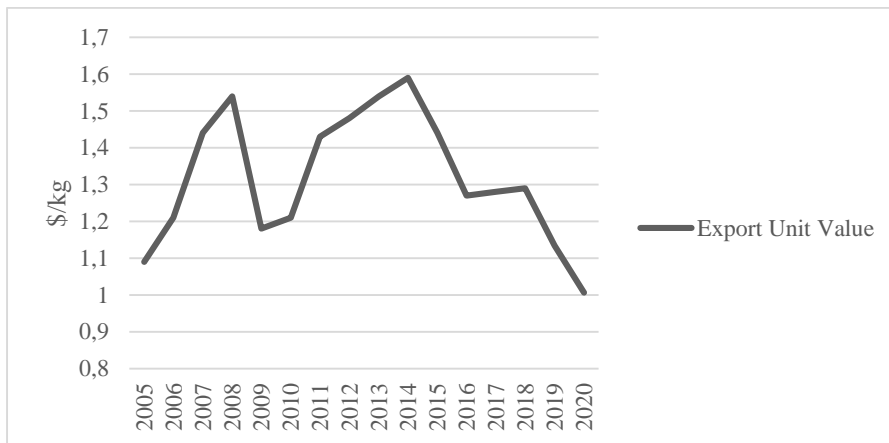
Figure 15. Turkey's Export Unit Value ($/kg)

Source: Turkish Exporters Assembly

As of 2018, while Turkey's top 100 exporters' export unit value ($/kg) is $ 1.60, this figure is $ 4 in Japan, $ 3.7 in Germany, and $ 2.54 in South Korea (Ceylan, 2019). Under the economic boom and bust cycles in the world and country and related fluctuations in exchange rates, Turkey moved away from producing and exporting value-added products. The sector that decreased the export value per kilogram the most between 2015 and 2020 was the cement, glass, ceramic and soil products sector, which decreased from 0.2 dollars to 0.1 dollars (Karadeniz, 2020).

 "The neoliberal development strategy, seeking growth for a peripheral country by opening the economy to international capital and building export industries based on comparative advantage in global markets, might yield rapid growth in those sectors and stagnation in others." (Connell & Dados, 2014, p. 123). For example, China has managed to balance this situation in its favour through the strategic steps it has taken. According to Arrighi and Zhang (2011, p. 33),

> The division of labor among EPZs[32] illustrates also the Chinese government's strategy of promoting the development of knowledge-intensive industries without abandoning labor intensive industries. In the pursuit of this strategy, the Chinese government has modernized and expanded the educational system at a pace and on a scale without precedent even in East Asia. Building on the exceptional achievements of the Mao era in primary education, the number of annual college graduates has tripled from 2001 through 2005 to over 3 million.

The transformation in the education system in Turkey also has not met the requirements that may bring the change, albeit in the long run. However, "[s]luggish investment and growth, rising inequality, low inflation and interest rates, and rapid debt accumulation have become common features of major advanced economies and indeed much of the global economy at large" (Akyüz, 2020). The country enjoys buying basic components of goods, assembling and selling to developed countries, especially to the European Union countries and other countries in the region. Parallel to weakening labour institutions, diminishing real wages had created a comparative advantage for the capitalists of the country. "Thus, recent trends in the Turkish

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[32] Export Processing Zones

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economy have included rapid growth without rising employment, increases in exports and imports, high current account deficits, finance-account surpluses, huge reserve-accumulation and rising external debt" (Ergüneş, 2012, p. 223). In the neoliberal era, while the wages of the labouring class have been decreased to increase profits, in order to sustain the active demand in the market and the reproduction of labour-power, on the one hand, selective social policies, especially through social relief practices, on the other hand, via various financial instruments indebtedness have dramatically increased.

When the above mentioned World Bank data regarding the developing regions' infrastructure investments between 1990 and 2019 are analysed based on the companies, it is seen that five companies from Turkey are among the top private investors (Figure 16). These companies, which mostly undertake high-cost airport, road and electricity infrastructure projects, carry out tasks with a high investment commitment. These are the leading companies that have tendered many public contracts and won since the 2000s (Uğur, 2016). Besides, it was stated by the Minister of Trade Ruhsar Pekcan in response to a parliamentary question that these companies got a total of 128 tax reliefs between 2010 and 2020 (*Yandaş 5 inşaat şirketine son 10 yılda 128 vergi indirimi!*, 2020).
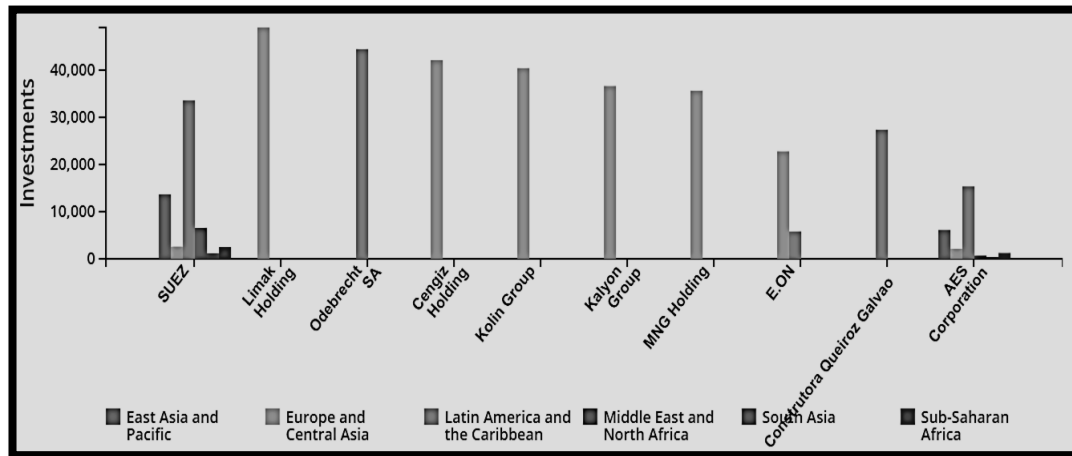
Figure 16. Top 10 Sponsors by Investment and Region, 1990-2020 ($ million)
Source: World Bank (https://ppi.worldbank.org/en/snapshots/rankings)

Despite the fluctuating economic activity in the construction sector, employment numbers have been more stable since the early 2000s (Figure 17). In 15 years, while the rate of employees in the services sector increased from 47.3% to 56.2%, the rate of those working in the agricultural sector decreased from 25.5% to 17.6%, and the rate of employees in the industry fell by 1%[33]. Especially between 2009 and 2017 stand out as the brightest years in terms of employment in the construction sector. Since the employment numbers are low compared to other economic activities, particularly

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[33] Such dependency in the service sector causes serious social problems in times of decreasing market dynamism. This was evident during the recovery of economies that slowed globally and nationally during the COVID-19 pandemic that broke out in 2020. In addition to developed/ core countries, countries with economies based on production (primarily industrial and agricultural) were relatively less affected by the economic recession caused by the epidemic.

examining construction sector employment data may also help to deepen understanding of the labour's condition. However, it should be noted that since informal working is quite common in the construction sector, these figures must be interpreted with caution.
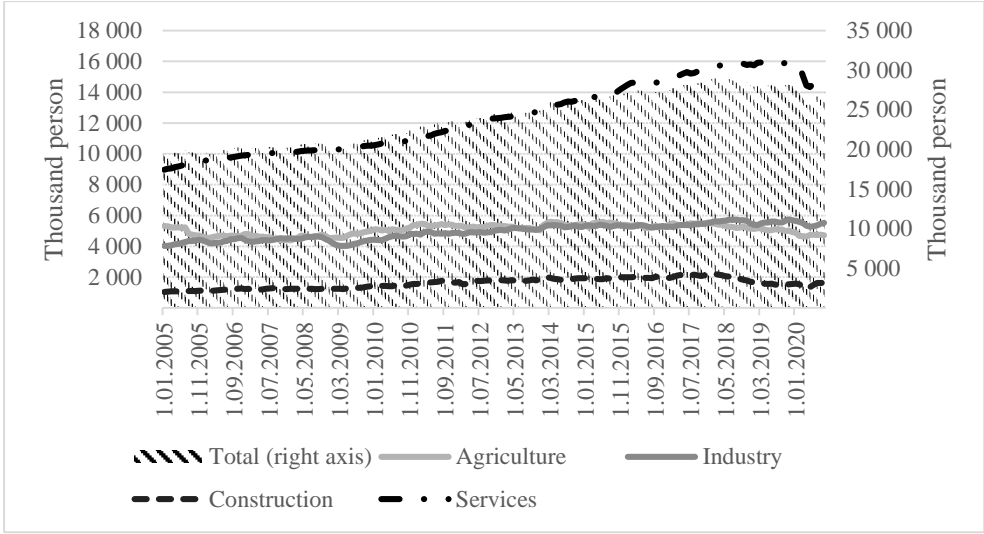
Figure 17. Seasonally Adjusted Employment by Economic Activities, 2005 (January) – 2020 (October)

Source: TurkStat

When the number of employees is analysed from 1988 to 2020, it is seen that the sector has the potential of creating employment between 4.5% and 7.5% in total. In the employment market, which shrinks rapidly, especially in times of economic crisis, an average of 1.4 million people have been employed every year in the last 30 years. From the lowest level in the early 2000s, employment statistics gained momentum and showed a significant increase, especially after 2009 until the economic crisis in 2018 (Figure 18).
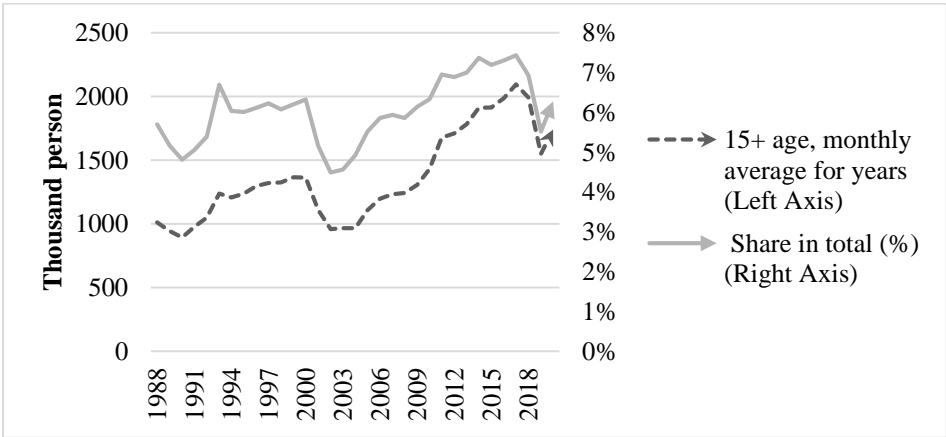
Figure 18. Labour in the Construction Sector in Turkey[34]

Source: TurkStat

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[34] The data for 2020 cover the period from January to September.

It is also observed that the enterprises that create the most employment are small-scale enterprises. In addition to a large number of micro-enterprises, the employment numbers of small and medium-sized enterprises indicate that entering the sector is comparatively easy in terms of both labour and capital. While the number of employment in the sector was around 850 thousand in 2009, thanks to the availability of cheap foreign exchange within the framework of expansionary monetary policies of core states' central banks after the 2008 crisis, it increased to an average of 1.5 million in a 10-year period. Although employment nearly doubled in this era, the economic recession in 2018 and 2019 led to a significant decrease and indicated how high elasticity of the sector employment (Figure 19).
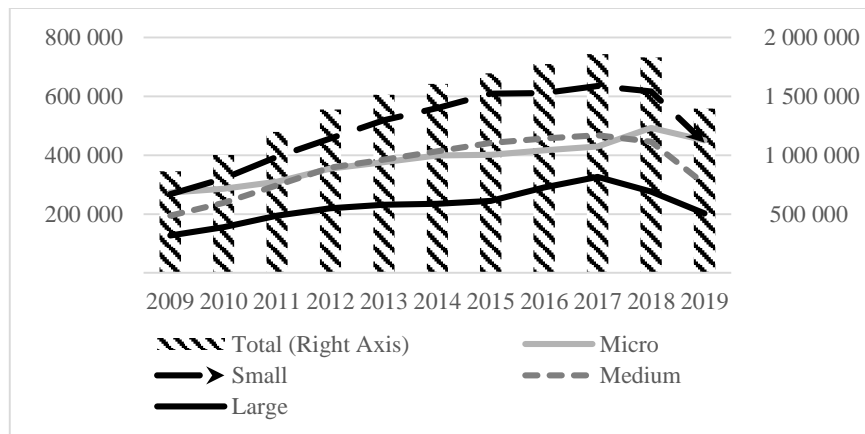
Figure 19. Number of Persons Employed in Construction by Scale, 2009-2019
Source: TurkStat

The unemployment data between 2014 and 2019 reveals the vulnerability of labour in the construction sector. While the number of unemployed who stated that their last job was in the construction sector remained stable between 2014 and 2017, it increased significantly in 2018 and beyond (Figure 20). As stated above, the construction sector, which requires intensive labour and a work practice mainly dependent on muscle power, emerges as one of the sectors where precarious, insecure and informal work is most common. These conditions are catchy for desperate illegal migrants, particularly from Afghanistan or Syria. While the contractors have enjoyed this situation, it led to problems among the workers. Even confrontations were observed between workers from Turkey and migrant workers. For example, on a local news website, under the heading "Syrians Attack Construction Workers", it was written that there occurred a clash between Turkish and Syrian workers because they had stated that they could work for less money ("Suriyeliler İnşaat İşçilerine Saldırdı", 2014). The main reason behind this provocative headline is, as Çınar (2018, p. 121) stated that following the intensive migration flows from Syria, "the competition among construction workers has intensified, and the bargaining power of all workers in Turkey has decreased. It should also be noted that under these conditions, the war in Syria, intentionally or not, has served the construction sector in finding cheap labour and undertaking projects during the country's restoration[35].

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[35] The directly associated industries such as cement, iron, and steel have also enjoyed this destruction driven market dynamism.

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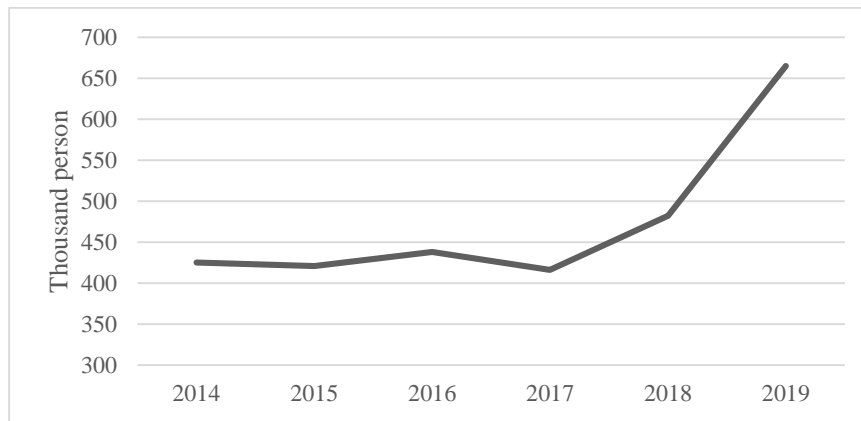
Figure 20. Unemployment by Economic Activity of Previously Employed
(Construction)

Source: TurkStat

3.2. The Turkish Variant of Neoliberal Urbanization

It is apparent from these various data sets that the construction sector that brings serious economic activity played a pivotal role not only in the economic expansion but also in the economic contraction. Moreover, the government's strong backing for the construction activity has resulted in severe environmental consequences such as urban expansion, greenfield development, and environmental deterioration (Balaban, 2012, pp. 26-27). Therefore, it is a two-edged sword. In this sense, it is vital to look at Turkey's material basis of the last 40 years of transformation through the integrity of the political sphere and the economic sphere to understand the factors and dynamics that have unfolded in the expansion of the construction sector.

In nationalist and conservative movements, the most important indicator that the government, the municipality and the party are in action is constructing something (Bora, 2016). "Prime Minister Turgut Özal viewed construction as a major engine of growth in the newly liberalized economy and created the Mass Housing Authority (Toplu Konut İdaresi Müdürlüğü, TOKİ) to spur development" (Holland, 2017, p. 281). While Ley and Teo (2014, pp. 1291-1292) describe the process in the Asia Pacific resembling the case in Turkey asserted that "the strategic role of state-sponsored construction as part of national accumulation and development strategies is significant... Demolish the old and rebuild, ever denser, ever higher, is the default option".

> Public infrastructure constructions usually contribute to the rest of the economy through many channels. On the one hand, it is considered to bring about an effect similar to the inter-industry input–output linkage. For example, a highway or railroad construction project will create a backward linkage to its upstream industries by giving an impetus to real estate, the steel industry, and civil construction. On the other hand, upon the completion of the construction project, most private production activities will indirectly benefit from highway or railroad construction via better transportation of goods and services and lower operation costs. (Wang, 2002, p. 416).

In this sense, with parallel to the internal relations between the modern state and capitalist mode of production, especially periphery countries strictly necessitate the leading role of the state that paves the way for embezzlement, cronyism, corruption and nepotism. Even though such contradictory but mutual forms of relations between capital and state are indicated as market malfunctioning or divergence from the idealised market system due to the limited capital accumulation and circulation are imperatives within the capitalist system. In short, these serious tendencies in capitalist economies, which are recognised as malfunctioned, inefficient or ineffective, are fundamentally intrinsic to capitalism. With the restructuring that praises the deregulations within the framework of the neoliberal agenda, the problems have deepened even more. Instead of "a historically contingent form of reconstruction of the capitalist state", depending on the "secular transformations in the materiality of surplus-value production" (Alami and Dixon, 2021, p. 23), authoritarian forms of state capitalism have unfolded in some geographies.

AKP "which has ruled Turkey since 2002, combining neoliberalism with a moderate Islamism—one of the most successful neoliberal parties in the world" (Connell & Dados, 2014, p. 133). It is stated in the World Bank publication (Iwulska, 2012) that the AKP government came to power in the midst of an economic crisis that broke out at the beginning of the 20th century and successfully resolved it by fiscal tightening and regulations in the banking and financial system. The neoliberal entrenchment and accompanying transformation that began in the 1980s was crystallized under the rule of AKP's single-party governments[36].

> Under Erdoğan governments in the 2000s, economic policies became increasingly neoliberal, leading to further consolidation of this mode of capital accumulation. By the end of this, Turkey had completed its transition from a mode of capital accumulation driven by import-substituting industrialization to a regime based on a global flows of goods and capital, popularly known as neoliberalism (Balkan, Balkan & Öncü, 2015, p. 2).

"Financialisation emerged mostly as an internal process in developed countries but has also become a global process involving developing countries. Developing countries, following capital-account liberalisation, have had intense experience of the impact of financialisation" (Ergüneş, 2012, p. 219).

> Financialisation, finally, has allowed the ethics, morality and mindset of finance to penetrate social and individual life. The concept of 'risk' – often nothing more than a banal formalisation of the financier's practices – has become prominent in public discourse. Waves of greed have been released by the transformation of housing and pensions into 'investments', dragging individuals into financial bubbles. To be sure, there has also been resistance and search for social

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[36] Regarding the AKP as a successively ruling party for the last 20 years, it is worth mentioning that, regardless of its incessantly promoted conservative heritage in the public realm, AKP also points to an amalgamation that particularly embraces nationalist and liberal lines of thought. This coalition has been more than just backed by nationalists or liberals during election times. Despite the dominant conservative base, notions and discourse in the party, both nationalists and liberals have found a way to dominate the regime from time to time. Although these pragmatic and dynamic articulations have somehow assisted the party to retain power, the changes in the power structure over time have led to more centralized, coercive, irregular, selective policies to ensure coordination and keep the coalition alive.

alternatives. But finance has set the terms across the world (Lapavitsas, 2009, p. 116).

As Lazzarato (2012, pp. 8-9) indicates that "[t]he subjective achievements neoliberalism had promised ("everyone a shareholder, everyone an owner, everyone an entrepreneur") have plunged us into the existential condition of the indebted man, at once responsible and guilty for his particular fate".

"The world history of neoliberalism is a history from below, a history of practices, more than anything else" (Connell & Dados, 2014, p. 134). Pervasive, persistent and adoptable neoliberal interventions have engulfed all aspects of life as a worldwide hegemonic project. However, "[a]daptability of neo-liberalism does not mean that this policy approach is respectful of economic, social and cultural diversities. On the contrary, this adaptability arises from the typically capitalist opportunism and pragmatism that informs the logics of neo-liberalism" (Rossi & Vanolo, 2013, p. 161). The neoliberal hegemony that necessarily blended with opportunism and pragmatism has led to the rise of populism in almost all geographies. The case of Turkey is quite illustrative in this sense.

> Think, for instance, of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan declaring at a party congress in defiance of his numerous domestic critics, "We are the people. Who are you?" Of course, he knew that his opponents were Turks, too. The claim to exclusive representation is not an empirical one; it is always distinctly moral. When running for office, populists portray their political competitors as part of the immoral, corrupt elite; when ruling, they refuse to recognize any opposition as legitimate. The populist logic also implies that whoever does not support populist parties might not be a proper part of the people—always defined as righteous and morally pure. Put simply, populists do not claim "We are the 99 percent." What they imply instead is "We are the 100 percent". (Müller, 2017, p. 7).

> Claiming to represent the real Muslim people who were "left behind" as opposed to the Westernized elite, the regime has had issues and encroached upon liberal lifestyles, vibrant night life, music halls and other venues where Western arts were performed as well as historic and iconic places that represented the diverse mixed culture and history of Istanbul. Monumental icons of secular Westernized Turkey were attacked by the regime, and demolished one by one, such as the Ataturk Kultur Merkezi, Istanbul's major music hall in Taksim. (Turam, 2019).

Neoliberal hegemony, in which human actants can be subjected to symbolic violence from time to time and physical violence when deemed necessary, and non-human actants[37] are exposed to creative destruction in the production of the built environment, relies on the maintenance of capital accumulation. Unless the capital accomplishes this, the state may. "Privatisations and public auctions for investments like bridges, ports, highways and railroads were AKP government's major tools for supporting the growth of conservative and Islam oriented capitalist class" (Onaran & Ovyat, 2015, p. 27). Although AKP is sensitive to fractions within the capital, it is not possible to say

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[37] It was inspired by Prof. Şengül's mind-opening speech regarding the evaluation of non-human actants in the Studio Course delivered in the Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments Program at Middle East Technical University.

that it takes an exclusionary stance in this sense. "[T]he political disputes between TÜSİAD[38] capitalists and Erdoğan did not prevent TÜSİAD capitalists from benefiting from the economic policies of the AKP government" (Onaran & Ovyat, 2015, p. 28). It is also worth noting that the transfer of public goods to capital through privatization started in the period of Turgut Özal after the 1980 coup and continued unabated in the 1990s during the coalition periods, which included left-wing parties. Therefore, the transformation in the 1980s and 1990s is fundamental to understanding the approach materialized under the AKP rule.

> The principal means through which the state facilitates the transfer of wealth or the transfer of existing public sector resources to the private sector in order to integrate national/local capital with the global market and create the conditions for profitable investment are as follows: (1) large-scale bids for public services opened at the national level; (2) bids at the local administrative level (municipal services, infrastructural investments, Housing Development Administration of Turkey, …); (3) credits issued through public banks; (4) privatization; and (5) public facilities transferred to the private sector for management. (Tanyılmaz, 2015, p. 101).

This regime is embodied in the personality of the powerful figures in politics. Society witnessed the neoliberal transformation and felt it down to its bones while a mayor became a president. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the construction sector, local governments, urban space and housing are at the core of these discussions.

For instance, to regulate all these fields, the Mass Housing Administration that has evolved under the AKP rule became one of the influential central state organizations in the housing market.

> Construction was the cornerstone of the AKP's economic growth strategy and arguably also its early electoral success. The AKP overhauled housing policy to help pull the economy out of recession. TOKI was transformed into a state real estate corporation under direct control of the prime minister (Holland, 2017, p. 282).

By using TOKİ, the government, on the one hand, has distributed resources to the contractors through housing projects and created a group of capitalists loyal to the Party and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan; on the other hand, it aimed to expand the electoral base with the claim of providing housing, especially to the lower classes in the places where the projects are carried out. A study indicated "that while traditional explanations of Turkish party voting account for some of the AKP's success, distributive politics in the form of TOKI housing projects is a stronger predictor of the party's durability" (Marschall et al., 2016, p. 201). TOKİ either involves lucrative projects or makes them profitable by increasing development rights. TOKİ provides housing programs for both low, middle and upper-income groups. TOKİ's strategy is dependent on the location of land and its rent and owners or occupiers of the land. By considering these two main determining factors, TOKİ may implement a project with or without the municipalities. Thanks to its increasing planning powers, TOKİ has produced housing projects regardless of rural or urban areas. To reduce the land cost of housing projects to be made especially for the lower-income groups, the TOKİ

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[38] TÜSİAD is the abbreviation of the Turkish Industry and Business Association in Turkish.

housing projects carried out mostly on the periphery of the cities caused the transformation of rural areas as well[39].

3.3. Housing Question in Turkey

The earliest structures, such as sheds, tents, huts, temples, graveyards though they may not be in their present form, and many archaic forms of structures traced at the archaeological sites, have been the subject of construction activity as parts of housing and social organisation in general. While building infrastructure has accompanied the sedentary lifestyle, commercial and industrial constructions are emerging in relatively recent history. Today, these departments of structures have become inseparable within the framework of urban planning theories and practices. While it is impossible to produce a built environment without infrastructure, planning entails connections and relations among residential, commercial, industrial and institutional buildings and spaces. Within this integrity, under this heading, housing as the basic and the most expensive basic need, at least for today, will be examined through the construction sector dynamics mentioned above.

Today, many cities in which their economy is dependent on human mobility besides the severe health problems brought by the COVID 19 pandemic awaken once more to the existing system's apparent and acute contradictions. Coronavirus-induced lockdown or banning from leaving home to prevent the spread of the virus is an absurd suggestion for a large part of labourers who have no chance to tolerate any restrictions and closures to survive. In addition to being unable to survive without working, many workers' housing conditions are not suitable for isolation or long-term living. On the one hand, there is a loss of income; on the other hand, food expenses and utility expenses such as electricity, water, gas, and the internet increase due to spending more time at home.

The housing market dynamics in cities that have become hubs for tourism, finance, administration, education, etc., have also changed in this period. These settlements, which are also known as global cities in terms of dense population and diversity, over time, have created a housing market according to the mobile population they began hosting rather than the settled population. The decrease in housing demand in parallel with the decline in mobility due to the pandemic has made excess housing in these cities more visible. In these cities, where inequality and unevenness are more intense, it is once again apparent that quarantine has been pointless for homeless people and people worried about being homeless due to the economic contraction. While the demand for detached houses and/or houses with large open spaces increases, some people do not even have a home for the lockdown. Under these conditions, it is a reasonable question to ask, "how can people quarantine without a home?" (Mendes, 2020). The time of crisis is the moment in history that reveals the contradictions and the unvarnished reality. There is no room for disguise.

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[39] In this period, in line with the acceleration of construction sector activities and urban development, tremendous decrease in the agricultural economic activity which is directly related to the general agricultural policies of the country, led to the rising discussions on the relationship between rural-urban through themes such as urban sprawl, urban growth, sub-urbanization and urban migration.

Economic crises under capitalism are times when most suffer parallel to increasing inequality between social classes, and "opportunities" emerge in the market. The household's considerable amount of earnings has been devoted to housing regardless of economic crises in recent years. While the quantitative easings or low inflation rates, especially after the 2008 mortgage crisis, have been a panacea for the accumulation and circulation of more capital, affordability and stability problems in the housing market entail questioning the housing provision. The increase in financialisation, commodification and fetishisation of housing has exacerbated the already decreasing working classes' real incomes and purchasing power.

In this context, state interventions are essential in understanding the level of the commodification of the market. Authorities may take steps such as direct production and provision, rent allowance, forbearance of rent and mortgage payments, suspension of eviction in case of default (especially in crises), price ceiling, etc., to meet the housing need. On the other hand, the supply-demand relationship may rule the housing market with the (de)regulations and market stimulating decision or non-decision making processes. Highlighting the data of Turkey would assist in illustrating the conditions in housing.

According to data from 1964 until today, it is apparent that the private sector is the main and dominant actor in the built environment creation in Turkey (Figure 21). Considering both the number of fully or partially completed buildings and the value of the investments, the state's share is quite low, while building cooperatives, which began to increase in the 1980s, lost their already limited share in the 2000s. Since the private sector is the dominant actor in the playground, the field faces contractions, especially in economic crises. However, it is a fact that after 2000, state investments increased compared to previous years. In this case, as mentioned in the previous section, numerous and costly public projects undertaken by particular construction companies indicate that after 2000 the state began to play a market-maker role instead of a market-regulator. In this period, in built-environment production, the state, primarily through spatial planning manoeuvres, appears as an essential actor thanks to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization and TOKİ.
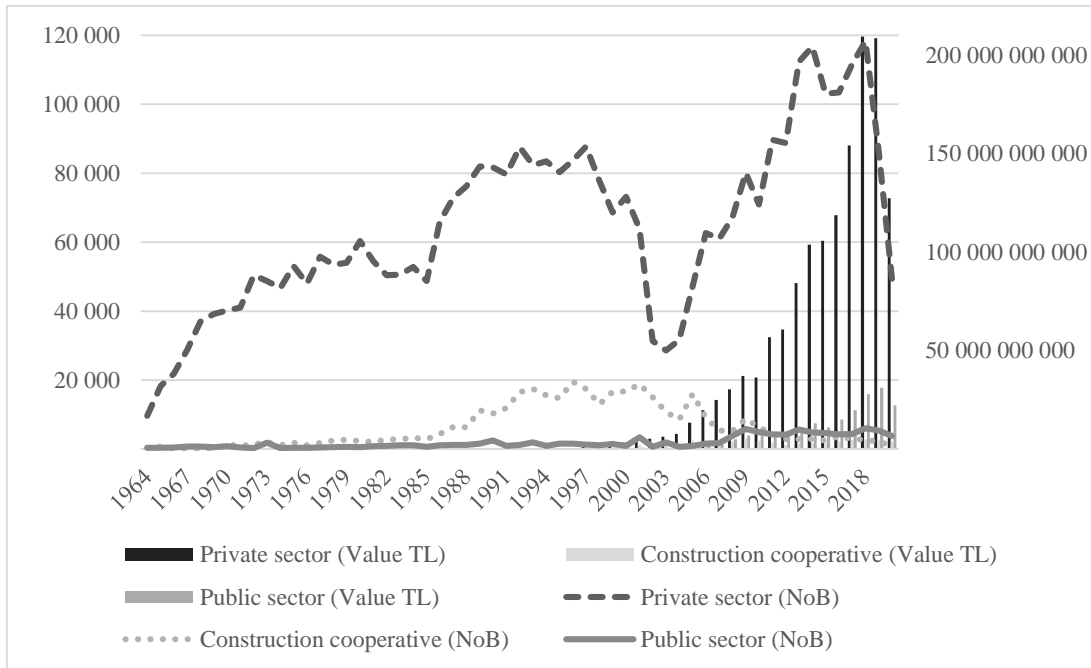
Figure 21. Completed or Partially Completed New Buildings and Additions and Their Value (TL) by Type of Investor (1964-2020)[40]

Source: TurkStat

A trend similar to the above assessment of the number and costs of buildings is apparent in the public and private sectors' housing investments in the last 20 years (Figure 22). It is expected to see that the construction and housing investments inevitably take the first place among fixed capital investments in a country that pursued an agenda of modernisation and industrialisation aftermath of the destruction during the First World War and the War of Independence. However, this orientation created a dependency on prioritising the private sector when value-added products could not be produced without necessary development steps. While the private sector's share of housing investment is around 30 % of the overall fixed capital investments, public housing investments are between 1 and 2 %. In terms of current prices, it isn't easy to distinguish private fixed capital housing investments from total housing investments because of the public sector's highly limited investments.

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[40] According to the revision made in 2011, "in occupancy permit forms; there are options like "new building, additional building, storey addition, addition, renovation, again, restoration, amplification, changing of usage, installation, etc." in the "purpose of the certificate" part . Up to now, only "new building, additional building, storey addition and addition " options in the "purpose of the certificate" part have been covered in the published occupancy permit statistics. After the National Address Database (NAD) was formed, "Construction Permit" and "O ccupancy Permit" forms have been filled via this system. By the accession of almost all of the authorized administrations to this system, it is questioned whether the "Occupancy Permit Form is arranged for the first time". For the Occupancy Permits arranged for the first time, all of the options in the "purpose of the certificate" part have been reflected in the statistics since the beginning of 2011. Statistics of 2009 and 2010 have also been revized according to this structure. The information for 2018, 2019 and 2020 are temporary and data of 2020 is for the nine months of 2020.
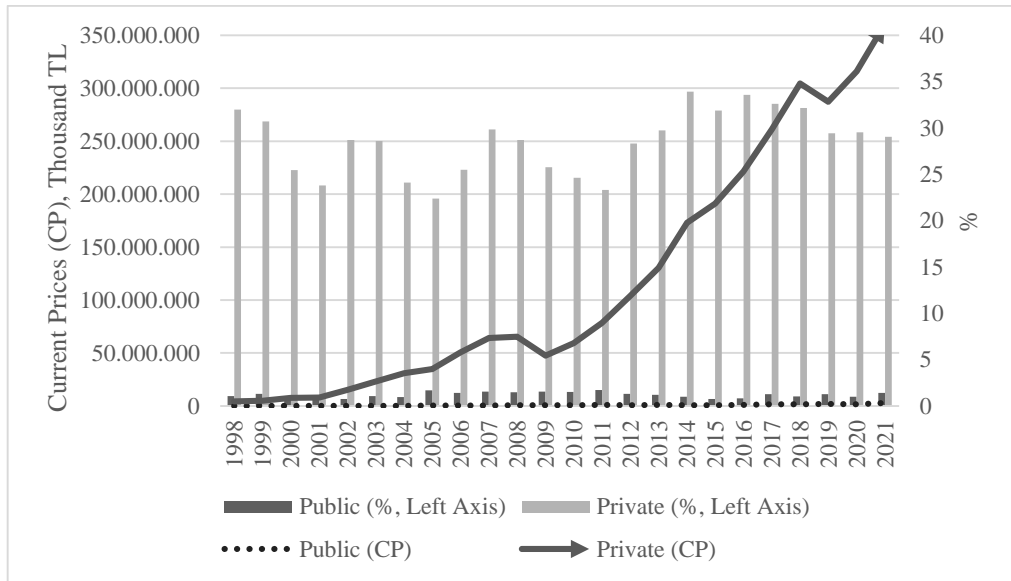
Figure 22. Housing Share in Fixed Capital Investments by Sectors[41]
Source: Presidency of The Republic of Turkey Presidency of Strategy and Budget

At this point, the necessity of clarifying a contradictory finding mentioned above popped up again. Although the state did not make direct investments in the built environment, especially in housing production after 2000, it started to be at the centre of the process as never before due to its facilitating, determining, and complementary role. In short, this is an enabling state formation that prioritises capital through legal and administrative restructuring and limited direct intervention. While this situation creates tremendous development in the production of built-environment and housing, it reveals that selective interventions are made to the market without changing the rules of the game, which will ensure the capital cycles and the legitimacy of the power. These interventions will be explained on the following pages through an urban transformation in particular and in other cases.

The statistics of construction and occupancy permit[42] indicates that the "raging construction" that started to crawl after 1980 gained momentum in the 2010s (Figure 23). In this period, the sector's vulnerability to economic crises, which can be grasped mainly when the construction permit data is analysed, has also increased. However, economic crises play a critical role in sudden balancing in the sector. The times of crisis allow the excess housing stock to be reduced during slowdown construction activities. The number of occupancy permits that exceeded the number of construction permits in 2018 and the following years, when interest rates fluctuated due to economic instability, clearly shows this situation.

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[41] Data in 2020 are based on estimates, and data in 2021 are according to the Programme.

[42] The data regarding the occupancy permits calculated considering the residential buildings that have one or more housing units.
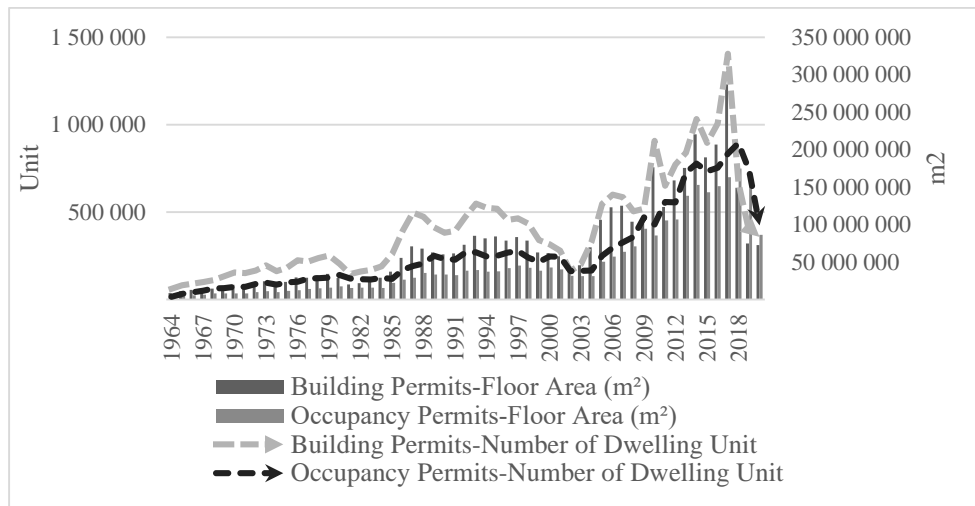
Figure 23. Building and Occupancy Permits in Turkey (1964-2020)

Source: TurkStat

On the other hand, while economic contractions directly affected construction activities, the housing market dynamism did not decelerate (Figure 24)[43]. According to the house sales statistics between 2008 and 2020, it is seen that the total house sales witnessed a steadily climbing sales trend, especially after 2013. It is observed that while second-hand sales compensate for the losses in the first sales, the continuity of the housing sales is ensured by cash or different financing methods in the periods when the mortgage interest rates lose their attractiveness. For instance, especially in periods when interest rates are high, companies based on acquiring property with interest-free financing models bring dynamism to the market. Almost twenty such companies were established just between 2017 and 2020 (Karakaş, 2020). They embrace publicly or implicitly conservative notions through an interest-free model for people with low income who need housing or who plan to invest in housing.
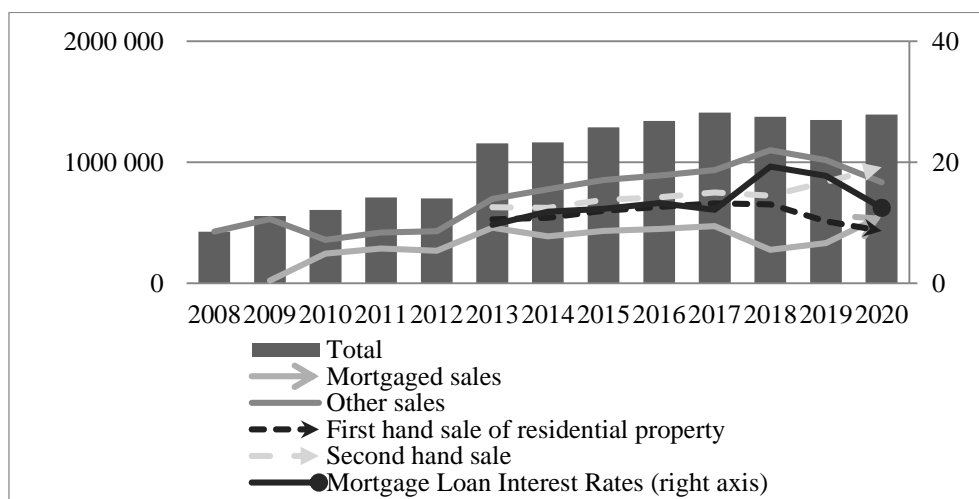
Figure 24. House Sales Statistics and Interest Rates for Housing Loans

Source: TKGM (General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre-GDLRC) & CBRT

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[43]There are missing values in the graph due to the updates and changes in the data recording systems.

Although there is no change in the speed of housing sales, the politicians' and sector representatives' criticism about the interest rates raised to postpone the crisis is unceasing.

Comparative evaluation of the data of building and occupancy permits and housing sales is critical in understanding the situation in the housing market. On the one hand, while the difference between first-hand sales and occupancy permits gives an essential idea about excess housing, the difference between building permits and occupancy permits points to stagnation in the construction sector. This comparison also provides useful insight into inflation and purchasing power through the difference between first-hand sales and second-hand sales. On the other hand, the most critical inference derived from this comparison for this study is regarding the squatter dwellers who are involved in urban renewal projects with great financial expectations.

After the construction permit numbers in Turkey in 2017 and onwards had dramatically declined, the yearly occupancy permits numbers also began to decrease starting from 2018 (Figure 25). Due to this downward trend, the gap between the number of first-hand sales and the number of occupancy permits closed in 2020 for the first time over seven years (2013-2020).
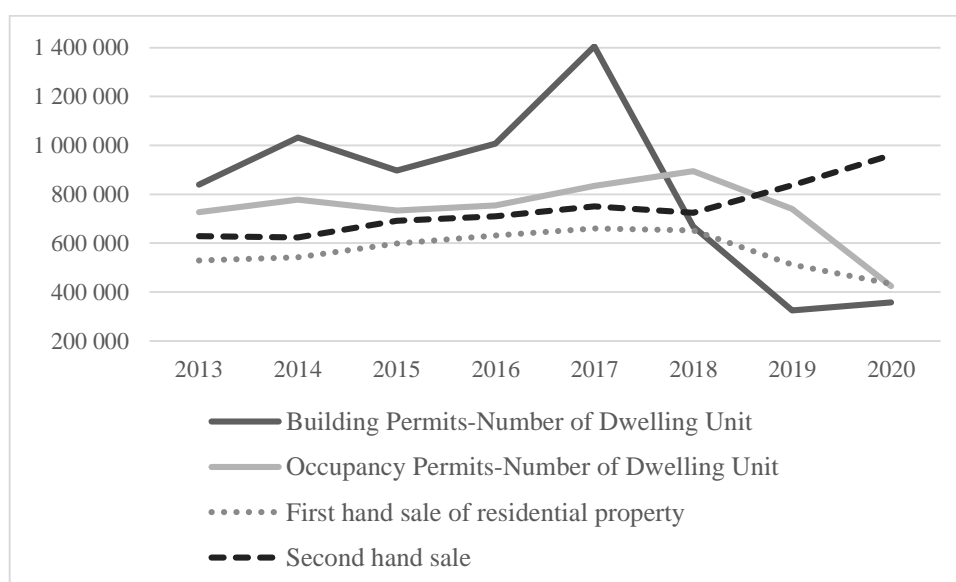
Figure 25. Building Permits and House Sales[44] (2003-2020)
Source: TKGM (General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre-GDLRC)

The data available regarding the building permits, occupancy permits and first-hand sales also give an opinion about the excessive housing in Turkey (Table 2). Even though the data prior to 2013 that may reveal the exact conditions in the housing market are unavailable, the data support that excessive supply had not slowed down except in the year when the COVID-19 pandemic upended the whole world's economy. On the other hand, despite the slowdown in first-hand sales, a significant increase is observed in second-hand sales.

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[44] Moving averages are used to compare the data.

The increase in housing construction costs made second-hand sales more attractive. Second-hand sales balanced the decline in first-hand sales. When the residential building cost index, residential property price index and house unit prices in terms of TL/m^2 are analysed comparatively[45], it is seen that there is a significant break between prices and costs starting from 2017 (Figure 26). This comparison shows that while the currency crisis experienced in 2018 significantly increased the costs of the construction sector, housing prices could not keep up with this trend and fell behind.

Table 2. Dwelling Unit Figures Regarding the Building Permits, Occupancy Permit and First Hand Sales

Years	# of Building Permits	# of Occupancy Permits	# of First Hand Sale of Residential Properties[46]
2002	161 920	161 491	
2003	202 854	162 908	
2004	330 446	164 994	
2005	546 618	249 816	
2006	600 387	295 389	
2007	584 955	326 484	
2008	503 565	357 286	
2009	518 475	469 981	
2010	907 451	429 755	
2011	650 127	556 769	
2012	771 878	556 331	
2013	839 630	726 339	529 129
2014	1 031 754	777 596	541 554
2015	897 230	732 948	598 667
2016	1 006 650	754 174	631 686
2017	1 405 447	833 517	659 698
2018	669 165	894 240	651 572
2019	319 782	738 810	511 682
2020	555 068	600 291	469 740
2021	480 293	418 221	384 776

Source: TurkStat

This situation can be explained in two ways. First, buying a house becomes difficult for households under both economic crisis conditions and high-interest rates, which are resorted to as a remedy. Secondly, because of the excessive housing stock in the market, buying or selling previously produced houses instead of new and costly produced ones seems more affordable and profitable. The house sales statistics shared above also make these statements valid. Since 2017, although total housing sales have been gradually increased, there has been a decline in first-hand sales, and a significant increase has been observed in second-hand sales. In this context, in such periods,

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[45] The construction cost indexes started to be calculated after 2015. For this reason, the residential property price data of previous years could not be used and a comparison could not be made.

[46] Data before 2013 cannot be accessed from the database of the Turkish Statistical Institute.

demand shifted to the previously built housing stock, so the rate of increase in prices remained below the rate of increase in costs. However, the closing of this gap, albeit slowly, indicates that there will be significant increases in housing prices in the future. This increase in costs also reveals that the construction sector, which is said to be "domestic" and "national" in terms of inputs for production, is not immune from currency fluctuations.
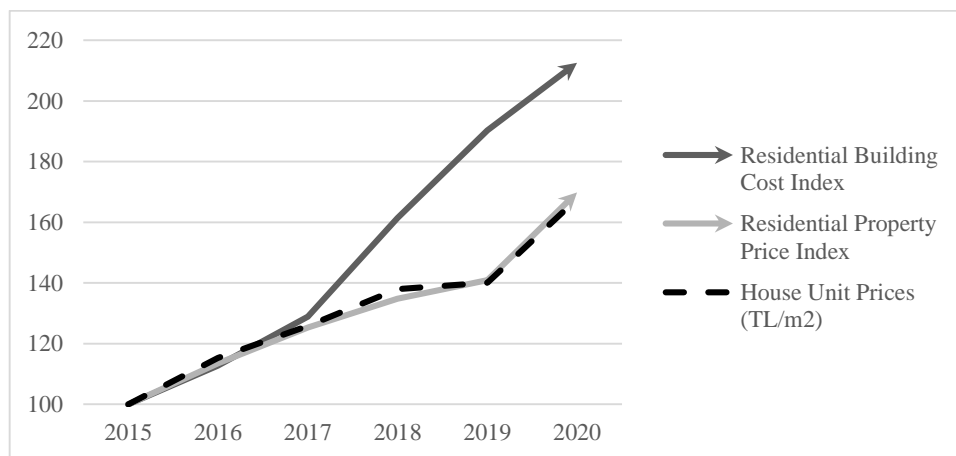
Figure 26. Residential Buildings' Cost and Price Indexes (2015=100)
Source: TurkStat and CBRT

These conditions in the housing market, summarised in light of the several data series and sets, have significant consequences for all social classes. While the construction sector, which is extremely sensitive to economic shocks, has continued to produce more houses despite the excess housing, the housing market has been vibrant and attractive regardless of second-hand or first sales. At this point, it is critical to understand what this economic activity means for social classes and society in general. Depending on their size and capacity to cope with market volatility, contractors and real estate agents, whether institutional or individual, get the lion's share. However, the figures suggest that the households cannot benefit from the dynamism in the construction sector and the recovery in the housing market after the 2001 crisis.

The change in the house ownership and tenancy rates point out the dynamism in the market that nevertheless does not alter the housing ownership status rates of the households in favour of the tenants (Figure 27). On the contrary, between 2007 and 2019, the homeownership rate decreased from 60.8% to 58.8%, while the tenants' rate increased from 22.2% to 25.6% between 2011 and 2019. The rate of 'other' who do not pay rent for various reasons despite not living in their own house has decreased from 16,9% to 14.3%. These data suggest that more than 40% of households could not afford to buy a house, especially in the last ten years, contrary to the vibrant housing market and excessive production. In other words, the ownership structure that has not changed in ten years indicates that homeowners have become owners of more houses, while the number of those who cannot afford a home has been gradually increasing.

Under these conditions, satisfying the housing need has become more and more demanding, especially for labourers in their early ages, since ownership of housing is treated as an investment diversification as well for the people who can afford it. This strategy has worked quite well, significantly, while Turkish TL is depreciating. During

these periods, both housing and rental prices have increased rapidly. Thus while homeowners reduced the risk against inflation, on the one hand, they could find a chance to maximize their return on investment due to price increases on the other. However, it should be noted that the general perception regarding the housing market and the exchange value of a home in conjunction with the income level and income distribution in the country points out that this picture results from coercive market forces instead of households' free will or choice.
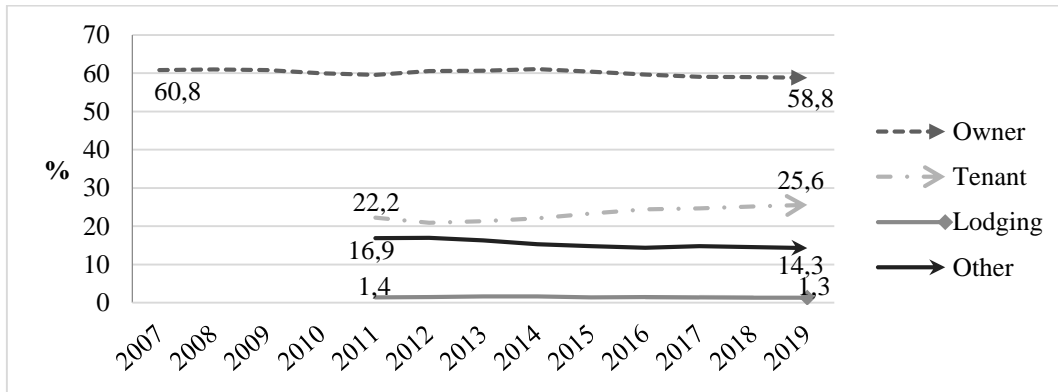
Figure 27. Ownership Status of Dwelling

Source: TurkStat, Income and Living Conditions Survey

Since the trend has not changed over ten years, only available households' housing ownership status data on a city-scale is employed to assess the property and market relations in different cities (Figure 28). İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Antalya, Eskişehir, Kocaeli and Gaziantep are the cities in which the tenancy is the highest compared to other cities. These magnet and vibrant cities, which attract people through activities in industry, trade, education, etc., became the destination of not only inward migrants but also immigrants who flee from the war and misery in their country. Approximately one in three households live as a tenant in these cities, where the supply of affordable housing is already problematic.

Figure 28. The proportion of Households Who are Renters of the Dwelling They Reside (2011)

Source: TURKSTAT, Population and Housing Census, 2011.

To better understand the households' housing conditions, elaborating the consumer price index data in conjunction with the consumption expenditure trend looks promising. When we look at the changes in the types of consumption expenditures' percentages between 2002 and 2018 (Figure 29), it is seen that households comparatively allocated fewer shares in their budget for housing expenditures, even though it increases in times of economic crisis.
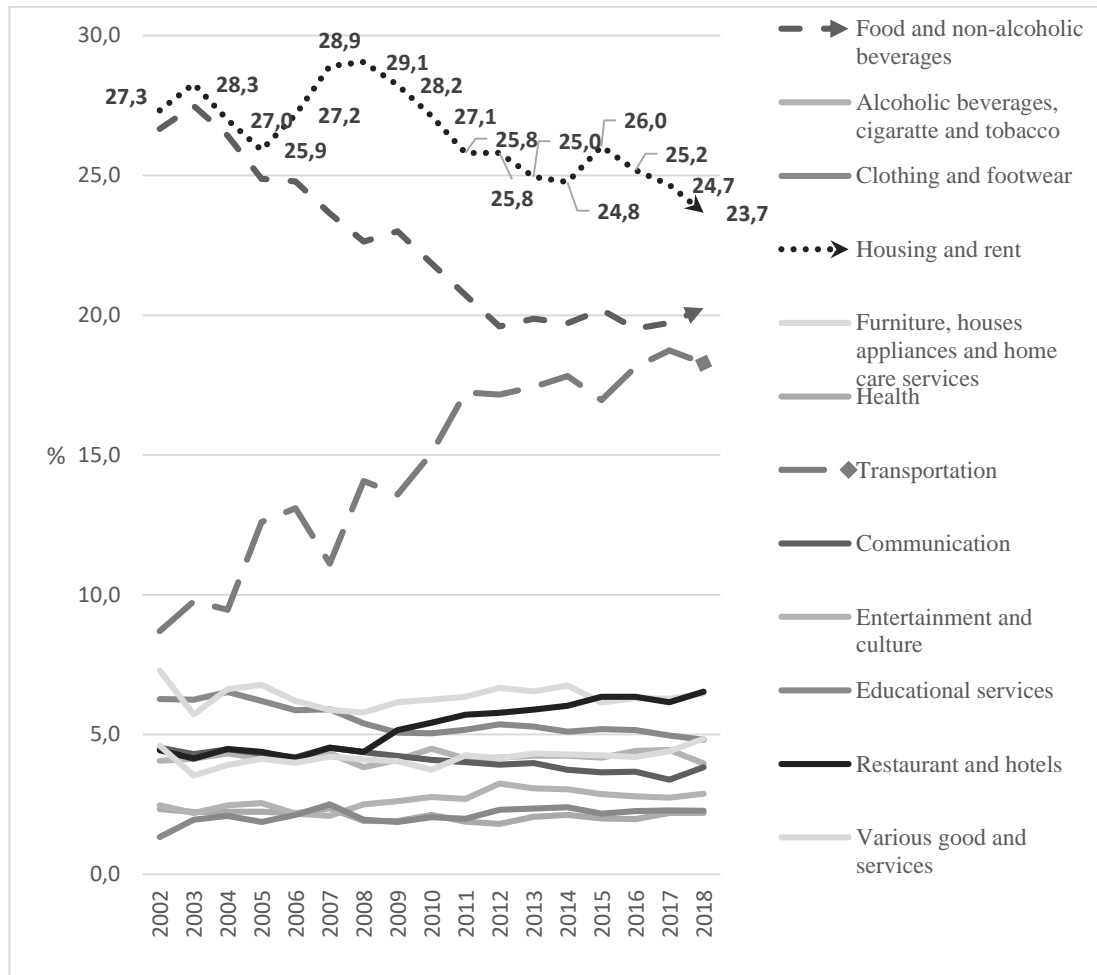
Figure 29. Household Consumptions by Types of Expenditures (2002-2018)
Source: TurkStat, Household Consumption Expenditures, 2002-2018

Even in the first three primate cities, İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, the decrease in the share of housing and rental expenditures of households in all expenses are quite striking (Figure 30). Although food inflation has risen in Turkey in contrast to the general trend globally, the decline in the share of food expenses as in housing in the households' budget may indicate that households have to spend less on the most basic needs. The decrease in per capita income and the overall welfare level of the country further support this assertion.
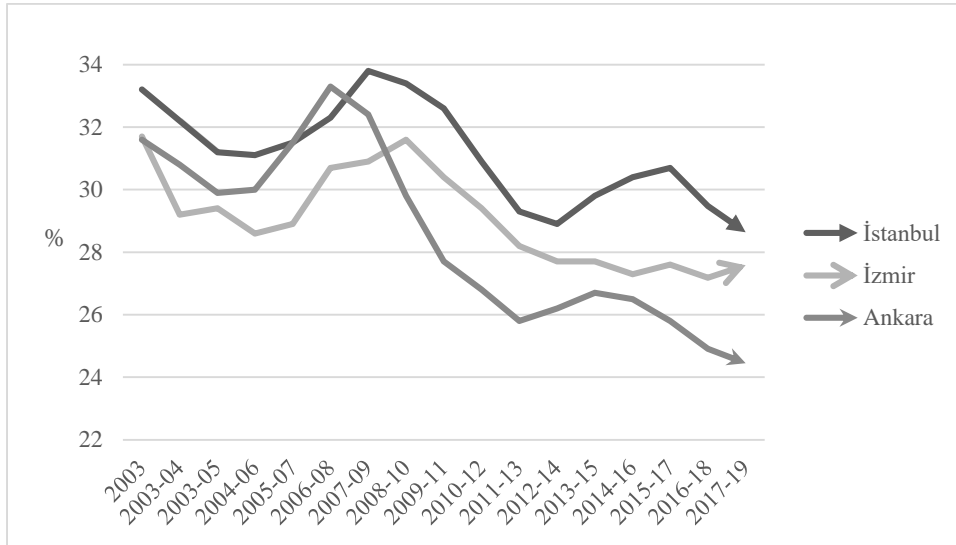
Figure 30. The Distribution of Housing and Rent Expenses of Households (2003-2019)

Source: TurkStat, Household Consumption Expenditures

The changes in the consumer price index in Turkey between 2003 and 2020 seem to be consistent with this inference. According to basic expenditure groups, the consumer price index addresses that prices have increased more than five times since 2003, when each group is assumed to equal 100 (Figure 31). When analysed in comparison with the other main expenditure groups, it is observed that the rate of increase in prices is slightly rising. In fact, instead of the index series updated in 2003, considering the index series of 1994, which is no longer taken as a base, it is evident that the increase in prices over the last 30 years is even more striking. The base value determined as 100 in 1994 increased to 9865.76 in 2013 and 38704.7 in 2017. In countries where the policies failed to control the rise in inflation and exacerbate the high and sticky inflation due to structural problems, these figures may be assumed normal. And there are main groups such as food and non-alcoholic beverages that have shown an increase more than housing. However, what makes the house distinctive in this picture is that it is a valuable asset and an investment tool for the market because of its exchange value, which may dominate the use value.
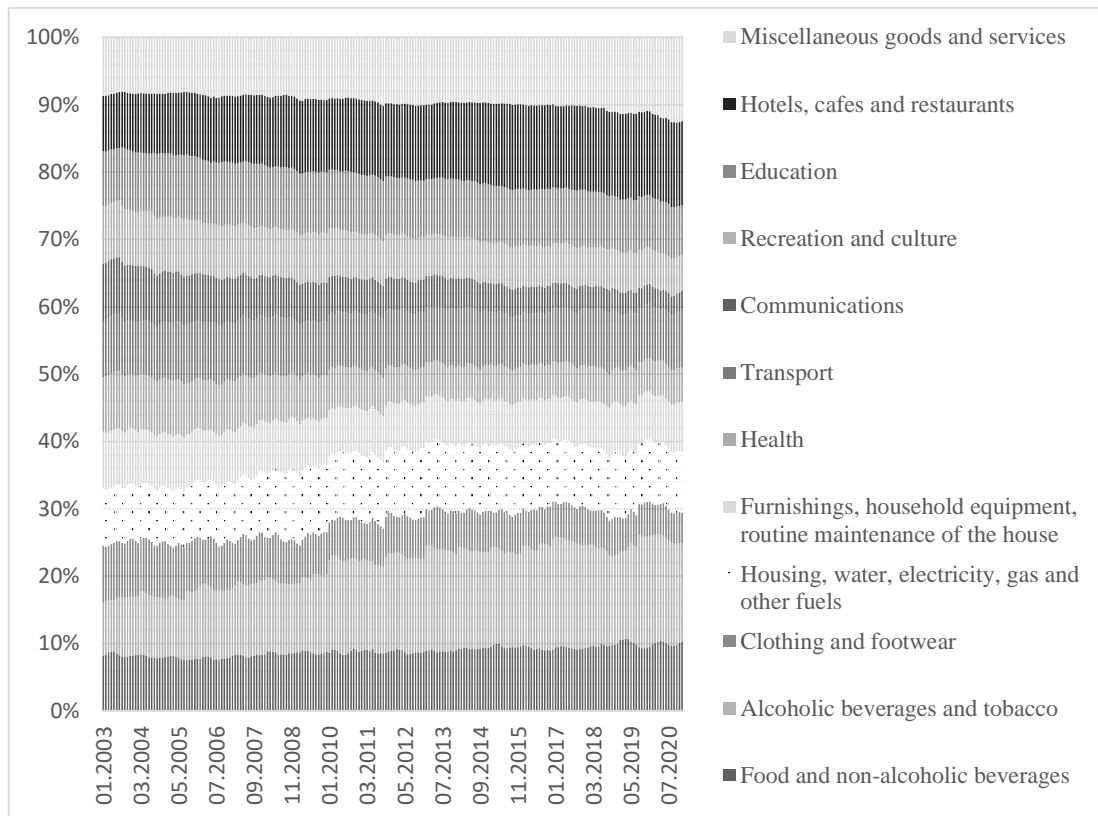
Figure 31. Consumer Price Index in Turkey by Main Groups (2003-2020)
Source: TurkStat

Although these figures give a general idea about the households' housing expenses, there is a need for further and detailed elaborations to understand the different class positions. The graph of different income groups' housing and rent expenses (Figure 32) is quite revealing in several ways to assess the previous assertions regarding "the cost of housing" in society.
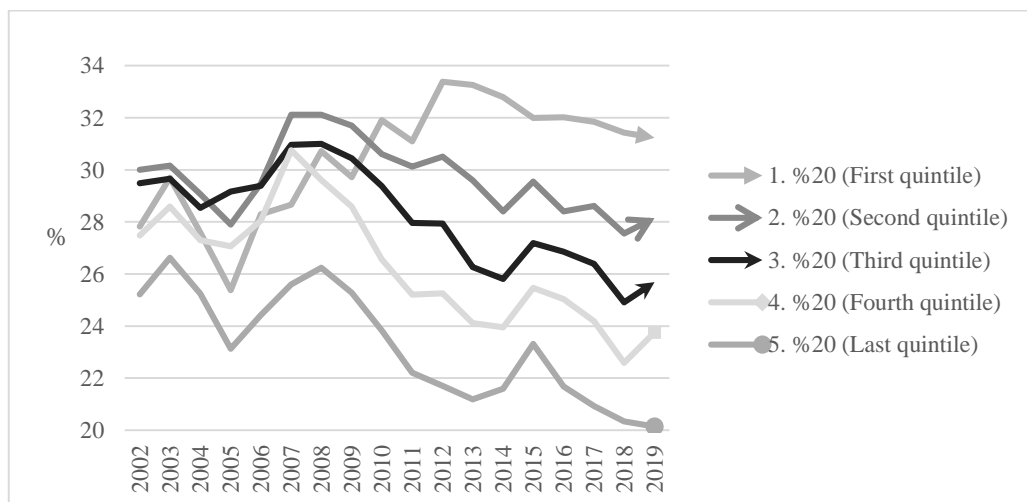
Figure 32. The Distribution of Households' Housing and Rent Expenses by Quintiles Ordered by Income, 2002-2019
Source: TurkStat, Household Consumption Expenditures

It is not surprising that as the income level decreases, the share allocated to housing expenditures increases. While the first quintile group with the lowest income gives approximately 30% of its income to housing expenses, this value is around 20% for the highest income group. The most striking result to emerge from the data is the noticeable change in the shares allocated by different income groups to housing expenditures between 2002 and 2019. While there were no significant differences among income groups regarding housing expenses, especially until 2008, the gap has widened afterwards. The lowest income group, which allocated a share for housing expenses close to the highest income group between 2002 and 2005, had to give more and more of its income to housing in the following years. There could be two explanations for this situation.

The first one is related to the cleavages between classes. In the last two decades, the high-income groups have become wealthier through increased capital circulation in the country. Therefore, in the post-2000 era, especially after 2010, when the number of housing construction increased significantly, higher-income groups could have begun allocating less share to housing expenditures since they either already own a house or were freed from paying rent by buying one. In the meantime, the group with the lowest income had to spend more on housing in parallel with the increase in prices, as they could not find the opportunity to purchase a house.

The second one is related to the "housing rush" accompanied by the financialisation that aims to embrace all classes. Housing constructions and the housing market were boosted by providing long term and low-interest rate mortgages. In this case, it may have caused low-income households to allocate a large part of their income to housing expenditures regardless of owning a house or not. The wide acceptance in society that housing is an important investment tool encouraged even low-income citizens to invest in housing. In this respect, after 2000, the housing projects undertaken by the TOKİ and urban renewal projects implemented in the squatter areas played an essential role for people with low income to become active actors in the housing market. In fact, these two explanations are not mutually exclusive. These dynamics have been realised concurrently in the light of the data analysed so far and hereafter. But the changes in the income shares allocated to the housing of these five different income groups in the last 20 years indicate the widening gap between the groups and reveal the winners and losers of the housing equation.

Looking at the distribution of different income groups' shares within all housing expenditures can enrich the housing expenditure-to-income ratio discussion. There has not been a severe change in the shares of income groups in the field that can be roughly defined as the "housing market" in the last 20 years (Figure 33). The most striking result drawn from this graph is that the lower-income groups began to have more shares over time. Although the group with the highest income continues to have the highest percentage, its share in the total housing expenditures has decreased. On the other hand, while this table reveals the target market groups more clearly, it also explains the complaints about the low number of low-income housing projects.
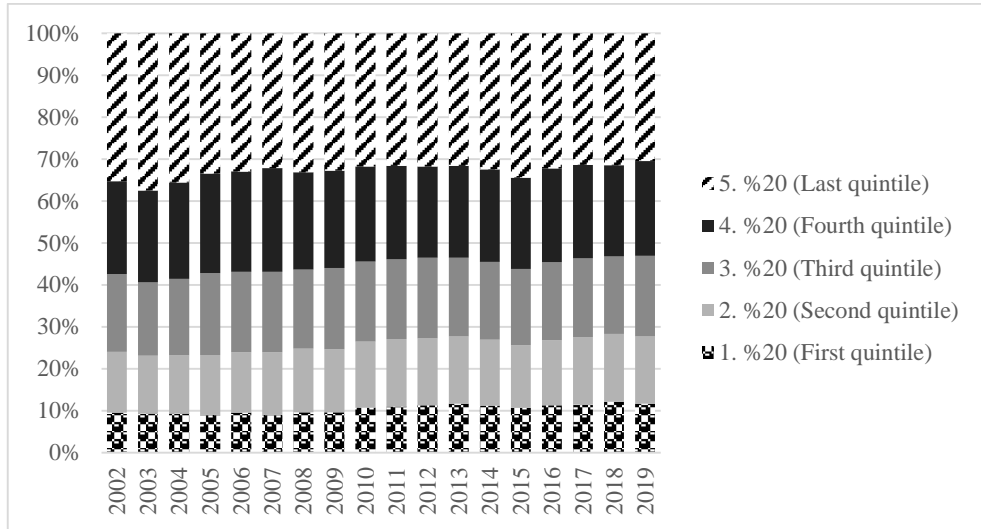
Figure 33. The Distribution of Quintiles Ordered by Income in Housing and Rent
Expenses, 2002-2019

Source: TurkStat, Household Consumption Expenditures

According to World Bank data, Turkey's annual per capita income, which was 3687.89
dollars in 2002, increased to 12614.48 dollars in 2013 and decreased to 9126.561
dollars in 2019. Although minimum wages at current prices in Turkey from 2010 until
the end of 2019 increased by about 3.5 times, according to data published by the
International Labour Organization (2020, p. 124), at the end of 2020, the average
annual growth of real minimum wage between 2010 and 2019 is 3.5%. According to
the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey, between 2010 and 2019 in Turkey, the
housing price index increased by about 3-fold, and the housing units' prices increased
by approximately 3.5 times (Figure 34). While İstanbul and İzmir raised the average,
Ankara was below it.
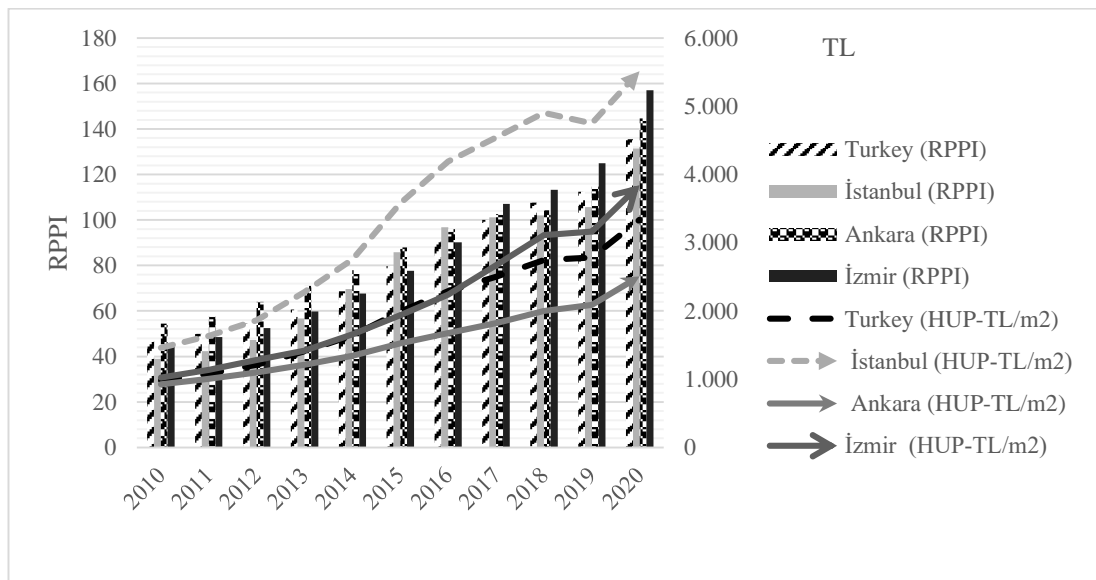
Figure 34. Residential Property Price Index (RPPI) and Housing Unit Price at
Current Prices (HUP-TL/m^2) (Turkey, İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir)

Source: Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (CBRT)

While the housing supply was increasing, the affordability of houses was doubtful. However, it can be asserted that it is challenging to buy a home under these conditions, especially for the lower classes. For the middle classes, it is possible to buy a home with a housing mortgage or with close relatives' financial support, which is rare, though. On the other hand, this divergence between classes did not create a noticeable change in housing sales rates. The total house sales statistics between 2013 and 2020 indicated that the market activity was not slow down even during the economic crises (Figure 35). For instance, although the Turkish lira plunged and hit a record low against the dollar in 2018 or 2020 when the global economic contraction experienced due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the "housing rush" has continued. Due to the decreasing confidence in the country's economy in recent years, the dollarisation that has been taking place keeps the housing market alive as an alternative investment tool in depreciation times in the Turkish Lira. Households exchange dollars at high levels to invest in housing through expectations that lean on the continuous increases in housing prices.
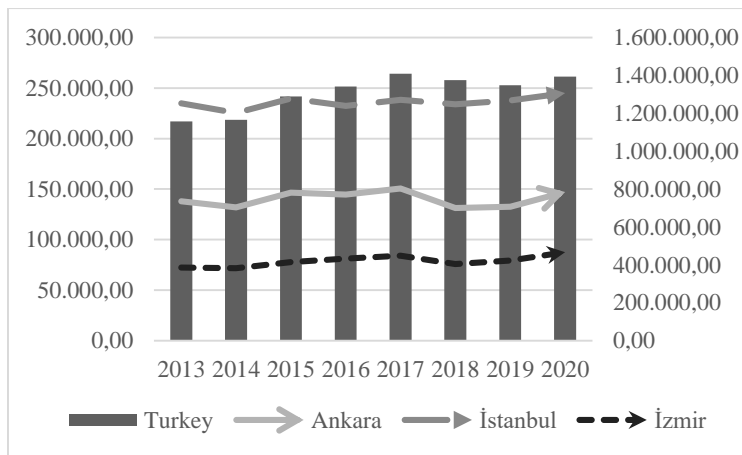
Figure 35. Total House Sales (2013-2020)

Source: TurkStat

In today's societies, the buildings for housing are not just constructed to meet a basic need. Like many commodified forms, housing is at the centre of conflict between use value and exchange value, as becoming the carrier of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism increased and intensified in the neoliberal period. Although it is not easy to separate one from the other, the housing stock data, sales figures and price trends show that the exchange value of houses through investments dominates the use-value, at least for the property owners who make investments in housing. This does not mean that the use-value is insignificant. On the contrary, the use-value is essential for the investors' revaluation, considering the next possible buyer or tenant of the property. However, under the increasing number of housing constructions, the stable trend in ownership status figures reveals that while the tenants who are in need could not afford to house, property owners hold more.

In Turkey, in recent years, this turned out to be one of the common investment strategies for many. In the past, investments in land, residential and commercial properties were in demand parallel to urbanisation, mainly due to the lack of confidence in financial markets. But it was not an affordable option for society at large, especially for the working class. Even those with irregular income, motivated by high

return expectations, make an effort to invest in housing, especially during periods of low-interest rates. Under these conditions, to make savings with little money, low-income households foreclose their future through long-term mortgages. In this context, it is critical to consider this investment pattern in society in comparison with other investment instruments to see whether housing investment is "profitable" or not.

The earliest year that data on different investment instruments can be analysed together is 2010. We examined the common types of investments in Turkey, including housing, to see their performance over the last decade. We constructed the different investments' indices by taking the value of each investment instrument as 100 as of 2010. Inflation data are also included in the graph to see whether these investment instruments hedge against inflation or not. As shown in the graph below, while the best-performing investment instrument is the gold gram (GAU/TRY) in the last ten years, whose value is determined by the price of both the gold and the dollar, the Dollar/Turkish Lira (USD/TRY) is second, and the Euro/Turkish Lira (EUR/TRY) is third (Figure 36). When we look at housing through Turkey's housing price index in general, it ranks fourth among common investments.
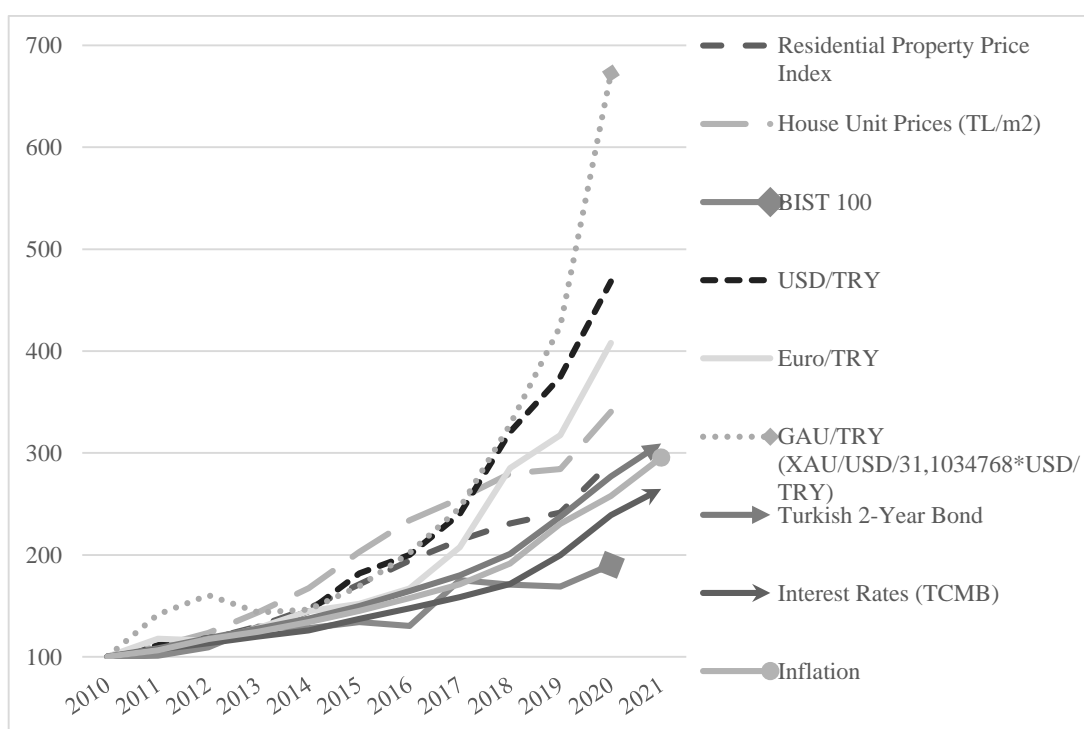
Figure 36. Performance of the Investment Instruments Between 2010-2021
(2010=100)

Source: Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (CBRT) and www.investing.com (Value of each investment instrument is taken as 100 in 2010)

It is apparent from these figures that investing in housing has not been the most brilliant idea for the last decade in Turkey. However, there are strong motivations behind this decision. First of all, it should be noted that although it does not perform as well as foreign currencies or GAU/TRY, the use-value of the house always distinguishes it from the others. Secondly, especially in the face of the recent virtualisation of financialization through digitalisation, people may prefer to invest in tangible assets

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such as housing instead of assets they can only see on their computers' or phones' screens. Insecurities towards the systems lead to such strategies and hinder the circulation of savings. Thirdly, although long-term yield curves are better than housing investments, gold and foreign exchange investments can be volatile in the short and medium term. In this respect, on the other hand, the housing price index directly affected by inflation rises more stably. After investing in housing, people do not necessitate to follow financial markets daily basis. They believe that when the realization time for their investment has come for any reason, they will eventually be better off financially. Fourthly, and most importantly, the reason that should be considered together with the previous two is that the house may provide a regular income to the owner through rental. Considering this potential, although the first three investment instruments may have interest yields, housing investment has been re-evaluated through hypothetical rental yields while keeping the others constant (Figure 37). Since it is impossible to calculate, income tax, property tax, mortgage interests (if any), absence of tenant, inflation-based rent increase and likewise conditions that change the return are not included in the valuation.

$$X_t = \text{RPPI } X(t) + \frac{\text{RPPI } X(t-1)}{15} + \frac{\text{RPPI } X(t-2)}{15} + \cdots,$$

X: The sum of Residential Property Price Index and Cumulative Rental Yields

RPPI: Residential Property Index

t: Year

Figure 37. The Equation for Return of Housing Investment Including the 15 Years of Rental Yields

It is assumed that a lucrative rental contract may recover the house's initial cost through 15 years of rental yields. However, few investors are so lucky in terms of the location, condition and features of the house. Therefore, by considering these variables, we also calculated the rental yields for 20 and 25 years. Although a 20-year timespan is acceptable, 25 years for recovering the initial investment through rental yields is not seen as a reasonable investment in the housing market

The graph (Figure 38) is quite revealing in several ways. First, the calculations indicated that the rental yields lead to a considerable change in return on the investment. Assuming that the house's initial investment cost is covered by the rental yields obtained within 25 years, there has been an increase of approximately 25% in return compared to the no rental yield case. The increase is about 30% for 20 years and approximately 40% for 15 years. Secondly, although rental yields make a difference, housing as an investment is still behind the first three. Thirdly, related to the previous assessments, to deliver a "good rate of return" through housing investment that may compete with other instruments, a property with a high rental yield has to be chosen. Even a housing investment with a high return has only yielded a return close to EUR / TRY investment in the last ten years. GAU/TRY and USD/TRY investments performed much better than housing investments. Although the housing investment's performance is not weak among the traditional investments, it has not taken place among the first three investment instruments in light of these comparative evaluations.

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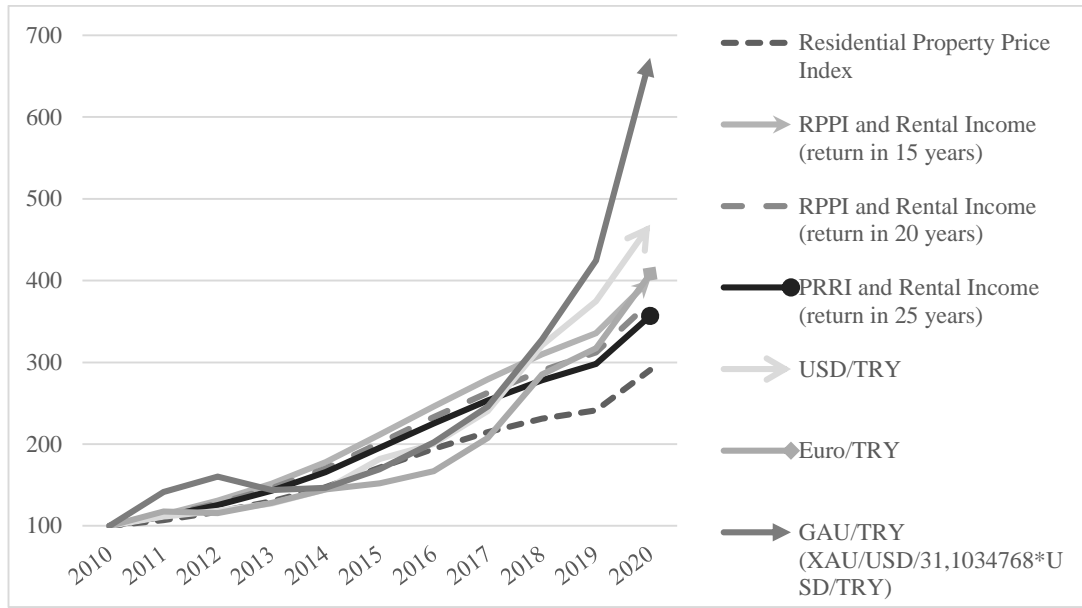
Figure 38. Performance of the Investment Instruments with Rental Income Between 2010-2020 (2010=100)
Source: Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (CBRT) and www.investing.com

However, due to the global pandemic that broke out at the end of 2019 in China and spread all over the world, housing prices have increased tremendously. The easing monetary policies worldwide to boost the economy that came to a halt due to the Covid-19 pandemic concluded with the pumped up prices. In this period, Turkey has taken the lead in "[r]eal credit growth, often associated with house price changes" (*Global housing watch*, 2021). Accordingly, while lowering the rates to stimulate economic activities and growth, central banks inescapably fuelled the inflation that threatened the economic equilibrium conversely. This situation adversely affected the income distribution and social justice, especially in countries whose economy is based on debt and necessarily hot money and where the assembly industry with limited value-added production is the dominant form of production. Under these conditions, while the Turkish TL was depreciating, prices became sticky. Consequently, a steadily rising inflation for approximately four years has turned into a galloping one. Low mortgage rates and inflation expectations motivated people to invest in housing. In a period when the duration of the pandemic and its economic effects were uncertain, mortgages rates were decreased, led by the public banks. Consequently, house sales increased more than four times compared to the previous month (Figure 39). The residential property price index, which was 127.5 in this period, also increased to 192.6 in August 2021.
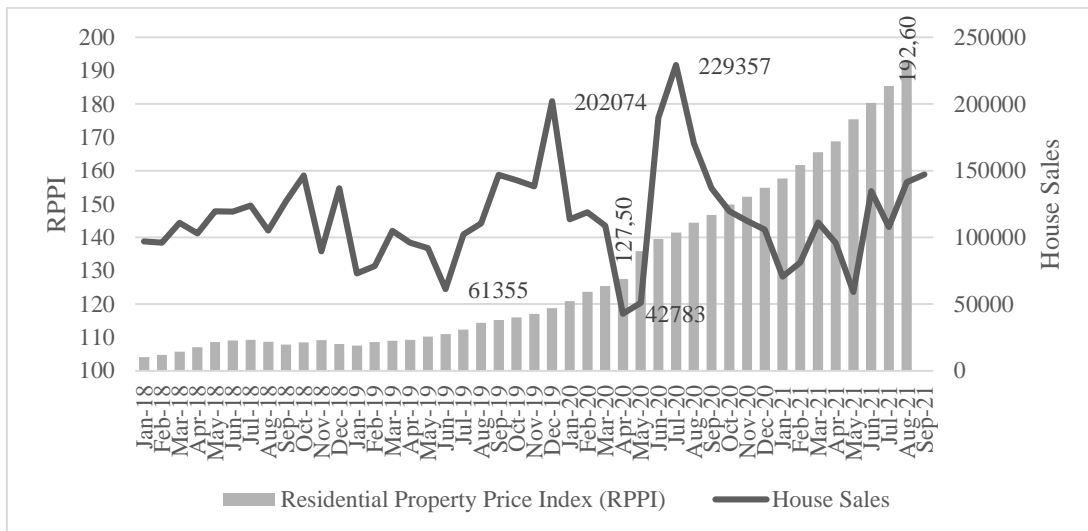
Figure 39. Residential Property Price Index and House Sales (RPPI), Monthly (2018-2021)

Source: Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (CBRT) and TurkStat

While "[h]ouse prices rose by more than 5% in 23 countries out of the 60 countries", Turkey ranked second with an increase of approximately 15% in prices annually (*Housing prices continue to soar in many countries around the world*, 2021). Not only the housing prices but also the rent prices have skyrocketed in a year in Turkey. According to the OECD's housing price indicators (OECD, 2021), although Turkey is the country where the housing prices in nominal terms and rent prices increased the most between 2015 and 2021, compared to the OECD average and among the G20 countries, there was almost no increase in real terms. In this regard, the ceaseless promotion of housing investment through changes in nominal values is only a market illusion. In addition, despite the increase in rent prices, the initial investment cost recovery period through the rental yields in housing continues to increase compared to previous periods due to the relentlessly rising housing prices. Therefore, instead of being a high yielding investment, housing could be just an asset for protecting an investment against inflation, particularly in Turkey. To sum up, parallel to the sharp decrease in real wages, savings have been mobilized just to cover the increases in prices. However, the sustainability of this trend is obscure. Consequently, the economy will unavoidably become unmanageable unless the necessary steps are taken in the short run.

3.4. The Urban Renewal in Turkey and Its Capital Ankara

The roots of urban renewal in Turkey should be sought in the "condominium law" enacted in 1965. This law paved the way for establishing ownership rights on separate parts of the same real estate. Thus, when different persons or persons owned the independent parts of a building separately, one- or two-storey buildings rapidly turned into apartments, and the rest went under the transformation pressure. Just before this trend, since the big cities became the hub of the immigration flows, the mountainous areas, riverbeds, and places close to main roads were the locations preferred for informal settling. However, squatter areas had not attracted the contractors' attention for a while due to the problems in the property structure, the rough topography,

insufficient returns, and the availability of more suitable alternatives. The struggles between labour and capital and the state's mediation of this process through populist policies should not be ignored in this regard. Although most dwellers experienced land tenure insecurity as a common feature in squatter settings, thanks to negotiations and struggles by paying a certain amount of money, those low-income people even obtained legal property rights.

Moreover, many squatter neighbourhoods in Turkey, unlike other informal and irregular settlements in the southern countries, such as in India, South Africa or South America, have not been deprived of essential public services, albeit from time to time insufficient. On the one hand, the squatter setting is also convenient for the dwellers due to the flexible spatial and individual arrangements and the related opportunities provided in the reproduction of labour-power. On the other hand, they are green and not densely populated, particularly compared to condominium apartments since they are low-rise structures where a certain distance is kept between them to secure privacy. However, the "biggest problem" of cities has been the squatters.

Under these conditions, the first urban renewal project aiming to transform a large squatter area was carried out by the state in Dikmen Valley in Ankara. In this sense, the Great Municipality of Ankara in 1989 provided a "great chance" to the squatters to get their share of the urban rents while living in "proper" conditions, which the improvement plans and medium and small scale contractors could not do[47]. Although this project was relatively participatory and achieved a fair distribution of rent compared to its current versions, parallel to rising housing prices, former low-income squatter dwellers opted to move from the core to the new residential areas developed on the periphery by selling the house handed over at a "good price".

Except for this particular project, in big cities of Turkey, redevelopment, which became the dominant form of state intervention in the squatter areas in place of clearance in the early 1980s, had hinged on the squatter improvement plans until the 2000s (Korkmaz and Balaban, 2020, pp. 3-4). But in the early 2000s, a notable change took place. Uzun (2019, p. 152) points out:

> Major Turkish metropolitan cities like Ankara, İzmir, and İstanbul have undergone transformation more than ever since the 1980s. Along with the problems of city centre transformation, changes in the residential areas of these cities have been an important challenge to planners and policy-makers. With increasing importance, urban transformation projects have been the main tools to realise residential transformation. They have even replaced urban development plans in some instances. On the other hand, since 2002, along with neoliberal policies, the construction sector has been the driving force behind the economy, increasing importance of urban transformation.

While the market-led transformation had taken place where the yield of the build-sell housing construction was high, things began to change under the single-party rule,

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[47] The emphasis in quotation marks belongs to Murat Karayalçın, the mayor of the Metropolitan Municipality, who initiated the project. He underlined these words while making a comparison with the projects implemented in the 2000s and onwards. I did this interview with him in 2008 while preparing the term paper for the "Issues in Local Governments" course conducted by Assoc. Prof. Dr Mustafa Kemal Bayırbağ.

especially in areas where market forces were unwilling to penetrate for several reasons. In fact, as a predecessor of the AKP, "[t]he (Islamist) Welfare Party controlled squatting during occupation, construction, and protection. This patronage system both secured the housing of the immigrants and the stable local power of the Welfare Party" (Tuğal, 2011, p. 95).

> Since the end of 1990s, governments and local authorities ceased to regard 'illegal settlements' as a means of solving the housing problem of the urban poor. They no longer tend to tolerate them. In this sense, the pattern of interaction between the state, local authorities, and other actors involved in deciding on urban legality has drastically changed (Jean-François Pérouse, 2012, p. 293).

Tuğal (2011, p. 97) asserts regarding the research conducted between 2000 and 2006 in Sultanbeyli-İstanbul in which conservative parties in power for a long time that,

> "the municipality has started to reject recognizing certain types of social and symbolic capital which were normalized in the district in the 1980s and the 1990s. These can no longer be easily converted into economic capital. Against this backdrop, in 2006, the officials and the inhabitants blamed each other for the problems created by informality. With this thorough change among the ranks of the Islamists, it is worth asking why the informal workers stili support them. An easy answer would be the persisting mechanisms of patronage which have survived partial formalization. Owing to the informality of land markets and housing regulations, squatters have tended to vote for the potentially most effective patron - that is, whoever is most likely to come to power in the next elections. This can be seen as one of the primary reasons why they have shifted their votes so often and why they now tend to vote for AKP. However, it is still interesting that most squatters have remained loyal to the Islamist party throughout the 1990s. In the words of the retired construction worker, they have "stuck with a certain line" during this decade".

On this basis, Turkey's second urban renewal project in history came to the fore in 2004, once more in Ankara. This initiative was a declaration that the time has come for greater transformation, greater rent, more accumulation, more financialization and more dispossession. To carry out the urban renewal project, which aims to transform the squatters located on the airport route at the north entrance of Ankara, Law No. 5104 was enacted in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Although it may seem striking that a national step was taken to eliminate this "ugliness" that greeted those who came to Ankara, it was later realised that this was the model of an intervention that would spread throughout the country. Melih Gökçek, the Mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, and many decision-makers who stood behind the project stated over and over that they were ashamed of those who came to the city because of the negative image created by the squatters as the major motive for the project. This is just the continuum of a middle and upper-class discourse that has been from time to time voiced for the squatter areas. However, with the sudden rise of the urban renewal projects, stigmatizing squatters for being ugly, den of iniquity, and obsolete became common in the legitimation of subsequent projects.

On the one hand, in order to legitimize the intervention in the eyes of outsiders, stigmatization is the key instrument frequently applied by the local and central authorities. "Subsequently, stigmatizing local dwellers as 'squatters' has become a

common means for 'public agents' to justify newly launched urban regeneration project policies. Likewise, it frequently leads to the demonization and criminalization of Kurds and Gypsies, and of all the most vulnerable sectors of the urban population" (Jean-François Pérouse, 2012, p. 293). On the other hand, projects are put into operation for insiders by dividing them, especially regarding their legal ownership status given in the past. Improving living conditions and rent-seeking go hand in hand while dwellers lose social bonds and collective memory. Subsequently, the transformation forced them to change their historically constituted dispositions. Losing a sense of belonging and losing collective ways of life and social relations lead to psychological, economic and social depression.

It was seen that the Kuzey Ankara Girişi Urban Renewal Project, which was implemented as a pilot, was progressing somehow. Then, it was introduced that local governments across the country could execute urban transformation projects under the title of "Urban Transformation and Development Area" in Article 73 of Municipal Law No. 5393.

> In most cases of such transformations the squatter neighbourhood is declared as a renewal area. Usually, there is a protocol between the district municipality, TOKİ (Housing Development Administration) and MM (Metropolitan Municipality). In the redevelopment projects for the squatter settlements, squatters are asked to move either to the new units in the neighbourhood or to other newly constructed neighbourhoods that are mostly located in less favorable areas of the city. They are also asked to pay the difference between the construction costs of these units and the current value of their existing squatterhouses in installments over 10 to 15 years. There are usually high levels of protest from local residents who do not want to lose their previous gains (Uzun, 2013, pp. 240-241).

However, in 2010 significant changes were made in the related article when it was seen that the local authorities had difficulties and problems achieving the transformation in its current form. Afterwards, changes were also made in the article in 2012, 2014, 2018 and 2019. Since a short-term and event-based approach is adopted in the administration, the legal and administrative framework incrementally transformed in the course of time. Besides this way of legal stretching, one of the most critical points mostly ignored while focusing on the urban transformation is related to land development. The legal framework paves the way for construction by providing important exemptions and opportunities even in vacant areas, exemplified in the following pages. These

> urban renewal projects were premised on the argument that gentrification would lead to the creation of globally attractive centers. In fact, they were nothing more than the private enclosure of public spaces. Areas that had previously been open to public use, such as parks and forests, were being transformed into large hotels, residential buildings, and shopping centers" (Balkan, Balkan & Öncü, 2015, p. 4).

Lately, to hasten the renewal process by removing obstacles such as court decisions and some opposing views, the government enacted Law No. 6306 regarding the regeneration of areas under disaster risk in 2012. Actually, in 2011 an earthquake that struck the city of Van in Eastern Turkey justified the enactment of this law by

becoming a reason for rushing an authoritative intervention to the "informal" settlements and "disaster-prone" areas. The first version of the Law aimed to ensure the progress of the projects by eliminating the courts' power of stay of execution. However, the emphasis that "the stay of execution cannot be issued against the administration's actions" was seen as unconstitutional and was annulled by the Constitutional Court. Moreover, the Constitutional Court rejected an article that prevails this Law over other related laws and legislations. Despite these limitations, this law remained a potent administrative instrument. In particular, the concentration of power in the centre has also shaped the urban power structure. This law is one of the most striking examples of the increasing "centralization of decentralization" in the last ten years. While the authority to declare the areas under disaster risk is given to the President, central bodies such as the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization and the Housing Development Administration became responsible for executing the regeneration or renewal process. Local governments and local actors, especially those who do not share the same view with the government, were left out of the game in this process.

While this law removes the "obstacles" faced in implementing the projects, it also paved the way for lot-based on-site transformation. According to Law, in case of approval of two-thirds of the right-holders, the renewal of a building can be initiated without the approval of one-third of the remaining rights holders. The proponents of the transformation buy the rights of the opposing ones with regard to the appraisal of the property. This was an influential legal restructuring that had the potential to turn cities into construction sites. Balaban (2019, p. 246) argues that this Law "… has various controversial applications like coercive government intervention on flat ownership rights as well as opening up ways for building lot-based transformations that have led to rapid physical transformations in cities based on demolish and reconstruct idea". The risk assessment reports indicating the decay of the building can easily be obtained, mainly due to the lack of necessary controls on the housing stock especially built before the catastrophe of the 1999 Istanbul Earthquake. Thus, in regions where redevelopment is profitable lot-based transformation takes place rapidly. Localities such as Kadıköy in Istanbul and Bahçelievler in Ankara are among the best examples of this transformation.

On the other hand, considering the disaster risks at the provincial scale and concerning large areas, the risk of earthquakes is very low, and other natural disasters such as floods and tornadoes have rarely befallen in Ankara (T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı). However, it is among the top cities, together with Istanbul and Izmir, in which some urban renewal projects have been carried out depending on disaster risk prevention (Figure 40).

Figure 40. Areas under Disaster Risk in Turkey as of 2020
Source: Ministry of Environment and Urbanization of Turkey, Atlas 2020, https://basic.atlas.gov.tr/?_appToken=&metadataId=

In addition to the data regarding the areas under disaster risk in Ankara according to Atlas 2020 Application of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, the information and data on websites and periodicals of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and district municipalities are gathered, and the "Urban Renewal Map of Ankara" produced as of 2020 (Figure 41).
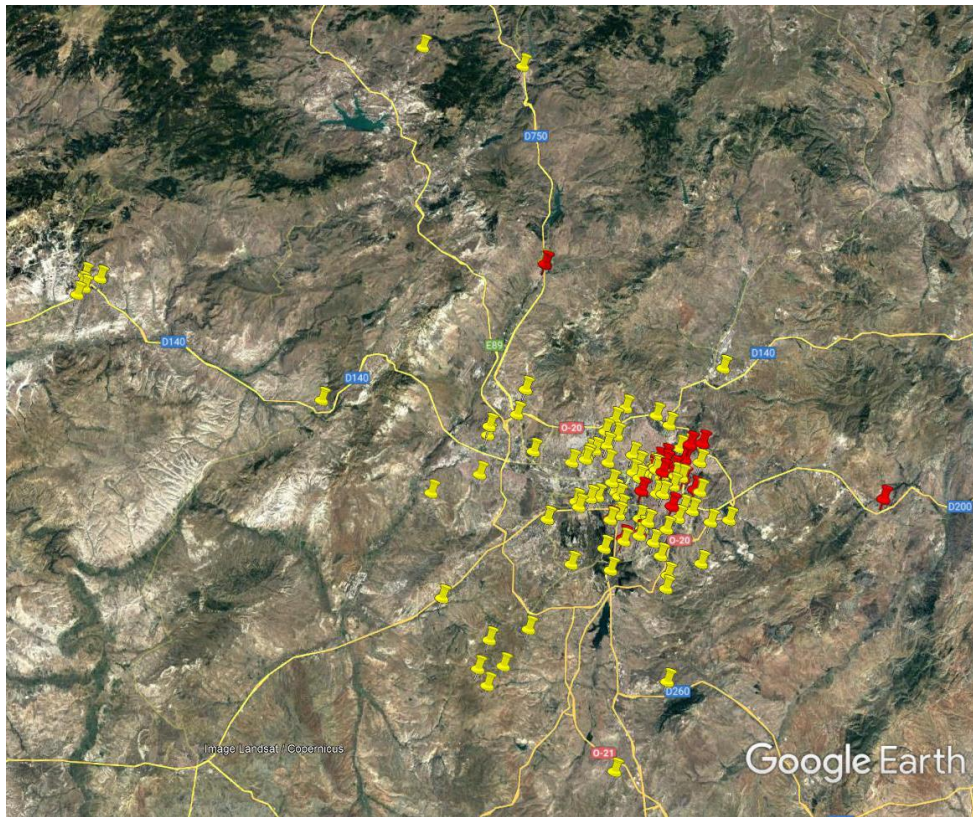
Figure 41. Urban Renewal Projects and Locations Under Disaster Risk in Ankara as of 2018

In the light of these data, there are 56 urban renewal and development projects announced by the Metropolitan Municipality between 2004 and 2020. However, 11 projects were cancelled in 2018 by the 6th Chamber of the Council of State by the legal action taken against Prime Ministry, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization and Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara by the professional chambers in 2015 (Danıştay 6. Daire'den kentsel dönüşümde hukuk dersi, 2019). These cancelled projects were generally planned to be carried out on undeveloped lands used for agricultural purposes located on the city's periphery. Thus, the number of projects carried out by the Metropolitan Municipality decreased to 45 (*Kentsel Dönüşüm Projeleri*).

Throughout the short history of these interventions, the annual number of urban renewal and redevelopment projects, which increased significantly with the introduction of the regulation regarding the urban transformation into the municipal law in 2004, later slowed down due to economic bottlenecks and differed considerably over the years. Between 2004 and 2006, 50 projects were approved by the Metropolitan Municipality Council.

When it comes to the district level, there are 36 urban renewal projects carried out by municipalities within the framework of rehabilitation plans. For more than 15 years, only one of these projects, located in Sincan District, has been withdrawn because the right holders were not satisfied with the housing program and did not want to be involved in the project.

In addition, after 2012, 18 different regions were declared disaster-prone areas. Eight of these so-called "risky areas" were already part of the different urban renewal projects. If we closely look at the projects in Ankara's central districts from this point of view, it is seen that some risky areas (marked in red) and the urban renewal projects (marked in yellow) intersect (Figure 42). Therefore, as mentioned above, it is aimed to overcome the obstacles encountered in the urban renewal processes through a more "powerful" legal instrument.
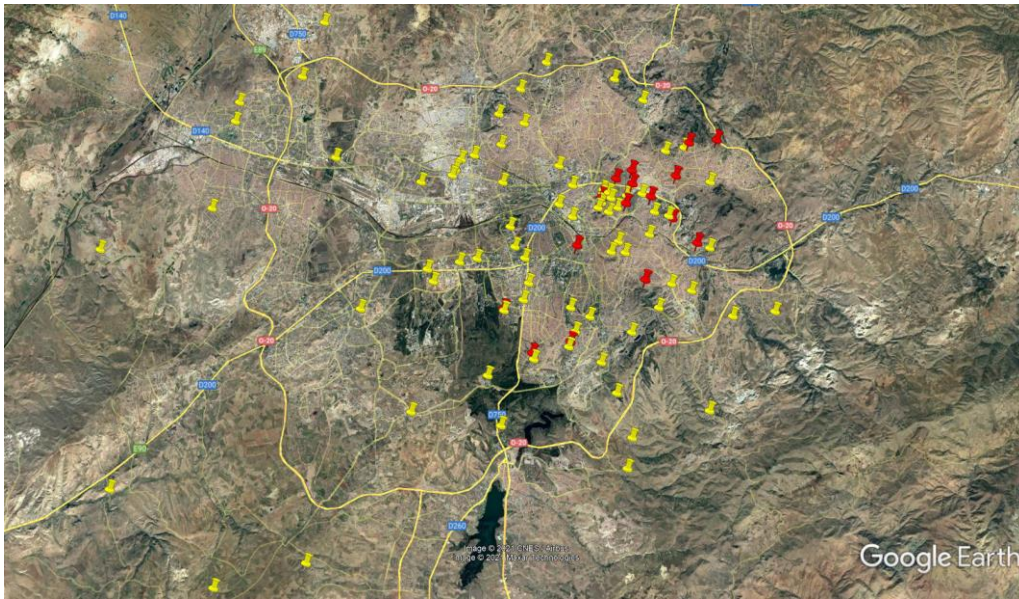
Figure 42. Urban Renewal Projects and Locations Under Disaster Risk in the Centre of Ankara as of 2020

For instance, in accordance with Law No. 6306, a decree of the Council of Ministers also declared that Araplar, Derbent, Dostlar and Köstence Neighbourhoods were under disaster risk on January 23, 2013 (Resmi Gazete, 2013).

While these projects are carried out in 15 different districts in Ankara, 15 projects are located within the borders of more than one district. These are the projects concerning large squatter areas and transportation nodes and lines. In this context, when we classified the urban fabric targeted by the projects, it was observed that the areas containing quite diverse characteristics are the subject of the same intervention. All kinds of urban lands, from squatters to rural residential areas, from lands in the city where shopping malls are planned to be built to vacant lands, from transportation lines to public buildings, can be exposed to urban renewal and redevelopment projects. For example, a shopping mall and a business centre were built within the Semazen Urban Development Project (*Semazen*) (Figure 43). In this sense, when it comes to the areas these projects cover, we also face quite different sizes. The fact that projects which are expected to intervene in the large urban areas to create more "livable areas" offer generous development rights for small plots and make specific interventions raises questions regarding the primary goal of the projects.

Figure 43. Semazen Urban Development Project (Çankaya – 2005 - 2020)

While carrying out projects in small areas or on a single plot is a piecemeal planning application, the projects carried out in vast areas have become unmanageable speculative projects. Therefore, even though the ongoing projects were not affected, the subsequent regulations stated that the projects could be carried out on areas between five and five hundred hectares. Against this regulation, the project areas smaller than 5 hectares are extended by consolidating some lands around them, while larger than 500 hectares are divided and announced as neighbouring projects. For instance, four of the projects cancelled by the Council of State are only a few hectares smaller than the 500 hectares and adjacent to each other. The absence of any objective data in determining the boundaries of these projects was cited as one of the reasons for the cancellation of these projects by the court.

It is also difficult to talk about decisive features regarding the locations of the projects. While approximately one-third of the projects are carried out on the fringe, one-fifth are in the city centre. Due to the urban renewal projects in the squatter neighbourhoods in the periphery and the urban development projects on vacant lands, urban transformation interventions in the fringe are more common. For example, in the Göksu-Susuz Urban Development Project (*Göksu*), which covers an area of 550

hectares and is located on almost undeveloped vacant land at the North West corner of the Ankara Ring Road, 415 hectares of land are privately owned (Figure 44).

Figure 44. Göksu-Susuz Urban Development Project (Etimesgut / 2003-2020)

Thanks to the many exemptions and advantages brought by the transformation project, the built environment has gradually expanded on this formerly vacant land after the project was put into practice. Contractors and landowners have obtained worthwhile shares from the rent created through this project. Therefore, it is simply naive to claim that such urban interventions are for the common good or public interest other than to activate the construction sector and make particular segments wealthier. According to their power in the face of coercive state power, those who can get something from this distribution are content with what they have. However, showing consent does not mean that there is no struggle. Indeed, the struggle is about getting more instead of challenging the rules of "the game".

While more than half of the existing projects are carried out by the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 36% are under the control of the district municipalities, and 10% are engaged by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. Urban renewal projects carried out by the district municipalities are generally smaller in scale and more sensitive to the demands of the right holders. Comparing the projects carried out by the district and the metropolitan municipality revealed that the right holders receive a larger share from the rent creation or pay less to get a house. For instance, when Ege Mahallesi Urban Renewal project carried out by Mamak Municipality and Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project carried out mainly by Great Municipality of Ankara are compared, it is seen that the right holders in Ege Mahallesi are better off (Yılmaz, 2011).

Being close to the people in terms of the level of organization urges political power for being open to opinions and negotiations, even if its jurisdiction is relatively limited. Abstaining from the project in Sincan is one of the most striking examples beyond other possible reasons that are not shared with the public. The district mayors make an effort not to pay for "others' mistakes" even if they share the same political view and are involved in these processes together. For example, while Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Melih Gökçek did not visit the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project area, which he announced as the world's largest urban renewal project, except for a few groundbreaking ceremonies, Mesut Akgül, the district mayor of the time, aimed to inform the right holders by trying to hold regular meetings. The political concerns are prevalent behind these motivations since the expectations from the

municipal mayors are higher. Especially if the municipal and great municipality mayors are from the same political party, then the municipal mayor is also held responsible and accountable. Being a member of different parties may make things even more complicated. In this regard, when we look at the distribution of projects by districts, central districts governed by the opposition party stand out compared to the others. While Çankaya takes first place, followed by Yenimahalle and Mamak districts. Eventually, the possible contentions regarding political anxieties may also create problems in undertaking the responsibility for the progress of the projects from time to time.

Depending on the scale and financial conditions, the district municipalities prefer to carry out the projects themselves. In addition, the municipalities avoid carrying out joint projects with central government institutions such as the TOKİ. The officer in charge of urban renewal in the Yenimahalle Municipality stated as follows by exemplifying Mehmet Akif Ersoy Neighbourhood (Figure 45):

> This project would have progressed much more slowly with the TOKİ, and there would have been more negative attitudes from the right holders towards the project. First, if TOKİ is involved in the process, it means much more paperwork. Secondly, TOKİ has a bad reputation in society. When TOKİ apartment blocks are mentioned, poor quality buildings come to people's minds, especially in squatter renewal projects. That's why we chose to work with a well-known construction company.

Figure 45. Mehmet Akif Ersoy Neighbourhood Urban Renewal Project (Yenimahalle / 2003-2011-2013-2020)

As the central and local power holders are from opposing parties, the likelihood of cooperation decreases. However, an essential factor that the person in charge of the interview did not emphasize, which affects the form and character of the intervention

in urban renewal projects and thus the rent creation and (re)distribution process, is which actors are involved in the process. It is understood that the more actor means smaller shares. While the contractors and the sub-contractors make a profit from the projects carried out with TOKİ, the municipalities at least want to control the distribution of the resources. However, municipality-led urban renewal projects do not also change the winners and losers at the end of the day.

For example, in the aforementioned urban renewal project, the residences handed over to right holders are located on the left side of the main road (Figure 46). Their building quality is lower than the residences located on the right side of the main road sold by the construction company in the market, and as seen from the images, they are denser. When comparing the prices in these two housing areas as of 2021, the differences are apparent and incontestable. According to the renowned property listing website "Sahibinden", the prices are at least tripled on the right side of the road (Picture MLKN). It is also a kind of spatial organization that almost cuts off even visual contact between classes. It is one of the most evident don'ts of urban renewal projects for social cohesion in housing. It is a reterritorialization that rescales former squatter dwellers and their everyday practices as well. On the other hand, it should be noted that no squatter is priced at 640 thousand TL in today's housing market. Although it is unfair, this is one of the key indicators to grasp how urban renewal projects progress. One way or another, it is a process of revaluation and redistribution of the rent created. Taking a substantial share of this distribution makes the masses a part of it and prevents them from resisting.

Figure 46. Housing Market Prices in Mehmet Akif Ersoy Neighbourhood Urban Renewal Project Area

Source: https://www.sahibinden.com/haritada-emlak-arama/satilik-daire/ankara-yenimahalle-demetevler-mehmet-akif-ersoy-mah.?autoViewport=3&a20=38474

The decision-makers came up with a similar plan in the Güneykent-Mühye Urban Renewal Project (*Mühye*) carried out by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. They embarked on a daring and savage project. Unlike the previous example, the right holder squatter dwellers in the upper parts of the valley found themselves at the bottom of the valley at the end of the project (Figure 47). In this project, it is almost impossible for the former dwellers and the new dwellers to contact each other in daily life. That is what is intended indeed. This is a class-based spatial distance. The gap widens in every aspect of social life. Literally, those living "below" may either clean the homes of those living "above" or protect their living environment as security guards. This could be the only way to realize the existence of others in this region.

Figure 47. Güneykent-Mühye Urban Renewal Project (Çankaya 2004-2009-2014-2020)

Although the official information regarding the progress of these projects has not been reached, it can be stated on the basis of personal observations and internet searches that no progress has been made in many projects. However, once a place starts to be associated with urban transformation, the real estate market in that region gains momentum; if it is a built environment, population mobility begins, and the area gradually decays until creating a new built environment. In the end, whether there would be gentrification or not depends on this created environment and its relationship with the city.

While transport lines and commercial zones are the main themes in only 5% of these projects, 95% are related to housing production. While less than half of these aim at transforming squatter areas, the rest develops land for housing in rural or urban vacant regions. As a result of these projects, it is evident that a substantial increase will be seen in the housing stock of Ankara, albeit slowly. In this respect, it is imperative to evaluate the current status of Ankara's housing stock. According to the data obtained from the National Address Database of the General Directorate of Population and

Citizenship Affairs of the Ministry of Interior through reidin.com[48], there were 2127373 housing units in Ankara in 2015. If the number of residences with occupancy permits between 2016 and 2020 is added to this number, the housing stock in Ankara has increased to approximately 2350000 by the end of 2019. On the other hand, according to the 2019 Turkish Statistical Institute data, the population of Ankara is 5639076, and the average size of household in Ankara is 3,06. In this case, the number of 1842835 is reached when the population is divided by the average household size, which indicates the number of houses that all households in Ankara hypothetically need. This means that the gap between housing stock and the need is around 500000. This number is speculative due to the fact that there are severe obstacles to having clear information regarding the precise details of the use of these residences.

However, data regarding the building permits, occupancy permits, and first-hand sales of dwelling units in Ankara (Table 3), additional to the housing tenure data over the years in Turkey (Figure 27)[49] and the only official data regarding the housing tenancy in Ankara dating back to 2011 (Figure 28)[50] enable us once more to highlight an investment and inflation hedging strategy of households in the case of Ankara by owning more than one home. In this regard, it is no longer possible to put forth a causality between housing need, housing production and housing investment.

Table 3. Dwelling Unit Figures of Ankara Regarding the Building Permits, Occupancy Permits and First-Hand Sales

Years	# of Building Permits	# of Occupancy Permits	# of First Hand Sale of Residential Properties
2013	79128	79.963	53624
2014	96510	78216	54202
2015	63319	66746	61435
2016	67908	59363	58765
2017	104102	67787	57904
2018	34707	62859	47945
2019	13917	53961	41107
2020	23495	39711	38033

Source: TurkStat

Therefore, parallel to the urban renewal projects, the Housing Development Administration also continues to produce housing. Ankara, which has not lost first place until recent years, is the city that has hosted the highest number of TOKİ projects after Istanbul (Figure 48).

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[48] reidin.com is a company that provides comprehensive information and data on the real estate markets of developing countries.

[49] Please see p. 110.

[50] Please see p. 110.

Figure 48. TOKİ Projects in Turkey as of 2020
Source: Ministry of Environment and Urbanization of Turkey, Atlas 2020,
https://basic.atlas.gov.tr/?_appToken=&metadataId=

TOKİ is involved in some urban transformation projects. However, when the TOKİ's projects' locations on the map of Ankara are analysed, TOKİ has carried out many other housing projects by itself as well (Figure 49). At the same time, municipalities do not want to work with the TOKİ due to the concerns mentioned above unless they are in financial difficulty. The TOKİ, as a central government agency, makes spatial plans at the local level without almost any restrictions. Furthermore, while low- and middle-income people's access to housing becomes more and more challenging, TOKİ's involvement in projects for high-income groups also paves the way for questioning the institution's existence and goals.
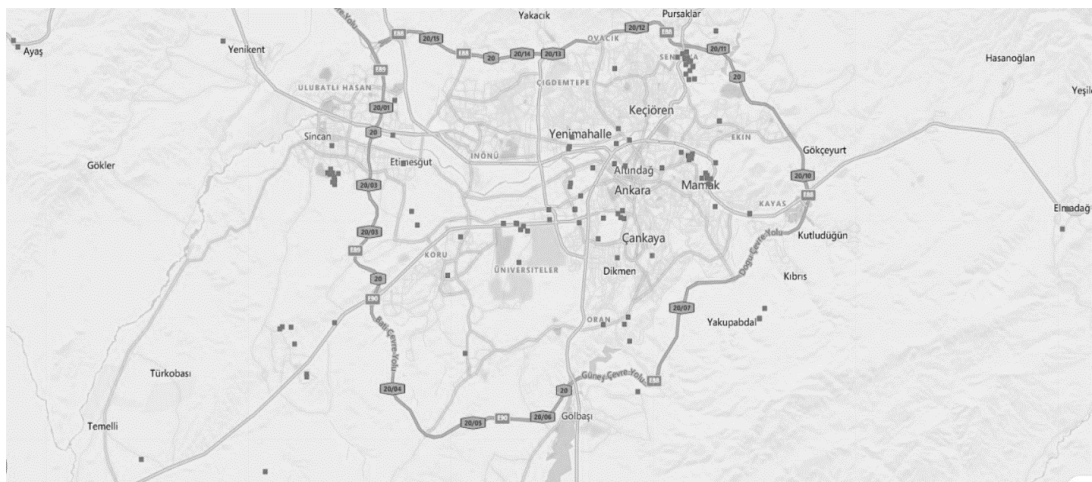
Figure 49. TOKİ Projects in Ankara as of 2020
Source: Ministry of Environment and Urbanization of Turkey, Atlas 2020,
https://basic.atlas.gov.tr/?_appToken=&metadataId=

Thus, the dominant ideology aims to facilitate the (re)commodification of all kinds of urban land by using the legal administrative capacities that it has. In order to understand the becoming of neoliberalism through its contradictions, not only its generative and destructive capacity but also its conflict-driven nature should be

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evaluated on the self, household and community scale. The discussion that is held on the international, national and local levels has to be completed by focusing on the microscale to understand the driving forces and working principles of neoliberal totality in a specific social, spatial and historical context. To this end, longitudinal field research is undertaken by adopting the life course method.

CHAPTER 4

A FORMATIVE URBAN POLICY INTERVENTION: YENI MAMAK URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT

> The labor theory of value is the knot at the heart of Marx's conceptualization of capitalism as a social relationship. It integrally links three things: workers' need for subsistence, their labor, and the surplus value expropriated from the results of that labor, without which capital cannot be accumulated or capitalism perpetuated (Huws, p. 79, 2014).

In this respect, regarding the focus of this study, workers' need for subsistence is significant both the reproduction of labour-power and the reproduction of capital through the consumption practices of labour in the market. The state as a formative force regulates the social arena in principle. However, unless either this basic subsistence is provided within the market relations or the state meets these demands of the working class, occupying urban land for shelter as a basic need could be winked at. Under these conditions, when adequate and affordable housing is fallen short, hybrid forms between formality and informality, solidarity and exchange spring up in the housing and land market that pave the way for the squatters, slums, favelas, barrios, gecekondus, etc. In accordance with that, these spaces that emerge to provide shelter to the labour-power have the potential to turn into a counter-hegemonic space on the one side and a space in which market relations are penetrated every relation on the other. From the dawn of the squatter neighbourhoods to their dusk and dust, the squatter community have experienced both of them and have moulded by the power clashes and these contradictions of capitalism. They have sought better life conditions while trying to cope with the difficulties. This study aims to unravel how all these processes have taken place in the eyes of squatter dwellers without departure from the material conditions of everyday life, production and existence.

The phenomenon of urban transformation, urban renewal or any other interventionist forms regarding the reproduction of space can only be understood by placing it in its historical and social context. Otherwise, any static and rationalized contribution may lead to an ahistorical and aspatial explanation that causes idealization of it that accordingly detach it from its material foundations. In this sense, while what is not to be done in order to understand the reality of urban renewal is clearly revealed in the previous chapters, essential discussions are made about the necessity of choosing an appropriate approach.

The processes and relations regarding the urban transformation have been elaborated in three different scales, namely international, national and local, up to this point by depending on the three-dimensional abstraction developed within this study. In this part of the thesis, this approach is operationalized by abstracting the material relations at the lower scales that already exist and are waiting to be pronounced. In accordance with this purpose, the life course approach detailed in the next section is a suitable lens through which to investigate what is happening at lower scales in relation to other

scales and dimensions in unity. However, in this study, the life course approach is applied in a different way that diverges from the ones frequently enabled in the literature.

4.1. Life Course Transition: Urban Renewal as a 'Game Changer'

In line with the discussion on historical materialism, critical realism and the three-dimensional abstraction carried out in the methodology part, the remarks of the "life course" approach, which are concordant with the goals of this study as a method for lower generality levels and effective especially in the longitudinal field researches, are discussed to operationalize the historical materialist methodological framework. It is expected that as historical materialism constitutes the main methodological framework, the life course approach facilitates explaining the internal dynamics of lower generality levels and the relations among particulars as a whole.

Within this scope, the life course approach is employed within the lower levels of generality in relation to the higher levels of generality since the dialectical relation between self and context has to be reckoned with the existence of various layers. While the historical materialist methodology provides the road map for all generality levels, the life course approach as a method has certain features to enrich the historical materialism, especially at the lower levels of generality, by indicating the ruptures, transitions, ups and downs in the life of an individual within the great transformations. It should be noted that the aim here is neither to harmonize historical materialism with the life course approach nor to ignore the severe inconsistencies between them. The discussion aims to assess whether the life course approach, particularly as a method, can contribute to the principles of historical materialism. Obviously, this effort has the potential to extend the life course approach beyond its generally accepted limits in the literature.

Two consecutive assertions below on the capability of individuals regarding the necessities and contingencies of social relations are encouraging to discuss the life course approach in relation to the epistemological premises of historical materialism.

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past (Marx, 1963b, p. 15).

> Historical forces shape the social trajectories of family, education, and work, and they in turn influence behavior and particular lines of development. Some individuals are able to select the paths they follow, a phenomenon known as human agency, but these choices are not made in a social vacuum. All life choices are contingent on the opportunities and constraints of social structure and culture (Elder, 1998, p. 2).

Whereas Elder, as a prominent figure in the life course perspective, does not purport to make any contribution to historical materialism, the theoretical kernel of life course theory has serious potential to act in line with historical materialism. In this context, before focusing on an argument regarding the possible cooperation between these two epistemological and methodological lines, since a discussion on historical materialism is already made, it would be appropriate to elaborate on the basic premises of the life course approach.

> "By the term "life course" sociologists denote the sequence of activities or states and events in various life domains spanning from birth to death. The life course is thus seen as the embedding of individual lives into social structures primarily in the form of their partaking in social positions and roles, i.e. in regard to their membership in institutional orders. The sociological study of the life course, therefore, aims at mapping, describing and explaining the synchronic and diachronic distribution of individual persons into social positions across the lifetime" (Mayer, 2005, p. 20).

"Psychological, sociological, historical, and demographic concepts and methods are woven into the life course project and constitute both its distinctiveness and its broad scope" (O'Rand, 1998, p. 53). Even though cohort as the main subject means an age group instead of certain aggregation of individuals for life course approach, according to Hareven (1978, p. 8), some other variables such as gender, education, resources, family composition and background play a significant role to diversify and conceptualize cohorts (see Katz & Monk, 2014; Izuhara, 2015; Clark & Lisowski, 2017). On the one hand, within this perspective, family, employment, education, housing trajectories and respective individual histories are the main focus; thus, the approach aims to grasp the social transformation while elaborating on the dynamic relations among context, self and time. On the other hand, "[r]ather than identifying stages, the life course approach examines transitions: It follows individuals' movements through different family configurations and analyzes the determinants of the timing of such movements." (Hareven, 1978, p. 2). These transformations and transitions are actually embedded in various forms in trajectories. Therefore, individuals experience different dimensions of the same reality regarding their material conditions. Within this diversity, the life course approach draws a map for the lower generality levels that are categorised as such, according to Giele and Elder (1998, p. 75):

> At the first level are events, which are formed into trajectories or event histories that together make up the life course of the person. Next up on the hierarchy is the individual case, which in life course studies is a person whose life is an integral whole, involving choice of goals, life review, subjective feelings, and prospective planning for change. At the third level are groups of cases or societal subsystems, which are shaped by members with particular individual attributes. Finally, at the most inclusive level are historical or geographical systems comprising subsystems or groups of cases that share common external circumstances such as location, history, and culture.

"Overall the life course can be viewed as a multilevel phenomenon, ranging from structured pathways through social institutions and organizations to the social trajectories of individuals and their developmental pathways" (Elder, 1994, p. 5). "The life course perspective explicitly emphasizes the need to consider individual lives from the point of view of trajectories of events and experiences. This implies the need to collect longitudinal data." (Scott & Alwin, 1998, p. 103).

As life course approach as an interdisciplinary scientific endeavour had primarily flourished, particularly throughout the post-World War II era, under the welcoming atmosphere for collaborative studies, especially the periodically updated data collections and generous resource allocation assist researchers to adopt the life course approach in both qualitative and quantitative methods in recent years. Moreover,

thanks to statistical analysis software, researchers could find a chance to deal with the "big data" that is regularly collected and traced back to even the beginning of the 20th century (see Falkingham & Sage, Stone, Vlachantoni, 2016).

Among life course researches, residential mobility and housing choice have attracted researchers' attention lately as well (see Clark & Huang, 2003; Rabe & Taylor, 2010; Kley & Mulder, 2010; Coulter & Van Ham, 2013). It is seen that a residential move as an end or a mean is a profound moment that has the potential to change the life trajectories of people depending on the other variables. When we look at the imposed urban renewal projects, the cumulative impact of residential moves could lead to more dramatic transformations. Within this thesis, it is asserted that this contradictory and conflict-driven transformation that creates "winners" and "losers" pushes people to synchronize with capitalist urbanization. Therefore, the life course approach that embraces the residential mobility and the social experience of squatter dwellers throughout the urban renewal project and afterwards assists us in seeing these dynamics, transformations and transitions at the lower generality levels.

However, using the life course approach comes with caveats: As Scott and Alwin (1998, p. 99) state that "[t]o understand how earlier events influence the present (and future), or to understand the processes by which various life changes occur, it is essential to have accurate information about both the past and the present". Especially while obtaining qualitative data throughout field research via questionnaires, the researcher is mainly bound to the interpretation of interviewees. Moreover, "[l]ife reviews and retrospectives repeatedly reveal how the developing individual reconsiders and reinterprets the past in light of the vantage point of the present… Vantage points in the present can reconstruct the past" (O'Rand, 1998, p. 73). This problem is partially solved in studies using longitudinal quantitative or qualitative data. However, actor-structure dichotomy or functionalism remains as a serious pitfall in the best cases where primarily qualitative data based on the methods of the interpretive approach are used. Therefore, although the initial study held in 2010 and 2011 provides a reliable vantage point for this research in terms of squatter dwellers' considerations, due to the subjective nature of interpretivism, the analysis necessitates the establishment of links between individual attitudes/experiences/life histories/event histories and historical/societal changes which means the integration of generality levels.

As Hareven (1978, pp. 6-7) states, "[t]he life-course approach is historical by its very nature, since it encompasses change over an individual's entire life as it is influenced by historical conditions". However, it should be noted at this point that the life course approach is generally lacking when historical materialism's comprehensive look at the universe is considered. It is understandable since it has no such claim as a hybrid method between positivism and interpretivism. Nevertheless, in light of ontological assumptions and epistemological inferences of historical materialism, the life course approach enables us to zoom in on individuals' lives and relations by listening to their stories. It is a significant way to understand the reproduction and transformation of social relations and actual material life.

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4.1.1. Application of the Life Course Method and Method of Acquisition

Life is an indivisible unity and integrity. Efforts to make sense of life and comprehend the reality of related processes have led to the emergence of many different approaches. Dividing life, processes, transformations and related phenomena into sub-parts, creating categories, classifications and periods in order to make the subject more painlessly examined are among the methods frequently used when doing science.

Similarly, in the life course approach, although they are nested in the historical context in unity, the changes in experiences and perceptions are categorized and abstracted regarding the subject matter. Therefore, this approach comes with an essential caveat in terms of the general direction of the thesis. However, as indicated above, this approach has potential to make a profound contribution to the understanding of unity when applied under the structure of thought set forth before. With regards to that, the substantial motions may be revealed by understanding the bonds between the continuities, transitions and changes across the life span of the dwellers and the transformation of the capitalist agenda. The life-course theory that presents a vibrant understanding of reality enables us to demonstrate the experiences of the squatter dwellers. By focusing on the distinct stories of more than a hundred participants and spatial mobility of more than a thousand squatter dwellers, it is thought that urban renewal processes can be understood through similarities with considering the divergences as well.

As detailed above, many studies that adopt the life course approach have aimed to understand how the groups homogenized through classifications such as age and gender take positions over time regarding specific events. Actually, trajectories refer to the concentration of similar actions, feelings and thoughts of individuals that are categorized and abstracted while approaching particular phenomena. In this thesis, to reveal the transformative capacity of the urban renewal phenomenon within the context of capitalist urbanization processes, while urban renewal as an intervention is inevitably brought to the forefront, what happened before and after the project is equally important in understanding the transformation created by the intervention.

Needless to say, "how it works" is a generic question. Although it seems to question a phenomenon in a static way, the whole study is dependent on the dynamism of social and historical moments while rejecting idealization and rationalization. Considering more than 100 interviews made in ten years and tracking the spatial (housing) mobility of more than 1000 people, in addition to the critical moments indicated in the literature and case studies that have the potential for transformation, three typical moments and three distinct periods are historically defined. Concerning this periodization, the life course approach is adopted to understand "how it works" since it is highly sensitive to changes, ruptures, continuities, transitions and transformations. In addition to the data produced in approximately ten years period, longitudinal data of official institutions on the population, records regarding the voting behaviours and elections, and statistics regarding the housing market accessible at the neighbourhood scale are also used to understand the change and transformation within this study. As Aalbers and Christophers (2014, p. 388) argue that "[a] political-economic perspective can be mobilized in combination with a wide range of methods and modes of analysis, both of the quantitative and qualitative variety and both of the empirical and more hermeneutic and discursive kind". Therefore, bringing together various quantitative

and qualitative longitudinal data focused on urban renewal, both obtained from databases and produced, will provide more input for the life course approach.

Within this framework, the squatter life characterizes the first period. While it begins with the migration, especially for elderly squatter dwellers, it ends up the beginning of the project. Although the final break from the squatter setting and demolitions of squatters may take a long time after the initiation of the project, the squatter housing that had been already integrated into the urban housing market in many aspects is not be the same anymore. The second period, which indicates a shorter time frame compared to the first one, covers a period from the initiation of the project to the moment the squatter is abandoned. Important decisions are made, and social positions are reconsidered during this period of time. The last era, starting with the spatial mobilization regarding the departure from the squatter, points to a time in which the conditions created or triggered by the project can be observed more clearly.

The moments, dynamics and processes that enable us to make such periodization do not concurrently manifest themselves in the lives of all squatter residents due to the slow pace of the project. Some squatter dwellers have already begun to live in their homes delivered by the municipality. Some are still waiting as tenants for their houses to be built. Some who are still living in the squatter in the next project stages have no clear idea regarding the future of the project. It has been an ongoing and uncertain process for all. And, one way or another, not only the lives of squatter dwellers involved in the project but also the lives of ones excluded or the ones having nothing to do with the project, such as tenants, have dramatically changed.

As mentioned above, the research has continued for more than ten years. It is challenging to make such a study as both quantitative and qualitative data are scarcely available in the archives or the literature. Therefore, to obtain longitudinal data, a longitudinal research design is made.

Following this purpose, the transformation patterns mainly triggered by the urban renewal project, from almost completely demolished five neighbourhoods in Ankara, namely Derbent, Araplar, Üreğil, Şirintepe, Misket, Dutluk, from 2011 to 2019, the spatial (housing) mobility data of 1295 dwellers that belong to owners of demolished squatters were analysed.

This data set is mainly created with the input obtained through phone call inquiry at four or five years intervals. It should be noted that the high number of qualified interviews made during the field research and the connections provided through them are of great importance in achieving this remarkable number. The field research was also conducted in five squatter neighbourhoods mentioned above. More than one hundred twenty semi-structured interviews were carried out with the inhabitants who lived in these areas and went through the whole process of urban renewal to identify the dwellers' experiences about and attitudes towards the urban renewal project.

On the one hand, spatial mobility data makes it possible to understand how the processes work in terms of the location and housing choices of the squatter dwellers in the city, especially after launching the project. On the other hand, the qualitative data sheds light on the transformation taking place in the eyes of the squatter dwellers both before and after the project.

It should be noted that this is not only a retrospective but also a prospective study. Each data collecting point in time starting from 2010 can be considered as prospective for the following one. While the retrospective design provides instant longitudinal data to the researcher, the amalgamation of the two provides a valuable source regarding the motions. Therefore, both prospective and retrospective methods were used for collecting data to comprehend the changes in expectations, everyday life and material conditions of the squatter dwellers. This study is also a catch-up one since we had found a chance to re-interview many respondents in ten years, though not with all.

In this framework, an evaluation will be made by considering the two faces of the same coin. At first, the urban renewal game in the housing field will be defined to indicate how power is exercised and relations are constituted and played out. To this end, both the discussions provided in the third chapter and the findings of the field study conducted in Mamak, which intend to shed light on capital accumulation and hegemony construction, are employed to produce a schema. This conceptual schema is defined as an abstraction aiming to reach thought concrete embodies the underlying motions, moments and features to understand the logic and the various versions of the game. Then, in the second part of this chapter, the positions and attitudes taken in this compulsory game will be elucidated in detail by bearing in mind the squatter dwellers' dispositions and their forms and volumes of capital in the case of the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project.

4.2. How It Works?: Understanding a Formative Urban Policy Intervention

It should be frankly stated that this thesis is a scientific endeavour problematising "how an urban renewal project as an embodiment of neoliberal urbanisation works through capital accumulation and hegemony construction at different scales" in the light of methodological and theoretical debates. In this regard, following the presentation of the aims and the scope in the first chapter, the study's methodological standpoints and theoretical underpinnings are outlined. Depending on the suggested "three-dimensional abstraction" technique against the ingrained epistemological assumptions, through different theoretical lenses, various vantage points, and different layers and scales, the material conditions are sought to explain the reality of urban renewal in the neoliberal era as a housing policy intervention and construction sector booster. Then we focused on the data that enabled us to grasp the reality by considering the social and historical context. In this part of the thesis, before focusing on the field research findings over the reconsideration of the life-course approach, we briefly develop a schema that embraces and goes beyond the aforementioned theoretical discussions and processes the data depending on the methodological and theoretical stances.

In other words, it is intended to unravel and indicate the essential dynamics of urban renewal as a form of neoliberal intervention in this section. Thus, this schema enables us to identify the processes, forces and relations that shape the lives of these people while unfolding and evaluating the attitudes and the positionings of the squatter dwellers in the following sections to understand how the neoliberal hegemony is exercised and the various forms of capital are either accumulated or depreciated through housing policies.

Instead of reducing urban renewal to a moral question that seeks to find out victims and villains by bearing in mind its political context, the main purpose of this study is to flesh out the capitalist urbanization process in the light of methodological and theoretical considerations. After looking at the historical and social context in which urban renewal is situated, we paid close attention to the people's life stories, perceptions, and attitudes to understand the actualization and moments of the capitalist system. Since there have been various changes in the lives of people living in the squatters after the announcement of the urban renewal project, especially focusing on the ruptures, transitions and transformations in the life course of squatter people, it was expected to see the dynamics and mechanisms that reproduce or spoil the existing system.

Following the basic tenets of the life course approach, the squatter dwellers are evaluated as a cohort. In this way, the impacts of neoliberal urbanization embodied in the urban renewal project on their lives are received considerable critical attention in this study. In accordance with this purpose, the period before the project's initiation that provides insight into how serious the transformation had been experienced is addressed under a separate heading. Then the continuum in which the profound impacts of the project can be seen is divided into three stages: "preparation", "destruction", and "creation or devastation". Thus, the relationship between the life courses of the squatter dwellers and the project's progress has been abstracted and conceptualized concomitantly. As mentioned at the beginning, employing the life course method enables seeing the transformative power of the project.

Before conceptualizing this process in detail, some points should be emphasized. Firstly, these interwoven dynamics are analytically separated and listed under three different stages with regard to their volume, relationality and transformative capacity. Although the volume of these dynamics may vary from the beginning to the present, they dominate the different stages of the urban renewal game analysed in the case of Mamak and Turkey in general. Secondly, it should also be noted at this point that these dynamics (Figure 50) are abstracted or conceptualised beyond the data gathered through the interpretive method carried out in Mamak. In other words, this analytical timeline is developed not only by depending on the feelings and thoughts of the participants that were frequently avowed but also by evaluating the material roots of the urban renewal in their historical context.

In this respect, even though the Marxist literature and the literature on urban renewal covering various cases contribute greatly to delineating these dynamics, a priori reasoning is avoided. Moreover, "how it works" is a generic question. Moreover, how it works is a question that seems to give a reference to regularity and order. However, the circulation of capital and its contradictions are vibrant and destructive, making conceptualising long-term sequences difficult. Even though the strong rhythms can be identified for specific periods and the capital accumulation as an end is indispensable, improvising and short-sighted manoeuvring is also the sine qua non of the capital in motion, mainly in the neoliberal era. Actually, this is a kind of context (socially, historically and spatially) dependent query that cannot be responded to unless the uniquely configured changing conditions are considered. These situated and embedded activities, interventions and techniques formate the dynamics that are mentioned throughout this section to unveil the setting of the particular process.
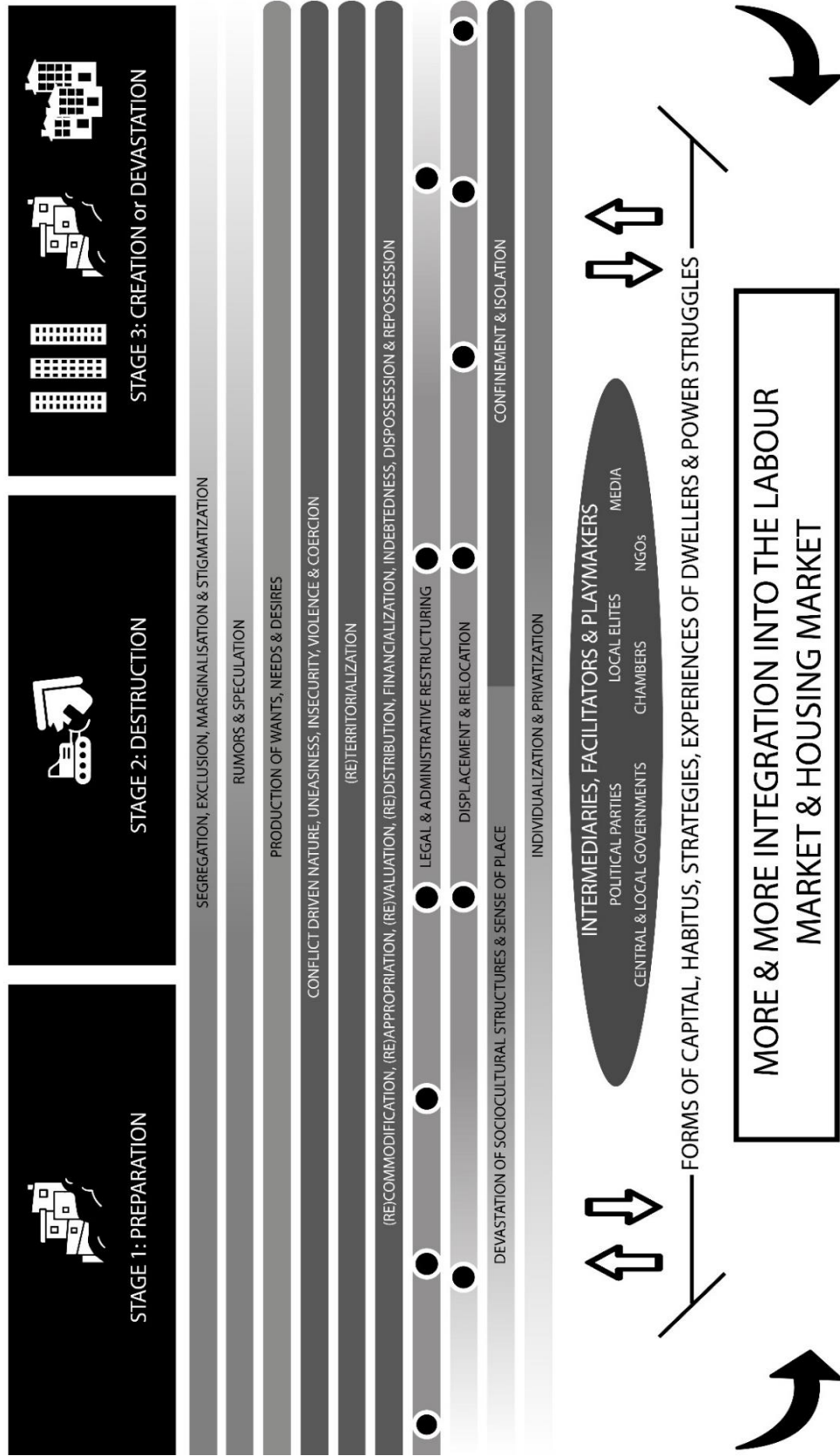
Figure 50. Stages, Moments & Volume of Dynamics to Understand the Urban Renewal Process

Therefore, this thesis does not argue that these are the only and universal dynamics that are faced with urban renewal projects and work smoothly in every different location. On the contrary, these dynamics and/or their volumes may not correspond to the other cases' as regards their contextual settings per se, but beyond the episodic appearances, most of the dynamics seem necessary and essential for the reproduction of neoliberal programs or projects, specifically in case of urban renewal. Thus instead of conflating the specific and general, we strive to establish the links and relations between them. Above and beyond the aforementioned features of the neoliberal agenda in terms of "way of implementation" as selective, flexible and irregular precludes the possibility of de facto dynamics. Another significant point is that since the neoliberal transformation permeates every aspect of life and encompasses a variety of practices of everyday life, not only quantitative but also qualitative analyses urgent to understand the totality of processes are employed. Therefore, in addition to the residential mobility data, the field research findings that enrich the analysis are interpreted within the life course method with regard to the actual transformation experienced from the smallest scale to the global scale.

We embarked on this journey by considering the significance of three pillars: methodology, theory and practice. This study is based on the internal relations, inseparability and integrity of these three seemingly different realms. Accordingly, in the second chapter, we generated a perspective called "3D Abstraction" and discussed several related theoretical frameworks that may enable us to grasp the subject that we problematized throughout the study. Finally, by using these lenses, the material reality was deciphered by dwelling on the available statistics and grounded data. Thus, beyond discussions on either actor or structure, micro or macro analyses, qualitative or quantitative data choices, and explanations just made through state organization or capital formation, it has been tried to deal with social reality as a whole within the framework of historical movements and moments. In other words, by keeping track of former squatter dwellers and gathering information regarding the transformation in their lives, we strived to understand the dynamics of neoliberal urbanization and capitalist social formation and relations in general through a particular intervention in a case study.

These dynamics, moments and interventions faced within the urban renewal projects may seem like techniques for ruling and manipulating. Two reservations have to be made in this regard. First of all, it is not possible to talk about an idealized and aimed totality. It would not be right to seek a great mind behind these techniques. Secondly, they are mostly blended with coercive power. And there is a significant tendency in increasing its volume if things are not going as the power holders expect. Power is incremental, contingent, pragmatic and gradual, even if some of its embodiments are sudden and brutal, as seen within interventions in both the public and private realm. In line with the neoliberal agenda, this form of governmentality mostly disguises the praises for market rules through populist ideological discourses that are inherently exclusionary. Or at least, it is a way of governing that assists in making social inequalities bearable for the majority until the reproduction of the conditions of material existence fails. Therefore, it could be better to call all these processes either non-governmentality instead of governmentality or non-governmentality as a form of governmentality in the Foucauldian sense. On the one hand, whether they are not intended or planned, these processes have been consistent with the disciplinary

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mechanisms, mainly depending on the tenets of the capitalist mode of production. Ultimately, there is the creation and perpetuation of the "entrepreneurial self" through market opportunities and expectations, regardless of equality, legitimacy and justice. Consequently, even being financially better or worse off, which matters the most at the end of the day in a market setting, may lose its meaning. On the other hand, these processes have been embodied as the combination of previous layers rooted in the particular history of Turkey and dominant ones. Some discernible processes, moments and mechanisms as specified in the schema like unable to quash rumours, relentless legal administrative restructuring, using segregation, marginalization and exclusion as efficient policy tools are concomitants of the distinct character of capitalism in Turkey. It should also be underlined that such processes, which can be seen as exceptional in core countries, are more common in peripheral countries like Turkey. Accordingly, even if the manifestations may differ in core and peripheral countries due to historical and social forces, the assessments like David Harvey made on the capital accumulation and circulation through the production of the built environment offer an invaluable perspective to decipher the processes such as revaluation, accumulation by dispossession, recommodification and financialization embedded in these kinds of housing programs set up within the urban renewal projects. It would be appropriate to comprehend this process basically as a set of relations that shape the urban renewal game played for accumulating or at least preserving the assets depending on the forms of capital possessed in the Bourdieusian sense in line with market imperatives under state coercion. Thus, in Lefebvrian terms, the everyday life of the squatter dwellers within the capitalist formation became more mundane and market-driven depending on the new sets of routines concomitant to the production of this spatial setting. In other words, the coercive transformation in the housing that points to a Gramscian moment creates serious tensions between historically constituted dispositions and the encountered spatial formation in the apartment blocks. Consequently, here, we are sketching out a hegemonic model in which coercion and consent are inextricably intertwined.1

In line with the empirical shreds of evidence and the totality of the subject matter, several dynamics and moments are crafted as a focus on the primarily defined problem. It has thus become possible to talk about eleven different but internally related processes. Although the temporalities of the dynamics are outlined in the diagram we have drawn above, they are presented in a relational context instead of a definite sequence in the following paragraphs since the cause-effect relationships become unclear as these interdependent and concurrent dynamics trigger each other.

In this context, while the squatter areas, where the rent gap is sufficiently large, have been under the pressure of transformation for a long time in Turkey, thanks to the intensified state-led urban renewal projects carried out in the 2000s, every squatter neighbourhood has become the target of this peculiar spatial intervention. This gives way to both the circulation of rumours regarding the content of the project and speculative activities in the housing market. Due to several reasons, it becomes impossible to prevent the rumours from going around the neighbourhoods once the project is launched, even if its code of practice becomes public. First of all, on the one hand, communication channels aimed at informing the public in detail are not operated effectively. On the other hand, it is also unclear whether a communication strategy based on cultural capital could be successful in these social settings where social

capital is well developed. This means that the squatter dwellers prefer to receive the necessary information from each other instead of public authorities due to the strong bonds among them based on trust and solidarity. Uncertainties such as exactly where the new residences to be built in the project and when they will be handed over, as well as the intricate code of practice stemming from the various liabilities depending on the housing tenure differentiation or size of land owned direct the squatter dwellers, whose cultural capital is limited, to obtain hearsay information. In addition, given that power structures are significantly shaped by redistribution policies in urban space, many rumours are also circulating regarding the clientelism at work in these state-led urban renewal projects. The claim made by some squatter dwellers is that some of the right holders involved in these projects have advantages because of the clientelist relations they have established with the national and local powers. The unfairness, especially in the appraised value of the properties and the allocation of temporary residences, is frequently pointed out. Although it is impossible to confirm such claims, they provide insight into how neoliberal urbanisation based on populism works in these cases while the confidence is decreasing in the central and local powers.

Following the project's announcement, while those who could not endure the uncertainty of the project financially and/or morally sell their houses or lands, some people seek to buy them to make immediate or long-term profit in the housing market. Thus it also turns out to be a state-driven speculative market venture. In other words, while the public authority reappraises the squatters' value in the housing program, transactions in the market remain vibrant depending on future expectations. All in all, revaluation, commodification and redistribution are the bedrock of urban renewal. Lands, houses, building extensions even trees are (re)commodified through revaluation and redistributed in the housing and money forms throughout the urban renewal projects. The revaluation process that subordinates the use-value within "the rules of the urban renewal game" established to ensure housing market activity refers to the increasing commodification of housing. Once they are involved and become a part of this game, it is complicated for right holder squatter dwellers to prioritise the use-value of their homes. This is mainly because their homes turn out to be commodities exchanged to get a larger house or not to become indebted to the public authority. Long-term mortgages offered to the right holders who could not fulfil the requirements of the housing programs and become indebted in this process turn the squatter dwellers into actors of financial affairs and systems. This means more integration and more dependence on the labour market. And in such cases, it doesn't matter whether the job is insecure, irregular, or low paid. Therefore, while many right-holders are concerned about paying off these debts, many others, as pointed out above, exit the game by selling their homes and lands instead of participating in this game with uncertainties.

Another reason for the increasing transactions in the market during the initiation phase of the project is based on the segregation among the squatter dwellers depending on the differentiation in tenure structure. While the tenants and the occupiers are excluded from the project most of the time, others are divided into various subcategories such as title-holders, Tapu-tahsis Belgesi holders, developed landowners, etc. In addition, the liabilities of the project vary according to the size of the land owned and the appraised value of the squatter structure. The squatter dwellers who are stigmatized, marginalized and criminalized prior to the project's initiation to ensure the social and

political legitimacy are divided into subgroups by the public authority. This classification rests on the maxim of private property, which is taken for granted in today's social setting, restrains squatter dwellers from acting together and challenging the project carried out. The division regarding housing and land tenure even leads to confrontations and conflicts in the squatter community. Thus, as this coercive intervention devastates the sociocultural structures in the squatter settings, dwellers also lose their sense of place.

The variation in the attitudes of the squatter dwellers for numerous reasons, such as tenure structure, creates problems between neighbours, relatives and even spouses. In this sense, the conflict-driven and contradictory nature of the current urban renewal implementations refers to the divide and rule strategy. The right holders, who want to get a significant share from the created rent, are consciously or unconsciously inclined to ignore the potential losers of the process while pursuing their agenda. The game has losers as well as winners. This is a "learned helplessness" internalized in society at large.

Growing uneasiness is also a manifestation of the despair about the dispositions and the capital the squatter dwellers give up. In addition to the social and historical imperatives, a housing policy has reshaped the squatter dwellers' lives during the anxiety of losing home and the rush to secure housing. Squatter families who have been in solidarity for a long time scattered all over the city after the project had launched. Tenants and occupiers are avowedly displaced in the first place. The squatter dwellers who are eligible but fall short to meet the conditions of the housing program are the displaced ones as well. Those who are not involved in this game for various reasons could also be included in this group. But displacement and relocation could be the case for some in the process. These are mostly the beneficiaries of the project who stay in the temporary housing areas provided by the local government and who receive rent assistance until their housing is handed over.

Thus, after being displaced first, squatter households are relocated under the supervision of the public authority to the places planned and designed by the very same power. In other words, the occupied lands of the squatter dwellers are re-territorialized through new forms of relations that are not only alien to them but also not internalized by them. The physical and virtual boundaries that they enjoy in the squatter setting turned into well defined, rule-based, sterile territories. For instance, to maintain the previous socio-spatial practices and get together with their former squatter neighbours or present neighbours, while women generally prefer to be in close vicinity of the apartments or the apartment corridors, men opt for the mosque's courtyard or the benches in the streets.

More specifically, as observed in the case of a former squatter dweller who tried to raise chickens on the 10th floor of the highrise apartment block or in the case of former squatter dwellers who occupied common areas of the housing site with meeting others or doing their daily stuff, resistances or negotiations and the hybrid forms of practices are unavoidable and part of this process. However, symbolic violence is embodied to change their accessibilities, abilities, relations, and dispositions. In this sense, urban renewal intervention is a process of reterritorialization that reformates the accustomed setting and replaces it with something mundane and ordered. In other words, the dramatic transformation in the spatial forms that embrace the everyday life and

practices of the squatter dwellers push people to overview the boundaries of their territories. Moreover, the new setting established mostly around the apartment life not only transforms the former squatter dwellers' dispositions and necessitates different volumes and forms of capital but also, while changing the territorial configuration, creates new wants, needs and desires. Housing arrangements and moving to a new home entail overwhelming considerations such as logistics and big purchases. Especially for large families who had lived in squatters before the project, things became much more difficult. They, one way or another, fell apart.

Besides, apartment life is more costly than squatter life. While the former squatter dwellers deprive of the active solidarity channels and cooperation in the apartment blocks due to the devastation of their sociocultural structures thanks to the coercive interventions, their consumption patterns change. The squatter dwellers have no longer a chance to sustain self-sufficient production in their gardens and become dependent on discount markets. In addition to the rules to be followed in apartment life, expenditures for ensuring the security of the housing site, cleaning and maintaining the common areas introduce new practices to the life of the former squatter dweller. This paves the way for the increasing number of isolated individuals who are more integrated into the market in both consumption and production. The public services that are free of charge in the residual setting become privatised and cost to the former squatter dwellers. In short, historically and communally produced public and semi-public spaces while strengthening solidarity and cooperation in the squatter neighbourhoods have increased their resiliency. This is mainly because the lived space is more likely to correspond to the perceived space in these settings compared to the privatised and individualised residential spaces conceived within the urban renewal projects[51]. Therefore, these interventions and accompanying momentous change and rising tension among "the spaces" in the Lefebvrian sense also denote a severe struggle over the production of space.

Those who remained in the squatter neighbourhoods and were not involved in the project for any reason had to cope with insecure and unhealthy environmental conditions. These people not only have become lonely due to their neighbours, relatives and acquaintances leaving but also they have been isolated among the rubbles owing to decreasing provision of public services.

In the Turkish variant of urban renewal or urban transformation projects in general, most of the intervened areas have a clear sign of the state of decline, decay, crisis or withering. However, these are the symptoms that mostly occur after the execution phase of the projects. Compared to the apartment housing stock, which is at risk of earthquakes, most squatters used to be in good condition or could become rehabilitated through maintenance and repairs. However, urban renewal projects that have been carried out in the squatter areas were hitherto coercive interventions embracing both

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[51] Lived space, perceived space and conceived space is a triad that Lefebvre (1991) introduced to shed light on the production of social space. While lived space subsumes the spatial practices regarding production and reproduction in a particular setting, perceived space embodies the discourses, symbols, codes and images related to the very same particular setting. The conceived space as an imagination that has serious potential for realization is tied to experts' knowledge but not freed from the power relations and relations of production.

symbolic and physical violence. Therefore, alternative policy formulations were often not considered.

Instead, the legal and administrative restructuring that has been faced quite often in the urban renewal processes and projects has taken place to strengthen the position of the public authority only in cases that progress barely or could not be made. The process, which dated back to rehabilitation plans and continued with a specific law passed to execute a particular urban renewal project, resulted in well-equipped decision-makers with legal-administrative "superpowers" that could turn almost the entire country into a construction site.

Besides, since the squatter settings have played a critical role in reproducing the squatter dwellers' lives, urban renewal interventions devastate these people's dispositions, change their volume of capital and force them to alter their tactics. If adequately analyzed, the winners and losers during and as a result of this intervention can be identified. However, the significant finding is that the people involved in this process have experienced the loss of control over their lives. Beyond getting better or worse off at the end of the day, their living conditions have been reformatted. To put it bluntly, this is a kind of intervention that aims to change the squatter dwellers' way of life into the "middle-class lifestyle". Whether they are satisfied with this situation or not, they are expected to pretend to be.

In this scheme, the intermediary bodies, organizations and actors such as political parties, local elites, media, central and local governments, chambers, NGOs, real estate agents and experts play a critical role in exercising power. By either facilitating or impeding the formation of these dynamics and motions of this particular game played in the housing field as a locus of hegemony and capital accumulation, they may have a profound effect on how it works. Capital accumulation and circulation as the main driving forces of the process cannot be fulfilled unless central and local authorities and bodies hold a stance to facilitate. In other words, intermediary organizations not only mediate but also turn into the necessary parts of this controversial process.

This is a kind of game played between enthusiastic and forced players. At the end of this game, there are winners and looser. There are rewarded and punished. There are those who get wealthy, gain prestige, and increase their power, as well as those who become dispossessed, in debt and homeless. The highlighted dynamics and moments as pervasive formatives are not only elucidatory in understanding how this particular game is played in the housing field but also draw attention to the ultimate outcome of this process which means increasing integration into the labour and the housing market for former squatter dwellers.

On the one hand, the labourers whose future is foreclosed to meet the housing need suffer from lack of job insecurity, poor working conditions, and low and irregular income in various degrees depending on their volume of cultural and social capital. Especially women and young adults who have not completed their education but have to work due to economic difficulties are primarily involved in the informal labour market. While the number of female domestic workers has been increased among the former women squatter dwellers, young adults became more dependent on the jobs with daily wages. Even individuals with a regular income had to forgo some routines and habits that they previously enjoyed to pay off their mortgages. On the other hand,

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housing market activity is increased thanks to the project not only in the boundaries of the project area both also in the close vicinity and across the city. A small number of right holders who have more than one house within the housing program seem to benefit from this market activity when they engage with the housing market over rental or sales transactions. Meanwhile, those not involved in the renewal project have to cope with the housing market's increasingly demanding and challenging conditions. In case either they do not have a convenient second home that they can enjoy or local governments do not provide temporary housing, each squatter dweller involved in the project creates demand in the housing market to meet the need for shelter until their home is handed over. Till the projects are completed, housing demand stays strong. Housing demand stays strong in these localities as renewal projects mostly take longer than expected.

The dynamics, stages and moments of a formative intervention consisting of hegemonic power relations and processes of capital accumulation, the data gathered from a particular urban renewal project and the related findings over ten years are analysed and discussed in the following pages to gain a more profound understanding of the urban renewal game.

4.3. Habitus and Forms of Capital in Squatters: Beyond a Form of Housing

Squatters became the dominant spatial figure of Ankara as well as other big cities in Turkey, especially between the 1950s and 1980s (Şengül, 2003). Understanding the "invasion of squatters" entails grasping the changes in the social formation of Turkey. Especially the historical necessity of transformation that had thoroughly imposed itself at the beginning of the 1900s while the Ottoman Empire was falling paved the way for striving for the elimination of the barriers impeding the development of the capitalist mode of production. Although this bourgeois revolution diverges from its counterparts regarding social, spatial and historical context, according to Savran (2010, pp. 56-57), by considering the dynamic characteristics of these kinds of revolutions, three main common goals come to the fore: the first one is the establishment of the bourgeois democracy instead of absolutist and despotic state formation; the second one is the liberation of peasants that leads to the development of modern proletariat parallel to the development of agrarian capitalism and its property relations in rural areas; the last one is the uniting different communities in particular geography under the nation-state organization. The state has played a critical role that appears to be contradictory at first sight in this capitalist formation regarding capital accumulation and circulation. Regardless of how coercive it is, this fine-tuning is essential for the system's perpetuation in the long run. On the one hand, to maintain the uneven relations between classes, the workers deprived of the instruments to earn their living have to both have limited property and be anxious about the future. This assertion is relevant even for the core capitalist welfare states in which the working class becomes relatively better off compared to workers in subordinated economies. Hence, the worker has to seek to enter the labour market. On the other hand, the capitalist state, as the protector and guarantor, has to watch over the whole classes' private property rights. Thus, it motivates the working class for capital accumulation and circulation through possibilities and opportunities. In this way, not only production but also consumption is encouraged in capitalist societies. While it obliges workers to sell their labour-power through production, reproducing themselves depends on the market one more time. However, unless the worker meets the basic necessities to survive under

the free market conditions, then the state, most of the time by selective welfare policy interventions, provides certain services or goods to reproduce labour power. Labour must be available for capitalist production. Moreover, it must be free to move to meet the necessary labour power. In this sense, the state regulates and controls, directly and indirectly, the workers' mobility and mobility capacity through various interventions.

As these characteristics have been manifesting themselves at varying degrees in the case of Turkey, especially the transformations in the rural setting in the conduct of this inquiry became critical as a driving force for the inward migrations that have changed the urban spatial and social settings. Parallel to the increasing attraction of economically vibrant cities, the land reforms that took place in the 1930s and onwards, both to increase agricultural productivity and to control the relations of production in rural areas (Kaya, 2014), did not hold back the inward migration especially after 1950s due to several reasons such as landlessness, land fragmentation, unproductivity, agricultural mechanisation, transformations in patriarchal relations (Yasa, 1966; Drakakis-Smith, 1976; Karpat, 1976; Şenyapılı, 1978: Ersoy, 1985).

On the one hand, import substitute industrialization that had been pursued by the governments accelerated the surplus rural labour flows to the large cities. On the other hand, as the resources were mobilized for the development of industry, the state made a strategic retreat from the production of the built environment. However, the lack of housing supply, services and facilities had not discouraged the migrants who made their way to survive in cities. One elderly former squatter dweller (I1) described his migration story:

> My late father came to Dutluk in 1960. He left Çorum's Kalehisar village. I, my mother, my siblings stayed in the village. My father left Kalehisar at the age of 23-24 and came to Ankara. He started to work as a moulder in construction. In one room of the building under construction, he was living with other workers who had come from the rural areas as well. Meanwhile, my father was looking for a place around Ankara, to enclose and build a house. It was just the common and only way to hold on to urban life.
>
> In the 1960s, Dutluk and its surroundings were the agricultural lands of a village nearby. My father enclosed a piece of land of Treasury. While he was working in the construction, he built a two-bedroom house in Dutluk. But the area was vacant; there were no people living around. The fields of the village were planted, but of course, nobody had made any comment. When he had finished construction of the house, he gave up staying with his friends.
>
> Then, while he was working in the construction of the military site in Dikimevi, the construction site supervisor gave a reference about my father. So my father found a job at the military factory as a worker. He had taken a procedural exam, and the next day he began to work by submitting some documents. Of course, this is not how it works today. There were few labour force around. It was easy to get into work. So my father had just started working at the military factory. I should say that in the course of time thanks to my father, many of our acquaintances also found a job at the same factory. This is how it works.
>
> After he had started working, he felt safe and decided to bring us to Ankara. We are five siblings. So we all came to Ankara. Our arrival date is 1961 or 1962. When we arrived in those years, there was a two-room squatter in Dutluk. My

father then added two more rooms next to those two rooms and extended the squatter. It was a squatter almost 100-120 square meters in size. Meanwhile, when our townsmen learned that my father had settled there, another family came from the village. They enclosed lands just like us. More of them came, and there were about 20 households who were our townsmen. So my father was the one who laid the foundation there. He was a pioneer.

Another participant (I2) who was born in a squatter setting said regarding his family's spatial mobility:

My grandfather was the one who first came to Ankara from our family. He was a farmer, but the city attracted him to earn his living. He had begun to work in a factory. One of his friends from our village helpt him to get the job. When my grandfather came to Ankara, there were not many squatters around. Before settling in Derbent Neighbourhood, they lived in Yenidoğan and Balgat regions. In fact, my grandfather used to have a squatter in Balgat, but he thought that it would not be valuable for the future and sold it to buy land from Mamak. In 1980, my grandfather's father had died, and my grandfather and his sibling settled in Derbent. When choosing a location, they prefer more hilly and mountainous places rather than flat and central areas, which could be at the risk of flood.

A 55-year-old man (I3) who works as a school principal reported as such:

We came to Ankara in 1967 when I was two years old. At first, my father's uncle's sons came to the neighbourhood. My father followed them and came to Ankara after them. In our neighbourhood, there were about 7-8 households from our village. However, most of the people living in that area were from Yozgat. Like us, someone came and settled in that region; then, many of them came after him and settled in the same place.

In 1967, one of my father's fellow countrymen provided references for him, and then he started working at the Ankara University Faculty of Medicine as a worker. First, we lived in a rented squatter for three years. Later, a squatter with two rooms was built in 1970. I vaguely remember the construction of that house. I remember a two-room house built. First, preparation was made. Foundations were dug. Timbers were brought from the village. The mudbricks were used. They completed the construction in two days. It became a two-room squatter. The land on which the squatter was built was treasury land, but my father bought the land from someone to build a house. So we paid someone who enclosed the area before. Thus, the house was built in 1970. We lived in that house until 2018. My mother, father, brother, we all lived in that house. My sister, my brother, we all grew up in that house.

Parallel to the views stated above, the migration story of many interviewees is related to the struggle for existence in the city. The squatter neighbourhoods as a long term transition zone for migrants are located either at the periphery or in the decaying city centres of cities. The social relations that mostly belong to the rural setting in these areas have been challenged by distinct ways of production and consumption patterns and forms in urban space. Against the challenges, the migrant squatter dwellers had endured much hardship by strictly leaning on the dispositions that take their roots from the rural spatial setting and everyday practices. Actually, this is the only way to make urban life easier. In this sense, as deciding to settle a place, as well as finding proper land and job, solidarity networks that are also significant in the rural setting based on

social capital played a key role. Unsurprisingly this paved the way for dependency on the accumulation of social capital. For instance, while clientelistic ties have played a critical and vital role in finding a job in big cities, mainly for newcomers, activation of social capital, which is the most commonly used type of capital compared to the others regarding the setting (field) in squatter settlement, had increased solidarity in the neighbourhoods.

However, it should be noted that these squatter neighbourhoods were not culturally standardised places. Migrants mostly clustered through their origins. Even today, parallel to the continuing inward migration mostly triggered due to uneven spatial development, the first thing that many people wonder about the "other" is where s/he is from, not only in squatter neighbourhoods and urban renewal housing sites but also in other parts of the big cities. Ethnic and religious affiliations, which are considered to be more "sensitive" in this sense, are more implicitly used to strengthen the bonds of solidarity. However, the hometown affiliation as another determining factor of the "identity" seemed "apolitical". Respectively, many hometown associations that seek solidarity through these bonds and identities were established in big cities.

Nevertheless, these differences based on ethnic, religious and hometown did not hinder living together in a neighbourhood. Even though there are ethnic, religious and hometown divisions in squatter neighbourhoods, it is a homogenous community in terms of material conditions. The identity-based differences that have continued to exist are left aside under difficult life circumstances and during economic downturns. This also had contributed to the household economy by triggering the use of cultural capital and dispositions acquired mostly in rural areas. From child caring and rearing to collective works and actions such as preparing food for the wintertime, constructing, maintaining and repairing the structures, transporting and storing firewood and coal are several practices that are performed in cooperation between the neighbours and relatives in the squatter neighbourhoods.

Additionally, the squatter settlement enables dwellers to have ceremonies such as weddings or funerals in the streets as common spaces of neighbourhoods. In these ways, parallel to an increase in social solidarity and coherence, a decrease in expenses has been expressed by many respondents. As it is seen, the cultural capital that had been accumulated and had transferred from generation to generation in the rural setting turned into a valuable asset when combined with the spatial capital, even if it is limited in the urban setting. For instance, a garden or yard plays several critical roles in the lives of squatter dwellers. Firstly, spending time outside with neighbours strengthens the relationships that facilitate the social capital of the individuals. Secondly, it allows dwellers to grow fresh vegetables and fruits for their daily consumption while the excessive amount of them are either dried and stored for the winter-time or shared with the neighbours in need. These areas are also appropriate grounds where nets or coops are arranged for feeding and raising chicken, geese, ducks or turkeys. Therefore, the gardens have provided great opportunities to dwellers to decrease the amount of money spent in the market, even though parallel to the increase in production and availability of the mass consumption products, especially the younger squatter dweller generations' consumption patterns had changed after the 1980s.

Moreover, such as making picnics and barbeque are common activities for the dwellers to spend their leisure time with their family members and friends. The case study also

confirmed that many respondents were able to feel a sense of relief and were psychologically relaxed when they spent time in the yard or garden. As "private property" and "private space", the walls, fences or some plants in a row that indicate the boundaries of the plot enclose the garden and the squatter house as well. To recap, as an essential and indispensable part of the squatter, the garden, which is frequently underlined in squatter studies, is an important spatial source for the accumulation, transformation and reproduction of social, cultural and economic capital.

Through the diverse array of various dispositions, dynamics and social mechanisms, the squatter setting made an immense contribution to the migrants' household economy. These networks, especially through chain migration, also enable people to sustain the village life to a certain extent in the city, especially in the housing setting. Many squatter dwellers during the field research stated that there was no difference between their village and the city regarding housing conditions and neighbour relations.

Especially the breadwinner figure in the family, mostly the male one, had to leave his "village" every morning while he was making his way to the "urban" to earn a living for his family. The first-generation migrants who used to engage in subsistence agriculture in the rural areas became low-skilled and low-paid, mostly blue-collar workers in the urban areas. Moreover, "[a]t any rate, the newcomers were providing the needed workforce in industries with limited costs to the state" (Güngördü & Bayırbağ, 2019, p. 194).

For these very reasons, while many of them have no main occupation and work as casual employees, just a few, thanks to clientelistic ties, have found job security. It should be noted at this point that most of the time, women have not been in the labour force, even though this trend is gradually broken in the second and third generations who were born and educated in the city and involved in urban life. Several roles such as child-rearing, house cleaning, cooking, gardening and contributing to the household economy are attributed to women. Correspondingly, just the squatter and its environs are "secure" spaces for women, which is not mainly different from the rural areas. In fact, it can be said that women are more confined to the home with limited and strictly defined domestic chores compared to the role of women in the rural mode of production. Therefore, the streets of squatter neighbourhoods and gardens of squatters, which are vacated by the men who go to work during the day, are the places where women come together, socialize and cooperate with neighbours.

On the one hand, while rural practices were playing essential roles in terms of survival in the urban setting, the newcomers got used to living in the two facets of the same reality. Thus, this hybrid form denotes a limited integration of two different lifestyles. Although the dispositions generated in the rural mode of production have manifested themselves functionally in the production and reproduction of labour, such as entering the labour market and meeting the need for housing, especially in the public space, the tension between classes has remained.

On the other hand, although these migrants who silently struggled for "being in the city" pursued intra-class upward mobility by taking advantage of several opportunities in an urban setting as well. Most of the children in the squatter neighbourhoods have found the chance to receive decent education depending on their parents' belief that

academic success is the essential way for upward social mobility. Many middle-aged and elderly squatter residents stated that they had done their best for their children. However, it is observed that although some became better off by the combination of acquired educational credentials and already possessed social capital, mostly rely on clientelistic relations, especially in recent times, people seem to have lost their faith that they may achieve better living conditions through education. The worried parents grumbled and complained about unemployed young generations. In such cases, families mobilize economic capital that has been accumulated throughout the years to support their children.

Not only the possibility of finding job opportunities and receiving decent public services, especially education and health, but also getting a considerable share of urban rents became part of the migrants' strategy. When we consider the processes of finding land and building squatter, many dwellers stated that they purchased treasury land informally from people like them, as seen above. The informal transactions through urban land inevitably manifest themselves due to the land enclosure under the tolerance of public authority. If these rent-seeking activities are put aside, then squatter housing, in essence, could be a social housing form. Although it is privately used, the land on which it is built is mostly owned by the state. The state connived at the expansion of squatting since it did not opt to satisfy the housing needs of the immigrants. Afterwards, the state chose privatization as a form of intervention to recognize and legalize squatting. Actually, this was the breaking point regarding squatting. Parallel to the increasing activities in the construction sector and housing market in the big cities, thanks to the buildings amnesties before the 1990s and urban renewal projects, particularly in the 2000s, the exchange value of the squatters became more and more binding and took centre stage against the use-value at the urban and squatter settings. In other words, while the sociocultural transformation has been witnessed in the area as a result of the projects, the primary motivation for settlers, investors/developers and newcomers as the major players in the urban renewal game turned out to obtain financial gain prioritised over the use-value (Köseoğlu & Sönmez, 2018, p. 175).

Besides that, saving and investing as far as possible for hard times as a household strategy for working-class families, especially before the 2000s, has gradually turned into a "save the day" strategy. Especially the recent transformations in consumptions patterns concerning the impacts of more market liberalization agenda at work have played a critical role in this sense. However, mostly retired few squatter dwellers have used their savings to acquire a second residence apart from the squatters they are currently living in. This dwelling is either another squatter or a flat. What is interesting is that most of the people who also have an apartment house prefer to stay in the squatter.

This attitude changes in favour of the apartment in cold weather due to the existence of the heating system. A 64 years old male retired respondent from Derbent Neighbourhood stated that although he owns a flat very close to the centre of Mamak, he and his wife opt to live in a squatter except for the wintertime. On the one hand, purchasing a second house, specifically an apartment house, is opted not only for the use of the person or one of his family members but also for investment. On the other hand, it is seen that not only sanctions imposed in 2004 as a five-year prison sentence for constructing squatter houses but also the developments in the construction sector,

which have created new desires and wants, have led to the search of alternative housing types.

Correspondingly, parents who are able to make an investment for another residence are keen to buy an apartment considering the attitudes of their children. The field research has shown that while young people, mostly students up to the age of 18 and adults forty years and older, are happy to live in squatter houses and neighbourhoods, those who have a job and plan to marry and start a new family often prefer to live in the apartment[52]. Apart from that, although many respondents stated that they like to live in the squatters, they sometimes frankly, sometimes implicitly predicated that squatter housing has come to an end. Most squatter houses, which used to be flimsy structures due to being constructed in a short time (some of them literally built over-night) with limited resources fifty or sixty years ago and used to suffer a lack of services, utilities and infrastructure, have been reinforced, improved, enlarged or extended over the years by the dwellers without any state support or credit for upgrading.

Within this period, squatter housing has provided great benefits and flexibility for these dwellers. While some of them were meeting the housing need in time by building additional housing units, some had added storeys to sell or rent. Although the transactions in the informal land and housing market was not scrutinized and regulated at the beginning of the migration flows, thanks to several amnesty laws, some squatter dwellers, by paying charges, fees and taxes, had obtained secure property rights. Thus, with the regulations in the tenure system, the cleavages in squatter dwellers gained a new dimension. Additional to the former divisions based on identity and communal ties, the separations based on the land title system come to the fore, mainly during the planning interventions depending on the urban transformation processes. Although few achieved holding title deeds after spatial planning and land development activities, variations in tenure structure played a critical role in the redevelopment processes in the form of urban renewal projects or a 'build and sell' system. Parallel to the city-wide spatial transformation, the increasingly increasing pace of urban renewal projects convinced dwellers that the squatter's time was up.

To put it bluntly, resistance to change is an ideologically loaded discursive formation that denigrates squatter dwellers and their socio-spatial settings. Under the national-scale challenging vicissitudes and ruptures such as military coups, macroeconomic policy and program shifts, they have been gradually experiencing the change, and they have been trying to adopt the evolving setting in urban space thanks to their historically accumulated dispositions. On the one hand, these are semi-closed communities when their interaction with the "others" and "strangers" are considered. The closeness that strengthens the solidarity networks (or vice-versa) in this setting has played a critical role while establishing a self-sufficient structure in the neighbourhoods. Most of the squatter dwellers who want to take part in the labour market have to stand in solidarity. This form of relationship established by the contribution of sociocultural dispositions has created conservative attitudes towards the "city life" and conservative opinions about the "change" for some dwellers. On the other hand, the solidarity ties and tacit

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[52] It should be noted here that this and many other patterns of attitudes and behaviors have undergone serious changes with urban transformation intervention. This change, which constitutes the main theme of this study, will be explained in detail in the following episodes.

and lay knowledge are not sufficient for the reproduction of squatter dwellers' labour-power. The squatter population is part of the city. And the urban space has been unceasingly changing and transforming. Therefore, squatter dwellers have had to experience the rural, urban and hybrid life forms and settings at the same time. Squatter neighbourhoods are the space and place of articulation. In this sense, it should also be noted that these set of practices and positionings have created time to time pragmatic relations time to time conflicts with the state. In a nutshell, pursuing opportunities created in an urban setting does not mean a complete break from rural practices for most squatter dwellers.

They have enjoyed the agrarian forms in the urban settings. However, this gradually changing setting is subverted by a spatial intervention called "urban renewal". A slow pace of transformation turned into a total annihilation of the relatively self-regulated niche in the city by this "modernization" project. This spatial transformation as a formative intervention redefines the lives and practices of the squatter dwellers and enhances their integration into market relations and dynamics. In the sections to come, this process is revealed while detailing the story of this transformation by adhering to the unity of empirical, actual and real layers.

The rapid population growth ended up squatting on vacant either state-owned or privately owned lands. As the negative attitudes towards the newcomers or so-called "occupiers" or "encroachers" have prevailed, the relationship between squatters and the state has been redefined in a pragmatic way. Besides the critical role that they play in the local and national economy, they became one of the critical actors in politics. The state that neither provided adequate housing nor guaranteed property rights against the "invasion" of squatters opted for legalizing informal settlements to take political support through building amnesties[53].

> The amnesty represented a negotiated settlement; ending the conflict between 'illegal settlers' and the state had significant repercussions on property ownership, transferring a sizeable amount of public land to *gecekondu* dwellers. Since 1950, eleven construction amnesties (*imar affi*) have been pronounced across Turkey, mostly during the days preceding elections (Pérouse, 2012, p. 291).

Several building amnesty laws in Turkey legalized the squatter settlements that mushroomed around large cities; however, these did not bring smooth transitions from illegality to legality and distribute remarkable urban rent that made all squatter dwellers contented. While some could not benefit from these amnesties due to not covering the costs, some of them could not overcome the obstacles of the public authority. An interviewee (I4) who has been living for 35 years in the Derbent neighbourhood reported:

> I bought the treasury land in 1985 from a man. After I had built the squatter, I registered with the municipality and paid all kinds of taxes. The state provided electricity and water services as well. I also footed the bills regularly. I applied at least ten times to get a title deed or tapu-tahsis document, but they did not give it to me. Many of them began to hold a legal record after amnesties, but I could not.

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[53] For the legal regulations on "illegal settlements in Turkey" since the late 1940s, please see Balaban (2019).

They didn't give it to me because of several prohibitions that I still do not understand.

Another squatter dweller (I5) who still has no legal record stated as such:

> Building squatters was always prohibited, but the state turned a blind eye to them. Then there were amnesties. In the time of Turgut Özal, amnesty laws had been heralded as a panacea for all squatting problems. Actually, through the "certified bureau" people bought their own land in which they had already lived. At that time, we applied to the municipality, directorate of finance, land registry office, etc., but we could not get the title deed. Now I don't remember the reason, but there were six or seven households like us who couldn't benefit from the amnesties and hold any legal rights.

On the other hand, while many squatters gained legal status as the result of amnesties, they dealt with strict procedures and adopted various strategies. A man (I6) detailed this process:

> Then in 1972, while my father was working at the factory, the Ministry declared that land plots would be allocated to those with children. My father also participated in the draw, and he found a chance to become an owner of a land plot in Keçiören. But to become eligible to hold this land, there should be no already registered land or real estate owned by the person. But my father had already registered the land plot in Dutluk. While he had been thinking about how to deal with it, he decided to hand over the land plot in Dutluk to the children. He transferred the title deed of the land to us, three brothers, in 1972, to get the land plot given by the state in Keçiören. I am still keeping all these files. When my father dealt with all these things, I was 15 or16 years old. The receipts of the taxes that I paid for is remaining.

> Then, in 1984, Özal (Prime Minister at the time) issued an amnesty law regarding illegal buildings mainly for squatters. Based on that amnesty law, we received the tapu-tahsis document. In fact, it is the same situation as it is seen in the "zoning peace" implementation of today; there is no difference between them. Then they received 2000 TL from us. The logic is the same as today. At that time, lands were measured by "certified bureau" just established for this task. We paid money to the bureau as well. Actually, my father did since we had not dealt with these kinds of issues at that time. All these taxes, documents, ... I am still holding them. So we did not get the land for free as most people think.

Similarly, another interviewee (I7), reacting to the fact that they are regarded as "free-riders", expressed the complicated procedures she made in order to gain legal status as follows:

> We also paid extra for occupying land even though we hold tapu-tahsis document through the 90s. I struggled for that as well. I did not live on this land for free. People say "You have occupied the land of the state, you are a free-rider". I paid a lot of money several times. The state received money which is under the name of "ecrimisil" in advance as land rent. They demanded two times. The first one covers the years between 1991 and 1999. And the second one covers between 1999 and 2008. But for the second time, I objected. I attached the receipt of the previous payment to my petition. They sent me an answer stating that my claim

would be examined, but there has been no response since then. Thus, I realized that they gave up. Otherwise, they would get an extra 6000 TL from me.

The assertions during the field research indicated that some squatter dwellers become legally more powerful thanks to building amnesties in the urban housing market. However, while some of them partially enjoyed it, some were excluded or could not be a part of this process due to several reasons. Moreover, the problems regarding legal ambiguities and uncertainties have not been solved. During a focus group interview, two relative interviewees stated:

> I8: We used to have two squatters and 235 square meters of land on which they are located. So we had two houses and a vast garden. But only 36 square meters of the land was registered.

> I9: In the past, the state has never addressed these issues. No one interferes because people regularly paid their taxes, electricity, and water bills. They enclosed a reasonable size garden for their squatters. At that time, they did not feel the need to make a proper application. For example, my grandfather received the deed allocation document by chance. We could not have had anything in the housing program unless he acquired that document.

As it is seen, in the eyes of the state, some of the "occupiers" who could fulfil the requirements and make payments to the public authority based on the appraised value became formal property owners who had informally become actors of the urban land market. Thanks to rehabilitation plans and improvement plans[54], the value of their property has been significantly appreciated. As Uzun (2019, p. 158) indicated, "[i]mprovement plans can be considered as a transformation model for squatter neighbourhoods which is realized through the market mechanism." Parallel to these changes comprising the relation between use-value and exchange-value, the expectations of the squatter dwellers have dramatically changed under these interventions. Along with the distribution of property rights and land development, a spatial transformation has been obtained at a different pace since the 1980s; however, some places in which half of the Mamak population lives have experienced the "non-transformation" instead.

A squatter dweller (I10)who spent his last 50 years in Dutluk Neighbourhood stated regarding the failure of urban transformation as such:

> Rehabilitation and development plans were also made in the 1990s, but the squatters did not turn into apartment houses. Contractors did not show interest because the rent was low. Only two apartments were built in Dutluk, but I do not know if they were on the developed land or illegally constructed. Half of the squatter dwellers in Dutluk have a title deed, and some have tapu-tahsis document. This is also a reason behind the non-transformation since tapu-tahsis is a valuable document for neither squatter owners nor contractors. Moreover, many occupiers have nothing other than electricity and water bills as legal documents. Contractors do not want to deal with legal issues.

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[54] Law No. 2981 while legalizing informal squatter areas, gave way to renewal through improvement plans in 1984.

Against the successive spatial interventions of local governments to transform these squatters into apartment buildings, the spatial transformation has not been realized besides the limited capital flow due to several other problems encountered in the size of parcels, property relations, topography, location, and development rights (Tuçaltan, 2008). Moreover, in addition to topographical constraints, locational disadvantages in terms of investments and externalities, complex property relations, Somalı (2013, 168) states that "pragmatic conflict resolution methods, discourse-driven expectations and the high level of awareness of local people" play a critical role in dynamics of non-transformation. On the other hand, according to Yılmaz (2011), the urban transformation pace of and place in Mamak varies regarding the power relations among property owners, interest groups, and local authorities. It bears noting that the three main factors, namely land rent, power structure, and tenure, indicated to identify the form of interventions in urban renewal or redevelopment processes at the beginning of this section are the concise version of the propounded dynamics for non-transformation. These factors also determine the pace of transformation.

In a nutshell, the market value of a house is mainly dependent on the price of the concrete materials that constitute the whole interior and exterior of the structure and the price of the underlying land that is valued through a wide array of factors from perceptions to spatial plans, private and public services to topography and so on. Land rent, therefore, is socially constructed on the basis of interventions of the public authority shaped with respect to the power relations in the society.

When we look at the difference between potential land rent and actual land rent, which is conceptualized as the "rent gap" by Smith (1979, p. 545; 1982, p. 149; 1987, p. 462), is relatively small, particularly in some squatter neighbourhoods of Mamak where the topography is steep and rough, tenure is uncertain, and residents are disorganized, economically and politically powerless. In this sense, after multiple and successive interventions that failed to pave the way for market-led urban transformation, the local authorities, by putting aside both rehabilitation and improvement plans, implemented urban renewal projects in the non-transformed squatter neighbourhoods.

4.3.1. Squatter Setting Just Before the Urban Renewal

Under these circumstances, the demographics of 7 neighbourhoods that fall mostly into squatter neighbourhood categories will be elaborated to understand the living conditions of squatter dwellers. Additionally, the field research findings, where necessary, will be employed for the purpose of fleshing out the data that falls short of clarifying the concrete conditions of the squatters' lives.

The last population census that comprises detailed indicators was held in 2000. Although these data were collected approximately 20 years ago, since the project had been initiated in 2005 and the dwellers had had to leave the neighbourhoods, as the dearth of data is forming a significant challenge, these could be the last comprehensive and meaningful statistics available in the Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI) to make some inferences and evaluations about the population of the intervened area. Moreover, even if it is very limited, the data accessible from the 2023 Plan Report published in 2006 by the Development and City Planning Department of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality on these neighbourhoods is employed to make estimations about the field.

Population census indicated that in these seven neighbourhoods, the total number of households was 11013, and the total population was 45490 in 2000. It is also seen that the number of women is quite close to the number of men. It should be noted that as of 2000, more than 65% of the total population is between the ages of 15 and 64, which is defined as the working-age population (Figure 51). On the one hand, the elderly people who are considered to be out of active labour-power are not many (5%)[55]; on the other hand, the rate of children in the whole population is around 30%. Considering that the population growth rate has not changed dramatically during the 2000s and the life expectancy has increased in recent years, the population of the neighbourhoods consists of people who migrated from rural to urban areas between 1950 and 1980, and their next generations were born in urban areas.
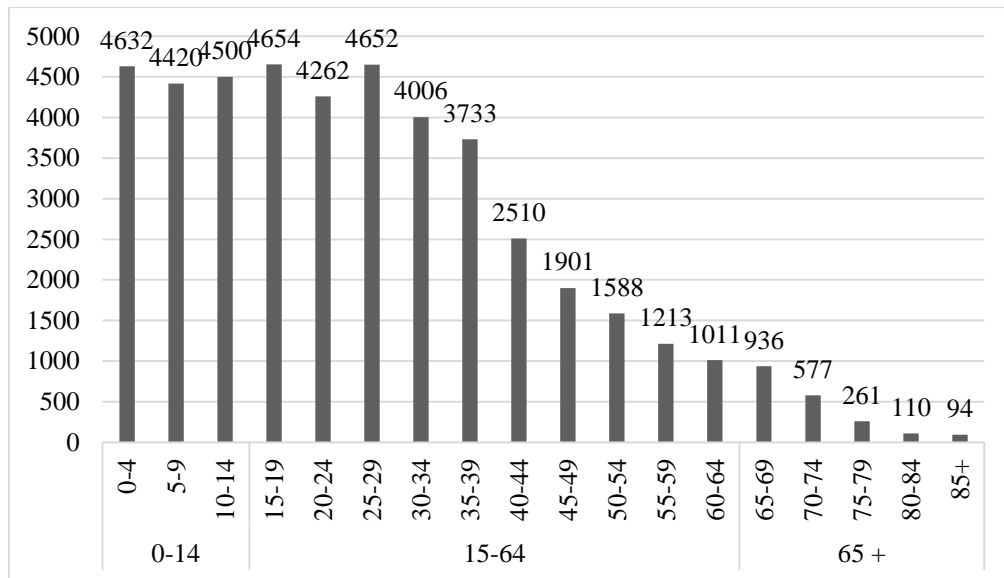
Figure 51. Distribution of Population by Age Groups
Source: 2000 Population Census (TSI)

The data about birthplaces of the population point out that more than half of the residents in these neighbourhoods were born in Ankara, while the rest are mostly from cities located in the eastern part of the country such as Çorum, Çankırı, Yozgat, Kırıkkale, Kırşehir, Ardahan. It is very likely to see in the field that pioneer migrants chose to settle down first available and vacant land that they come across in the urban areas. Thanks to the gradual migration, instead of domination of one group in a neighbourhood, there occurred mostly clusters or niches regarding ethnic, religious sects and/or hometowns of the migrants. Although the residents in the field mostly claimed that these features did not play a critical role while determining the place of living, it is seen that especially the pioneers chose to build their houses on the steep land at a certain distance away from "others' structures".

Through chain migration, the followers who are mostly dependent on the familiar pioneers opt to live close to these people. Therefore, squatter houses mostly grew in oil stain form in these neighbourhoods. The voting behaviour is also significant to understand the existence of cleavages among dwellers. Although they fall into the

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[55] When these numbers are projected to the present day, the numbers are most probably be higher.

same class, the results of the local elections held in 2009 and 2014 clearly point out that rather than the dominance of one political party or ideology, the squatter dwellers have mainly voted for ideologically diverse political parties[56] (Figure 52).
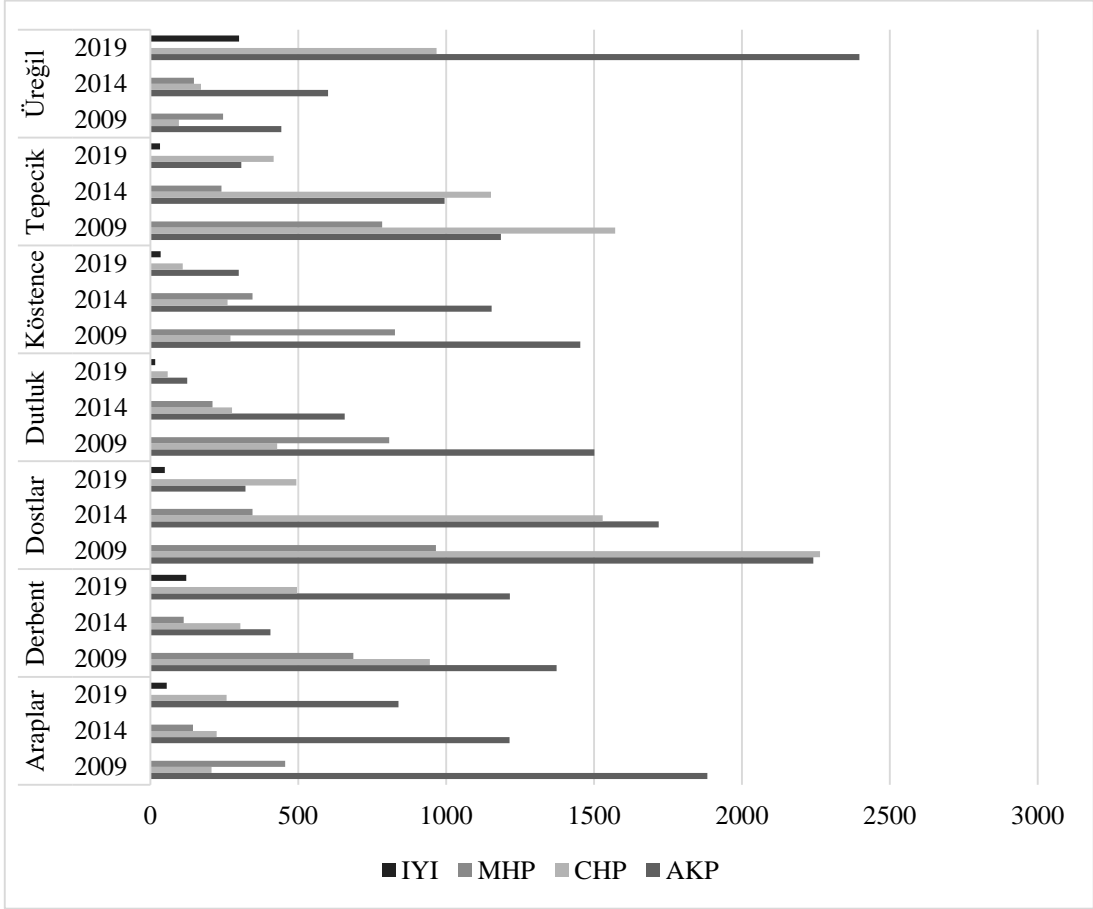
Figure 52. Local Elections (Municipal Council) Results in 2009, 2014 and 2019[57]
Source: Turkish Statistical Institute

Many squatter dwellers said that even though the ideological collision had been explicit in the 1960s and 1970s among neighbours after the 1980 coup d'état, de-politicisation was initiated to suppress revolutionary, class-based aspirations while it gave rise to the strong conservative-nationalist tendencies and identity-based politics

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[56] Although it is difficult to make clear cut distinctions between these political parties' origin, transformation and ideological stance, it would not be wrong to say that these are catch-all, centrist political parties. However, it should be noted that Republican People's Party (CHP) is situated on the left side of the political spectrum, while Justice and Development Party (AKP) and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) are on the opposite side.

[57] MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), AKP (Justice and Development Party), CHP (Republican People's Party), IYI (IYI Party). Since AKP and MHP acted together in the 2019 local elections, it could be considered that most of the MHP voters voted for the candidates of AKP in Mamak. As a reaction to the close relations between AKP and MHP that prevailed in the second half of the 2010s, IYI Party, leaning on Turkish Nationalism and aiming at a return to democratic parliamentarism in line with the founding fathers of the Republic, established in 2017 and managed to get a considerable vote after the leading parties in these neighbourhoods.

in the social and political space. Under these conditions, political polarization had become less visible in the hustle and bustle of everyday life.

As the household size of Ankara was 3,8 at the beginning of the 2000s, the average in these seven neighbourhoods was slightly above it (Figure 53). Moreover, as can be seen, the population size and household size of these neighbourhoods have remained fairly constant before the project. Since Üreğil Neighbourhood is flat and smooth and used to be less populated as well compared to other neighbourhoods, it was chosen to initiate the project in. A municipal servant who is in charge of organizing the renewal project in the field stated that due to topography, land tenure structure and number of squatters, Üreğil was the most convenient neighbourhood to start the construction, which is vital in renewal projects regarding the first impression in the eyes of squatter dwellers. Speaking of Üreğil, on the other hand, there are some rumours raised about why it was selected as the first stage of the project. According to an estate agent, before the declaration of the renewal project, when the prices of lands and squatters had been very low, some decision-makers, takers and their associates who already had information about the project had bought many properties at low prices at Üreğil on the sly both to make money and to speed up the process in the course of time. Whether the rumours raised by many throughout the field research are true or not regarding favouritism and rent-seeking activities, it is understood that just before the project, the inhabitants were faced with an increase in transactions that increased the land prices. This point is discussed in detail later while focussing on (re)valuation and dispossession dynamics of the project.

	ARAPLAR	DERBENT	DOSTLAR	DUTLUK	KÖSTENCE	TEPECİK	ÜREĞİL	Average
Number of Households (2000)	641	2754	2566	1388	1353	1772	539	1573,3
Number of Households (2006)	636	2777	2635	1384	1342	1763	544	1582,7
Population (2000)	2633	11149	10960	5681	5817	6987	2263	6498,6
Population (2006)	2612	11245	11250	5660	5769	6946	2283	6537,9
Household Size (2000)	4,1	4,0	4,3	4,1	4,3	3,9	4,2	4,1
Household Size (2006)	4,11	4,05	4,27	4,09	4,3	3,94	4,2	4,1

Figure 53. Number of Households and Population Size in Seven Squatter Neighbourhoods

Source: 2000 Population Census (TSI) & Development and City Planning Department of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2023 Plan Report, 2006, p. 631

Due to one or two storey squatters that have gardens or open outside spaces, the density in squatter areas is very low when compared to mostly three or four-storey built-up areas in the same neighbourhoods and when compared to high-rise residential buildings in the mass housing sites that are offered to squatter dwellers for living regarding the urban renewal project (Figure 54). Accordingly, it can be inferred that renewal brings more interaction and leads to a possible perception of intrusion due to the dispositions that are historically constituted in a Bourdieusian sense. We will return to this point later while discussing the feelings and experiences of interviewees on their new environment that supersedes the squatter settlements.

Even though, as it is stated above, these neighbourhoods used to be dominated by squatters at the beginning of the 2000s, the population size of the built-up areas in these neighbourhoods, except Dostlar and Üreğil Neighbourhoods, indicates a gradually continuing urban renewal depending on market-led transformation. Therefore, instead of non-transformation, a transformation process at a snail's pace is more convenient for these neighbourhoods regarding municipal level rehabilitation plans.

	ARAP LAR	DERB ENT	DOSTL AR	DUTL UK	KÖSTE NCE	TEPEC İK	ÜREĞİ L	Averag e
# of Squatter	501	2050	2634	782	1194	1561	338	1294,3
Squatter Population	2058	8299	11250	3201	5133	6155	1419	5359,3
Built-up Area Population	554	2945	0	2460	636	791	0	1055,1
Population Density in the Squatter Areas (per ha)	82	81	92	82	86	88	84	85,0
Population Density in the Built-up Areas (per ha)	346	335	0	296	303	247	0	218,1

Figure 54. Number of Squatters, Population Size by Housing Type & Population Density by Housing Type of Seven Neighbourhoods of Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project

Source: Development and City Planning Department of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2023 Plan Report, 2006, p. 631

Regardless of size and quality, the number of rooms is a significant indicator in terms of the features of the dwellings that the residents of the squatter houses may seek in case of changing residence. According to 2000 Population Census data (Figure 55), while most houses have three or more rooms, the household size is identified as slightly above four. However, it can also be inferred from the same data that % 35 of the households whose size is five or above five lack sufficient rooms. Therefore, although during the field study, while sharing their life stories, many respondents

stated that they had solved the problem of housing regarding the expanding household size for both themselves and their relatives by building new additions to their squatters, the data indicates that this situation is not as prevalent as it is thought at least in the 2000s. Under these conditions, it is certain that the limited and defined living conditions of apartment housing, compared to squatters' living conditions, the squatter dwellers of this size that lose their housing resilience inevitably fall apart.
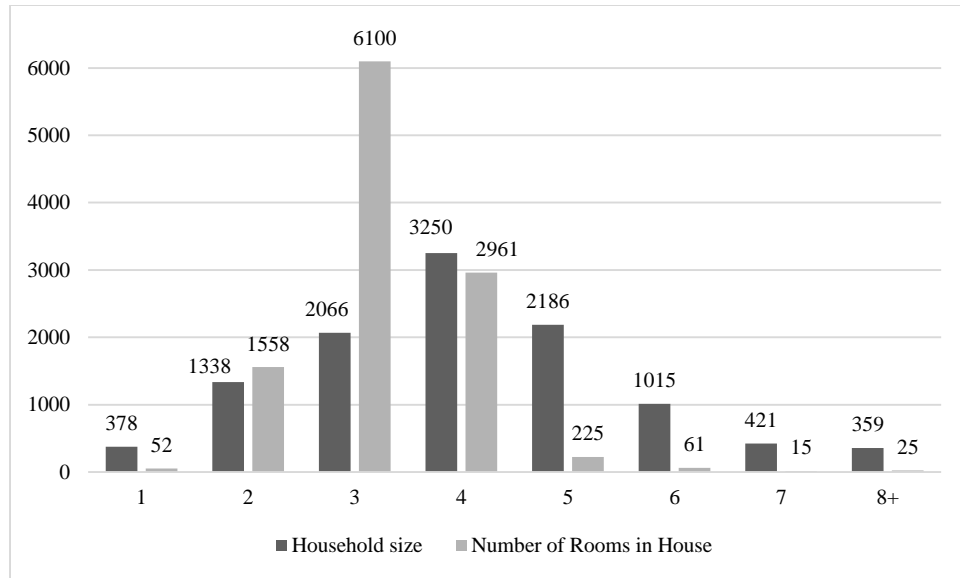
Figure 55. Household Size and Number of Rooms in House
Source: 2000 Population Census (TurkStat)

When we look at the housing tenure status in these neighbourhoods, it is observed on the one hand that two-thirds of the households reside in their own houses (Figure 56). On the other hand, a considerable number of households are registered as tenants according to census data. Even though we will see in detail in the pages to come while introducing the code of practice for Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project, it should be noted at this point that tenants are not considered among the right holders, and they are absolutely excluded from the project as well. In other words, they would be intentionally or not displaced from the field unless they rent or buy apartment houses after the houses are built and distributed to the owners. In any way, this makes the destiny of this group uncertain in terms of housing mobility. One last thing to remark about the housing tenure status is that the field research indicated that due to the worsening conditions in neighbourhoods regarding the demolitions, parallel to decreasing rental rates, the rate of tenants is increasing. These are mostly the underclass people opting for living in these houses until the owner approves the project and the structure is torn down.
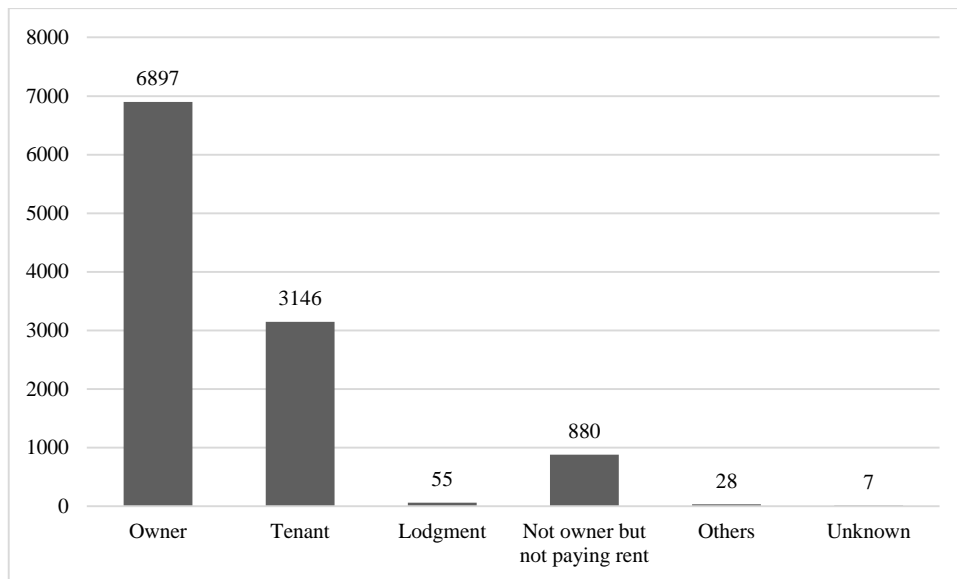
Figure 56. Housing Tenure Status
Source: 2000 Population Census (TurkStat)

Another striking feature of these squatter neighbourhoods is related to the conditions of the houses. It would be inappropriate to use the term slum or even squatter for identifying these structures. In this study, the term squatter, despite its derogatory connotations, is used to indicate that these structures are informal, unplanned and unauthorised urban settlements that were seen as temporary structures at the beginning; nevertheless, most of these structures became legal through amnesty laws, have been fortified, have gained access to basic infrastructure facilities and public services and became well equipped in the course of time.

Most of the time, urban renewal projects have been legitimized by the claim that they are carried out in obsolete, blighted and deteriorated housing areas in which dwellers live in poor conditions. This could be the case, especially for the slums of the periphery world countries[58] in Africa (Dagdeviren & Robertson, 2011), Asia (Murthy, 2012; Krishna et al., 2014) and Latin America (Galiani & et al.). In Latin America, for instance, "[d]ue to their poor sanitary conditions, slums and tenement houses were declared hazardous for public health, thus justifying forced evictions, often in association with modernizing and/or cosmetic urban reform plans" (Smolka & Larangeira, 2012, p. 101). Although a similar discourse is adopted in Turkey, this is not frequently the case for Turkey.

Most of the squatter dwellers have adequate access to basic amenities such as safe water, electricity and sanitation. These are not the poor and precarious structures of the 1950s and 1960s anymore. The data (Figure 57) indicates that almost all the houses in these neighbourhoods are sufficiently well equipped to meet the basic needs of dwellers. The life stories told by elderly respondents who have lived for a long time in these neighbourhoods indicated that although the squatters were initially built for the problem of housing in the urban space, many renovations, maintenance and additions were made for greater housing satisfaction through the years. Moreover, before these

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[58] For detailed analysis see Davis (2006).

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settlements were legalised by several amnesty laws in the 1980s, public infrastructure and services had been either already provided by the political authorities due to the voting power of squatter dwellers or had been acquired by the local people's collective work.
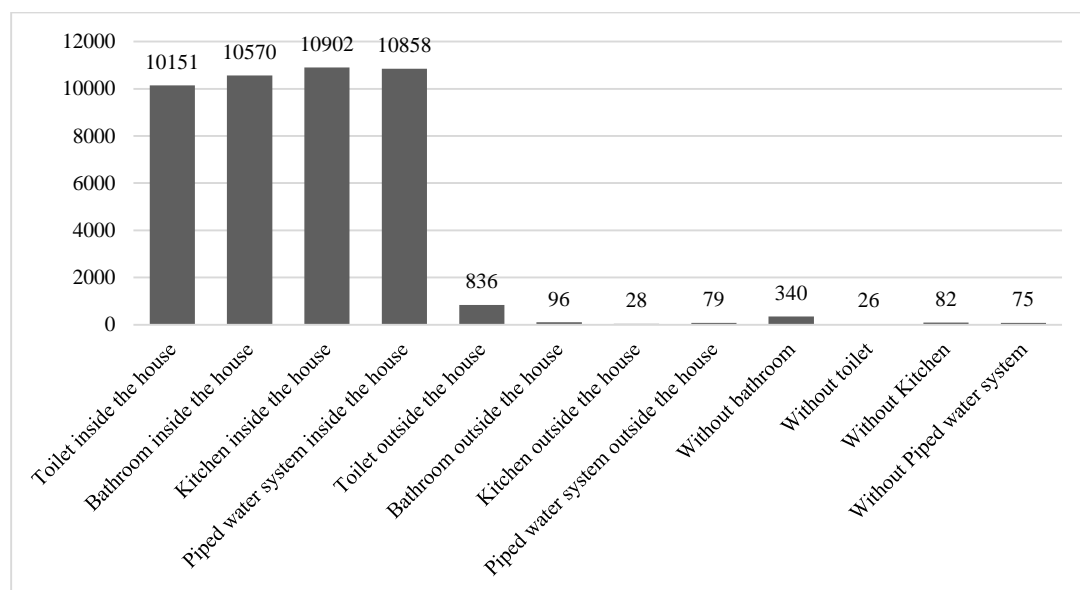
Figure 57. Housing Satisfaction
Source: 2000 Population Census (TurkStat)

Therefore, considering the observations made during the field research and the census data, it can be said that the squatter dwellers are likely to be satisfied with the housing conditions if some grumbles stemming from the steep location of the houses are set aside. For this very reason, most of the squatter areas in Turkey, like the neighbourhoods of Yeni Mamak Urban Urban Renewal Project, are neither considered slum areas or shanty towns nor stigmatised as inadequate housing. On the contrary, many squatters in the field are better in terms of "spatial quality"[59] compared to both middle-class apartments and detached houses in the suburbs.

To gain a profound understanding of the condition of the working class in these neighbourhoods and particularly their economic and social capital, the data in Figure 58 is quite revealing.

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[59] In this study, "spatial quality" is defined as the enabling capacity of spatial setting regarding the social reproduction.

Reasons of not being in labour force
- Other — 21, 168
- Property Income Earner (Rentier) — 37, 111
- Retired — 205, 2312
- Housewife — 12541
- Student — 2052, 2414
- Not seeking a job, but available to start — 298, 557

Labour Force Status by Gender
- Not in Labour Force — 5562, 15154
- Unemployed Labour Force — 682, 1652
- Employed Labour Force — 1464, 9784

Education Attainment by Gender
- Higher Education — 401, 630
- High School or Equivalent — 1640, 2457
- Less than high school — 9893, 10774
- Literate with no degree — 4380, 4093
- Illeterate — 652, 3036
- Literate — 16854, 19060

Main Occupation
- Without an occupation — 14707, 4446
- Workers not classified by occupation — 1, 8
- Nonagricultural production and related workers,… — 927, 6886
- Agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry workers,… — 14, 289
- Service workers — 320, 1979
- Commercial and sales workers — 146, 884
- Clerical and related workers — 710, 1313
- Administrative and managerial workers — 5, 115
- Scientific, technical professional and related workers — 471, 1078

Occupation
- Workers not classified by occupation — 0, 7
- Nonagricultural production and related workers,… — 160, 4349
- Agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry workers,… — 6, 109
- Service workers — 280, 2074
- Commercial and sales workers — 170, 1116
- Clerical and related workers — 581, 1271
- Administrative and managerial workers — 10, 159
- Scientific, technical professional and related workers — 257, 699

Employment Status
- Unpaid family worker — 20, 199
- Own account worker — 11, 674
- Employer — 6, 205
- Regular and casual employee — 1427, 8704
- Unknown — 0, 2

Economic Activity
- Not well defined activities — 8, 17
- Community, social and personal services — 709, 3092
- Finance, insurance, real estate and business services — 213, 828
- Transportation, storage and communication — 35, 698
- Wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants — 283, 1921
- Construction — 20, 969
- Electricity, gas, water supply — 14, 125
- Manufacturing — 173, 2068
- Mining and quarrying — 1, 25
- Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing — 8, 41

0   4000   8000   12000   16000

■ Women ■ Men

Figure 58. Education Attainment, Labour Force Status, Economic Activity,
Employment Status and Occupation by Gender
Source: 2000 Population Census (TSI)

First of all, many of the dwellers of these squatter neighbourhoods are literate; nonetheless, there are few who graduated from high school or higher education. The data also shows that while the literacy rate and educational attainment levels of women are close to men, women who are mostly housewives do not participate in the labour force. Correspondingly, those without an occupation are mostly women compared to their male counterparts. The labour market discrimination against women regarding both the conservative tendencies and the sexual division of labour plays a critical role in the participation of women in the labour force. Nonetheless, findings of the field research indicated that while most women perform unpaid labour in the home, from time to time, few women, students and retired people in low-income families may also contribute to the household budget by working informally. Women are employed as domestic workers, male students work as apprentices, and retired men hold irregular and occasional jobs.

On the other hand, the average household size, the number of people who are not in the labour force, and the number of unemployed people point out that the breadwinner, who is rarely a woman, takes care of the needs of at least two or three more people. As the considerable number of men without occupation is striking, the vast majority of the rest are non-agricultural production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers and service workers. The difference between the "main occupation" and the "occupation" signifies the existence of a flexible labour market that does not require certain expertise. These works are also mainly categorised under three economic sub-sectors: firstly, community, social and personal services; secondly, wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants; and thirdly, manufacturing. In relation to these, even though "regular and casual employment" is prevalent in terms of employment status, these are mostly low-paid jobs. Actually, these data are detailed regarding the interviews conducted in the field. For instance, an interviewee who resided in Dutluk Neighbourhood stated that 30% of the people living in his neighbourhood work in the public sector as low-level servants, and 30% of them work in the private sector covered by social security, and the rest are in temporary jobs.

Workplaces of most of the squatter dwellers are usually located close to their neighbourhoods and/or close to the transportation network. Additional to the public and private buses, the suburban train line facilitates the transportation of dwellers from the periphery to the centre. A resident stated that a small number of workers go to distant areas, such as Sincan and Eryaman, by train, while most of the employees work close to their homes or in the city centre. Indeed, when compared to other periphery neighbourhoods in Ankara, one can reach from the field to conventional city centres[60] such as Kızılay or Ulus in 15 minutes via public transportation. Furthermore, the proximity of the Siteler region in which furniture manufacturing companies and their workshops are located to the Project Area is also an influential factor in understanding why people opt to live in these neighbourhoods. The large number of people working

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[60] The term "conventional" is employed to remark that although Kızılay and Ulus are still widely accepted as the main city centres, considering their central location in the transport network, hosting many of the public institutions and their intensive commercial use, people avoid spending time in these centres unless required due to rising social polarization and spatial segregation in recent years regarding uneven development. Instead of these places, people are prefer to meet their needs in "sterile" sub-centres close to their houses or near their transportation routes.

in the manufacturing sector, according to the census data, evidently supports this argument. Moreover, many people interviewed in the field stated that both the manufacturing sector in Siteler region and the construction sector in general play a critical role to provide jobs for people with low-level educational attainment.

In the light of these data and field research findings, it is seen that these neighbourhoods host heterogeneous communities belonging to the same class. Although they share the same material interest and concrete conditions, sociocultural motives and practices, archaic rules, dispositions and forms are intermingled and play a critical role in their ideological positioning. These people, while migrating from eastern rural areas or small city centres to newly developing big cities, apparently and expectedly bring along their values, competencies, assumptions and perceptions. It is obvious that over the years, the squatter dwellers' engagement with urban life and rhythm has been dramatically changed and shaped by various dynamics since the first migration waves. However, the spatial forms and the dispositions developed in agrarian production have been decisive in big cities concomitants of capitalist development, modernization and urbanization processes in Turkey.

The lack of state intervention in housing, labour market and welfare provision increased the significance of solidarity and reciprocity against the market mechanisms in urban space. Under these conditions, on the one hand, even having progressive political attitudes does not impede the patriarchal and conservative notions and tendencies that may be oppressive and restrictive, especially for women, while the purported threats posed by others or strangers to the squatter community. Moreover, the dichotomy between spaces of production (factories, workplaces) and spaces of reproduction (home, neighbourhood, market and places of leisure) created hybrid forms in everyday life practices of squatter dwellers and hindered the integration process[61].

4.4. Stage I - Preparation: For Whom the Bell Tolls

According to Le Corbusier (1987, p. 12), known as the father of modern architecture:

> The winding road is the Pack-Donkey's Way, the straight road is man's way. The winding road is the result of happy-go-lucky heedlessness, of looseness, lack of concentration and animality. The straight road is a reaction, an action, a positive deed, the result of self-mastery. It is sane and noble. A city is a centre of intense life and effort. A heedless people, or society, or town, in which effort is relaxed and is not concentrated, quickly becomes dissipated, overcome and absorbed by a nation or a society that goes to work in a positive way and controls itself. It is in this way that cities sink to nothing and that ruling classes are overthrown.

Apparently, the squatters lacking order in terms of environment and spatial formation do not belong to Le Corbusier's (1987, p.12) "city of tomorrow". "Modern mass culture is standardized but pretends to be novel and can be contrasted with a genuine,

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[61] It should be noted at this point that the territorial divisions regarding the capitalist uneven spatial development paves the way for either concrete or invisible boundaries that impedes the penetration of and integration with "others". Therefore, the polarised and divided formation of cities raises a critical question "Whose city is it?" as Sasskie Sassen (1996) did at the end of the twentieth century. The answer of this question lies in the class struggle.

pre-capitalist or early capitalist popular or folk culture" (Abercrombie, 1990, p. 200). As an archaic form of architecture, the squatters burst on the scene in the midst of the "modernization" efforts of the Turkish Republic. They are not welcomed at any time in history, but through symbiotic and pragmatic relations, they have lasted and preserved their existence under fluctuating social tension. Cengizkan (2000, p. 132) summarizes the dominant perspective toward the squatter as such:

> In the name of modernization, traditional residences were either demolished, burned or abandoned to their fate. Even in cities, the concepts of squatter and one-storey-two-storey dwellings were discursively divided into two in terms of their relation to modernization: single-storey dwellings were like "squatters", multi-storey dwellings were preferred for their modernity. But still everyone's ideal home type was a "single storey villa"; was inaccessible; it was expensive; it could not be related to reality.

The squatter as a settlement pattern is the embodied form of imperative and despair, but sometimes also a hope (Keleş, 2014, p. 367). However, beyond its role to meet the housing need of the labour-power whilst keeping the value of reproduction low (Ersoy, 2012, p. 134), it turned into hope as well for capital to accumulate and overcome its overaccumulation concerns.

According to the 2023 Master Plan Report of Ankara (Greater Municipality of Ankara, 2006, p. 646), the estimations indicated during planning studies that almost half of the population in Mamak were still living in the squatter neighbourhoods at the beginning of the 2000s. This project, which used to be a kind of rehabilitation intervention at the beginning for a water stream called "Hatip Çayı" (Figure 59), along with the squatters surrounding it, became one of the largest urban transformation projects in the world in 2005 with the acceleration of the urban transformation pace in the country.

Figure 59. Hatip Çayı as of 2004

The mayors of both Great Municipality of Ankara ("Başkan Gökçek, Gecekondu Sakinlerinin Kura Törenine Katıldı", 2014) and Mamak Municipality ("Yeni Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi", 2015) declared Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project as the world's largest urban renewal project when they were in office (Figure 60). While promoting the project, these assertions as parts of the populist hegemonic discourse

seek legitimization, and public support plays a critical role in suppressing the people who have negative attitudes towards the implementation of the project. This is a strong message to all parties: there is no escape, and do not hesitate to resist. Therefore, coercion is a serious option that may be exercised in such a huge project unless consent is obtained.
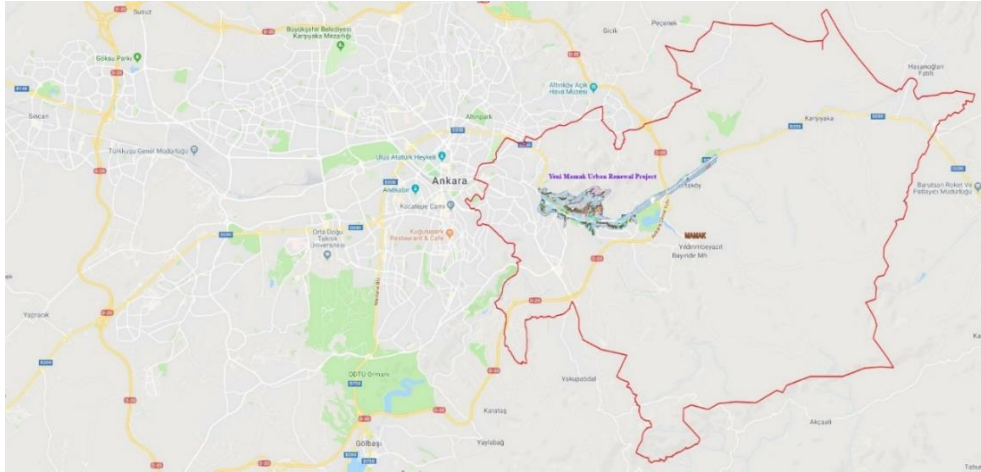
Figure 60. Mamak District and the Location of the Project

The first form of the project that just aimed to rehabilitate a river that is called Hatip Çayı, turned into one of the largest urban renewal projects in Turkey. According to data that is obtained from Mamak Municipality, approximately 50 % of the land in the project area is divided between Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Mamak Municipality and Treasury. On the remaining 50 %, title deed holders have 7000 structures, 3200 Tapu Tahsis Belgesi holders have 3200 structures, and the dwellers that are called "occupiers" due to not having any legal documents have 3800 structures. According to estimations of authority, there are approximately 20000 right holders; at the end of the project, 14000 structures will be demolished, and 52000 new houses will be built to compensate for the constructions costs on 950 hectares of land. The project that transforms 14 neighbourhoods at varying degrees is divided into 13 stages (Figure 61).

Figure 61. Administrative Boundaries of the Neighbourhoods and the Stages of the Project

Many other overarching themes, parallel to divisive strategies, have been employed throughout the project since it would have been surprising to implement such a colossal project smoothly without any dispute considering the very large size of the project area, complex property structure, the high number of people concerned and the poor rent distribution schema especially compared to market-led transformation models in the district.

> X: What would be the economic difference if this renewal project was carried out by a contractor rather than by the municipality?
>
> I11: We would definitely have more than one house.
>
> I13: I think we would have owned at least two houses.
>
> I11: For example, the squatters on the opposite side of the road were transformed by the contractors. But the number of squatters that transformed into apartments in our neighbourhood remained very low. When this was the case, the municipality took the stage for taking the land rent.
>
> I12: If a transformation had been carried out by the contractor, the houses delivered by the contractor would have been more valuable, and the contractor would have delivered everyone's home immediately. There would be no need to wait for 10 or 15 years.
>
> I11: The contractor wants to sell the houses as soon as possible to earn money.
>
> I13: If more squatters had been transformed into apartments in our neighbourhood, they would not have been able to implement an urban renewal project.
>
> I12: Since everybody's situation was economically bad, nobody took such an initiative.
>
> I13: Contractors also did not consider this place sufficient in terms of yield. With their efforts, people have demolished and rebuilt their squatters or added floors to them, but apartmentization has never taken place in our neighbourhood.

In fact, the state-led urban renewal projects as an evolving systematic intervention had broken the mould at the beginning of the 2000s after the economic crisis and related reign of a single-party government that has pursued serious policies for promoting construction activities, although the first one was put into practice at the end of the 1980s in the Dikmen Valley[62] in Ankara as well. Ankara, as the capital city of Turkey, is a pioneer city in terms of urban renewal as well.

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[62] In the Dikmen Valley Project, which is still an ongoing urban transformation project, the code of practice under different ruling parties have varied from the first day of its initiation in terms of redistribution, environmental quality, financing and participation. In this sense, the first stages of the project can be considered more successful compared to the post-2000 implementations. However, even in the first stages of the project, the social and spatial integration of squatters and new comers has emerged as a serious problem.

The city planner in Mamak Municipality described what happened from the 80s to today as follows:

> In the late 1980s and 1990s, the spatial transformation in "legalized" squatter neighbourhoods of Mamak And Ankara, in general, had been triggered by the rehabilitation plans. We may call these interventions the previous version of today's urban renewal project. By the way, especially district municipalities are still implementing renewal projects based on these plans. However, since the beginning of the 2000s, we began to implement urban renewal projects in the areas that had not been transformed via market dynamics despite rehabilitation plans. Actually, these areas have not been renewed because of several reasons: the first one is the high number of jointly owned properties, the second one is unprofitability related to restrictions on development, the third one is unsuitable land topography, and the last one is high expectations of property owners in return for their lands. For instance, a property owner, by considering market-led transformation in different parts of the district, demands three houses in return for his/her land to give his/her three descendants, while contractors can just offer one, at most two houses. However, in the 2000s, urban renewal projects that were actually based on rehabilitation plans offering less than the market have been carried out by more powerful legal and administrative instruments.

When compared to the build and sell[63] type of production, urban renewal projects, as a coercive mechanism most of the time, propose relatively small shares to the right holders. Yılmaz (2011, p. 129) indicated that the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project is one of them that transfers remarkable rent and property to the construction companies, while squatter dwellers have only a chance to take about half of what they may get through the transformation under the rehabilitation plan. Therefore, urban renewal projects are 'game changers' for the players. The city planner in Mamak Municipality stated that

> [T]he metropolitan municipality that came into play after the 2000s began to use powerful legal and administrative instruments in areas where the rehabilitation plans had not brought the redevelopment. I am talking about the urban renewal projects that replaced the development plans. Once a project is initiated, it is an irreversible process even if a court may give a stay of execution and slow the project down. These are political interventions. Moreover, Melih Gökçek[64] was too stubborn to do renewal projects in the squatter areas, especially at the city entrances. These interventions are upper-scale and political ones; for this very reason, they are more powerful when compared to district municipality's projects. These kinds of decisions that influence many people and transform substantial land have to be made by politically and administratively strong actors to solve disputes and persuade the opposing groups by hook or by crook. Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project area is one of them.

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[63] In this system, constructer mostly as a small-scale entrepreneur builds mid-rise apartment (three or four stories tall) on developed land and give some flats regarding the ground rent to the landowner as reimbursement.

[64] Melih Gökçek was the former metropolitan municipality mayor who took office for 23 years. He was elected five times as candidates of various right wing political parties. Although, he was not formally discharged from the position, he left his post in 2017 after a call from President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

It should be noted at this point that in these neighbourhoods, there is also a small number of apartment blocks that had superseded the squatters with regard to the rehabilitation plans before the project was initiated; nevertheless, these buildings are planned to be demolished within the Project as well (Figure 62).

Figure 62. Apartment Blocks and Urban Fabric in Project Area
Source: www.maps.google.com and Google Earth (The photos were taken in 2014, and the satellite images were obtained in 2006. The retrieved date is April 7, 2019)

Nine hundred fifty hectares, more than half of which are privately owned, have been involved in the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project (Table 4). This project aims to improve the "life quality" of the squatter dwellers who can meet the requirements of the project by relocating them to high rise buildings while tearing down and clearing the squatter houses that are stigmatised as "ugly", "deficient" and "den of iniquity". This pejorative (and normative) rhetoric is commonly used to legitimise almost all of the interventions in squatter areas in Turkey. The prevailing doxa already suggests that the squatter dwellers have occupied the public lands and benefitted from it free of charge while "uglifying" the city and distorting the "urban culture". Although squatter amnesties, which intensified in the 1980s and played an essential role in the distribution of urban rents, foster these thoughts, taxes, zoning practices, fines, sanctions and even bribes preventing demolitions reveal that squatters are far from being "free-riders".

It should also be noted that although it is an "exclusionary" project for several former squatter dwellers, as stated in the Project's Code of Practice at the initial stage, due to short-sighted urban policies that reduced the planning and administrative capacity of the authority, some of them are involved in the project. This and many other striking instances and features of the process is shared in the pages to come while telling the story of the project.

Table 4. Distribution of Land Holdings in Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project

Project Area	950 Ha
Registered Land	733 Ha
Public Property	301,60 Ha
Private Property	431,40 Ha

Source: Mamak Municipality

4.4.1. Code of Practice on Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project as an Incessant and Incremental Legal and Administrative Restructuring

Actually, it does not seem possible to review "a" code of practice for this Project ("Yeni Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi Uygulama Esasları"). As a common "incremental" way of policymaking and decision-making in the country, the power holders make the policies up as they go along. The process is always open to strategic manoeuvres regarding the problems encountered and negotiations that take place. Moreover, the spatial plan of the project has been the subject of litigation several times due to objections of the right holders and the Chamber of City Planners. Accordingly, administrative courts had decided to stay of execution and/or had annulled the slightly different modified version of the very same Urban Renewal Project several times[65] till Law No. 6306 was enacted.

This is, like many others in Turkey, an exclusionary project. Only those with title deed or Tapu-Tahsis Belgesi[66] have a "chance" to be involved in the project (Table 5). Therefore, so-called "occupiers"[67] who have no legal documents to claim and tenants are excluded from the project at the initial stage. Moreover, the squatter dwellers who have developed land of less than 100 m^2 and undeveloped land of less than 167 m^2 are also excluded from the project. They just get some money appraised by the municipality in return for their land, trees and debris of the structures.

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[65] Chronologically, the decisions of municipal councils were annulled by Ankara 1st Administrative Court on 27.03.2008, were decided to stay of execution by Ankara District Administrative Court on 04.06.2008, were annulled by Ankara 6th Administrative Court on 14.10.2009, were anunulled by Ankara 1st Administrative Court on 19.02.2010.

[66] "In the mid-1980s the *Tapu Tahsis Belgesi* … became a very attractive and promising 'official' tool. Established by Law No. 2981, and adopted in February 1984, it is only a 'right to occupy' which grants temporary official recognition of a fait accompli; a first step to a 'normal' land title. Although it was interpreted by common people as a promise by the public owner to sell plots, this title does not settle the issue of legalization. However, based on 'self-denunciation', this title has been perceived as a way to make an informal situation more official and stable" (Jean-François Pérouse, 2012, p. 291).

[67] Although these dwellers are treated as "formal" while paying taxes and the cost of basic municipal services, they

Table 5. Housing Program by Different Tenure Groups and Plot Size

House Size	Tenure Groups		
	Title Deed (Developed Land)	Title Deed (Undeveloped Land)	Tapu Tahsis Belgesi
80 m^2	200 m^2	333.3 m^2	320 m^2
100 m^2	250 m^2	416.6 m^2	400 m^2
120 m^2	300 m^2	500 m^2	

Source: Mamak Municipality

In the light of the terms in the Housing Program of the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project, the hypothetical distribution of housing units is specified to unfold the revaluation and distribution process exercised through the number of houses handed over (Table 6).

Table 6. Hypothetical Distribution of Housing Units by Different Tenure Groups and Plot Size

Developed Land (Title Deed) - Land size m^2	Number and size of housing unit	Undeveloped Land (Title Deed) - Land size m^2)	Number and size of housing unit	Tapu Tahsis Belgesi (Land size m^2)	Number and size of housing unit
0-100	0	0-167	0		
100-200	1*80 m^2	167-333	1*80 m^2		
200-250	1*80 m^2 or 1*120 m^2	333-416	1*80 m^2 or 1*120 m^2		
250-300	1*120 m^2	416-500	1*120 m^2	320 m^2	1*80 m^2
300-550	1*80 m^2 and 1*120	500-916	1*80 m^2 and 1*120	400 m^2	1*100 m^2

Although detailed analyses will be made in the following pages by considering the land size, landholding and tenure data, the hypothetical table unravels the (re)accumulation process that creates winners and losers. As the pie chart below shows, the municipality assessed the land tenure structure for the whole project area at the beginning of the project (Figure 63). Accordingly, it is seen that approximately one-third of the buildings are seen as illegal, so their residents will not be included in the project. When the rate of those who own Tapu Tahsis Belgesi is considered, the authority should have foreseen that at least 50% of the squatter dwellers in the area could face serious difficulties to meet the project's requirements specified in the code of practice. However, instead of paying attention to apparent conditions that may lead to possible adverse effects on the process, as in many phases, efforts were made to advance the project with incremental and palliative legal and administrative solutions.
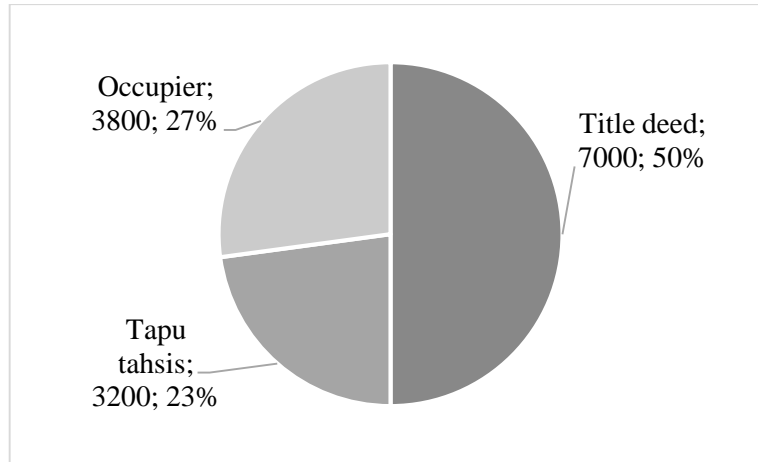
Figure 63. Number of Squatters by the Land Ownership Status (Tenure) in the Project Area

Source: Mamak Municipality

The ownership status of the squatter dwellers in the neighbourhoods where the field study was conducted is also crucial in evaluating the data obtained. In this respect, 67% of them whose information was collected have title deeds (Table 7). However, the ratio of Tapu-Tahsis Belgesi holders and so-called occupiers is relatively low.

Table 7. Land Ownership Status (Tenure) Distribution[68]

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Title deed	867	67,0	67,4	67,4
	Tapu Tahsis	286	22,1	22,2	89,7
	Occupier	133	10,3	10,3	100,0
	Total	1286	99,4	100,0	
Missing	System	8	,6		
Total		1294	100,0		

In this framework, in these neighbourhoods where the number of titleholders is high compared to others, on the one hand, severe criticisms have been expected depending on the title deed's valid legitimate ground under Turkey's legal land regime and its social recognition. On the other hand, the squatter dwellers in these areas were more likely to meet the project's requirements. When the money to be given to the squatter dwellers by the municipality depending on the appraisal regarding the structures and trees in their lands under the name of "debris cost" in these neighbourhoods are examined, it turns out that dwellers mostly get small shares (Table 8). Only about 10% of the squatter owners have a chance to get money over 100000 TL. Many of them involved in the project do not already receive the appraised money to reduce or pay off their debt to the municipality.

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[68]Data of six neighbourhoods (Derbent, Araplar, Tepecik, Dostlar, Dutluk, Üreğil).

Table 8. Appraised Value of Land, Structures (Buildings) and Trees[69]

	Turkish Lira (TL)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-9999	92	7,1	7,1	7,1
	10000-49999	731	56,5	56,5	63,6
	50000-99999	332	25,7	25,7	89,3
	100000-199999	110	8,5	8,5	97,8
	200000-299999	18	1,4	1,4	99,1
	300000-499999	9	,7	,7	99,8
	500000-...	2	,2	,2	100,0
	Total	1294	100,0	100,0	

Under these circumstances, although the municipal officers do not share the detailed property structure, the preliminary report prepared by a private company (Öncü Kentsel Dönüşüm) indicated that 1629 out of 4483 title deed holders are excluded from the project, and at least 1525 of them become indebted to own an 80 square meters house. On the other hand, at least 3961 of the 4557 Tapu Tahsis Belgesi holders are indebted to own 100 square meters. Those with inadequate land size may have a chance to own a house without debt if the appraised value of their structures' debris is sufficient to cover their debts.

A municipal officer from Ankara Municipality stated that:

> According to the decision of the Metropolitan Municipality Council, the squatter dwellers who hold title deeds and possess developed land under 100 square meters are not eligible to become a homeowner within the project unless either at least two of them agree to join their lands or one purchase the missing land proportion in which the municipality deems appropriate. Then these squatter dwellers are included in the project. When it comes to the undeveloped landowners, they should have a land size of more than 167 square meters to be in the project. Actually, this land size equals 100 square meters of developed land since forty per cent of the initial land size is transferred to the usage of the municipality for public services. Although the Tapu-Tahsis Belgesi holders may benefit from the project regardless of the land size that they possess, just one residence can be given to them in exchange for their 400 square metres of land. They have no chance of owning more than one house.

It should be noted at this point that contrary to the initial stage of the project, the Tapu-Tahsis Belgesi holders have been granted the right to get a house of 80 m² in size in return for a 320 m² land plot. Such changes have come to the fore as necessities both to make the project more attractive and to accelerate progress.

While Tapu-tahsis Belgesi holders should pay off their debts in 72 months, title deed owners should pay off their debts in 48 months unless they sign the project contract in return for more than one residence, since those who have the right to become an owner

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[69]Data of six neighbourhoods (Derbent, Araplar, Tepecik, Dostlar, Dutluk, Üreğil).

of two or more houses in return have to pay off their debts in advance. The municipal servant justified all these restrictions by blaming the dwellers as such;

> When it was heard that the project would start, the people who wanted to be entitled parcelled outlands into smaller plots. This is cunning. Therefore, we have introduced some restrictions not to include the right holders who have less than 100 m^2 of land. In this way, we found the chance to limit the number of eligible right holders and decrease the number of houses that we give correspondingly. These were necessary steps.

However, these restrictions have not limited the expansion of the supply of housing. While the decision-makers did not act generously towards those who may be entitled, the number of houses that are tried to be limited has been produced well above the need. The summary statistics for the project prepared by the Mamak Municipality in 2010 presents that the municipality necessitates 5660 residences to meet the housing need of the former squatter dwellers involved in the project (Table 9).

Table 9. Mamak Municipality's Projection as of November 2010

	Total	Number of Units	Size
Number of Squatters	13750		
Number of residences planned to be handed over	5660	725	80 m^2
		3693	100 m^2
		1002	120 m^2
Number of workplaces planned to be handed over	240	240	40 m^2

Source: Mamak Municipality

According to the "Annual Financial Reports of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara" this number is updated in its first year to 5968 (Table 10).

Table 10. Projection Changes in Housing and Workplace Units by Years

	House			Workplace	Total
	80 m^2	100 m^2	120 m^2	40 m^2	
2010	NA	NA	NA	NA	5968
2011	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
2012	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
2013	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
2014	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
2015	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
2016	1358	9092	1536	323	12309
2017	1501	9881	1161	340	13333
2018	1501	9881	1611	340	13333
2019	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Annual Financial Reports of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara between 2010 and 2018 (NA: Data Not Available)

Afterwards, from 2010 to 2018, the total number of housing and workplace units produced in the program had changed from 5968 to 13333. The reason behind the underestimation lies in the fact that the exclusionary project turned into a more inclusive one due to the exceeding housing supply. In addition, an official from the municipality interviewed during the field research stated that if necessary, the number of houses to be built could be increased to meet the costs, and this number could reach up to 20000.

In an interview at the beginning of 2020, the reason behind this dramatic change in housing and workplace projection between the years 2010 and 2016 is asked to a high-level official from the special projects and transformation department of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. The answer was quite unsatisfying. He stated that these numbers indicated the records of rights holders who were involved in the project. Additionally, he detailed that within the boundaries of the project, there are 19000 squatters. This is a figure that had not been faced before in any document or in an interview. Actually, in the 2010 Annual Financial Report of the Municipality (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2011, p. 239), it is abruptly but clearly mentioned as follows:

> The agreements with rights holders are still ongoing. It is planned to build 5968 houses and workplaces in total. Within the boundaries of this project, the number of squatters is 13750, and 3532 squatter owners have been involved in the project.

Not only changes in the code of practice of the project but also these controversial numbers are the best signifiers of how decision-makers build the project up as they go along. This short-sighted planning approach turned the process into a failure story.

Regarding the ownership status, the dwellers are paid 10% or 100% of the appraised value of their structures' and their extensions' debris and the trees in their plots. However, a lawyer who has advocated for the rights of many squatter dwellers in the region asserted as such:

> The allowance calculated with respect to these percentages is against equity, equality, and justice; since even if the differentiation in terms of the legal status of lands or plots is acceptable to determine liabilities and claims of dwellers for the pledged houses, differentiation among the values of buildings that are built on these plots are unacceptable. The money that is spent building these homes does not vary according to the legal status of the land. Moreover, this calculation is done by referring to the value of debris of the structure instead of the real (market) value of the structure, which is really higher than the municipality's appraisal.

The squatter dwellers also take part and struggle over rent distribution to maximise their "gain". However, while almost none has become successful in taking legal actions, rumours went around the neighbourhoods about the favoured title-holders who are taking advantage of having informal affiliation with the ruling party both at the national and local level. Many of those interviewed claimed that there was serious unfair treatment, especially in the appraised value of the debris of squatter and its extensions and the trees in the plots.

According to several court decisions, squatter dwellers who were not content with the appraisal of the authority sued the municipality even if they had signed the contract.

As the municipality had been sentenced to pay fines to some plaintiffs until the last two years, the higher court changed its previous attitude towards the cases of Tapu-Tahsis Belgesi holders and began to dismiss them by referring to the free will of both sides while signing the contract.

It has been repeatedly stated in the above sections that among the groups involved in the project, those who are in the most advantageous position in terms of the liabilities of the project are the titleholders. However, having a title deed does not mean that one will not struggle under heavy debt burdens or be excluded from the project, as mentioned while examining the project's code of practice.

The result of the cross-tabulation analysis to see the relationship between "total area" and "ownership status" indicated that if we set aside the amount given to squatter owners as the "appraised value" for the structure and unless they leave the project or are excluded from the project, about 80% of the 745 titleholders in our sample have to become indebted to get a house measuring 120 m^2 in size (Table 11).

Table 11. The Relation Between Total Area and Ownership Status

Case Processing Summary						
	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Total Area * Ownership status	745	57,6%	549	42,4%	1294	100,0%

Total Area * Ownership status Crosstabulation				
			Ownership status	
			Title deed	Total
Total Area (m^2)	0-199	Count	152	152
		% of Total	20,4%	20,4%
	200-249	Count	266	266
		% of Total	35,7%	35,7%
	250-299	Count	185	185
		% of Total	24,8%	24,8%
	300-499	Count	61	61
		% of Total	8,2%	8,2%
	500-...	Count	81	81
		% of Total	10,9%	10,9%
Total		Count	745	745
		% of Total	100,0%	100,0%

This rate decreases to approximately 55% for 100 m^2 and 20% for 80 m^2. Moreover, these houses do not seem appropriate at all for extended families accustomed to the relatively large area of squatters' setting, including its vast gardens.

Table 12 provides an overview of the relationship between the appraised value (total value) and ownership status. First of all, it should be noted that generally, the appraised values are often low, regardless of ownership status. It has been deemed appropriate to pay less than 50000 TL to 65% of the squatter dwellers. The Tapu-Tahsis Belgesi

holders are in a disadvantageous condition than title holders since they receive 10% of the appraised value. The number of Tapu-Tahsis Belgesi holders who may get more than 50000 TL is quite low.

Table 12. The Relationship Between Total Value and Ownership Status

Case Processing Summary						
	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Total value * Ownership status	1286	99,4%	8	0,6%	1294	100,0%

Total value * Ownership status Crosstabulation						
			Ownership status			
			Title deed	Tapu Tahsis	Occupier	Total
Total value (Grouped)	0-9999	Count	25	47	18	90
		% of Total	1,9%	3,7%	1,4%	7,0%
	10000-49999	Count	390	226	109	725
		% of Total	30,3%	17,6%	8,5%	56,4%
	50000-99999	Count	316	12	4	332
		% of Total	24,6%	0,9%	0,3%	25,8%
	100000-199999	Count	109	1	0	110
		% of Total	8,5%	0,1%	0,0%	8,6%
	200000-299999	Count	17	0	1	18
		% of Total	1,3%	0,0%	0,1%	1,4%
	300000-499999	Count	8	0	1	9
		% of Total	0,6%	0,0%	0,1%	0,7%
	500000-...	Count	2	0	0	2
		% of Total	0,2%	0,0%	0,0%	0,2%
Total		Count	867	286	133	1286
		% of Total	67,4%	22,2%	10,3%	100,0%

4.5. Stage II - Destruction: Struggling or Striving Among the Rubbles

Some squatter dwellers were involved in the early stages of the project and moved from the neighbourhood. However, some were not willing to. Although there are quite a variety of reasons, we can classify these dwellers on three seemingly different but related grounds. The first consisted of those who thought it would be costly for them to move to another place. The second were those who adopted a wait-and-see strategy due to the uncertainty of the course of the project. Third, some did not content with the project proposal and had the motivation to struggle against the authority. Non-Governmental Organizations such as Mamak Barınma Hakkı Bürosu (Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau) and Mamak Halkı Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği (Culture and Solidarity Association of People in Mamak), Ankara çağdaş Hukukçular Derneği (Ankara Contemporary Lawyer Association), Ankara Chamber of City Planners, Ankara Chamber of Doctors and political parties such Republican People's Party stood next to the squatter dwellers who had negative attitudes towards the project. However, efforts to make the voice of squatters heard in the political and social arena and defend their rights legally throughout this process have yielded limited results.

In addition to the central and local governments' legal and administrative coercive moves, the codes of the project that vary depending on the ownership structure impeded standing in solidarity, and the squatter dwellers could not act against the project together. It should also be noted that cultural and ideological divergences increase the dwellers' individualistic and entrepreneurial motivations. In this sense, while the number of people leaving the neighbourhood increased day by day, those who remained have strived to live in challenging environmental conditions. The isolation and loneliness that intensified while spreading over time have worn out those who hesitated to be involved in the project. According to the census data, the population have gradually decreased in these neighbourhoods until the houses built in the project were delivered to the new owners (Figure 64).

	1990	2000	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Araplar	2971	2599	5286	4743	4131	3685	3304	2839	2504	2125	1982	1694	1652	1751
Dutluk	6416	5601	5464	5128	4844	4543	4193	3724	2005	1332	992	564	400	381
Dostlar	9203	11021	11014	10565	10159	9153	8466	7643	6310	5449	4632	3958	2366	1533
Köstence	5955	5708	5206	5031	4794	4470	3986	3552	2982	2612	2210	1827	1200	781
Tepecik	6710	6857	6828	6455	6113	5447	4965	4438	3904	3559	3117	2778	1912	1317
Üreğil	2321	2273	2198	1466	985	812	908	1165	1466	2929	3482	5543	6137	6083
Derbent	11950	10161	10601	6276	4382	3678	2904	2017	1459	1117	956	1214	2052	2988
Zirvekent (Kusunlar)										6086	7013	7499	7363	6978

Figure 64. Population Changes in Squatter Neighbourhoods, 1990-2018
Source: TurkStat

The population has been dramatically declining between 2007 and 2018 in most of the neighbourhoods in which the demolitions and clearances took place. Once the project has begun, with the destruction of the first squatter, there is no return, whether people try to stand up to it or not. The first destruction plays an important role in spreading anxiety and threatening the solidarity of the neighbours. Many respondents stated that they were involved in the project since their neighbours had left the neighbourhood. Therefore, the people who contested the urban renewal project began to live in isolation in time. Findings of the field research have also shown that trying to live alone among the rubble is a very difficult situation to cope with (Figure 65). In a group interview with two male, middle-aged former squatter dwellers, they expressed the worsening conditions in the neighbourhood as such:

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I14: My uncle and his family had continued living there until 2009. Then when the neighbours and acquaintances began to be involved in the project, it was an absolute disgrace. My brother-in-law was among those who suffered from this mess.

X: What kind of mess are you talking about?

I15: The number of insects, pests and mice started to increase as the demolished squatter was becoming wreckages. In some places during the demolition, sewage pipes burst. Garbage collection was not carried out regularly. There were problems with lighting as well. So we had a hard time returning home from work in the evening. Municipal services began to fail. This could be done consciously to force people to involve in the project. Parallel to the decreasing population, the shops started not to bring sufficient products. Then the grocery store was also demolished within the project. We were even going to the centre of Mamak to buy bread. So, an unexpected guest means a huge problem under these conditions. If you need something urgent, it was tough to reach it. There were no neighbours around. Where could we get or find something that we need daily!

Moreover, deficient public services regarding the decreasing population and poor infrastructure regarding the ongoing destructions make the environmental situation worse. Some newspapers, such as Birgün and Evrensel several times, reported these poor and unhealthy conditions in the neighbourhoods (Zorcan, 2008; Zorcan, 2009; Sarı, 2008).

Figure 65. Squatters among the Rubble

In another focus group interview, members of a family who had lived in the squatter setting for more than 20 years drew attention to the security problems experienced in the neighbourhood after the execution of the project. They also expressed their grievances for the loss of memories and solid relationships as follows:

I16: We left the neighbourhood when there were no more favourable living conditions. Since no one stayed, we had to leave. You will either go or live in the dirt.

I17: There was not a soul around.

I18: You are walking through the rubbles while trying to go home. There is no light, nothing.

I16: Like the battlefields in Syria, it is ruined. And you can't go out at night anymore. Something can happen to you at any time. The neighbourhood was no longer a safe place.

I17: The dog comes out.

I16: Because it turned now into vacant land, people go up the hills and drink alcohol.

I17: Right, there were also drinkers. They destroyed everything. There, along with the squatters, they destroyed the memories and dreams of a generation.

I18: They ended the whole friendship and relations established throughout the years in the region.

I16: Even now, if we have a wedding or a funeral, these are the people who share our feelings. We had such close relationships, but not anymore. It is gradually decreasing.

Many other squatter dwellers concurred with the assertions about the neighbourhood decay just after the project's announcement by highlighting different dimensions. Two female interviewees in their 30s, who spent whole their lives in the squatter setting, expressed the conditions that emerged in the neighbourhood after the execution of the project as follows:

I18: I used to leave my door unlocked and ask my neighbours to watch my kids when I was away. I don't have such a chance anymore. How could it be? When I am alone in this mess, even I feel scared. We're screwed. We are not even able to do grocery shopping. We can't host our guests properly. This isn't bearable anymore. We are stuck among rubles, garbage and mice. How come an authority goes along with this!

I19: This neighbourhood isn't a liveable environment anymore. We're in fear day and night among rubles. All the neighbours are gone now. During the day, scrap dealers strive to find something in the debris. Since the neighbourhood is deserted, strangers are coming to drink alcohol after the sunset. Someone may even sneak into our house and murder us. We used to be so happy before. I used to recognize everyone in this region. But not anymore. Some of our neighbours involved in the project moved from here, but their squatters were not demolished. They rented it to Syrians, strangers, or whoever gave a satisfying amount of money. Within just a few years, the neighbourhood was turned upside down. Okay, they are implementing a project, but no one thinks about what will happen to those who stay among rubbles.

A squatter resident (I20) who had been living in the squatter neighbourhood since the age of two and had been teaching in the same area described the worsening conditions they experienced as follows:

We had to leave the neighbourhood. We didn't want that at all. We did not involve in this project voluntarily. My mother is old, and she was alone at home when we went to school. There is no one else around. For example, teachers were afraid of leaving school late. They were leaving school en masse when it got dark

early. On the other hand, there are almost no students left in the school. There were two or three students left in each grade.

Almost all of our neighbours left. The neighbourhood had turned into a place of war due to demolitions. There were illegal and unethical activities. It is impossible to preserve the public weal under these conditions.

Moreover, we have been deprived of every facility. Groceries, stores and other small businesses all closed down one by one. We are literally isolated from everything. Therefore, we were forced to become a part of the project and abandon the squatter.

Another squatter dweller (I21), who was not involved in the project and did not give up on living in the squatter until 2019, expressed his anger:

Don't let what you see deceive you. Here is not Syria. Here is Ankara's Dutluk Region. You can clearly see what the Dutluk Neighbourhood has become. May Allah punish those who caused this wreckage. Ankara's most beautiful place has been destroyed. This place was once lush. There was solidarity. Noone left to be in solidarity. They destroyed our culture. They destroyed them all. I do not want a residence in the apartment block. The municipality cheated people by giving them a rent allowance; then destroyed their beautiful houses. We want a solution for our neighbourhood. We want them to inform and update us. The psychology of the people living here has deteriorated. It is not clear when, where and how they will deliver these houses. There are a lot of problems. The economy is in dire straits. Let's see what will happen.

Since most of the studies carried out on the urban renewal projects typically focus too much on the transformation of the residents' lives and their experiences in this process, the situation of the tradesmen of the region, many of whom are also squatter residents, is overlooked. However, the tradesmen in these neighbourhoods lose not only the place they live in but also the place where they work. Even before the demolition began, many moved their shops elsewhere. In the dust and rubble of the remainings from the squatters, very few shops, primarily groceries, had remained open. One of them (I22) stated:

We are languishing in obscurity. At most, ten households remained around. They are the ones who have to because of their economic conditions. All dwellers used to be part of a big family before. Thank goodness, I used to earn my family a living. It was enough for us. Now, where can I find a place to open a shop? If I go to the centre of Mamak, the rent prices of the shops are high. However, almost no one remained here either. The remaining ones mostly buy on tick. And then there are the tenants, who live in buildings that haven't been demolished yet. One of them came to the shop this morning. He bought a cigarette and a loaf of bread but could not pay for it. I could not say anything. I know their situation, but I can't stand it any longer. So, as you can see, they made a real mess-up. We are living in agony.

Another one (I23), who has spent his whole life in the squatter setting, stated in 2015 as such:

I'm 45 years old. I've been here for 45 years. I have had a shop here for ten years. Compared to three years ago, my turnover decreased by almost 75%. But still, I am here. I will continue to be here because I was born and raised here.

There were 147 shops on this street: butcher, greengrocer, coffee, billiard room, mechanic, glazier, electrician, etc. They made their living thanks to the people in these neighbourhoods. But now the number of merchants here has decreased a lot. The number of households has also reduced a lot. These people also have to travel 3-5 kilometres to meet their needs. These are all a waste of time and money for people.

My shop is still standing because I'm not leaving. Otherwise, they would break and damage the window of my shop like many others. These are all the dirty business of Melih Gökçek. They do it to intimidate. They are trying to deter people from acting against the renewal project.

While the region was becoming desolate day by day, the people, who had strong opposition to the project and to the political figures who carried out it, had to endure these oppressive conditions. As a result, the institutionalised symbolic and physical violence made the conditions unbearable for the squatter people, who saw no other option than to stay there. It was observed in the subsequent field visits that even those who claimed to would withstand constantly increasing deprivation until the end could not make it and were displaced within a year or two.

Another source of uncertainty is whether the right holders who became indebted could manage to pay off the mortgage or not. Since most squatter dwellers' income is unpredictable and fluctuates even daily, especially the entry of young adults and women into the labour market became necessary. While house cleaning and babysitting are typical for middle-aged women, the younger members of the family who graduated from the high school generally started to work in the service sector with minimum wage. In the short interview, we had with a former squatter dweller waiting to go to work at the bus stop in the Eserkent Temporary Housing Area; she (I24) expressed the following:

My husband works at Siteler. But he doesn't have a regular job. He goes to work when they call. We need money, so I found a cleaning job. I go to work at least 3 or 4 days a week. But sometimes it's not needed, so I stay at home. The places I go are usually in Çankaya. There are a couple of houses in Etimesgut. I don't go to the homes of people I don't know. But if the homeowner I went to recommends me or the acquaintances tell me to go there, it is OK for me.

Thank God my child goes to elementary school. Otherwise, I would have to bring him to kindergarten. Some have to. Therefore, half of the money that they earn is wasted in this way. From time to time, I have to leave work early, though, so that my son would not be alone at home for a long time after school. Actually, in the squatter environment, we used to find a chance to ask our neighbours to watch out for the kids when we were away, but we all don't have such a chance here.

While there were new entrants to the labour market due to necessities, on the other hand, those already in the labour market faced losing their advantageous position in terms of access to their workplaces by moving to other parts of the city. Although the region seems located at the periphery of the city, thanks to the diverse transportation

lines and modes, squatter dwellers used to have direct access to different parts of the city. Moreover, the region's proximity to a production site like Siteler and main city centres like Kızılay and Ulus is critical for labour power in these neighbourhoods. The headman of the Derbent Neighbourhood asserted in 2013:

> Since the city is approaching us, they are trying to drive us away from the city. Derbent is 10 minutes away from Kızılay and Ulus by public bus. There is direct access to almost every district of Ankara from here. There's a commuter line as well. Moving from this environment has been difficult not only for those who work in the immediate vicinity but also for everyone who has to leave daily basis for work because anyone can go anywhere with a single means of transportation. This place may be far from some parts of the city, but the transportation lines here are various and well-developed. For this reason, especially for those who do not have a private vehicle, it has been challenging to get away from here if they have not moved to a place close to where they work.

A working former squatter dweller, who moved from the neighbourhood after the project initiation, supported these assertions. He (I25) said:

> I used to go to work by the commuter line. Sometimes, we drove to work with friends who worked in the same place as me. But now, everyone has begun to live in different locations. After I moved, I had to buy a car. It is a cheap one. But even if it is reasonable, it is very costly. But there is nothing to do. It became a must-have.

On the other hand, while some people had strived to live among the rubbles for various reasons, many former squatter dwellers involved in the project headed to different destinations to reside until their homes were handed over. Although the spatial mobility of the squatter dwellers will be discussed in detail in the following sections, what happened in the transition period is the subject of this section. One of the interviewees (I26) who had doubts about becoming a participant in the housing program as of 2013 stated:

> One of our neighbours was involved in the project and moved to another district, thinking that the rent allowance would be sufficient. I encountered him the other day, looking for a rental squatter here."How is it going?" I asked. It was tough to pay the rent for people who didn't have a regular income. People were forced to leave the neighbourhood because they thought it had become impossible to live, but some came back when they could not afford the costs. Nothing is clear, but they have no other chance. So they are trying their luck, trying to save the moment. There is nothing to do.

Another respondent (I27) explained the conditions that his family faced due to the project as follows:

> It is troublesome. Many families have been forced to be broken up. I have two children. They grew up and got married. By building additional structures, we extended the squatter and started to live together. However, we had just one title deed. Therefore, the municipality offered us just a residence in the housing program. Correspondingly, just one of us became capable of receiving the rent allowance. It was impossible to find a rental home to maintain the order that we got used to.

I know sharing a home, even if they are my closest, could be challenging, but to cut the spending at least, I asked for a two-bedroom flat at the Eserkent Mass Housing Area. But they all gave them to those who had pull with the officers or to bribers. Long story short, we fall apart. One of my children headed to Sincan. The other one moved into Mamak. He is in the immediate vicinity, but we barely see each other.

The flexible spatial formation of the shantytown contributes to the family budget and increases the solidarity both within the neighbourhood and within the family. Loss of socio-spatial relations brings loneliness and isolation for people who spend their years in this setting.

Having opposite attitudes towards the project has even led couples to break up. The woman, the owner of the structure, was involved in the project without informing her husband. Her husband became aware of this decision just before the preparations for the demolition began. Since the contract was signed, the municipality did not take a step back. The squatter has been demolished. Although the couple got together after being apart for a certain period, the husband (I28) stated the following in the interview:

It was very frustrating for me. We already had some problems between us, but I never thought that something like this could happen. I am a peddler. I was saying that we could not meet the conditions for this project. I think some neighbours also manipulated my wife.

We had a little discussion that day. Then she was involved in the project later that day. Then she stayed with her parents for a while. Then the officers cut off the electricity. I didn't understand what was happening at first. But then, when they showed the documents, I understood what was going on. I was shocked. There was nothing to do after that point. We were offended for a while, but then I compromised since there was nothing we could do. We also have a child. Now we live in Eserkent. We are waiting for the house to be built and delivered.

By the way, it would be appropriate to briefly mention Eserkent, where many former squatter dwellers temporarily have resided while paying no rental fee after being included in the project. Despite some challenging conditions, they opted to live there to reside in the region's close vicinity and benefit from some services such as natural gas and hot water free of charge. In 2011, the officer of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in charge of the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project described Eserkent as a place for those coming from squatter neighbourhoods to gain experience and adapt to the apartment lifestyle just before living in their permanent apartments. During a group meeting held in the Eserkent Temporary Mass Housing Area, the former squatter dwellers expressed their dissatisfaction as follows:

I29: God damn it. We are trying to live in a concentration camp. We are deprived of everything. We are living on the hill of nothing. We are a prisoner in an open prison. All my friends are gone. Now I am trying to spend time with people whom I do not know. They brought here everyone involved in the urban renewal projects all around Ankara. We have nothing in common. There is no coffeehouse. There are just these benches. We sit on these benches all day long.

I30: I had lived for long years in the squatter. I got really depressed when I had just come to Eserkent. I just got used to here. Moving into such a tiny house is

really depressing after living in a large house. Unless we go out to the garden, we will die of boredom.

I31: In the squatter, we were like brothers and sisters. We went to the same school at the neighbourhood. We grew up together. We stole the plums together from the neighbour's tree. We played ball on the dirt field together. Now we're here. We don't know most people. There are people from all over Ankara in the apartments here. The unrest never ends. One yells to the one at upstairs. Another one gets angry with others. There is a constant conflict. Because we are not used to it. We had lived in comfort in the squatters. Now they ended it.

I32: Since nobody knows each other properly, if you need something, you can't knock on anyone's door; you can't ask anyone for anything. If one dies at home, their body stinks. Nobody notices. Since so many people live in the same place, we do not know who is who.

It seems that even if Eserkent has become a place of transition, it has been quite challenging to accept the new conditions for the former squatter dwellers. In this sense, the period that we define as the second stage is perhaps the most mentally frustrating phase of the project for the squatter dwellers. Too many uncertainties, misinformation, rumours and speculations arose depending on the local authorities' non-decision making power. Accordingly, many of them had become isolated in this process. They strived to finish this game without taking severe damage by adopting individual tactics depending on their different forms of capital accumulation. In addition, what happened and experienced in Eserkent Temporary Housing Area sheds light on the problems that the former squatter dwellers may face when they move to their permanent apartments. The next section is the last stage, called the post-project period, in which we examine "their performance" in this game to understand "how it works" within the framework of the life course approach.

4.6. Stage III – Creation or Devastation: The Current State of Play

At the groundbreaking ceremony, Mansur Yavaş, elected in 2019 as the Mayor of Great Municipality of Ankara, avowed in 2021 that the right holders, who had not been able to get their homes for many years, had been the victims of urban renewal ("Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi ve 2021 Projelerimizin Temel Atma, Açılış ve Tanıtım Töreni", 2021). Yavaş also announced that they would plan low-rise buildings that preserve the street and neighbourhood tissue instead of the high-rise housing blocks that were built in the previous period, restricting life and "suffocating the city". His assertions look promising for the right holders awaiting progress in the project; however, the differentiation between the provided houses to the right holders at the end of the project is paving the way for uneasiness. Although they have met the exact requirements and liabilities, building quality, contractors, delivery time, structure height, and population density have varied from stage to stage. For instance, a former squatter dweller and an experienced builder who began to reside at the blocks in Derbent stated:

X: So, what can you say about the quality of buildings and residences as a person working in the construction sector?

I16: The material quality is good, but the craftsmanship is quite low quality. There are inevitably differences between the housing sites, as different contractors build the structures. To prevent such differences, either very good control is required or all buildings have to be built by the same contractor.

This is the case also mainly due to the size of the project area. It is unmanageable. The division of such a large area into stages did not significantly contribute to accelerating the process. Starting construction activities entail the complete clearance of the structures in each location. Conversely, contracts indicating the involvement in the project were signed even with the right holders who reside in the final stages of the project. Neither right holders nor decision-makers and officers in charge have the slightest idea of when the construction would be carried out and the houses would be delivered in these final stages.

The contract signed between the Metropolitan Municipality and the right holder transfers the property right of the squatter to the local administration. Then the squatter dweller may opt for either living there until their house is delivered or moving somewhere else by receiving a rent allowance. However, even in neighbourhoods such as Üreğil, Derbent and Araplar, where the construction activities initially took place, the houses' delivery took between 5 and 10 years. Therefore, the future of the project is unknown since a time limit or deadline is not determined in the contract made with the local government.

Depending on this uncertainty, "the living neighbourhoods" are becoming obsolete and deteriorated spaces. Voluntarily or involuntarily, depending on their forms of capital and dispositions, the squatter dwellers moved to several locations. Thus, various spatial mobility patterns emerged from their housing choices. In this regard, while waiting for the delivery of the houses, some opted to receive a rent allowance and chose to live in a location of their choice. Conversely, for some right holders, even though the residences are small in size, the access is problematic, the population density is high, and serious conflicts depending mainly on the cultural diversity arise between former squatter dwellers who come from different renewal project areas, Eserkent Temporary Housing Area has become a prominent option. This is mainly because of the opportunities it offers such as a family centre, primary school, free of charge accommodation and heating.

It should be noted that especially the last two are decisive. Although few, some rights holders have moved to the apartments they already owned before the project. These are generally squatter dwellers who are relatively prosperous and do not want to sever their ties with the squatter setting, but who also want to benefit from the comfort of the apartment life, especially in winter seasons since they are getting older. Along with the project, while squatters were torn down, these people were involved in the project instead of living among the rubbles. Thus, they headed to apartments that they alternatively used as secondary residences, which were transformed via rehabilitation plans in the 90s and 2000s, especially located in the immediate vicinity of the project area.

The data derived from the "Annual Financial Reports of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality indicated a significant difference between the number of agreements reached and the demolished squatters. This gap has not closed over the years, and no

progress has been observed in recent years in parallel with the slowdown in the project (Figure 66). These data and field research findings suggest that the steady increase beginning from 2010 in the number of agreements and the number of demolished squatters arose due to the increasing delivery of the houses in the first stages and the worsening conditions in the neighbourhoods. While the squatter neighbourhoods were transforming into uninhabitable places, more squatter dwellers became willing to involve in the project when they saw the houses were built and the progress was made. Moreover, the local and presidential elections held in 2014 kept the existing political structure in power. This has been an important sign that the process is now irreversible, especially for those who have a negative attitude towards the project. However, with the deepening economic downturn in 2018 and afterwards, the progress has almost halted, especially in the subsequent project stages where the construction had not even started.

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
# of Aggrements Reached	3532	4323	5500	6600	7976	8715	9309	10198	10198
# of Demolished Squatters		2115	2200	2960	3512	4681	5765	7186	7186
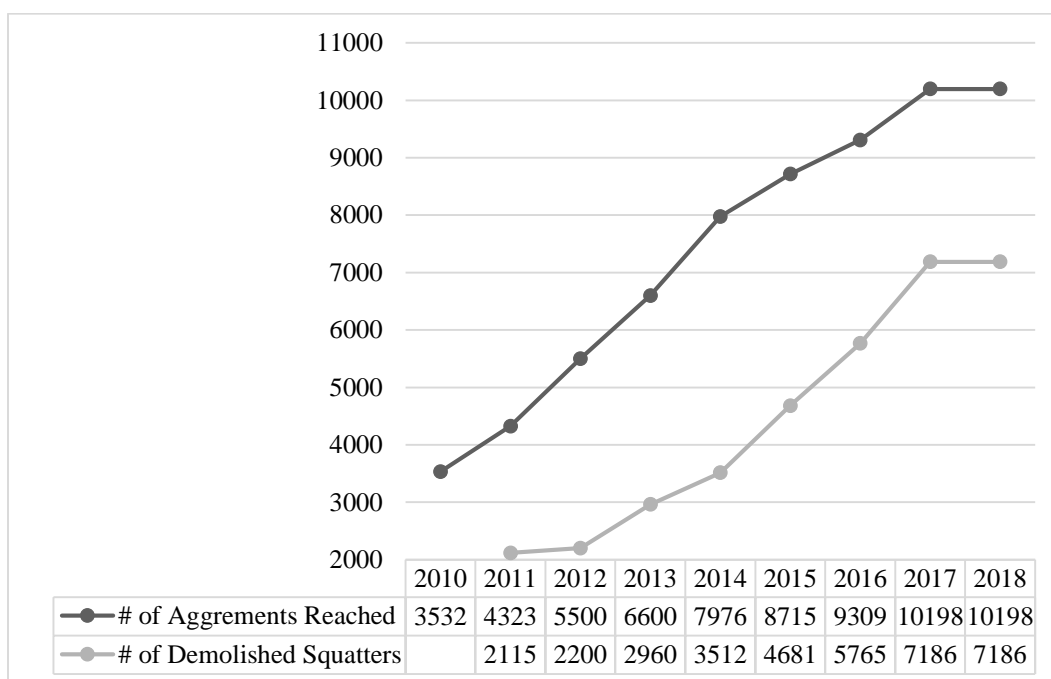
Figure 66. Aggregate Numbers of the Agreements Reached and the Squatters Demolished in Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project by Years
Source: Annual Financial Reports of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara between 2010 and 2018

Long story short, although carrying out the demolitions accelerated the pace of the urban renewal process, it took a long time for the construction of the buildings due to the size of the project area, the number of squatters and the number of people involved in the project. Besides, financial difficulties have slowed down the pace of the project. The officer who is in charge of dealing with and informing the squatter dwellers at the Urban Renewal Coordination Centre of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality commented:

> At first, we mobilized the resources of the municipality and wanted to look for other possible financial resources in case of financial difficulties. We did not want to cooperate with the TOKİ since it has a negative connotation regarding the usage of low-quality materials and poor workmanship. We tried to keep the process under control. We do not want to delegate the authority. However, the

project is progressing very slowly due to financial shortfalls. Although more constructions and more buildings attract people to be involved in the project and increase the credibility of the project, setbacks tarnish the image of the project.

In order to eliminate this situation, a protocol was signed with the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization just before the local elections (held in March 2019). The municipality has sole control of the project and pursuing the construction processes in Üreğil, Derbent and Araplar till now, but in the following stages, if the ministry wants, TOKİ may be involved.

Despite the announcement of the project in 2005, the first demolitions began in late 2007, and the first construction could take place in 2009; even in the Üreğil Neighbourhood in which there used to be relatively few squatters and the topography is available for the low-cost construction compared to other steep and rocky districts (Figure 67). Parallel to many other reasons and motivations, this site selection of the new buildings spread rumours. Many squatter dwellers had been just reluctant to involve in the project at the beginning since the new high rise buildings in the Üreğil Neighbourhood were constructed in the streambed of the Hatip Çayı.

Although the rehabilitation of this water stream was one of the goals of the project, squatter dwellers did not consider that this area was suitable for construction. A 56-year-old male squatter dweller (I78) stated that while the luxury homes would be constructed on the steep and rocky terrain for upper-income groups, the rights holder squatter dwellers would be located to the houses built on the riverbed. Even though the houses for right holders recently built on steep slopes reveal that this is not exactly the case, the squatter dwellers who stated that the floor height had been limited by the local authority due to the unsound ground in the valley bottom before the initiation of the project did not lean towards to the houses built in Üreğil. Actually, these are understandable concerns when several instances are taken into account. For instance, in 1957, the region through which the stream passes suffered the loss of life due to a flood disaster (Kaynar, 2017).

Furthermore, when we look at the recent history, Hatip Çayı overflowed in 2010 ("Mamak'ta Hatip Çayı Taştı, 500 Bin Çam Sele Kapıldı", 2010) and 2017 ("Ankara'da Hatip Çayı taştı", 2017) and caused material damage due to heavy rainfall. Another situation that worries people is that less attention is paid to the locations of the buildings constructed within the urban renewal and development projects in Turkey. In 2012, 8 people lost their lives as a result of the flood disaster in apartment houses that were built by the Mass Housing Administration on the river bed in Canik district of Samsun (Vardar, 2012). Despite these concerns, nearly 2000 housing units were produced in 26 apartment buildings with 16 floors in Üreğil, and former right-holder squatter dwellers began to live in these buildings.

Metropolitan Mayor Mansur Yavaş also accepted at the ceremony held in 2021 that in the previous periods, unnecessarily high housing blocks were built for the sake of more land rent, either on the stream bed or on the hills ("Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi ve 2021 Projelerimizin Temel Atma, Açılış ve Tanıtım Töreni", 2021). Although it is intended to criticise the previous administration's actions, this statement is an essential indicator of how dangerous the situation may be.

Figure 67. Views of Construction Site in Üreğil (from 2007 to 2010)
Source: Mamak Municipality

After the first buildings appeared in Üreğil Neighbourhood as the first construction site of the project, parallel to the surge in housing construction, the increase in population was observed in Üreğil in 2011 and in Derbent in 2016 (Figure 68). The next neighbourhood is Araplar Neighbourhood, in which the population increase began in 2018 due to the construction.

Figure 68. Views of Housing Sites in Üreğil and Derbent as of 2017[70]

Although the average size of the population between 2000 and 2006 was close to 2600, it is almost doubled in Araplar since the Eserkent Mass Housing Area that hosts former squatter dwellers who had been involved in urban renewal projects all around Ankara,

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[70] The first two photographs were taken in Üreğil and the third and fourth photographs were taken in Derbent.

including the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project until they take up houses. This high level of residential turnover rate, intentionally or not, created a kind of mixed social housing that caused anxiety and unrest both in the mass housing area and in the vicinity. To sum up, when the population changes in the neighbourhoods within the scope of the project are examined, we can say that there is disorder and erosion in terms of the previous social formation.

As of 2017, people had already begun to live in permanent settlements in Üreğil Neighbourhood for approximately five years (Figure 69). In Derbent Neighbourhood, however, while some right holders had settled in one of the housing sites since 2016, the other sites were under construction. The municipal officer interviewed in 2018 stated that as of 2018, more than 50% of the squatter owners involved in the project from Derbent and Araplar Neighbourhoods started living in four different housing areas.

Figure 69. A View of Housing Site in Üreğil as of 2019

While three of them are located in Derbent, one of them is located in Araplar Neighbourhood (Figure 70). Moreover, although the project is promoted as a kind of in situ urban redevelopment scheme since it has lasted long enough, the vacant newly built homes are offered to the squatter dwellers who are not used to living in any of these three neighbourhoods. The people who signed the contract with the authority and became eligible after paying their debt instead of waiting may opt to live in these housing areas. Therefore, as a result of this unanticipated but urgent distribution of houses, as soon as the constructions are completed, the former squatter dweller gets his/her new home, and then no unclaimed property remains.

> I17: Now they have problems in finding the basic needs around the newly built housing sites as well. For example, my uncle is going to the other side of Samsun Road to meet their needs because there is no market or grocery around. There are no basic amenities, as well. A big market was opened in Üreğil, but it is hard to go there without a car. It's too far from Derbent.

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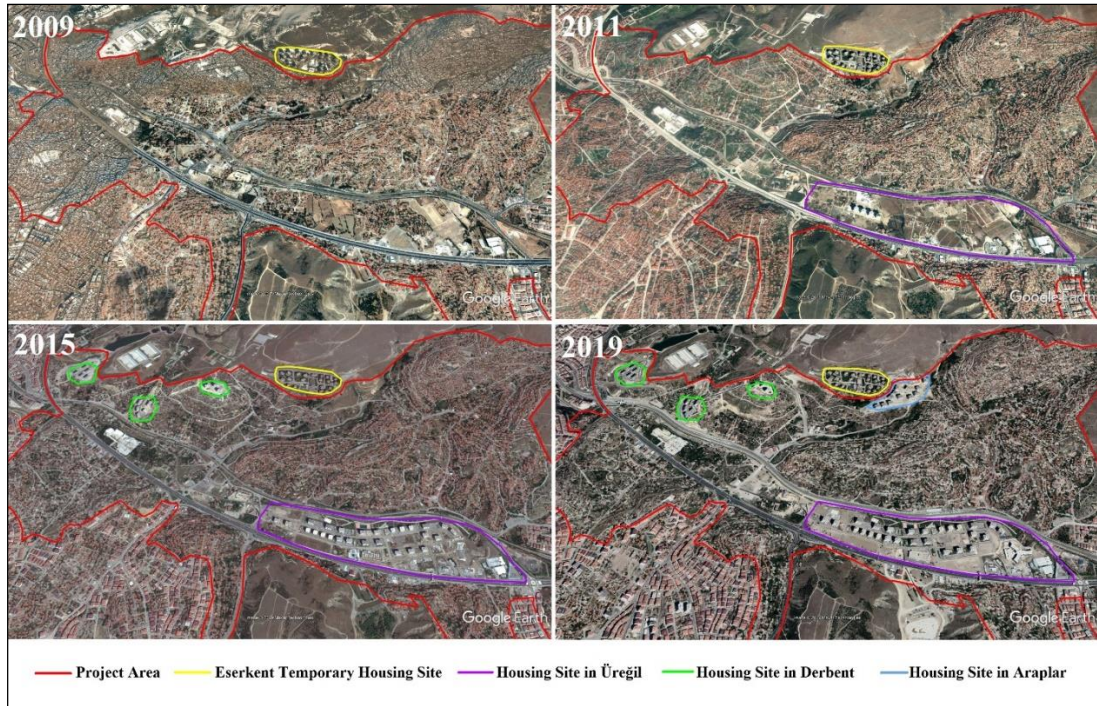
Figure 70. Transformation between 2009 and 2019

On-site urban renewal projects are preferred when compared to urban renewal projects that displace people from their former settlements. On the one hand, although both on-site and off-site projects inevitably relocate dwellers unless the on-site one is a rehabilitation project which may also be lead to displacement eventually, at least on-site projects provide people with the chance not to change their relations with the workspace. On the other hand, the house and its environment, which can be defined as spaces of reproduction, are totally changed regarding the principles of the project.

In Yeni Mamak Project, although since the launch of the housing programme, it was stated that it is an on-site project and everyone has the right to get their home from the housing site closest to his/her former squatter house, the conditions have been changed. During the interview with the officer who is in charge at the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Coordination Centre emphasized that

> [t]his is an on-site renewal project. We do not send people away, outside. People are not headed out of the project. We have no such alternative. However, since we have built houses that have exceeded the number of right holders in Üreğil District, there are right holders who used to live in Derbent and Araplar neighbourhoods at the housing site in Üreğil now. They are few. There were excessive houses 80 m² in size. We asked right holders from other neighbourhoods with regard to the contract date if they wanted to get one or not. In this way, few people from other neighbourhoods got a house out of his/her neighbourhood instead of waiting.

It is also stated in the same conservation that a similar implementation has taken place for the excessive houses built in the Araplar neighbourhood. It is mentioned that if requested, the right holders may queue up to become an owner of one of them.

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It should be noted at this point that, in the middle of the interview, an unanticipated event occurred. One former squatter dweller who was involved in the housing program came to obtain information about the stages and process of the project. Since his house is located among the next stages of the project, although the municipality began to hold the title deed, he was still living in that house until its demolition. He was desperate and a little nervous. He (I33) commented:

> My father was involved in the project without our knowledge. He passed away 2 years ago. Our squatter has 3 floors. We are living there right now. But we do not know what is going to happen. We were involved in the project in 2011. They are saying that there are excessive houses in the fourth stage of the project but I do not know if there can be any chance to get one. We made our application and they said they would call. But we want a house at the closest place to our house. They are saying that it will take 4-5 years to begin construction in our stage. They are saying that the master plan has just completed, then they will clear the whole area, and then municipality will invite tender for building contracts. Completion of our stage takes too long.
>
> We have no chance to leave the project. Due to the economic instability and difficulties, it most probably takes ten years to get our houses. It is the 7th year that we have been waiting for. They are saying that it may take at least five years. We will consider if they give us a chance to get one house wherever it is. We joined the project but cannot leave it. We get stuck in. We have the right to take three houses; two of them are 120 square meters in size, and one of them is 80 square meters in size. We will wait for two of them anyway.
>
> My father signed the contract while we were away. This is a very ambiguous contract. There is no time constraint for the completion or delivery of the houses. Now the municipality has the title deed. So we cannot take any action. In order to develop land and begin the construction, the municipality has to hold all title deeds. It is understandable, but we are the ones who feel aggrieved. It is a completely uncertain process. Therefore, even if it is far from our stage, we decided to take one of the proposed houses, at least for now. If we can get one in this way, we will move there. Otherwise, we will stay at our current home.

Actually, the authority began to look for a solution to relieve the pressure and to get rid of the burdens such as rent allowance. In an interview at the beginning of 2020, the Head of the Special Projects and Transformation Department of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality did not give any information about the total amount of rent allowance and the total number of right holders who benefit from it. Moreover, while he was elaborating his view on the long-lasting process that led to tremendous financial commitments to the municipality, he stated that he did not understand why we were caring about these data and information. He stated that the Metropolitan Municipality was not drawing up any new contract then since the project was almost halted, so the rent allowances were not a problem for the municipality. However, approximately three months later from this interview, in April 2020, news about Yeni Mamak Housing Program presented the municipality's endeavour to alleviate the aforementioned financial pressures. The title of one of the news is "There will be saving in rent allowances in the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project" (CNNTÜRK, 2020). When we take a closer look at the details, it is seen that the same officer in charge grumbled about the financial burden that stems from the rent allowances provided to the right holders. He (I34) stated as follows:

We have been providing rent allowances to the right holders for ten years. Municipality suffers from serious cost overruns. As of this year, we have paid 42 million Türkish Liras annually to the 5200 right holders within the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal. For this reason, we will get rid of the rent allowances by building more houses as soon as possible.

It is not actually surprising to find these kinds of contradictions and ambiguities while such a huge project was showing progress at a snail's pace. Additionally, in August 2021, by criticising his predecessors at the foundation stone-laying ceremony held in Dutluk District, Mansur Yavaş stated that the municipality had had to pay one billion one hundred seventy-three million Turkish Lira rent allowances to the right holders in 13 years ("Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi ve 2021 Projelerimizin Temel Atma, Açılış ve Tanıtım Töreni", 2021). Suppose the market data is used regarding the housing price per square meter on two renowned property listing websites, "Sahibinden" and "Hurriyet Emlak", instead of the Turkish Statistical Institute's construction costs data. The reason is that the calculations could be misleading since the construction cost data is not accessible at the district levels.

In that case, in July 2021, with the money provided as rent allowance, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality may have the chance to directly buy 6800 houses measuring 80 square meters or 5400 houses measuring 100 square meters or 4500 housing units measuring 120 square meters. Even if the average housing price has been around 400000 TL due to the inflated housing prices as of August 2021, approximately 3000 houses can be purchased with this amount of money.

In 2020, the head of the Special Projects and Transformation Department of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality at the time said (Birgün, 2020):

Due to the low land rents in this region, the decision taker has not cared about these people since 2008. To air the right holders' grievances, we are working hard. The former administration focused on the areas in which the land rents were higher. We are approaching dwellers living in squatters with an understanding of urbanism that will solve their housing problems… Many squatters have been demolished, but up to now, just 25 per cent of the land has been used for construction. Out of 13 thousand 800 right holders, just 4 thousand 525 of them were able to get their houses so far. We have to deliver at least 8500 houses more… This project will serve as a model. Although these are social housing units, they will definitely be constructed as a prestige project of the Metropolitan Municipality… The condominiums will be built depending on the neighbourhood scale. In addition to the inner courtyards that will embrace the neighbourhood and street culture, there will be walking and bicycle paths and parks. We will build residences where people can pursue their lifestyles. We will present an example of architecture and urbanism that will enable people to maintain their previous social, cultural and traditional lifestyles in these houses. We're doing serious work by considering the contributions of the expert planners and architects in Turkey. The condominiums will be built in accordance with the horizontal architecture. No need to worry. Nobody will be harmed or left out. We will build the residences in accordance with their information and requests. We will not take any decision that people do not approve.

In April of 2020, the head of the Special Projects and Transformation Department of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality said (CNNTÜRK, 2020):

First of all, we are carrying out preparations for building 2500 houses at the end of this year. Site investigations and geological surveys are geological, and ground surveys are ongoing in the 5th and 7th stages of the project. Regarding the construction of 2500 houses on 20 distinct plots, we keep dealing with the spatial design issues. It will be ready for construction in June or July. The aim of the Metropolitan Municipality is to deliver the houses that have not been provided previously to the right holders who felt aggrieved at not getting houses. In addition, we have targeted to build 10000 houses during this current period.

On the other hand, as a result of the long-lasting construction process and non-delivery of the houses regarding the financial problems, these manoeuvres have stretched the project's principle of on-site transformation as well. In fact, in 2019, the decision takers had begun to set the on-site transformation principle aside to carry the project forward. Excessive houses from another urban renewal project where is located near Yeni Mamak Project proposed to the right holders (Figure 71). Special Projects and Transformation Department of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality announced to the public in 2019 that in accordance with the protocol signed between Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and TOKİ, 580 residences that are 100 m² in size and except the top and bottom floors are produced by TOKİ within the Altıağaç Karaağaç Urban Renewal Project would be given to the right holders within the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal and Development Project; the right holders who opt to get one of these houses should apply to the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Coordination Centre (Basın İlan Kurumu, n.d.). This decision that was publicly endorsed by both local and central states signifies that the project has not gone well in terms of completion and delivery of the houses.

Figure 71. Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal and Development Project Area and Altıağaç-Karaağaç Urban Renewal Project Area

Moreover, the right holders did not pay too much attention to this proposal. The interviews and focus group discussions revealed that the people who are waiting for the completion of their houses do not want to move to the houses in Altıağaç Karaağaç Urban Renewal Project due to its high-density population and its location. In a group interview, participants stated:

I35: It is a wretched place.

I37: The buildings there rose exactly next to the house we live in.

I36: OK. Let me put it this way. You know the mushrooms in the village, right? They rose all of a sudden.

I37: Noone can stand there or live there.

I35: The squatter is amazing compared to that housing site. Actually, it is incomparable.

I36: Also, if you look at them in more detail, there are no balconies. We can observe these houses because they are very close to our house. The balconies are covered with walls. It is a part of the kitchen. They divided half of the kitchen and called it a balcony. Otherwise, there is no balcony.

I37: The housing site was set on a steep hill. They built a retaining wall right across our house. It is scary. I mean, I don't know how long they last.

Another respondent (I38) commented:

> We are waiting to take a house, but God knows when it will happen. We decided to apply to the municipality. We thought maybe the municipality would give us a house immediately. But they don't. They also carry out an urban renewal project in Mamak-Karaağaç, like ours. They completely destroyed there, and TOKİ built houses up the hill. It's just like here. They said that if we want, we may have the right to apply, and if it is accepted, then we could find a chance to get one house by drawing lots. It is another place, but it is close to here. Whatever, frankly, I don't think of moving there. It is a complete lack of green spaces and public facilities and services. There is nothing. I think the housing site also has a terrible view. We tried to make an attempt to have the house immediately, but we could not make it. We are still waiting.

In another group interview, all participants who moved into the vicinity of the project area stated their anger as such:

I40: TOKİ is now building blocks on the back of our houses.

I39: It does not look like a living place.

I41: It is right at the back of our homes.

I40: The municipality also carried out an urban transformation there. These are very high-rise and very close apartments. It is called "Altıağaç-Karaağaç Urban Renewal Project". Suddenly, an incredibly dense settlement emerged there.

I41: I cannot live there. When we look from below, it doesn't seem safe at all.

I39: For example, in the neighbourhood where we currently live, houses can be built with a maximum of five floors. But the TOKİ blocks right behind us are 15 or 20-storey buildings. Is this a fair situation?

I40: In other words, it allows the contractor to build a 5-storey building, but TOKİ is unlimited.

I41: TOKİ can do whatever they want.

I40: But nobody questions these high buildings, such a dense population or the conditions of infrastructure.

I41: They do whatever it takes to cover the costs.

I39: They said they would pursue horizontal architecture instead of vertical one, but nothing has changed.

I40: What were they thinking while constructing these high buildings everywhere! They were either blind or seeking other things.

Actually, Altıağaç-Karaağaç region is an "unknown" (Figure 72). However, as a result of the spatial mobility analyses discussed in detail in the next section, it is observed that 27 former squatter dwellers out of 1064 as of 2019 have moved to this region. One of them stated that although we could not convince him to have an in-depth interview, they had no other choice due to the economic problems and said, "What difference does it make in Derbent or here. Aren't they all the same!" he said. Although "on-site renewal" is vital in terms of proximity to the workplace and not breaking away from the familiar environment and social relations, it alone is insufficient to ensure the reproduction of the daily lives of the squatter dwellers.

Therefore, except the people in rush, most of them prefer "their uncertainty" instead of immediately getting a house. It is understood from their assertions that they are still expecting and hoping to live in line with the relations of squatter neighbourhoods with their close relatives and neighbours under the spatial forms of apartment houses.

However, the existing codes of the project are sufficiently destructive for the former neighbourly relations. Since people who are involved in the project could just get their houses by drawing lots, this situation decreases the possibility of conserving the previous relations in the squatter setting. For instance, just a few interviewees who began to live at the new housing site built by the municipality stated that they had just one or two former close neighbours in their apartments. However, most of them stated that they were barely seeing and communicating with their former neighbours. In 2021, although it is too late for many right holders who have already got their homes, Metropolitan Mayor Mansur Yavaş decleared that they would pay attention to reunite old neighbours who lived together in the squatter setting ("Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi ve 2021 Projelerimizin Temel Atma, Açılış ve Tanıtım Töreni", 2021).

Figure 72. A Closer Look at the Altıağaç-Karaağaç Urban Renewal Project Area

Being close to each other is a vital need for the former squatter dwellers both to maintain solidarity and to relieve the pressure and burdens of the new setting in these apartment houses. However, since they are getting their houses by drawing lots, neighbours, relatives, even parents and children who have rights most probably fall apart. The public officer in the Coordination Center stated:

> Right holders usually want to be close to each other to maintain the "order" that they get used to in the squatter environment, but there is no such possibility as it is clear which house they get is determined by chance. They may reside in the same housing block or close ones, but there is no strategy or organization to hold them together in the framework of the project.

4.6.1. Formatting the Social Fabric and Relations: Let Them Speak!

Within the material conditions, some variables and factors such as dispositions, volume, and form of capital and the identity-based cleavages regarding ethnicity, religious sect, and hometown have a great influence on the decisions and possible actions of squatter dwellers. However, it should be initially determined that the squatter dwellers are forced to play a game whose rules are determined by another player. Urban renewal, therefore, is an unfair game between unequal ones. Most probably, by being aware of this situation, few fight openly for their dispositions and social, cultural and symbolic capital, even though they depended on their previous knowledge, experience, and skills while standing in solidarity to survive in the urban space as much as economic capital. In this sense, instead of struggling to preserve the lifestyle that they are accustomed to, identity-based politics have played a crucial role for reaching resources and preserving the existing ones as a simple but effective communal strategy for a long time in Turkey. Therefore, ethnic and sectarian divisions that are still salient in the squatter settings have strengthened rural parochialism to a certain extent.

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These divisions had basically become apparent two times in history. The first serious polarization in and among the neighbourhoods unfolded under the worsening economic conditions and political instability in the 1970s. And the second fragmentation was seen due to the urban renewal project. While dwellers were accusing others of having negative or positive attitudes toward the project, they relied on ideological and identity-based explanations. Although it is likely that these peculiarities have an influential role in the decisions of the squatter dwellers, variations in land tenure security regarding the project's code of practice unveiled another differentiation among the dwellers. Additionally, the geographical location and housing conditions of the squatter are critical features that change the perspectives of dwellers.

The important thing is that all the complex combinations of these features and peculiarities have serious potential to create new divisions and clashes among the dwellers. The rules are laid down by the sovereign, and the dwellers become a player in this game without having any chance. While "moving" means being a part of the project bringing additional choices to make, such as taking a determined rent allowance and living wherever the dweller wants to live or choosing to live in the temporary housing allocated by the metropolitan municipality, "staying put" means to conflict with the authority, living isolated among the rubble under unfavourable environmental conditions without almost any public service. Through coercive power and symbolic violence, till now, many squatter dwellers have given consent to be involved in the project even if they get nothing in case of the "occupiers" who have no legal title. At the end of the story, either relocation or displacement takes place. Then it is quite usual to face the breakup of neighbourhood community by the dispersion of squatter dwellers.

Up to this point, it has been tried to understand and reveal how the process works by making evaluations from many different angles. Although there is always a margin of error since people may be deluded, their opinions about the subject are shared in many sections with the thought that the interpretations are also a part of the social reality. In other words, interpretations, opinions, and claims may not be social reality itself, but it is a part of it. Therefore, depending on the social and historical context, it is critical to grasp the essence of people's evaluations to understand how the process works not only for individuals but also for the whole society. Accordingly, under this section, more space is left to former squatter dwellers to speak about their feelings and experiences parallel to changing and transforming social structure. The aim here is to emphasize the expressions that describe how this process works beyond the stories of "victims".

In a groups interview of male participants, they described what we had discussed the spatial conditions and differences of types of housing as such:

> X: So, where do you currently reside?
>
> I42: We are also in Mamak, very close to Derbent. We live in a five-storey apartment.
>
> I44: We are living in an apartment very likely. So is my brother's. It's all the same.

I42: These houses cannot be compared with the squatters. The squatters were amazing.

X: So what can you say regarding the differences between life in the apartment and the squatter?

I42: You cannot compare the apartment and the squatter. These are not comparable.

I44: One does not want to open the window or curtain in the apartment to take air or look around.

I43: It's impossible.

I42: We cannot spend time on the balcony in the apartment. All of the buildings are side by side, very close.

I44: There is a maximum of five meters between the buildings. Since everyone does not want to hang out on the balcony, people cover the balcony to have a spacious kitchen. We did so. People use the balcony only for hanging laundry.

I43: You are limited in the apartment. Everything is determined. It's like a prison. After 9 or 10 in the evening, you can not do anything because neighbours could be disturbed. How can I host my guests after 10 pm! Should I put them out of the house to not to make noise!

I42: I like music, for example. I have musician friends. I want to invite them and play and sing at my house, but I cannot. That is why I bought a two-story house, although it is in an apartment. So at least I can spend time on the terrace, but I am still anxious about disturbing my neighbours.

I44: No one was disturbed by neighbours while living in the squatter. They used to participate in the fun. But now, when I go out to the balcony, if there is someone on the balcony of the other houses, I feel uncomfortable and need to go inside.

I42: Exactly.

I44: We cannot spend time on the balcony of our own home.

I42: When we go out from the door of the house, we want to feel the soil. Because we got used to it this way.

I43: Absolutely.

An elderly couple (I45 and I46) who moved into Etimesgut complained about the lack of social relations and noted:

X: So what can you say if you compare the conditions of Etimesgut and apartment life with the one in the squatter and squatter neighbourhood?

I45: The apartment we live in now has four floors, but almost no one knows anyone. If this is the case here, I can't even imagine the relations in 10-15-floor apartments. There are no relations here, but I wish you had a chance to see the

relationships in squatter neighbourhoods; it was perfect. You cannot compare the ties in the squatter with the relations in the apartment. Those who live in squatter are your fellow citizens, acquaintances, and relatives. For example, I used to come home from work at 6 in the evening. I used to eat my dinner until 7, change my clothes, and then no need to phone or notify my fellow to come over. I've known them all for a long time. I used to frequently visit them. Just knock on the door and go inside. They used to visit us as well. There is no need to call or notify. We used to hang out and chat until midnight. If the season was summer, we used to hang out in the garden. I had 12 or 13 trees in the garden. The municipality appraised the value of the trees. It's recorded in these documents. There were all kinds of trees, apricot, cherry, apple, pear, walnut, oleaster, and plum. The municipality set a price for them and gave me money accordingly. Look, it is written here. There are 15-year-old apricot trees, 20-year-old walnut trees, etc. For all these, they gave me cash as 1100 TL. My garden was 500-600 square meters in size. There was no deed, but we were farming because the land was empty.

In other words, the neighbourhood relations between the two places are incomparably different because the people in the squatter neighbourhood are the men of my homeland. The language of people from my village is different from that of people from other places. There is a difference in accent. For example, I can easily understand, but you cannot. Now, if I talk to a fellow citizen, you say how rude these men are; but using this language makes us very happy. We can understand each other. Our culture is the same. There are also relatives. We migrated to Ankara from the same village. There is a lot to share. There is a lot to talk about. Now, my next-door neighbour is from Hatay; what will I talk to him if he stops by. We have nothing in common. I barely speak to one another in the apartment. But I used to talk about our hometown, past and all that stuff in the squatter neighbourhood.

X: What are the differences between living in a squatter and living in an apartment?

I46: Squatter was good. Mamak was good. We felt alien when we came here. We did not know anyone here. Our years have passed there. You know everyone in the squatter neighbourhood; you know who those people are, just like in the village. It was more comfortable there. You're restricted in the apartment. Many things that we used to do are not here. They are over. We used to prepare foods for the winter together, make bread, make tomato paste, make jam, and make tarhana soup. But it is over.

I45: You can live the village life in the squatter. In other words, city culture and village culture are different.

I46: We brought the village culture and placed it in Mamak. That culture could be lived there.

I45: We are between the walls in the apartment. There is nothing to do. But while we were living in the squatter, we used to spend time in the garden. We used to sit under the trees all day long in the summer. You set up a stove right there, and you can cook pancakes. We even had a separate place, structure for making bread. We used to make different kinds of bread there.

I46: Now they show the villas in Ümitköy and Çayyolu as the best examples. Those houses are no different from our squatters. They are much like our squatter houses. They show them as modern, but there is no difference. One can even be freer in the squatter. You can do whatever you want, whenever you want. Nobody interferes or bothers you.

I45: We were comfortable and at ease in the squatter. My deceased mother was constantly dealing with the soil. He used to tell me things to do. For example, my mom used to say, "Let's make a drill" for planting tomatoes, onions, parsley, etc. "Please, mother, I have a day off; let me rest" I used to reply. I was mocking her. Then she used to say, "my son, it takes no more than an hour". I used to say "OK, mom" and begin drilling. My mother would plant onions or whatever she got. A week later, these vegetables would grow immediately. Onions, potatoes, parsley, cress, everything would be in our garden. When it grew up, we took it and ate it. My late mother liked to plant trees very much. She planted several apricot trees, and for years we ate these tree's fruits. When my mother found the seed of something, she immediately buried it in the ground.

I46: For example, we had grapes. We would collect their leaf, and we used to make stuffed grape leaves and eat the grapes as well.

X: Do you miss the squatter now?

I46: Of course, we miss. We are used to it, and we want it.

I45: I lived that life for 30 years. We lived in the squatter. Now we are living the apartment life. But we got stuck in the walls. There are human relations, but not like in the squatter.

I46: Where is it? There are ten households in this apartment. Nobody sees each other. Everyone closes his door and goes in. Neither you see them nor they see you. Nobody knows what is going on regarding neighbours. We don't know who is who. But when someone in the squatter was not seen for a while, we were yelling from the outside and asking, "What are you doing? How is it going? Are you all right?". There are no such relationships here. Relations are weak here.

Another interviewee (I47) concurred with many others:

After leaving the squatter behind, I could not sleep for a while. I did not feel comfortable. In the apartment, I even hear the footsteps of a kid walking upstairs. I hear the bedstead creaking. I beg your pardon; I even hear someone using the toilet, water flushing... It was hard for me to stay just for a night. But then I got used to it. I had to. There is no way back to the squatters. I am at least OK with that. Some of my friends are living like dead bodies, but we have no other option. Actually, I do not know the figures, but many of my elderly friends passed away after moving into the apartment. It's all stress and sorrow... Maybe it is a coincidence or God's will, but we feel depressed after moving to such a limited place. We are talking about their memories in the squatter all day. Back there, everyone was like members of the same family. Literally, we are an extended family. I even used to leave my door unlocked all day and night. Everyone used to watch others back. We lost such deep friendships and memories. Before the project, we used to be very close with our neighbours. Now it has changed, and everyone has fallen apart.

My younger son threw parties with his friends in the squatter's garden. He cannot even slightly loud up the music. We are just grunting, but that is all. There is every kind of person from everywhere in here. I sometimes feel regretful to be involved in the project. But no turn back.

The apartment life is entirely different. We enjoy the central heating system, but there are also security guards and security cameras that we do not know they are protecting who from whom. We get bored in the apartment. We are wandering around the park and mosque to see and chat with our acquaintances.

Another focus group interview conducted with three young males who spent most of their lives in the squatter setting just before their families were involved in the project gave us a deeper understanding of the feelings and experiences of the squatter dwellers in this transformation.

X: Where are your uncles who used to live in the squatter just before the project living now?

I48: One of my uncles bought a house that the municipality had built for the right holders in Derbent, considering that the delivery of the houses would take longer. My other uncle bought a house close to where we live.

I50: The first one lived in rent before buying a house in Derbent since his economic conditions were not good enough.

X: It seems that none of your family members needs the houses that will be given. What do you think to do when the houses are delivered?

I50: We will probably sell both.

I49: They forgot what to do with the houses.

I50: Since the path is unknown, those houses are not in the future projections of any family members.

I48: He is right. We have forgotten those houses because we have no hope for the delivery in the short run.

I50: If we reckoned on the assertions of the municipality, nobody could buy a home. We would have had to wait for ten years as tenants.

X: Why did your other uncle, as a right holder, buy a house in Derbent instead of waiting?

I50: He likes to live there. He doesn't want to leave. In fact, he has another house in Mamak, but instead of living there, he bought another house from Derbent and preferred to live there.

I48: Actually, he is seeking to let go of his longing for the past, but he has not made it.

I49: This is what we mean. We have strong bonds with that place.

I50: Now, he has become the head of the apartment. He wants to change everything as they were.

I49: He is trying to imply that that is his neighbourhood. Many still feel that way.

I48: It is not clear when the houses will be delivered. Thus, those who had saved some money preferred to buy a home from the right holders like them. Maybe it is not a squatter anymore, but this region is already familiar to those people. They may prefer to live in the region rather than live somewhere else they do not know.

On the other hand, those who left the squatter setting behind faced expenses that they were not accustomed to in the apartments they moved to. These expenses have become much more loaded and diverse in gated communities. The housing estates built within the framework of the housing program are highly informative in this sense (Figure 73).

Figure 73. Some Images From the Residential Area in Üreğil

One of the interviewees (I51) who resided in the high rise housing blocks in Üreğil left no room for discussion and summarized her feelings as follows:

The elevator is an expense; safety is an expense; even garbage is an expense. Not to mention natural gas. Here you have to pay for each service. You can't say I don't want it. When the camera breaks down, you have to pay. When the door phone is broken, you have to give money. Was there a security guard in the squatter neighbourhood? No. We lived without any problems. Even if there was a problem in the squatter, you could arrange when to have it done depending on your economic conditions. You do not have such chances here.

> We also used to have a chance to grow fruits and vegetables in our garden. There are some people here who try to feed chickens on their balcony on the 10th floor. Could you imagine? Look, here we are drying the peppers on the wires of the site. We are whipping and washing wool in the park. You have seen them, right? Unless we can do these things, we become obliged to pay for them too.

4.6.2. Displacement and/or Relocation: Where are They?

The urban transformation has brought about a radical transformation for the squatter dwellers who have willingly or unwillingly left their neighbourhood where they had lived for years and maintained, acquired and developed dispositions and established relationships. To understand this transformation, the second part of this section examines the residential mobility of the squatter dwellers. Even though the residential mobility is not at the heart of this study, it is an important and stimulating component of the neoliberal transformation. It is a kind of initial spatial reaction or response to the situation created by this state-led coercive renewal project. It is also a big step that has a serious impact on the everyday life practices, routines, rhythms and dispositions of the squatter dwellers. For unpacking neoliberal urbanization to understand how it works in Turkey in the context of urban renewal projects, it is significant to understand the squatter dwellers' residential moves that give an initial insight into the dynamics of social transformation.

There is a large volume of published studies analysing the reasons for moving or describing the reasons for residential mobility (Clark & Onaka, 1983; Coulter & Scott, 2015; South & Crowder, 1997). Nevertheless, the main determinant of residential mobility for our study is obviously the urban renewal project. After the project initiation, the neighbourhoods' population size, which had remained almost constant for years, has changed drastically presented in the previous sections (Figure 65)[71].

This research also aims to explore the former squatter dwellers' spatial mobility and where they ended up, as the most critical engagement, to understand how neoliberal urbanisation works, particularly in an urban renewal project. It is expected that the results of this evaluation will enable us to see the intended or unintended transformations and related consequences, regardless of what the project aims at initially. In addition, in this context, it is aimed to determine the push and pull factors through quantitative data.

In this section of the study, various analyses are made through the data regarding not only the spatial mobility of the former squatter dwellers but also land size, ownership status of land and/or building, and value appraised by the authority considering the features of the land and the structure. In this sense, before investigating the former squatter dwellers' mobility in the city, it is aimed to analyse whether variables such as ownership status, size of land (total area) or appraised value of land, structures and trees (total value) are decisive or not in where these people are headed at the end of the day, residing in or out of the project area.

As mentioned before, data gathered from six squatter neighbourhoods were used in the analyses. While the project completely covers Derbent, Araplar, Üregil, Dutluk and

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[71] Please see p. 185.

Şirintepe districts, Misket District is partially included in the project. According to the data provided by the municipality, regardless of the land tenure status, 1662 people from Derbent District, 470 people from Araplar District, 294 people from Üreğil District, and 1331 people from Dutluk Region, which also includes the data of Şirintepe and Misket Districts, are involved in the urban renewal project. These people could be owners of a squatter, a piece of land or a particular share of either of them or be just occupiers; therefore, there is no information regarding whether these people live in the area or not. Within this sample universe, we identified some squatter dwellers, 278 from Derbent, 451 from Araplar, 22 from Üreğil, 351 from Dutluk, 181 from Şirintepe and 11 from Misket neighbourhoods, who had resided in these districts as of 2011 (Figure 74).
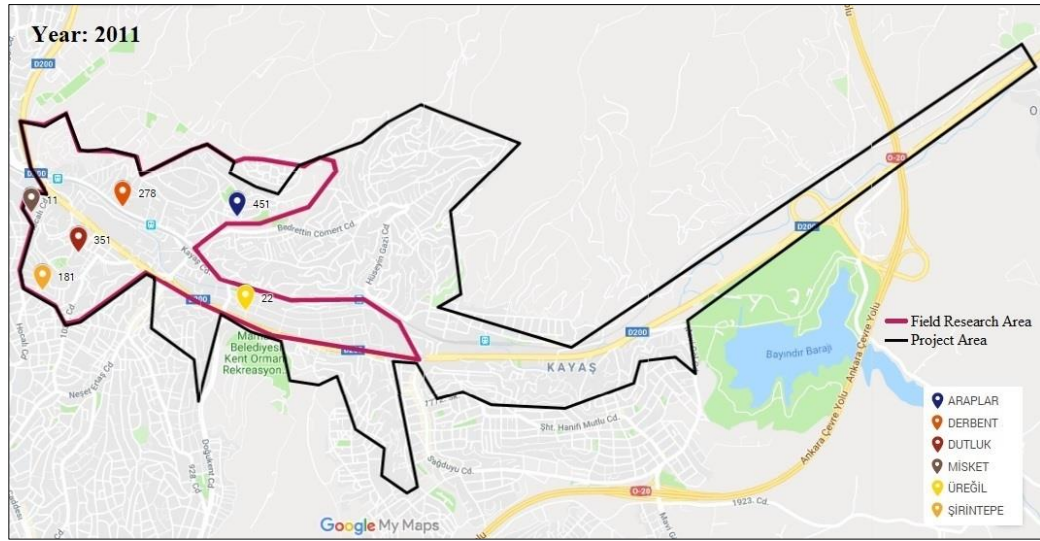
Figure 74. The Squatter Dwellers Involved in the Project by Their Location as of 2011

Thus, it was aimed to follow up the spatial mobility of 1294 people from six different squatter neighbourhoods at regular time intervals (Table 13). The data could be updated in 2014 and 2019 after 2011 due to time and financial constraints besides the large sample size. In addition, due to the global covid-19 pandemic that broke out in 2020, it was impossible to update the data after 2019 comprehensively.

Table 13. The Squatter Dwellers by Neighbourhoods as of 2011

Dwellers by Neighbourhoods as of 2011				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Derbent	278	21,5	21,5	21,5
	Uregil	22	1,7	1,7	23,2
	Araplar	451	34,9	34,9	58,0
	Dutluk	351	27,1	27,1	85,2
	Sirintepe	181	14,0	14,0	99,1
	Misket	11	,9	,9	100,0
	Total	1294	100,0	100,0	

It is worth mentioning that although several in-depth interviews were done with the tenants, they were not included in the data. Although we tried to overcome the blindness of the project towards the tenants, such a method was followed since the project had offered nothing to them except to bring displacement. There is one more point we think has to be made clear. There are uncertainties regarding where some of the former squatter dwellers who lived in Dutluk, Şirintepe and Misket Neighbourhoods in 2011 will end up since they have not got their homes as of 2019 due to the prolongation of the project. Although we do not have precise information on whether these people will return to their neighbourhoods when their homes are delivered, in the light of the information obtained in the in-depth interviews, since the project has been going on for more than ten years, most of the former squatter dwellers who used to live in these aforementioned neighbourhoods do not think of returning to the houses to be built within the renewal project, as they get used to the places they had moved. Furthermore, there has been a severe decrease in the sample, mainly due to deaths among the first squatter generation. The size of the sample decreased by 230 people from 2011 to 2019. By the way, the neighbourhood headmen, who had also been in the former squatter setting, have stated that the death rate increased after the elderly population started to live in high-rise apartment blocks, although they did not have precise statistics on this. Finally, since the project has lasted for a long time, some of the right holders bought the houses built within the project area by their means and began to live in the project area, although it is not located in their neighbourhood. Depending on such situations, quantitative analyses entail deeper elaborations. In this sense, diverse cases may become significant while evaluating the results of the quantitative analyses.

Before proceeding with the first analysis, it should be clearly stated that it is being investigated whether differences in the property status, land size or appraised value influenced the squatter dwellers' spatial mobility. For this purpose, it is problematized whether squatter dwellers who lived in the urban renewal project neighbourhoods, where the related data sets were obtained between 2010 and 2011, returned to the area as of 2019.

Initially, it is looked at the distribution of both raw and grouped data sets of these independent variables that make it possible to carry out statistical tests and analysis such as correlation or regression in IBM SPSS Statistics version 26. The test of normality (Table 14) showed that the null hypothesis (sample distribution is normal) is rejected since the p values (significance) of all variables regarding both Kolmogorov-Smirnova and Shapiro-Wilk tests are smaller than 0.05, even equal to zero.

However, although Kolmogorov-Smirnova is more appropriate compared to Shapiro-Wilk for large sample sizes, it is not recommended by SPSS to use these tests in case the sample size exceeds 50 (Elliot & Woodward, 2007, p. 25) and in addition, due to its poor power properties, it performs worse than the other tests regarding the normality (Thode, 2002, pp. 145-147). Therefore, considering the large sample size of this study, the normality assumption needs further testing. Instead of visually looking at frequencies, histograms and plots (stem-and-leaf, Q-Q (quantile-quantile), P-P (probability-probability) of each variable to check normality, kurtosis and skewness values are assessed.

Table 14. Test of Normality (Ownership Status, Total Area (Grouped), Total Area, Total Value and Total Value (Grouped))

Tests of Normality						
	Kolmogorov-Smirnov[a]			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Ownership status	.	745	.	.	745	.
Total Area	,470	745	,000	,025	745	,000
Total Area Grouped	,231	745	,000	,876	745	,000
Total Value (TL)	,201	745	,000	,494	745	,000
Total Value Grouped (TL)	,237	745	,000	,814	745	,000
Total Value Grouped 2 (TL)	,316	745	,000	,739	745	,000
a. Lilliefors Significance Correction						

As the former one "is a measure of the asymmetry", the latter one "is a measure of 'peakedness' of a distribution" (Kim, 2013, p. 52). The values of skewness and kurtosis close to zero are the signs of normal distribution (Tabachnick, Fidell & Ullman, 2013, p. 79). Moreover, "[s]kewness values falling outside the range of -1 to +1 indicate a substantially skewed distribution" (Hair, Black, Babin & Anderson, 2009, p. 36) and signify departures from normality. Moreover, if the standard error of skewness is less than half of the skewness value, "then it indicates that the distribution of the data is non-symmetric and it can be assumed that the distribution is significantly skewed" (Čisar & Čisar, 2010, p. 95). The exact relation goes for the kurtosis value regarding normality.

Both analyses indicated that the data belonging to these variables do not come from a normal or near-normal distribution to use parametric tests and demonstrate possible significant relations between independent variables and mobility patterns as dependent variables (Table 15). Under these conditions, since the normality assumptions are not met, probable inquiries for non-normal samples such as the Kruskal-Wallis, a non-parametric test having more statistical power unless they are run for large sample size, and One-Way ANOVA, a parametric test enabling to understand the differences among variables by entailing larger sample sizes, could not be used.

Table 15. Skewness and Kurtosis Values (Ownership Status, Total Area (Grouped), Total Area, Total Value and Total Value (Grouped))

Statistics						
		Ownership status	Total Area	Total Area Grouped	Total Value (TL)	Total Value Grouped (TL)	Total Value Grouped 2 (TL)
N	Valid	1286	746	746	1294	1294	1294
	Missing	8	548	548	0	0	0
Skewness		1,282	27,214	,629	8,896	1,246	1,013
Std. Error of Skewness		,068	,090	,090	,068	,068	,068
Kurtosis		,317	742,369	-,428	149,516	2,729	,012
Std. Error of Kurtosis		,136	,179	,179	,136	,136	,136

The data must be recoded into different categorisations several times to reach normal distribution, and the outliers must be deleted. However, since these interferences may mean distortion and manipulation of the significance of data, such methods do not seem reliable. Therefore, as the most eloquent exploration, cross-tabulation analyses are conducted, and non-parametric chi-square tests are run to reveal the possible relations between independent variables and dependent ones.

In this framework, before proceeding with the analysis and evaluating the results, it should be mentioned that the data of the former squatter dwellers who lived in Dutluk, Şirintepe and Misket Neighbourhoods are excluded. This is mainly because their houses have not been delivered yet. Therefore, it is impossible to know their ultimate decision regarding moving into the houses built within the project. Thence, the size of the sample, which is 1294, decrease to 751.

First, it is examined whether the ownership status has a significant effect on returning to the project area. There are three categories of ownership status: Title deed and Tapu Tahsis Belgesi holders, and the so-called occupiers. Although the houses built in the project were not offered to the so-called occupiers, they were also included in this analysis since, during the field research, some of these former squatter dwellers stated that they did not want to leave the area where they lived for years. Some of them stated that although they are not seen as right holders in the eyes of the authority, they wanted to buy the houses produced in the area to avoid staying away from their relatives and acquaintances, and due to the proximity of their working places.

These are essentially the wishes, needs and demands of most squatter dwellers, regardless of ownership status. It should first be noted that the chi-square test indicated a significant relationship between moving into the houses within the project and ownership status (Table 16).

About two-thirds of the titleholders whose houses were handed over have moved into the high rise housing blocks. This rate is lower in the Tapu Tahsis Belgesi holders. About 44% of them have been continuing their lives in residential areas outside the project area. As stated above, 20% of the former squatter residents, who are seen as occupiers, live in the houses built within the renewal project, although they are deprived of engaging the project and having a home in their former squatter neighbourhoods by the project.

Table 16. Relationship of Ownership Status (OS) with Spatial Mobility

Case Processing Summary						
	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Ownership status * in or out 2019	595	79,2%	156	20,8%	751	100,0%

Ownership Status (OS)* in or out 2019 Crosstabulation					
			in or out as of 2019		
			in the project area	out of the project area	Total
Ownership status	Title deed	Count	245	148	393
		% within OS	62,3%	37,7%	100,0%
	Tapu Tahsis	Count	86	67	153
		% within OS	56,2%	43,8%	100,0%
	Occupier	Count	14	35	49
		% within OS	28,6%	71,4%	100,0%
Total		Count	345	250	595
		% within OS	58,0%	42,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20,660[a]	2	,000
Likelihood Ratio	20,621	2	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	16,765	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	595		
a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20,59.			

As an answer to one of the main questions addressed in this study, the rate of returning to the area after the houses are delivered is not above 60%, even if the occupiers are excluded. In other words, for various reasons that are mentioned in the previous sections, two out of five squatter dwellers did not choose to move into newly built houses. When it comes to the relationship between land size and spatial mobility, the hypothesis that relies on the possibility of a statistically significant relationship is rejected since the p-value is more than 0,05 (Table 17).

Since the land size raw data are grouped according to the criteria for getting a house within the project's code of practice, regrouping is no longer an option for employing further analyses. On the other hand, the bigger land size may mean having more than one home. Correspondingly, figures demonstrated that the rate of living in the houses produced within the renewal project increases among the former squatter dwellers who used to possess large land plots.

Table 17. Relationship of Land Size (Grouped) with Spatial Mobility

Case Processing Summary						
	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Total Area Grouped * in or out 2019	332	44,2%	419	55,8%	751	100,0%

Total Area (m^2) Grouped (TAG) * in or out 2019 Crosstabulation					
			in or out 2019		
			in the project area	out of the project area	Total
Total Area (m^2) Grouped	0-199	Count	44	31	75
		% within TAG	58,7%	41,3%	100,0%
	200-249	Count	76	38	114
		% within TAG	66,7%	33,3%	100,0%
	250-299	Count	44	36	80
		% within TAG	55,0%	45,0%	100,0%
	300-499	Count	17	8	25
		% within TAG	68,0%	32,0%	100,0%
	500-...	Count	27	11	38
		% within TAG	71,1%	28,9%	100,0%
Total		Count	208	124	332
		% within TAG	62,7%	37,3%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,748[a]	4	,314
Likelihood Ratio	4,758	4	,313
Linear-by-Linear Association	,694	1	,405
N of Valid Cases	332		
a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9,34.			

Understanding whether the money they can get in return for their squatters and trees by involving in the project impacts their spatial mobility or not is also critical. Since the tiny amount of money may influence the attitudes of low-income, squatter households regarding moving in or staying out of the project area, the number of groups was kept as large as possible. Since the p-value is more than 0,05, it can be said that there is no significant relationship between the appraised value (total value) and moving into the houses delivered in the urban renewal project (Table 18).

Table 18. Relationship of Appraised Value (Grouped) with Spatial Mobility

Case Processing Summary						
	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
TVG (TL) * in or out 2019	602	80,2%	149	19,8%	751	100,0%

Total Value Grouped (TL) (TVG) * in or out 2019 Crosstabulation					
			in or out 2019		
			in the project area	out of the project area	Total
Total Value Grouped (TL)	0-9999	Count	26	21	47
		% within TVG (TL)	55,3%	44,7%	100,0%
	10000-49999	Count	195	152	347
		% within TVG (TL)	56,2%	43,8%	100,0%
	50000-99999	Count	88	54	142
		% within TVG (TL)	62,0%	38,0%	100,0%
	100000-199999	Count	27	23	50
		% within TVG (TL)	54,0%	46,0%	100,0%
	200000-299999	Count	6	3	9
		% within TVG (TL)	66,7%	33,3%	100,0%
	300000-499999	Count	5	1	6
		% within TVG (TL)	83,3%	16,7%	100,0%
	500000-...	Count	1	0	1
		% within TVG (TL)	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	348	254	602
		% within TVG (TL)	57,8%	42,2%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,418[a]	6	,620
Likelihood Ratio	4,995	6	,544
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,627	1	,202
N of Valid Cases	602		
a. 5 cells (35,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,42.			

However, since the expected count percentage of 35,7 is high above the threshold of 20 % for a meaningful evaluation, the raw data were regrouped even though creating a risk of missing some details in the analysis. This time, an analysis was carried out on three groups instead of seven. In this case, the p-value, which is more than 0,05, indicates no significant relationship between the appraised value of structure and trees and the spatial mobility of squatter dwellers (Table 19).

Table 19. Relationship of Appraised Value (Grouped-2) with Spatial Mobility

Case Processing Summary						
	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Total Value Grouped-2 * in or out 2019	602	80,2%	149	19,8%	751	100,0%

Total Value Grouped-2 (TL) (TVG2)* in or out 2019 Crosstabulation					
			in or out 2019		
			in the project area	out of the project area	Total
Total Value Grouped-2 (TL)	0-50000	Count	221	173	394
		% within TVG2	56,1%	43,9%	100,0%
	50001-150000	Count	112	74	186
		% within TVG2	60,2%	39,8%	100,0%
	150001-...	Count	15	7	22
		% within TVG2	68,2%	31,8%	100,0%
Total		Count	348	254	602
		% within TVG2	57,8%	42,2%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,889[a]	2	,389
Likelihood Ratio	1,920	2	,383
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,798	1	,180
N of Valid Cases	602		
a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9,28.			

From this point forward, the attention is focused on squatter dwellers' spatial mobility trajectories in detail. Unlike the analyses above, which we have done by excluding the squatter dwellers whose houses had not been handed over as of 2019, the spatial mobility of all former squatter dwellers is examined in the following evaluations. The high rate of non-return of former squatter residents to the area is the primary motivation for using data obtained regarding the spatial mobility of former squatter residents whose houses have not been delivered. This is critical in terms of observing the current and possible consequences of intervention in the particular region and understanding the dynamics of neoliberal urbanisation that trigger transformations in other parts of the city.

In this sense, firstly, an analysis is made on where 1294 former squatter dwellers resided as of 2019 by associating with land tenure, a significant relationship which was observed within the tests above (Table 20).

Table 20. Neighbourhood 2019 and Ownership Status (OS) Crosstabulation

Case Processing Summary							
			Cases				
		Valid		Missing		Total	
		N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Neighbourhood 2019 * Ownership status		1064	82,2%	230	17,8%	1294	100,0%

			Ownership status (OS)			Total
			Title deed	Tapu Tahsis	Occupier	
Neighbourhood 2019	Derbent	Count	95	49	7	151
		% within OS	13,4%	20,3%	6,1%	14,2%
	Uregil	Count	85	15	0	100
		% within OS	12,0%	6,2%	0,0%	9,4%
	Araplar	Count	91	33	7	131
		% within OS	12,8%	13,7%	6,1%	12,3%
	Dutluk	Count	14	6	2	22
		% within OS	2,0%	2,5%	1,8%	2,1%
	Sirintepe	Count	48	2	5	55
		% within OS	6,8%	0,8%	4,4%	5,2%
	Misket	Count	31	12	2	45
		% within OS	4,4%	5,0%	1,8%	4,2%
	Neighbourhoods in Mamak	Count	221	64	37	322
		% within OS	31,2%	26,6%	32,5%	30,3%
	Neihgbourhoods out of Mamak	Count	78	34	24	136
		% within OS	11,0%	14,1%	21,1%	12,8%
	Kusunlar-Zirvekent	Count	1	11	20	32
		% within OS	0,1%	4,6%	17,5%	3,0%
	Neighbourhoods out of Ankara	Count	45	15	10	70
		% within OS	6,3%	6,2%	8,8%	6,6%
Total		Count	709	241	114	1064
		% within OS	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

While there were 1294 people at the beginning of the research, 1064 of them were reached in 2019. Since Üreğil, Derbent, and Araplar are the first three neighbourhoods in which the project had been carried out, and most of the houses have been handed over, the total rate of former squatter dwellers reached around 36% in these neighbourhoods. While the rate of people living in other neighbourhoods of Mamak is 30.3%, the rate of people scattered all around Ankara except Mamak is 12.8%. If each location is separately assessed, then the most attractive place for all three "ownership statuses" stands out as "the other neighbourhoods of Mamak". Just about 17% of the so-called occupiers, who are offered houses from the Zirvekent Mass Housing Area, preferred to move there. Against the renewal project that has given rise to the expulsion of the occupiers, many of them moved into either housing blocks produced in the project or close vicinity of their former squatter with their own means. It is also

noteworthy that among those who prefer Zirvekent, there are Tapu Tahsis Belgesi holders, even if it is 5% overall.

Putting "ownership status" aside for a while makes the picture more apparent to see the attractive and repellent areas in the city (Table 21). Dutluk and Şirintepe and partly Misket Neighbourhoods would not be included in the "least preferred places" evaluation since they turned into construction sites within the project. Consequently, it is not surprising that Zirvekent, proposed to the occupiers who constitutes a quarter of the population affected by the project, is the least opted, considering its relationship with the former squatter neighbourhoods and the city. More detailed information about the Zirvekent Mass Housing Area will be given on the following pages.

Table 21. Squatter Dwellers' Current Location of Residence 2019 by Neighbourhoods

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Derbent	152	11,7	14,2	14,2
	Uregil	101	7,8	9,4	23,6
	Araplar	132	10,2	12,3	35,9
	Dutluk	22	1,7	2,1	38,0
	Sirintepe	55	4,3	5,1	43,1
	Misket	45	3,5	4,2	47,3
	Neighbourhoods in Mamak	325	25,1	30,3	77,7
	Neihgbourhoods out of Mamak	137	10,6	12,8	90,5
	Kusunlar-Zirvekent	32	2,5	3,0	93,5
	Neighbourhoods out of Ankara	70	5,4	6,5	100,0
	Total	1071	82,8	100,0	
Missing	System	223	17,2		
Total		1294	100,0		

In the light of these findings, it would be essential to elaborate on the category called "Neighbourhoods out of Mamak". One thousand two hundred ninety-four people who lived in the six neighbourhoods of the renewal project area in 2011 moved into more than 150 different neighbourhoods as of 2019. Therefore, sorting these neighbourhoods according to municipalities seems more reasonable. Correspondingly, the transformation of the city and the former squatter dwellers' relationship with the city depending on the renewal project could be explained. Considering those who have moved into their homes that have been delivered as of 2019 and those who do not want to move away from their former environment, Mamak ranks first in this sense as the district where the project takes place, unsurprisingly. Accordingly, 80% of the former squatter dwellers are located in Mamak district as of 2019, while 2.3% have preferred to move to Sincan and 2.1% to Etimesgut Districts (Table 22).

Table 22. Former Squatter Dwellers' Distribution as of 2019 by Municipality

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Mamak	864	66,8	80,7	80,7
	Kecioren	16	1,2	1,5	82,2
	Yenimahalle	15	1,2	1,4	83,6
	Etimesgut	22	1,7	2,1	85,6
	Sincan	25	1,9	2,3	88,0
	Altındag	14	1,1	1,3	89,3
	Cankaya	8	,6	,7	90,0
	Pursaklar	15	1,2	1,4	91,4
	Other municipalities in Ankara	22	1,7	2,1	93,5
	Municipalities out of Ankara	70	5,4	6,5	100,0
	Total	1071	82,8	100,0	
Missing	System	223	17,2		
Total		1294	100,0		

But this was not the case in 2014. Sincan was the most preferred destination after Mamak as of 2014 (Figure 75). The other populated Districts are as follows: Keçiören, Pursaklar and Yenimahalle. The spatial mobility in 2014 is partially limited compared to 2019. This is mainly because of the increase in the population displaced by the project in time.
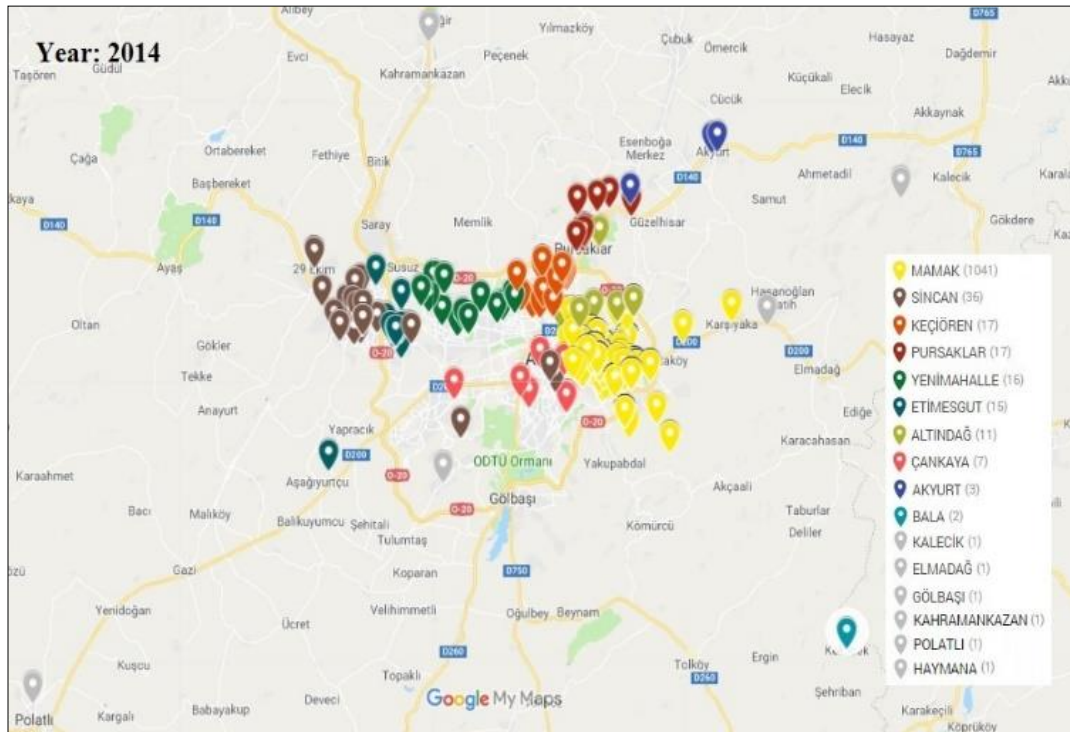

Figure 75. Former Squatter Dwellers' Spatial Distribution as of 2014 by Municipality

Mamak is the most preferred district, as it offers a familiar environment and affordable housing opportunities. Unsurprisingly, Çankaya takes the last place. According to the data obtained from the "sahibinden" website, the average square metre cost of housing in three municipalities comes out just the opposite of the spatial mobility (Figure 76). Sincan and Etimesgut have created an alternative via affordable housing prices at the other end of the city. The prices in Altındağ are close to Sincan; however, it was not preferred much since the housing stock is old. The new ones are mainly produced as high-rise blocks by urban renewal projects. One other significant reason that loses attractiveness of Altındağ was raised in the interviews is the changing demographic structure transformed with the immigration. Moreover, as can be seen in the analysis on the neighbourhood basis below, although many former squatter dwellers are working in the Siteler Region in Altındağ, where furniture manufacturing is mainly taking place, the number of people have headed to that region and its vicinity is relatively low. After 2010, Siteler has become a place where immigrants from Syria can cling to life while working informally or for low wages. The region, in which urban renewal projects had been implemented as well, has provided affordable accommodation to the immigrant population.
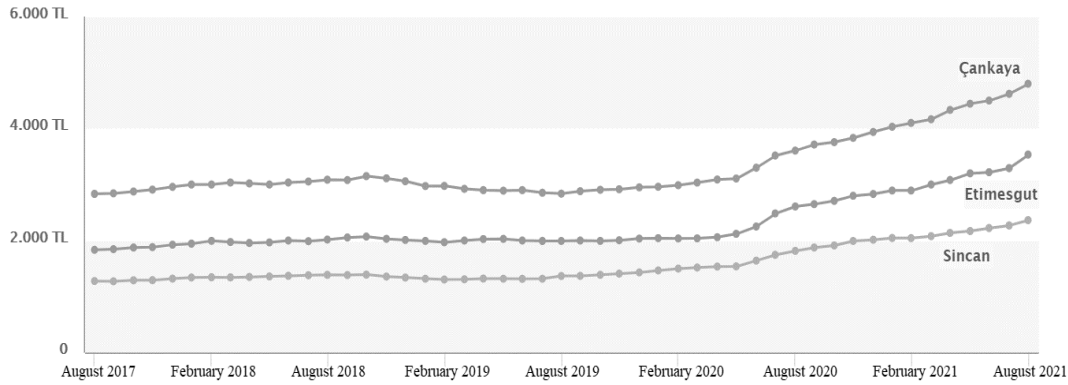

Figure 76. The Average Square Metre Cost of Housing in Çankaya, Etimesgut and Sincan (2017-2021)

Source: www.sahibinden.com

It is observed that the mobility range increased in 2019 (Figure 77). Some former squatter dwellers have headed to the more peripheral districts of Ankara. The concentration in not only the East but also the north and northwest of the city is striking in terms of the opted places to move. In addition to the fact that housing is more affordable in these regions, various dynamics that make these regions attractive have been reached during the field research. The prominent reasons that make the east side attractive are proximity to the previous living environment and the working areas of the squatter dwellers. In addition, as mentioned above, the second and third generation squatter dwellers who do not want to live in the squatter environment while heading to Sincan, Etimesgut, Pursaklar and some regions in Keçiören and Yenimahalle in which the housing is economically bearable, their first-degree relatives, usually parents, have begun to move into the immediate vicinity of them. Thus, as we see in the traditional squatter settings, while the elderly who are not in working life meet some of their working children's daily needs such as cooking and child-rearing, the younger generation may take care of their parents or grandparents. The following dialogue that took place during an interview is expressive in this sense.

X: After the delivery of your house, what are you going to do? Are you going to live in that house, or are you thinking of selling or renting it?

I52: My kids are already in this region. What am I going to do there? I have three daughters, and two of them are also residing in this region, very close to us. It was good to be here, especially to watch over the grandchildren. To some extent, we were able to support them.

I53: It is essential to be close to the children. Currently, all families are trying to be close to their children. That's why we stay here. But I think half of the right holders in Dutluk will return when the houses are completed. But the squatter life we are used to is over. Because they will start living in multi-storey buildings, maybe they meet in the green areas or the common areas of the housing site. They will see each other when they either go to the mosque or the coffee shop.

Figure 77. Former Squatter Dwellers' Spatial Distribution as of 2019 by Municipality

To the extent that their economic capital allows, the former squatter dwellers strive to choose housing areas where their social and cultural capital is or may be valuable and where they would not lose their work or would find job opportunities. With these motives, some of them headed to regions in the city in which their fellow countrymen whose ties have never broken lives. Another interviewee who lives in Etimesgut District stated as such:

X: After the project, where did your neighbours and acquaintances in the neighbourhood move to, and where did they start living?

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I54: There were about 70 households that came from my village and settled in Dutluk. Nearly 30 of them have moved to the Karapürçek region, behind the Siteler region. There were already those from our village in that area. After the initiation of the project, they moved from Dutluk to that region. I do not know whether you call such places a ghetto? It turns out to be a ghetto of people from our village. Someone moves there, then someone else follows, and they all gather at the same place. There is also a region called Yeşilbayır in Kayaş and Şahap Gürler. The urban renewal project is not taking place in these areas. 15-20 households have moved there in which there had been 8 or 10 households from my village already residing. Closing to acquaintances is a severe pull factor for people.

There are some people also scattered all over Ankara, like me. We are few at Etimesgut when compared to other regions. Some people moved to the Misket and Şirintepe neighbourhoods, which are partially affected by the project, just next to Dutluk. There are a lot of people who moved to apartment buildings in these two neighbourhoods as tenants. These are the mobility patterns of my close neighbours. There were also a considerable number of people from Yozgat in Dutluk. I heart that they have moved to places close to where people from their village live. Everyone is thinking and acting by the same token while moving.

It is already found that most of the former squatter dwellers have opted to move into the vicinity of the urban renewal project area. Strikingly, even though they were not in large numbers, some headed to the houses in the project area where the demolitions had not begun yet. Comparing the spatial mobility maps of 2014 and 2019 reveals scattering and concentration of the people (Figure 78 and Figure 79).

By the way, it should be noted that social capital and habitus play a tremendous role in the selection of place and housing form. An interviewee explained the site selection for his mother after their squatter was demolished within the project as follows:

I55: My mother did not want to move to a high-rise apartment building. Since some of our villagers live in and around Kayaş, my mother preferred to live there till our house was handed over. I thought my mom would be more comfortable with acquaintances because I could not always be with her. I am working all day long. That's why she wanted to be close to them.

X: How is it (the apartment life) going for her right now?

I55: My mother has good relations with the neighbours in the apartment, but unfortunately, she still yearns for the squatter. She still misses the squatter environment. She even sat down and cried the first day she moved into the apartment. She sat and cried. She had spent years in the squatter. She had lived in the squatter for 51 years. It is a long time.

Particularly the observed decrease in the number of people in the Araplar Neighbourhood between 2014 and 2019 could be attributed to an increase in the delivery of the houses in Derbent and Üreğil Neighbourhoods. For this reason, the number of former squatter dwellers residing in Eserkent Temporary Housing Area within the boundaries of Araplar was decreasing, while the number of residents in other neighbourhoods where constructions have been completed increased. Another interviewee stated in the phone interview that he would prefer to live in a squatter whether or not his house was handed over. Therefore, he added that he had moved to

Akşemsettin Neighbourhood, a squatter neighbourhood located on the periphery of Mamak, where no urban renewal project has been carried out yet.
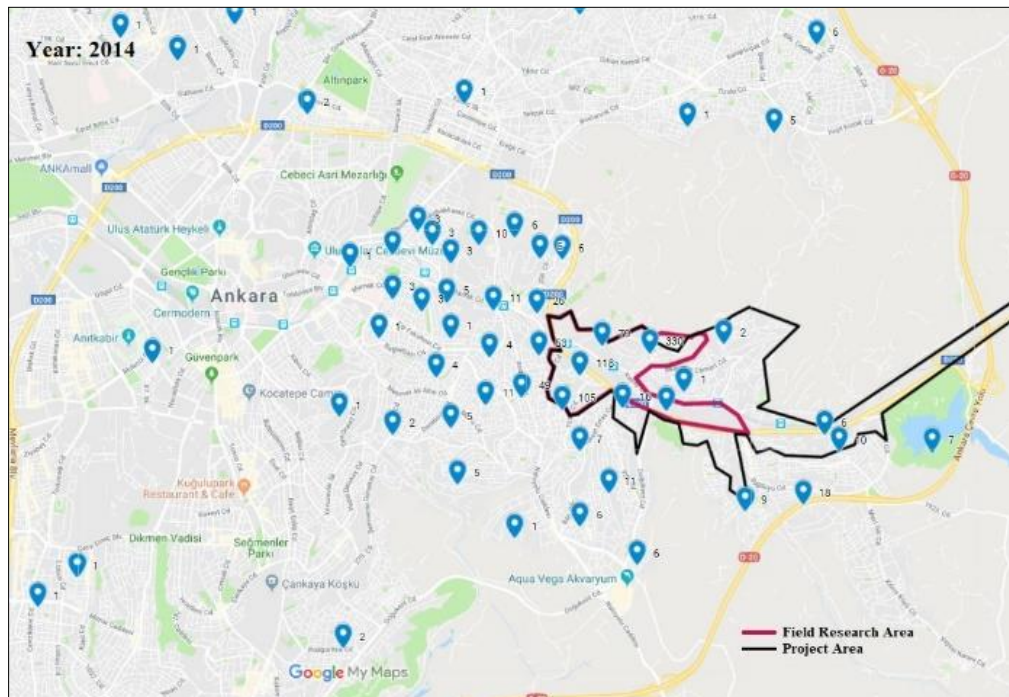

Figure 78. Places of Residences of Former Squatter Dwellers in the Vicinity of the Project Area as of 2014
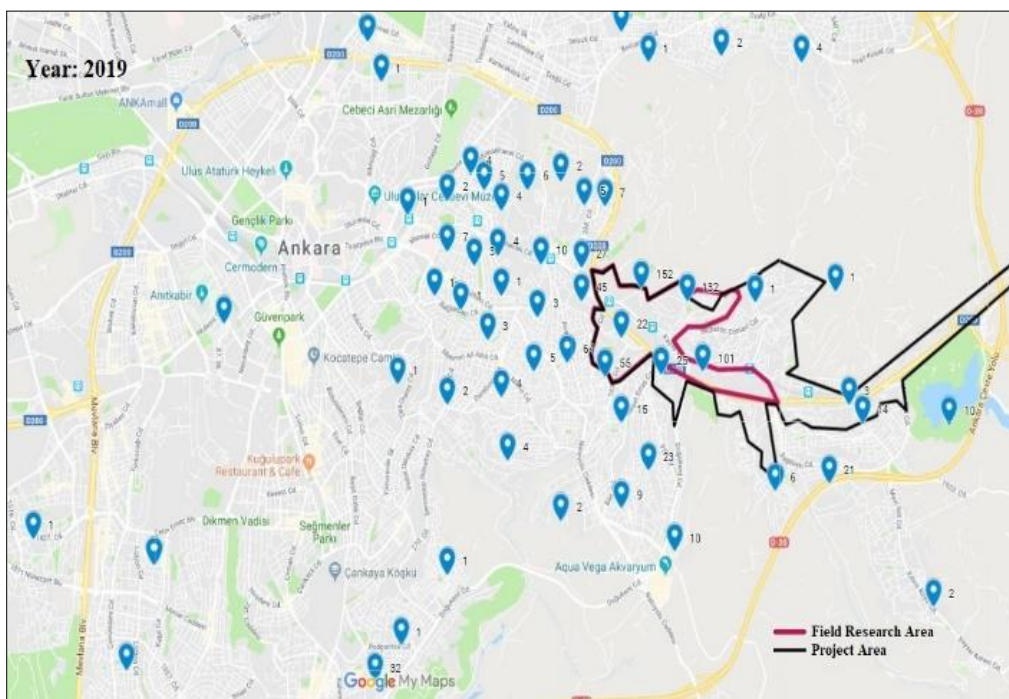

Figure 79. Places of Residences of Former Squatter Dwellers in the Vicinity of the Project Area as of 2019

People whose daily life is so dependent on solidarity, primarily due to economic necessities, do not want to change the environment in which they live for years. They also do not want to change their place of work or their route to work. Moving is an economically, socially, psychologically and physically challenging situation, especially if it happens with force against your will. The sudden change instead of at least a transition is devastating.

Since this evaluation will be done in detail in the next section, spatial mobility analyses are continued by considering the former squatter dwellers moving into other cities. It is interesting to find out that 6.5% of the sample population started to live outside of Ankara after the project (Table 23).

Table 23. Squatter Dwellers' Current Location of Residence 2019 by City

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Ankara	1001	77,4	93,5	93,5
	Other cities	70	5,4	6,5	100,0
	Total	1071	82,8	100,0	
Missing	System	223	17,2		
Total		1294	100,0		

From 2014 to 2019, in parallel with the rising number of displaced squatter dwellers, we see that the number of people moving out of Ankara has increased, and the provinces have varied (Figure 80 and Figure 81). Concentration was observed in the provinces around Ankara. Çorum, Kırıkkale, Yozgat, Kırşehir are the most preferred provinces. It indicates that some former squatter dwellers have chosen to return to their hometowns. These people are mostly over a certain age and retired. However, there are also people in this group who cannot afford to pay rent or buy a house in Ankara. For these people returning to their hometown had been an option instead of dealing with the burdens of the project.

Figure 80. Places of Residences of Former Squatter Dwellers out of Ankara as of 2014

Figure 81. Places of Residences of Former Squatter Dwellers out of Ankara as of 2019

The last quantitative analysis regarding spatial mobility is about where the squatter dwellers living in Üreğil, Derbent, Araplar, Dutluk, Şirintepe and Misket Neighbourhoods in 2011 are, as of 2019. This analysis is also critical to unfolding the transformations in the squatter dwellers' lives through the mobility patterns.

One of the previous analyses that employed the data of the dwellers whose houses have been delivered indicated that just approximately two-thirds of them returned to the project area. However, in this final analysis, nearly half of the sample population involved in the project have not got their houses as of 2019. Therefore, it is impossible to assure who will head to where at the end of the day. Destinations seen as temporary may become permanent ones. Nonetheless, this period is a transition regardless of whether they return to the project area or not. In this sense, regardless of their future prospects, due to the long-lasting project despite the more than ten years time that we spent in the field, it is an ongoing process depending on the great transformation brought by the project. In other words, we analyze particular chapters of a story that seems never-ending, similar to the dynamics of life. In addition, unlike the analyzes above by this temporal comparison carried out at the neighbourhood scale, it will be possible to observe whether the on-site renewal has taken place or not, at least for the squatter dwellers who have got their houses.

Although mentioned above, it is worth emphasizing that the number of former squatter dwellers tracked has decreased by more than 200 in about ten years. While some of them could not be reached over time, their relatives or acquaintances conveyed that some were deceased. In 2011, the sample population consisted of 214 squatter dwellers from the Derbent, 19 from Üreğil, 369 from Araplar, 295 from Dutluk, 164 from Şirintepe and ten from Misket Neighbourhoods.

Examining the neighbourhoods one by one will be more enlightening in terms of understanding how the process works. As Üreğil was the first stage demolished in the project, very few squatters had remained as of 2011 after the project had been initiated

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in 2008. As of 2019, the spatial mobility analysis of the dwellers in Üreğil indicated that approximately 74% of the former squatter dwellers began to live in the apartment blocks in Üreğil Neighbourhood (Table 24).

Table 24. Squatter Dwellers' Locations of Residence in 2011 and 2019

Case Processing Summary							
	Cases						
	Valid		Missing		Total		
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	
Neighbourhood 2019 * Neighbourhood 2011	1071	82,8%	223	17,2%	1294	100,0%	

Neighbourhood (NBHD) 2019 * Neighbourhood (NBHD) 2011 Crosstabulation								
			Neighbourhood 2011					
			Derbent	Uregil	Araplar	Dutluk	Sirintepe	Misket	Total
Neighbourhood 2019	Derbent	Count	44	0	108	0	0	0	152
		% within NBHD 2011	20,6%	0,0%	29,3%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	14,2%
	Uregil	Count	16	14	47	19	5	0	101
		% within NBHD 2011	7,5%	73,7%	12,7%	6,4%	3,0%	0,0%	9,4%
	Araplar	Count	15	0	104	10	3	0	132
		% within NBHD 2011	7,0%	0,0%	28,2%	3,4%	1,8%	0,0%	12,3%
	Dutluk	Count	0	0	0	22	0	0	22
		% within NBHD 2011	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	7,5%	0,0%	0,0%	2,1%
	Sirintepe	Count	0	0	0	11	44	0	55
		% within NBHD 2011	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	3,7%	26,8%	0,0%	5,1%
	Misket	Count	8	0	3	22	4	8	45
		% within NBHD 2011	3,7%	0,0%	0,8%	7,5%	2,4%	80,0%	4,2%
	Neighbourhoods in Mamak	Count	71	2	46	136	69	1	325
		% within NBHD 2011	33,2%	10,5%	12,5%	46,1%	42,1%	10,0%	30,3%
	Neihgbourhoods out of Mamak	Count	33	2	39	42	20	1	137
		% within NBHD 2011	15,4%	10,5%	10,6%	14,2%	12,2%	10,0%	12,8%
	Kusunlar-Zirvekent	Count	10	0	2	14	6	0	32
		% within NBHD 2011	4,7%	0,0%	0,5%	4,7%	3,7%	0,0%	3,0%
	Neighbourhoods out of Ankara	Count	17	1	20	19	13	0	70
		% within NBHD 2011	7,9%	5,3%	5,4%	6,4%	7,9%	0,0%	6,5%
Total		Count	214	19	369	295	164	10	1071
		% within NBHD 2011	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Although this rate is relatively high when looking at the situation in other neighbourhoods, the fact that the houses were delivered in a shorter time due to the fact that the area is the first stage played an essential role in this regard. In Derbent, on the other hand, where most of the residents, at least in our sample, have got their houses, the rate of beginning to live in the high rise housing blocks in Derbent is around 21%. While 33.2% of the people moved to other districts of Mamak, 15.4% of them headed to other districts of Ankara except for Mamak.

Strikingly, 7.5% of those in Derbent in 2011 have moved to blocks in Üreğil, and 7 % have moved to Araplar between 2011 and 2019. There are two explanations for the fact that approximately 15% of the sample population of Derbent had resided in these two neighbourhoods. On the one hand, the squatter dwellers staying in the Eserkent Temporary Housing Area in the Araplar District may cause minor deviations in the calculations. On the other hand, the provision of the vacant residences in different neighbourhoods to some right holders, as discussed in the previous section that questions the "on-site transformation principle" of the project, may also lead to similar deviations, which are inevitable but acceptable in such long-lasting fuzzy projects.

When it comes to Araplar, the findings confirm that at the beginning of the project, authorities' commitment that everyone would get their residence(s) in their neighbourhood and from the apartment block closest to their squatter has weakened over time. 30% of those residing in Araplar Neighbourhood in 2011 moved to the residences built in the project in Derbent Neighbourhood as of 2019. The analysis indicated that just slightly fewer former squatter dwellers had returned to their neighbourhoods. Moreover, among these people, some people never left the Neighbourhood since they preferred to stay in the Eserkent Temporary Housing Area till the delivery of their houses. Moreover, 12,5% of Araplar Neighbourhood's population had resided in the neighbourhoods of Mamak outside the project area, and approximately 10% in different districts of Ankara in 2019. Neighbourhoods in the immediate vicinity of the Project area have been attractive to the former squatter dwellers of Dutluk and Şirintepe. On the other hand, it should be noted that since the project has not gained momentum as of 2019, a substantial population continues to reside in their squatters, albeit among the rubbles. For instance, as of 2019, while 7.5% of the sample population of Dutluk had continued to live in the squatter, it is 26.8% in Şirintepe and 80% in Misket.

Field research has shown that unless external factors, especially environmental ones, force them to, the squatter dwellers were not willing to leave their squatter neighbourhoods. When they had had to leave the squatter neighbourhood setting they were in, the most popular places headed were the close neighbourhoods as the best-known place. On the one hand, only a few interviewees stated that they had settled in the squatters in the close neighbourhoods that have not yet been demolished and transformed. The main reasons behind moving into another squatter are the soaring housing prices accompanying economic difficulties and the desire not to be deprived of the facilities provided by the squatter setting. On the other hand, most of them have started to reside in neighbourhoods where apartment buildings have mushroomed in the last few decades. These neighbourhoods have generally been transformed by small or medium-sized contractors thanks to improvement plans. In these neighbourhoods where there are 4 or 5 storey apartments, due to the dense building texture, green areas, children's playgrounds, car parks, and such facilities are limited compared to housing

sites produced in the urban renewal projects. Conversely, the population density is lower in these residential areas, not as much as in squatter areas, though. 46.1% of those in Dutluk and 42.1% of those in Şirintepe preferred these neighbourhoods.

As a final comment about the population changes, the current conditions of Zirvekent should be highlighted (Figure 82). It is a housing area in which the houses were built by the Mass Housing Administration. Since it is a housing project for low-income groups, it is also available as an option for the squatter dwellers who are not involved in the project due to not meeting the requirements. This housing site is presented as an opportunity for the so-called occupiers who are not involved in the project due to not having any legal claim on the land.

The air distance between the Project Area and Zirvekent is about 7.5 km, and it takes approximately 30 minutes by private car and about 1 hour by public transportation. Although the low housing prices and long-term payment plan attract people, as seen from the gradually declining population size, the long-distance between this housing area and the urban area and the lack of facilities pose serious problems for the residents and turn into an undesirable area except for the desperate and stranded ones. However, the officer in charge at the Urban Renewal Coordination Centre of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality stated that as of 2018, 1350 new houses were sold in Zirvekent to people who are called "occupiers" within the project. While the total numbers of "occupiers" in the project are 3800, it can be inferred from the data gathered from multiple sources retrospectively and updated in 2019 that the current numbers of squatter dwellers who have moved into Zirvekent are just 20 % of the "occupiers" (Table 22). Therefore, although it does not appear as a favourable option to move in and live, it seems like a good investment due to its affordability, thanks to the long term payment plan. Thus, there would not be any problem as far as the monthly rental income meets the monthly mortgage payments. Therefore, the strategy that holds the house not for living but for investment assumes two things: the first one is quickly finding a tenant, and the second one is an increase in housing prices. This explains the high demand for houses but the small number of the "occupiers" who choose to live in Zirvekent.
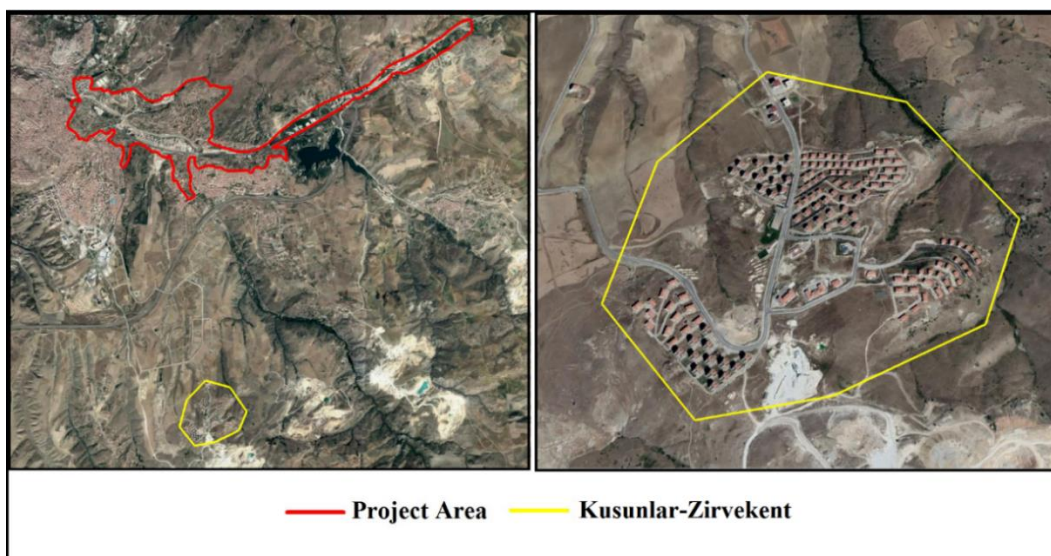

Figure 82. The Project Area and Kusunlar-Zirvekent TOKİ Housing

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On the other hand, strikingly, a small number of squatter dwellers who hold Tapu-Tahsis Belgesi are headed to live in Zirvekent. According to the data, the main reason for this situation is falling short of meeting the requirements. Some of these titleholders who had difficulties paying for the mortgages (up to 72 months), instead of striving to get a house within the urban renewal project, preferred to obtain appraised money for the land and debris of their structure. Then by using this money as an advance payment, they could find a chance immediately to become an owner of a house in this new housing site, Zirvekent, with a 120-month payment plan. Moreover, it is also stated by some interviewees that Zirvekent could be a choice to be close to relatives and friends who are obliged to move in there (Figure 83).

Another striking finding, as a result of the mobility analysis lasting about ten years, is that only three former squatter dwellers who had moved to Zirvekent were moved again after a while. While one of them lives in a 3-storey apartment building that has not been demolished yet in the Dutluk District, where the project continues, the other two have moved to 4-storey apartments very close to the urban renewal project area. Their motivation for moving from Zirvekent is the yearning to be close to their acquaintances, relatives and workplace. One of them (I56) stated:

> We strive to live in Zirvekent, but it was challenging. We lived there for six years. Facilities were minimal. It was challenging to reach there. Too far from the centre. We couldn't live there. I rented out the house in Zirvekent. I am also a tenant here, but the prices are reasonable since the house is an old one and in the renewal area.

Figure 83. A View of Kusunlar-Zirvekent TOKİ Housing Area
Source: Google Maps

But this was not the case for the other two. They complained about the higher rental prices due to the increasing demand for rental housing. As the mobility analysis shows, many former squatter dwellers have begun to reside around the project area. Therefore the housing market in the nearby neighbourhoods became more active, albeit for a while.

One of the most important reasons for restricting mobility, which was also emphasized in these interviews, is the cost of moving. Apart from the money allocated for

transportation of the stuff, subscriptions for main utilities, a certain amount of money for rent deposit and possible new items to be purchased create new costs and expenses. Another former squatter dweller who spent five years in Zirvekent stated that they had not even had enough money to move into any other place for a certain period.

Therefore, to be mobile, economic capital is a crucial requirement. If it is insufficient or limited, strong social capital is the most critical form of capital to have in such cases in this context. In today's societies, where solidarity is also decreasing, individuals are increasingly isolated and left alone with the market.

4.6.3. Housing Market Matters

The social positions of squatter dwellers are kind of responses to the historical and material conditions of the current social setting in Turkey. It is a rent-based or rent-seeking activity that prioritises exchange-value over use-value. An activist who stands up to the authority under Mamak Right to Shelter Organization stated that he is against the project since it is impossible to live in any other place except the squatter environment for him and many others due to several dispositions and social relations. However, a few minutes later, it was asked what his attitudes towards the project could be if the municipality within the project offered more houses to hand over. While smiling, he gave an immediate answer to this question stating that he would get involved in the urban renewal project. Suddenly, controversial issues and criticisms regarding the housing project, such as the location and material quality of the handed over houses in return for their squatters, debt burdens, and deteriorated neighbouring relations, were left aside. Actually, this inconsistency observed within the same conversation is intrinsically related to the contradictions of the current state of play. Squatter dwellers have strived to increase their gains against authority in a game in which the rules are set by the very same authority.

Even before it started, the first rumours about the project increased the housing market activity in the squatter neighbourhoods. On the one hand, those who saw this as an opportunity strived to hold more land. At the same time, the former tenants gradually left the area, and the underclass began to move into the region, albeit low in number. This paved to way for remarkable residential mobility and market dynamism in the neighbourhoods. In an interview held in 2010, a real estate agent carrying out his business in the field stated the following:

> X: How did the project affect you?
>
> I57: Thank God. Better than ever. Those who need more land to be involved in the project, those who want to own a piece of land to become a part of the project, those who do not want to be involved in this, the tenants, and so on. These created certain market transactions and market dynamism. However, some people want to hold more land surreptitiously. They mess things up a little. There are rumours that they are relatives and acquaintances of the local administrators.

Although many rumours were circulating in the area regarding these allegations, we wanted to look at the housing market's activity in these neighbourhoods as the project gains momentum since there is no possibility to validate these kinds of assertions (Figure 84).

Figure 84. Contact Numbers of a Real Estate Agents Seen On the Wall of a Partly Demolished Squatter

Source: Google Maps

In this regard, the data of the Turkish General Directorate of Land Registry has been analysed. Although the data before 2010 are not included in the system, which created an essential handicap for the study, it is crucial to understand the housing market mobility that emerged after that time (Figure 85).
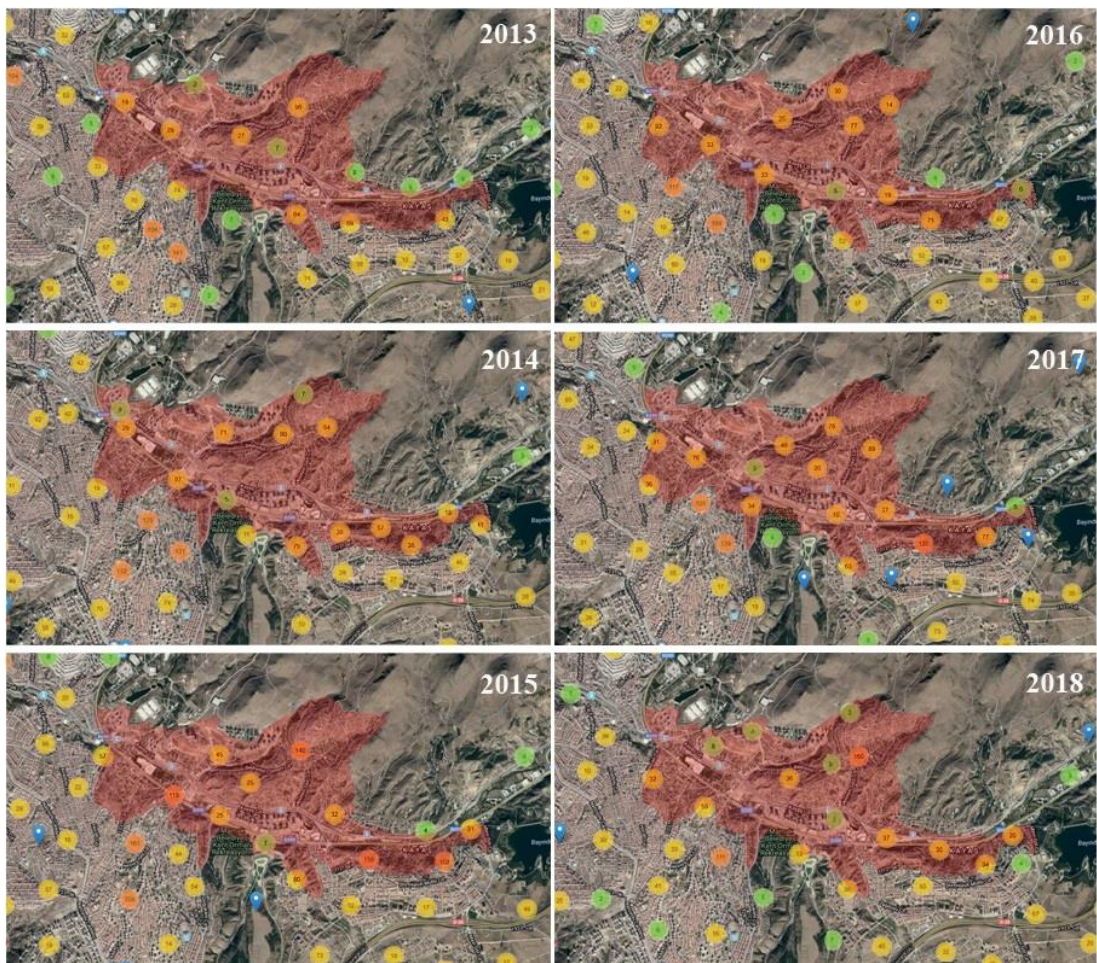

Figure 85. Immovable Property Transactions between 2010-2018

Source: Turkish General Directorate of Land Registry (https://parselsorgu.tkgm.gov.tr/)

The immovable property covers land, detached or semi-detached units and each structure on this land plot. Therefore, it includes both condominiums and construction servitude as well. Accordingly, this study considers that the immovable property transactions indicate the number of squatters either transferred to the municipal authority within the urban renewal project or sold to the parties who try to own a house by completing their missing share or who try to grow his/her share in the project.

When we look at the statistics of the Turkish General Directorate of Land Registry, the detached unit transactions indicate housing market activity regarding condominiums (Figure 86). Since the houses were handed over to the people in 2012 within the project and few condominiums used to be in the project area, in 2010 and in 2011, there were limited transactions in the project area. On the one hand, land registry data shows that in these five new housing sites (one is in Üreğil Neighbourhood, one is in Araplar Neighbourhood, and the rest are in Derbent Neighbourhood), there had been 3486 detached unit transactions in total since the houses began to be delivered. On the other hand, when the archive of the magazine "Büyükşehir Ankara", which is published weekly by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in order to inform the public about the activities of the municipality, is examined, it is stated that the number of houses given to the right holders in total is close to 5000 ("Yeni Mamak'ta 5 Bin Konut Teslim Edildi", 2017, p. 7). However, this data must be interpreted with caution because according to a newsletter on the website of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in March 2018, then again, just 3565 houses were given to the right holders who have documents, while 1374 houses out of the project area were sold to the squatter dwellers who have no certificates and considered as "occupiers" ("Mamak'ta Bin 135 Konut Tamamlandı", 2018). Therefore, this means that 1374 people chose to buy a house in Zirvekent thanks to long-term housing loans. Moreover, as of the end of 2018, to make this situation clear, the information had been received from the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project Coordination Center. It is stated that 4300 houses were provided to the right holders by drawing lots, and approximately 1350 houses were owned by "occupiers". The total number of houses provided to the former squatter dwellers reached 5672[72] in February 2019 ("Yeni Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Kura Çekilişi Yapıldı", 2019") and reached 5920 in December 2019 (Yılmaz, 2019).

Mansur Yavaş, who was elected as the Mayor of the Metropolitan Municipality in March 2019, stated that 2103 more houses would be built at the ceremony held in Dutluk District in August 2021 ("Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi ve 2021 Projelerimizin Temel Atma, Açılış ve Tanıtım Töreni", 2021). He also mentioned that foundations of 2376 residences and 31 commercial units would be laid just after the tender stage was completed. Thus, Yavaş stated that they aimed to catch up with the number of houses built by the previous administration since 2008 within two years. The Mayor declared that the project would continue with the municipality's means. He also stated that they would make an effort to complete the construction of the remaining houses under his administration. The most important aspect of this ceremony is that it was the first tangible step of the new administration in the field. Furthermore, for the first time in this ceremony, the name "Mamak Urban Renewal Project" was used instead of "Yeni (New) Mamak Urban Renewal Project" which had

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[72] On this date, it was also stated that 40 workplaces were handed over.

been used for more than 13 years. This can be regarded as a manoeuvre by which the new administration aims to distance itself from the old period.
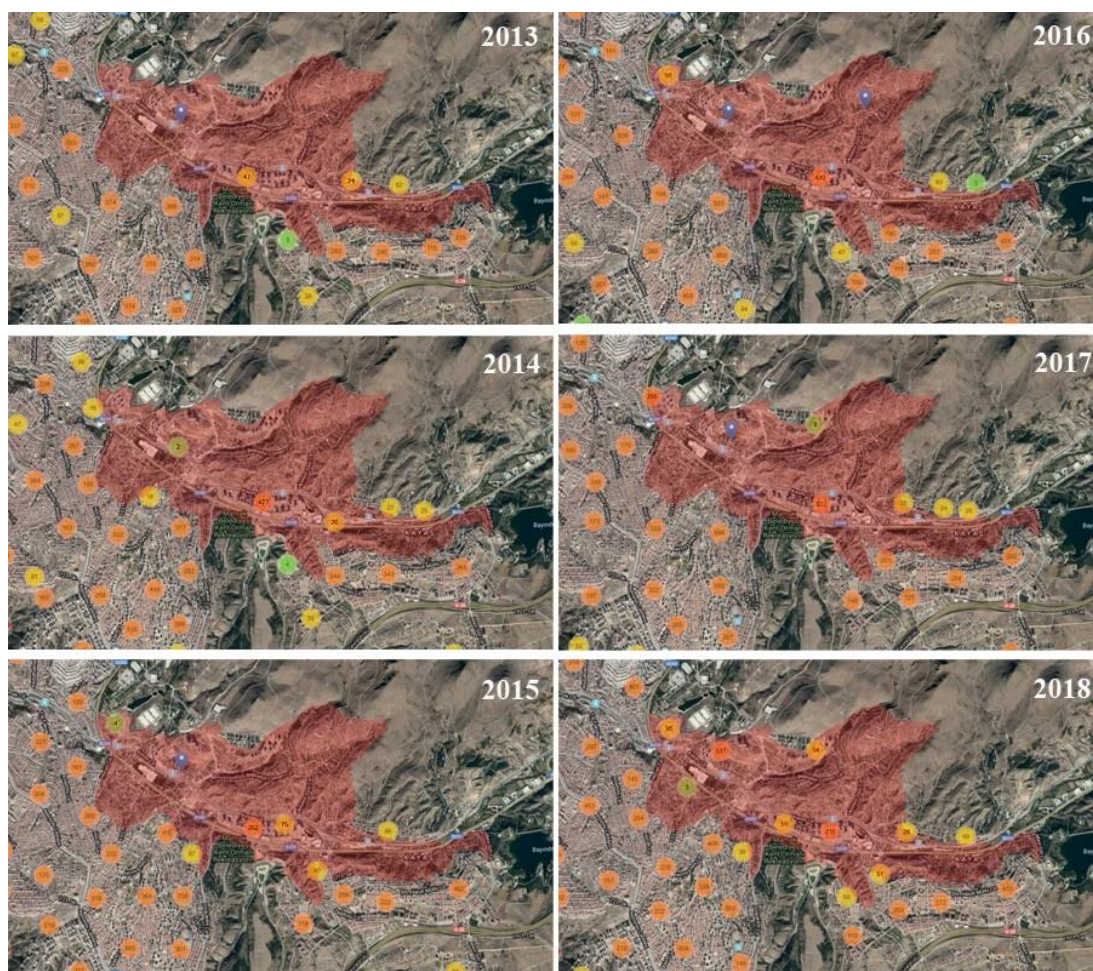

Figure 86. Detached Unit Transactions between 2010-2018
Source: Turkish General Directorate of Land Registry (https://parselsorgu.tkgm.gov.tr/)

Besides immovable property and detached unit transactions, land registry data include residential mortgage ones. This data is noteworthy since it provides the details of detached unit transactions that cover all forms of registry, including the housing delivery of municipality and the right holders' house sales to anyone (Table 25). From mortgage sales data (Figure 87), we find a chance to omit the number of houses delivered by the municipality.

Table 25. Detached Unit Equation

Detached unit transactions = Mortgage sales + Cash Sales + Housing Delivery of Municipality

On the one hand, it cannot be assumed that the mortgage sales are the only sales regarding these new houses since there may be cash sales. On the other hand, this data is the only way to see the volume of house sales of right holder squatter dwellers under such conditions that the specific data cannot be requested in detail, and it is not shared if it is requested. In line with the available land registry data, parallel to the increase

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in delivery of houses year by year, there is a fluctuation in residential mortgage transactions. When Üreğil Neighbourhood in which the houses were first delivered is considered, the mortgage was taken out 16 times in 2012. This number has changed over the years as follows: 8 in 2013, 3 in 2014, 84 in 2015, 52 in 2016, 85 in 2017 and 22 in 2018. When we look at the remaining two neighbourhoods' housing sites that are relatively new compared to one in Üreğil, mortgage activity is more limited due to the pace depending on the yearly construction and housing delivery progress. In Derbent Neighbourhood, individuals applied for mortgages 13 times in 2016, 28 times in 2017, and 32 times in 2018. Since the housing delivery process began in 2018 in Araplar Neighbourhood, there has been a limited number (3) of mortgage usage. Besides the pace of delivery in the different neighbourhoods, two main reasons behind these changes could be brought forward. Firstly, as it is mentioned above, most of the transactions may not be credit sales. Second and maybe the most potent factor concerning this inverted-U-shaped mortgage sales curve is the rising interest rates in Turkey.

Moreover, the field research conducted in Üreğil also revealed that the right holders who get more than one house, although they are few in number, are willing to rent the redundant houses unless their children or parents choose to live in them. But also there are right holders who prefer selling it instead of dealing with the problems of tenants. It is possible to list three more right holder groups who opt to sell their new house or houses built within the project. The first group is the right holders who already have a house other than the squatter and have lived there. These people are not in need of these houses. The second group is the right holders who planned to buy a house elsewhere in lieu of a house in the project. The last group of right holders are the people who began to live as tenants due to the project. Since the completion of the project had lasted long, they have gotten used to living in there. They are in search of a suitable house to buy around by using money from the sale of the house in the project.

In the housing market, in 2018, the headman of Üreğil Neighbourhood stated that the number of tenants is considerable, but they are stable, and the turnover is low. In fact, this was not the case in the early years when the settlement began.

Due to certain reservations and financial conditions of the right holders, while the number of houses for rent, sale and vacant houses was higher, moving in and out had decreased over the years. Actually, it seems understandable since most of the residents' residential mobility is low due to several reasons such as financial difficulties and dispositions accumulated throughout the years. Regarding the question on the residents' profile of these new houses, the headman of Üreğil Neighbourhood stated that while most of the residents of these new houses are former squatter dwellers who are mostly retired, there are also lower-level officers and blue-collar workers, but they are all middle or mostly low-income families.

Parallel to the low-level residential mobility in the area, the housing supply in the market may be clearly seen when we look at the well-known property listing websites such as "sahibinden" and "hurriyetemlak". Both the advertisements on these websites in recent years and the observations while wandering around the neighbourhood in 2018 and in 2019 showed that the number of houses for sale and the number of rental houses is highly limited when compared to the housing stock and previous years.
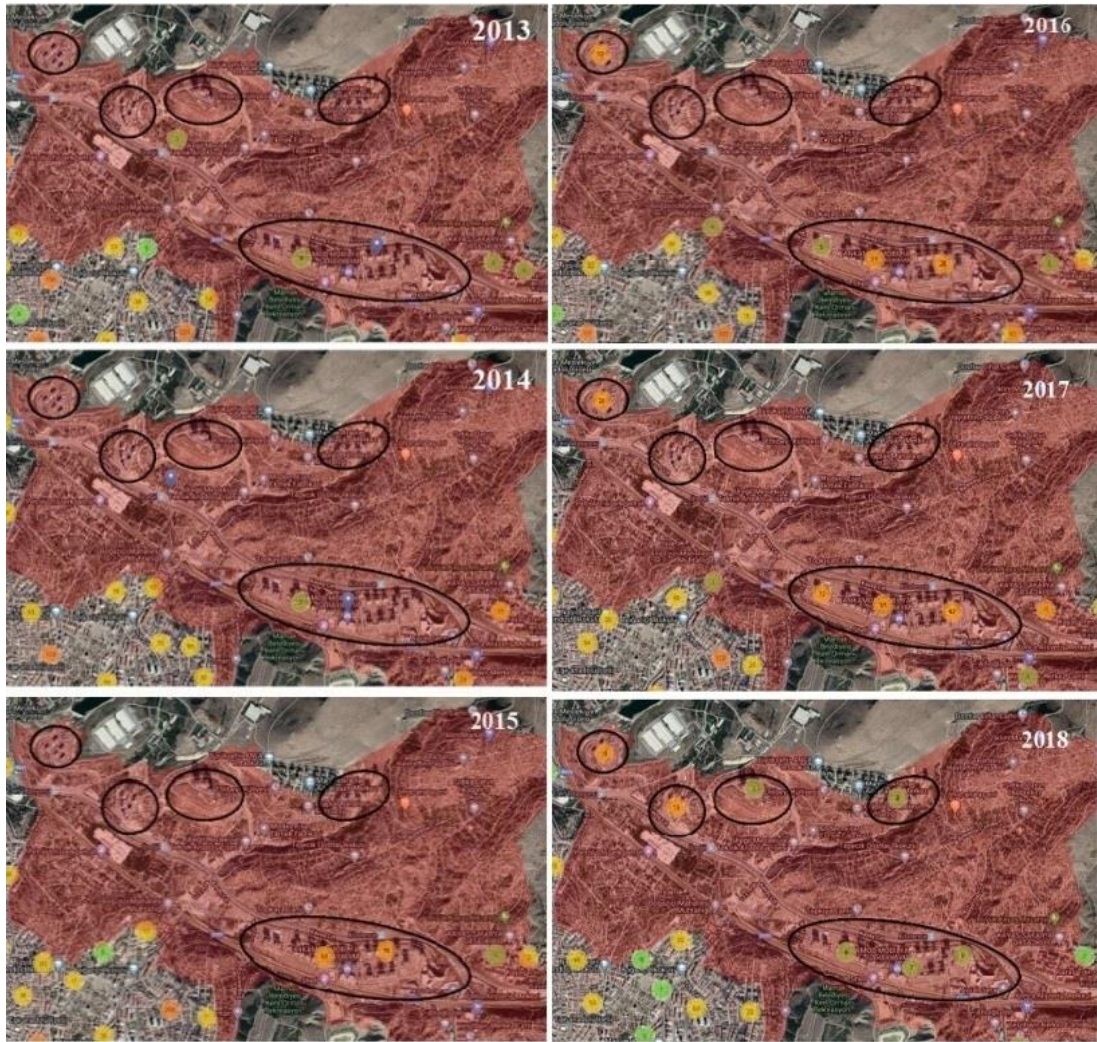
Figure 87. Mortgage Sales between 2013-2018
Source: Turkish General Directorate of Land Registry (https://parselsorgu.tkgm.gov.tr/)

When a price comparison was made in 2017 among the houses for sale in the "sahibinden" which is the leading property listing website in Turkey, it was seen that while there is only one squatter that comes with a Tapu-Tahsis Belgesi is listed, there are numerous advertisements for the Apartment Houses of the Municipality (Figure 88). Although this picture captures just a moment in time and does not signify the whole housing market prices for a long period of time or a certain time interval, at least these prices can give us a clue about the real estate prices which motivate or deters right holders since the first day the project started. It is obvious that this price formation has to be considered regarding the processes of the project. On the one hand, the apartment houses in the Üreğil Neighbourhood are brand-new and ready for occupancy. On the other hand, as stated in the advertisement, the squatter is an investment. Actually, it is a long term investment due to uncertainties of the housing program. It is in the next stages of the project, and no authority or official in the municipality has an idea regarding when the construction will start there. Therefore, due to the very low use-value of the squatter related to the indecent living environment created by the project, a buyer may make a long term investment while enjoying the

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monthly paid rent allowance unless she or he is not in a difficult position to live in isolation among the ruins and in the rubble. Under these conditions

Under these conditions, if we consider the plot size of the squatter, which is 400 square metres and its tenure group, which is registered via Tapu-Tahsis Belgesi, this means that according to the project's code of practice, this squatter may be handed over to the municipality in return for an apartment of 100 square meters. Therefore, by buying a squatter for 60000 TL (Turkish Lira), an investor may find a chance to have an apartment house sold for around 200000 TL if everything goes well.

Therefore, when we compare the prices, this deal seems highly profitable not only for an investor but also for squatter dwellers. It should be noted again that the price comparison is made within the rules of the "urban renewal game" that annihilate squatters while promoting and forcing living in the apartment. One of the interviewees stated that they were forced to deliver their squatters under the coercion of public authority. According to him, this was the end for the squatters. The squatters' time was over; it was time for the apartment houses, at least for them.
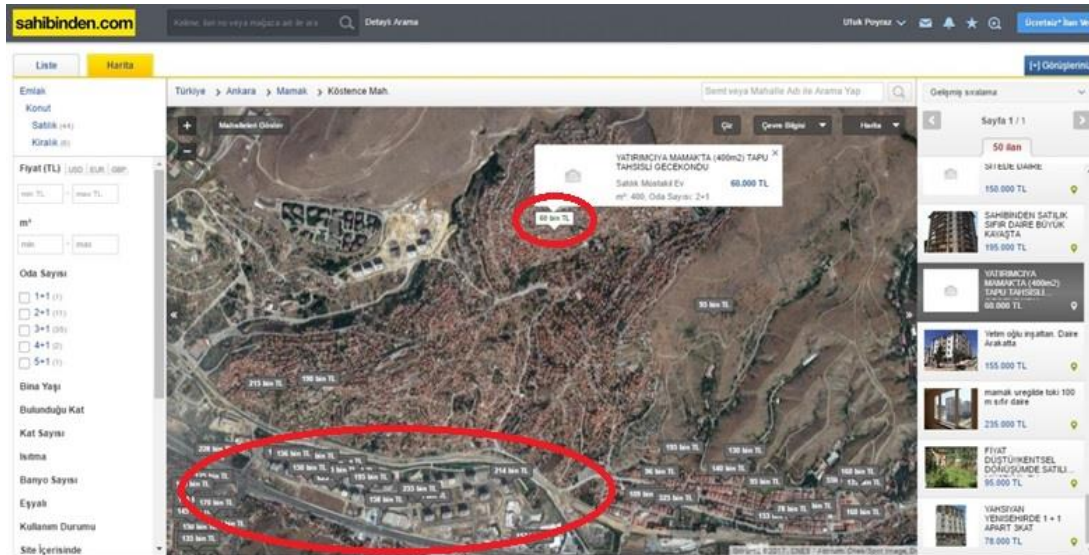
Figure 88. Price Comparison Between a Squatter and the Apartment Houses of the Municipality in 2017

Source: www.sahibinden.com (The retrieved date is June 21, 2017)

Regarding this exchange value calculation, one last striking comment has to be made regarding the perceptions of the squatter dwellers and their accuracy of price estimations. In 2010 while the initial part of this study's field research has been conducted, one of the squatter dwellers (I58), who was among the proponents of the project by glorifying the urban renewal project, stated:

> If these squatters are transformed via the "build and sell system", the buildings would be very close to each other. We see these buildings everywhere. It is very common. If you put a ladder, you can pass to the balcony of the apartment next to yours. They are so close. There is no privacy. There is no "order". They are randomly constructed. You cannot get fresh air and even sunlight. So if this place transformed via build and sell, a house would cost 80000 TL. Now, a squatter would be sold at 40000 or 50000 TL at most. But when the construction of the

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houses within the urban renewal project is finished and delivered to us, I won't sell it for 150000 TL or 200000 TL. It will be good; it will be good. For example, in this project, there will be a huge distance between structures and empty spaces. Then there will be green areas. It would be very good. Just think of the elevator or central heating system.

In another interview held in the same year at the Eserkent Temporary Housing Area of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, but this time, the interviewees had complicated feelings about the project; although they participated in the housing program by giving up their squatter, expressed their views as follows:

I59: His and my squatters were the same. Our squatters were in the rocky area. Just the 20 square meters of the land in front of the house is registered, but the remaining area is rocky, and we have no chance to claim anything. We dig a hole in the rock and built part of the house in it. I built the sewage system. It's been 40 years since I built my home.

Its market price is around 10000 TL right now. We became indebted to the municipality for 21000 TL, and we paid it. It is 35000 TL in total. Now the apartment house that they will give us may be sold at 200000 TL. There will be a central heating system and security in all buildings. If these people can pay their debts and be patient for a couple of years, then they can sell it and move to a more affordable place because the expenses for security, caretaker, and heating system will be costly for most of the people in here.

I60: If they are able to afford it till that time, they will wait. Otherwise, they will sell it at any price, most probably below its market value.

I59: We are living in these lodgements at no cost for heating or security, but we will pay the security expenses, and we will even pay for the irrigation as well.

Here are the municipality's lodgings. Everything will cost us there. There will be at least 100 TL per month for the dues. We will pay that money. Maybe it will be 150 TL for each month regardless of in summer or winter. Here, most people are unable to pay 15 TL. Therefore, when they get their houses, most of those, who are not able to afford the expenses, will sell them. For example, we have a caretaker for these apartments here. We, the whole residents in the apartment, are paying 250 TL in total. But some people cannot afford it. How can these people pay 150 TL dues there? When it comes to me, I will sell that house as soon as the municipality delivers it. I have problems with my heart. I have cardiac anomalies. I do not know how long I will live. I will not deal with its costs and expenses! Currently, the houses they will give us are worth 160000 TL. We know that. We hear that because there have been many who sold their houses. When you get the document that you have no debt to the municipality, you may sell your house regardless of basic details. The location of the apartment, the floor and the facade of the apartment are not clear. It could be in Block A or Block B. This is not your problem. It just bothers the person who accepts buying the property. Therefore, it is sold at a lower price than it should be since the buyer will hold a house that does not exist yet.

I60: For example, you agreed to sell it for 200000 TL, but when the house is delivered, it may be worth 300000 TL, there will be nothing to do. In other words, if the location of the house is favourable, then you will be worse off. Therefore, if you endure that financial burden, if you have the financial resources to wait,

then you can sell it for a lot more money. But if you need cash, you can't wait. Not everyone can stand for it.

One of the interviewees also concurred with him.

> X: What are the prices of the newly built houses of the municipality? I mean the houses that right holders get.

> I16: My uncle bought a house for 200000 TL in Derbent. A home on the 7th floor.

> X: How big is the house he bought?

> I16: He bought a 100 square meter house for 200000 TL. Before I bought a house, I researched the prices of the homes there. The prices had changed for a home from 200000 TL to 260000 TL at the very same apartment block although they are of the same quality. All have the same features. Despite that, people in need may sell at a lower price.

Regardless of the inflation, it is seen that the housing market has lived up to its expectations as of 2017. On the other hand, when we look at the prices from 2017 to 2020, according to sahibinden.com, a renowned leading property listing website in Turkey, the price trend per square meter (Figure 89) has slightly changed for the apartment houses that are located in three project neighbourhoods, namely Üreğil, Derbent and Araplar, the overall house price trends (Figure 90) in Üreğil, Derbent and Zirvekent Neighbourhoods differ between them but the pattern has been mostly stable for three years.
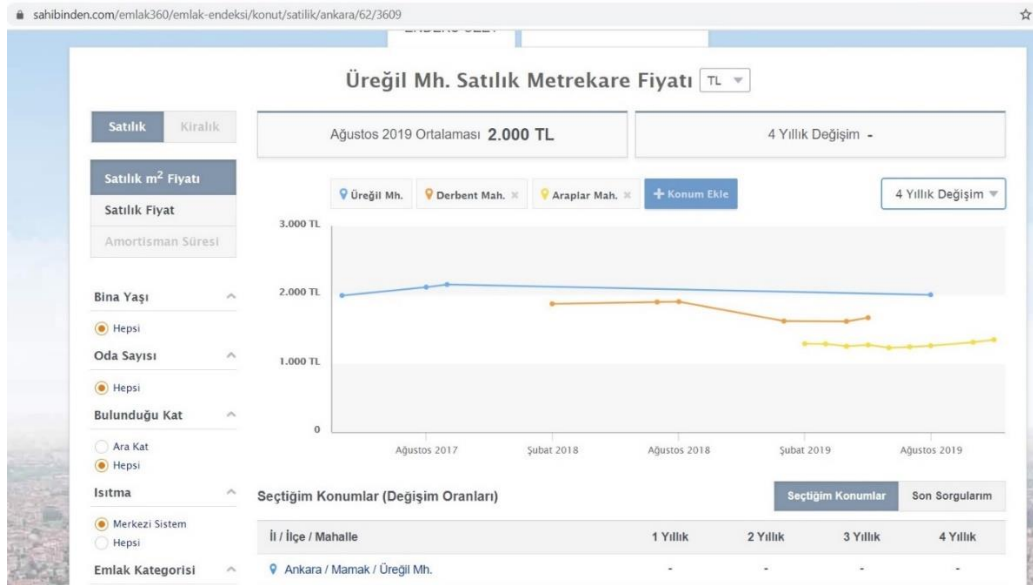

Figure 89. Prices (per square meter) of Houses by Neighbourhoods between 2017 and 2020

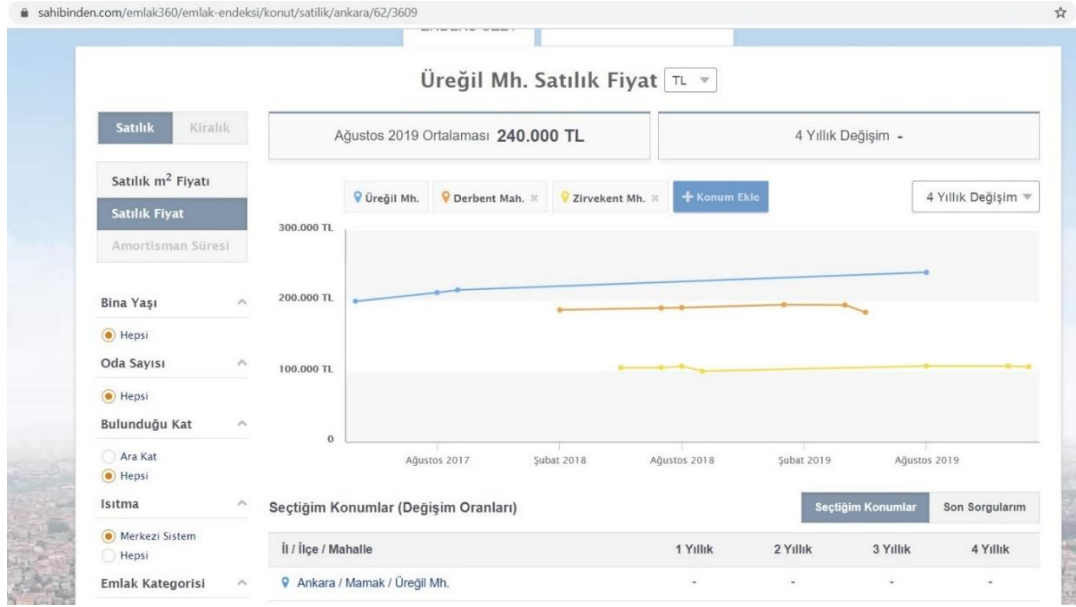Source: www.sahibinden.com (The retrieved date is April 15, 2020)

Figure 90. Housing Prices by Neighbourhoods between 2017 and 2020
Source: www.sahibinden.com (The retrieved date is April 15, 2020)

It should be noted that since the search results are filtered by the central heating system, these price chart excludes all squatters and just covers the houses produced by the municipality. Although the low prices for Zirvekent are reasonable due to its location, which is not even close to the vicinity of the beltway, the price variations among the project neighbourhoods that are very close to each other basically stem from three main reasons. First of all, Üreğil stands out from the rest due to the comparatively favourable location that is close to public transport networks and due to the flat topography of the area. Secondly, since it is the first housing site in the project, it is more structured in terms of facilities and services while others lack essential ones, such as a market. Thirdly, as stated in the above interview, some right holders may opt to sell their houses due to financial difficulties before the delivery at low prices in Derbent and Araplar Neighbourhoods.

Using the price index of houses just next to the urban renewal project area, it is also possible to see the right holders' expectations regarding the "exchange value" of the houses. In this regard, since the squatters in these close neighbourhoods have been mostly transformed through the rehabilitation plans, we could find a chance to compare the "build and sell system" versus the urban renewal project. Figure 91 reveals that there has not been a dramatic change in the prices which is also parallel to the prices of houses produced in urban renewal projects. However, except Araplar Neighbourhood, the prices per square meter is higher both in Üreğil and in Derbent Neighbourhoods. While a square meter price is around 2000 TL in Üreğil Neighbourhood and around 1650 TL in Derbent Neighbourhood as of 2020, it is around 1350 TL for Şahintepe, Yeşilbayır and Kayaş Neighbourhoods. Moreover, in order to cancel the aged houses' effect out that most of the time lowers the prices in housing market in these close neighbourhoods, the construction year of the houses are considered and the "building age" is chosen between 0-4 years while searching and listing the results. Although the prices increase from 1350 to 1500, for instance, for Şahintepe, it is three-quarters of the prices in Üreğil Neighbourhood. Therefore, the

results of this query do not contradict the previous one. To sum up, all these findings support the views of many squatter dwellers who have positive attitudes towards the project and expects high return at the end of the day.
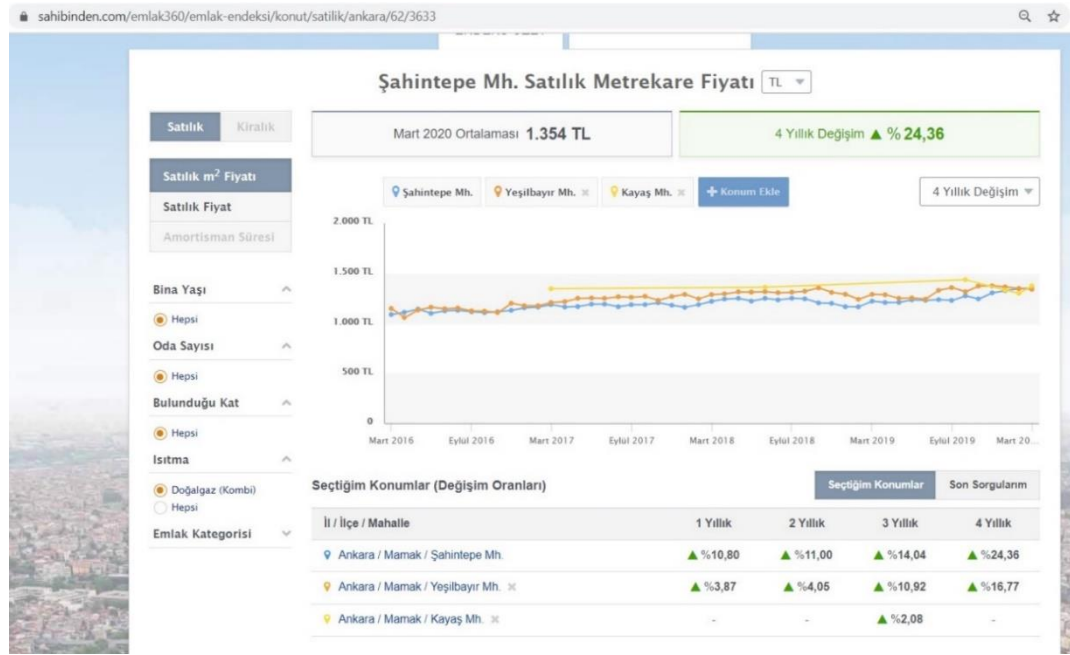
Figure 91. Prices (per square meter) of Houses in Three Neighbourhoods next to the Urban Renewal Area between 2016 and 2020

Source: www.sahibinden.com (The retrieved date is May 09, 2020)

Overall prices and all these assertions, feelings, and price estimations indicate not only the hopes and plans but also the contradictions, confusions and predicaments of the former squatter dwellers.

The decline in relations and restrictions in the apartment houses are the problems raised by the former squatter dwellers who have an either positive or negative attitudes towards the project. The interviewees frequently have a complaint about "bad" neighbourly relations and the lack of spatial mobility and spatial comfort that they have in squatter. However, most of the former squatter dwellers who began to live in the high rise apartment blocks in the project area were pleased with the central heating system, the security guards, the elevator, the caretaker, the parking lot and the playground.

Instead of worry, these people are in despair, and there is a strong sense of frustration for them. The most significant forms of capital, namely social and cultural, of squatter dwellers suffer and diminish while their economic capital accumulates or increases at best.

One of the interviewees stated in the telephone interview that they had moved to another squatter neighbourhood that is not far away from the project area. Instead of living in an apartment house as a tenant or as a beneficiary of the Eserkent Temporary Housing Site while waiting for the completion of his new house, this old man had

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chosen to live in a squatter that he already owned or recently bought or rented[73]. Since he was not willing to do an interview, we could not get the exact story from him, but we are assuming that he did not rent that squatter since he stated that he was dealing with the construction to strengthen the squatter and make some additions to the structure as well. But he clearly stated that he was not planning to move to the mass housing area. Although it is an exceptional case, it is the embodied form of rejecting the life in the apartment and sticking to the dispositions.

This old man also went to court against the administration regarding the "unfair compensation" for the debris of his structure, but he lost the case due to the changing attitude of the supreme court in 2017.

Many squatter dwellers involved in the Project could not meet the requirements of the project's code of practice to get a house without financial burdens and became indebted. Since these people have limited and mostly irregular income, regardless of the amount of the monthly payments, from time to time they have difficulties in meeting their liabilities. The long-lasting timeline seems advantageous for paying the debt; nonetheless, it suppresses the debtor who may be faced with losing their home unless s/he can not make it for the next month. Regarding the monthly payments of the indebted right holders, the public officer in charge stated

> Although they are few in number, there are those who have trouble with monthly payments. But since the interests are very low, it is somehow taken care of. Moreover, right holders have the right to draw lots without paying the debt or the instalments, but they cannot hold their title deed before they pay off the whole debt. In order to ameliorate these difficulties, the municipality is doing its utmost. Unless the instalments are paid, you cannot hold the title deed of your home, and you do not enjoy it.

However, in a focus group interview, two former squatter dwellers stated as follows:

> I62: Our total debt was 21000 TL. You have to regularly pay your debt monthly. For example, I did not pay for a month; I could not pay actually. They fined me 2500 TL. It is written in the contract that "unless I pay my debt for three months, I sign away my contractual rights. We signed this contract, brother.

> I63: It means you're out; you are in trouble when you don't pay off the mortgage even for three months.

Actually, we could not find any chance to analyse the contract between parties (right holder squatter dweller and the municipality) since the officer in charge in the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara was not willing to share a copy of it. He said that the contract is confidential and it is a private matter between the two sides. Also, he stated that he did not understand why these documents concerned us. This was a dead-end, but from the data acquired within the field research, although most of the main features have stayed the same, due to modifications in the code of practice, we can be sure that the content of the contract that regulates the liabilities and responsibilities of the parties had been changed in the course of time.

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[73] He did not specify the ownership status in the interview, even though it was questioned.

One of the most striking interviews was made with a retired elderly male (I64) living in the Üreğil District.

> My land was vast compared to many. I agreed to pay a little more, so the municipality gave me not one but two residences. I thought that my son would settle in one of them. My son used to live with me just before the project has started. But then he moved when he got married. He rented a house in Etimesgut.
>
> When the houses were delivered, I called my son. I said, "Don't waste your money. There is an extra house. Feel free to settle". But he did not opt to move in here. He remained as a tenant but did not opt to come here. I have nothing to say.
>
> Anyway, I reside in one of the houses. The other is vacant now. I am looking for a tenant to rent it now. At least that way, I can avoid the apartment maintenance fee.

Having no idea what to do with something after having it, yet the motivation to hoard and the desire to have it must be peculiar to capitalism. Especially in a country like Turkey, where people are concerned for their future, this has become a common reflex. After striving to be involved in the project and coping with the financial and possible adverse conditions until the house is delivered, some squatter dwellers become an owner of a good that they want to get rid of as soon as possible. The real estate agent interviewed by the phone operating in the region stated that the housing market there was very active as of 2020, and there were many housing options for both sale and rental.

Today, urban renewal projects are not only the appraisal of squatter dwellers' lands or structures or trees but also (re)valuations of their lives. The market rules are embodied and materialised in the urban renewal process. We have apparent losers like "occupiers" and tenants; however, since the right holders are divided depending on the land tenure system, the code of practice of the project has blurred who has been dispossessed and who has accumulated what, regardless of being a devastating transformation in squatter dwellers' lives.

The authority did occupiers a "favour" and gave them a "great" chance to become a legal owners of an apartment residence in the peripheral area, 7.5 kilometres away from their former residences. No one would have the slightest idea about the destinations of tenants and how their lives have changed unless it is specifically pursued. On the one hand, although the title deed owners whose squatters are on the developed land seem to be in the most advantageous position within the framework of the project, the share of ground rent received in market-driven projects would be larger. On the other hand, Tapu Tahsis Belgesi holders, who cannot be a part of market-led transformation under the current legal framework, undertake heavy financial obligations depending on the project's code of practice, even though they overcome the legal disputes via the renewal project.

Under these conditions, the renewal process is a complex way of accumulation by dispossession. While the dispossession in this process, which is pointed out by many of the squatter dwellers as well as market data, is apparent, through the creation of expectations in the market, squatter dwellers become a housing market players and

feel possible gains down to their bones thanks to their brand new residences. While explaining her expectations from the project, the former squatter dweller (I65) put this situation into words:

> No one will believe the housing prices after the houses are completed, and the project is over. The housing prices will be at least 5 or 6 times more than that of a squatter. Our property will be valued thanks to the project. Nobody gives that money to a squatter, but many want to buy or lease a newly built residence in a housing site with parking lots, securities, heating system.

This inference is a correct analysis of a false reality. Besides the support of the ruling party to the construction sector, due to the high inflation environment in the country, housing prices have been constantly increased, as mentioned by the interviewee. On the other hand, the decreasing real wages in the face of inflation and depending decrease in the purchasing power caused a false perception in society. The constant rise in the prices of goods exclusively makes those who own property advantageous over those who do not. In addition, as shown in the previous sections, the housing market is one of rapidly shrinking ones during economic crises. However, none of the interviewed lower and middle-class squatter dwellers, who see housing as profitable investment, have stated the possible pitfalls in the housing market and that they are getting poorer and poorer in many other areas.

Long story short, becoming a part of the project may concurrently pave the way for accumulation and dispossession, which disproportionately favours contractors, developers and central and local authorities while "who accumulates what and how much in return for what" stays in the dark. As well as those who have high expectations of return from the housing program by looking at the price trends in the housing market, such as the former squatter dweller above, some right holders live in despair after the project since they even have problems paying utility costs. Several reasons may be advanced to explain such worries. Squatter neighbourhoods have often been home to low-income households. Some of these people are retired workers trying to survive with meagre monthly pensions. Those who are still in the labour market are divided into those who do not have a regular salary because they work in informal jobs and those who have a secure job but for low wages. Therefore, introducing long term mortgage loans is far from reassuring many right holders. In 2018 a retired interviewee (I66) stated:

> We can barely repay this loan. We are all low-income families striving to live here. Everyone is indebted. Everyone is paying at least 800 to 1200 TL monthly. This is half of the people's income. How can we meet other basic needs? Most of them are retired like me. I'm paying 800 TL monthly. I have a debt of 33000 TL.

Another interviewee in 2016 asserted that their household size was five, and her husband's income was only 1800 TL per month. Since they were increasingly having difficulties paying their monthly debts, the woman said she was praying all night long that her husband did not get fired. People were tense while talking about the possibility that the residences would not be handed over to right holders who could not pay their debts. Another former squatter dweller (I16) talked about his uncle's conditions as such:

My uncle was involved in the project. But then he felt regret. First, he moved into a residence thanks to the rent allowance given by the municipality. He lived there as a tenant for approximately one year, but instead of paying monthly rent, he opted to buy a house with mortgage loans. He said that instead of spending money for a place that would never belong to him, he could borrow money from the bank to own a home in the future. Now he lives in his own home in serious debt, though. Maybe he lived here if the residences had been handed over earlier. But I do not think that he will move in here anymore. As far as I know, he will sell when he gets the residence to pay his debts.

Different from the becoming widespread use of the credit card that provides an "opportunity" for low-income people "to consume" while foreclosing their future, long-term mortgages mean a commitment to and deeper integration into the financial system. Turkey became a debt-driven society while engaging in these financial activities thanks to such interventions as the urban renewal projects.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The neoliberal era, in which the capitalist mode of production and relations of production are fundamentally reconfigured through revaluation and oppression, indicates that capital is more dependent on urban space than ever before. In accordance with that, the significance of the urban policies has increased to re-establish the hegemony for the provision of capital circulation and accumulation as part and parcel of everyday life. It is precisely in this sense that housing as a basic human need turns out to be a commodity in the market. Today's housing problem in metropolitan areas has nothing to do with the market equilibrium. Instead, it is related to a social formation that prioritizes exchange-value over use-value by speculating and manipulating. This is evident in the quantitative data pertaining to housing stock and excessive housing.

As the contradiction between use and exchange value becomes more severe day by day, especially for the working class and disadvantaged groups in the society, due to neoliberal entrenchment, the changes in housing policies and particular interventions of the public authority in this field become crucial. Among these interventions, urban renewal projects that have mostly taken over the metropolitan cities of the Global South and turned them into construction sites are the embodiment of neoliberal urbanization.

Housing is at the locus of the hegemony of the neoliberal ideology mediated by capital accumulation and circulation. In this sense, urban renewal projects that became prevalent in Turkey after 2000 with the reign of the single-party government provide representative selections of the manifestation of this neoliberal turn in the urban space. Urban renewal as a particular game in the housing field subsumes power relations and relations of production that occur in the urban space. The expression of these relations is the annihilation of squatter that is a spatially and historically embedded housing in the urbanization history of Turkey. When the squatters and the accompanying set of relations became redundant or insufficient for more capital accumulation, their destruction and the creation of market-oriented social relations and spaces became permissible in neoliberal urbanisation.

In this sense, this thesis situates activities and dynamics in the housing field and specifically in the urban renewal projects associated with capital accumulation and hegemony construction depending on the particular TimeSpace configuration of Turkey. Urban renewal projects are illustrative cases since they are historically specific, socially formative class-based interventions that enable understanding of how hegemony is constructed and capital penetrates every part and parcel of lives. The tension between the sudden or gradual break with the historically constituted dispositions and the subsequent transformation and the resistance, acceptance or hybrid forms of responses of these people unfold how particular social forces at work and embodied in the lives of the people.

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The accumulation and depreciation in the various forms of capital related to the urban renewal game played in the housing field point out entangled, interdependent and multi-faceted hegemonic relations in the society, which necessitates multiple levels of investigations and various vantage points. Revealing complex social patterns depends on making relevant abstractions lean on the "real concrete". This requires determining the necessary relationships as well as the contingencies in the analysis of the phenomenon. Accordingly, carrying out a discussion on the methodology became a must for finding out how to grasp social reality's dynamics, patterns, and possibilities. This discussion brought along the problematization of the study itself. Therefore, prior to putting forth the effort needed to analyse the real concrete, this scientific endeavour was initially situated in its social and historical context, which poses challenges and opportunities while carrying out the research. The academic division of labour that signifies the lines of demarcation in knowledge production suppresses relational thinking while impeding access to the totality of reality for the researchers. This creates significant impediments to understanding and making sense of complex social phenomena. It may turn out like the "blind men and an elephant in the darkroom" story.

With this regard, it should also be noted that analytical thinking as a way of critical thinking that may not be freed from the violence of abstraction is a significant skill to be enhanced. To the extent that the academic division of labour embraces analytical thinking as an end, it inhibits the acquisition of the knowledge of the whole. Therefore, intuitive, analytical and relational thinking are the mindsets that allow concrete abstractions to be made while complementing each other for the researcher who has specific knowledge of the field. In this study, the accumulated knowledge and skills in the field of the study correlated with intuitive thinking are blended with analytical and relational thinking as the means of production of knowledge to overcome the limitations of the academic division of labour. Since it is realised while looking at the literature that the effort to deal with neoliberal hegemony and its peculiar form of capital accumulation through the urban renewal in the housing area requires going beyond the conventional academic disciplines, as in any other social phenomena.

Having an interdisciplinary approach is promising, but it would be competent unless it is limited in its newly emerging specific field of study. In other words, instead of drawing new lines of divisions in academia, there is a need for unification by considering internal and necessary relations among the existing divisions of labour in academia in accordance with the extension of the study. In this regard, although this study as a humble endeavour has the risk of being eclectic, different disciplines, different approaches and different levels of analysis has been drawn on for discussion by removing or at least questioning and expanding the boundaries to enhance grasping social reality.

The chief obstacle to the production of knowledge of the whole is insufficient knowledge and inappropriate methodology, as well as resource and time constraints. In this respect, on the one hand, it is critical to determine a well-defined problem and find out a relevant research question and scope to make the study manageable. On the other hand, expanding the scope as much as possible must be one of the indispensable targets of the scientific quest to challenge this misery. In this context, although this study, which sometimes suffers from the historically constituted dispositions in the field of knowledge production, aims to adopt a holistic and relational approach

requiring the consideration of different theoretical directions. In this sense, "borrowings" in academia have become a hot topic.

Even in cases that the abstraction does not distort reality, the scientific knowledge and related theories and concepts produced are time and space-dependent due to the particular configuration of the historical and social context. This does not mean that the theoretical discussions and set of concepts produced in different geographies and times are insignificant for other studies or inapplicable at any time and place. On the contrary, they can contribute more than the scientific works produced in that very same geography. However, since the hegemonic enforcement in knowledge production may be overlooked, it should be underlined that it is crucial to be cautious while adopting and using these theories. In this sense, it is essential to refer to sets of concepts and theoretical discussions that can facilitate the process of abstraction in the effort to reach thought concrete based on real concrete and the discovery of the relations between particular and general.

This points to the tension between the two epistemological positions this study leans on. The confrontation between historical materialism, which seeks to acquire the knowledge of the whole, and critical realism, which prioritizes the knowledge of the particular, enriches the understanding of how neoliberal urbanization is embodied in different generality levels. Although necessities and internal relations are the driving forces of the abstraction process, contingencies, potentials, and divergences are also critical for understanding historical and social manifestations and transformations. In this context, however, even though dealing with the squatter, which pumped up to cover the shelter needs of the labour-power as a result of the inadequate housing policies opted during the capitalist development process of Turkey, at various generality levels seems convenient to penetrate to the heart of these complex relations and dynamics, a schema called the "Three Dimensional Abstraction" is proposed to utilize a comprehensive, alternative and systematic research strategy.

The "scale" and "layer" dimensions have been integrated into the generality levels as significant pillars to apprehend the spatial and temporal manifestations of the material constellation of social practices. Put succinctly, every particular research subject could be handled as a derivative of the whole. In this regard, the particular may become diverse while emerging in the bosom of the whole. Thus, a study carried out based on this scheme may improve the limited insights by having access to the "fourth dimension". Metaphorically speaking, access to the tesseract (fourth dimension), which facilitates a comprehensive understanding regarding the addressed questions raised by the study, is gained only by revealing the relationships between different nodes of different dimensions, depending on the study's extension (scope). Making these relations that construct social reality visible also requires holding various vantage points to explain the dynamics and processes at different levels. Thus, over relational thinking, it becomes possible to produce the knowledge of analytically differentiated categories such as the whole and the particular, the necessities and the contingencies, the individual and the society.

In this framework, firstly, bearing in mind the relational approach, different vantage points and related theoretical discussions regarding capital accumulation and hegemony-building are addressed by focusing on the "urban renewal game" in the housing field. Then to indicate how the dynamics and processes at higher generality

levels manifest, conceptual and theoretical frameworks prioritizing individuals are employed to clarify the conditions, attitudes and positionings of the players who are not freed from the rules of the game. Long story short, the discussions also held by revealing the limitations of these theoretical approaches aim to elaborate the capital accumulation and hegemony-building as integral parts of the process that provides considerable insight into "how it works" at different levels.

In this study, understanding the role attributed to housing in the neoliberal era is of priority. In this sense, on the one hand, the knowledge of urban renewal projects, as an embodiment of creative destruction that takes place in the housing field, is not acquired unless addressing Harvey's discussions on the political economy of urbanization engaging with the circuits of capital and the capital switching, the role of the investments and financialization in the built environment.

On the other hand, the housing policy in question has been reformed within the neoliberal mould. A rich vein of discussion concerns the increasing commodification and marketization of such a basic human need that could not be attained and sustained without a hegemonic project guided by certain ideological strands. Correspondingly, the role of the state and the social considerations are as crucial as capital accumulation, formation and circulation. Therefore, the discussion of both the "governmentality" in the Foucauldian sense and "integral state" in the Gramscian sense occupies a special place in understanding how power and power relations are mediated in society through the housing question.

Therefore, Gramscian and Lefebvrian perspectives are critical lenses for examining this formative intervention in the housing field. From another vantage point, these kinds of formative interventions in the housing field create tension between Lefebvre's "everyday life", which highlights the order of mundane and mediocre in the capitalist social formation and Bourdieu's "habitus", which refers to historically constituted dispositions. The tension mainly arises from the fact that squatter as a housing structure and everyday practices in squatter neighbourhoods have become disposable, as they have no longer been carriers of current capitalist social relations. In other words, urban renewal projects play an essential role in both capitalising on potential land rent conceptualised as the "rent gap" by Neil Smith and changing the daily life practices and dispositions through which labour-power reproduces itself in the housing environment. The home of the squatter labour, partly freed from the "capitalistic enterprise" thanks to these state-led projects, has integrated into the market like never before.

Within the theoretical framework of this study, references were made to various discussions beyond those touched upon in this section, which may enable us to put the methodology into practice. Thus, prominent figures who had "flashlights" were invited into the darkroom to at least depict the elephant. However, this does not mean that their scientific positioning and the knowledge they produce would be taken for granted or assumed as given. As expected throughout the study, the complexity and contextuality of the production and power relations challenged some theoretical considerations. In line with the problem of the study, while focusing on urban renewal, which is not only a housing policy but also a hegemonic development strategy dependent on the capitalist development of Turkey, we had a chance to see methodological inferences and theoretical discussions at work.

By dint of retrospective research strategy, the theoretical discussions shed light on the gathered data embedded in time and space are also challenged by the very same data offering valuable insights into the embodiment of "how it works". After a great deal of theoretical discussion is carried out, the conditions in Turkey are elaborated to understand and demonstrate ongoing neoliberalization in the housing field through the urban renewal game by mapping contextual and personal factors. In this regard, the analysis is undertaken concerning both national and local dynamics. Unless the material conditions of housing and the considerations for housing are comprehended at the national level, the urban renewal phenomenon would be full of victimisation stories. Though this is where we mostly ended up regarding the urban renewal reality, it could not elucidate how it works and proceeds as causing many grievances.

The construction-led policies have been adopted as a capital accumulation and development strategy in Turkey and many countries that have lagged behind the core countries in terms of capital accumulation. Investments through the construction sector have boosted over the world, especially in the recent times of Neoliberalism, as it speeds up the economic activities of many sectors and sub-sectors, as well as the size of the capital it puts directly into circulation. The increasing activities and projects have turned the construction sector into a source of employment for mostly unskilled labour-power. Against the labour intensiveness, insecurity, informality and high labour turnover, labour mobility and employment capacity in the sector were introduced almost as a welfare state practice. In this process, countries "drowned in cement" thanks to the infrastructure projects, sensational megaprojects and even crazy projects. In countries like Turkey, association with cement has created a dependency to the extent that the relationship had not been abandoned or at least transformed. Especially in the last 20 years, the land-rent economy and its speculative derivatives have occupied a prominent place in Turkey's economy in which the value-added production has been limited and has primarily relied on debt-driven growth. The Turkish economy that has strived to attract foreign direct investments to ensure capital accumulation and growth and increase employment has been accelerated basically by either speculative money flows or public resources.

During this time period, although the construction sector as an economic activity opens to speculation is not a robust sector against the downturns, 'spatial fix' has played a significant role not only in capital accumulation and circulation but also in the hegemony building processes. Becoming visible over the investment in the built environment has become a necessity rather than an option for the leaders. Expanding the power in the way of hegemony building depends on the resources and collective memory embedded in place. Considering that the politicians of many countries, including Turkey, who came to office at the national level, had ruled the metropolises earlier, it will be seen how critical the capacity to create the built environment is.

Parallel to the rise of populism worldwide, the piecemeal interventions in the built environment do not pursue the public interest. Although it is a kind of empty signifier, standpoints leaning on public interest and the principles of urban planning in line with it are the only stances in the legal framework left that have to be defended to maintain the commons against the potential and actual creative destructions and to reclaim private spaces. On the other hand, the main struggle against neoliberal entrenchment, which leads to more commodification, privatization and financialization, should be aimed at undermining its hegemonic and ideological foundations. For this purpose, it

is necessary to know how it works and reproduces itself. It seems quite meaningful to demonstrate ongoing neoliberalization through housing, which has recently become the subject of investment, financialization and securitization more than ever, as the facets of one of the main contradictions of capitalism that relies on the tension between exchange-value and use-value.

Housing construction had continued at full speed to meet the housing needs of the growing population in Turkey, except for the periods of economic crisis and stagnation. Nonetheless, since affordable housing for the lower and middle classes has not been provided, the rate of homeownership in society has decreased. In the housing market, in which few small and medium-sized contractors turned into large-scale construction companies by engaging power through mutually beneficial relationships, housing production for low-income households has become an issue for the state since it is not sufficiently profitable.

Especially Housing Development Agency as the representative of the central government, and the municipalities have held power to set the rules in this sub-field of housing. These public authorities intervened in this field through urban renewal and development projects that have been carried out either on the public land with a low land cost at the urban fringe or in the squatter neighbourhoods stigmatised as being obsolete and den of iniquity. While citizens who reside within the boundaries of these projects or wish to become a homeowner have been confronted with the state that holds the monopoly of legitimate violence, to a great extent, capitalisation, commodification, dispossession and (re)valuation processes have been disguised with stigmatisation and discrimination based on land tenure rights.

On the one hand, as an era of economic uncertainties that have pumped up populist politics, neoliberalism has also paved the way for selective, flexible and irregular decision-making and policy-making processes in line with embedded contextual factors. Correspondingly, the three colours of politics, corporatism, clientelism and populism, dominate the social canvas. On the other hand, the populist policies accompanying, facilitating and reproducing the authoritarian regimes worldwide have to regulate the redistribution to confer legitimacy to a certain extent. Redistribution through development rights is one of Southern urbanism's most common policy initiatives. Through such interventions, the state mediates the struggle between capital and labour and acquires a superior role to exercise the "legitimate coercion" to sustain "forced consent" in society.

Although the players' gain is determined mainly by the game's founders, it becomes possible to continue the game as long as it is not launched as a zero-sum game and partially realized in this way. However, such a game completely changes the scale, level and content of the struggle, especially for those who have limited gains and those who lose. To put it bluntly, players are often obliged to struggle with a motivation to maximize profit by not only taking advantage of maladministration and incompetence but also pursuing clientelistic strategies, rather than changing the game, its rules and the players holding power. In other words, the power that depends on holding resources and having the capacity to determine the rules of the games favours and imposes a particular course of action. In this sense, commodification that prioritizes the exchange value over use value through revaluation as indicated in the housing

policies and particularly in the urban renewal projects is the driving force and push factor.

The coercive power that initiates the urban renewal projects gives incentives to right holders, who are involved in, even at the cost of foreclosing the rest of their lives. This inclusion, while forcing people to play this game, points to the creation of the "entrepreneurial self" in the Foucauldian sense, which is the main component of the construction of neoliberal hegemony. Besides this individual positioning, associated behaviour patterns, and gains and losses, this study also focused on the "cement" of this construction to understand how it works in the urban renewal case to embody the process. The analyses suggest in broad sense that there are mainly two driving forces that enable urban renewal projects to progress. The first one comprises the popular discourse and ideological strands motivating people to hold a stance in a particular political direction. The second one as the complement is the redistributive policies developed and implemented in the shadow of the state's coercive power. This is how hegemony operates. To refine these two intermingled processes and epitomise the squatter dwellers' experiences, we came up with a schema comprising mezzo level concepts that embody the contradictory and conflict-driven nature of capitalist urbanisation in the neoliberal era.

In this framework, the fieldwork that lasted approximately ten years uncovered several interwoven moments, dynamics and mechanisms taking place in the urban renewal process. By adopting the life course method that is handy to reveal ruptures and continuities through three stages, namely preparation, destruction, creation and devastation, we strived to comprehend the transformation experienced in the lives of squatter dwellers. Thus, although we attached importance to demographic breakdowns such as gender, age, ethnicity and religious sect, considering squatter dwellers as a single cohort enabled us to discuss the transformation depending basically on the urban renewal.

It should be noted that the dynamics, moments and mechanisms called "the cement" are also relevant for many urban renewal projects. But they are specifically listed and discussed in this study considering the Yeni Mamak Urban Renewal Project case. This is mainly because of not ignoring the particularities and contingencies embedded in time and space and not overstepping our limits.

In this regard, we encounter ten distinct but transformative series of actions, albeit at various intensities, in different phases of the urban renewal project: 1. Segregation, exclusion, marginalization and stigmatization; 2. Rumours and speculation; 3. Production of wants, needs and desires; 4. Conflict driven nature, uneasiness, insecurity, violence, coercion; 5. (Re)territorialisation; 6. Commodification, reappropriation, financialization, indebtedness; 7. Legal and administrative restructuring; 8. Displacement and relocation; 8. Devastation of sociocultural structures and sense of place, confinement and isolation; 10. Individualization and privatization. As the exercises of power, these are the component of the hegemony building process that concurrently aims to transform the squatter dwellers over a sudden break with what they have accumulated to a large extent.

While the process is mediated by local and central governments, political parties, non-governmental organizations, media or local elites, unless they impede the progress, at

some point of this transformation carried out through this set of actions, for the squatter dwellers, it means more integration into the labour market and housing market depending on the changing production and consumption patterns. In the Foucauldian sense, these processes, moments and mechanisms could be highlighted as disciplining power practices. For this study, at least, this set of actions has nothing to do with any calculation or administration techniques that facilitate power to penetrate every aspect of lives to control. On the contrary, we are faced with a form of politics based on populism, in which contradictions and conflicts come to light to the extent that coercion is practised when consent is not reached.

As it is stated above, the squatter dwellers provided great insight to understand how it works thanks to the in-depth interviews. Depending on contextual factors, one may face various and distinct dynamics, mechanisms, and moments that require further research. Correspondingly, it should be stated that the schema relies on the narration of the squatter dwellers abstracted by considering the internal and necessary relations of capitalist social formation in the Global South. Hence, this study endeavours to contribute to the literature by establishing a relationship between the generality levels.

Under these conditions, the players who strive to increase or preserve their gains and benefit from the redistribution as much as possible by resisting, negotiating, or using clientelistic strategies give their consent which is the requirement for sustaining the hegemony. Regardless of its size, getting a slice of the cake is persuasive for the majority of players. In other words, even though the figures indicated that they are not the squatter right holders who receive the lion's share of the exchange value created by these interventions, their inclusion is vital in obtaining consent.

Urban renewal projects are the proliferating violence of construction driven economic development mediated by the state. Besides the economic violence that many squatter dwellers have faced by involving in the housing program, they also had limited insight regarding what they confronted in this new spatial organization and setting. Moreover, since the whole transformation process and accompanying conflicts are reduced to having more or less shares of the redistribution, the living conditions of the former squatter dwellers are overlooked by the public authority after the residences are handed over.

High-rise apartment buildings alien to the former squatter dwellers seem frightening to them. Moreover, most of the time, market-led renewal projects offer a more attractive rate of return than state-led projects[74]. Even though the squatter dwellers are dispossessed, become indebted, and their futures are foreclosed, most of them involved in the housing program enjoy public provisions such as rent allowances or temporary housing while waiting for the houses handed over in the future within the projects. When the market value of the squatters is considered, these incentives blended with high expectations regarding the future price increases of the produced residences

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[74] It's worth noting that significant problems may arise in urban renewal processes in which the state takes a back seat and brings contractors and the right holders together. The right holders may suffer as a result of contractors failing to meet the terms and conditions, as seen in some lot-based transformations and Istanbul-Fikirtepe. For instance, to tackle this problem, the Ministry of Environment, Urbanisation and Climate Change has been involved in some unfinished projects in Fikirtepe.

motivate some right holders to be involved in the projects. Furthermore, although the population density is relatively high compared to the squatter housing, and the mid-rise apartments built by small or mid-scale build-and-sell contractors, security precautions such as security guards, fences, walls, security cameras, and the facilities such as private parking lots, park and recreational areas, playgrounds for children that remind of the gated communities make state-led projects preferable.

On the one hand, people's wants, needs, and desires regarding housing are created and orchestrated to sustain market activity. On the other hand, homeownership is not just an accumulation strategy for households due to mostly rising actual prices but also a hedging strategy against inflation.

Although we did not have the chance to continue our fieldwork during the Covid-19 pandemic, phone interviews revealed that many former squatter dwellers were in despair and felt regret. Some stated that they had fallen behind their mortgage repayments because they could not make a living due to the shrinking economy. In addition, they said that, during the pandemic, they were in distress of having to live in high-rise apartments where population density is high and in which hard to maintain social distance not to become infected. Many former squatter dwellers expressed their regret for giving up their detached houses that provide low-density, distanced and open space configurations, especially in lockdown.

The fieldwork also revealed that their sense of belonging, former relationships, and psychology had fallen apart. Some extended families have fallen apart due to the small size of the house that they were eligible to get. Some right holders get frustrated while waiting for a long time for the construction to be completed and their homes handed over. Some have dealt with economic burdens while striving to pay off their mortgage debts. If the maintenance, repair and heating, which are seen as burdens in squatter housing, are left aside, living in an apartment means living in agony, especially for the middle-aged squatter dwellers, who are not used to this new spatial organization.

In the Bourdieusian sense, they became deprived of most of their "investments" when they renounced some of their dispositions and the types of capital they had accumulated over the years in the residential areas where they had just moved. In the best-case scenario thus, they may end up with a house or more without going into debt. Still, their social, cultural and symbolic capitals were destroyed while transforming into economic capital as the exchange value of a house. Every interview held and every story told have signified a subjective and non-linear experience of time; however, while striving to understand how it works, we come across a transformation that formats the everyday lives, practices and dispositions of the people beyond their grievances and reproaches.

Although they do not change the relations of production, alternative policy interventions in the housing field may assist in meeting the need for affordable housing while preventing many of the problems mentioned earlier. The first is rehabilitating the buildings unless they are substantially perished or deteriorated. Additional to the technical support and supervision, required materials, generous funding and maintenance grants, or at least long-term loans have to be provided to squatter dwellers regardless of the discrimination in the housing tenure.

Moreover, these resources may be just mobilised if the squatter community participates in the rehabilitation process together. Thus, the squatters built in the collaboration years ago by the dwellers may be brought to a better condition in solidarity. In cases where demolitions are unavoidable, the housing cooperative initiative may be a noteworthy alternative while planning the new houses to be built. Although housing cooperatives and mass housing projects, in which the public authority and residents in need of housing should undertake the administration jointly over a nonprofit organization are considered among the alternatives (Keleş, 2020, p. 422), these housing program requires more resources than the previous option. In addition, the active participation of everyone in the community is essential for the success of housing cooperatives. A non-profit organization is needed with the support and involvement of the public authority and chambers. The third and final alternative is the Community Land Trust (CLT), which secures land tenure for people in need. CLT aims to provide affordable housing against the soaring housing prices and private rents (Thompson, 2020) and provide an alternative to urban renewal projects for the classes dispossessed day by day under the neoliberal rule (Davis et al., 2020). In this model, which prioritizes urban renewal with a community-led organization, dwellers are as much as possible kept away from the transactions of the housing market that are open to speculation and manipulation. While the land on which the houses are built cannot be subject to market transaction, it is owned by the organization established by the community. This organization takes care of everything from the design of the houses to allocation. In some cases, the public authority and chambers may also be a part of this organization. Although some variations may take place depending on the contextual factors, CLT as collaborative housing activism seems like an effective alternative to secure the right to housing for the dwellers; however, it necessitates more investigation in terms of legal and administrative aspects to understand its applicability in Turkey.

While societies are grappling with crises that have become intractable day by day, how the existing one works and relations manifest is as critical as the significance of the alternatives. While criticizing Bruno Bauer for his reasoning about emancipation, Marx (1843, p. 2) sees in his prominent book "On the Jewish Question" that the solution of the question is in its formulation. In this sense, answering the main research question of this study has become a challenging but rewarding one. In this sense, this study seeks to situate neoliberal urbanization by raising some thorny questions that may assist in shedding light on not only the hurly-burly of everyday life but also the explanations derived from the higher generality levels.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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05 NİSAN 2017

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. H.Tarık ŞENGÜL;

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız doktora öğrencisi Ufuk POYRAZ'ın *"Kapitalist Kentleşme Bağlamında Kentsel Dönüşüm Süreçleri ve Uğrakları: Mamak Örneği"* başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2017-SOS-050 protokol numarası ile 05.04.2017 – 30.07.2017 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.
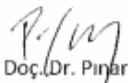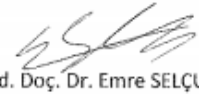
Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN

Başkan V

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR
Üye

Doç. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI
Üye

Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK
Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
Üye

B. CURRICULUM VITAE

Ufuk Poyraz was born in 1985, Adana. He graduated from the Middle East Technical University (METU) with a B.Sc. in Political Science and Public Administration Department. He received his MS degree in Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments Program (UPL) at METU in 2011. From 2010 to 2022, he worked at METU as a research assistant. He was accepted as a "visiting researcher" at the Vrije Universiteit of Brussels in 2018 for one year. His research interest includes urban politics, local governments, public policy, political geography, housing, urban transformation, urban redevelopment, urban poverty.

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Education

- **PhD in Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments, Middle East Technical University 2011-2022**
  Thesis Title: HOUSING AS A LOCUS OF CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND HEGEMONY: TOWARDS A METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL AND LOCAL LEVEL DYNAMICS IN TURKEY
  Supervisor: Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül

- **Unpaid Visiting Researcher, Vrije Universiteit of Brussels 15.01.2018-31.12.2018**

- **MS in in Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments, Middle East Technical University 2008-2011**
  Thesis Title: LOOKING AT THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECT FROM THE GECEKONDU DWELLERS' PERSPECTIVE: THE CASE OF MAMAK
  Supervisor: Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül

- **BS in Political Science and Public Administration, Middle East Technical University 2003-2008**

Employment
01.02.2010 –   Research Assistant, Urban Policy Planning and Local
21.02.2022   Governments, Middle East Technical University
(METU)/**Ankara**

20.06.2007 – 25.08.2007	Order Selector, Kroger Warehouse Delaware, OH, US

Projects

2016-2017 (8 months)	Citizens' Resilience in Times of Crisis, RESCUE Project (European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration) **(Researcher)** (in English)
2016 (5 months)	Investigating Service Provision Method in Local Governments Under New Legislative Regulations (Public Administration Institute for Turkey and Middle East Institute of Turkey Middle East Public Administration (TODAİE)/Ankara) **(Researcher)** (in Turkish)
2015 (12 months)	Evaluation of Neighbourhood Dwellers' Attitude towards Urban Redevelopment Projects: the Case of 100. Yıl Neighbourhood (Scientific Research Project 1 - METU/Ankara) **(Researcher)** (in Turkish)
2015 (12 months)	Comparative Evaluation of Urban Transformation Projects in Turkey on Project Basis (Scientific Research Project 1 - METU/Ankara) **(Researcher)** (in Turkish)
2013-2014 (8 months)	Parliamentary System in Turkey (Describing Emprical Practice and Problems) (Public Administration Institute for Turkey and Middle East Institute of Turkey Middle East Public Administration (TODAİE)/Ankara) **(Researcher)** (in Turkish)
2012 (12 months)	Comparing Middle Sized Cities in Turkey and İstanbul between 1980 and 2010 by socioeconomical and spatial variables (Scientific Research Project 1 - METU/Ankara) **(Researcher)** (in Turkish)

Conferences

- Poyraz, U. & Tezcan, A. M. (2012). "Human Rights Struggle and Civil Society Organizations in Turkey", *4th International Conference of Political Economy*, September 27- 29, 2012. (Presented in Turkish)
- Poyraz, U (2013). "Cleavages in the Urban Transformation Processes", *Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments Student Conference – I*, April 26-27, 2013. (Presented in Turkish)
- Kavuncu, A. Ç. & Poyraz, U. (2015). "Knowledge Production in Urban Studies in Turkey", *International Urban Studies Congress*, April 16-17, 2015. (Presented in Turkish)
- Yaşar, C. G., Tezcan, A. M. & Poyraz, U. (2015). "Speculation and Development in Rural Land: The Case of Ankara", *9th Public Administration Symposium* (KAYSEM), May 7-9, 2015. (Presented in Turkish)
- Dursun, D., Poyraz, U. & Dursun, D. (2016). "First Planning Experience of Ankara as a Capital of Republic: Lörcher and Jansen Plans", *II International Research Symposium on The Turkic World*, May 25-26, 2016. (Presented in Turkish)

- Poyraz, U. (2019). "Orta Asya, Afganistan, Pakistan ve İran Örneğinde Türkiye'de Göçmen Emeğinin Yeniden Üretimi" (Reproduction of Migrant Labor Power in Turkey in the Case of Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran), Symposium on Common History, Culture, Education and Civilization, September 27-28, 2019. (Presented in Turkish)

Publications/Conference Papers

- Tezcan, A. M. & Poyraz, U. (2013). "Evaluation of Public Interest Concept and Its Legal Basis in Turkey in terms of Urban Politics", *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler Dergisi*, *22*(1), pp. 1-21. (Published in Turkish)
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C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Konut, karmaşık ve tehditkâr bir dünyada yer-yurt sahibi olabilmeyi mümkün kılan en önemli öğelerden biridir. Ancak bu işlev kentsel gerçekliğin parçası haline geldiği ölçüde konut, aynı zamanda kentsel yapılı çevrenin en temel yapı taşlarından biri olma özelliğini de kazanır. Tam da bu ikili durum, kapitalist bir toplumda konutu bir yanda kullanım değeri diğer yanda değişim değerinden doğan gerilim ve çelişkilerin parçası haline de getirir. Öte yandan bu gerilim ve çelişki farklı dönemlerde farklı ekonomik ve siyasal bağlamlar tarafından çerçevelenmiştir.

1929 Büyük Buhranı sonrası kapitalist üretim tarzının sürdürülebilir kılınmasına yönelik önerilen Keynesyen iktisadın İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın yarattığı yıkıma cevabı olarak yayılan refah devleti uygulamalarının en önemli sonuçlarından biri talep yanlı politikaların kentlerde emek lehine önemli kazanımlar sağlamaya olanak sağlamasıdır. Emeğin yeniden üretimini önceleyen bu uzun dönem boyunca başta konut olmak üzere birçok alanda kolektif tüketim alanı önemli bir mücadele mecrası haline gelmiştir. Öte yandan Türkiye gibi kapitalist dünya sisteminin merkezinde yer almayan ülkelerde ortaya çıkan ithal ikameci büyüme modelleri kentlerin sermaye birikimiyle olan ilişkisini merkez ülkelerinkinden ciddi biçimde farklılaştırmıştır. Bu ülkelerde kentleşmenin üretim ve sanayi lehine ikincilleştirilmesinin önemli sonuçlarından biri emek gücünün yeniden üretiminin yerel topluluklara ve enformel ekonomi ve ilişkilere bırakılmasıdır. Gecekondu İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemin en önemli keşiflerinden biri olarak göçle beslenen emek gücünün kentle eklemlenmesine olanak sağladığı ölçüde çalışan sınıfları kentin önemli "paydaşlarından" biri haline de getirmiştir.

Bu tablo 1970'li yılların ikinci yarısından itibaren kapitalist dünya sisteminin bütününde eşitsiz gelişen bir biçimde de olsa değişmiştir. Ekonomiler ve toplumlar neoliberal dönemde kabuk değiştirmiş; emeğin 20. yüzyılda sermaye karşısında elde ettiği birçok kazanım bu süreçte yitirilmiştir. Her ne kadar giderek piyasanın işleyiş dinamiklerine bırakılsa da, kamu politikasının odağında yer alan konut sorununa yaklaşımlar da bu süreçte farklılaşmıştır.

Bir bütün olarak bakıldığında neoliberal politikalar karşısında çalışan sınıfların kazanımlarını korumaya yönelik stratejilerin hemen yerde başarısızlıkla karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Neoliberal politikaların seçici, esnek ve düzensiz yapısı popülizmin dünya genelindeki yükselişini de kolaylaştırırken, konut politikalarını doğrudan ilgilendiren yapılı çevre üretiminde sermaye döngülerini yavaşlatabilecek kapsamlı planlama yaklaşımı, çoğunlukla kamu yararının gözetilmediği öznel çıkarlara göre şekil alan planlama uygulamaları ile yıpratılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, müştereklerin ve kamusal alanların sermaye odaklı yaratıcı yıkım pratiklerine karşı korunamaması, kamu yararı kavramını ve ona eşlik eden şehircilik ilkelerini bir tür boş gösteren haline getirmiştir. Bunun bir nedeni de, daha fazla metalaşmaya, özelleştirmeye ve finansallaşmaya çanak tutan neoliberal manipülasyonun hegemonik ve ideolojik temellerinin sarsılmasına yönelik yeterli mücadelenin gösterilememiş olmasıdır.

Mücadelenin önünde önemli nesnel ve ideolojik engeller olduğu açıktır. Öte yandan, yukarıda altı çizilen muğlaklık yaratan özelliklerinden ötürü neoliberal yönetimin karakterine yönelik farklı coğrafyaları, tarihsel ve toplumsal bağlamları gözeterek tespitler yapılmadığı takdirde neye karşı pozisyon alınacağı konusunda kafa karışıklıkları ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bunu ortadan kaldırmak için neoliberal projenin nasıl işlediğini ve dolayısıyla kendini yeniden nasıl ürettiğini bilmek gerekir. Bu anlamda, kapitalist toplumsal formasyonda değişim değeri ile kullanım değeri arasındaki çelişkinin ve gerilimin odağında yer alan konutun, son zamanlarda her zamankinden daha fazla yatırımın, finansallaşmanın ve menkulleştirmenin konusu haline gelmesi, süregelen neoliberalleşme ve onun kent mekanındaki tezahürünün anlaşılabilmesi açısından oldukça anlamlı görünmektedir.

Bu amaç doğrultusunda, Türkiye'ye odaklanıldığında, 80'li yıllarda temeli atılan neoliberal politikaların, 90'lı yıllarda toplumsal sancıları çekilirken, 2000'li yıllarda yayılım yanında derinleştiğini ve "yapısal reformlar" adı altında işler kılındığı gözlemlenmektedir. Bu dönemde, kapitalizme içkin krizlerden etkilenmek yanında Türkiye gibi ülkelerde borçlanmayla da desteklenen büyüme oranlarının sağlandığını biliyoruz. Sermaye birikimini ve büyümeyi sağlamak ve istihdamı artırmak için doğrudan yabancı yatırımlarını çekmeye çalışan Türkiye ekonomisi, ya spekülatif para akımları ya da kamu kaynakları ile ivme kazanmıştır. Özelleştirme ve kemer sıkma politikaları çerçevesinde kamu kaynakları eritilip güvencesiz ve esnek çalışma yaygınlaşırken, emeğin pastadan aldığı pay, maliyeti görece düşük küresel finansman ve bununla da ilişkili hızlanan sermaye döngülerinin piyasada yarattığı hareketlilik dolayısıyla artmıştır. Bu stratejinin toplumsal tabana yayılımına nicel olarak bakıldığında kişi başına düşen milli gelirdeki artış, düşük faiz ortamında, henüz kazanılmamış gelirlerin harcanabilmesi yolunda bireyleri teşvik etmiştir. Böylece borçlanmaya dayalı bir tüketimin önü iyiden iyiye açılırken, bireylerin gelecekte elde etmeyi umdukları gelire bağımlılıkları arttıkça toplumsal arenada daha "özgür" hareket edebilmelerinin önü kapanmıştır. Üretim tarafında ise katma değer yaratabilecek yatırımlar için kısıtlı adımların atılmasından ötürü 2000'li yıllar cari açıklarla geçirilen aldatıcı bir "zenginleşme" dönemi olmuştur.

Bu süreçte, Türkiye'de ve sermaye birikimi açısından merkez ülkelerin gerisinde kalmış birçok ülkede yapılı çevre üretimini önceleyen bir kalkınma stratejisi benimsenmiştir. Her ne kadar neoliberal kırılma 1980'lerde yaşanmış ise de, sermaye birikimi ve döngüleri açısından inşaat sektöründeki faaliyetler 2000 sonrası dönemde ivme kazanmıştır. Özellikle büyük altyapı projeleri, hem ulusal ölçekte hem de yatırımın büyüklüğünün ancak yurtdışı finansmanı ile karşılanabilmesi dolayısıyla uluslararası ölçekte kazanan taraflar yaratma kapasitesine sahiptir. İnşaat sektörünün harekete geçirdiği diğer birçok sektör de düşünüldüğünde, sermaye tarafında kazananların sayısı artmaktadır. Ayrıca yoğunlaşan faaliyetler ve projeler vasıfsız işgücünü emebilecek inşaat sektörünü, bir istihdam kaynağı haline de getirmiştir. Emek yoğun, güvencesiz, kayıt dışı ve kısmi süreli çalışmanın yaygın olduğu sektördeki işgücü hareketliliği önemli bir istihdam kapasitesine işaret etmektedir. Bu süreçte altyapı projeleri, sansasyonel mega projeler ve hatta çılgın projeler dolayısıyla birçok çevre ülke gibi Türkiye de "çimentoya boğulmuş", katma değerli üretime yönelik adımların yeterli olarak atılmamasından ötürü çimentoya ve inşaata bağımlılık ortaya çıkmıştır. Özellikle konut ve arazi piyasasında elde edilen yüksek rantların da bu dönemde oynadığı rolün altının çizilmesi gereklidir. İnşaat sektörüne, yapılı çevre

üretimine ve dolayısıyla kentsel rantların dağıtımına öncelik veren bu siyasi tercih ve fakat bir başka bakış açısıyla da zorunluluk, toplumsal alanda beklentiler yaratmış ve güç ilişkilerini şekillendirmiştir.

Her ne kadar spekülasyona ve ekonomik krizlere açık bir ekonomik faaliyet olsa da inşaat sektörü, sadece sermaye birikimi ve dolaşımında değil, seçici olarak "mekânsal sabit"leri yıkıp yenilerini inşa ederek hegemonyanın inşasında da önemli rol oynamıştır. Yapılı çevreye yapılan yatırım üzerinden görünür olmak hem baskın ideoloji açısından, hem de onların taşıyıcısı olan aktörler için bir seçenek değil, zorunluluktur. Kolektif belleğin dönüştürülmesi için hegemonyanın zihinlere olduğu kadar mekana da gömülü olması gereklidir. Türkiye'de olduğu gibi ulusal düzeyde görev başına gelen politikacıların birçoğunun daha önce metropolleri yönettiği düşünüldüğünde, tek belirleyen olmasa da yapılı çevre üretiminde icracı konumda olmanın ne kadar kritik olduğu görülecektir.

Bu anlamda, yerelin, yerel yönetimlerin, hem kırsalda hem de kentsel alanlarda örgütlenmeye verilen önemin, 2000'li yıllarda tek başına iktidara gelen ve sonrasında da yönetimde devamlılık sağlayan Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin (AKP) başarısında da yadsınamaz bir rolü vardır. Bağrından doğduğu Milli Görüş Hareketi'nin ideolojik mirasına ne derece sahip çıktığı soru işareti olsa da, yerelde örgütlenme açısından AKP'de benzer bir yönetsel stratejinin izlendiği 1970 ve 2000 arasındaki döneme bakıldığında rahatlıkla söylenebilir. Bu anlamda meşruiyetinin arttırılması ve kitlesel desteğin sağlanmasına yönelik, görünür ve icracı olmanın öneminin ayırdında olan parti için yapılı çevre üretimi kritik bir hal almaktadır. Doğrudan insanların hayatına dokunan somutluklar içermesinin yanı sıra yaratılan kentsel ranttan adı koyulmamış pazarlıklar neticesinde az ya da çok alınan paylar da toplumsal desteğin artmasında rol oynamıştır.

Yapılı çevrenin en temel kurucu öğesi olarak konut toplumsal, ekonomik ve politiktir. Bir başka deyişle, temelinde ideolojinin, yeniden dağıtımın, emeğin yeniden üretiminin ve sermaye birikiminin ve döngülerinin yer aldığı, özellikle ulusal ve yerel dinamiklerin ön plana çıktığı bir mücadele alanı ve ilişkiler yığını olarak konut sınıfsaldır. Dolayısıyla konuta erişim, metalaşmanın ve piyasalaşmanın giderek arttığı bir ortamda arz ile talep arasındaki ilişkiye indirgenemez. Türkiye'de artan nüfusun konut ihtiyacını karşılamak için ekonomik kriz ve durgunluk dönemleri dışında konut inşaatları tüm hızıyla devam etmiştir. Bununla birlikte, alt ve orta sınıflara yönelik nitelikli ve uygun fiyatlı konut arzı sağlanamadığı için nüfus içerisindeki ev sahibi olma oranı yıllar içerisinde düşmüştür. Hem özel şahıslara hem de kamuya yönelik yapılı çevre üretimini konu alan projeler sayesinde büyük ölçekli inşaat şirketlerinin piyasadaki görünürlüğü artarken, düşük gelirli haneler için konut üretimi, yeterince kazançlı olmadığı için büyük oranda devletin sorunu haline gelmiştir. Ayrıca, ada bazında ya da riskli binalar özelinde gerçekleştirilen bazı dönüşüm projelerinde piyasa ile baş başa bırakılan hak sahiplerinin yaşadıkları mağduriyetler devletin süreçteki kritik rolüne bir kez daha işaret etmektedir.

Merkezi yönetimin temsilcisi olarak Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı (TOKİ) ve Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı ve yerel yönetimler cephesinde de belediyeler, erişilebilir konut sunumunun önde gelen aktörleridir. Bu kamu otoriteleri, gerek kentin çeperinde yer alan düşük maliyetli kamu arazilerinde ya da "eskimiş", "çökmüş" ve "suçun yuvası" olduğu iddia edilen gecekondu mahallelerinde

gerçekleştirilen kentsel dönüşüm ve gelişim projeleri ile bu ihtiyaca karşılık vermeye çalışmışlardır. Adıyla müsemma olarak bu projeler, öncelikle var olanı çoğunlukla yok ederek "dönüştürmeyi", bu süreçte de imarlı hale getirerek ya da imar haklarını artırarak "geliştirmeyi" hedeflemektedir. Bu çerçevede, geliştirme odaklı yürütülen ve çoğunlukla hemen hemen boş kentsel arazileri, hatta zaman zaman da tarım yapılan kırsal arazileri konu haline getiren projelerde, özel mülk sahiplerinin yüksek imar hakları sayesinde maddi olarak ihya edilmesi söz konusu olabilmektedir. Kamuya ait "atıl" görülen alanlar da, "ekonomiye kazandırılmak" üzere geliştirme odaklı yürütülen projelerin hedefinde yer alabilmektedir.

Öte yandan, gecekondu mahallelerinde ya da rantın düşük olduğu yıpranmış konut dokusuna ev sahipliği yapan alanlarda yürütülen dönüşüm projelerinde, bir kesim kentsel ranttan umduğu payı alamadığı gerekçesiyle, bir kesim de yükümlülükleri karşılayamaması sonucunda projenin dışında kaldığı için tepki göstermektedir. Bu projelerin sınırları içinde arazi ya da yapı sahibi olan veya ikamet eden vatandaşlar meşru şiddet tekelini elinde bulunduran devletle karşı karşıya kalırken, sermayeleştirme, metalaştırma, mülksüzleştirme ve (yeniden) değerleme bu sürecin belirleyici dinamikleri olarak ön plana çıkmaktadır. Buna paralel, sosyal ilişkiler, kültürel unsurlar, mekânsal örüntüler ve bunlara bağlı yıllar içerisinde ekonomik sermayeyi de güçlendirerek gecekonduluların başa çıkma stratejilerini çeşitlendiren yatkınlıklar ikinci plana atılmaktadır.

Günümüzde çeşitlenen uygulamaları nedeniyle tanımlanması zorlaşan kentsel dönüşüm ve gelişim projelerinin önü, ana hatlarıyla bu şekilde açılmıştır. Çatısı altında, yenileme, canlandırma, iyileştirme, yeniden geliştirme, temizleme gibi farklı müdahaleleri kavramsallaştırabileceğimiz kentsel dönüşüm, her ne kadar kamu-özel, imar edilmiş-edilmemiş, yapılı-yapısız gözetmeksizin hemen hemen her türlü kentsel araziyi uygulama konusu haline getirmiştir. Ne var ki özellikle tarafların niceliksel olarak yüksek sayılara ulaşması, alt gelir gruplarını ilgilendirmesi ve konut gibi temel bir ihtiyacı odağına alması dolayısıyla dönüşüm projeleri gecekondu alanlarında yürütüldüğünde, çok daha çetrefilli bir hale bürünmektedir. Literatüre paralel olarak kentsel yenileme olarak adlandıracağımız bu projelerin Türkiye'deki ilk örneği 1989 yılında Ankara'da görülürken, gecekondu alanlarını hedef alan bu projelerinin tekrar hatırlanması ve konut alanına yönelik baskın ve belirleyici bir kentsel politika aracı olarak başvurulması 2000'li yılların başına tekabül etmektedir. Bu anlamda, Türkiye'de 2000 yılından sonra tek parti iktidarında yaygınlaşan kentsel yenileme projeleri, neoliberal dönüşümün kent mekanındaki tezahürünün önemli nüveleridir.

Konut alanına özel bir oyun olarak kentsel yenileme projeleri, kentsel dönüşüm süreçlerinin ve parçası olduğu neoliberal kentleşmenin anlaşılması açısından güç ilişkilerinin ve baskın üretim ilişkilerinin kavranmasını gerekli kılar. Bu ilişkilerin nihai ifadesi, Türkiye'nin kentleşme tarihinde mekânsal ve tarihsel olarak gömülü bir konut formu olan gecekonduların ve ona özgü toplumsal ilişkilerin ortadan kaldırılması olsa da, bu mekânsal yeniden inşa sürecinin bu müdahaleyi deneyimleyen insanlar açısından ne ifade ettiği neoliberal kentleşmenin parçası olduğu hegemonik dönüşümün anlaşılması açısından kritiktir. Açıktır ki daha fazla sermaye birikiminin sağlanmasında "gereksiz" veya "yetersiz" olarak görülen gecekondular ve beraberindeki ilişkiler dizisinin ortadan kaldırılarak ya da dönüştürülerek daha piyasa odaklı toplumsal ilişkilerin ve alanların yaratılması, baskın ideolojik yaklaşım çerçevesinde zaruridir.

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Bu anlamda neyin "gereksiz" ve "yetersiz" hale geldiğinin de tarihsel özgünlüğün altı çizilerek kısaca ortaya koyulmasında fayda vardır. 1950 sonrasında Küresel Güney'in büyük kentlerinde artan endüstriyel ve ticari faaliyete, kırsal bölgelerdeki tarımsal üretim süreçlerinde yaşanan dönüşüm eşlik edince, üretim araçlarından mahrum kalan kırsaldaki emek gücü büyük göç dalgalarının ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Barınma, yeni geldikleri büyük kentlerde bu kitlelerin en önemli, kamu otoritesi açısından da karşılanması gereken en maliyetli temel ihtiyacı olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bazı kaynaklar harekete geçirilmeye çalışılmış, bazı politika müdahaleleri yapılmış olsa da, devletler "sınırlı kaynakların" kullanımında tercihlerini sınai büyümeden yana genellikle kullanmış, emeğin barınma sorunun çözümüne yönelik aktif bir rol üstlenmemiştir. Fakat sınıfsal çelişkilerin ana taşıyıcısı olarak devlet, yerel ekonomilerin küresel kapitalizm ile bütünleşmesi sırasında emeğin yeniden üretiminde konut sunumunda oyna(ya)madığı rolü, bu kitlelerin boş kentsel arazilerde kendi başlarının çaresine bakarak, "yasadışı" olarak ürettikleri barınaklara göz yumarak yerine getirmiştir. Öte yandan, bu bölgelerde giderek artan nüfus nezdinde meşruiyetini sağlamaya yönelik olarak da zaman içerisinde altyapı, eğitim, sağlık, ulaşım gibi hizmetler de devlet tarafından sunulmaya başlamıştır. Gecekondulaşma olarak adlandırılan bu süreç sonucunda, Güney Amerika'dan, Güney Afrika'ya, Orta Doğu'dan Uzak Doğu'ya kadar, farklı coğrafyalarda 20. yüzyılın ortasından sonra büyük kentlerde benzer düzensiz yapılaşmayı görmek mümkündür.

Eğitim ve sağlık gibi alanlarda göreceli olarak refah devletinin koruyucu şemsiyesi altına girebilen emeğin bu dönemde bile kendi imkanları ile çözmeye çalıştığı konut sorunu, yukarıda bahsedilen refah devletinin sosyal güvenlik ağının giderek çözüldüğü ve piyasa güçlerinin her alana nüfuz etme çabası içerisinde olduğu 1980 sonrası dönemde daha da yakıcı hale gelmiştir. Zamanın ruhuna uygun olarak çözüme yönelik öneriler piyasa temelli olarak ortaya koyulmuştur. Barınma ihtiyacının karşılanması için çoğunlukla kamusal arazilerin çevrildiği ve gecekonduların inşa edildiği kentsel arazilerin belirli yükümlülükler tanımlanarak öncelikle yasal hale getirilmesi, sonrasında da imar hakları verilerek arazi ve konut piyasasına kazandırılması hedeflenmiştir. Öncesinde konut piyasasında enformel olarak el değiştiren bu yapılar her ne kadar değişim değerine sahip olsa da, kentsel rantların konusu haline büyük ölçüde gelmedikleri için dar gelirli emekçi sınıfların konut ihtiyacının karşılanmasında önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Fakat sonrasında, bir yanda erişilebilir ve nitelikli konut sunumundaki sorunlar piyasasının giderek sıkışmasına neden olurken, elde edilen yasal statülere paralel kentsel rantın özellikle mekânsal planlama gibi kamu otoritesi müdahaleleri ile yükseltildiği gecekondu alanları küçük ve orta ölçekli müteahhitler eli ile kentsel dönüşümün yaşandığı yegâne bölgeler olarak karşımıza çıkmıştır. İmar haklarına da bağlı olarak rant getirisinin düşük, makro kentsel büyüme öngörülerinde yer almayan, mülkiyet ve zemin sorunları olan bölgeler ise bu dönüşümü yaşamamıştır. Temelde bu gerekçelerle piyasa ilişkilerine muadilleri oranında katılamayan gecekondu alanlarında dönüşüm potansiyeli oluşsa da sürecin tetiklenmesi ve ilerleyebilmesi için kamu otoritesinin doğrudan müdahalesi gerekli olmuştur. Böylece konut alanında oynanan tikel bir oyun gibi görünmekle birlikte tarihsel ve toplumsal bağlamı itibariyle kentsel dönüşüm müdahaleleri, sermaye, emek ve devlet arasındaki dinamik ilişkiye ışık tutar.

Özetlemek gerekirse, konut alanına ve kentsel yapılı çevreye yönelik son dönemdeki en önemli müdahalelerin başında, devlet eli ile gerçekleştirilen dönüşüm projeleri yer

almaktadır. Sermaye döngülerinin hızlandırılmasında ve piyasa ilişkilerinin kapsayıcılığının arttırılmasında oynadığı rol itibariyle ideolojik ve hegemonik bir inşa sürecinin parçası olan bu projeler uygulamaya koydukları yasal ve yönetsel zor dolayısıyla da bir şiddet uygulamasıdır. Projelerden dışlananlar "işgalci" ya da "hak etmedikleri" gerekçesiyle görünmez kılınırken, beklentileri piyasa aktörlerinin yürüttüğü projelerde elde edilen kentsel rantlar üzerinden şekillenen gecekondu sahiplerinin "aç gözlülüğü" toplum nezdinde ön plana çıkarılmaktadır. Her ne kadar çevresel donatıları, güvenlik, otopark, asansör gibi olanakları itibariyle orta sınıf yaşam tarzının idealleştirildiği yüksek katlı apartmanlar, bazı açılardan imar islah planlarıyla küçük ve orta ölçekli müteahhitler eliyle gerçekleştirilen dönüşümlerin gerçekleştirildiği konut alanlarına göre tercih edilebilir olsa da, oyunun kurallarının rantın maksimize edilmesi üzerinden kurulması nedeniyle üzerinde durulması gereken diğer yakıcı tartışma konuları ikincilleştirilmiştir. Sosyal ağların ve kültürel yatkınlıkların yok sayıldığı bir pazarlık sürecinde, meşru şiddetin tekelini elinde bulunduran devletin taraf olarak varlığı, ekonomik olarak da elde edilebileceklerin sınırlarının da oldukça açık bir şekilde çizilmesini sağlamıştır. Gün sonunda gecekonduluların iradesinden bağımsız olarak dahil oldukları projeler ortaya çıkmıştır. Kazananlarıyla, kaybedenleriyle, dışlananlarıyla, içerilenleriyle toplumsal gerçekliğin karmaşıklığına yakışır bir denklem ortaya koyan kentsel dönüşüm süreçleri, bir yandan özellikle büyük ölçekli Türkiye kentlerini şantiye haline dönüştürürken, öte yandan gecekonduluların hayatında neden olduğu değişiklikler, dönüşümler ve kırılmalar ile sermaye-devlet bütünlüğünde "biçimlendirici" bir müdahale olarak nesneleşmiştir. İnşaat sektörü ve harekete geçirdiği ilgili birçok sektör vasıtasıyla sermaye birikimini ve döngülerini sürdürülebilir hale getirmesi, üretilen yapılı çevre üzerinden olumlu ya da olumsuz sonuçlarına bakılmaksızın karar alıcıları görünür kılması, adaletsiz de olsa kentsel rantların yeniden dağıtımı üzerinden belli düzeyde rızayı üretebilmesi ve çoğunlukla bunda başarısız olsa bile neredeyse karşı koyulamaz devlet zorunu bünyesinde barındırması dolayısıyla kentsel dönüşüm projeleri sonuçları itibariyle biçimlendiricidir.

Buraya kadar çizilen tablo neoliberal kentleşmenin bir çevre ülkede nasıl işlediğinin anlaşılması ve özellikle Küresel Güney'de her yerelin özgünlükleri baki kalmakla birlikte konut sorununa yönelik tartışmalara ışık tutabilmesi açısından önemli bir araştırma çizgisi sunmaktadır. Öte yandan kısaca özetlenmeye çalışılan bu süreç konut sorununa ilişkin gerçekliğin belli boyutlarına ve belli düzeylerine sıkışmış durumdadır. Bu anlamda baskın ideolojinin toplum projesine yön vermekte olan neoliberal yönetim anlayışının dayandığı, kentsel politikalar nezdinde yukarıda vurgulanan akışta nesnelleşen birbiri içine geçmiş iki sürecin, sermaye birikimi ve hegemonya inşasının, bütünlüklü olarak ortaya koyulması önem arz etmektedir. Her ne kadar literatürde konutu ve özelinde kentsel dönüşüm süreçlerini hegemonya inşası ve/veya sermaye birikimi üzerinden anlamaya çalışan çabalar olsa da, günümüz akademisinin mustarip olduğu çeşitli sınırlılıklardan ötürü farklı genellik ve analiz düzeylerinin bir arada ele alındığı çalışmalar nadirdir. Bu durumda da ya nesnel gerçeklik soyutlamanın şiddetine maruz kalarak karmaşık toplumsal gerçekliğin ortaya koyulmasında yetersiz kalmış ya da tarihsel ve toplumsal bağlam ile yeterince ilişkisi kurulamamış, sürecin tarafı haline gelmiş aktörlerin mağduriyet ve başa çıkma/idare etme hikayelerinin baskın olduğu çalışmalar karşımıza çıkmıştır. Bu iki çaba da değerli olmakla birlikte, olanaklar imkan verdiği ölçüde farklı genellik ve

analiz düzeylerinin birlikte düşünülmesi, resmin tamamına yönelik bütünsel bilgiye erişimi sağlayabilecektir.

Özetle bu çalışmada, Küresel Güney'de, neoliberal kentleşmenin karmaşıklığı, kentleri ele geçirerek büyük oranda şantiye haline getiren kentsel dönüşüm projeleri üzerinden, konut alanındaki ulusal ve yerel ilişkiler göz ardı edilmeksizin, ortaya koyulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu çabanın gerekliliği olarak, araştırmamızı tarihsel ve toplumsal bağlamına oturtma çabasıyla hem bilgi üretim süreçlerine yönelik eleştirel tartışmalar yürütülmüş hem de toplumsal gerçekliğin anlaşılmasında katkı koyabileceği düşünülen epistemolojik yaklaşımlar ve farklı genellik düzeylerinde teorik açıklamalar getirmeye haiz çerçeveler güçlü ve zayıf yönleri üzerinden tartışmaya açılmıştır. Kentleşme alanındaki sıcak tartışmaları da masaya getiren bu çalışma, özgün bir katkı olarak gün sonunda araştırmalara yön verebilecek bir yöntem sunmayı da hedeflemiştir. Dinamiklere, süreçlere, uğraklara ve olgulara her ölçekte, katmanda ve genellik düzeyinde farklı teorik tartışmalar ve çeşitli bakış açıları ışığında ilişkisel olarak yaklaşmayı sağlayan bu metodolojik çerçevenin uygulanabilirliği de bu çalışmada sınanmıştır.

Bu minvalde, konut alanında oynanan kentsel yenileme oyununa bağlı olarak sermaye türlerindeki birikim veya değer kaybı, toplumdaki iç içe geçmiş ve birbirine bağlı hegemonik ilişkilere işaret etmekte ve bu da çok yönlü ve katmanlı incelemeleri imkanlı kılabilecek çeşitli bakış açılarının ve analizleri zorunlu kılmaktadır. Karmaşık toplumsal ilişkileri, kalıpları ve yapıları ortaya çıkarmak, bunlara dair soyutlamaların maddi temellere dayandırılmasına bağlıdır. Bu, olgunun analizi sırasında hem zaruri ilişkilerin hem de olasılıkların ve potansiyellerin belirlenmesini gerektirir. Buna göre, toplumsal gerçekliğe dair dinamikleri, örüntüleri, süreçleri ve potansiyelleri nasıl kavrayacağımızı belirleyebilmek için yöntem üzerine derinlemesine bir tartışma yapılmıştır. Bu tartışma kaçınılmaz bir şekilde çalışmanın kendisinin de sorunsallaştırılmasını beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu nedenle, nesnel temellerin analizi öncesinde, bu araştırmanın gerçekleştirildiği bağlamın dayattığı sınırlılıklar ve yarattığı fırsatlar kısaca dile getirilmiştir.

Bilgi üretimindeki yegane sınırlılık olarak akademik iş bölümü, araştırmacılar için gerçekliğin bilgisinin bütünlüğüne erişimi engellerken ilişkisel düşünmeyi baskılamaktadır. Bu da, karmaşık toplumsal olguların anlaşılmasında ve anlamlandırılmasında önemli engeller yaratmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, soyutlamanın şiddetinden kurtulamayan bir eleştirel düşünme biçimi olarak analitik düşünmenin de geliştirilmesi gereken önemli bir beceri olduğunu belirtmek gerekir. Akademik işbölümü, analitik düşünceyi bir amaç olarak benimsediği ölçüde, bütünün bilgisinin edinilmesini engeller. Dolayısıyla sezgisel, analitik ve ilişkisel düşünme, alana özgü bilgi birikimine sahip araştırmacı için birbirini tamamlarken maddi ve nesnel olana yönelik somut soyutlamalar yapılmasına olanak sağlayabilecektir. Bu çalışmada, akademik iş bölümünün yarattığı sınırlılıkları aşmak için, çalışma konusuna yönelik zaman içerisinde birikimli olarak ortaya çıkmış sezgisel düşünebilme, bilgi üretim sürecinde analitik ve ilişkisel düşünme ile harmanlanmıştır. Bu durum bir seçimden çok zorunluluk olarak kendisini dayatmaktadır; çünkü neoliberal hegemonyaya içkin sermaye birikimini ve dolaşımını, konut alanında kentsel dönüşüm üzerinden ele alma çabasının, her toplumsal olguda olduğu gibi, geleneksel akademik işbölümünün sınırlarının dışına çıkmayı gerektirdiği görülmektedir.

Disiplinlerarası bir yaklaşıma sahip olmak bu anlamda umut vericidir; ancak bu da, yeni ortaya çıkan özel çalışma alanında yeni sınırlar yaratılmadığı ölçüde bir yetkinlik yaratacaktır. Diğer bir deyişle, akademide yeni sınırlar çizmek yerine, çalışmanın kapsamına uygun olarak akademide var olan işbölümleri arasındaki içsel ve zorunlu ilişkiler göz önünde bulundurularak bir birliğe ihtiyaç vardır. Bu bağlamda, mütevazı bir çaba olan bu çalışma, eklektik olma riski taşısa da, toplumsal gerçeklin bütünlüğünü kavramak için sınırları kaldırmayı ya da en azından sorgulayarak ve genişleterek farklı disiplinler, farklı yaklaşımlar ve farklı analiz düzeylerini bir arada ele almayı hedeflemektedir.

Öte yandan, bütünün bilgisinin üretilmesinin önündeki başlıca engeller temel olarak metodolojik çıkmazlar ve buna bağlı somutun bilgisine ulaşmada yaşanan zorluklar ile günümüz akademisinin kaynak ve zaman kısıtlamalarından azade olmamasıdır. Bu açıdan, çalışmanın odağında yer alacak sorunsalın belirlenmesi ve buna ilişkin araştırma sorusunun ve kapsamın bulunması, çalışmayı yönetilebilir kılmak için kritik öneme sahiptir. Öte yandan kapsamı olabildiğince genişletmek, analiz düzeylerini olabildiğince arttırmak bilimsel arayışın vazgeçilmez hedeflerinden biri olmalıdır. Bilgi üretim süreçlerinde karşılaşılan sorunlardan azade olmayan bu çalışma, farklı teorilerin ve metodolojilerin dikkate alınmasını gerektiren bütüncül ve ilişkisel bir yaklaşımı benimsemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu anlamda yazında yer alan kavram setlerinin, teorik ve metodolojik çerçevelerin kullanımı tartışmalı bir hal almaktadır.

Soyutlamanın, gerçeğin bilgisini çarpıtmadan ortaya koyduğu durumlarda bile, bilimsel bilgi ve üretilen ilgili teoriler ve kavramlar, tarihsel ve sosyal bağlamın özgünlüğü nedeniyle zamana ve mekana gömülüdür. Bu, farklı coğrafyalarda ve zamanlarda üretilen teorik tartışmaların ve kavram setlerinin başka çalışmalar için önemsiz olduğu veya hiçbir zaman ve yerde kullanılamayacağı anlamına gelmez. Aksine aynı coğrafyada ve zaman diliminde üretilen bilimsel çalışmalardan daha fazla katkı sağlayabilirler. Ancak bilgi üretimindeki egemen zorlama kendisini çoğunlukla açık etmeyeceğinden, bu teorileri ve kavramları benimserken ve kullanırken dikkatli olunması gerektiğinin altı çizilmelidir. Bu anlamda nesnel gerçekliğe dayalı bilginin üretiminde, tikel ile genel arasındaki ilişkileri keşfetme çabasında, soyutlama sürecini kolaylaştırabilecek kavram setlerine ve teorik tartışmalara başvurmak elzemdir.

Bu ihtiyaç, bu çalışmanın dayandığı iki epistemolojik konum arasındaki gerilime işaret etmektedir. Bütünün bilgisini elde etmeye çalışan tarihsel maddecilik ile tikelin bilgisine de vurgu yapan eleştirel gerçekçilik arasındaki uzlaşının, neoliberal kentleşmenin farklı genellik düzeylerinde nasıl cisimleştiğine dair anlayışı zenginleştireceği düşünülmektedir. Zorunluluklar ve iç ilişkiler soyutlama sürecinin itici güçleri olsa da, olasılıklar, potansiyeller ve farklılıklar da tarihsel ve sosyal tezahürleri ve dönüşümleri anlamak için kritik öneme sahiptir. Ancak bu minvalde, Türkiye'nin kapitalist gelişme sürecinde yetersiz konut sunumu ve bunu görmezden gelen politika tercihlerinin sonucunda, emek gücünün barınma ihtiyacını çoğunlukla kamu arazilerini işgal ederek kendi imkanlarıyla sağlamasıyla ortaya çıkan gecekondu olgusunu çeşitli genellik düzeylerinde ele almak uygun görünse de, bu karmaşık ilişkilere ve dinamiklere nüfuz etmek için kapsamlı, alternatif ve sistematik bir araştırma stratejisi kullanmak için "Üç Boyutlu Soyutlama" adlı bir analiz modeli bu çalışmada geliştirilmiştir.

Bu modelde, "ölçek" ve "katman" boyutları, toplumsal dinamiklerin ve pratiklerin mekâna ve zamana bağlı maddi temellerinin kavranabilmesi için "genellik seviyeleri" ile bütünleştirilmiştir. Kısaca söylemek gerekirse, her özgün araştırma konusu, bütünün bir türevi olarak ele alınabilir. Bu bakımdan tikel, bütünün bağrında ortaya çıkan, bütünün bir parçası ve fakat ondan farklılaşma potansiyeline sahip, metaforik olarak bizatihi bütünün bir "türevi" olarak görülebilir. Böylece, bu şemaya dayalı olarak yürütülen bir çalışma, yine metaforik olarak "dördüncü boyuta" erişimin sağlanmasında ve böylece çalışma odağına yönelik nesnel bir bilginin üretilmesini sağlayabilir. Çalışmanın ortaya attığı soruların kapsamlı bir şekilde cevaplanmasını sağlayabilecek bu türev alma işlemi, ancak çalışmanın kapsamına bağlı olarak farklı boyutlardaki farklı odaklar arasındaki ilişkilerin ortaya çıkarılması ve dördüncü boyuta erişim ile sağlanabilir. Toplumsal gerçekliği soyut düzeyde somut olanla ilişkisi üzerinden görünür kılmak, dinamikleri ve süreçleri farklı genellik seviyelerinde açıklamak için yukarıda da vurgulandığı üzere çeşitli teorik lenslere ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Böylece ilişkisel düşünme üzerinden bütün ve tikel, zorunluluklar ve olumsallıklar, birey ve toplum gibi analitik olarak farklılaştırılmış kategorilerin bilgisini üretmek mümkün hale gelir.

Bu çerçevede, ilk olarak, Bourdieucu anlamda konut alanındaki "kentsel yenileme oyunu"na odaklanma sürecinde, ilişkisel yaklaşımdan hareketle, sermaye birikimi ve hegemonya inşasına ilişkin farklı analiz düzeylerine yönelik teorik konumlanmalar tartışmaya açılmaktadır. Daha sonra, daha yüksek genellik seviyelerindeki dinamiklerin ve süreçlerin nasıl tezahür ettiğini göstermek için, oyunun kurallarından azade olmayan oyuncuların koşullar karşısındaki tutumlarını ve benimsedikleri konumları görünür kılmak için bireyi odağa alan kavram setlerine ve teorik çerçevelere başvurulmaktadır. Kısaca, bu teorik tartışmalar üzerinden, sermaye birikimini ve hegemonya inşasını, farklı analiz düzeylerinde kentsel yenileme özelinde neoliberal kentleşmenin, neoliberal kentleşme özelinde de kapitalizmin "nasıl işlediğine" ışık tutabilecek eleştirel bir teorik çerçeve elde edilmesi amaçlanmıştır.

Çalışmada, neoliberal dönemde konuta atfedilen rolü anlamak önceliklidir. Bu doğrultuda, Castells'in kent mekanında emeğin yeniden üretimine yönelik "kolektif tüketim" üzerinden kavradığı konut, Harvey'in kentleşmenin ekonomi politiğine yönelik analizlerinde farklı bir veçhesini bizlere sunmaktadır. Konut alanında meydana gelen "yaratıcı yıkımın" bir tezahürü olarak kentsel yenileme projelerinin dinamikleri, dolayısıyla emeğin durumunu doğrudan etkileyen, finansallaşma ile dolayımlanan sermaye birikiminde ve döngülerinde aranmaktadır. Öte yandan bir diğer tartışma boyutu da söz konusu konut politikasının neoliberal yönetişim çerçevesinde nasıl "pazarlandığı" ile ilgilidir. Daha açık bir şekilde, konutun temel bir ihtiyaç olarak evrensel bir hak olabileceğine yönelik tartışmaları ideolojik olarak reddeden hegemonik yaklaşımın başvurduğu zor kullanımı ve rıza üretme pratiklerinin incelenmesi gerekmektedir. İdeolojik güdümleme, buna ilişkin devletin rolü ve toplumsal mülahazalar, sermaye birikimi ve dolaşımı kadar önemlidir. Bu nedenle, hem Foucaultcu anlamda "yönetimsellik" hem de Gramscici anlamda "bütünsel devlet" tartışmaları, konut sorunu üzerinden iktidar ve iktidar ilişkilerinin anlaşılmasında özel bir yere sahiptir.

Ayrıca, Gramsci'nin ve Lefebvre'nin sundukları teorik çerçeveler ve kavram setleri, gecekondu sakinlerini neoliberal gündem ile uyumlulaştırmaya yönelik konut alanındaki bu biçimlendirici müdahaleyi incelemek için kritik lenslerdir. Bir başka

açıdan bakıldığında, konut alanına yapılan bu tür biçimlendirici müdahaleler, Lefebvre'nin kapitalist toplumsallarda sıradanlığı ve vasat düzeni öne çıkaran "gündelik yaşam"ı ile Bourdieu'nün tarihsel olarak oluşturulmuş eğilimleri ifade eden "habitus"u arasında gerilim yaratır. Gerilim esas olarak, belirli bir tarihsellikte emeğin yeniden üretiminde önemli bir rol oynamış gecekondunun ve gecekondu mahallelerindeki gündelik pratiklerin, artık mevcut kapitalist toplumsal ilişkilerin taşıyıcısı olmadıkları için vazgeçilebilir hale gelmesinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, Neil Smith'in değişim değeri üzerinden kentsel yenileme projelerinin tetikleyicisi olarak ortaya koyduğu "rant farkı"nın yarattığı potansiyel, emek gücünün kendisini yeniden ürettiği gündelik yaşam pratiklerinin ve eğilimlerinin değişmesinde ve dönüşmesinde de önemli bir rol oynayabilmektedir. Devlet eliyle yürütülen bu projeler sayesinde konut piyasasının spekülatif hareketlerinden göreceli de olsa özerk olan gecekondular, piyasayla hiç olmadığı kadar bütünleşmişlerdir.

Kapitalizme içkin çelişkilerin, güç ilişkilerini ve mücadeleleri biçimlendirdiği bu bütünleşme sürecinde gecekondulular da hayatlarını büyük ölçüde değiştirecek tercihler yapmak durumunda kalmıştır. Bourdieu'nun alan, oyun, habitus ve sermaye türleri kavramsallaştırmaları biçimlendirici ve bütünleştirici bu müdahale karşısında gecekonduluların almaya çalıştıkları konumların anlaşılmasında öğreticidir. Ayrıca yaşanan kırılmaların ve deneyimlenen dönüşümün ortaya koyulmasında da kazanılan ya da yitirilen sermaye türleri ve yatkınlıkların görünür kılınması böylece mümkün olabilecektir. Bir başka deyişle, tarihsel olarak oluşturulmuş eğilimlerden ani veya kademeli kopuş ile müteakip dönüşümler ve gecekondu sakinlerinin mücadelesi, rıza göstermesi veya almaşık tepki biçimleri arasındaki gerilim, belirli sosyal güçlerin nasıl işler olduğunu ve insanların yaşamlarında nasıl cisimleştiğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Dolayısıyla ulusal ile yereli, nicel ile niteli, aktör ile yapıyı, bağlam ile anı ve benzeri birçok ikiliği bir arada düşünmeyi ve işlevselliği dolayısıyla anlamlı olan, fakat bölünmüş bilimsel üretim süreçlerini de doğurabilecek analitik düşünce pratiğini, ilişkisel düşünce pratiği ile bütünlemeyi hedefleyen bu çalışma, önemli metodolojik ve teorik tartışmalar yürüttükten sonra çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde sermaye dolaşımı ve birikimine ilişkin ulusal ve yerel düzeydeki istatistiklere dayanarak, öncelikle konutun inşaat sektörü ile ilişkisine ve konut piyasası dinamiklerine odaklanarak analizlerin ve çıkarımların yapılmasına somut bir zemin oluşturmuştur. Açıktır ki yukarıda da vurgulandığı üzere konutun maddi temellerine yönelik ulusal ve yerel düzeyde bir analiz yapılmadığı durumlarda bireylerin mağduriyetleri karşısında mucizevi olarak sürdürülen bir kentsel politika müdahalesi olarak kentsel yenileme projeleri karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu durum her ne kadar zorun yoğunlaştığı müdahaleler olsa da, rızanın da nasıl sağlandığının görünür kılınması, ilgili hegemonik dönüşümün anlaşılmasında önem arz etmektedir. Böylece konut alanında hegemonyanın nesnel ve ideolojik inşasının izi sürülürken tarihsel ve toplumsal bağlam ortaya koyulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Yine bu bölüm içerisinde Türkiye'nin başkenti ve en kalabalık ikinci kenti olan Ankara'nın konut sorunu açısından konumuna ve kentsel dönüşümün Ankara açısından ne ifade ettiğine bakılmıştır. Bir sonraki bölümde, sadece Ankara'nın ve Türkiye'nin değil, Dünya'daki en büyük kentsel dönüşüm projesi olarak da lanse edilen Yeni Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi, neoliberal kentleşmenin nasıl vuku bulduğunun anlaşılmasını sağlayabileceği düşüncesiyle örnek olay olarak seçilmiştir. Hem projenin yasal ve yönetsel seyri, hem de sürecin öznesi haline gelen gecekondu

sakinlerinin deneyimleri bu anlamda değerli veriler sunmaktadır. "Yaşam seyri" yaklaşımının alışıldığın dışında kullanımı ile gecekondu sakinlerinin hayatlarındaki kentsel dönüşüm projesinin belirgin olarak neden olduğu kırılmalar, kopuşlar, ve dönüşümler ortaya koyulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Geridönümsel araştırma stratejisi sayesinde, 2008 yılında yıkımların başladığı ve 2022 yılı itibariyle sürecin, projenin bazı aşamalarında hala devam ettiği Yeni Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi'nin yaklaşık on yılına şahitlik eden bu çalışma müdahale öncesine, sürecine ve sonrasına ışık tutmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu zaman diliminde yapılan alan çalışması çerçevesinde toplanan boylamsal nitel ve nicel veriler, bir neoliberal kentleşme müdahalesi olarak kentsel dönüşümün yol açtığı toplumsal dönüşümün ortaya koyulmasını sağlayacaktır. Diğer bir deyişle, yapılan teorik tartışmalardan elde edilen gerçekliğin bilgisinin üretilmesine yönelik kavrayış, Türkiye'deki maddi koşulların analizine ek olarak bağlamsal etmenlerin ve kişisel hikayelerin ortaya koyulması aracılığıyla, neoliberal kentleşmenin ete kemiğe büründürülmesinde önemli rol oynamıştır.

Böylece neoliberal dönemde sermaye birikimi ve beraberindeki neoliberal hegemonya farklı düzeylerde incelenmiş; üst düzey soyutlamalara dayalı teorik tartışmalar, ara düzey (bağlayıcı) kavramlar üretilerek ve birbirleriyle ilişkileri ortaya koyularak somutlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Tezin her bölümü ayrı bir çalışma gibi görünse de, farklı genellik seviyelerine odaklanırken teşhis edilebilecek ilişkilerinin ortaya koyulmaya çalışıldığı aynı toplumsal gerçekliğin farklı yönleri olarak görülmelidir. Bu çerçevede çalışmanın temel tartışmalarını ve bunlara bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan bulguları şu şekilde özetlemek mümkündür.

Çoğulculuğu kutsama çabasında iken popülizme saplanan, ekonomik belirsizlikler dönemi olarak neoliberalizm, tarihsel ve toplumsal bağlama da bağlı olarak seçici, esnek ve düzensiz karar alma ve politika yapma süreçlerinin yolunu açmıştır. Buna paralel, siyasetin üç tarz-ı olarak korporatizm, kayırmacılık ve popülizm toplumsal güç ilişkilerine hakim hale gelmiştir. Bu tabloda, dünya çapında otoriter rejimlerin inşasını kolaylaştıran, onları yeniden üreten ve belli oranlarda meşruiyet kazanmalarına olanak sağlayan yegane mekanizma ideolojinin taşıyıcısı olan yeniden dağıtım mekanizmalarıdır. İmar haklarının yeniden dağıtımı, Küresel Güney şehirciliğinin en yaygın popülist siyaset girişimlerinden biridir. Devlet, bu tür müdahalelerle sermaye ve emek arasındaki mücadeleye müdahil olur ve meşru zoru kullanarak toplumda rızanın üretilmesinde önemli bir rol üstlenir.

Öte yandan, kapitalist üretim tarzının, üretim ilişkilerinin ve bunlara bağlı tüketim kalıplarının yeniden değerleme ve baskı yoluyla yeniden yapılandırıldığı neoliberal dönem, sermayenin kentsel mekana hiç olmadığı kadar bağımlı olduğunu göstermektedir. Buna uygun olarak, gündelik hayat pratiklerinin önemli bir belirleyeni olarak sermaye dolaşımı ve birikiminin sağlanması için hegemonyanın yeniden inşasına yönelik kentsel politikaların önemi artmıştır. İşte tam da bu anlamda, temel bir insan ihtiyacı olan konut yatırım aracı kimliği ile karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Günümüz kentlerinde yaşanan konut sorunu, daha fazla konut üretimi ile talebin doyurulması üzerinden çözülebilecek bir halde değildir. Mevcut konut piyasası, artan maliyetlerin ötesinde spekülasyon ve manipülasyon ile kullanım değerinin değişim değeri karşısında ikincilleştirildiği bir toplumsal formasyonla ilgilidir. Bu durum,

konut fiyatları, konut stoku ve konut fazlasına yönelik nicel verilerle çalışmada açıkça gösterilmiştir. Bu tespiti destekler bir diğer analiz de enflasyon karşısında diğer yatırım araçları ile karşılaştırıldığında, konut yatırımının değer koruma açısından Türkiye şartlarında önemli bir seçenek olduğuna yöneliktir. Her ne kadar en iyi performans gösteren yatırım aracı olmasa da, bir yandan kullanım değeri dolayısıyla temel bir ihtiyacı karşılayan, diğer yandan da enflasyona yenilmeyen değişim değeri dolayısıyla da piyasadaki önemli bir yatırım aracıdır konut. Ayrıca, finansal araçlara ve onların arkasındaki kurumlara olan güvenin sınırlı olduğu toplumlarda konut, "yastık altı" altın yatırımında olduğu üzere önemli bir somutluğa ve dolayısıyla güvenceye işaret etmektedir.

Her ne kadar mücadeleleri ve pazarlıkları dışlamak toplumsal gerçekliğin karmaşıklığına aykırı olsa da, Bourdieucu anlamda imar ve konut gibi alanlarda oynanan oyunların birçoğunda, gecekondu mahallelerini hedef alan kentsel yenileme projelerinde olduğu üzere, oyuncuların kazançları esas olarak oyunun kurucuları tarafından belirlenmektedir. Bunlar arasında sürecin odağında yer alan gecekonduluları saymak mümkün değildir. Öte yandan yukarıda vurgulandığı üzere yeniden dağıtım kanallarının çalıştırıldığı ve böylece gün sonunda salt çoğunluk nezdinde sıfır toplamlı bir oyun olarak oynanmadığı sürece zarların atılmasına devam edilmektedir.

Böyle bir oyunun, özellikle kazanımları sınırlı olanlar ve kaybedenler için mücadelenin ölçeğini, seviyesini ve içeriğini değiştirmesi beklenir. Fakat, bu oyuncular genellikle oyunu, kurallarını ve gücü elinde tutan oyuncuları değiştirmek yerine, zaman zaman yasal yönetsel boşlukları kullanmak, zaman zaman da enformel ve kayırmacı ilişkiler üzerinden daha iyi bir duruma gelmek için konum almak zorunda kalırlar. Başka bir deyişle, kaynakları elinde tutmaya ve oyunun kurallarını belirleme kapasitesine sahip olan güç, belirli bir hareket tarzını, duruşu ve stratejiyi, kendisini vaz geçilmez kılmaya yönelik olarak gecekondululara dayatmaktadır. Bu anlamda konut politikalarında ve özellikle kentsel yenileme projelerinde yeniden değerleme yoluyla değişim değerini kullanım değeri karşısında belirleyici hale getiren metalaştırma süreci itici güç olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Yenileme projelerinin başlamasında ve ilerlemesinde belirleyici olan kentsel rantlar, isteyerek ya da istemeyerek sürecin parçası olan hak sahiplerini, hayatlarının hatırı sayılır bir dönemini borçlanarak geçirme pahasına da olsa teşvik eder niteliktedir. Gecekondu sakinlerini katılmaya zorlayan bu kuşatıcı ve kapsayıcı oyun, neoliberal hegemonya inşasının temelinde yer alan Foucaultcu anlamda "girişimci benliğin" yaratılmasıyla doğrudan ilişkilidir. Bu inşa süreci zor ve rızanın birbirleri içerisinde eridiği amalgam mekanizmaları, dinamikleri ve süreçleri içerir. Kentsel yenileme projeleri, tarihsel olarak özgün, toplumsal olarak biçimlendirici sınıf temelli müdahaleler olmaları nedeniyle, hegemonyanın nasıl inşa edildiğini ve sermayenin hayatın her alanına ve anına nasıl nüfuz ettiğini örnekleyebilecek olaylardır. Somut olarak görünür kılmanın ve adını koymanın oldukça zor olduğu bu biçimlendiricileri, hareket halindeyken izlemek ve kavramsallaştırmak kanımızca daha olası görülmektedir.

Bu doğrultuda, alan araştırmasında elde edilen verileri odağa alacak şekilde farklı düzeylerde yapılan analizler, geniş anlamda kentsel yenileme projelerinin ilerlemesini sağlayan başlıca iki itici güç olduğunu göstermektedir. İlki, insanları belirli bir siyasi

yönde bir duruş sergilemeye motive eden popülist söylemi ve ideolojik çizgileri içerir. Bunu tamamlayıcı olarak ikincisi ise, devletin zor gücünün gölgesinde işler kılınan ve gün sonunda daha fazlasının elde edilemediği ölçüde kanaat etmeyi dayatan yeniden dağıtım politikalarıdır. Neoliberal dönemde bu iç içe geçmiş iki mekanizmaya yönelik kavrayışı geliştirmek için, kapitalist kentleşmenin çelişkili ve çatışmalı doğası ulusal düzeyde konut alanındaki dinamiklerin incelenmesinin yanı sıra gecekondu sakinlerinin kentsel yenileme sürecindeki deneyimleri aracılığıyla ara düzey kavramlar üretilerek somutlaştırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Bu çerçevede, yaklaşık on yıl süren saha çalışması, kentsel yenileme sürecinde yer alan birbiriyle doğrudan ilişkili birçok önemli uğrağı, dinamiği ve mekanizmayı ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bunlar, proje öncesini ve yıkımların başladığı ana kadar olan dönemi içeren "hazırlık", sonrasında gecekondu alanını terk etme sürecinin tamamlandığı "yıkım" ve son olarak yeni taşınılan mekandaki hayat pratiklerinde yaşanan kopuşların ve sürekliliklerin izlenebileceği "yaratma veya tahribat" olmak üzere üç ayrı aşamada sergilenmiştir. Bu üç dönemdeki değişim "yaşam seyri" yaklaşımı ile sadece gecekondu sakinlerinin anlatıları üzerinden değil, mümkün olduğunca nesnel veriler üzerinden de incelenmiş ve yaşanan dönüşüm anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Dolayısıyla cinsiyet, yaş, etnik köken, mezhep gibi demografik alt kırılımlara önem ve çalışmada yer verilse de, kentsel yenilemeye bağlı değişimin açıkça ortaya koyulabilmesi adına "yaşam seyri" yaklaşımı ile gecekondulular yekpare bir grup olarak ele alınmış ve bahsi geçen üç dönemde kentsel yenileme kaynaklı dönüşüm izlenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Unutulmadan belirtilmelidir ki burada altı çizilen dinamikler, uğraklar ve mekanizmalar birçok kentsel yenileme projesinde karşılaşılabilecek nitelikte olsalar da, zamana ve mekana gömülü, tarihsel ve toplumsal bağlama bağlı özgünlükleri göz ardı ederek haddimizi aşmamak adına Yeni Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi örneği dikkate alınarak ortaya atılmış ve tartışılmıştır.

Bu bağlamda kentsel yenileme projesinin farklı aşamalarında değişen yoğunluklarla da olsa on farklı dönüştürücü ve biçimlendirici süreç, dinamik ve uğrakla karşılaşıyoruz. Bunlardan ilki "ayrıştırma", "dışlama", "marjinalleştirme" ve "damgalama" olarak adlandırılabilecek, projenin başlangıcına tekabül eden süreçlerdir. Burada, mülkiyet durumuna göre ayrıştırılan gecekondululara farklı haklar tanınarak, "işgalci" olarak görülenler ve kiracılar gibi bazı kesimler projeden dışlanmıştır. Öte yandan gecekondu alanları çöküntü ve suç ile ilişkilendirerek damgalanmakta ve marjinalleştirilmektedir. Böylece müdahalenin meşruiyetinin artması sağlanmaktadır. İkinci olarak "söylentiler" ve "spekülasyonlar" olarak altını çizdiğimiz itkiler karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Projeye yönelik yeterli bilginin sağlan(a)maması ve edinil(e)memesi neticesinde, kulaktan dolma bilgiler hem projenin ilerleyişini etkilemekte hem de alandaki konut ve arazi piyasasında spekülasyonlara neden olmaktadır. Üçüncü süreç, "isteklerin, ihtiyaçların ve arzuların üretimi" ile ilgilidir. Burada, gecekondu, miadını doldurmuş bir konut formu olarak kabul edilirken, apartman hayatı "steril", "güvenli", "sağlıklı" ve "olanak dolu" olarak bir arzu nesnesi haline dönüştürülmektedir. Ayrıca, yeni taşınılan eve eşlik etmesi beklenen, ihtiyaç olarak sunulan, yeni arzu nesnelerinin edinimi de piyasanın hareketliliği açısından önemlidir. Dördüncü sırada ortaya koyulabilecek dinamikler bütünü "çatışma tetikleyicilik", "huzursuzluk", "güvensizlik", "şiddet" ve "zorlama" olarak adlandırılabilir. Mülkiyet durumu, etnik, mezhep vb. farklılıklar, projeye olumlu ya da olumsuz yaklaşımların gerekçesi olarak ortaya koyulmakta ve kazanım

elde edebilmek için birlikte hareket etmesi beklenen gecekondulular arasında huzursuzluklara neden olmaktadır. Ek olarak, yıkımların başlamasıyla tenhalaşan alanda, temel ihtiyaçların karşılanmasında karşılaşılan zorlukların yanı sıra ortadan kaldırılmayan molozların arasında yaşamaya çalışmak sembolik şiddetin ötesine geçen bir muameleye işaret etmektedir. Böylece projeye taraf olmak istemeyenler, yaşamaya uygun olmayan şartlara zorlanmaktadır. "(Yeniden)bölgeselleştirme" olarak vurguladığımız beşinci süreç, proje öncesindeki mekânsal ilişkiler yığınının, yıkımlar ve alanın terki sonrasında yeniden şekillenmesiyle alakalıdır. Gecekonduların yerlerini alan apartmanlarda, farklı ilişkiler, kurallar, semboller, yatkınlar belirleyicidir. Bu da yeni bir bölgeselleştirmeyi beraberinde getirmektedir. "Metalaştırma", "yeniden temellük", "finansallaştırma" ve "borçlanma" altıncı dinamik çatısı altında bir araya getirilebilecek oyunun rengini değiştirebilecek kozlar olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Kentsel ranttan alınacak payın ve bu payın getirilerinin ve götürülerinin belirlendiği bu süreç, sunduğu "fırsatlar" ve yarattığı "beklentiler" kadar dayattığı zorluklar dolayısıyla da önemlidir. Yedinci uğrak, belli zamanlarda görünür olarak projenin işleyişini büyük oranda etkileyen "yasal ve yönetsel yeniden yapılandırma"dır. Bu müdahaleler, projenin ilerlemesinde karşılaşılan sorunların bertaraf edilmesine yönelik olarak yönetim tavrındaki değişikliklere ve projenin işleyişini düzenleyen yasal çerçevenin zaman zaman esnetilmesine, zaman zaman da süreci kolaylaştırmak ve hızlandırmak adına güçlendirilmesine işaret etmektedir. Sekizinci olarak, kentsel yenileme projelerine içkin olan, gecekondu sakinlerinin "yerlerinden olması" veya "yer değiştirmeleri" gösterilebilir. Her ne kadar günümüz projelerinde kaçınılmaz olan bu uğrak normalleştirilmiş ise de, izlenebilmesi durumunda gecekonduluların hayatlarındaki değişimin anlaşılması açısından büyük önem arz etmektedir. Her taşınma yeni bir maliyeti ve yeni ilişki ağlarının içerisine girmeyi beraberinde getirir. Dokuzuncu olarak, projenin özellikle ilk aşamalarında projeye katılımlar ve müteakiben gecekonduların yıkımı sonrasında ortaya çıkan "sosyo-kültürel yapıların ve yer algısının tahribatı"ndan ve özellikle yeni taşınılan konutlarda kaybedilen bağlardan kaynaklı yaşanılan "tecrit ve izolasyon" sürecinden bahsetmek mümkündür. Onuncu ve son olarak sürecin bütününe yayılan dinamik "bireyselleştirmeye" ve "özelleştirmeye" ilişkindir. Gecekonduya özgü dayanışma yaratan kolektif pratikler, yıkıntılar arasında yaşamaya çalışan gecekondulular ve alanı terk edip farklı bölgelerde ikamet eden eski gecekondulular için anlamını büyük ölçüde yitirmiştir. Bu duruma paralel, yeni konut alanlarında birçok hizmet sunumunun gecekonduda olmadığı gibi bir bedelinin olması özel tüketimin ve geniş anlamda özelleştirilmiş hayatların ortaya çıkmasına neden olmaktadır. İktidar alanına içkin bu on birbiriyle ilişkili ve zaman zaman da birbirine dönüşen süreç, dinamik ve uğrak, gecekondu sakinlerinin yıllar içerisinde oluşturdukları yatkınlıkları dönüştürmekte ve amaçlansın ya da amaçlanmasın neoliberal hegemonyanın inşasında farklılaşan zamanlarda ve düzeylerde rol oynamaktadırlar.

Sınıfsal çatışma ve çelişkilerle dolu bu biçimlendirici inşa süreci, yerel ve merkezi yönetimler, siyasi partiler, sivil toplum kuruluşları, medya veya yerel seçkinler tarafından dolayımlanmakta ve böylece baskın ideoloji karşısında yer alan nadir direniş çabalarını etkisizleştirerek, mücadeleyi ve karşı hegemonya inşasını neredeyse imkansız kılmaktadır. Daha açık bir şekilde odaklanılan örnek üzerinden ifade edecek olursak, üretim ve tüketim kalıplarının dönüştüğü bir süreçte oyunun edilgen bir rol biçilen taraflarından olan gecekondu sakinlerinin sınıfsal konumlarına yönelik ayırdın ortaya çıkmaması ya da çeşitli nedenlerle baskılanması gün sonunda onlar için işgücü

piyasası ve konut piyasası ile daha fazla bütünleşme anlamına gelmektedir. Ayrıca tüm dönüşüm süreci yeniden dağıtımdan alınacak paya indirgendiğinden, konutlar teslim edildikten sonra eski gecekondu sakinlerinin yeni koşullara nasıl uyum sağlayacağı ya da sağlayıp sağlayamayacağı kamu otoritesi tarafından göz ardı edilmektedir.

Bu minvalde Foucaultcu anlamda amaçlanmış bir yönetimselliği işaret etmese de, bu süreçler, uğraklar ve mekanizmalar disipline edici iktidar pratikleri olarak kavramsallaştırılabilirler. Bu vesileyle tekrar altını çizmekte fayda vardır ki, en azından bu çalışma için, bu eylemler dizisinin, ulvi bir amaca yönelik "rasyonel" hesaplamalarla veya kurgulanmış yönetim tekniklerinin planlı adımlarıyla uzaktan yakından bir ilgisi yoktur. Aksine, rızanın üretilemediği durumlarda pekâlâ zora kolaylıkla başvurulabilen, çelişkilerin ve çatışmaların gün yüzüne çıktığı noktalarda esnek ve seçici müdahaleler ve popülizme dayalı bir siyaset anlayışı ile günün kurtarılmaya çalışıldığı amorf yönetim biçimleriyle de karşılaşılmaktadır.

Sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik ve sembolik sermaye ile ilişkilendirilebilecek birçok pratiğin ve bunlarla yoğrulan yatkınlıkların taşıyıcısı olarak gecekondu mahalleleri kolektif bir hafızanın da ürünüdür. Yenileme projesi neticesinde ister konut programı sonucunda üretilen apartmanlara isterse de farklı bir semtteki apartmanlara taşınsınlar, eski gecekondu sakinleri kendilerini bir öncekinden çok daha farklı toplumsal ve mekânsal ilişkilerin parçası olarak bulmaktadırlar. Yatkınlıkların sürdürülmesi, yeni formasyondaki somut ve soyut sınırların elverdiği ve zorlandığı ölçüde gerçekleşebilirken, gecekonduya ait davranış kalıplarının ve yaşam tarzının değişimine ve dönüşümüne tanıklık edilmektedir. Apartman hayatında idealleştirilen özellikle orta sınıfı kucaklayan ilişkiler bütünü, gecekondu sakinleri için geride bırakılanlar düşünüldüğünde sarsıcı olabilmektedir.

Her ölçekte eşitsizliklerin keskinleştiği Covid-19 pandemisi sırasında bu durum daha açık bir hal almıştır. Her ne kadar bu süreçte kapanmalardan ve kısıtlardan ötürü saha çalışmamıza devam etme şansımız olmasa da, yaptığımız telefon görüşmeleri birçok eski gecekondu sakininin çaresizlik içerisinde olduğunu ve pişmanlık duyduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bazıları, ekonomideki daralma nedeniyle geçimlerini sağlamakta zorlandıklarını ve konut programı çerçevesinde ödemek zorunda oldukları kredileri ödeyemediklerini ve konutlarını satmak zorunda kaldıklarını belirtmiştir. Ayrıca bu zor dönemde, nüfus yoğunluğunun fazla ve dolayısıyla bulaşa karşı sosyal mesafeyi korumanın zor olduğu yüksek katlı apartmanlarda yaşamak zorunda kalmanın sıkıntısını çektiklerini iletmişlerdir. Birçok eski gecekondu sakini, özellikle kapanmalar sırasında düşük yoğunluklu, mesafeli ve açık alan imkanı sağlayan müstakil evlerinden vazgeçtikleri için pişman olduklarını dile getirmiştir. Gecekondularda yük olarak görülen bakım, onarım ve ısınma bir kenara bırakılacak olursa, apartmanda yaşamak, yıllarını kırsaldaki mekânsal düzenlerinin en azından konut özelinde devamı olarak gördükleri gecekondu ortamında geçiren ve yatkınları ona göre şekillenen orta yaşlı ve üzerindeki gecekondu sakinleri için ıstıraba dönüşmüştür.

Bu çıkarımların yapılmasında, 10 yılı aşkın bir sürede boylamsal bir çalışma olması dolayısıyla gecekondu ve eski gecekondu sakinleri ile yapılan yüz yirminin üzerinde derinlemesine görüşme sürecin nasıl işlediğinin anlaşılması için büyük oranda fikir vermiştir. Alan araştırması sırasında anlatılan her öykü, öznel ve doğrusal olmayan bir zaman deneyimine işaret etmektedir. Fakat genele yayılan gündelik yaşamda ve

pratiklerde izlenen dönüşüm, biçimlendirici bir müdahale ile karşı karşıya olunduğunu göstermektedir. Her ne kadar tikel bir örnek üzerinden de olsa, bu müdahalelerin yarattığı toplumsal dönüşüm, neoliberal kentleşme sürecinin, şikayetlerin, mağduriyetlerin ve başa çıkma stratejilerinin ötesinde, ilişkisel bir analiz düzeyi gerektirdiğini imlemektedir.

Bu çalışma, toplumsal gerçekliğin ortaya koyulmasına yönelik metodolojik ve teorik yetkinliği artıran önemli adımlar atmış olma iddiasındadır. Özgün bir kentsel yenileme projesi üzerinden Türkiye'deki konut sorununa yönelik ve onun da neoliberal dönemdeki durumuna ilişkin kuramsal bir çerçeve tarafından desteklenen bir dizi çözümleme yapılmıştır. Kuşkusuz yapılan çıkarımların farklı tarihsel ve toplumsal denklemler için ne derece geçerli olduklarının sorgulanması gereklidir. Açıktır ki, nitel ve nicel verilere dayanarak nesnel soyutlamalara başvurarak ürettiğimiz yukarıdaki dinamikler, mekanizmalar ve uğraklar bağlamsal etmenlere bağlı olarak farklı zaman ve coğrafyalarda farklılaşabilir ya da çeşitlenebilir. Bu çalışma bu farklılıkları eşitsiz gelişmenin bir ifadesi olarak gördüğü ölçüde bu büyük resmin içinde bir yer doldurarak bütünü anlamaya katkı yapmayı hedeflemiştir.

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