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**Redevelopment of the squatter settlement
Neighbourhoods in Ankara, Turkey**

Sinan Akyuz

Supervisors: Dr Lee Crooker, Dr Tom Goodfellow
and Dr Jamie Gough

The University of Sheffield

Department of Urban Studies and Planning

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December, 2018

I hereby declare that this thesis has been submitted for award of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Sheffield. It has not been submitted for any other qualification or to any other academic institution.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis was to understand the enormous processes of building and rebuilding of housing in Turkey with strong state involvement, targeting squatter housing neighbourhoods, whilst also considering the effects of redevelopment processes on the residents of squatter settlements Ankara, Turkey. In order to understand the overall social, economic, and spatial change of the Turkish cities, three theoretical perspectives were used: urban, state, and built environment and housing theories. Most of the existing literature on squatter settlements' redevelopment examined the eviction of the inner city squatting settlement areas through gentrification theories. However, in the case of Ankara, thousands of hectares of squatter settlement neighbourhoods have been redeveloped since 1980s and gentrification theories account for only a small part of the phenomenon. Massive redevelopments have not always led to displacement and the current redevelopment projects cover 30 percent of the population and 40 percent of the existing city. Therefore, this thesis sought to fill a gap in the literature explaining squatter settlement redevelopment in Turkey. In addition, in many developing countries there have been similar levels of intervention to the urban space by different level of state agencies, and the current findings may also aid to understand redevelopments in developing countries

A qualitative methodology was used, undertaking an extensive review of the academic literature, policy and official documents regarding three case studies selected. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 63 different actors involved in the redevelopment projects and 2 focus groups with gecekondü residents in each case study area.

The findings of this research suggest that role of the governments in the neoliberal period since the 1980s has been conceptualized as purely disciplinary in terms of class relationships. However, in fact most governments implemented cooperative policies as well. The two key concepts in order to theorise the intervention to the urban space in the period of post 2000 are rescaling the state

and financialisation of the built environment and housing. After 2000, the integration of housing credits and upward scaling of state intervention led to a dramatic increase in housing production. The findings of the Altindag and Mamak case studies showed that from the gecekondu owners' perspective, the overall housing material quality increased. However, the redevelopments also created various difficulties for the owners and substantially changed their social and cultural lives. Moreover, gecekondu tenants have gained little from the redevelopments.

Overall, these findings demonstrate that the role of the central state and city-wide municipalities in relation to the built environment, has increased enormously since the 1980s in contrast with the downward scaling of the state as found in many European countries. This shows the importance of understanding state scaling in relation to the economy, society, urbanisation and politics of particular countries.

Acknowledgements

Since April 2014 I have been on this PhD journey. It has been a very long process of learning, understanding, analysing and finding both myself and society. I could not have completed this journey without the love, support and patience of many people.

I am greatly thankful to Jamie Gough, for his continuous support, patience and concern during this long journey – you have not only been my supervisor but also a true friend and family for me in this 4 years. Thank you for all the constructive feedback and hours of discussion; without your guidance I would not have completed this thesis. Thank you very much for your constant encouragement, advice and belief in my abilities.

I would also like to give my sincere thanks to my second supervisor Lee Crookes, for his constant encouragement and advice on my work. Thanks to Jason Slade, who has been a great friend and given me incredible help during the proofreading process.

I thank all of the TRP staff for being so supportive of PhD students and my colleagues in the department for the opportunity to go through the PhD process together. Especially, thanks to Steve Connelly and Glyn Williams, for their support and the opportunity to be part of the Wits exchange programme. Also, I thank the entire Sheffield-Wits cohort, for making it a wonderful experience.

I especially wish to thank my PhD cohort, who became my little family in Sheffield. To Uyi Mama, Elvis Nyanzo, Hayyan Rozi, Abdullah Difalla, Patricia Schappo, Morag Rose and Fiona Calder, thank you very much for all of your love, care and for giving me unconditional support during my stay in Sheffield. You were always ready to listen to me and you helped me whenever I needed it. I am grateful for having nice friends like you in Sheffield.

I would like also to greatly thank my housemates and my friends, Ali Aytemur, Nazli Altin, Emilio Pradal, Sevim Karaoglu, Mustafa Tetik, thank you very

much for being such nice friends and being always supportive during the different stages of my life.

My special gratitude to my partner Paulina. You did not only help me through my stay in Sheffield, you changed me. You make me believe in myself, help me to understand my potential, and without your encouragement I could not have achieved half of what I did. You changed my perspective of me and the world. Thank you for holding me through the hardest times, you make them easier. I am looking forward to the next stages of our lives, 'Te amo'.

I must also mention the role of the Ministry of Education in granting me the research scholarship, which enabled me to carry out this research through their financial support. I am grateful to all Turkish citizens whose taxes have provided me the opportunity to study abroad for my MSc and my PhD.

Finally, my biggest thanks is for my family, to my parents Leyla and Altolmaz and my sister Sinem, for all of the support they have given me. Especially for my PhD but also the 8-year period that has included language school and the MSc. Without your support over the years I could not have made this. This thesis is dedicated to my family.

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PART 1. OVERVIEW

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 The Subject of the Thesis

The overarching aim of this thesis is to understand the redevelopment of squatter housing neighbourhoods and the effects of the redevelopment process on the residents in Ankara under the neoliberal governments after 2000.

In the big cities of Turkey, such as in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir there has been a housing problem for the working class since the 1950s. Due to the lack of adequate housing supply, rural-urban migrants have solved their housing problems by constructing squatted houses, *gecekondu*, which literally means 'built over night' in Turkish. Up until the 1980s the state tried to solve the housing problem with periodic legalisation of these squatted or informal houses. After 1983, the main strategy of the state evolved to mass and fast redevelopment, producing 4-5 storey formal apartments in place of the *gecekondu*. These interventions were termed, Improvement and Development Plans (IDP). The IDPs increased housing production but did not reach the target of redeveloping all *gecekondu* neighbourhoods; it is because 50% of the population in big cities lived in *gecekondu* houses in the 1980s. Since the 2000s, a new mode of intervention, Urban Transformation Projects (UTP), started to be implemented by local and central state agencies. The current UTP mode of redevelopment aims to redevelop all the existing *gecekondus*, and these projects affect millions of people and aim to radically restructure the cities.

The redevelopment programs under the neoliberal governments after 2000 have been well studied in terms of their effects on working class populations in the central districts of the big cities (in Istanbul: Altıok and Cengiz, 2008; Yilmaz and Demir, 2002; Gundogdu and Gough, 2009; Gunay and Dokmenci, 2012; Turk and

Altes, 2010; Lovering and Turkmen, 2011; and in Ankara: Guzey, 2009; Dundar, 2001; Turker and Devecigil, 2005). However, the programs also aim to formalise the working class housing at the urban periphery. The formalisation effects of the programs is not well conceptualised. By focussing on this area, then, this thesis seeks to further understanding of how the redevelopment programs produce housing for the working class in Turkey.

If we compare the redevelopment programs in 1980s and today's, In 1980s the Improvement and Development Programs legalised the existing gecekondu and allow construction of 4-5 storey apartments on each 400 m² of gecekondu land. In order to formalise and establish ownership patterns, the gecekondu parcels are combined and re-established according to plan conditions. The construction of flats is based on agreements between gecekondu owners and small-scale private developers. In this model, after the plan conditions are determined, the municipality does not intervene in the agreements between the gecekondu owners and private developers, but only expropriates a maximum of 35% of the land for infrastructure and public facilities provision. In contrast, the Urban Transformation Plan type of redevelopment does not legalise the gecekondu land but merely accepts previously legalised ownerships. While in the IDP projects the gecekondu owners have the power to directly negotiate with private developers for their land, in the UTP projects the value of the gecekondu land is determined by the state agency that implements the project. Therefore, the negotiation power of the gecekondu owners decreased when we compare the previous redevelopment. Moreover, the UTP projects are implemented at the scale of several neighbourhoods, demolishing thousands of gecekondus and constructing thousands of flats. The scope of the projects necessitates a higher level of state agency involvement in these projects. While in IDPs the municipality only determines the plan conditions, in UTPs, the municipality is an active participant, buying the land, clearing the areas, and then giving the land to the private developers to construct the new housing.

The projects affect 30 percent of the Ankara population, but effect of the projects are changes based on ownership of land. For the gecekondu owners, the projects

have economic benefits but also disadvantages. As a result of the UR projects gecekondu owners can get one or several new flats based on the m² of land they own. The new flats have better infrastructure and better material quality than the gecekondus. These gecekondu neighbourhoods have been neglected for decades in terms of infrastructure provision. The redevelopment projects increase the number of public facilities such as schools and health centres, and increase the private services such as banks and supermarkets. However, the result is not the same for all gecekondu owners. Compensation of the gecekondu owners varies based on the programme, the location of the neighbourhoods, and the amount of the land they have. Moreover, in both types of redevelopment programme, the social structure and the neighbourhood bonds established over decades have the risk to be lost.

For the tenants and non-title holder residents, on the other hand, projects have very negative economic and social results. For the non-title holders there are three possible ways of solving their housing need. Firstly, they privately rent houses in the new redevelopment area or other neighbourhoods. This option increases their housing costs; based on my fieldwork analyses their spending on housing increases from 10% to 40% of their income (Section 9.9.3). A second option is renting a gecekondu in a non-redeveloped area; there are still gecekondus in more remote locations, but most of the gecekondu areas are waiting for redevelopments, and within them there are many demolished gecekondu houses which create security and social problems. Finally, non-title holders may buy houses produced for the low-income groups from the Mass Housing Agency. However, the MHA houses are mostly expensive, in very remote locations, of low quality and limited number. Therefore, the redevelopment of the gecekondus has very negative social and economic results for non-title holders and tenants.

By focusing only on the current UTP model of redevelopment in city-centre areas, much research has mistakenly conceptualised the redevelopment as gentrification. The mainstream pattern of intervention to gecekondus in Turkey is the transition from a populist and inclusive redevelopment to a semi-inclusive

one through slum clearance and redevelopment programs. With these redevelopments programs the neoliberal governments after 2000 aim to incorporate a part of the urban working class. They also provide a very large new market for property companies, developers, which the governments wish to boost.

The thesis concludes with some policy recommendations on how the problems of the current redevelopments might be combatted. New housing provision should be offered to all the gecekondus residents with equal conditions. All the residents need to be provided with decent housing, in accessible places with proper infrastructure and services (Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). To avoid the chaotic and drawn-out way in which the programmes have been carried out, the projects should be separated into stages and contracts with residents signed only when new housing is available. To better and continue the social ties of the gecekondus, the new formal neighbourhoods should be designed to include collective shared spaces, such as community gardens and shared facilities in the flats.

1.2 Initial Motivations for the Thesis

I had three main motivations for researching this subject: the extraordinary scale of the redevelopment of the built environment of cities in Turkey since 2002; the lack of research on the redevelopment of Ankara; and a wish to give a more nuanced account of the redevelopment of gecekondus than has so far appeared in the academic literature.

The scale of rebuilding of Turkish cities over the last two decades has been extraordinary. In 2005, around 30% of the urban population of the big cities of Turkey were still living in squatter settlements (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2005). Since then the production of the built environment and especially of housing has increased dramatically, from 202,000 dwellings in 2003 to 1,000,000 dwellings in 2016 (TUIK, 2016). In terms of total floor area, production of housing

increased from 45 million m² in 2003 to 205 million m² in 2016(TUIK, 2016). The Ministry of Urbanisation and Environment estimates that 6-7 million buildings out of 19 million buildings in Turkey - around 37% of the existing building stock - need to be rebuilt or reinforced due to earthquake risk. The approximate cost of redevelopment projects for the next 20 years is predicted to reach \$400 billion (Hurriyet, 2012). The redevelopment programmes in Turkish cities have radically changed not only in the built environment but have also been associated with equally large changes to their economies, their forms of housing, and their social life. I saw a need for a comprehensive theorisation of housing and wider urban changes, and the role of capital, the state and the working class in these changes.

My second motivation for my choice of topic was that, whilst processes of urban (re)development and change in Istanbul are very well documented due to its being an international and national economic centre, there is very limited research on Ankara, and much of this focuses only on the city centre. Yet the scale of redevelopment in Ankara is massive. In 2005, 30% of the population (1.2 million) lived in gecekondus, which covered an equivalent proportion of land in the city (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2005). The number and scale of redevelopment projects in the city is very high: the current projects are aiming to reconstruct 40% of the existing city (Section 8.4.3.1). The construction of new working class housing has been and is a major part of these projects. Therefore, it is inaccurate to explain state intervention in squatter areas entirely in terms of gentrification or total displacement. Particularly because Ankara is my hometown, I wished to rectify this lack of academic and policy literature on Ankara's recent development.

The third motivation for the thesis was a personal one. I have many relatives who have lived in squatter housing in Turkey and for them the life in the gecekondu has been always problematic. Their stories have always been about the low material quality of gecekondu houses, the lack of infrastructure and poverty in relation to gecekondu life. Moreover, for decades, redevelopment has been something that they have waited for. The literature that discusses the redevelopment projects in Turkey is nearly all about the negative effects of the

redevelopment projects, such as gentrification and displacement. However, the redevelopment projects, especially the IDP projects, legalise informal housing, meaning that the gecekondü residents are not necessarily forcibly displaced. More recent interventions, in the form of Urban Transformation Projects, accept the ownership of previously legalised gecekondü land. Gecekondü residents with legal title – though not tenants – have mostly been able to move to new, formal housing. I therefore felt that a better, more nuanced understanding of the redevelopment of the squatter settlements was needed, including their positive effects for residents. In a country where half of the population used to live in informal housing, the production of new, formal housing for the working class has not been explained in relation to redevelopment projects.

This problem in the literature is true of studies of less developed countries (LDCs) generally, not only in particularly Turkey. In cities across LDCs, there are massive interventions of the state and capital in the built environment and to the working class housing. The interventions that lead to displacement and gentrification are very well documented, but housing production for the working class is not fully investigated. This thesis seeks to offer a better understanding of the current redevelopment projects in Turkey, but in doing so also to fill a gap in the literature on squatter settlement redevelopment in the LDCs as a whole.

1.3 The Theoretical Basis and Theoretical Contribution of the Thesis

To undertake a deep analysis of this subject, I used Marxist methodology to analyse society. This perspective sees the capitalist mode of production as a totality where internally related different spheres and social relations are seen as part of the totality, which lose their meaning outside of this totality.

The comprehensive restructuring of Turkish cities in the last 40 years, especially since 2002, can be best analysed with the comprehensive approach of a Marxist perspective. The built environment is a crucial for capitalism, and capitalism needs the urban in order to expand and maintain itself. Under the crisis-ridden nature

of capitalism, the state plays an essential role in maintaining capital accumulation, supporting the reproduction of labour power, and mitigating the class struggle. Without Marxist analyses of the state, urban and built environment we cannot conceptualise the redevelopment of squatter housing in Turkey and elsewhere.

In Part 1 of the thesis I examine three areas of Marxist theory which are particularly relevant to my research: the urban realm; the production of the built environment and working class housing in particular; and the state. Since the projects aim to restructure the major urban areas, I firstly examine the concept of the urban. The capitalist mode of production is a totality that brings together the reproduction of life, through both paid and unpaid work, and the usage of nature and the built environment. The built environment is an essential part of this production and reproduction of labour power. The built environment is produced by the capitalist mode of production and in turn it transforms it. In capitalism the built environment is produced in a capitalist way in order to expand the accumulation and find new modes of exploitation. Therefore, the urban realm is essential for the production and reproduction of labour power.

Based on this theorisation of the urban, I examine the production of the built environment and working class housing. This analysis starts from the theorisation of ground rent. Ground rent rises from the legal ownership of a part of the globe and is related to other land usage, public and private investments. The investment in the built environment has patterns over time, and it synchronises with overall economic ups and downs. The production of working class housing as a part of the built environment has been always problematic due to their low incomes compared to the high cost of housing. Historically, working class housing has been provided by private renting, owner occupation and state provision. All these forms of provision have contradictions. When the state provides housing, it excludes certain groups. When it is privately rented, the quality and quantity is low. When owner occupation has become the norm of provision, it excludes the low-income groups and decreases the overall quality for tenants. But because housing is an essential human need, the state often intervenes to working class housing in different forms: in the More Developed Countries (MDCs) state

intervention may take the form of mortgage credits, regulation of private renting, and social housing provision.

In the Less Developed Countries, on the other hand, due to limited resources, working class housing problems have been solved mostly by the self-producing of housing by working class people. The approach of the state and international organisations to the self-produced housing has changed over time. While it was seen as a temporary phenomenon in the 1950s, in the 1960s and 1970s self-help production has been supported by state and international organisations. Since the 1980s there have been major changes in the policies of the governments towards to squatting/informal housing. On the one hand the land has been sold to the squatters; on the other hand, there have been massive redevelopment programs. These redevelopments programs are a part of the overall housing strategy, which aims at the integration of the low-middle income earners in formal housing. In the period after 2000 with the increasing influence of finance capital in the overall economy, politics and society formalisation of the squatter housing also integrated to finance sector. However, in LDC financialization of housing has different dynamics than MDC and necessitate greater state involvement.

In all these different modes of housing provision and intervention in working class housing the state has played a major role, but research investigating housing does not commonly investigate the state. Therefore, for this thesis I have used an eclectic Marxist approach to the state, and I examine the role of the state in relation to individual capitalists, the capitalist class as a whole, reproduction of labour power, and class struggle. The overall state policies temporarily maintain capital accumulation, reproduction of labour power and mitigate class struggle. Different class forces are actively involved in all these processes.

The analysis of the fieldwork interviews and all other documents directly relates to these theoretical points. Urban areas have been conceptualised as a totality, therefore the production of the urban and especially working class housing has been analysed in relation to production and reproduction of labour power. For instance, in Chapter 7 I examine the production of housing in relation to main

economic development models. The change of political economy in the country changes the norm of the working class housing. The findings of this research suggest that role of the governments in the neoliberal period since the 1980s has been conceptualized as purely disciplinary in terms of class relationships. However, in fact most governments implemented cooperative policies as well. The two key concepts in order to theorise the intervention to the urban space in the period of post 2000 are rescaling the state and the financialisation of built environment and housing. After 2000, the integration of housing credits and upward scaling of state intervention led to a dramatic increase in housing production.

The gecekondu and the redevelopment of the gecekondu as a mode of working class housing, therefore, are not isolated from the overall political economy. The separation of housing from the overall political economy is misleading, providing only limited explanation. The comprehensive analysis of Marxist perspectives, then, on the urban, built environment, working class housing and the state provides the necessary base for understanding the massive scale restructuring of Turkish cities since 2000.

1.4 Research Aims, Objectives and Questions

Focusing on Ankara, Turkey, the overarching aim of the research is to understand the extensive processes of building and rebuilding of the squatter housing and the associated role of the state, whilst also considering the effects of redevelopment processes on the residents of squatter settlements in the city. To achieve this, I have broken down the research aim into four research objectives, as follows:

1) To investigate theoretically the structure of cities, the development of the built environment and of working class housing specifically, and the theory of the state's relationship to capital and class. These theorisations are within the Marxist tradition.

2) To give a theorised history of housing in Turkey and Ankara. This is necessary in order to understand how housing production has changed in recent times, and the nature of the previously existing housing stock.

3) To research and analyse case studies in the Altindag and the New Mamak neighbourhoods in terms of the benefits for property capital; the advantages and disadvantages for different groups of residents; and the opportunities and problems for different levels of the state. This involves an understanding of the reaction of the residents to the redevelopment projects and the impact of residents' demands on the projects.

4) To interpret the case studies and, more generally, the intervention of the JDP government in relation to working class housing. This requires theorisation of the role of the state - including its different spatial scales - in relation to class struggle, capital accumulation and the reproduction of labour power. Whilst Objective 3 describes the interests of different social actors and the outcomes for them, Objective 4 seeks a deeper theorisation of the redevelopments.

These objectives are realised through the following research questions, which specify the kinds of secondary and primary data that need to be collected:

- 1) How has the political economy of Turkey evolved since the early 20th century, and how has the housing of working class people been produced through this evolution, especially since 1950?
- 2) What were the plans for and stages of the redevelopment of the gecekondu in Ankara?
- 3) In the two case study areas, how has the state approached the design and implementation of the redevelopment process and what changes have there been in the built environment?
- 4) In the two case study areas, what have been the benefits and problems of these redevelopment projects for property capital?
- 5) In the two case study areas, what have been the advantages and disadvantages for different groups of residents and how have the political reactions of residents impacted upon the implementation of the projects?
- 6) What is the relationship between Turkish property capital, the working class and the state in relation to housing under the JDP government?

These questions are explained in detail in Chapter Five.

The two case study areas are the Altindag and Mamak Districts. I chose two different redevelopment areas, in one of these the IDP model of redevelopment has been implemented, while in the other area the UTP model of redevelopment has been implemented. There are also other criteria for choosing these areas; I chose areas on the urban periphery where historically the working class live, and also chose areas in which different types of tenure exist, such as tenants and owners.

1.5 The Research Programme

Each research question requires different types of data to answer it. I used national and international academic literature, official documents, policy documents and official statistics to understand the history of Turkey and Ankara,

in particular working class housing, and the history and built form of the two case study districts.

I conducted 63 semi-structured interviews and two focus groups with different actors involved in the redevelopment projects. I interviewed professionals; national and local state staff; academics and NGO staff; gecekondü residents including owners and tenants; and private developers. The professionals include staff from Altındag District Municipality, Mamak District Municipality and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, council members, a representative of the Chamber of Urban Planners and representatives of a Housing Rights Group. Moreover, I also conducted focus groups with gecekondü residents in each case study areas.

In Altındag, I conducted interviews in the Alemdag and Baspınar neighbourhoods. In Mamak, I conducted interviews in the New Mamak Redevelopment Area and Kusunlar Housing Development Area in Mamak. The Kusunlar Area is the place where the non-title holders have been displaced from the New Mamak Redevelopment Area.

A detailed explanation of the data collection methods employed is provided in Chapter 6.

1.6 The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into four parts. Part 1 is the overview, Part 2 gives the theoretical framework; Part 3 discusses the research aims, objectives and questions, and the research methods used; Part 4 sets out the historical background, analyses of the case studies, and conclusions.

Part 2 has three chapters. Chapter 2 gives an analysis of the Marxist perspective of urbanisation, providing the necessary base for the subsequent analysis of the urban redevelopment projects.

Chapter 3 focuses on the Marxist Analyses of Investment in the Built Environment and Working Class Housing. The production of the built environment is one of the

crucial moments in capitalism, with the capitalist mode of production requiring urban development in order to expand and maintain itself.

Chapter 4 focuses on the Marxist State Theories. The Marxist conceptualisation of the state explains the role of the state in relation to different class settlements. The state plays an essential role in the production of the built environment and especially working class housing. These Marxist analyses of the state, urban development and the built environment provide the framework for conceptualising the redevelopment of squatter housing in Turkey.

Part 3 has two chapters. Chapter 5 introduces the research aim, objectives and research questions. Chapter 6 explains the methods that have been used in order to answer the research questions. It also describes the analytical approach that was adopted and offers some reflections on the problems that I encountered in conducting the field work.

Part 4 has four chapters. Chapter 7, Urbanisation in Turkey, discusses the relationship between political, economic and spatial changes in Turkey during the 20th century and up to present, with a particular emphasis on housing. The first period is from 1908 to 1945, Late Ottoman and Early Republic Periods; the second is the period of Import Substitution Industrialisation, between 1945 and 1980; the third period is neoliberal transition, from 1980 to 2001; and the final period is the Justice and Development Party period, from 2002 to 2017. This periodization will show the changing political-economic structure in relation to the housing of the working class.

Chapter 8 discusses political-economic changes in Ankara in relation to spatial changes, from the 20th century to the present, with a particular emphasis on housing based on the political economic periods in chapter 7. This chapter also shows how different classes act in the urban space historically and how the different levels of state agencies intervene in urban space with an emphasis on housing.

Chapters 9 and 10 analyse my fieldwork research in the case study neighbourhoods. While Chapter 9 is concerned with the Improvement and Development Plan in Altindag, Chapter 10 analyses the implementation of an Urban Transformation Project in the Mamak District. Chapter 8 starts with analysis of gecekondus and life around gecekondus before moving on to assess the positive and negative features of the gecekondus. It then considers the redevelopment plans and processes as well as the experience of the gecekondus residents, analysing the benefits and disadvantages for the different actors, such as owners, tenants, private developers and the municipality.

Beginning with a brief explanation of the Mamak District, Chapter 9 analyses gecekondus and life around gecekondus in Mamak. It then provides a detailed assessment of the redevelopment plan, residents' objections and changes in the implementation process that resulted from these objections. After explaining the condition of the non-title holders in the Kusunlar Housing Area, the chapter concludes with an analysis of the projects in terms of the benefits and/or disadvantages for the different actors.

Finally, the Conclusion chapter gives a deep analysis of investment in the built environment and working class housing under the JDP. The chapter conceptualises the relationships between property capital, the working class and state in the redevelopments of gecekondus and the building of new housing in the JDP period. This chapter summarises the findings of the thesis: dramatic increase of production in the built environment and the key role of the state in large-scale property developments. With the financialisation and upward scaling of the state, overall production and housing production has rocketed since 2002; this increase was made possible with a higher level of state involvement in housing. Despite the common downwards rescaling argument, the role of central state agencies and higher-level municipalities has increased. Housing production for the working class, which was done historically by small-scale firms and cooperatives, has also been restructured and transferred to middle and large construction firms. By doing that, the state converts the gecekondus spaces to formal spaces of the state and capital, and converts the working class to debt-encumbered homeowners.

However, these processes are not fully exclusive, as it has been suggested; instead, there is a transition from the inclusive redevelopment (IDP) to semi-inclusive redevelopment (UTP). Moreover, these redevelopments also have positive effects, such as increasing the quality and quantity of working class housing for title holders. Therefore, for the governments since the 1980s, but especially the JDP, the redevelopment projects do not only use a disciplinary policy program but, on the contrary, use a cooperative policy program in tandem. The nature of the program creates fragmentation within the working class and destroys historical neighbourhood relationships. Moreover, the redevelopment projects support an individualist, consumerist lifestyle by atomising the working class.

PART 2. THEORIES AND BACKGROUND

Chapter 2. Marxist Conception of Cities

2.1 Introduction

The scale of rebuilding of Turkish cities over the last two decades has been extraordinary. In 2005, around 30% of the urban population of Ankara were still living in squatter settlements (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2005). The Ministry of Urbanisation and Environment estimates that 6-7 million buildings out of 19 million buildings in Turkey - around 37% of the existing building stock - need to be rebuilt or reinforced due to earthquake risk. The approximate cost of redevelopment projects for the next 20 years is predicted to reach \$400 billion (Hurriyet, 2012). Although the thesis focuses on the housing problem of the working class in Turkey, the interventions to housing are a part of the restructuring of the cities and economy. Therefore, the theoretical framework of the thesis has been constructed upon three main pillars. The first pillar is the theorisation of urban space, the second pillar is built environment and housing and final pillar is theorisation of the state. This chapter focuses on urban theories. What is urban and how has urban space been produced? These are some of the questions that I will discuss in this chapter.

Therefore, this chapter continues with Marxist analyses of urban space. Starting in the 1960s there has been a dramatic increase in social-spatial awareness across a variety of radical work in different fields. As Marx and Engels are the foremost Marxist thinkers who wrote about the growth of cities in the context of the major political-economic changes of the Industrial Revolution, the chapter will start with the understanding of the urban that informed their writings. The chapter will then turn to a discussion of Lefebvre and his concept of the social production of space (Lefebvre 1991). Lefebvre suggests that the social production of space should be essential to Marxism; this chapter starts with this concept. This opening section engages with a range of questions. For example, how does the concept of the

social production of space change our understanding of space? How does capitalism convert space and our understanding by using it? How does capitalism use space for its survival? These are some of the questions that will be discussed in this section.

The third section of this chapter focuses on the meaning of the urban as a space for the reproduction of labour power. Influenced by structuralist thought, Castells examines urban space based on different sub-systems: economic, cultural and political. The reproduction of labour, its relationship with the state and the function of the urban for the capitalist system were at the centre of his urban analyses. Finally, Lefebvre's argument about the relationship between the production of space and the survival of capitalism is developed by Harvey. He investigates the relationship between production and investment in the built environment.

These ground-breaking arguments about urban space are important to conceptualise urban space and, therefore, the redevelopment of squatter settlements. Without understanding urban space and its production in relation to the reproduction of labour we cannot understand the urban redevelopment process in Turkey.

2.3 Marx and Engels

In the writings of Marx and Engels, cities are both criticised and lauded. Cities are criticised because of the inhuman conditions of the working class; at the same time, however, cities were seen as being necessary to develop the conditions for socialist revolution, such as collective action of the working class against capital. Although Marx never specifically focused on the 'condition of urbanisation' (as he did on the development of industrialisation and production), he did suggest that greater capital accumulation resulted in greater exploitation of workers and therefore created more miserable housing/working conditions for the working class (Gottdiener, 2001; Merrifield, 2002). While the formation of industrial cities emphasises the victory of capitalism, it also creates contradictions to its existence:

the urban proletarian class and class consciousness (Şengül, 2003). In other words, cities are important because they provide the spatial conditions that serve to construct class consciousness, which had not been constructed during the feudal mode of production due to the spatial dispersal of the peasants (Merrifield, 2002). Working together in the cities, workers can organise and construct class consciousness (Merrifield, 2002). According to Orum and Chen (2003), while the Marxist approach was based on the domination of social life by the economy and the importance of time in the 'origin and development of humankind', Marx himself did not establish a comprehensive approach to the study of cities (Orum and Chen, 2003, pp. 33–37). Therefore, the concept of space has been a challenge for Marxist thinkers.

The first Marxian approach to urbanisation can be found in Engels' writings (Gottdiener, 1987). Unlike Marx, Engels did not only focus on exploitation in the mode of production, but also in the mode of reproduction (Şengül, 2003). In his pioneering research, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, which was published in 1845, Engels showed the relationship between capitalist development and the spatial characteristics of working class settlements (Engel, 1845). He emphasised the spatial segregation amongst social groups in the cities based on class. While the working class worked and lived in misery and poverty, segregation of neighbourhoods based on class meant that the rest of the population could avoid interacting with such poverty (Şengül, 2001; Merrifield, 2002).

Engels was the first great thinker who emphasised that analysing the capitalist mode of reproduction was as important as analysing production sphere (Şengül, 2001). Gottdiener (1987, pp.405–406) suggests that Engels not only criticised the condition of the urban under capitalism, but also 'the social contradictions of the capitalist way of life'. Therefore, by emphasising 'locationally specific social contradictions of capitalism' Engels inspired neo-Marxian analyses of the city (Gottdiener, 1987, pp. 405–406). However, after Engels, Marxist scholars did not focus on urbanisation and cities until the 1960s (Şengül, 2001; Merrifield, 2002)

2.4 The Social Production of Space and Urban revolution: Lefebvre

In the twentieth century, a number of writers have used the ideas of Marx to understand the development of the modern metropolis and the role of cities in capitalist societies (Orcum and Chen, 2003). Amongst these thinkers, Henri Lefebvre is the foremost Marxist theorist who emphasises that the production of space should be an essential point for Marxism (Geddes 2009, pp.55–70; Katznelson 1993, pp.92–141; Gottdiener 1987; Ritzer & Stepnisky 2013, pp.98–102; Lefebvre 1991).

Lefebvre's contribution was to give as much emphasis to space as time. For Lefebvre's understanding, the creation of space is vital to understanding societies (Orcum and Chen, 2003, pp. 33-7). In his ground-breaking 1991 work *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre, suggests a 'unitary theory' of space. The new theory, which aims to establish a unity between different fields: 'first, the physical – nature, the Cosmos; secondly, the mental, including logical and formal abstractions; and thirdly, the social.' According to Goonewardena et al. (2008, p.28)

(Social) space is a (social) product; in order to understand this fundamental thesis, it is necessary, first of all, to break with the widespread understanding of space imagined as an independent material reality existing "in itself". Against such a view, Lefebvre, using the concept of the production of space, posits a theory that understands space as fundamentally bound up with social reality. It follows that space "in itself" can never serve as an epistemological starting position. Space does not exist "in itself"; it is produced.

Lefebvre's Marxist analysis of space enhances the possibilities for the study of space. Lefebvre posits three elements – spatial practice, the representation of space and representational spaces – as the basic elements with which to analyse space. The first element, 'spatial practice' means the relation between space and the activities realised in these places in different societies. It refers to daily actions,

the ground for these actions, and the relation between space and action (Lefebvre 1991). This element consists of social and economic life.

The second element is 'representation of space', which means imagined space or that which is shown on different kinds of maps. Lefebvre (1991, p.38) explains the representation of space as 'conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist, with a scientific bent.' This is the production of space by the state. The third element, 'representational space', refers to the manner in which societies create iconic and artistic uses in space and it also includes 'architecture and art' (Orum and Chen, 2003, p. 35). McCann (1999) suggests that representational space is a reflection of space through symbols to show the experience and the meaning of 'users' and 'inhabitants'. This final element is about the ideological aspect of space.

According to Lefebvre, the existing theoretical system tends to keep the continuity of the existing social structure for the sake of particular classes by leading human actions; therefore, these theories are ideological. In his argument, Marxism is not an ideology because it exposes the political struggle against the dominated classes and intends to change the existing social order for the sake of the oppressed and exploited. Therefore, Lefebvre aimed to develop a new perspective about urbanisation which is against the capitalist mode of domination of everyday life (Merrifield, 2002, pp. 76–80; Lefebvre, 1991).

Lefebvre (2003) suggests that in the pre-industrial societies, cities and the modes of production were separate entities; whilst cities were evolving from political to mercantile, the trade function was added to the political function, but this was not a structural change. With the industrial revolution, however, the capture of the city by the capitalist mode of accumulation started. 'The shape, the function and the size of the city is reorganised', by and for the capitalist mode of the production (Katznelson, 1993, p. 97). Therefore, the city becomes a more important object of study.

Moreover, Lefebvre (2003) suggests the transition is continuing from the industrial to the urban society. In the age of the urban, according to Lefebvre, space is not only the built environment, but also a tool for production and consumption. Furthermore, the usage of space as a tool of control by the state puts space at the core of political struggle (Katznelson, 1993, pp. 92–141; Merrifield, 2002, pp. 84–86).

Within this context, Lefebvre (1991) criticises existing urban theory and planning for representing space as a purely 'scientific object' and planning as 'science'. Moreover, he emphasises the essential political characteristic of space, which was neglected by existing theories. Although space was political and a product of the capitalist mode of production, the existing urban theories (urban ideology) show space as scientific and non-political; therefore, they support the continuity of existing social relations.

The production and reproduction of the daily life of people according to capitalist social relations is realised through space. This is because space is dominated by capitalist relations and these everyday relations serve to maintain capitalism. In other words, this is a dialectic process in which the reproduction of capitalist social relations produces space in order to reproduce capitalist social relations (Gottdiener, 2001). Therefore, a spatial reflection of that domination can be seen in cities through everyday life, such as suburban houses, commercial centres of cities or the architecture of buildings. These are all realised according to the logic of capitalism.

According to Lefebvre, a critical theory which shows the production of space in the context of the capitalist mode of production is needed to disprove the urban ideology. This theory should show the fundamental contradiction at the heart of the production of space, that is the 'use value and exchange value of the space'. In other words, it is the usage of space in the pursuit of profit or for the social necessities of those who live in it (Merrifield, 2002, p. 89).

Lefebvre (1991) suggests that in capitalist societies, the exchange value of the space is more important than the use value of space. Capitalist domination of abstract space on everyday life, the spaces where working class people live and survive. Therefore, he suggests, the radical theory should focus on destroying the domination of abstract space over everyday life (Gottdiener 2001; Lefebvre 1991). According to Lefebvre (1991), the working classes are reacting against this domination of space by capitalism, the movements around the world during the 1970s reacting against not only the site of production but also the site of the reproduction of capitalism (Sengul, 2001).

In *The Urban Revolution* (2003), originally published in French in 1970, Lefebvre suggests society has been completely urbanised (Lefebvre, 2003, pp. 1–3). The urban society, which is a result of industrial development, became dominant and the city extended over the countryside. With the increasing effect of growth and industrialisation over the countryside, the production and consumption patterns of cities dominated rural areas (Lefebvre, 2003, pp. 1–3). Therefore, the countryside is absorbed, with the diffusion of the urban fabric such as vacation homes, highways and supermarkets. Lefebvre suggests not only a spatial change, but also that the creation of a new urban society lies on the ground of his arguments. The essential place of manufacturing industry in the capitalist mode of production is replaced by leisure and construction industries. Lefebvre (2003) suggests that there is a new phase of capitalist domination over space with the construction and leisure industries; with them capitalism finds the way to expand over all the space that is not already dominated by agriculture and traditional production modes.

According to Lefebvre (2003), the capturing of space by capitalism leads to the usage of space to reproduce capitalist social relations. Therefore, the forms of capitalist relations (individualism, commodification, etc.) appear within the architecture of our cities. Not only architecture, but also the spatial patterns of cities (intensification of the commercial and control function of the centres and suburbanization), are products of capitalist social relations to reproduce everyday

life through space. The urban revolution, however, did not eliminate all the problems of capitalism, and it leads to new problems (Lefebvre 2003).

Herein Lefebvre (1991) suggests that the state has an active role in these processes, as the state itself destroys the daily life and social relations, which reproduce daily life. For example, the demolition of Paris' city centre and historical use value by Haussmann was a state action in order to produce a strategic space (Gottdiener, 2001). Therefore, Lefebvre suggests urban planning as an institution was a strategic tool of the state in order to produce abstract space (Gottdiener, 2001).

Lefebvre combines social, economic and ideological (state) elements in relation to spatial analyses. He argues that the state produces abstract space from an ideological perspective in order to reorganise economic and social life according to capitalist relations. Heavily influenced by structural Marxism, he argues that this process is mostly constructed via a top down approach. However, the bottom up construction of ideology within the socio-economic sphere is also important. On the other hand, his perspective helps us to understand how social relations are also socio-spatial.

Although being very abstract and complex, his work became an inspiring starting point for subsequent Marxist analyses. For example, his argument about the replacement of the centrality of industrial production by construction and leisure became the starting point for David Harvey's perspective of the urban. Moreover, the reproduction of labour power in order to reproduce capitalist social relations became a starting point for Manuel Castells. Lefebvre's perspective in relation to replacing manufacturing with construction and leisure activities was an important point for later theorisations of the city by Harvey and Neil Smith. However, this theorisation is not explanatory for Less Developed Countries (LDC), as the importance of industrial production and industrial workers continues to increase in many developing countries.

2.5 Urban as a space of reproduction of labour: Manuel Castells

After Lefebvre, another important contribution to Marxist urban analysis came from Manuel Castells. He had been trained in Paris and had been influenced by Marxist thinkers, particularly Henri Lefebvre and Louis Althusser. Like Lefebvre, Castells tried to understand urban space and cities by using basic elements of the Marxian framework, such as class struggle, labour-capital relations, and the importance of the reproduction of labour power for the survival of capitalism. Castells adopts his perspective on Lefebvre's idea that the city is the space which is produced and reproduced by capitalism; but, he suggests that the reproduction of labour power is the key for urban space. This point was where Lefebvre's and Castells' ideas on cities diverge. While for Lefebvre the city existed for the sake of capitalism and at the same time threatened capitalism, for Castells the city was the key for the reproduction of labour power (Merrifield, 2002, pp. 113–132).

Castells suggests that analysing space means analysing 'social structure' and we have to understand the elements that create the social structures, which are 'the economic system, the political system and the ideological system' (Davies and Imbroscio, 2009, p. 56). All these elements shape social relations and, therefore, they have a spatial expression in urban space. For example, Castells suggests the planned form of urban space is an instrument for political control; with many places, such as monuments and squares, representing the ideological structure (Gottdiener, 2001; Şengül, 2001). However, the economic sphere is essential to understand urban space in a capitalist society.

According to Castells (1977) production operates on a bigger scale, not at the city level but at least at the regional level. He suggests, however, that the city is essential in terms of 'residence', 'everydayness' and in 'social reproduction' (Merrifield, 2002, p. 119). For Castells (1977) urban means 'collective reproduction of labour power' and the cities are the units of 'process of reproduction' (Davies and Imbroscio, 2009, p. 57). The means and nature of consumption are the focus of Castells' attention in understanding cities. Consumption is used as part of a class-based perspective by Castells, which sees

collective consumption of the working class as the key to understanding cities (Merrifield, 2002, p. 120). Furthermore, collective consumption includes 'collective commodities' which are of little or no value in the market. These commodities are necessary for the working class to continue their life. These are necessary for the sustainability of profitability, but producing these commodities and services is not profitable for the capitalist class; examples include affordable housing, public schools, and sewage and garbage facilities (Şengül, 2001; Merrifield, 2002, p. 120; Castells, 1977). The collective commodities are produced by the state and consumed in the cities. (Davies and Imbroscio, 2009, p. 57). Therefore, the capitalist state produced public housing, schooling, and subways. However, by mitigating the internal contradictions of capitalist production, the state creates new areas of political conflict (Katznelson, 1993, pp. 92–141; Şengül, 2001; Merrifield, 2002, p. 120).

Castells suggests that state intervention in urban systems is increasing, aiming towards the regulation of the urban system for the sake of the dominant classes. The 'state apparatus' which is used to regulate urban systems is 'urban planning' and, according to Castells, in enlarging the effect of 'state apparatus' on the 'units of collective consumption' the city became, 'the real source of the order of everyday life' Castells, 1975 in Merrifield 2002, pp.113–133). Castells maintains that this intervention (urban planning) leads to politicisation of all urban problems because the 'state apparatus' is also the 'political apparatus' of the dominant classes.

While acting for the sake of the capitalist class, collective consumption also affected the working class by politicising formerly non-politicised parts of social life (Merrifield, 2002, p. 121). Castells examines public housing in France and shows not only the inadequacy of the public housing system, but also the role of the state in the provision of this housing system. He suggests that 'grand ensembles' (mass housing production in suburban Paris) is a symbol of this policy which aims at the cheapest and fastest reproduction of labour power. He suggests that not only this type of poor quality, working class mass-housing projects, but also urban clearance, preservation and rehabilitation of the old city centre, have

a neo-Haussmann perspective. He states that similar to the previous Haussmann redevelopment projects, the new projects also have political and ideological purposes. Namely, 'the reproduction of the urban system of the Paris region, from the point of view of its centrality, at the higher level of the productive apparatus and of urban stratification (Merrifield, 2002, p. 122).' All these redevelopment policies aimed towards the long term cleansing of Paris from any left wing revolt, like in 1871 and 1968. These projects led to the centralisation of capital in the core and decentralisation of the working class in the periphery. Thus, the state intervened in urban place to 'manage and regulate the social contradiction' and actually extended them. These interventions create unique urban contradictions around consumption and reproduction (Merrifield 2002, p.122). Thereafter, the state has to face a new anti-capitalist movement, that is, new oppositions which organise at the local level: 'urban social movements'.

Castells' research about urban social movements orients him in other directions, away from Marxism (Orum and Chen, 2003, pp. 37–41). Being mostly from a Weberian perspective, his later works are not applicable for this research. His emphasis on cities, however, as a site of reproduction is an important feature of the capitalist city, therefore that will be included as a part of the theoretical framework. I do not agree with his perspective about cities being seen only as a site of collective consumption. Rather, the urban is essential for both the production and re-production of labour power. His theorisation of state monopoly capital is also not applicable for this thesis, as discussed further in Chapter 4.

While the focus of Castells' work was the urban as a site of collective consumption he did not focus, however, on Lefebvre's statement that capitalism postpones its crises by producing space (urbanisation). This idea became a starting point for Harvey (Sengul, 2003).

2.6 The Key role of Capital Accumulation: David Harvey

In the early 1970s David Harvey was one of the scholars aiming to explain and analyse the city from a Marxist approach and focused on Lefebvre's writings on cities (Katznelson, 1993, pp. 92–141). To understand and conceptualise the urban in capitalist society, first, we have to understand the space (Harvey, 1974). Human practice conceptualises the space as 'a social dimension that both shapes and is shaped by human agency (Katznelson, 1993, p. 105)'.

According to Harvey, cities are essential to capitalist accumulation and an integral part of it. He suggests urban space under capitalism is not only, as Castells suggests, a means of reproduction of labour, but it is also a means of capital accumulation (Merrifield, 2002, pp. 133–157). For Harvey (1989b), the capitalist mode of production was the creative force behind urbanisation, unlike the reproduction of labour power.

Harvey (1989b; 1974) suggests that massive development in transportation and communication technologies made the enormous increase of the circulation of capital possible. This increase was possible not only in time, but also through space (Katznelson, 1993, pp. 92–141). Therefore, urban space in the capitalist mode of production functions as a channel for investment of surplus value and temporarily solves the crisis of accumulation. Secondly, the urban space provides space for production, exchange, circulation of capital and reproduction of labour.

Capital accumulation and class struggle are the key concepts of urbanisation in capitalist societies (Harvey, 1985b, 1989b). According to Harvey (1985b) the production system and all economic activities around it work through complex relations, but the basic feature of capital accumulation and class struggle needs to be understood to explain the urbanisation process. Harvey (1985b) explains two essential internal contradictions in capitalist society: the first one is the struggle between capitalists and labour due to the exploitation of labour power in the production process (Harvey, 1985b). Labour power is sold to the capitalist class for a wage and, the profit, which is produced because of production, arises

from the domination of labour in the capitalist system (Harvey, 1985b; 1989). Capitalists tend to increase the level of exploitation of labour to get more profit (Harvey, 1985b). Consequently, the capitalist mode of production always involves an internal struggle between capital and labour

The second internal struggle in the capitalist mode of production is not between classes, but within the capitalist class itself (Harvey, 1985a). Due to the individual and self-oriented character of the capitalist class, all capitalists aim to maximise individual self-interest, and this hostile overall class interest endangers the reproduction of the capital accumulation process (Harvey, 1985b).

The urbanisation process is related to both of the internal conflicts (Harvey, 1985b). Following Lefebvre, Harvey (1985b) suggests that the internal contradictions of the capitalist mode of production creates the problem of overaccumulation and the investment in the built environment is a result of overaccumulation in production. Due to the balance of production and consumption, over-accumulated wealth is transferred to the secondary and tertiary circuits for a higher profit. The secondary circuit is the built environment but, due to difficulties of investment in the built environment, the capitalist class requires some form of guarantee by the state (See Sections 3.2 and 3.3).

Based on this framework, Harvey (1985b) studies the reconstruction of Paris by Haussmann between 1850 and 1870 as an example of his thesis. While the crisis of capital was solved through the usage of over-accumulated capital and labour, the social-spatial structure of Paris is modified by Haussmann. In this way, the daily interactions of the working class in the neighbourhoods and workplaces were modified and destroyed by spatial change (Harvey, 1985b). The socio-spatial structure is reorganised within the housing market and the social-spatial pattern became clearer in Paris (Harvey, 1985b). Similarly, Harvey's theory of capital switch suggests that post-war suburbanisation in the USA was the solution for over-accumulated capital; hence suburbanisation raises demand for production (Walker, 1981; Smith, 1996). Harvey (1985b, pp.202–211) suggests that the built environment is not just vital for production but is also vital for consumption and

reproduction. He explains the suburban expansion of post-war US cities as a transition from 'supply side' urbanisation to 'demand-side' urbanisation, which is debt-financed and consumption focussed. The suburbanisation helps to solve consumption crises by creating a new lifestyle and communities based on the way of consumption. For example, suburbanisation increased the demand for industrial products such as cars, home appliances and consumer services (Harvey 1985b, pp.202–211)

2.7 Conclusion

All the theories discussed here have been developed in the More Developed Countries. As with the case of Lefebvre's suggestion of the reduced import of manufacturing in contemporary cities, not all of the aspects of these theories are applicable to my case study. Together, however, the theories represent the main theoretical elements that I will use throughout the rest of the thesis. First of all, to understand the capitalist mode of production one needs to see it as a totality; different spheres and sets of social relations will lose their meaning outside of their place within the totality. These distinct spheres are internally related to each other and to the totality. Capitalist production consists of the reproduction of life through paid and unpaid work and the way it uses nature and the built environment (Das and Gough, 2016). The built environment is an essential part of the mode of production and the reproduction of labour and are transformed by them. This chapter about Marxist conceptualisations of the city provides a similar framework and puts the research topic into the context of the whole city, particularly in relation to production and domestic reproduction.

The second important theoretical point is the production of the built environment in capitalist societies (Chapter 3). The city as a built environment is a crucial moment of capitalism and is created by capitalism in a capitalist way; conversely capitalism needs the urban to expand and create new ways of exploitation. As Harvey (1973; 1985; 1989) explains, idle capital accumulated in the sphere of

production is transferred to the urban in pursuit of higher profit. By doing that, capitalism both postpones its crisis and temporarily solves the over-accumulation problem. On the other hand, capitalist modes of social relationships are reproduced through the production of space

The third theoretical point is the reproduction of labour power in relation to the urban. The urban system is a totality; it consists of a combination of production and reproduction. In Lefebvre's theorisations, 'spatial practices', the relation between space and activities in these spaces within and across different societies, involve daily action that includes the production and re-production of labour power (economic and social life). Following Lefebvre, Harvey has focused on the production side of the equation, while Castells focuses on the reproduction of domestic life. In other words, both Harvey and Castells construct their framework from Lefebvre's theory of the urban but respectively adopt a different focus. According to Castells, production operates at a larger scale than the city - such as the regional - but the urban is essential for the reproduction of domestic life. The urban is the space of collective consumption such as education, affordable housing and basic infrastructure, which are not profitable for capital but necessary for maintaining the system. The Chapter 3 will discuss the housing problem of the working class. Working class housing is essential for the reproduction of labour power.

For Harvey, on the other hand, cities are both important for production and reproduction. Capitalist production is based on the purchase of labour power to produce more value than the wage costs during the working time. For Harvey, capitalism produces the city as a basis for the further expansion of capital and creates new areas of exploitation (exploitation through reproduction). (Harvey, 1974; 1985b). This is an essential point in relation to the production of urban space and working class housing. Most contemporary research uses theories that originate from Harvey's work; therefore, I will further discuss his theorisation of investment in the built environment in sections 3.2 and 3.3.

Cities need to be understood as a totality of production and reproduction within the capitalist system. Otherwise, one can fall into the trap of mainstream politics, which separates and tries to solve each social and urban problem within their spheres (Das and Gough, 2016). Therefore, for this research, cities will be conceptualised as a part of the totality and a combination of the production and reproduction of domestic life.

Finally, Lefebvre, Harvey and Castells all argue about the role of the state in relation to cities. For Lefebvre, the intervention of the state in urban space is ideological. The state uses space as a tool for controlling and restructuring daily life and social relations (Lefebvre, 1991). The second element of Lefebvre's triad, the 'representation of space' is concerned with the production of space according to certain state ideologies. Castells focuses on collective consumption which, is largely organised and financed by the state. Harvey examines the role of the state in relation to the production of the built environment. In terms of property development and housing, the state is enormously important and this will be discussed in Chapter 4, which examines different theories of the state.

Chapter 3. Investment in the Built Environment and Working Class Housing

3.1 Introduction

In the first chapter, I have discussed how the capitalist mode of production is a totality and the built environment is an essential part of the production and reproduction of labour power. In capitalist societies the built environment is transformed by the production and reproduction of labour power and, in return, it transforms them too. Capitalism needs the urbanisation in order to expand as a system and create new modes of exploitation. In this chapter, I will further discuss investment in the built environment and the housing problem of the working class.

The second section is about investment in the built environment and starts with the Marxist theory of ground rent. The section explains what are the reasons of land value and different types of ground rent. It continues with the specific features of the built environment such as durability and interrelationship between different land usages. Finally, the section finishes by explaining buildings cycles. The building cycle model sees the waves of investment in the built environment as part of a general economic activity and suggests that property cycles follow general economic up, and downs.

The third section explains Harvey's capital switch theory and shows the criticisms to it. Harvey suggests the relationship between the general economy and the built environment is not synchronised; rather investment in the built environment (BE) is a result of overaccumulation in production. Therefore, capital flows into the built environment to find more profitable investment spheres. Following Harvey's capital switch approach, different perspectives about the nature of the investment in the BE will be discussed. This chapter is important for the research, because there is a dramatic increase of investment in the BE in Turkey and in each period of increase there have been large scale redevelopment projects in the big cities.

The fourth section focuses on working class housing. Capitalism has always difficulties providing adequate and affordable housing for the working classes. This section explains the main dynamics behind the affordability problem and how the state has intervened in working class housing in More Developed Countries (MDC).

The fifth section focuses on the differentiation of residential areas based on income. With the increase of labour power specification, different levels of jobs are created with different incomes. This differentiation in the income level is reflected in residential areas, such as working class neighbourhoods in industrial towns.

Low quality working class housing has been subject to redevelopment by the state throughout the history of capitalism. State intervention in working class neighbourhoods has been realised in four main ways, both in the MDCs and the LDCs. The first one is the slums/ low quality working class housing in the, or at the edge of the city centre being demolished in order to create commercial buildings. The second type of intervention in working class areas in the global south and in some northern countries is state-led slum clearance, leading to gentrification. The third intervention of the state in working class areas is the slum clearance and production of housing for the working classes. The fourth way of intervening in working class housing by the state is the *in situ* upgrading programs; such as 'site and services' and slum upgrading programs

The seventh section focuses on the main discussions of housing in relation to squatting formations in the LDCs. This section will provide a historical overview of the policies targeting squatter settlement areas in the LDCs. Section eight on the other hand investigates the financialisation and housing debate with a particular focus on LDCs. Section nine is the overall conclusion of the chapter.

3.2 Investment in Land and the Built Environment

Under capitalist development, land became a commodity. It is a peculiar commodity, however, because its value is not embedded in it in the form of labour time. Why, then, does land have value? And why does urban rent in particular areas tend to be more expensive? These are some basic questions, which I will discuss in this section. However, in order to understand the concept of ground rent and the application of that to housing we need to first understand the origin of the ground rent theory.

The origin of Marx's rent theory is based on agricultural land (Capital Volume III, part VI). There are four kinds of rent: the differential, absolute and monopoly rent in the context of agricultural production. Each of these rents stem from different sources, but the application of these concepts to housing creates different problems. In general, the ground rent is the surplus profit made by holding 'legal title of a particular proportion of globe' (Berry, 1986). Differential rent 1 stems from the relative advantages of a piece of land in terms of location and fertility. This feature of the land gives market advantages in being closer to the market or higher levels of productivity. Another type, differential 2 rent, arises from the investment in the piece of land. This type of differential rent is specifically important in the case of housing since most of the desirable features of a specific housing location are produced as the results of other investments, such as good transportation connections. The differentiation of the potential profit creates competition to access these pieces of land and allows landlords to capture higher profits.

Absolute rent, in contrast, arises from the barriers established by landed capital to the free ability of capital to invest in the land. These barriers could be legislative restrictions but mostly take the form of payments before releasing land. Therefore, absolute rent arises when there is a necessity to bring new land into production. Another type of rent theorised by Marx is monopoly rent. The source

of the monopoly rent is in selling a commodity above its value. A monopoly rent arises when a monopoly price is secured from the control of a piece of land (Clarke and Ginsburg, 1975; Charnock, Purcell and Ribera-Fumaz, 2014).

Harvey (1974) has contributed to the theory of rent within the framework of Marxist political economy. Harvey (1974) examines how rent arises through the urbanisation process, emphasising the role of the 'class monopoly' rent in capitalist urbanisation. The rent is explained by Harvey as: 'a payment made by a user for the privilege of using a scarce productive resource that is owned by somebody else', and class power forms the focus of his discussion (Harvey, 1974). Class power is realised from a class power over the 'resource units': the resource is here explained as urban, and all 'relatively permanent' components of the urban land (houses, office, roads, etc.). So, through creating an artificial scarcity - the cities themselves - the urban process produces the realisation of class monopoly rent. Harvey (1974) examines the housing submarkets in the Baltimore and suggests that the differentiation of the residential areas supports the realisation of class monopoly rent through the creation of artificial absolute places in urban areas; all the different sub-markets function as absolute spaces, which are created by dividing the space into 'parcels and segments'.

Building on Harvey's theorisation, and by criticising the neo-classical theory of urban land, Beitel, (2016) argues that urban land is a non-producible commodity, and that as such ground rents consistently increase. He argues that there are different housing markets within the city based on the purchasing income of different groups. He suggests that the absolute rent is, 'the price paid for occupation or ownership rights of the least desirable site within the relevant market space'. Differential Ground Rent 1 is paid for the privilege to occupy a given place due to its socio-spatial advantages, which include locational advantages like proximity to various urban amenities, parks, cultural aspects and so on. Moreover, occupational patterns can also be a part of the DR1: some locations can reflect the tastes of the upper and middle income classes' reproduction strategies in relation to urban habitat. DR2, on the other hand, is a type of rent which is created by developers and real estate promoters through

altering the existing socio-spatial environment to create and capture surplus profit. This form of ground rent is created by capital investments, and through the effects of the state in the form of various subsidies, infrastructure placement or changing the zoning regulations. In this form of ground rent property capital is an active agent of socio-spatial patterns of change to capture the differential rent (Beitel, 2016). Based on this conceptualisation he suggests that ground rent is the sum of Absolute Rent + Differential Rent 1 + Differential Rent 2. He argues that rather than decreasing them, as in the neo-classical view, increase of housing construction increases the prices of the ground rent. In the remainder of this thesis I use Beitel's conceptualisation of ground rent.

3.3.1 Specific Features of the Built Environment

Housing as a part of the built environment has specific features. Firstly, investment into the built environment, and specifically housing, depends on the production and reproduction of labour power (Chapter 2). Moreover, the built environment and housing last a very long time (Harvey, 1985a). Investment in the built environment, and again specifically in the production of housing, has very high costs, and usually repair of the existing stock is cheaper than building new. Although it has been stated that the average lifetime of a house is 50 years, it is misleading, because the poor quality of working class housing often does not last that long. Therefore, in capitalist cities there is a general tendency towards the destruction of poor quality working class housing (Short, 1996, p. 173).

The changes on a particular site affect the exchange values of other usages in the given area (Harvey, 1985a, p. 16). Therefore, there is a need for state intervention in cities in order to co-ordinate different land uses and investment in the built environment. The state is always involved in order to manage and control investment in the built environment. One of the reasons for this is the competition between different land uses and from different sections of capital, such as commercial housing. Moreover, all these different land uses need infrastructure produced by the state.

3.3.2 Building cycle

There have been many rises and collapses of the property markets in capitalist countries since the 18th century. Essentially, there is a pattern of rise and fall of the property sector as a part of general economic cycles. In this section, I will discuss the nature of the property cycle. The cycles of investment in the built environment were first identified by Kuznets (1930; 1958; Leitner 1994). 'Property cycles' refers to a strong pattern of rises and falls of investment in the built environment (Ball, Lizieri and MacGregor, 1998, p. 195). After Kuznets, research has been done to theorise the fluctuation in investment in various forms of property types and to identify the relation of these patterns with general economic cycles (Leitner, 1994). Although there are several perspectives within the cycle model about the timing of the cycles, (Ball et al. 1998, p.195-196) suggest an idealised property cycle have several stages (Figure 3-1).

In coordination with general economic cycles, following a period of low activity levels in the property market, there is a relative shortage in the supply of properties. As shown in figure 3-1, the first stage, 'business upturn and development', starts under these circumstances and is characterised by low interest rates and high amounts of available capital. As the overall downturn in the economy limits supply, vacancy rates decrease and rents increase due to limited available space. Although construction starts, the period between the start and end of the construction means the supply is limited. Therefore, there is an optimistic investment atmosphere for developers, with low levels of expected risk and high levels of expected return. Diminished supply and increasing demand cause a rise in rent and capital values. The potential profitability level increases the production and an upward wave starts. The new developments enter the sector; land value and rent continue to increase. The credit expansion coincides with business upturn, triggering overall economic growth. Meanwhile, banks continue to support more speculative building developments. The construction boom starts; but supply does not meet demand immediately, therefore rents and

values continue to increase (Barras, 1994; Ball, Lizieri and MacGregor, 1998, pp. 196–197). By the time the new buildings reach the market, the business cycle has already started to move downwards.

The next stage of the cycle is ‘business downturn and overbuilding’, which is characterised by an increase in the real interest rates and decline in general economic activities. Due to decline in the general economy and high-interest rates, the demand and absorption level of new properties levels off and then falls. Meanwhile, the supply of new properties which are started during the boom period continues. This causes vacancy rates to increase and the value and rents of the properties to decrease (Barras, 1994; Ball, Lizieri and MacGregor, 1998, pp. 196–197).

The third stage is the ‘adjustment’ described as continuity in the decrease of demand for the new properties while supply peaks. Therefore, vacancy rates increase and rents fall. The economy moves into recession and companies cannot access credit; as such, they cannot cover their increased interest payments. Moreover, they cannot generate income, the level of return decreases and many companies go bankrupt (Barras 1994; Ball et al. 1998, pp. 196–197). The last stage of the cycle is ‘slump’. While there is a high vacancy rate, demand and rents are very low. In other words, there is a crash in the property sector with a high level of vacancy, depressed value of properties and bankruptcies in the sector. Since the process is described as a cycle, the last stage is actually the beginning of a new upturn, a general rise in economic activity. If the level of oversupply from the previous upturn was high, it affects the new upturn and limits the need for new development (Barras, 1994; Ball, Lizieri and MacGregor, 1998, pp. 196–197)

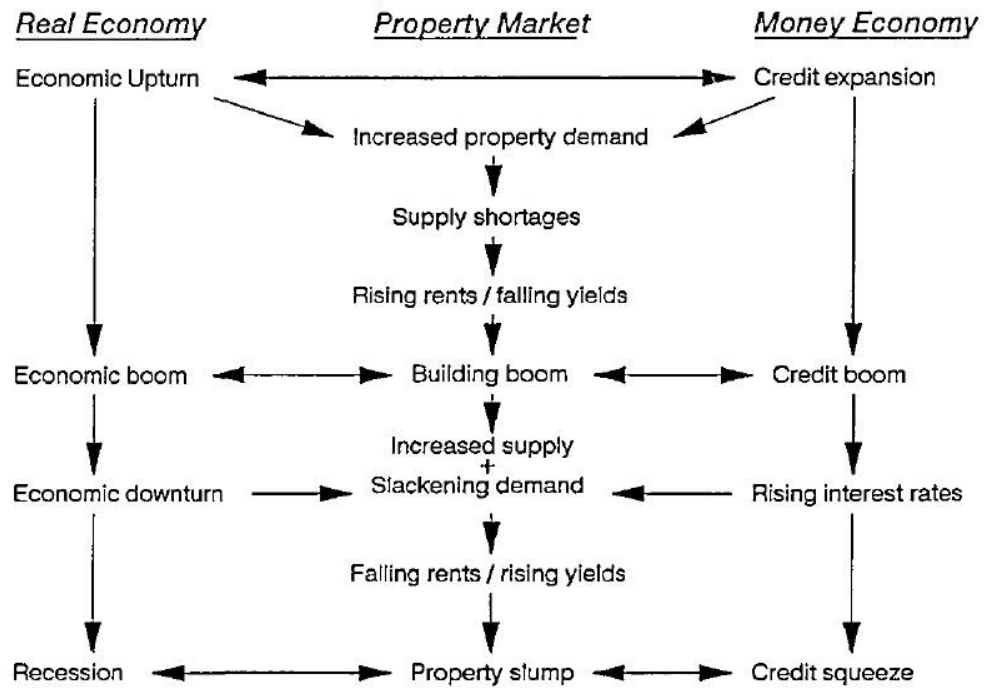


Figure 3-1: Building Cycle Source (Barras, 1994, p. 185)

As a part of the general economic cycle, the rise and fall of the building cycle has been seen in all capitalist economies since the development of the capitalist building industries. The underlying reason for these ups and downs is uncontrolled and unorganised investment by different investors and the lack of planning capacity under conditions of economic growth. The collapse of the property markets can create overproduction in the built environment which can have serious effects on the broader economy (Section 3.3).

In Turkey, as documented by a limited number of researchers (Balaban, 2012; Penpecioglu, 2013) there have been two periods in which there have been simultaneous growth and decline in the general economy and investment into the Built Environment (BE), between 1980-1988 and between 2001-2007. The dramatic increase of production in the BE is heavily supported by the state. Both periods of increase are directly related to redevelopment of gecekondu neighbourhoods. In both periods the state implemented nationwide redevelopment programs for gecekondu neighbourhoods. In the first cycle, the

state supported the construction boom with Improvement and Development Programs, and the second construction boom was supported with Urban Transformation Model Redevelopment Programs. My two case studies are examples of these two programs. The first case study is an example of the IDP model redevelopment originating in the 80s; the second case study area is an example of the UTP originating in the second construction boom.

3.3 Harvey's capital Switch Approach and Critiques of It

3.3.1 Harvey's Theory

A different theory of waves of investment in the built environment is Harvey's capital switch approach. Harvey suggests that urbanisation is essential for capitalist production and urban space is produced in order to maintain and enhance capitalist production. He suggests the built environment is an area of investment for over-accumulated capital. In the condition of over-accumulation, capital switches to the built environment in the search for more profitable modes of investment.

According to (Harvey, 1985b, 1989a) maintaining capitalist accumulation depends on production and consumption in the first circuit of capital being equal. If production is more than consumption in the first circuit, then it leads to over-accumulation: over-production and falling prices; falling rates of profit; rising unemployment; and inactive productive capacity. The built environment is a secondary circuit where surplus capital can be directed in a situation of over-accumulation. Investment/production in the built environment, then, is a temporary solution for over accumulation. The internal contradictions of the capitalist system produce the crises in the primary circuits and capital, in the pursuit of profit, switches to secondary and tertiary circuits with the aim of increasing the production of surplus value (Harvey, 1985b, 1989a) To support his theory of capital switch, Harvey (1985b; 1989) shows the increase of investment

in the built environment during the global economic crises in the 1930s and the 1970s in the USA and the UK.

Investment in secondary circuits poses some difficulties for individual capitalists due to the long-lasting, large-scale, and difficult-to-price nature of investment in the built environment. Therefore, Harvey argues that the state guarantees the support of financial systems. For example, housing credit for investment in the built environment is a helpful condition for capital switching to the secondary circuit. (Harvey, 1974, 1985b) describes the government and financial institutions as 'a kind of collective nerve centre' which controls and mediates the capital switch through the credit system and policy interventions. Harvey sees this at work through, for example, policy and investment decisions such as transportation and investment in public facilities and infrastructure.

However, in the case of over-accumulation, switching capital to secondary circuits is not a way to eliminate the crises. This is because the over-accumulated capital creates over-supply in the secondary circuits and creates another crisis of over-production in the built environment. Therefore, he suggests that the built environment can only be a temporary solution to the over-accumulation problem (Harvey, 1974, 1985b).

3.3.2 Critiques and additions to Harvey's capital switch theory

Harvey's theoretical contribution has been widely influential in urban studies and geography, inspiring scholars to investigate the nature of investment into the built environment, the contradictions of the secondary circuits, and the real estate development process (Gotham, 2009). However, attempts to support his theory empirically have not shown clear evidence of the switch between circuits as in Harvey's theorisation (Charney 2001; Beauregard 1994; Feagin 1987; Haila 1991; Aalbers 2007; Ross J King 1989a; R J King 1989; Ross J King 1989b; Balaban 2008). This section investigates the literature focused on the nature of investment in the built environment, identifying three lines of critique of Harvey's theory.

3.3.2.1 The role of the national and local state in the production of the built environment.

Harvey does not underestimate the role of the state, but describes government and financial institutions as mediators and central controllers. Katznelson (1992), goes further, suggesting that the state is 'essential' with its regulations, laws, and policies for urban development in capitalist cities. All research shows the role of the state is not only as a supporter of investment in the built environment, but different scales of the state have an essential role in relation to determining and maintaining the conditions for investment in the built environment (Charney 2001; Beauregard 1994; Feagin 1987; Haila 1991; Aalbers 2007; Ross J King 1989a; R J King 1989; Ross J King 1989b; Balaban 2008; O. Celik, 2013)

Feagin (1987) and Haila (1991) emphasise the role of the federal and local state in terms of forming and guiding the capital flow to secondary circuits. Feagin (1987) examines the construction boom in office buildings between 1971 and 1983 in Houston. He shows that federal government provides a massive amount of funding for large scale infrastructure projects to local government. The elites (by referring to Molotch's growth coalition) support this capital flow by using planning and zoning regulations in favour of developments. The local business elites sought more federal funding, and business leaders lobbied against the local regulations in the built environment (Feagin, 1987).

Moreover, Balaban (2012; 2008) suggests that there is a vital relation between investment in the built environment and the state in Turkey. However, only O. Celik, (2013) deeply analyses the state in the context of Istanbul. Therefore, I will have a theoretical discussion about the nature of the state in relation to different types of class power (Chapter 4).

3.3.2.2 Autonomy and intrinsic dynamics of the built environment

The main weakness of Harvey's theory, according to (Gottdiener, 1985), is that Harvey did not understand the inner logic of investment in the built environment, which is significantly independent of primary circuit crises. While (Feagin, 1987)

suggests 'a relative autonomy' of investment to secondary circuits, various researchers suggest that investment in the built environment is not only driven by the over-accumulation crisis in the primary circuits but also because the real estate sector attracts investment due to its internal features (Beauregard 1994; Charney 2001; Haila 1991). These internal features of the real estate sector not only attract investment, but also shape the pattern of investment. Therefore, (Haila 1991) suggests 'a new theory of the real estate sector's intrinsic dynamic' whose starting point should be 'land as a financial asset': 'First, the motive of investors is to maximise rents, second, rent is sought continuously...third, there exists a tendency to treat land increasingly as a purely financial asset...and fourth rent has a coordinative role' (Haila 1991, p.348).

Research on the built environment based on the political economy approach shifted attention from the capital switch between different circuits of the economy to the 'internal dynamics' of built environment (Charney, 2001). Charney (2001, p.741) suggests that the real estate sector is an independent economic sector and the nature of investment does not totally depend on the production sphere; therefore, he examines the largest Canadian real estate companies to understand the 'intrinsic dynamics' of the built environment. He proposes that there are different dimensions of the property sector. The first dimension relates to strategy, 'mode of operation', basically a switch between trades of existing properties or developing new properties; the second dimension of the strategy is changing the 'type of property', such as switching the operations between different locations (Charney, 2001, pp. 743–744). In the case of Canada Charney (2001) shows how the companies switch between different modes of operation, type of property and location in the pursuit of capital.

3.2.2.3 The movement of finance capital locally and globally

Beauregard (1994) investigates the relationship of investment between the built environment and the industrial sector between the years 1970 and 1989 in the USA to understand the capital switch pattern. By investigating GNP, all fixed capital investment, including transportation and the machinery of companies, and

lastly the relation of loans to construction activity Beauregard finds there is a 'cyclical' growth in primary and secondary circuits of capital rather than 'counter-cyclical'. Therefore, he suggests, it is hard to claim a capital switch. Moreover, there are other channels of investments, such as stock speculations, overseas markets and government bonds, for surplus capital that differ from secondary circuits (Beauregard, 1994, p. 729). He points out that speculative real estate developments are supported by large commercial banks with loans and by governments through tax system. Indeed, the capital flow in the secondary circuit might create a crisis in the primary by reducing investment in production due to speculative returns in the property sector (Beauregard, 1994). The important issue, according to Beauregard, is not the switching of capital between different circuits, but, rather uncontrolled massive investment in the built environment to achieve speculative developments which are neither economically feasible nor socially useful.

Gotham (2009) and Feagin (1987) highlight the role of financial institutions and finance capital. The interests of actors such as brokers, developers and financial institutions can mobilise not only for speculative investment but also to create new investment areas (Gotham, 2009). By investigating the office boom in Houston, Feagin (1987) states that the sources of finance capital are various financial institutions and syndication firms both from the US and outside, and not only the industrial companies (oil, gas, chemical) of Houston. Therefore, the surplus capital from primary and secondary circuits and from different parts of the world, through different intermediaries, flew to Houston. The source of the capital flow into the built environment is not only the primary circuits, but all circuits from different regions of the world and the role of the financial institutions and state actors are crucial (Feagin, 1987).

Aalbers (2007) has a similar argument; he suggests that capital not only switches between different sectors of the economy, but also within sectors of the economy and between different scales. He explains that in the case of Italy, for example, there is a significant increase of investment in the built environment at the national level due to the tremendous growth of the mortgage market. On the

other hand, Aalbers (2007, p.194) suggests that investment in the built environment is both a result of economic crises and the 'intrinsic investment opportunity' presented by the built environment.

The restructuring of the mortgage market, which creates a historical increase of mortgage credit, was a key element of capital switch driven not only by the crisis in the primary circuits but also by the investment opportunity of the real estate sector. Furthermore, the creation of housing submarkets based on different income levels within the city provides an opportunity for the realisation of class monopoly rent in Milan (see Section 3.5. for spatial differentiation of housing based on income). In other words, Aalbers's research shows capital switch is not necessarily a short-term solution to an overaccumulation crisis; it can be a 'proactive and conscious' strategy for the extraction of rent in secondary circuits.

Overall, current research tends to see the real estate sector as an, 'analytically distinct [sphere] of capital investment that is organised by diverse networks of actors, organisations, and laws and public policies' Gotham (2009, p.359). Therefore, most researchers have focused on the effects of the local culture, political actors, decision-making processes and the operations of the key agents shaping the built environment (Christophers, 2011).

In conclusion, the state has an essential role in determining the concept and the volume of investment in the built environment. Although many researchers highlight the importance of the state, many of these theoretical perspectives focus on growth coalitions (Feagin, 1987) and do not deeply investigate or discuss the state and the interests of the different class forces, such as different levels of capital and the working class.

One of the important points was Harvey's underestimation of the intrinsic dynamics and autonomy of the built environment. Investment in the built environment is independent from the overaccumulation in the primary circuits; thus the over-accumulated capital from different origins all around the world transfers to the built environment with the development of finance capital.

Therefore, more contemporary research tends to focus on the effects of local politics, actors, and decision making process under the condition of financialisation of the built environment.

In studying property investment in Ankara, we shall see all these processes at work. Finance capital from international markets has been mobilised for property investment in Turkey. The state has played a major role in this process, and the state has reshaped the social-cultural life of the working class in its redevelopment of housing. There has been a massive increase of investment in the property market, especially since the 1980s. There have been two different waves of investment to the built environment since 1980. The first wave was between the years 1980-1988 and the second wave was between 2000-2008. During the second wave of investment, the credit and financing system has been widened to housing and construction. Therefore, the investment wave in the built environment since 2002 is the biggest investment wave in the history of Turkey. These investment waves are not directly related to the decline of manufacturing production as Harvey suggests, rather the increasing investment is more related to positive profit opportunities in the built environment sector (Charney 2001; Beauregard 1994; Feagin 1987; Haila 1991; Aalbers 2007; Ross J King 1989a; R J King 1989; Ross J King 1989b; Balaban 2012; Balaban 2008). Moreover, there has been simultaneous growth and decline in the general economy and investment into the BE in Turkey.

Both of these waves of investment were integrated with massive housing redevelopment programs. The first model of redevelopment mostly implemented from 1980 to 2000 is Improvement and Development Plans; the second redevelopment, implemented since 2000, is Urban Redevelopment. In contemporary Turkey different levels of state agencies are intervening in gecekondu neighbourhoods by using both UTP and IDP modes of interventions.

3.4 Working Class Housing Question

This section is about working class housing in capitalist societies. Since the development of capitalism, working class housing has been problematic in all countries and at all times. The main reasons for this was the low incomes of working class people in relation to the cost of housing and that the ground rent is continually increasing in urban areas. Moreover, housing is essential for reproduction of labour power, meaning that in the More Developed Countries (MDC) the state has tended to engage with the working class housing problem in different ways. This section will explain different modes of housing provision for the working class; owner occupation, state housing and private renting.

Being the crucial component of reproduction and a basic need for human survival, capitalism has had enormous difficulties to provide working class housing in all countries and all times. 'In contemporary USA there is not a single state in which someone working full time minimum wage can afford a 'fair market rent' two-bedroom apartment' (Pattillo, 2013, p. 518). Based on Bureau of Labour Statistic (2011) housing has been the largest expenditure of an average American family since the 1960s (Aalbers and Christophers, 2014b, p. 512). The cost of housing has been very high for the working class due to two main reasons. First of all, capitalist housing production contains a large amount of paid labour time, and secondly, the material cost of housing is also very high. In order to cover this large investment and make profit out of the production, private developers must sell the houses at prices many times higher than the average annual wage of a working class person (Berry, 1986a; Aalbers and Christophers, 2014b, p. 512). The other reason for the high cost of especially urban housing is the ground rent (Section 3.2.1). Therefore, working class housing has always been low in quality and quantity. The formation of slums is a direct result of this affordability problem.

Despite the above mentioned problems, housing is essential for healthy social reproduction (Clarke and Ginsburg, 1975; Aalbers, 2007; Aalbers and Christophers, 2014b). The misery and low standard of housing has serious effects on healthy reproduction of labour. The 2007 mortgage and following foreclosure crisis, for

example, had an enormous effect on families and communities, with affected families more likely to have heart disease, hypertension and visit the emergency services more often (Pattillo, 2013). Moreover, poor location of housing can increase the commuting times, create obstacles to access good schools, clean air, transportation facilities and a variety of services (Aalbers, 2007; Aalbers and Christophers, 2014b) Therefore, the slum condition of the working class housing is also problematic for capitalists because it leads to unhealthy working class people and creates political risks for the continuity of the system as a whole. Therefore, housing is a political matter and the state has sought to intervene in it (Clarke and Ginsburg, 1975).

Housing occurs in different tenures, which have different affordability implications; owner occupation, private renting and state-owned housing. Owner occupied formal housing is expensive and workers can afford it only through mortgages. With the development of capitalism, housing was produced by either capitalist class or petty bourgeoisies for profit and rented by working class people (Berry, 1986b, p. 4). There are several problems with owner occupation. As a part of the general business cycle the construction sector grows during the upwards period of the business cycle (Section 3.2.2). Therefore, there are price cycles in housing. The new houses are produced by private developers for owner occupation and the private rental sector. However, this is not a smooth process. The capitalist developers and land owners speculate in land decrease the construction level in order to maximise profits, and/or they tend to produce housing for upper and middle-income groups. As owner occupation is rigid, if there are not enough jobs in the locality, it reduces mobility (Gough, Eisenschitz and McCulloch, 2004, p. 112).

Since owner occupation is unaffordable without strong financial system support, in many capitalist countries working class people use privately rented housing, which is expensive, insecure and low quality. The rent may not necessarily be less than a mortgage, but as not all workers can get a mortgage. Because of the general shortage of housing in the fast growing cities, landlords have been able to extract high levels of rent and provide very low standards of housing. For this

reason, the state in some countries in different periods of history has provided housing for working class people. The state provision of housing tends to be better in quality and cheaper in cost in comparison to private rental housing sector. State housing can be problematic, however, in terms of excluding certain groups within the population. In some MDC for example, the poorest working class people, mostly ethnic minorities, are excluded from state provided housing. They have been forced to live either in expensive private rentals or in the very worst council housing (Gough, Eisenschitz and McCulloch, 2004, p. 112)

All different types of intervention to housing have contradictions. When the state uses rent control, landlords stop investing in housing and the supply of rental housing decreases and condition of rented housing decline rapidly. When the state builds housing for the working class, the ethnic minorities and the lowest income groups may be excluded from the state housing system. When the state supports owner occupation and the mortgage system, it both excludes low-income groups and decreases the overall quality of private renting and state housing.

3.5 Spatial Differentiation of Housing by Income

This section examines the differentiation of residential areas based on income. With the increase of labour power specification, different levels of jobs are created with different incomes. This differentiation in the income level is reflected in residential areas, such as working class neighbourhoods in industrial towns. Therefore, overall changes in the political economic structures, such as decreasing industrial production in the MDCs, is reflected in residential areas (Chapter 2).

The differences in production create differences in the residential areas, with urban spaces and residential areas separated based on income groups, job types, and consumption/reproduction choices. The reflection of the changes in the sphere of production, the differentiation of labour markets, creates housing market segregation. This creates uneven development in the residential areas,

and this uneven development is reproduced through poor reproduction of labour in low income areas. Income inequality demonstrates itself as a lack of material resources, which affects mental and physical health, and the quality of the housing and services (Gough, Eisenschitz and McCulloch, 2004). This differentiation of residential areas is also reproduced by the consumption patterns and value systems (Harvey, 1989b, p. 117).

Technological development and the need to re-impose social control over the labour process have led to the formation of a polarised, differently skilled and hierarchically co-ordinated work force. These developments are supported and created by new and differentiated wage payment schemes, new promotion policies and differentiated career paths, and the development of 'scientific' management approaches, (Berry, 1986a). These income differences reinforce relative access to housing; therefore, differentiation within the labour process created differentiation within housing markets. The differentiation in the labour market is then intensified by housing finance systems (Berry, 1986a). In the case of the USA the unequal system of housing finance shaped the geography and demography of the cities by creating and enhancing patterns of uneven development seen in the racial and class based differentiation of American cities (Pattillo, 2013). Similarly, Harvey (1974; 1989a) finds that the residential differentiation of the submarkets is created by the policies of financial and governmental institutions, speculators-developers, market forces and landlords; furthermore, the structure is continuously being changed and transformed by these forces.

With economic, social and cultural change the given pattern of income segregation will tend to change; a particular one of these changes has been studied many times. This type of change has been identified in many MDCs and more recently also in LDCs: gentrification. Gentrification is a process through which former inner city working class neighbourhoods are taken over by incoming middle class residents, through a process of reinvestment by home buyers, landlords and professional developers (Smith, 1987, 2002; Visser and Kotze, 2008). Moreover, many urban redevelopment and regeneration projects have been

examined under the concept of gentrification (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010; Wu, 2016). Gentrification is realised in two ways, through the market and through the state. In market led gentrification, middle income groups move into working class neighbourhoods due to a 'rent gap'. According to rent gap theory suburbanisation created a dramatic physical and economic decline of inner-city neighbourhoods. Therefore, the difference between 'the potential, the best use of ground rent' and actual ground increased, creating the 'rent gap'. The other mode of gentrification is state led, which targets less advantageous locations – such as mixed use neighbourhoods, remote locations, and public housing areas – because the 'rough' working class areas were problematic for the individual capitalist and middle classes. The state led projects are not organised only through housing market mechanisms, as happens during traditional gentrification, but done by state (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Smith, 2002; Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010).

3.6 Redevelopment of Working Class Housing by the State

Housing for working class people has been subject to redevelopment by the state throughout the history of capitalism. State intervention in working class neighbourhoods has been realised in four main ways, both in the MDCs and in the LDCs.

The first intervention has been used historically and is ongoing in many countries. This sees working class areas in the, or at the edge of the city centre being cleared in order to create commercial buildings, as in the case of 'the Haussmann' type slum clearance and redevelopment programs (Hodkinson, 2012). The commercial development is accompanied by middle class and upper class housing in the city centres.

The second, type of intervention in working class areas in the global south and in some northern countries is state led slum clearance, leading to gentrification. The State acquires the land and might or might not give compensation to the previous low income residents. In these projects previous low income groups cannot stay

in the project areas and are mostly displaced to peripheral locations. Peripheral housing developments are built by state agencies in some cases, however in many cases the poor residents are displaced without any compensation. These redevelopment projects are financially supported by international investors and politically supported by national states to describe the local population as 'undeserving poor' (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010). At the end of the projects, upper-income groups settle in the area. The establishment of owner occupation and property rights is a fundamental strategy of the state around the global south (Wu, 2016; Davis, 2007). Despite individual differences, displacement is a common feature of redevelopment processes around the globe (Wu, 2016; Smith, 2002).

The third intervention of the state in working class areas is the slum clearance and production of housing for the working classes in the MDC, as in the case of the council housing in Britain. Since the WWI, due to the lack of the adequate housing for working class people, the intervention was required. The council housing programs have had two main aims: to build enough units to address chronic housing shortage; and slum clearance. Especially during the inter-war period councils focused on slum clearance programs mostly in the inner city areas. These areas had old and neglected working class neighbourhoods without adequate amenities such as indoor bathrooms. These slums have been replaced by council housing. In these slum clearance programs, the low quality inner city working class housing was replaced with *in situ* flats or peripheral housing developments. The peripheral development increased the commute times of the tenants and they experienced a sense of isolation, despite having better quality housing (University of West England, 2008).

In the 1950s and 1960s the government gave subsidies for blocks more than 6 storeys high and targeted for those who had lost their houses in slum clearance programs. Neighbourhoods all over the UK were demolished and rebuilt based on modern town planning standards. During this period many local council produced pre-fabricated tower blocks. These tower block developments have communal facilities such as children's play areas and laundries. The replacement led to the

breaking up of established communities. Later, in the 1970s council housing began to be criticised for being poor quality and having too high densities. With decreasing investment of councils in the 1970s, these areas became hard to let and unfavourable. Later, the areas acquired bad reputations, with high numbers of problematic tenants and maintenance problems (University of West England, 2008).

The fourth way of intervening in working class housing by the state is the *in situ* upgrading programs; such as 'site and services' and slum upgrading programs. The programs have two main aims: firstly, improvement of the existing low standard working class housing and informal housing; secondly, provision of serviced land at affordable prices, with technical support to individuals, artisan constructors and community-based organisations in order to build low income housing developments. Such programmes might also include the provision of basic infrastructure such as water, electricity and technical support to the small-scale constructors, community based organisations and individuals (Section 3.7.3). In MDCs, the principal aim of the *in situ* programs was to upgrade low quality working class housing through credit programs and improvement of the housing standards.

In Turkey, there have been different kinds of intervention in working class housing areas. Istanbul's central city areas have been redeveloped as commercial centres, as in the case of the Beyoglu and Levent Districts. While in Beyoglu historical neighbourhoods of the inner city were converted to the commercial centre, in the case of Levent, one of the first modern housing areas was converted to high-rise office development. Later, Levent became the central business district for finance and commercial centres and a major skyline cluster area of Istanbul. These interventions are closer to the first type of intervention – redevelopment for commercial purpose – but these interventions were built with private sector investment alongside strong state support (Ergun, 2004).

State provision of housing in Turkey has been very limited and has not passed 10% of total production (Chapter 7). Although being limited in quantity, historically

there has also been affordable housing provision for low-income groups by the state, as in the case of the Yenimahalle, where the state has provided technical support and credit for the low income groups. However, these early examples of housing have benefitted secure income groups, mostly civil servants. The most common ways of intervening in the squatter neighbourhoods in Turkey have been legalising and providing basic infrastructure for squatter settlements, from the 1950s until 1980 (section 8.2 and 7.2). Later, the state aimed to redevelop the squatter areas with different models of redevelopment: Improvement and Development Plans, Urban Transformation Projects and through private sector interventions.

Slum clearance and gentrification has been a very well-studied phenomenon: (Gündoğdu & Gough, 2009; Ergun, 2004; Dündar, 2001; Uzun, 2003). In these projects former inner city squatting settlement areas are redeveloped as middle and upper class residential areas, leading to displacement of the existing population to the periphery.

3.7 Squatter Housing in the Global South

3.7.1 Squatting housing

The Global South countries are all integrated into the capitalist mode of production and they have low levels of GDP per capita, but a specific feature of LDC housing is the important role of squatter settlements. In this section I will conclude the main discussion of housing in relation to squatter formations in the LDCs.

As we have seen, decent housing is unaffordable for working class people because the cost of a decent house is many times higher than the average income of a worker in capitalist societies. This is due to the labour intensive production, the cost of materials and the high ground rents in capitalist societies (Section 3.2.1, section 3.5). In the LDCs the problem of unaffordability is intensified because these countries are experiencing high levels of population growth with high levels of rural-urban migration. Moreover, the level of capital accumulation is not enough for the state and/or capital to provide housing for working class people and they do not have adequate institutional capacity. Therefore, in LDCs, the working classes - mostly migrants - build their own houses outside of the formal framework. There are many different forms of that type of housing production and different terminologies are used based on construction type and tenure structure, such as squatter housing, informal housing, self-help housing. In terms of definitions, formal housing refers to the housing system produced by the state or capital or a combination of them. Moreover, the formal housing system is controlled in terms of standards and control by the state. For the context of this research any housing production outside of this mode of housing production has been accepted as informal. More precisely, informal housing refers to areas with permanent settlement, without adequate services and with illegal/extra-legal housing production, which includes squatting and illegal sub-divisions (Jenkins P., 2007, pp. 175–176). Burgess (1977) argues that the squatting housing in the LDCs is not outside of the capitalist relationships, it is rather another part of the capitalist production, which is petty commodity production of housing.

Furthermore, at some stage, many of these individual houses are converted to commodities.

Being in the same capitalist social and spatial framework, the working class housing in LDCs have some peculiarities. First of all, the rural-urban migration has been realised in different time periods and in different scales, and reached the levels of MDCs in a very short period of time. The income of the working class was very low and the migrants did not have secure jobs. The planned and legally produced houses were very expensive even for the secure income groups and there was a continuous housing shortage due to the rapidly increasing population. In LDCs, due to the lack of resources and lack of technical and institutional incapacity, the state could not provide working class housing. Consequently, low-quality housing in the form of slums became a permanent feature of the cities in developing countries (Kasarda & Crenshaw, 1991).

3.7.2 Formal Housing Provision

Under the influence of the classic modernisation perspective urbanisation in the global south was actively promoted in the post-war period. Modernist development theory suggests that developing countries have to follow the same steps of development, from the traditional to modern, to achieve the target of development (Jenkins P., 2007, pp. 34–55). In terms of planning the target was achieving rational master planning (Jenkins P., 2007, pp. 129–137) in terms of housing the suggestion of modernism was the provision of modern housing based on western cultural and technical standards. Under this framework the ‘slum, informal settlements problems’ have been seen as a sign of underdevelopment and, therefore, as a temporary phenomenon (Jenkins P., 2007, pp. 153–158).

Housing provision for the growing working classes in the new developing urban areas, was financed by the state or by large employer organisations. State subsidises housing for the middle class became a quasi-universal phenomenon (Davis, 2007, p. 65). This has been seen as a general strategy for the stabilisation of the labour force and a way of supporting the creation of a skilled working and

middle class as a means to rapid economic development. However, in many LDCs the economic development did not take off as planned and this type of housing provision was expensive and therefore only allocated to affluent working classes (mostly civil servants). These houses were mostly produced in peripheral locations far from employment opportunities. Therefore, many migrant households have continued to choose squatting (Jenkins P., 2007, pp. 153–158). However, the failure of the modernist developmentalist framework to provide conditions of ‘development’ led to major changes in both theory and practice.

3.7.2 Self-Help Housing Policies

With the failure of provision of adequate housing for the working class, new approaches were proposed in academia and in the international organisations, such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to provide affordable housing. The negative attitude towards self-produced housing was challenged and the use value of self-produced housing highlighted during the 1960s and the 1970s. The main advantages of this type of housing was its low cost for the states, bourgeoisies and dwellers under the conditions of limited accumulation, lack of a credit system, lack of infrastructure and high cost of construction and land. Turner (1968), for example, drawing on his research in Latin America, suggested that state intervention led to alienation of the slum dwellers from the end product on account of non-participatory decision making processes. Being alienated from their houses, slum dwellers invested less and houses became unpopular. The cost of housing production was high for governments and also unaffordable for the majority of the slum dwellers. Therefore, the only remaining alternative for the poor was squatting. One of his main arguments was about differences in use value and exchange value. The self-help, according to Turner, was higher in use value and created wider social and economic benefits for the dweller, due to autonomous building and management processes. Turner further argues that housing is a verb, emphasising the *process* rather than an end product. Therefore, self-help housing met the needs of the urban poor and provided the possibility to change its structure based on their changing needs (Turner, 1968; Davis, 2007; Jenkins P., 2007, pp. 163–165; Hodkinson and Essen, 2015; Jones, 2012).

Moreover, the perspective of modernisation theory on informal settlements has been challenged during the 1970s. Particularly criticised were the 'culture of poverty' and policymakers' negative stigmatisation of the informal settlement neighbourhoods. The informal settlements had been stigmatised as being the places of the marginal, who threaten the mainstream social system by producing and reproducing cultures of poverty and marginality. Perlman (1976) research in Brazilian favelas suggests that the notion of marginality of informal dwellers is not accurate and that they are very well integrated in society. In undermining the marginality myth, she suggests that people who live in informal settlements have strong community connections and kinship networks. They are integrated in economic life by providing cheap labour power.

The failures of the classic modernisation developmentalist framework gave rise to new approaches, such as 'basic need' and 'redistribution with growth'. These new approaches led to the promotion of self-help housing as an alternative to conventional housing delivery (Jenkins P., 2007, pp. 129–160; Jones, 2012). International agencies such as the World Bank started to support self-help housing around the world during the 1970s. Between 1972-1981, 52 urban projects were committed \$1.6 billion. The role of the state in these programs was in providing infrastructure and basic services. Legalisation of tenure of land and dwellings according to Turner was the most important role of the state in this approach (Hodkinson, no date; Jenkins P., 2007, pp. 153–157; Jones, 2012). These in situ upgrading programs, such as site and services and slum upgrading programs, have two main purposes. Firstly, provision of the land with basic infrastructure to the low-income groups. Secondly, improvements of the conditions of the existing slum areas through providing technical and fiscal support to individuals, community based organisations and small scale artisan producers (Jenkins P., 2007, pp. 178–205; Wakely, 2014; Jones, 2012)

Burgess (1977) also criticised Turner's concept of 'use value' by suggesting that he does not include the transformation of self-help housing into the commodity form. Based on Turner's discussion self-help housing should have stayed only with their use values, however, these houses were later commodified with ownership of the

land. Burgess suggests that self-help housing is only a partial solution to housing shortage without jeopardising capitalist interests. He argues that the penetration of commodity relationships to self-build settlements can create later problems in these areas. Turner's discussion was used by the state and capital ideologically to reduce and even stop investment in working class housing (Burgess, 1977; Jenkins P., 2007, pp. 163–165).

The effects of the World Bank upgrading projects and *in situ* upgrading programs were limited and could not meet increasing demand in developing countries. Thus dweller control was not promoted (Davis, 2007, p. 70). Some of the self-help housing is actually constructed by paid artisans, or specialised task labourers (Davis, 2007, p. 72). Sites and service provision or loans for upgrading did not cover the poorest population. The different examples show that the World Bank interventions are mostly taken advantage of by middle-income groups and state employees who purchase the land and houses. One of the reasons for this was that requirements for construction loans were high and not accessible for most of the urban poor. The housing provision was not associated with employment opportunities, which led to relocation to the periphery and poor connections to city centres, in the case of India for example (Davis, 2007, p. 74). Thus, Turner's critique of state provision of housing has been used as justification for the neo-liberal turn and the cutting of state expenditure. Therefore, Burgess suggests that the self-help approach created more housing problems for later generations (Davis 2007)

3.7.3 Neoliberal-restructuring: commodification and demotion of squatter settlements

There have been several changes towards squatting settlements and housing since the 1980s as a result of the rise of neoliberalism. The failure of economic growth has been seen as a result of the lack of institutional framework which provides the conditions for the flourishing of market economies (Harvey, 2007).

The market-oriented framework had a greater emphasis on private property, financial institutions and housing credit systems. Based on this approach, housing should function as a market. This framework further strengthens the relationship between land titling programs, housing finance and urban development (Jones, 2012)

Since the 1980s, the World Bank and some states in developing countries have adopted strategies that are based on Hernando De Soto's micro-entrepreneurial solution to urban poverty (Davis, 2007, p. 71; Jones, 2012). According to Davis, 'De Soto's bootstrap model of development has a simple recipe; get the state, formal sector labour unions out of the way, providing micro credits for micro entrepreneur and land title for squatters, led the market to transform the poverty into capital' (2007, p.179). In this way, the demand of tenure security for the dwellers is adapted into the neoliberal framework. De Soto suggests that the informal settlers have a great amount of assets, which cannot use due to tenure structure. Therefore, providing the formal deeds and property titles will give the dwellers access to credit and lead to a proliferation of micro-entrepreneurs within the urban poor without any cost to the state (Davis, 2007, p. 80; Jones, 2012) (Desai and Loftus, 2013). Moreover, for governments the allocation of titles and micro credit means stability, votes and taxes.

De Soto's suggestions for private ownership-based intervention led to social differentiation in the slum neighbourhoods and the creation of a large underclass that cannot access any form of affordable housing. Regulations also undermine solidarity within the communities and prevent any kind of collective action (Davis, 2007, p. 80). In terms of spatial commodification, we also see the creation of 'slums within the slums'. In Brazil, for example, the 'formal' property owners informally rent single rooms to the poorest of the poor. In short, it did not create a well off, mass urban poor but created advantages and disadvantages amongst the informal settlers (Davis, 2007, pp. 79–81) .

The general strategic housing policies evolved from non-conventional policies such as *in-situ* upgrading to conventional public housing provision since the 1980s.

The conventional policies were aiming to integrate ‘low middle income earners’ to formal housing markets as home owners and to produce housing for the middle and upper income groups (Rolnik, 2013) (See Section 3.7.5). Another key strand of new housing strategy is concerned with supporting the construction sector in order to stimulate overall economic growth (Wakely, 2014).

3.8. Financialization and Housing

3.8.1 Financialization under Neoliberalism

The theoretical discussion in sections 3.2 to 3.6 is relevant to capitalist countries all the time, the discussion in 3.7 covers the period after the 1950s in the global South; to provide another perspective on redevelopment of the squatter settlements, this section discusses the increasing power of finance capital over productive capital and population after the 1980s.

After World War II there has been the longest boom period of capitalist history in western economies, the American economy output was three times higher than the 1940 level, while France’s output was four times the 1947 level (Harman, 2010, pp. 161–190). In the 1970s the economic recession started and profit rates decreased dramatically in all major economics, while unemployment and inflation rates were increasing. Accumulation in productive sectors decreased dramatically as well as wages. Since then, the profit level has not reached that of the long boom period and has remained at lower levels.

The decreasing level of profit and wages increased the demand for credit from both corporations and households. Moreover, the LDCs did not benefit from the economic upturn as much as MDCs and with the economic recession period the state debts in LDCs increased dramatically (Harman, 2010, pp. 191–225) (See Section 7.2 and 7.3 for Turkish case). Due to the long term decrease in profit levels, and increasing demand for credit from households, corporations and states, since the 1970s, global finance capital has increased its supply to an unprecedented level. National policies are rearranged in order to encourage provision of finance from international organisations to domestic firms, different levels of

governments and households (Rouanet and Halbert, 2014; Fernandez and Aalbers, 2016).

Lending increased much faster than productive output. Global financial assets were equal to 316 percent of annual world output, while it was 109 percent in 1980. Meanwhile the general level of indebtedness increased for governments, non-financial corporations and households. In 2017, the global debt hit a record all time high of \$247 trillion, governments around the world own \$67 trillion, while non-financial firms are \$68 trillion in debt (Ben Chu, 2018). After the 1980s indebtedness became central in maintaining individuals' regular living standards and household debt increased \$44 trillion in 2017 (see Section 7.4.2 and 7.4.3 for Turkish case). In USA, household debt was 127 percent of total personal income in 2006 as it was only 60 percent in 1960s. For the LDCs borrowing in the 1970s created a vicious circle of borrowing in order to keep servicing existing debt (see Section 7.3 for Turkish case) (Harman, 2010, pp. 277–304).

There is a growing global pool of liquid assets seeking profit, these have several sources; firstly, personal and corporative savings. This has many components; personal saving funds, pension funds, growing surplus in emerging economies. The second important source of this growth is the creation of money through derivative markets. The original function of the derivative market was to provide a sort of insurance against the sudden changes in interest and exchange rates, by agreeing on the price of a commodity now and paying it in the future. The derivatives can be sold and bought, making it possible to gamble on changes in their prices. The rise and decrease of the interest rates of the derivatives became speculative and an alternative investment. The recession-boom cycles after the 1980s were accompanied by financial speculation which lead to the massive increase of US and British stock markets in the mid-1980s, the dotcom boom in the late 1990s and the housing booms in the mid-2000s (Harman, 2010, pp. 277–304) (See Section 7.3 and 7.4.3 for the effect on Turkey). This increasing influence of finance capital in the overall economy, politics and society has been called 'financialization'.

3.8.2 Financialization and Built Environment

When financialization is applied to urban policies and housing, it is not only a switch of capital between circuits (Section 3.3), but it highlights the processes which provide further integration of the finance markets to the production of the built environment through financial intermediaries and new regulations to enable this (Fainstein, 2016). The integration of construction with finance systems has been termed the 'financialization of the real estate market', which refers to mobilisation of land and property as a pure financial asset and allows rental payments similar to interest payments (Harvey 1982, p.347; Charnock et al. 2014). Finance allows investment decisions to shift from the local to global level, where financial specialists calculate returns without any particular knowledge of the location of buildings or infrastructure (Fainstein, 2014).

Creation of investment pools allows the accumulation of very large capital to facilitate the production of the built environment in big scale projects. (Fainstein, 2014). These increases in the production of the built environment show in the rise of production of commercial properties, increases in the number of infrastructure projects and increases in housing production. The increasing role of finance in the economy creates need for office and commercial buildings, especially in major urban centres, therefore the production of office and commercial buildings has increased dramatically in all major centres since the 1970s. The increasing level of finance also creates the opportunity for the construction of big infrastructure projects such as airports and high speed train lines for governments. On the other hand, financialization also transforms existing public infrastructure into financial commodities in order to attract more investment therefore increasing the dependency of local governments on the financial markets. Finally, in terms of housing, financialization transforms the housing finance system from traditional savings and loans to a securitised mortgage system.

3.8.3 Financialization and Housing

3.8.1.1 Financialization of Housing in MDC

The liberalisation and internationalisation of the finance sector after 1980s had major implications for housing and urban development both in the global north and south. In countries like the UK and the USA, until the beginning of the 1980s housing finance was distinct and a specialist sector. The source of the loans was personal savings held by building societies. With the reforms in the 1980s the number and variety of institutions which can provide housing credit increased rapidly. The local and international banks and financial institutions started to provide mortgages. The funds for mortgages were not only from personal savings but also national and international capital markets (Gotham, 2009; Jones, 2012; Aalbers, 2016b; Aalbers, Loon and Fernandez, 2017).

After this paradigm change, housing provision was increasingly driven by the logic and practice of financial markets. In order to find new markets and increase profit, the mortgage market expanded to include historically excluded groups. The solution to the housing problem of the poor was home ownership based on household debt. As a result, the interdependency and complementary relationship between the finance and housing sectors was further strengthened (Karaçimen Çelik, 2013; Aalbers and Christophers, 2014; Christophers, 2015; Aalbers, 2016b, 2016a; Fernandez, 2016; Guironnet, Attuyer and Halbert, 2015; Aalbers, Loon and Fernandez, 2017)

3.8.1.2 Financialization of Housing in Less Developed Countries

These developments in the MDCs were crucial in shaping housing policies and strategies in the LDCs (Jones, 2012; Rolnik, 2013). By interacting with the global pool of finance capital, the national housing systems are transforming towards an Anglo-American, liberalised mode of housing finance. The influx of capital into housing occurred all around the world; while the MDCs experienced this influx

starting in the 1990s, the LDCs started to experience it after the 2000s (Aalbers, Loon and Fernandez, 2017). The rise of finance in housing happens in two different ways in LDCs, firstly mortgages to non-squatter households (mostly middle income groups) increased. Secondly, mortgage provision for informal settlement residents, but this remains limited and could not reach most of the informal settlement residents.

In the LDCs the process of financialization has differences from the American and European cases; in the case of Brazil for example, there is not a consolidated market for mortgage finance as in the USA or a comprehensive public housing stock as in European countries. Klink and Denaldi (2014) suggest that Brazilian financialization has been truncated, in that it has always depended on state intervention and has never reached the lowest income groups. The first reason is the scale and ability of the private market in the financialization process. In Brazil, the state had to build the necessary legal framework and connections between the risky housing and real estate market and financial and capital market circuits. Secondly, in Brazil, financialization has never reached the lowest income groups. Neither private nor state funded projects historically could reach them (Klink and Denaldi, 2014).

Another example of the importance of the state in the financialization of housing in developing countries is the case of Mexico. Soederberg (2015) suggests that with the global downturn in 2008 and the new regulation of the Mexican market, the Mexican affordable housing market became an attractive investment opportunity for international funds and investors. Although the expansion of the credit system aimed to benefit historically excluded groups, the credit system did not reach most of the informal workers but ultimately benefitted finance and construction capital as well as formal workers in Mexico (Soederberg, 2015).

3.8.1.3. Financialization of Slum Upgrading

After 2005 UN-Habitat started the implementation of similar programs in sub-Saharan Africa; the programs aimed to prove that slum upgrading can be achieved

through private finance and the ongoing project can be accelerated and expand with the involvement of private finance institutions. The programs have several actors; commercial banks and other sources of capital, a financial guarantee fund and recipients. The slum dwellers should organise into community groups, housing associations and federations in order to establish a legal entity to take the loan and the loans are paid back by the dwellers in long term payments. These projects were aiming to bring different stakeholders together: local governments, private constructors, banks, and urban residents in order to establish institutional capacity and structures in which each stakeholder can work together on specific projects as suitable actors (Jones, 2012).

However, as the recent upgrading and slum clearance projects are based on private ownership and finance, they have problematic results in practice. The improvement of basic infrastructure within the slum areas increases land prices. Thus, the land title allocations and title regulations solve the ownership problem for the existing populations but migration continues and the newcomers become the tenants of previous dwellers. Some preliminary research by WaterAid (2010 cited in Desai and Loftus, 2013, p. 792) in both Asian and west African cities confirms this trend (Desai and Loftus, 2013).

3.9 Conclusion

Under the capitalist mode of production, land became a commodity, which is not produced by labour power. Ground rent, and hence the value of the land comes from the legal ownership of a particular area of the globe. The differential rent is based on the advantages of location, advantages that arise in urban areas in relation to other land usage and public investments such as transportation. Beitel (2016) suggests the ground rent is the sum of Absolute Rent + Differential 1 + Differential Rent 2. He argues that rather than decreasing them, as in the neo-classical view, the increasing number of housing units increases the prices. Although not having a long-term study of the ground rent value of Ankara, under

the conditions of fast population and urban growth this conceptualisation is more accurate.

As a part of the general economic cycles, the rise and fall of the building cycle has been seen in all capitalist economies since the development of the capitalist building industries. In Turkey, by a limited number of researchers (Balaban, 2008; Penpecioglu, 2013), there have been two periods between 1980-1988 and between 2001-2008, in which there have been simultaneous growth and decline in the general economy and investment into the BE. In both periods, the dramatic increase of the production of the BE is heavily supported by the state through nationwide redevelopment programs. In the first period the state supported the construction boom with Improvement and Development Programs (IDP) and the second construction boom is supported with Urban Transformation Model Redevelopment Programs. My first case study is an example of the IDP redevelopment model originating in the 80s; the second case study area is an example of the UTP, which originated during the second construction boom.

As a part of the overall built environment the provision of working class housing has been problematic since the development of capitalist housing production. The essentiality of housing made it an important political issue, especially for the working class. Due to the struggle around housing the state had to intervene in working class housing through different policies. These interventions are implementing rent controls, providing state housing, in situ slum upgrading programs, slum clearance and direct production of working class housing and state led gentrification. In the case of Turkey, there have been rent control between 1940 and 1960, in situ upgrading and basic service provision between the 1960s and 1970s (Section 7.2). Since the 1980s, however, state intervention has become redevelopment of the squatter areas with different models of redevelopment, Improvement and Development Plans and Urban Transformation Projects through private sector intervention (7.3 and 7.4). Since the intervention is realised through collaboration of the state and capital, in many cases these interventions lead to displacement of the local residents (Gündoğdu & Gough 2009; Ergun 2004; Uzun 2003; DüNDAR 2001). In these projects former inner city

squatting settlement areas are redeveloped as middle and upper class residential areas. However, there are also projects in which the gecekondur areas are redeveloped for the working class neighbourhoods and retain or partly retain the existing population.

Based on these different ways of intervening I will investigate the Turkish redevelopment programs, and I will investigate the areas where working class people are not displaced or not totally displaced. The state-led slum clearance programs in Turkey have been investigated several times in light of state-led gentrification theories; however, this has been under the conditions of increasing or steady production and commodification of the squatter settlements during the 1980s, redevelopment programs that do not only lead to gentrification of the historically working class neighbourhoods. Having many different problems, the redevelopment programs in the city's periphery are also a comprehensive formalisation process of the working class, implemented by different level of state agencies.

In particular, I discussed how LDC governments have in recent decades intervened in squatter settlements in varied ways. As several researchers have emphasised the formalisation of the working class housing in developing countries occurs through different mechanisms and the involvement of state agencies (Section 3.6; Section 3.7). More recent research focuses on the formalisation of working class housing through financialization. As in the case of Brazil and Mexico the formalisation and housing production for low income group always depends on state intervention (Section 3.7.3 and Section 3.8.1.2). Therefore, the state is important for housing the working class. Writers on working class housing, however, have generally not presented their work within explicit theories of the state. Therefore, the following chapter focuses on state theories and investigates how and why the state is involved in working class housing production in capitalist societies and in Turkey.

Chapter 4. Theories of the State in Capitalist Societies

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 The importance of state for capitalism

This thesis concerns the policies and actions of various scales of the state towards urban areas and particularly working class housing. The aim of the thesis is not merely to describe these policies and actions, nor merely to evaluate them in terms of their impacts, but also to understand them within a Marxist analysis of Turkish society as a whole. Different levels of state agencies have implemented different urban redevelopment projects across Ankara since the 1980s. Since 2002 state intervention in the gecekondu neighbourhoods has evolved and entered a new stage. The contemporary state intervention in the gecekondu neighbourhoods targets nearly 30% of the built environment and population of Ankara. In this chapter, therefore, I consider how to theorise the state in a capitalist society.

The state is of central importance to the economy and society of modern capitalism. In the 19th century state plays a relatively small role in the capitalist economy, in 20th century the role of the state in economy increasing. The modern state separate from the capital but it is related to capital therefore this situation creates a necessity to theorise the state. There are a large variety of non-Marxist theories of the state, government and politics. Notable approaches are liberal, pluralist, elite and managerialist theories (for surveys see Jones & Evans 2012; Hay 2005; Şengül 2001). All of these theories have been applied to the local state and local politics (for a survey see Davies & Imbroscio 2009). However, in my view all these theories suffer from a fundamental weakness: following Weber, they conceive the state as a fundamentally separate institution from civil society, albeit that there are external interactions between the state and civil society. Correspondingly, politics is regarded as an academic 'discipline' distinct from the disciplines of economics, sociology and cultural studies. In my interpretation of

Marxism, however, the state is simply one aspect of a capitalist whole (Gough & Das 2017). The state is embedded in the economy and society, and built out of capital and labour and their relationship. The state is therefore internally related to economy and society and grows out of them. This approach is unique to Marxism; in this chapter I therefore examine only Marxist theories of the state.

Although Marxist theories of the state see it as embedded in civil society, they acknowledge that the state is a distinct institution. Unlike previous class societies, in capitalism the state is a separate institution from the ruling class, capital. Indeed, as we shall see, Marxism has developed theories of how and why this separation between the ruling class and the state occurred. The state differs from capital in the sense that it has a monopoly on legitimate violence; it makes laws in any aspects of economic and social life; it levies taxes forcibly and not as part of a market exchange; it decides how to spend these taxes according to non-market criteria. Marxist theories of the state are therefore complex, since they need to explain both how the state is separate from economy and society yet is embedded in them. This difficulty means that there are numerous different and (partly) conflicting Marxist theories of the state. In section 4.2, therefore, I start by briefly exploring a variety of Marxist theories of the state: the instrumentalist theory; political structuralism; varieties of economic structuralism; regulation theory, Gramscian theory, and their combination in strategic relational state theory; and the Open Marxist approach to the state.

This is not a comprehensive and systematic examination of Marxist state theory, which would take a book; nor do I select one of these theories to adopt, nor develop a new, comprehensive Marxist theory of the state. Rather, I use the exploration of different theories to arrive at my approach to the state, which combines elements and insights from the different theories (section 4.4). My approach is in this sense eclectic. There are four questions or problems which run through Marxist theorisations of the state:

- the relation between the state and particular capitals (firms, sectors, fractions of capital);
- the relation between the state and capital as a whole or capital accumulation as a whole;
- the role of the state in the reproduction of people and labour power;
- how class struggle between capital and labour is reflected in the state.

These questions criss-cross the different Marxist theories of the state considered here; how they do so it set out roughly in Table 4-1. In developing my approach to the state in section 4.4 I explore each of these four questions. They provide different, essential insights into the state which I use in the rest of the thesis. I then illustrate these aspects of the state by looking at how they applied in Turkey during the period of the research, thus linking this chapter to the rest of the thesis.

In my research, three spatial scales of the state were important: the nation state (particularly the MHA), the Greater Ankara Municipality, and the District Municipalities. The complex relations between them are important, as are shifts between them in resources and responsibilities. The research therefore involves the scaling and rescaling of the state. Scales of the state has been a major focus for research since the 1970s in urban studies and geography, a significant practice in many countries, including Turkey, and an increasing concern of mass politics. The set of processes described as 'globalisation' has raised much academic and political discussion about the relation between the nation state and international state bodies (the IMF, the WB, the WTO and so on). In some MDCs and LDCs, though not all, there have been shifts in the responsibilities of national, regional, city-regional, district and neighbourhood levels of the state, and sometimes the creation of new spatial scales of the state. These national-local shifts have been extensively theorised by non-Marxist and Marxist academics. Accordingly, in section 4.3 I consider scales of the state as theorised by Marxists: Brenner and Jones using a strategic relational theory of the state, and Gough using an Open Marxist approach. Having set out my own approach to the state in section 4.4, I then in section 4.5 consider my approach to scales and rescaling of the state, in the abstract and for the case of Turkey.

4.1.2. Why do we need Marxist theory of state for analyses of working class housing?

The state is of central importance to the economy and society of modern capitalism. In the previous two chapters on theories of urbanism and the built environment, I have noted important roles of the state at various points; but none of the authors so far have provided an adequate theorisation of the state.

In Chapter 2, I considered Marxist theories of urbanism. Lefebvre's theory of space has three aspects, one of which is 'the representation of space', which includes the conception of space by state officers. Harvey has written about the important role of the state in facilitating land and property development, and has outlined a supposed shift in urban politics from 'managerialism' to

‘entrepreneurialism’. But neither Lefebvre nor Harvey have given a theorised account of the state and its relationship to economy and society. Implicitly, they conceptualise the state as an instrument of the capitalist class, as functionally reproducing capitalist society and its spaces; but I argue below that this theory is not fully explanatory. Castells’s theory of urbanism was centred on ‘collective consumption’ in cities, that is, state provided services to reproduce people and labour power. But his theory of the relationship between state and society was a Weberian one, an approach which does not fit the overall theoretical framework of the thesis.

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In Chapter 3 I noted that the chronic and acute problems of working class housing in capitalist societies have sometimes elicited state interventions. In particular, I discussed how LDC governments have in recent decades intervened in squatter

settlements in varied ways. The formalisation of the working class housing in developing countries occurs through different mechanisms and the involvement of state agencies (Section 3.5; Section 3.7; Section 3.7). As in the case of Brazil and Mexico, formalisation and housing production for low income groups always depends on state intervention (Section 3.7.5). More recent research focuses on the formalisation of working class housing through financialization. By interacting with the global pool of finance (finance capital), the national housing system is transforming towards an Anglo-American, liberalised mode of housing finance. Therefore, the influx of capital into housing increased all around the world. However, in the developing countries the role of the state is much more crucial. In the case of Brazil for example, the state has had to build the necessary legal framework and connection between the risky housing and real estate markets and financial and capital market circuits. The state is therefore important for the housing of working class. However, writers on working class housing in LDCs have generally not presented their work within explicit theories of the state (3.7.3 and 3.7.5).

The present chapter, then, aims to complement the literature on urbanism, property development and housing by adding an explicit theory of the state, so that the state's relationship to urbanism, property and housing can be better theorised. We can already outline here, in the abstract, how the four aspects of state-society relations considered above (section 4.1.1) could impinge on working class housing:

- Housing production is important in terms of capital accumulation for individual sections of capital such as construction and finance capital (Section 3.3, Section 3.4). Harvey (1989) describes the production of the built environment as the urbanisation of capital; the forward and backward sectors as well as building materials, logistics, the service sector in relation to housing ownership, the share of construction related activities is an important part of the GDP. The share of construction in GDP is even higher in LDC (Giang and Sui Pheng, 2011).

- The production of the built environment and particularly housing production serves capital as a whole (Sections 2.4 and 2.6). This is particularly because working class housing is needed to provide an adequate labour force in the right locations for capital to employ – the next point below.
- The state is often involved in housing production in order to provide better and cheaper reproduction of labour power. Since the development of capitalism, working class housing has been problematic in all countries and at all times. The main reason for this is the low income of working class people in relation to the cost of housing. But housing is essential for the reproduction of labour power, to enable labour power to be produced with reasonable health and skills in the right urban location. Therefore the state tends to be involved in the housing of the working class in different ways (Section 2.5; Section 3.5; Section 3.8.2; Section 3.8.3).
- Housing interventions of the state are in part a reflection of the class struggle between labour and capital within the state. Living in poor quality and overcrowded housing sometimes leads to working class organisations demanding that the state intervenes to provide or to regulate for better housing. Workers' organisations may be directed in the first place to demands on landlords and land owners; but these typically spill over into demands on the state. Therefore, the state also intervenes in working class housing in order to mitigate class struggle.

We see, then, that the state's housing policies can potentially be interpreted through the four aspects of state-society relations introduced in Section 4.1.1. In Section 4.5 we shall see that the housing policies of the Turkish state can be interpreted in this way. This theoretical approach will be explored in detail in Part III.

4.2. Marxist Theories of the State

I have noted that there are many Marxist theories of the state in capitalist society. The Marxist theories of the state considered in this chapter are the most

important ones developed since the 1960s. Marx himself did not develop a systematic theory of the state within capitalism; nor did the principal Marxist theorists of the first half of the 20th century. But from the 1960s, with the enormous expansion of the size and roles of the state after the Second World War, many Marxists set themselves the task of theorising the state. The result was a multiplicity of state theories, or at least of insights into the state. These sometimes overlap and sometimes contradict each other. It is these theories that I consider in this chapter. In this section I briefly consider the main theories in turn. I use these to synthesise my own approach to the state in section 4.4.

Table 4-1: Marxist theories of the state

Name of the theory	Individual Capitals	Capital as a class	State relation about the reproduction of labour power	Class Struggle
Instrumentalist Approach				
Miliband	X			
Structuralist theory of the State				
Political Structuralism (Poulantzas)		X		
Economic Structuralism				
Derivationist Theory (Altvater)		X		
Derivationist Theory (Hirsch)		X		X
System Theory Analyses (Offe)		X	X	X
Regulation tradition				
Regulation Approach		X	X	
Antonio Gramsci	X			X
Strategic Relational Approach	X	X	X	
Open Marxist				
Open Marxist Approach				X

4.2.1 Instrumentalist Perspectives

The basic argument of the Instrumentalist approach is that the state is dominated by the capitalist class, and therefore serves the interests of the capitalist class (Miliband, 1969; Barrow, 1993a). By emphasising by whom the state is ruled, Instrumentalists suggest that the modern state is an instrument of the capitalist class in order to formulate and implement the public policies which represent their long-term interest. In the Instrumentalist approach state policies and interventions are explained in relation to the interest of the dominant class (Miliband, 1969; Barrow, 1993a). State power is exercised by people who are in strategic positions such as ministers, MPs, senior civil servants, and senior police and military officials. These state elites act largely to enforce and secure the class structure (Bilton *et al.*, 2002, pp. 192–225).

People in strategic positions in the state may be members of the economically dominant class. But even if they are not, they have similar educational backgrounds, social connections and networks, and ways of life (Das 1996; Miliband 1969; Haralambos et al. 2004, pp. 538-617). They consequently tend to share the same ideological and political outlook as the bourgeoisie. Thus Instrumentalists see control of the state being exercised at the ideological level as well as the material level life (Miliband, 1969; Das, 1996; Haralambos, Holborn and Heald, 2004)

4.2.2 Structuralist Perspective

In contrast to the Instrumentalist approach, Structuralist Marxists see the capitalist nature of the state as stemming from the place of the state within the overall structure of capitalism. The state serves the interests of capital not because of capitalist class members in the state apparatus or the ideology of the personnel of the state, but because of the structural relations between the state and the economy.

There are two different Structuralist perspectives on the state. Political Structuralism focuses on the role of the state in maintaining the political relations

of capitalism and the political power of capital. The Economic Structuralist perspective focuses on the economic role of the state in maintaining capital accumulation. I examine these in turn.

4.2.3 Political Structuralism

The Political Structuralist perspective developed by Althusser and Poulantzas argues that the state functions as, 'a factor of cohesion'. It needs to do so because of the contradictory nature of the capitalist system (Poulantzas 1976; Das 1996; Clarke 1991b; Barrow 1993; Haralambos et al. 2004). These internal contradictions rise in the form of economic crisis, class struggle and uneven development; the state maintains capital accumulation and the production of labour power.

It does so by acting very differently for different classes. For the working class, the state presents itself as the representative of the legally equal citizens. The creation of workers as 'citizens' prevents them from organising as a class, and from organising around class struggle. On the other hand, the state organises the capitalists in order that they might act as a class. The state has 'relative autonomy' from capital, and can implement policies against the interests of particular members of the capitalist class (Poulantzas 1976; Das 1996; Clarke 1991b; Barrow 1993; Haralambos et al. 2004).

4.2.4 Economic Structuralism

I consider three theories of the state which are broadly Economic Structuralist:

(i) The Derivationist Theory of Altvater

Altvater analyses the relationship between the state and society in relation to competition between capitalists. Due to the competition between members of the capitalist class, conditions for the reproduction of the system are not produced. Therefore, the system never provides the secure condition of reproduction itself; the state is an answer to this collective-action problem. The state works as an ideal collectivist capitalist and provides the conditions for the maintenance of

the capitalist economy. It does this by providing the infrastructure and legal and institutional system. Moreover, the state regulates the relationship between workers and capital, and defends national capital in the international market (Holloway and Picciotto, 1979, pp. 1–31; Clarke, 1991b; Barrow, 1993a; Das, 1996).

(ii) The Derivationist Theory of Hirsch

Hirsch focuses on another contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between workers and capital. Since the existence of the state depends on capital accumulation, the state is necessary in order to monopolise the use of power and create the illusion of equal and free labour exchange between capital and labour (Clarke, 1991a, 1991b, pp. 8–15; Barrow, 1993b).

(iii) System Theory Analyses

The third Economic Structuralist perspective, developed particularly by Offe, questions the preservationist function of the state and highlights the limitations of the state in the reproduction of capitalist relationships in the period of economic crisis in the 1970s. This approach theorises capitalism as a combination of three related but relatively autonomous sub-systems: economy, culture and politics. Since the economy has continuous problems in converting labour power to wage labour, the economic sub-system needs the support of the cultural and political sub-systems.

The relationship between state and capital accumulation is explained with four principles: exclusion, maintenance, dependency and legitimation. Exclusion means the separation of the economy and state, because of which the state cannot control the economy but only subsidise or offer incentives to the capitalists to encourage them to invest. Moreover, the state maintains capital accumulation through a selective mechanism that serves the interests of capital. The continuity of the modern state depends on tax revenues, therefore the state depends on capital accumulation; politicians and government bureaucrats have a great interest in economic growth since they might lose votes, credibility and

revenue from an economic downturn. Finally, all of these processes have to legitimise capitalism and the state itself, in order to convince the masses that the system is working for all of society rather than only for capitalists (Offe and Keane, 1984, p. 35; Barrow, 1993a, pp. 96–103).

4.2.5 Regulation Approach

Regulation Theory is also structuralist. It was developed initially by Aglietta and Boyer, and subsequently developed by Jessop. Due to the basic contradictions of capitalism the system does not reproduce itself, and the contradictions emerge in the form of economic crisis, overproduction, unemployment and social turmoil. The contradictions of capitalism are, however, overcome temporarily by two structures, the regime of accumulation and the mode of regulation, which take particular forms in particular periods; Fordism and post-Fordism are examples. The regime of accumulation is a unique pattern of production, industrial relations, distribution and consumption which stabilises capital accumulation for a limited amount of time. The mode of regulation consists of political, cultural, and social structures which support and maintain the regime of accumulation. In time, however, the underlying contradictions lead to a breakdown of regulation and consequent economic crisis; a new regime of accumulation and mode of regulation then needs to emerge in order to restart capital accumulation (Jones, 1997; Painter, 1997; Ritzer, 2007, pp. 111–114) .

4.2.6 Antonio Gramsci

Gramsci conceptualised the state as a combination of ‘political society’ and ‘civil society’. Political society is centred on the use of force by the state through the police, the army and the legal system. Civil society, on the other hand, consists of institutions such as the church, political parties, and the mass media. Gramsci suggested the ruling class could not survive by using the coercive force of the state alone; it also had to secure a degree of consent from the working class. Gramsci did not accept the ability of the ruling class to simply impose its interests and values; he suggests that to remain in power the ruling class has to compromise.

Unlike the Structuralist theorists discussed above, Gramsci was concerned with how strategies for society and the state are formed and become dominant. He was concerned with how political movements within civil society can maintain capitalism or alternatively transform it. Since both the ruling class and the masses are divided, coalitions of class fractions are formed in order to fight for political hegemony. These coalitions – historical blocs – are coalitions of social forces formed to exercise leadership over society (Gramsci and Hoare, 1971; Strinati, 2004, p. 166; Stepnisky and Ritzer, 2013).

4.2.7 Strategic Relational Approach

Bob Jessop has constructed his Strategic Relational Approach by seeking to combine Structuralist approaches, especially Poulantzas, Offe and Regulation Theory, with Gramsci's emphasis on strategy and ideological hegemony. He seeks to construct a theory of the state which overcomes the artificial agency-structure dualism. It seeks to combine a structural 'capital perspective' and an agency based 'class perspective'.

In this perspective the state is, 'a specific institutional ensemble with multiple boundaries, no institutional fixity and no pre-given formal or substantive unity' (Jessop 1990, p.267, cited in Hay & Marsh 2006, p.75). The state is neither an instrument of the capitalist class nor functional for the reproduction of the conditions of capitalist production. It cannot serve as an 'ideal capitalist'. The separation of state from the economy restricts its ability to function as a capitalist agent. Rather, the state provides the conditions for the functional integration of a regime of accumulation.

The state's functional unity is an outcome of continual political struggles between different social forces, through which the state adopts a unifying strategy. These different social forces act through the state, but the state is above all of them. The operational logic of the state is based on its 'strategic selectivity': the state can favour some social actors while excluding others, and thus favour some demands while rejecting others (Bonefeld, 1993; Jones, 1997; Brenner *et al.*, 2008).

4.2.8 Open Marxist Approach

The Open Marxist Approach to the state developed by John Holloway, Simon Clarke, Werner Bonefeld and Peter Burnham rejects both Instrumentalist and Structuralist perspectives. In the Open Marxist view, the state was historically an essential part of the establishment and development of capitalist relations of production. This was not a structural necessity but emerged from class struggle. The state is not a tool of capitalists or capital, and does not simply support capital accumulation. Therefore, the problem of conceptualising the state is the problem of theorising the variety of forms of class struggle and the relationships between them.

The existence of the state has the potential to politicise capitalist society, that is, to encourage the belief that the economy can be collectively controlled and directed. Capital, however, acts through the state to re-establish market relations and the rule of value, and particularly through rule of money (Holloway and Picciotto, 1979; Clarke, 1991a, pp. 165–166; Holloway, 1994; Das, 1996).

The theories of the state so far considered implicitly concern the nation state. I now look at different scales of the state.

4.3 Scales and Rescaling of the State

The rescaling state debate is an academic by-product of the interest in globalisation and the changes it brought, yet the literature about rescaling continues to grow and provides an important theoretical background for current work on urban and regional politics, especially that related to local development (Cox, 2009). I consider here two Marxist approaches to the scales and rescaling of the state, those of Brenner and Gough.

4.3.1 A Strategic Relational approach

Brenner (2004) sets out a theoretical framework for understanding scales of the state based on the Strategic Relational approach to the state. On this basis he analyses the rescaling from national to sub-national levels in Western Europe in the period since the 1970s. Since the early 1970s, state activities targeting the regulation of capitalist urbanisation have been an essential mechanism of the geographical and institutional transformation of the national state. But this does not 'imply the erosion, withering or demise' of the nation state (Brenner, 2004, p. 2). Unlike claims of a decline in state power and an 'erosion of state territoriality' with the intensification of globalisation, Brenner suggests that 'qualitatively new institutions and regulatory forms are currently being produced at both sub- and supranational scales; and, the role of the national scale as a level of governance is itself being radically redefined in response to the current round of capitalist globalisation' (1999, p.439). National economic policies for local and regional development do not have a fixed institutional framework; rather, they have been enabled by, 'a fundamental transformation of state scalar configurations.' Brenner suggests that the city region became, 'the key institutional site in which a major rescaling of national state power has been unfolding' (2004, p.3).

The geographical arrangements of strategic selectivity are explained with the idea of 'hollowing out' of state power. According to Jessop, this power displacement has been happening in three dimensions. The first one is the upward movement of power towards international state bodies, since they begin to have greater function and responsibility compared to the Keynesian period. Secondly, a downward movement in which local states became stronger and more active in terms of economic regeneration. Finally, power started to move outwards with new international networks of local and regional states (Jones, 1997). Being an essential feature of the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism (or in Jessop's terminology, the Keynesian Welfare State to the Schumpeterian Workfare State), the 'hollowing out' process also involves changes in state spatial relationships.

Following Jessop, Brenner (2004) a process of state down scaling, resulting in an increase in the roles and tasks of local and regional administrative systems, and restructuring of local and regional institutional configurations. Throughout the EU and North America, state rescaling appeared as neo-liberal restructuring of the economy, aiming to support sub-national growth poles (Brenner 2004;1999). However, the role of the national state in terms of formulation, implementation and coordination of urban policies is still important (Brenner, 2004). Moreover, the state rescaling 'outwards' includes an increase in the role of the private sector and quasi-state actors through public-private partnerships and networks.

Cox (2009) suggests that Brenner's arguments concerning state rescaling are problematic in two respects when applied to the US. Firstly, Brenner argues that the territorial rescaling of the state to achieve and maintain economic growth is an outcome of top-down forces. However, Cox emphasise bottom-up forces in the case of US cities. Secondly, Brenner focuses on supply-side, 'urban locational policies', but in the US example Cox suggests the driving force is not building up local productive capacity but redistribution of national investment. States and local governments compete with each other for more investment, such as airports, highways, prisons and central government agencies. Cox emphasises the importance of competition between regions and between localities, arguing that this is reflected in regional secessionist movements in Europe.

4.3.2 An Open Marxist approach

While Poulantzas (1978), Jessop (1990) and Brenner (2001) see the state as an ensemble of institutions whose political configuration reflects the balance of power amongst the social classes or forces that constitute a given society, for the Open Marxist Approach the state is social relations embedded in the inter- and intra-class relations of the whole society. The state not only reflects an active moment in the struggles of the whole society but also capital accumulation. Therefore, the state and rescaling of the state should be understood as a moment of class relations rather than an institutional ensemble external to civil society. Rather than a mere effect of the technical-organisational change, rescaling needs to be considered as, 'expressing and re-articulating spatial contradictions of capitalist accumulation and reproduction and their associated class tensions' (Gough, 2004, p. 186).

Gough (2006) criticises the Regulationist and Strategic Relational accounts of rescaling as being built upon a search for more-or-less stable long-term regimes of capitalism with new spatial arrangements, neglecting to analyse the extent to which such a form is achieved in reality. Crisis tendencies cannot be solved by regulation, merely managed and postponed.

Gough (2006) argues that the Strategic Relational approach contains two quite separate explanations of rescaling, namely scalar economic change and the political processes of the hollowing out of the nation state. But these two different explanations cannot be combined because of not having class struggle as the analytical starting point.

Gough argues that rescaling should be, 'considered as expressing and re-articulating spatial contradictions of capitalist accumulation and reproduction and their associated class tensions' (2004, p.186) in other words tensions within both production and reproduction. Thus analysis of rescaling needs to be based on, 'the social-spatial relations and processes of the contemporary capitalist economy: reproduction within the home and neighbourhood; local labour markets;

territories of collaboration and of competition between productive capitals; scales of flows of money capital; scales of final markets supplied; scales of organisation of workers from the workplace to the globe'. Each scale contains essential aspects of political economy. Due to necessary relations between different scales, none of them are less important than the other scales. Even today the domination of the global scale above the other scales is not accurate: for example, social relations at lower scales such as reproduction of labour power is still crucial for the other scales. In consequence, despite the importance of the contemporary global flows, interventions at smaller scales are still logical. State intervention may respond to tensions at any scale Gough (2006).

Gough (2006) argues that power relations are crucial to the spatial arrangements of capitalism. The power relations are between capital and labour, between different sections of labour and different fractions of capital. The spatiality and scaling of these social relations are integral and essential parts of their operation. Therefore, Gough argues that the changes of scale in political-economic processes are often 'linked to changes in class relations, articulated by particular class projects, and developed through class struggle' (2004, p. 185). All scalar changes have been constructed by, and in return re-create, shifts in class relations. However, he adds there is not a direct and simple relationship between scale change and class relations. Therefore, a particular change in scale in a particular time might have many possible class implications

Gough makes a distinction between coercive and cooperative aspects of relations between capital and labour. The first is reinforced by neoliberal strategies, the second by social democratic strategies. He suggests the Marxist literature about rescaling tends to focus only on the coercive relationship of capital to labour. Starting from Harvey's early work, and followed by Smith (1992) and others, Harvey pictures capital actively organising the relationships between different spatial scales in order to disable and fragment labour. However, as Cox (1997) shows, local dependencies may lead to the rise of new arrangements within which labour corporations and welfare play a significant role. Therefore, a purely neo-liberal localism is not an accurate description. An adequate analysis of rescaling

needs to include both the disciplinary and the cooperative side of capital-labour relations within the production and re-production nexus (Gough, 2004, p. 191).

4.4 My Approach to Theorising the State

In section 4.2 I examined different Marxist theories of the state, and in section 4.3 I considered the application of two of them to state rescaling. In this section I use this discussion of different theories to arrive at my approach to the state, which combines elements and insights from the different theories. I do this by considering four questions or problems which run through Marxist theorisations of the state:

- the relation between the state and particular capitals (firms, sectors, fractions of capital);
- the relation between the state and capital as a whole or capital accumulation as a whole;
- the role of the state in the reproduction of people and labour power;
- how class struggle between capital and labour is reflected in the state.

These provide different, essential insights into the state. The correspondence between these questions and the different theories of the state considered in section 4.2 is shown roughly in Table 4-1. . As I suggested at the outset, this is not a comprehensive and systematic examination of Marxist state theory, which would take a book; nor do I select one of these theories to adopt, nor develop a new, comprehensive Marxist theory of the state. Rather, I use the exploration of different theories to arrive at my approach to the state, which combines elements and insights from the different theories (section 4.4). My approach is in this sense eclectic and I follow the problems or questions running through Marxist theorisations of the state:

Table 4-1 Marxist theories of the state, and four aspects of the state-society relation

Name of the theory	Individual Capitals	Capital as a class	State relation about the reproduction of labour power	Class Struggle
Instrumentalist Approach				
Miliband	X			
Structuralist theory of the State				
Political Structuralism (Poulantzas)		X		
Economic Structuralism				
Derivationist Theory (Altvater)		X		
Derivationist Theory (Hirsch)		X		X
System Theory Analyses (Offe)		X	X	X
Regulation tradition				
Regulation Approach		X	X	
Antonio Gramsci	X			X
Strategic Relational Approach	X	X	X	
Open Marxist				
Open Marxist Approach				X

The first question is the relationship between different fractions of capital and the state. The Instrumentalist approach suggests that the state is captured by people with a personal interest in business or sympathetic to it. State power is used as an instrument of the ruling class through their domination in the strategic positions of the state. Other theories highlighting the importance of the different fractions of capital are Gramsci's and the Strategic Relational approach. Both give importance to the role of the individual capitalist in relation to state. For Gramsci,

different fractions of capital have to be united in order to establish hegemony and take the control of the state, because the fragmentation of capital does not allow any individual capitalist to capture the state. This means, however, that the state can be dominated by particular fractions of capital and not others. On the other hand, the Strategic Relational approach sees the state as an area of political struggle between different social forces. I therefore believe that individual manifestations of capital (fractions, sectors, individual firms) can significantly influence state policies and actions.

The state has also supported the capitalist class as a whole. This theme is highlighted by all the Structuralist perspectives. Political Structuralism emphasises the role of the state in the political unity of society, and suggests the state functions as, 'a factor of cohesion', because of the contradictory nature of the capitalist system. For the working class, the state acts as the representative of the legally equal citizens, preventing them from organising around class struggle. On the other hand, the state organises the capitalists in order to act as a class. Economic structuralist approaches emphasise different roles of the state in relation to the capitalist class as a whole. Because of internal contradictions of capitalism, the system cannot produce the conditions to maintain capitalism; therefore, the state is needed to resolve these contradictions in the favour of the capitalist class as a whole. Altvater suggests the state works as an ideal collectivist capitalist and provides the conditions for the maintenance of the capitalist economy, such as infrastructure and the legal system. Hirsch suggests that the state mitigates class struggle in the favour of the capitalist class. In the Systems Theory approach, Offe suggests the state has to intervene in society and in the economy to establish and maintain the labour market.

The Regulation Approach and the Strategic Relational Approach emphasise the role of social and political systems in relation to capital accumulation. These approaches suggest that the reproduction of the capitalist system as a whole, despite its internal contradictions, is only possible through the mode of regulation, political, cultural and social organisations; this supports and maintains the regime

of accumulation. The instability of the capitalist system is temporarily maintained in a given economy by social and political organisation.

I accept that in these varied ways the state acts in the interests of capital as a whole, rather than merely in the interests of particular capitals. The state provides political cohesion by rendering workers as citizens. It organises relations between individual sectors of capital, and provides infrastructures, to maintain a coherent economy. It provides a legal system for the regulation of relations between different capitals.

The importance of the state for the reproduction of labour power is highlighted particularly by Systems Theory, Regulation and Strategic Relational approaches. Systems Theory analyses explain the reproduction of labour by linking it to the general maintenance function of the state. In order to maintain the labour market, the state can use both coercive power and social policies such as social security, health care and housing. The Regulation and Strategic Relational approaches on the other hand explain the role of the state in the reproduction of labour power as a part of the mode of regulation of the Keynesian welfare period. As a part of the transition from the Fordist to post-Fordist regime, the role of the state in reproduction of labour decreased. However, for the maintenance of the capitalist system, labour power still has to be reproduced and the state still has a crucial role in the reproduction of labour power. In my view, then, the state has a vital role in the reproduction of labour power.

The final theme is class struggle: the working class can struggle against capital and the state. Therefore, the state is involved in class struggle. Hirsh and Offe highlighted the role of the state in mitigating class struggle in the favour of capital. Gramsci on the other hand, did not accept the ability of the ruling classes to impose their beliefs and values, and suggested in order to remain in power the ruling class and the state have to compromise with subordinate classes. Historic blocs of social forces are formed partly in order to exercise leadership over the working class. The Open Marxist approach gives an essential role to the class struggle. It suggests the state does not emerge out of the needs of capital but out

of class struggle. In order to reproduce itself capital has to reproduce the working class, and therefore inevitably reproduces class struggle. All policies and actions of the state internalise class struggle. I therefore accept that the state plays an important role in struggles between capital and labour, and those policies and actions of the state reflect not simply the interests of capital but the power or potential power of the working class.

To summarise my view of the state: due to the many internal contradictions of capitalism, the state is needed to intervene to support capital accumulation. Moreover, the reproduction of labour power is expensive and not always profitable for the capitalist class, a vital problem for the maintenance of the system. Therefore, the state provides many of the necessary conditions for the reproduction process, such as public services and housing. The working class as the source of surplus value has a permanent influence on state policies, and all the activities of the state are related to class struggle. Finally, capital accumulation is organised by individual capitalists who therefore have the potential to influence state policies in their individual interest.

4.5 Linking my theorisation of the state to the Turkish case

In relation to these four aspects of the state and how these aspects have been reflected in Turkey, Chapter 7 provides a comprehensive historical analysis of these four aspects in relation to the state and the economy as well as urbanisation and housing.

4.5.1 How these Four Aspects of the State Have Been Reflected in Turkey Since 1980

In relation to the power of individual types of capital, in Turkey since the 1980s property and finance capital have become the dominant power bloc with the strong support of the state (see further Sections 7.3 and 7.4). Especially since 2002 the state has needed to restructure the finance system in the wake of the banking crisis in 2001 in order to encourage the import of capital from abroad and to support the construction sector in particular (Section 7.4). With the support of the

state, the construction firms internationalised and now they operate in many countries.

In terms of the relationship between the state and capital as a whole, since the beginning of the Republic the level of the domestic capital accumulation has always been problematic, therefore, the state wanted to establish national capital and supported capital accumulation through different strategies such as Import Substitution Industrialisation (Section 7.2) and Export Oriented Industrialisation (Section 7.3). In each of these different strategies, the state supported the capitalist class as a whole.

After the 2001 economic crisis, the banking system has been reorganised in order to convince international capital to invest in Turkey. The governments implemented a neoliberal program with IMF and WB policy frameworks implemented. The new economic strategies were decreasing of public spending, and to privatise public enterprises and public services (Section 7.4). With the rise of the finance and business services sectors, the state has undertaken programmes to radically restructure cities. These are large scale restructuring projects which intervene in nearly the whole of the built environment of cities (Section 7.4. and Section 8.4) In these varied ways, then, in Turkey state has sought to support the capitalist class as a whole. In particular, it has sought to organise the financial and spatial relationships between capital to make a more coherent basis for capital accumulation (Section 7.5.1 and Section 8.4.3)

The reproduction of labour power in Turkey has been problematic under the conditions of increasing population and mass rural-urban migration. The main services such as housing and transportation could not be provided by the state to the working class (Section 7.2; Section 7.3; Section 8.2; Section 8.3). Especially after the 1980s Turkey integrated to the world market based on the advantage of low labour costs, with the oppression of the trade unions the real income of the working class decreased dramatically (Section 7.4.1 and 7.4.2). The social policies of the state became a necessity in order to keep workers as usable labour power and since the 1980s housing policies have been used a way of compensating the

working class for their losses in production (7.4.2.4). After the restructuring of the banking system in 2002, the city restructuring programs enter a new stage with increase of the finan sector, a housing credit system was established, and, with decreasing real interest rates, housing credit was utilised by a larger percentage of the population (Section 7.5.1) Alongside this intervention, gecekondu construction started to be counted as a criminal act. The state stopped legalisation of the gecekondu land, and state credit support to cooperative construction stopped. In this way the state wants to integrate all wage earners into the housing loan system. With this logic, the state started a multi-level intervention in the gecekondu neighbourhoods. This aims to redevelop the massive gecekondu neighbourhoods by accepting already legalised gecekondu owners as beneficiaries from the projects (7.5.1). In this way the state has helped the reproduction of the working class through housing provision and various housing subsidies, reproducing their labour power at a materially higher level. This has integrated the gecekondu residents in a new commodity consumption level, such as consumption of new furniture and capitalist services introduced with the new flats. This new consumption in turn contributes to capital accumulation in consumer goods and services (Section 7.5.2).

The new organisation of working class housing can also have been seen in terms of class struggle. The state not only represses the working class (in production) but also incorporates them (in housing provision). The state seeks to ideologically incorporate the working class by giving the gecekondu owners modern flats and encouraging a more private, less collective, mode of daily life and domestic work than existed in the gecekondu neighbourhoods. In these ways, the state's housing programmes reflect class struggle (7.4.4).

The four aspects of the state which I outlined above can therefore be seen in the history of Turkey, and in particular in the policies and interventions of the current governments since 2002. This theorisation of the state's role is further elaborated and detailed in Part 3 of the thesis.

4.5.2 The Rescaling of the State in Relation to the Thesis

In Turkey, the restructuring of political economy after the 1980s has led to a centralisation of power and an increase in the importance of central state activities in relation to restructuring cities and working class housing. The setting up and enormous expansion of the MHA made the national state a major actor in housing production and in the redevelopment of cities (Section 7.3.1; Section 7.5.1).

Moreover, after the 1980s, the comprehensive restructuring of cities necessitated a new level of local government, the Metropolitan Municipalities. Some of the municipal functions which were previously carried out by the District Municipalities were transferred to the Metropolitan Municipalities (Section 7.5.1.2). This enabled them to coordinate development in space across a much larger territory. The District Municipalities did not become irrelevant, but there is an overall shift upwards in scales of the state (Section 7.5.1)

This pattern of upward rescaling of the state is the opposite of what many urban academics have assumed is the dominant pattern worldwide, namely downward rescaling from the national state to regional and local levels of the state. It is very different, for example, from the downward scaling of government in Germany that Brenner (2004) used as his main case study (and which is often mistakenly supposed to be universal). This difference may be understood through the Open Marxist theorisation of state rescaling outlined in section 4.3. State rescaling is powered by the changing spatial patterns of capital accumulation, by the forms of reproduction of labour power, and by class struggle. This theoretical approach enables us to suggest some elements of explanation of the Turkish case (Section 7.5.1).

First, the last three decades have seen the radical reordering and growth of banking and business services in Turkey, which are concentrated in the centres of big cities, and which have led to a large increase in professional workers living in inner city areas (Section 7.5.2). This change has required a massive restructuring

of the built environment of these cities, including new transport infrastructures. This was accomplished through setting up the Metropolitan Municipalities and through interventions by national government; only these bodies had the large resources and the territorial sweep necessary for city restructuring (Section 7.5.1). Secondly, governments since the 1990s have sought to end *gecekondu* living and house the working class in formal, capitalist-built housing. This is seen as providing a materially higher standard of living and also providing large contracts for large construction companies. The programmes to build new working class housing have required a major input from the MHA, from the Metropolitan Municipalities, as well as some role for District Municipalities. Again, the enormous scale of the redevelopment of the *gecekondu*s has required higher spatial scales of the state to lead the programmes. The District Municipalities did not have the resources, legal powers or expertise. Note that the wholesale restructuring of cities and working class housing in Turkey in the last thirty years has no parallel in the MDCs. So it is not surprising that state rescaling has been very different in Turkey from the MDCs (Section 7.5.1 and Section 8.4.3).

Thirdly, state scalar change has also been powered by the JDP government's project to change class relations. We noted in section 4.3 that new local policies and interventions may not be only class-disciplinary but may also be class-cooperative, and that these class relations may extend across both production and reproduction spheres. This combination of class relations within local politics has been the case in Turkey. *Gecekondu* housing is outside of normal capitalist relations of land ownership and building. The elimination of the *gecekondu*s was partly aimed at subjecting working class residents to the rule of money and law (Clarke, 1991; Das, 2006). Since the 1980s workers in employment have been subjected to greatly increased disciplinary power of capital and the state. The JDP, however, sought to legitimise its rule with at least a portion of the urban working class by providing a higher material standard of housing combined with new social and cultural facilities in the neighbourhoods, based partly on Islamic notions of charity. At the same time, the demolition of the *gecekondu*s destroyed strongly collective aspects of social life, and the new housing has tended to privatise and

isolate residents from each other, thus serving neoliberal ends (Section 7.5.1 and Section 8.4.3).

We may thus start to explain the upward scaling of state structures in Turkey, particularly those associated with cities, through an Open Marxist approach to the state. This may help to explain why the pattern of state rescaling has been so different in Turkey from that in most MDCs. In Part 3 of the thesis I shall develop this analysis of state rescaling in more detail (Section 7.5.1 and Section 8.4.3).

PART 3. RESEARCH AIM, QUESTIONS AND METHODS

Chapter 5. Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

5.1 Introduction

Different levels of state agencies have implemented different urban redevelopment projects across Ankara since the 1980s. Since 2002 state intervention in the gecekondu neighbourhoods has evolved and entered a new stage. These redevelopment projects are important because, based on the 2007 Ankara development plan, in total the planned areas of Ankara are around 80,000 hectares, and 31,235 hectares have been declared as Redevelopment Areas by Ankara Great Municipality. Based on these figures 39% of Ankara's built environment has been declared as redevelopment areas. Although not all of these areas are gecekondu areas, the gecekondu neighbourhoods represent 30% of total housing and 27.5% of the population live in them. In other words, approximately 1.2 million people lived in gecekondu (Ankara Municipality 2007, p.84). Contemporary state intervention in the gecekondu neighbourhoods targets nearly 30 % of the built environment and population of Ankara.

There is not a comprehensive theoretical explanation, state intervention in working class housing in Ankara through redevelopment projects. First of all, these interventions target housing production for different income groups, not only the upper and middle classes (5.3). Secondly, the redevelopment projects, especially the IDP projects, legalise informal housing, meaning the gecekondu residents are not necessarily forcibly displaced, as many contemporary researchers seem to suggest. Thirdly, more recent interventions, in the form of Urban Transformation Projects, accept the ownership of previously legalised gecekondu land; therefore, the recent UTP projects do not lead to displacement of the whole of the existing population. Finally, for projects which are aiming to reconstruct 40% of the existing city and 30% of the population, we need a

theoretical framework to explain these processes in the context of Turkey, through the different class forces involved in these processes.

5.2 Research Aim and Objectives

The overarching aim of the research is to understand these enormous processes of building and rebuilding with strong state involvement, targeting squatter housing neighbourhoods under the JDP government, whilst also considering the effects of redevelopment processes on the residents of squatter settlements in Ankara, Turkey.

5.3 Research Objectives

- 1) This research aims to investigate theoretically the structure of cities, the development of the built environment and of working class housing specifically, and the theory of the state's relationship to capital and class. These theorisations are within the Marxist tradition.
- 2) To give a theorised history of housing in Turkey and Ankara related to the political-economic period in Turkey. This is necessary in order to understand how housing production has changed in recent times, and also the nature of the previously existing housing stock.
- 3) To research and analyse case studies in the Altindag and the New Mamak neighbourhoods: the benefits for property capital, the advantages and disadvantages for the different groups of residents, and the opportunities and problems for different levels of the state. On this basis to understand the reaction of the residents to the redevelopment projects, and the impact of residents' demands on the projects.
- 4) To interpret the case studies, and more generally the intervention of the governments after 2000 in working class housing. To theorise the role of the state,

including its different spatial scales, in relation to class struggle, capital accumulation and the reproduction of labour power. Whilst Objective 3 describes the interests of different social actors and the outcomes for them, Objective 4 seeks a deeper theorisation of the redevelopments.

5.4 Research Questions

These objectives are realised through the following research questions, which specify the kinds of secondary and primary data that need to be collected:

- 1) How has the political economy of Turkey evolved since the early 20th century, and how has the housing of working class people been produced through this evolution, especially since 1950?

In order to understand the current situation of housing of working class people and the redevelopment of the squatter settlement, we need to understand the historical roots of the problem and the evolution of housing production in Turkey since the beginning of the Republic. This includes the changing nature of the construction sector.

There is considerable research on the history of housing production and policies in Turkey. Scholars tend to explain the development of housing policies by distinguishing between three periods on the basis of the general economic and political structure of Turkey. In this thesis I expand the political economic periods and start with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, this allows me to explain the establishment of the capitalist class, and thus give a better explanation of the evolution of the political economy of Turkey. The periods I identify to this end are: the Early Republic to 1945; import substitution industrialisation 1945-1980; the neoliberal transition of Turkey's Economy 1980-2001; and the Justice and Development Party (JDP) period 2002-2017. In all of these periods the housing of the working class has been problematic. Rural-urban migration started in the 1950s, and until the 1980s housing was mainly provided by small scale producers

and self-produced gecekondus. There was not any state housing provision in general. Mass housing production started in the 1980s and aimed to redevelop self-produced gecekondus areas.

A long term historical approach to the evolution of housing provision matters because of theoretical and practical reasons in contemporary Turkey. The production of the built environment and housing has been undertaken within a particular social relation (Section 2.4). These social relationships of housing provision are historically and geographically specific, taking different forms in different countries and at different times (Section 3.4; Section 3.5; Section 3.6 and Section 3.7). The consumption of working class housing is also specific in time and country. In order to understand production of working class housing in any particular time and space, we need to understand the historically and geographically specific features of housing production and its change over decades. Moreover, these social relationships and therefore the housing itself are very durable. Housing stock changes over decades (Section 3.3.1). Finally, this thesis adapts a Marxist analysis of housing provision, in which historical analyses of these social relationships are essential. Therefore, in my theoretical framework I put the housing problem of the working class at the centre of the spheres of production and reproduction, and argue that housing for working class people should be analysed as a part of this totality. The theoretical explanations of these elements are detailed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

Moreover, as we can see in Chapter 8, Chapter 9 and Chapter 10, the models of housing provision in Turkey have been historically accumulated. Therefore, we can see gecekondus next to an area redeveloped through Improvement and Development Plans, and all these neighbourhoods can be the subject of Urban and Development Plans by the central state housing organisation, Mass Housing Agency (MHA), or by the Metropolitan Municipality. The three case studies have been chosen to show this evolution of housing provision and therefore a long historical analysis of housing provision within the context of the production, reproduction of labour power and state has been provided.

- 2) What were the plans for and stages of the redevelopment of the gecekondu in Ankara?

The redevelopment of the squatter housing is not a single intervention: there have been different types of intervention from district municipalities to central state agencies (MHA). Therefore, the evolution of the interventions is examined in Ankara, including the contemporary stage of the redevelopment projects under the JDP. The IDP and UTP implemented by the Metropolitan and District Municipalities are the main strategies in Ankara. The number and the size of the all redevelopment projects in Ankara is investigated.

While chapter 7 provides this analysis of Turkey in relation to the theoretical elements from Part 1, chapter 8 gives this at the city level. For the history of the built environment in Ankara since the 1920s, I used the academic literature about planning history within each of Turkey's political economic periods. The history of planning is supported with statistics about the production of the built environment and housing in Ankara and I also utilised available quantitative data about the redevelopment projects in Ankara.

- 3) In the two case study areas, what was the design of the redevelopment process by the state? What were the procedures for its implementation? What were the financial arrangements for the residents, property companies and the municipality itself? What were the rights of the residents? How was the programme implemented over time? What changes were made during the implementation, and why? What have been the built environment outcomes to date?

These questions seek to provide a comprehensive picture of the legal, administrative, property and built environment structure of the programmes.

- 4) In the two case study areas, what have been the benefits and problems of these redevelopment projects for property capital?

While the redevelopment programmes were organised by levels of the state, all the new housing was built by builders; the state did not itself undertake building, nor own the new housing. Construction capital was therefore a key actor. What types and sizes of builders were involved? What were the financial arrangements for the building companies, what did they provide to residents, and at what prices? The outcomes of the IDPs and UTPs for different types of property capital are different; how did the advantages and disadvantages for property capital change between the different models?

- 5) In the two case study areas, what have been the advantages and disadvantages for different groups of residents, the political reactions of the residents, and the impacts of these on the implementation of the projects?

The outcome of the redevelopment projects for residents is investigated according to different groups of residents. This distinguishes between the different tenures of residents in the gecekondu: owners and the tenants. The redevelopments have been much more advantageous for the owners than the tenants: while some of the owners get houses in the project area, the tenants are mostly displaced. The housing and neighbourhood outcomes for residents are investigated. Who were the winners and the losers of the process? What were the good and bad features of life in the gecekondu neighbourhoods, both material and social, and the good and bad features of the new housing blocks and neighbourhoods?

The reaction of the residents to the IDP projects was mostly positive, while in the UTP areas there has been organised opposition to the redevelopment. Due to the organised opposition, the condition of the UTP projects has changed and the Metropolitan Municipality has compromised on its original aims.

- 6) What is the relationship between Turkish property capital, the working class and the state in relation to housing under the JDP government?

This is a specifically theoretical question. What was the relationship between property capital, the working class and the state in the redevelopment of gecekondus since 2000s? How did this reflect the changing economy and class relations in the period? How did it reflect the specific political-class project of the JDP? Was this a neoliberal project or something else?

5.5 Selection Criteria for the Case Study Neighbourhoods

Since the 1980s there have been many projects applying the IDP model to the squatter neighbourhoods in Ankara. These projects were partly implemented but did not stop construction of new gecekondus. While the district municipalities have continued to implement IDP model redevelopment since 2004, the volume and the number of UTP projects implemented by the Metropolitan Municipality increased dramatically. The urban redevelopment process is complex, with many different national and local state agencies implementing different projects in Ankara.

I chose three of these redevelopment projects to study in order to be able to examine them in depth. In choosing the case study areas I considered three criteria: location of the redevelopment, the model of redevelopment having different ownership patterns (owners and tenants). These three projects show the evolution of housing production and redevelopment for the working class in Turkey.

5.5.1 Location of Redevelopment

First of all, I chose gecekondu neighbourhoods in the urban periphery (Figure 5-1). There are several reasons for that. Historically, most of the gecekondu neighbourhoods have been located in the periphery. Secondly, the central gecekondu neighbourhoods were mostly redeveloped in the 80s and 90s through IDPs; more recent redevelopment projects predominantly target the urban periphery. What is more, the central city redevelopment projects have been studied by many researchers, mostly in Istanbul but also in Ankara. There is not, however, enough explanatory research on redevelopment at Ankara's urban

periphery. As such, the peripheral redevelopment and its results provide me with a useful context from which to consider overall housing provision for the working class in Turkey. Moreover, Altindag and Mamak have highest level of gecekondu number in Ankara, and therefore have been subject of the massive redevelopment projects since 2004 (Section 8.4.3).

5.5.2 The type of redevelopment project

In order to explain the mode of redevelopment and housing provision after 2000, I choose 2 different model of redevelopment, IDP and UTP. IDP project is in Altindag District, UTP project is in Mamak District.

5.5.2.1 Improvement and Development Plans

Since the IDP has been used as a major way of intervening in Ankara's squatter housing, investigating the IDP is essential to understanding the evolution of working class housing there. IDPs were implemented in 188 neighbourhoods across six district municipalities in Ankara between the years 1983 and 1996. Due to the number of projects, their scope, and the dates they were mostly implemented, it is not possible to analyse all of them. IDPs sought the fast and significant redevelopment of all the gecekondu areas. The IDP model was based on demolishing the existing gecekondu and allocating plots from previous gecekondu areas for building new apartments: 1/5000 development plans were made by Ankara Greater Municipality and 1/1000 scale development plans were made by local municipalities. The rebuilding process was carried out by private developers. Therefore, the IDPs were implemented rapidly in neighbourhoods in advantageous locations, such as those close to main roads and the city centre. In less advantageous neighbourhoods, however, the IDPs were not implemented (8.3.2). Many IDP areas in Altindag are in this last category, despite having IDPs since the 1980s, many redevelopment projects only started after 2004. Therefore, I chose Altindag neighbourhood as an example of an IDP (for its location see Figure 5.1).

Altindag is the oldest district of Ankara, with a population of around 365,000 and an area of 15,847 hectares. The Altındağ District municipality (Figures 5-1) was established in 1953. The first gecekondu neighbourhoods in Ankara were built here, in the areas close to the historical centre and castle, and the first research about gecekondus was conducted in these neighbourhoods. For decades, Altındağ continued to have the highest number of gecekondu, being 25th in the list of the world's 30 mega slums, with around 400,000 people living in slums (Davis, 2007, p. 27).

Since 2004, state intervention in the gecekondu neighbourhoods through IDPs has evolved and entered a new stage. In Altindag only 30% of built up areas were formally constructed, but since 2004 new zoning plans have been prepared for 98% of the built up areas. This remains an ongoing process and not all the zoning and development plans have been implemented yet. Nevertheless, between 2004 and 2016 the number of formally constructed buildings increased from 30 to 62% percent. The number of buildings in Altındağ is now 166,000 and still only 104,000 of these buildings have construction permits (Altındağ Belediyesi, 2016). Moreover, there are both gecekondu owners and tenants in the project area. Therefore, I used Altindag neighbourhood as a case study area for IDP projects.

5.5.2.2 Urban Transformation Projects

Since 2005 we have seen an increase in the power of metropolitan municipalities and multi-level interventions, which have led to increased urban densities at the urban core and large redevelopment projects at the periphery. The main difference between the contemporary period and the previous one, however, is the lack of legalisation of informality, and the redevelopment of whole neighbourhoods rather than individual parcels. Moreover, the policy of giving state land to the poor was abandoned and a new housing finance model introduced. These UTP areas cover 40% of Ankara and target both previous non-redeveloped IDP areas and other squatter settlements. Although the central UTP

projects have been studied (Dündar, 2001a; Güzey, 2009), those at the periphery have not (8.4.3).



Figure 5-1: The selected Urban Redevelopment Areas in Ankara. Source: Google Maps, 2017

Mamak District is one of the central districts of Ankara with an area of 308 km² (Figure 5-1). The Mamak Municipality was established in 1983. The population of Mamak was 431,000 in 2000, and had increased to 637,000 in 2017. Mamak is one of the oldest Gecekondu neighbourhoods in Ankara; being geographically unfavourable for housing development and having the advantage of the suburban train, it had been a gecekondu suburban zone since the 1940s (Section 8.1.2; Mamak Belediyesi 2008; Turkish Statistical Institution, 2017).

There have been several interventions in the gecekondu neighbourhoods in Mamak since the 1950s. Being geographically and topologically unfavourable for

high-rise construction, the different Improvement and Development Plans could not be effective in many of Mamak's neighbourhoods. However, similar to other districts of Ankara, since 2005 there have been large scale redevelopment projects. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has implemented 4 different redevelopment projects in Mamak District, the total area of these projects being 6,809 hectares. After several interventions in 2005, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality started the 'New Mamak Urban Transformation Plan' based on article 73 of the Municipal Law (No: 5393, in 2005). The New Mamak redevelopment area is a former IDP area that could not be redeveloped through the IDPs due to fragmented ownership and the high percentage of uninhabitable land. When the project first started in 2005, it included 14 neighbourhoods and 56,000 people. Being one of the biggest projects and an example of the new strategic policy of UTP, the New Mamak Project is chosen as a case study area. Moreover, there are also different ownership patterns, title holders and non-title holders.

5.5.2.3 Kusunlar Housing Development Project

Kusunlar is a housing development zone for low income groups and it has been chosen because of being a part of the New Mamak Project. A third of the residents of Kusunlar are displaced people from the New Mamak Project Area. The rest of the residents bought the houses because they were cheap. After the resistance of the residents, the Ankara Municipality gave flats to residents without any title deeds in Kusunlar. As a result, 1,303 residents from the New Mamak project, 6 residents from the Dikmen Valley project, and 65 from the other redevelopment project areas have moved to Kusunlar. There are 4,232 housing units in Kusunlar; 1,374 of them were built by Ankara Great Municipality for the displaced population, 1,482 housing units were built by MHA for low income groups and 1,376 of them were built by the governorship (Mamak Municipality, 2016). The Kusunlar Housing Zone is 16 km from the city centre. The housing development plans were prepared in 2008 and construction finished in 2012 (Aslan and Güzey, 2015).

Within this thesis, Kusunlar project represents the most contemporary way of housing provision for low income groups. It clearly shows the changed strategies of the different levels of state agencies in formalisation of low income housing. The legalisation of gecekondus from the 1960s was replaced by the clearance and construction of formal flats through integration in housing credit. Therefore, these three case studies do not only show the contemporary interventions of the different state agencies, but also show the evolution of the housing formalisation process since the 1980s. In contemporary Ankara all these models are actively used by different levels of state agencies.

Table 5.1: Summary of Selection Criteria

	The reason of Intervention	Type of intervention	Location of development	Tenure structure
Altindag	High level of gecekondu housing	Improvement and Development Plan	Urban Periphery	Title holders and non-title holders
The New Mamak	High level of gecekondu housing	Urban Transformation Project	Urban Periphery	Title holders and non-title holders
Kusunlar	Housing production	Housing Development for low income group (as a part of UTP)	Urban Periphery	Non-title holders

Chapter 6. Research Methods, Data Collected and Methods of Analysis

6.1 Qualitative Research Methods

Housing is not a simple commodity like a table, it is a highly complex commodity, whose production and consumption operates through highly complex social relationships. Therefore I investigate these complex social relationships. For example the production of gecekondu housing is directly related to social relationships between people, relatives and neighbours. In order to understand the production of gecekondu housing we need to understand these social relationships and the political economic context which shapes them. Similarly, to understand the redevelopment of gecekondu, we need to understand the social relationships as well as the changes of the political economic context of Turkey. Therefore I did interviews with the key actors with the analyses of historical changes of political economic changes.

The overarching aim of the research is to understand the enormous processes of building and rebuilding with strong state involvement targeting squatter housing neighbourhoods since 2000s, as well as to consider the effects of redevelopment processes on the residents of squatter settlements in Ankara, Turkey. In order to achieve this aim and objective, I have 6 research questions, each rely on collecting different types of data. As such, I consider the methods used to obtain secondary and primary data separately for the different research questions (Table 6-1).

In order to achieve this, firstly I did a historical analysis of housing provision in Turkey and in Ankara. The reason for this long term historical analysis is the contemporary housing provisions and the different modes of interventions to informal housing are historically accumulated. The formation of gecekondu, the first legalisations of gecekondu in big cities, and then the intervention with different redevelopment models (Improvement and Development Plans and Urban Transformation Plans), are all historically accumulated. These different models of housing provision and different formalisations of working class housing

are integrated and can be seen in contemporary Ankara next to each other. Secondly, as discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, the production of housing and the built environment are not separated from the overall economy and state. Therefore, we cannot understand the current formalisation process without long term explanation and evaluation of housing production in Turkey (Chapter 7).

After the analysing the long-term of evolution of housing production and formalisation process in Nationwide and city-wide (Ankara), the contemporary models of redevelopment investigated in Altindag and Mamak Districts (Section 5.5).

6.2 Qualitative Methods and the Fieldwork Timetable

6.2.1. Method 1 Document and Official statistics

Where they are available, documents and official statistics have been used to explain and investigate the housing problems of the working class in a historical context and in a theoretical framework described in Part 1 of the thesis. However, the redevelopment projects are being implemented by different agencies and there is not available quantitative data about most of them. Even the list of the redevelopment projects in Ankara had to be compiled by the researcher, because most of the projects have not started yet. As a result, the relevant agencies either do not have quantitative data on these projects, or they do not share this before the projects have been officially approved. Therefore, the main data collection methods have been quantitative method; semi structured interviews and focus groups.

May (2011, p. 175) suggests documents can be used “as a means of enhancing understanding in case studies through the ability to situate contemporary accounts within an historical context.” Therefore, the documents provided a historical evaluation of housing provision in Turkey as well as different modes of interventions by the state in working class housing. There have been two levels of analyses from the academic literature and official documents, the first level of analysis puts the working class housing in the context of production (economy),

reproduction of labour power (social life), built environment and state; these elements came from chapters two, three and four. Therefore, in chapter 7 the economic policies and economic history of Turkey was investigated with a particular focus on housing since the beginning of the 20th century.

In the second level of analysis I use official documents and academic literature to analyse the urbanisation of Ankara based on this framework. The history of planning is supported with statistics about the production of the built environment and housing in Ankara. In Section 7.5 the analysis focuses on two main theoretical points, namely the increase in the production of the built environment through financialization (Section 7.5.2 and Section 7.5.3) and rescaling the state (Section 7.5.1).

National and City Level

-This consists of academic literature, official documents, and policy documents on the economic history and the evolution of the different classes in Turkey, and the history of housing and housing policy. I also used media reports from national newspapers and magazines.

-Ankara Metropolitan Plan Reports and Ankara Municipality Strategic Plan Reports; Mass Housing Agency Housing Reports; reports from the Chamber of Urban Planners and Chamber of Architects; legislative documents on urban redevelopment programs; and politicians' speeches.

Municipal level

-The Municipality Plan Reports from Mamak Municipality, Altindag Municipality and Ankara Greater Municipality. These included the New Mamak Redevelopment Project Report and Presentations and the Municipality Strategic Plan Reports.

(b) Reports from the Chamber of Urban Planners and Chamber of Architects on Ankara

(c) Media reports from international and national sources, and local sources such as the Housing Right Group magazine.

These documents were supplemented by interviews with state and non-state professionals:

Since the written documents have limited information, I also consulted available data about the redevelopment projects in Ankara (Appendix 6). I compiled a full list of these projects from data that I obtained from the municipality and officials in Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. This builds for the first time a complete picture of the massive but fragmented redevelopment of Ankara currently taking place. Based on the documents and the data that I collected from Ankara Municipality I chose the Altindag and Mamak as the case study areas.

6.2.2. Method 2 Semi structured Interview

In semi structured interviews the questions are normally specified but the interviewer is free to go beyond the answers and can ask for more 'clarification and elaboration' on the answer given. This enables the interviewer to enter a dialogue with participants (May, 2011, p. 123). This was useful since the information about the redevelopment process was not clear. I discovered and learnt many details about the projects during the interviews, such as the implementation details of the different projects in different localities. Therefore, interviews were a suitable technique to investigate the research questions, especially two, three, four and five.

The flexibility of the semi structured interviews was suited to the study of the process of redevelopment from the perspectives of several actors. The semi structured interview also allows one to collect a diversity of meanings, opinions and experience, and provides insight into differing debates within a group (Cope and Hay, 2010, p. 102). Since the gecekondu residents are affected differently by the redevelopment projects the semi structured interview allowed the revelation of differences between the projects for different resident groups. Therefore, this technique was suited to the investigation of research questions 4 and 5, which

focus on the benefits for property capital, the advantages and disadvantages for the different groups of residents, and the opportunities and problems for different levels of the state (Section 5.4).

Bryman (2012) suggests that semi-structured interviews provide the advantage of allowing the participant to talk about their experiences in their own way, and enabling interviewers to address sensitive issues. Since the political economic change of housing of the poor in Turkey impacts the everyday life of inhabitants, the interviews also seek to understand this impact through investigating how daily life changed in the different modes of housing. Thus, the interviews can also be used to counter dominant discourses, by seeking out the opinions of 'marginalised' groups whose opinions are rarely heard (Cope and Hay, 2010, p. 103). This allowed the researcher to reach vulnerable groups such as displaced populations and non-title owners.

Semi structured interviews with officials were made in order to clarify the redevelopment process; the questions seek to provide a comprehensive picture of the legal, administrative, property and built environment structure of the programmes (Appendix 7). I did two interview with officials in Altindag Municipality, one of them was manager of a social facility in the neighbourhoods, other was local elected muhtar. The manager of urbanisation of the municipality did not accept the interview but he/she answer some of the technical questions about the projects.

-The next three research questions concern the three case studies in two districts Altindag and Mamak. There has been very little published by the District Municipalities about the implementation and outcomes of these projects. The Municipalities have not monitored the experience of residents, nor produced any evaluations of the projects. Accordingly, in addition to using the Municipalities' published documents; I have used media reports and interviews with state officers and property companies, and, most importantly, interviews and focus groups with residents.

Staff in Altindag Municipality, Mamak Municipality, and Ankara Greater Municipality. I conducted an interview with a manager in Ankara Greater Municipality. In Altindag Municipality, I had a chance to talk with the officials, but it was not in a formal semi-structured interview, rather he/she answered some technical question about the redevelopment programs. I conducted two interviews in Mamak Municipality; one of them was with civil servants in the planning department, the other with a council member for the Republican Party. Similar to Ankara Municipality, Mamak Municipality is under the control of the JDP. Although I asked more municipal staff for interviews in Altindag Municipality and in the Metropolitan Municipality, they refused the invitation or said they don't have about redevelopment programs (Appendix 3 and 4).

- I had an interview with the representative of the Chambers of Urban Planners and a representative of the Housing Rights Group.

- I investigated this question through semi-structured interviews and focus groups with gecekondü residents. As I described in Chapter 5, there were two groups of residents, owners and tenants, whose experiences were very different.

(a) In Altindag, I conducted 25 interviews with residents. I interviewed 20 men and 5 women, comprising 22 gecekondü owners and three tenants (Appendix 3).

(b) In New Mamak I interviewed 20 owners who moved to new flats; of these interviews three were with women (Appendix 4). I had 15 interviews with tenants who were displaced to Kusunlar, of whom only one was a woman (Appendix 5).

(c) In both case study areas I had informal talks with Muhtars, the local elected representatives. (Appendix 2 and 4)

6.2.3. Method 3 Focus groups

A group provides a forum for people to share and discuss their views with the other participants. Essentially, focus groups function through gathering people together in order to interact about a given topic in the presence of a moderator. While interviews restrict the interaction between interviewee and researcher, the

focus group provides the opportunity for participants to interact with each other (Davies, Hoggart and Lees, 2014, p. 213). Especially, when the question is related to people's everyday practice, everyday relations or socially and politically sensitive topics, a group discussion rather than a series of one-to-one interviews provides a situation that is more similar to everyday life. People are, therefore, more willing to speak their minds and talk about upsetting or stressful topics, thus extending the information obtained by the researcher (Flick, 2014; Cope and Hay, 2010, p. 155).

The focus groups evolved from an interview, so in that sense it was not an organised method but during an interview in the hometown organisations 5 other neighbours were involved the conversation. After this point, rather than asking each interview question (Appendix 4), I asked more general questions about the quality of housing before and after the redevelopment, the life and process during the redevelopment, and the result of the projects. In response to each question they started to discuss with each other, which provided me with deeper understanding of each period before, during and after the redevelopment. As Cope and Hay (2010, p. 156) suggest, focus groups are ideal for investigating not only what people think but also why people think and behave as they do. Therefore, the focus group provided wider information about the internal dynamics of the residents in relation to redevelopment and their division as a result of the redevelopment. For example, the discussion in the focus groups highlighted the positive aspects of the improved housing conditions for the land owners, whilst also showing the loss of the neighbourhood relationships and exclusion of the non-title holders. Moreover, group discussion also provided a wider context in relation to resident's relationship with different stake holders, such as developers and municipality officials.

Table 6-1: The relationship between the Research Questions and the research methods.

Research Questions	Data gathering methods		
	Reports, Academic Literature and Statistics	Interviews	Focus Groups
RQ1: How has the political economy of Turkey evolved since the 19th century and how has the housing of working class people been produced through this evolution, especially since 1950?	Academic Literature, Statistical Data, Official documents, Policy documents	Professionals, Chambers of urban planners, Political Party Representatives NGO	
RQ2: What were the plans for, and stages of, the redevelopment of the gecekondu in Ankara?	Academic Literature, Statistical Data, Official documents, Policy documents, Politicians' speeches, Press reports	Professionals, Chambers, of urban planners Political Party Representatives NGO	
RQ3: In the two case study areas, what was the design of the redevelopment process by the state? What were the procedures for its implementation? What were the financial arrangements for the residents, property companies and the municipality itself? What were the rights of the residents? How was the programme implemented over time? What changes were made during the implementation, and why? What have been the built environment outcomes to date?	Statistical Data, Official documents, Policy documents, Politicians' speeches, Press reports	Professionals, Chambers of urban planners, Political Party Representatives , NGOs. Tenants and homeowners.	Homeowners
RQ4: In the two case study areas, what have been the benefits and problems for property capital?	Official Reports, Legislative documents	Professionals in municipalities, Real Estate Agency, and Private Developers	
RQ5: In the two case study areas, what have been the advantages and	Official Reports,	Chambers of urban planners,	Home owners

disadvantages for different groups of residents, and reactions of the residents?	Legislative documents	Political Party Representatives NGO. Tenants and homeowners.	
RQ6: What is the relationship between property capital, the state and the working class in relation to housing under the JDP government?	No data collection required. Uses results of analysis of previous questions.		

6.3 Fieldwork Process Difficulties Experienced in the Fieldwork

For this research, the fieldwork took five-months in 2015 and 2016, involving three separate visits to Turkey. The first field study was in September and October, 2015, the second in March, 2016, and the last one in June and July, 2016 (Table 6-2).

In the first phase of the fieldwork I collected data about all redevelopment programs in Ankara, selected the case studies, and did initial fieldwork in Altindag IDP areas with ten participants. The aim of this initial work was to determine the overall situation of the redevelopment projects and collect data from the Metropolitan Municipality. Based on the data that I gathered from the municipality I determined the Urban Transformation Project area for the second case study. Since Urban Transformation Projects are very big projects and located all around Ankara, I collected data from Ankara Great Municipality about all UTPs, both those already underway and those planned for the future (reported in Section 8.4).

In the second phase I finished the interviews in the Altindag District IDP project, with both gecekondu residents and private developers. In Altindag I completed 25 interviews and one focus group.

In the third phase of the fieldwork I conducted 23 interviews and a focus group in the New Mamak area, and later 15 interviews in Kusunlar Development Area.

Table 6-2: The phases of the fieldwork, aims and Research methods

The phases of the fieldwork	Aims	Research methods
Phase 1 September and October, 2015	Initial interviews in Altindag case study. Gathering official documents from municipalities, including data on current UTP plans from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality	Interviews with state officers Interviews and focus group
Phase 2 March, 2016	Finishing interviews with residents and private developers in Altindag Municipality.	Interviews
Phase 3 June and July, 2016	Interviews with officials in Mamak Municipality, Ankara Municipality, NGO. Interviews with residents in the New Mamak Project area and Kusunlar Housing Development Area.	Interviews and focus group

I experienced a variety of difficulties in carrying out the fieldwork.

1) The political and social context of the fieldwork

The political context of the fieldwork was very difficult, as during the fieldwork there were many terrorist attacks in Turkey, and in June 2016 there was an attempted military coup of which Ankara was the major target. It was a traumatic period which affected the whole society. Therefore, people were very anxious and sceptical about strangers in their neighbourhoods. This directly impacted my fieldwork; residents did not want to talk, and they asked a lot of questions to me about my research and my aim, even though I explained them at the outset.

Moreover, the same political environment made officials unwilling to answer any questions. Many officials from the local municipalities refused to talk, or agreed to have an interview and changed their minds later. Urban planners and other

state actors were suspicious of my viewpoint and wanted to question me and learn more about my perspective. At the beginning of the interviews, I tried to keep the topic more on technical details of the projects rather than politics. When I raised the questions in the middle of the interview, I did so by referencing some articles or NGO reports rather than my personal view.

2) Responsibilities and knowledge of state officers

I had problems accessing dominant actors in the Greater Ankara Municipality. In seeking interviews with urban planners, the main problem was discovering who was in charge of the projects. Since the projects affect many people and cover very large areas there are many different departments responsible for them. Most officers have responsibility for only one particular aspect of the projects such as a new land register. The officers therefore cannot make a general policy evaluation.

3) My institutional position

One of the main issues also related to my institutional position. Due to political and social context, encouraging local people to trust me as a researcher was important. My institutional position as a researcher from the University of Sheffield was both helpful and problematic. Being a researcher in an international university caught the attention of professionals and they answered my questions, but because of the same institutional position local residents were very sceptical about me. They questioned the idea that their houses and neighbourhoods could be important for international research, and why somebody from the UK would want to know about their housing condition.

4) My social identity and securing interviews with residents

The neighbourhoods in the case study areas are characterised by sharply distinguished gender roles and strong patriarchal traditions. This made it hard for me, as a man, to obtain interviews with women. In consequence, only a small group of my interviewees were women. In Altindag, for example, I could have conducted interviews in the women's social centre, but the interviewees were

very shy and did not want to talk for a long time. Patriarchal social structures had limited these women's access to education and constrained their self-confidence. The interviews were short as after 10-15 minutes of questions about their experience they began to feel anxious. Nonetheless, I was able to gather really important information as women are the main group who have to handle the problems of gecekondu life, both in terms of lack of material comfort and social pressure in the neighbourhoods. Therefore, it was not that surprising that they were more pro-redevelopment than the man.

A more positive aspect of my social identity for the research was that I have many relatives in gecekondu areas in Ankara. This means that my mode of speech was familiar to the gecekondu residents.

I started interviewing residents by walking in public parks and other local public places and explaining to people that I was doing research and that I am not a state official or news reporter. In some cases, I even gave details from my personal life, for example my school (which was in Ankara), to get them to know and trust me more. I went to the area every day and tried to become familiar with the residents in both Mamak and Altindag. I sat in the coffee houses and talked to the people for many days before beginning more formal interviews.

For the Kusunlar case study area I had to find a local contact before going into the field, otherwise I would not have been able to access anybody, because this area was for people displaced from the Mamak project area. Furthermore, I was aware of the unwillingness of local people to talk to 'outsiders' due to the local political conjuncture. A local contact who introduced me to other people made it easier for me.

Due to the sensitive nature of the Mamak and Kusunlar areas, nobody agreed to record their voices, meaning I could only take notes during the interviews. On the other hand, in Altindag neighbourhood people agreed that I could record the interviews. The developers and real estate agencies, however, did not give their consent to record the interviews.

There was a further difficulty in securing interviews with residents. Due to several fraud issues in the past – where people would knock on doors and try to sell something and take signature of the people – I could not just go and knock on residents' door.

5) The complex and confused institutional form of the Altindag redevelopment

In the Altindag case study area, the implementation of the redevelopment has been very complicated, and also little documented. The borders of neighbourhoods and the entire built environment are changing with the redevelopment projects. It is an ongoing transition, and the municipality does not want to and cannot share information, as redevelopment is both ongoing and implemented in law suits. This situation made my analysis much harder. In the area there were several different state institutions actively implementing projects, for instance there is an MHA housing project next to a revised Improvements and Development Plan Area. Moreover, some of the revised IDP areas were also designated as under earthquake risk; however, the disaster risk decision was later cancelled. The nature of the implementation was then very complex and residents did not have enough information about the programs. Therefore, understanding the nature of the development and the history of the place took weeks longer than I had planned.

6) Conflicts between neighbours over property

In Altindag, several gecekondü owners had to make an agreement between each other in order to sell their plots to private developers. Therefore, there are serious conflicts between neighbours, and many people have sued one another. Moreover, in both case study areas there is sharp competition for the new housing units of different quality; the orientation of the new housing units (north, south, and east), their size, their internal design and construction materials are causes of contestation. In the interviews, I gained much private information about

residents' lives. I had to be careful about this private information when I was talking with other neighbours.

7) My travel within Ankara

While carrying out the fieldwork I stayed in western Ankara. The journey to Altindag by bus took 2.5 hours each way, to New Mamak 3 hours each way, and that to Kusunlar 3.5 hours each way. This limited the time available for interviews in the areas. These long travel times are a function of the very poor transport infrastructure of the city and the congestion of the roads. I mention this difficulty not as a personal misfortune but as an indication of the material-practical problems which can arise for fieldwork in a city in a LDC.

These difficulties together greatly increased the time taken to obtain interviews, and in some cases limited the information that the participants provided. However, I was able to obtain enough interviews with state officers, NGOs and residents to form a reliable account of what had taken place in the case study areas.

6.4 Analysis

6.4.1 Analysis of the background and context

The analysis was complex and consisted of multiple stages. These proceeded from the most abstract (general theory), to medium-level abstract-concrete (history of Turkey and Ankara), to concrete (the development of the case study areas). Firstly, I analysed Marxist theoretical approaches to urbanism, investment in the built environment, housing of the working class, and the state. These approaches apply to capitalism in general. The first chapter on the urban provides a Marxist conceptualisation of the city, situating the research topic in the context of the whole city, particularly in relation to production and domestic reproduction. Based on this framework of the urban, I analysed the production of the built environment with a particular focus on working class housing. Since housing is essential for the reproduction of labour power, the state has intervened in

working class housing, albeit differently at different points in history and in relation to the overall political economy of a given country. Therefore, I also included state theory in the theoretical framework.

Using the processes and concepts analysed for capitalism in general, I proceeded to more historically and geographically concrete analysis. I analysed the evolution of Turkish political economy, with a particular focus on production of the built environment and working class housing (Chapter 7). I outline political economic changes in Turkey since the early 20th century, and examine housing production for working class people in different periods, especially from 2000 to the present. Using the same periodization, I analyse the spatial reflection of the political economic changes in Ankara and the evolution of housing production in each period.

This account of the different periods of working class housing in Turkey and Ankara was based not only on the academic literature and official statistics, but also on findings in the fieldwork areas. The interviews suggested important themes, such as the increasing role of the credit system and changes in the cost of living. In the interviews I not only asked questions about the redevelopment but also about housing more widely, and I asked questions about *gecekondu* construction and life in the *gecekondus*. In both case study areas, I analysed both *gecekondu* as low-standard working class housing and the redevelopment project as state intervention in working class housing. Themes such as the process of redevelopment, the experience of residents, and the benefits and disadvantages for the different actors formed the basis of analysis of the case studies, and also entered into my theorisation of the history of the built environment in Turkey and Ankara.

6.4.2 Thematic analysis of the interviews

To analyse raw data collected from the interviews, focus group and documents, thematic analyses were used. In Braun and Clarke's words this is, 'a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (2006, p. 6).

Thematic analysis is a fundamental method for qualitative research and its practice can result in the development of important skills for the researcher, which can also be beneficial for other methods of analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). It is misleading to define thematic analysis as a unique and distinct approach; rather, it is a tool that can be used differently in different analytic traditions, such as grounded theory (Bryman, 2012). According to Braun and Clarke, one of the advantages of thematic analysis is that it can be used with various theoretical and epistemological backgrounds. This makes thematic analysis a flexible research tool and an easily accessible method for early researchers. Indeed, the flexibility of thematic analysis was useful for my analysis.

A theme is an important feature of the data related to the research question, and it is represented in a pattern or meaning in the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The frequency of the theme is not the essential criterion for the identification of the theme, but the key point is that it should provide something important related to the overall research question. As such, the researcher's judgment is crucial for identifying themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). To analyse the data, I followed the steps shown in Table 6-3 set out by Braun & Clarke (2006, p.35)

Table 6-3. Steps of thematic analysis

1.Familiarising yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas
2.Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code
3.Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each code
4.Reviewing themes,	Checking the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis
5.Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme and the overall story the analysis tells; generating clear definitions and names for each theme
6.Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis: selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis

Source: Braun and Clarke, (2006, p. 35)

In the analysis of the interviews, firstly I transcribed all the notes that I had in relation to case study areas as a single file. Then, I read the whole documents several times and sought to understand the stories of each resident since the construction of the gecekondü (Figure 6-1). After developing understand the overall stories of each resident, I analysed the whole of the notes in detail using NVivo software, giving an initial code for each question and each important point arising from each interview (Figure 6-2).

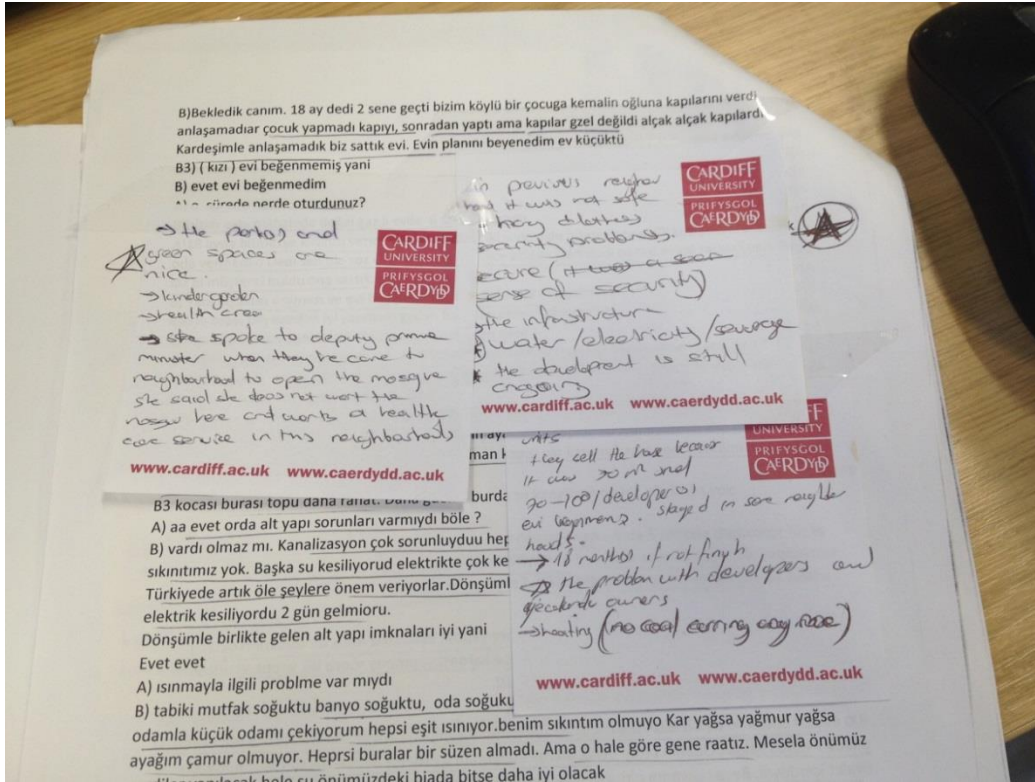


Figure 6-1: The initial step of analyses

The NVivo program makes reading and making connections within the data easier. Later, I combined the initial codes and the stories of each resident. After combining the initial codes and the main story lines the initial themes appear. For example, many residents talked about the problems that they have had with their neighbours during the redevelopment process. These problems arise due to differences in ownership, different expectations and the conditions of each family. As fragmentation of the gecekondu owners increases throughout the development process, serious problems of atomisation amongst residents have emerged by its end. While in the initial codes the atomisation following redevelopment and fragmentation are separate codes, in later more detailed analyses they are combined as an important theme. Another example of the evolution from codes to themes is that the first codes about the construction process of gecekondu were: self-construction of gecekondu with families, gecekondu as a way of survival, daily practices and usage of gecekondu space with neighbours. These codes later evolved into a linking theme, *Gecekondu: the place of Solidarity*, because all these stories of the gecekondu residents were

highlighting the social structure which helped them survive in the city. They constructed gecekondu collectively and established an informal support network due to inadequate formal welfare institutions. After these analyses each theme appeared as a section or subsection in chapter 9 and chapter 10.

6.4.3 Linking high- and medium-abstract analysis to concrete analysis

The analysis of themes in the interview data directly relates to the overall theoretical analysis of the thesis. For example, capitalist development of urban areas is a totality, and therefore the development of the gecekondu is directly related to production and reproduction of labour power (Chapter 2) in a given political economic period. Under the import substitution industrialisation mode of political economy, the production of the gecekondu as low-standard working class housing was acceptable to both capital and the state, and therefore basic services have been provided and the houses have been legalised (Chapter 7).

Name	Sources	References	Created By	Created On	Modified By	
gecekondu		0	0	SA	22.01.2018 14:07	SA
the municipality role during the redevelopment		1	1	SA	22.01.2018 15:13	SA
the perception of the new apartment		2	4	SA	20.01.2018 17:05	SA
the process of redevelopment		2	5	SA	20.01.2018 17:06	SA
the results of redevelopment		0	0	SA	22.01.2018 14:11	SA
atomisation fragmentation of gecekondu dwellers		1	1	SA	20.01.2018 17:08	SA
fragmentation of gecekondu dwellers		2	2	SA	20.01.2018 17:00	SA
the economic benefits of redevelopment		1	3	SA	20.01.2018 17:04	SA
the protest against redevelopment		2	2	SA	20.01.2018 17:07	SA
the rural urban migration and gecekondu construction		0	0	SA	22.01.2018 14:05	SA
the transition became normal		0	0	SA	22.01.2018 15:05	SA

Figure 6-2: Nvivo Program screenshot during the analyses

However, the legalisation and establishment of private ownership rights with an increasing ground rent created potential conflict between neighbours. With the redevelopment of the gecekondu from the 1980s, these conflicts flared up around reaching agreements with neighbours, and have weakened bonds of

solidarity. Individual property ownership logics made residents work more for their own interests rather than as a collective. Moreover, the new mode of housing provision was in harmony with the new political economic setting, and aimed to integrate low to middle income earners in formal housing markets. The redevelopment of the gecekondus thus created fragmentation of existing communities and atomised them as individual consumers (Section 9.8 and Section 10.9.3). In this way, my analysis of the case studies was informed by the abstract theoretical concepts developed in Part 1 of the thesis and by the more geographically and historically concrete analyses of Turkey and Ankara in Part 3. The research does the analysis by focusing on the daily life of the gecekondu residents because the political-economy of housing impacts on the daily life of its inhabitants (and vice versa), and therefore the research seeks to understand this impact by analysing the experience of inhabitants that is the crucial issue within housing.

PART 4. ANALYSES OF THE HOUSING PRODUCTION AND GECEKOUNDU REDEVELOPMENT

Chapter 7. Economy, State and Housing

The capitalist mode of production is a totality, cities within this theorisation need to be understood as a totality of production and reproduction within the capitalist system (Chapter 2). Therefore, housing for working class people should be analysed as a part of this totality (Chapter 3). This chapter discusses the relationship between political, economic and spatial changes in Turkey during the 20th century and up to the present, with a particular emphasis on housing. This periodization will show the changing politico-economic structure in relation to the housing of the working classes. This alternative reading of history will provide the necessary historical context for the conceptualisation of state intervention in working class housing. Although there is some research investigating the historical evolution of urbanisation in Turkey, such as Sengul (2003), this research has the main problems of the strategic relational approach and therefore does not include class struggle as an analytical point in its analysis. Therefore, it does not include how different classes have influenced urbanisation and housing (Section 4.2.7). There are also studies of evolution of housing (Baharoglu, 1996; Bugra, 1998; Özdemir, 2011), but these studies analyse the contemporary housing production and redevelopment separately and with different analytical points than class relationships. Therefore, this analysis is an original and alternative reading of the history of housing in Turkey.

This chapter includes four sections: 1908-1945, the late Ottoman period until the end of World War II; 1946-1979, post-war import substitution industrialisation; 1980-2001, neoliberal structural adjustment of the Turkish economy; and 2002-2017, the JDP period. In each section first I will explain the general economic development strategy, then the pattern of urbanisation and finally the housing production model in relation to working class housing. The main features of each period are summarised in Table 7-1. The first section covers the period from 1908 to 1945. Although the modern Turkish Republic was established in 1923, it can be

seen as a continuation of the Ottoman Empire's economic and social systems. Therefore, the development of capitalist production in Turkey cannot be understood without investigating the main features of the end of the Ottoman Empire. A very brief discussion of the political economy of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the nation state of Turkey will provide the necessary base for further investigation and analyses. This period is important in terms of the establishment of the first state owned manufacturing, the new rail system and preparation of the first urban plans.

Table 7-1: Economy State and Housing periodization in this chapter

	Late Ottoman period and early republic until World War II 1908-1945	The Post-war Import Substitution Industrialisation	Neoliberal 'Structural Adjustment' of Turkey Economy 1980-2001	The JDP period 2002-2017
General Economic Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The economy collapsed, the infrastructure was inadequate, the population was fragmented, the capitalist model of production did not develop, *Therefore, they want to create a new national state together with a national bourgeoisie and national industrial production * Under the absence of a national bourgeoisie, the first factories established by the state, very limited amount in small towns. * merchant capital +state industrial production 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Changes in agricultural production, increase population, surpass agricultural agriculture labour, massive rural-urban migration. *Rise of Industrial capital. ISI model of industrialisation with strong state involvement. *State support for industrial production and reproduction in different forms. *Establishment of big capital groups (family holdings) through industrial production 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Main features of the economic policy; devaluation, subsidies for export subsidies industrialisation; anti-labour policies ; *Rise of finance sector and increase in construction and finance sector *Lack of strong political leadership and fragmented coalition governments. *Collapse of distribution system based on political patronage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Depolitication of economic management *Privatisation and decreasing state expenditures *Labour disciplinary policies: subcontracting, elastic work market, over work *Hegemony of finance: increase of all kinds of credit systems *Poverty as a result of all *The new social policy: credits systems and state subsidising as the only means of survival *Increasing power of state over working class both in production and reproduction
Urbanisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Very limited urbanisation *The industrial development separated in order to keep people in rural areas, anti-urbanisation economic development policy, the agricultural production did not change the rural population maintained, limited increase of population. *Establishment of the modern framework legal and institutional structure of the modern republic. *The first urban development plans for big cities *New railway system centralised on Ankara 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *fast growth of the urban built up areas *The priority of capital and the state was industrialisation rather than urbanisation. *Therefore, small scale capital produced spontaneous solutions based on capturing ground rent under the conditions of fast urbanisation. *Legalisation of gecekondu *Urban land as a means of redistribution in order to reduce the reproduction cost 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Continuity of massive rural-urban migration *Establishment of clear ownership system under the neoliberal conditions. *Rise of class struggle and Urban land as a mean of redistribution *New housing finance, new municipal system and increase of investment to built environment *Massive redevelopment projects for gecekondu neighbourhoods; new expansion of cities *New infrastructure investments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Massive infrastructure projects and urban redevelopment projects. *Big scale projects urbanisation trough big scale projects at the neighbourhood level. *Urban redevelopment as a new way of intervention inside planning. *Capital and state coordination in order to share ground rent. *Increasing revenue of state and multi-scalar intervention of state into urban space
Housing Production Models	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Limited Housing production, production of the first urban plans and houses by state based on this plan and regulation necessities. *The transformation of the traditional housing production to modern housing production in the city centres, but agricultural labourers continued to build their own houses in the villages *Rural-urban migrants economically marginal and therefore marginal in urban space. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Spontaneous solutions in the form build-and-sell and gecekondu *Inadequate housing production by small scale firms and self-production housing. This is more complex than a simple formal informal division. *Migrants economically non-marginal therefore non-marginal in space and housing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Continuity of gecekondu production. *Cooperative housing production as middle class share of ground rent *MHA production *Small, medium and large-scale firms housing production in both new expansion areas and redevelopment areas. *Clarifying ownership rights in the gecekondu areas. *Part transformation of gecekondu *Formalisation of housing production 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Zero tolerance to gecekondu construction *Acceptance of previous title deeds but stop legalisation of gecekondu. *Integration to new credit systems for housing and construction sector. *Big scale urban redevelopment projects *Cooperative housing production decreased after state stop giving credits to cooperatives *Big construction companies, medium and small companies as well as state active housing producers

The second section discusses the period of Post-war Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI). In terms of political economy this section explains the origin of industrial development in relation to the state in Turkey. Political and economic change in this period is very important, with the beginning of rural-urban migration. The urban population, unchanged for centuries, started dramatically increasing in this period. For the first time in this period, then, the problems of rapid and unplanned urbanisation hit the big cities of Turkey. The lack of adequate housing and urban services leads to spontaneous solutions such as gecekodu. I will explain the evolution of these spontaneous, petty-capitalist housing production systems and how a simple formal-informal division lost meaning for housing production in Turkey.

The third section describes the start of neoliberalism in Turkey and the transition from import substitution to an export oriented open market economy. The section will include the main features of neoliberal programs, such as anti-labour policies, export substitution Industrialisation. In terms of urbanisation this section describes the collapse of the dominant housing production model of the ISI period and the increase of private and public investment into the built environment. The section will close by describing the housing production models and gecekodu redevelopment models of the 1980-2001 period.

The last section covers the JDP government, the period after 2002. It describes the new depoliticised economic management, the rise of finance and the construction sector in Turkey. The increase of state revenues and overall economic activity in Turkey affects the state and private sector's capacity to intervene in urban space and comprehensive tools are developed that allow them to do this to an unprecedented level. This section describes the origin of the great economic and political power underpinning the current urban interventions. Furthermore, it will show the changing actors involved in housing production.

7.1 The Period between 1908 -1945 Late Ottoman Period and Early Republic

This section sets the scene for my understanding of urbanisation in Turkey, describing the development of capitalist production and the emergence of a class based society. This discussion allows me to draw out three important points for my research: firstly, that the Ottoman Empire was neither feudal nor capitalist; secondly, that the Turkish national bourgeoisie did not develop until the establishment of the Turkish Republic; and thirdly, that the structure of rural production did not change during this period.

The Ottoman agricultural production system was totally different than European counterparts, the Ottoman Empire being neither capitalist nor feudal.¹In the Ottoman agricultural production system all land belonged to the state/sultan and each family was given 60-150 acres of land. The central authority had absolute power on trade and production. There were several results of this model of agricultural production. There was not, for instance, any large landowning class. Furthermore, due to the failure of enclosure and attempts to monopolise land, the peasantry was not disposed to work for low wages. Consequently plantation/capitalist farming did not develop in the Ottoman Empire (Keyder, 2015, pp. 15–35). Rather the revenues of the Ottoman Empire came from taxation of these peasants. To enable this situation, the Ottoman Empire had a large civil service and military bureaucracy. The new Republic inherited all the state's land and the agricultural production system. This state owned land was used for *gecekondu* construction in the big cities.

The capitalist mode of industrial production did not develop in the Ottoman territories because there were not any landlords with sufficient surplus and capital. In the 18th and 19th centuries the Ottoman Empire had trade agreements with European Empires. Not having the industrial level production, traditional Turkish producers could not compete with European counterparts and traditional

¹ There are discussions about the Ottoman Empire having Asian style agricultural production; this discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis, but for different ideas about Ottoman agricultural production see(Keyder, 2015, pp. 18–19)

workshops production collapsed (Öztürk, 2011, p. 36). For example, at the beginning of the 19th century the domestic production of textiles met domestic demand, whilst the domination of European products saw 80-90% of all textiles being imported from Europe by the end of the 19th century (Borotav, 2015, p. 20). In agriculture, small scale farming was dispersed geographically, therefore the trade agreements led to formation of a large number of mediators, a merchant class constituted of Christian Minorities (Öztürk, 2011, pp. 36, 46–47; Keyder, 2015, pp. 37–51).

The unequal power relation between the Ottoman Empire and European countries led to the establishment of privileges and discounts for foreign states on taxes and duties. In the 19th century not only did the number of European countries with privileges increase but also the non-Muslim Ottoman population who lived in the Empire had advantages similar to European citizens. Also, with the same arrangements parallel sovereign rights were created for the non-Muslim population. The foreign ambassadors had extended rights, around adjudication, for example, and being administrators of the commercial affairs of the non-Muslim population. Under these circumstances a new comprador non-Muslim population became dominant in trade and moneylending. This led to the increase of ethnic and religious conflicts. The decades of privileged trade and discounts to other countries caused the collapse of the Ottoman economy. The economic power of minorities increased, with the concomitant rise of nationalism also breaking down the political union of the empire (Keyder, 2015, pp. 37–65).

At the beginning of the 1920s Kemalist founders of the republic inherited a semi-colonial socio-economic structure, which was highly dependent on international capital and foreign imperial countries (Boratav, 2016, p. 19). The main inherited social and economic structure were not industrialists but the trade bourgeoisie and the large group of landed peasants. The working class was weak, unorganised and also fragmented based on ethnic and religious differences during the Ottoman period (Öztürk, 2011, pp. 46–47). Being weak and fragmented the Turkish Muslim bourgeoisie was not in a position to accomplish the revolution, therefore, petty bourgeois intellectuals undertook this mission in Turkey

(Borotav, 2015, p. 24). Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the state economic policy was established upon the creation of a national economy and bourgeoisie. Öztürk (2011, p.46–47,56) points out that the petty bourgeoisie was not created by the state but used their advantages to gain control of the state. Due to the many internal contradictions of capitalism, the state is needed to intervene to support capital accumulation (Section 4.4 for the relationship between capital and state). Ongoing economic policies and socio-legal reforms served the interest of this petty bourgeoisie, and aimed to support and accelerate capital accumulation

After the establishment of the republic, the state monopoly in terms of the production and import of goods was chosen as a fundamental economic policy (Borotav, 2015, pp. 19–20; Keyder, 2015, pp. 123–124). There are two reasons for this: firstly, the private sector did not have enough capital to start factory scale production; secondly, in the 1920s Turkey could not produce even basic consumption goods. For example, domestic production could provide only 10% of the cotton cloth required by domestic need, 5 % of silk, 60 % of wheat flour, 20 % of soap and 30 % of brick (Öztürk, 2011, p. 56). Therefore, basic goods such as sugar and flour started to be produced by state enterprises. This model was used more systematically and consistently in the period between 1930 and 1945 (Borotav, 2015, pp. 59–67).

The state used state monopoly corporations to support the bourgeoisie. These state monopolies were managed by privileged private persons or companies. The elites made large profits by exploiting state monopolies over the import and production of goods (Borotav, 2015, pp. 40–41). Starting from 1930 until the end of the period state investment in strategic sectors such as mining, agriculture and transportation was directed by 5-year development plans. This model aimed to support the private sector through the active participation of the state in economic life, which provided necessary capital accumulation for the national bourgeois. In this way they could make partnerships and pursue collaboration with international capital under conditions of relative equality, thus supporting

industrialisation and economic development (Section 4.4 for the theoretical explanation of the relationship between state and capital).

7.1.1. Urbanisation and Housing during 1908-1945

Since there was not any major change in the agricultural production system until the end of World War II, there was not a major change in the rural and urban population (Table 7-2). Therefore, during this period the state did not have national housing and urbanisation policies (Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005, pp. 3–21). Şengül (2003) and Kurtuluş (2007) suggest that the founders saw the construction of the nation state as a social and spatial process. The new national state targeted to achieve a radical transformation of society from an agricultural empire to a modern industrial society. Spatial interventions have been seen as a tool of social change (Kurtuluş, 2007). Therefore, the capital Ankara was seen a symbol of the new republic, and the first urban policies, plans and strategies were implemented in Ankara and then used for the other cities (See Chapter 8) (Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2006, pp. 2–24; Keleş and Duru, 2008).

A new railway system was established during the first decade of the republic (Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2006, pp. 2–24). The new railway system was designed by centralising Ankara in order to integrate it into the national market. The previous railway system had a colonial character and a tree-like shape, connecting the agricultural hinterland to port cities. The railways, ports and tobacco production were nationalised. State owned factories located in small cities were connected to the railway system in order to promote national economic development. All new industries were located outside of Istanbul in other developed areas through Anatolia.

Consequently, in the years 1923-1945 overall patterns of demography did not change. The urbanisation level was approximately 25% until the 1950s (Table 7-2). Due to allocation of State enterprises in small cities across Anatolia until 1945, only the populations of a few small cities increased faster than the big cities of Izmir and Istanbul during this period. Making Ankara a capital city also led to more

balanced allocation of the urban population compared to other developing countries (Tekeli, 2011, p. 38).

Table 7-2: The Rural and Urban Population and percentage of Turkey until 1950

Year	Rural	Urban	Percentage of Rural Population	Percentage of Urban Population
1927	10.342.391	3.305.879	75,8	24,2
1935	12.355.376	3.802.642	76,5	23,5
1940	13.474.701	4.346.249	75,6	24,4
1945	14.103.072	4.687.102	75,1	24,9
1950	15.702.851	5.244.337	75,0	25

Source: Turkish Statistical Institutions (2017)

The main agents of housing production were local artisan and small scale construction companies. There was scarcity of construction materials and a lack of expertise of modern construction methods. There was no housing finance system for housing production. The only housing policy was about the housing needs of the civil servants. From 1929 Civil servants in big cities started to get paid compensation for housing, a policy that continued until 1951. In 1944 the Ministry of Public Works was given the duty of housing production for Civil Servants, but there were only a few implementations, which were rented by high level bureaucrats in Ankara (Çoban 2012).

7.2 Import Substitution Industrialisation and State 1945-1980

This period is particularly important because of being the start point of the changes in rural structure, and therefore the rural-urban migration (Table 7-3). The second important point of this period is the import substitution industrialisation strategy, which was implemented until 1980. Big industrial capital was established during this period with strong state support. Finally, the state's land was actively used as a means of managing the class struggle both in rural and urban areas.

Table 7-3: The Rural and Urban Population and percentage of Turkey until 1980

Year	Rural	Urban	Percentage of Rural Population	Percentage of Urban Population
1950	15.702.851	5.244.337	75,0	25
1955	17.137.420	6.927.343	71,2	28,8
1960	18.895.089	8.859.731	68,1	31,9
1965	20.585.604	10.805.817	65,6	34,4
1970	21.914.075	13.691.101	61,5	38,5
1975	23.478.651	16.869.068	58,2	41,8
1980	25.091.950	19.645.007	56,1	43,7

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkSat), Population Censuses, (2017)

The political and economic conditions post-WWII affected Turkey. Turkey took its place in the western block against the Soviet Union dominated by the US. Turkey also benefited from the Marshall Aid Program. The Marshall Aid program was used in the modernisation of agricultural production by importing agricultural machinery, and building a motorway system (Keyder, 2015, p. 150). To support the modernisation of agricultural production the government transformed the agricultural land ownership pattern. The agricultural production and ownership

pattern did not structurally change in previous periods. The main Kemalist developmental framework, based on allocation of resources around Anatolia and maintaining the rural population until 1940s, this framework was abandoned and production concentrated in big cities after WW II (Yıldırım, 2009, p. 403). Moreover, the population increased from approximately 20 million in 1950 to 45 million in the 1980s.

On the rural urban migration in Turkey, many scholars suggest that the mechanisation of agriculture created surplus labour and therefore triggered a mass migration. However, the Land Reform Act of 1945 was the important factor of rural transformation in Turkey. Between the years 1947 and 1963 1.8million-hectares of state land was allocated to the 360,000 landless peasants. In this way state both mitigate the class struggle and support capital accumulation for agricultural production sector see Section 4.2 and 4.4 for theoretical discussion) Moreover, due to this act and mechanisation the total area of arable land increased to 23,264,000 hectares in 1960, almost double the 1945 total of 12,664,000. The increase of arable land created more job opportunities in many places. The commercial production and mechanisation created different effects for different groups. While the sharecroppers stayed in the rural areas and worked for big landowners, the small land owners rented their land to bigger scale producers and used this money for the cost of migration. In the subsequent periods some landless peasants also migrated but the process of rural-urban migration was always more complex than a direct relation between mechanisation and migration (Yıldırım, 2009, pp. 399–461)

Furthermore, the Import Substitution Industrialisation strategy (ISI) was implemented after 1960. The main target of ISI was using limited state resources to produce consumer goods domestically. With the increasing urban population, the demand for consumer goods increased. The combination of the limited resources with increasing demand for consumer goods shaped the new industrialisation strategy (Borotav, 2015, pp. 119–122).

Balaban (2008; 68-76) suggests that the state had a very active role in managing the economy during the Import Substitution Industrialisation model. During this period state supported particular capital groups industrial capital and capital as whole (Section 4.2.3, 4.2.4, 4.2.5 and 4.4 for the theoretical explanation of the relationship between the economy and state). The first role of the state under ISI was to protect the domestic production and consumption, to this end the state had to implement protective policies such as high tariff barriers, limitation and control of imports. However, the necessary technology and some intermediate materials did not exist in Turkey; therefore, the state had to allow importing of them. Secondly, the state had to provide cheap credit with low interest rates to privileged national capitalists to maintain imports of intermediate goods and technology. The state also kept the value of Turkish Lira artificially higher than the market price. By doing so the state made import easier and increased the profit of the capitalist classes.

The reproduction of labour power in Turkey has been problematic under the conditions of increasing population and mass rural-urban migration. In order to keep workers as a usable labour force and increase the quality of this labour force, state social policies became necessary. During the ISI period a protected and strong domestic market was needed in order to consume domestically produced goods and services. This saw the state broaden the domestic market with redistribution policies (Eşiyok, 2006, pp. 2–5). Collective bargaining, strong union rights and increasing the real incomes of the working classes have also been seen as parts of the strategy. Reproduction policies were also supported and enhanced by the state, including free healthcare and education, retirement pensions and increasing tolerance of squatter settlements. Therefore, in the 1960s and 70s, the working class became not only producers but also consumers of the ISI model industrialisation (See Sections 4.2.4; 4.2.5, 4.2.7 and 4.4 for the importance of reproduction of labour power for state) (Borotav 2015, pp.125–126; Şenyapılı 1986; Balaban 2008, pp.68–76; Keyder 2015, pp.198–200; Altıok, 2002, p. 85).

Individual manifestations of capital (fractions, sectors, individual firms) can significantly influence state policies and actions. The large companies had

specialised different sectors in industrial production, enhanced the number of sectors and became big monopolies in different sectors. Some companies started in a specific sub-construction sector – such as dams and highways – also broadened their activities, becoming active in the construction of all kinds of infrastructure projects during the 1970s. These companies later entered the international market, starting to operate in Morocco and the Gulf states before expanding into Russia and central Asian countries (Öztürk, 2011, p. 89). Housing production, on the other hand, was largely conducted by small scale firms during this period (Öncü, 1988) (See sections 4.2.1 ; 4.2.6 and 4.2.7 for the relationship between individual sections of capital and the state).

Although the main target of the Import Substitution Industrialisation strategy was to decrease the level of dependency on foreign capital and credit, it created the opposite effect. Turkey could not produce all intermediate goods and capital goods; therefore, the economy depended on importing technology, intermediate goods and foreign credit. Due to its chronic foreign trade deficit problem the Turkish economy has always been dependent upon state and foreign institutions to obtain necessary foreign capital (Eşiyok, 2006, p. 5; Balaban, 2008, pp. 68–76; Borotav, 2015, pp. 123–128). The industrialisation attempt remained limited; whilst the proportion of the labour force engaged in industrial production was 9.6 % in 1960, 11.0% in 1975 and 12.5% in 1980, the proportion occupied in the service sector was 15.4% in 1960, increasing to 25.1% in 1975 and 29.5% in 1980 (Borotav, 2015, p. 133). Under these circumstances most of the migrants solved the problem of providing basic services through spontaneous ways of provision. For housing it was *gecekondu* (Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005, pp. 2–24).

The state plays an important role in struggles between capital and labour, and those policies and actions of the state reflect not simply the interests of capital but the power or potential power of the working class. From the 1970s industrial production went into crisis, both in advance capitalist countries and developing countries. Triggered by the oil crisis, the international economic recession decreased the rate of profit in all major countries. This represents the beginning of the crisis of capital accumulation in production. Between 1966-1969 social and

political life prevailed in a crisis environment, black markets were established and the masses suffered from high inflation, unemployment and scarcity of basic consumer products. Governments did not last long and each election saw political parties making populist sacrifices. . Agricultural subsidies and increasing wages, as a result of militant working class movements, had the short term effect of improving the conditions of the masses due to high inflation (Figure 7-1) Section 4.2.8 for the relationship between the state and class struggle).

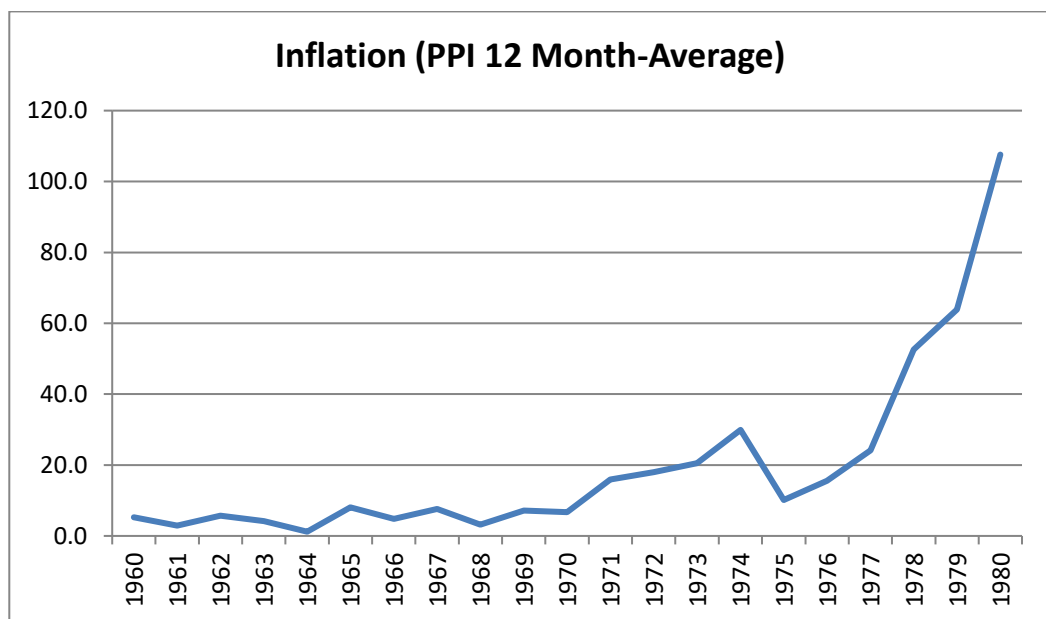


Figure 7-1: Inflation rate 1960-1980.

The capitalist classes, on the other hand, suffered from decreases in the rate of profit (Öztürk, 2011, pp. 124–126). Moreover, due to militant workers’ movements there were serious control and management problems in work places. In the years 1977-1980 the work days lost due to the strikes were 2.5 times more than the years 1973-1976 (Borotav, 2015, pp. 140–146). This working class struggle became much for the regime to tolerate. In 1980 200,000 workers were on strike (Öztürk, 2011, p. 127). Business groups started to call governments to stop uncontrolled worker movements and provide secure conditions for capital accumulation (Öztürk, 2011, pp. 124–126; Borotav, 2015, pp. 140–146; Keyder, 2015, pp. 219–236). Section 4.2.8 for the relationship between the state and class struggle).

7.2.1 Urbanisation and Housing 1945-1980

In this period state supported capital as a whole and individual capitalists with different strategies. Until the 1970s the large capital groups and the state concentrated their limited resources on industrialisation rather than housing production. Housing production was maintained by small firms using non-unionised, low skilled labour power (Öncü, 1988). The role of the state in housing production during this period was not as a direct provider, but a regulator who maintains the flow of capital. During this period housing production was financed by secure income groups/the middle class. Therefore, the role of the state was in maintaining these conditions of production (Öncü, 1988; Baharoglu, 1996; Özdemir, 2011).

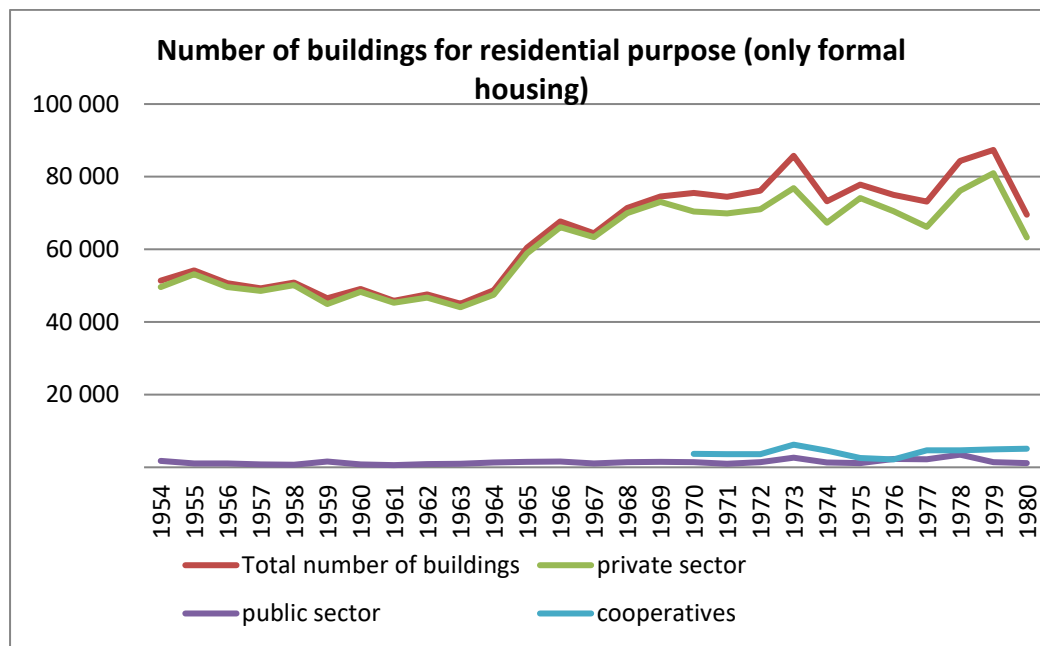


Figure 7-2: Number of new buildings only for residential purpose in the Import Subsidies Period only for cities (Turkish Statistical Institution, 2017)

The first housing finance institution, the Real Estate Bank, had been established in 1926. The bank; however, mostly supported civil servants and the upper income group. In 1946 the capital of Real Estate bank was increased by central government in order to provide housing credit, producing housing, and supporting the construction material industry. However, the projects that had been supported by the bank continued to be focussed on luxury housing projects

for upper income classes, such as luxury houses in Atakoy and Levent in the 1950s in Istanbul (Bugra, 1998; Çoban, 2012). Between 1933 and 1984 the Real Estate Bank supported to the construction of 500,000 housing units through providing credit to individuals and cooperatives. Furthermore, different social security organisations gave housing credits to their members, but once again these credits were given only to formally employed workers (Özdemir, 2011).

During this period there has been inadequate housing supply. The reason of inadequate housing supply was increasing housing demand as a result of Rural-urban migration. Neither the private nor public sectors had adequate capital resources and institutional capacity to meet this demand. The infrastructure was inadequate and infrastructure provision for housing was expensive and not a priority of the state. Therefore, urban land supply was inelastic and inadequate. The construction material sector was also very limited; although there were some new factories, such as brick works in Ankara, production never met demand in this period. Therefore, the prices of construction materials and urban land increased dramatically in metropolitan areas during this period. Additionally, the share of public housing production in total formal housing production never surpassed 10% (Baharoglu 1996; Özdemir 2011; Figure 7- 2). The housing finance system was also inadequate, with the commercial banks legally prohibited from providing mortgage credit in order to support industrial development. What limited housing finance opportunities did exist was available to those with employment.

State support of different levels of capital determined the social relationships of housing production in this period. Since the resources of big capital and the state were concentrated on industrialisation and large infrastructure projects, the state never challenged the increase of housing and rent prices on account of speculation. After 1963 rent controls were abolished. At the city level, the state supported small scale capital by increasing densities in 'planned' parts of the cities. It used its regulatory power and increased the construction rights of the individual plots with a number of regulations during the 1960s (Section 8.1.2). However, housing production never met the housing need during this period and big cities

were surrounded by *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, which now housed more than 50 % of the population (Çoban, 2012).

Housing production was carried out by small scale capitalists with low levels of capital and technology. The large scale construction firms avoided entering the housing sector for several reasons: fragmented land ownership; the absence of a building material industry capable of supporting large scale housing development projects; successive economic crises; and fluctuations in the economy, especially in the rates of interest and inflation, that made it impossible for large companies to maintain constant supply and demand (Özdemir, 2011). The same reasons also made the housing an attractive area of investment for small scale investments (Işık, 1995). Therefore, the big construction companies undertook state tenders for civil works in the Middle East countries and Turkey (Öncü, 1988; Baharoglu, 1996). (See sections 4.2.1; 4.2.6 and 4.2.7 for the relationship between individual section of capital and state).

Similar to other developing countries, there were two types of housing provision: Build-and-sell (formal) and *gecekondu* (squatter settlement). Although the production of housing increased in this period, it never met demand. Both modes of production emerged in response to the housing shortage under the conditions of an absence of housing policy (Özdemir, 2011). The following section will explain the internal features of the construction sector, especially housing production under the low level of capital accumulation.

7.2.2 Build-and-sell System

Since big capital groups and the state did not produce adequate housing, the small scale capital took on housing production. Under the absence of a comprehensive housing finance system middle income groups created spontaneous solutions for housing provision. The inflation rate was high, the money market was prohibited in conformity with ISI, and the real income of the working class was increasing as a result of ISI policies. Therefore, housing became an inflation-resistant investment opportunity for secure income groups.

It is the general tendency in Turkish academia to conceptualise the Build-and-sell system as the 'formal' mode of housing production, however, all its process were based on complex networks of informal agreements (Işık, 1995). Private developers with insufficient capital start production by signing an agreement with land owners offering 30 to 50 % percent of the finished apartment units for their plots. This initial agreement gives the developer the opportunity to start the construction with minimum levels of capital. After the construction of the first floor, the necessary capital for continuing construction is obtained by selling the apartments. The buyers' advance payments allowed the developer to finish the building without using any credit. Therefore, the developers could start the construction with approximately 26% of the necessary capital to finish construction and subsequently finance the production by selling the apartment units (Öncü, 1988; Baharoglu, 1996; Şenyapılı, 2004b; Çoban, 2012).

Until the condominium law in 1965 there was not any legal base which allowed ownership of apartments in the same parcel (Balamir, 2002). Build-and-sell type production was based on agreements between different groups. Öncü (1988) describes the actors of this coalition as homebuyers (secure income groups), land owners (gecekondu owners after amnesty laws), private developers, small builders, local politicians and city administrators. The system had advantages for all actors: homebuyers could have flexible payment options and make relatively small payments under the uncertain economic conditions; land owners, on the other hand, could have between 30 and 50% of finished apartment units without paying anything (Baharoglu, 1996) private developers could maintain production with minimum amounts of capital; local politicians could establish clientelistic networks with both gecekondu and build-and-sell systems (Öncü, 1988).

7.2.3 Gecekondu

The title of the research suggests that the thesis will investigate the redevelopment of gecekondu neighbourhoods in Turkey. In Turkish, the word "gecekondu" literally means 'built over night' but the term has different meanings in different disciplines (Akbulut and Başlık, 2011). In Turkish urban literature other

terms have been used to define gecekondu neighbourhoods and these refer to or emphasise different characteristics of them, for instance; 'squatter settlements', 'illegal settlements', 'spontaneous settlements', 'unplanned settlements' and 'irregular settlements' (Akbulut and Başlik, 2011). Depending on their focus, scholars may emphasise one or more of the following characteristics of gecekondu settlements, such as: construction on unplanned land; the absence of any construction or residence permits; not having a pre organised/planned pattern for development; building outside of the 'formal' markets with informal employees; mostly self-help; and by appropriation of mostly public land (Akbulut and Başlik, 2011; Özdemir, 2011). For the purpose of this thesis, gecekondu will be used in the context of urban studies in Turkey, where the phenomenon involves housing units which are built on public or private land without any legal title and do not meet construction and zoning rules (Keleş, 2014).

The state policies against gecekondu in this period reflect the analytical points of research: decreasing the reproduction cost of labour power, supporting capital as a whole and particular sections of capital, and reducing class struggle. In conformity with the ISI model, gecekondu solved the housing problem of the working class population without any cost to capitalist classes and the state. With increasing incomes gecekondu dwellers became consumers of the domestically produced goods and services. Living in poor quality and overcrowded housing sometimes leads to working class organisations demanding that the state intervenes to provide or to regulate for better housing. Squatters were integrated into local political parties and used the party system to advance their interest in return for political support. (Öncü, 1988; Şengül, 2003).

Due to these factors, the state attempted to establish the rule of the law and money, enacting amnesty laws in 1948, '53, '63, '76, '83, '84 and 1990. The constructions of gecekondu building and legalisation of them has worked as an informal redistribution policy, helping to avoid social unrest and legitimising the existing social disorder (Bugra, 1998). Thus, by legalising the gecekondu the state keep these neighbourhoods as reserve housing development sites for the future

(Baharoglu, 1996). As a result of these factors the number of gecekondu has increased continually.

Table 7-4: Urbanisation Rate and the number of squatting housing units

Years	Urbanisation rate (%)	Numbers of squatted housing units
1923	17	-
1955	22	50,000
1960	25	240,000
1965	30	430,000
1970	33	600,000
1980	45	1,150,000

(Source: Keleş 2014, p.372)

Gecekondu construction and build-and-sell were not separate: they were integrated and provided housing under conditions of limited capital investment and inadequate state intervention. The statistics reveal that, 'in the first half of the 1960s 59% of the population in Ankara, 45% in Istanbul and 33% in Izmir lived in irregular settlements' (Bugra, 1998, p. 307). The percentage of the population living in gecekondu was 55% in Ankara, 70% in Istanbul and 50% in Izmir by 1980 (Bugra, 1998, p. 307).

Işık (1996, pp.790–792) argues that whilst the first generation of migrants only built for their accommodation needs the physical improvements and legalisation processes led to commercial production of gecekondu during the 1970s. Işık (1996, p.792) argues that after 1970s gecekondu were constructed for exchange value, for renting and selling. Bugra (1998) argues that high tenant occupation levels in the State Planning Organisation report of 1991 supported the commercialisation, the tenancy levels according to this report were 32.67 per cent

in Istanbul, 28.50 per cent in Ankara, 27.70 per cent in Izmir and 24.3 for Turkey as a whole.

7.3 Neoliberal Transition of Turkey's Economy 1980-2001

From the early 1970s the strategy of the world bourgeoisie and capitalist states changed. The new strategy has been termed neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005). Considering neoliberalism, a global phenomenon, I will focus on its specific manifestation in Turkey after the military coup of 1980. The transition to a neoliberal state ought to diminish the relative gains of the working class during the welfare state period in the Advance Capitalist Countries, and the removal of paternalist/developmentalist policies in developing countries. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) implemented two main policy programs in less developed countries. These policies were aimed to liberalise foreign trade and financial movements, and diminish protectionist-interventionist mechanisms. Turkey has been seen to have a similar political economic transition with specific features (Borotav, 2015, pp. 173–176).

The IMF stabilisation programs implemented in the wake of the Import Subsidies Industrialisation period saw high domestic purchasing power and high public spending as the sources of high inflation and instability in the countries they targeted (Eşiyok, 2006, pp. 26–27). The aim of the program, therefore, was to reduce the high domestic purchasing power and high public spending with monetary policies. They sought to counter balance foreign resource dependency by exporting domestically produced products. Underpinning these strategies was an anti-labour and anti-redistribution approach (Öztürk, 2011, p. 134; Borotav, 2015, pp. 147–172). Therefore, after the 1980 military coup, the state supported capital as a class through the repression of the working class.

In order to reduce the domestic purchasing power, the IMF program used three fiscal strategies: devaluation of the Turkish Lira, increase of prices of consumer goods produced by state enterprises and policies aimed at disciplining labour (Borotav, 2015, pp. 149–150). However, the elected governments did not have

the power to implement this anti-labour policy program. As this was impossible under the democratic parliamentary system, the military intervention provided the necessary politico-social environment for this intervention. From 1980 to 1983 parliament was shut down, all political parties and activities prohibited. The autocratic military regime banned all labour activities, collective bargaining, trade unions and strikes. High inflation and devaluation took care of the 'labour wage problem'. The proportion of wages and salaries in national income reduced to 20% in 1983, while it had been 35% in 1978. In 1988 the real income of an average worker was 55% less of than in 1977 (Öztürk, 2011, p. 134). This decline of real wages took place alongside a 66% increase in industrial production and 50% increase in productivity (Borotav, 2015, p. 166). Furthermore, all social expenditure of the state decreased. Therefore, Borotav suggests that the main feature of the program is being anti-labour and he describes the period as the 'counter attack of capital' (Borotav, 2015, pp. 151–152).

In relation to the power of individual types of capital, in Turkey since the 1980s property and finance capital have become the dominant power bloc with strong support from the state. Liberalisation of finance started in 1980 with freeing the interest rates for deposits and credits. Since the interest rate was negative the investments went to production during the ISI period (Öztürk, 2011, p. 136). After 1980 the real interest rate increased substantially, The share of industry in total capital investment was 29% in 1978-79, but it declined to 16% in 1988 and the ratio of productive investment to national income decreased from 6.1 % to 4.2 % (Borotav, 2015, p. 164). By withdrawing from manufacturing the state increased investment in the service sector, especially in infrastructure; housing investment increased, and the share of the service sector in total investment increased from 50% to 58% between 1981 and 1990. Borotav (2015, p.164) adds that in 1988 the largest share of total investment was in the housing sector with 36%.

The liberalisation of foreign trade was supported by export incentives, cheap credit, low exchange rates, and tax reductions for exporters (Borotav, 2015, pp. 153–157). International trade became an essential means of capital accumulation. Big capital groups established international trade firms and integrated them to

international markets with state subsidies. This led to increasing centralisation of capital in the hands of the big scale capital groups. The small scale capitalist and less productive companies bankrupted (Öztürk, 2011, p. 143).

The new organisation of working class housing can also be understood in terms of class struggle. The state not only represses the working class (in production) but also incorporates them (in housing provision). The state seeks to ideologically incorporate the working class by formalisation: legalising *gecekondu*s and converting them to modern flats. With the return to parliamentary politics in 1983, the government lost the advantages of the military period and the ability to implement strict austerity and anti-labour policies. Therefore, they had to compromise with the working class. During this period once again state land was used as a tool for managing class struggle, the decreasing real incomes of the urban working classes subsidised with the allocation of state land and the legalisation of *gecekondu*s. Amnesty laws for squatter settlements, land allocation certificates and construction rights without proper urban planning became a means of transferring urban rents to low-income groups (Borotav, 2015, pp. 154–155).

The 1990s are often referred to as a lost decade due to volatile growth rates, high level of inflation and several financial crises (Figure 7-3). During the 1990s and the early 2000s Turkey experienced repeated economic crisis: in 1994, 1998-1999 and 2001 (Borotav, 2015, p. 173-176). From 1989 to 2001 Turkey had 13 centre-right and centre-left governments, which followed the neoliberal program as a structural policy framework, As this neoliberal framework was based on the continued suppression of labour none of them could survive for very long (Bahçe and Köse, 2016).

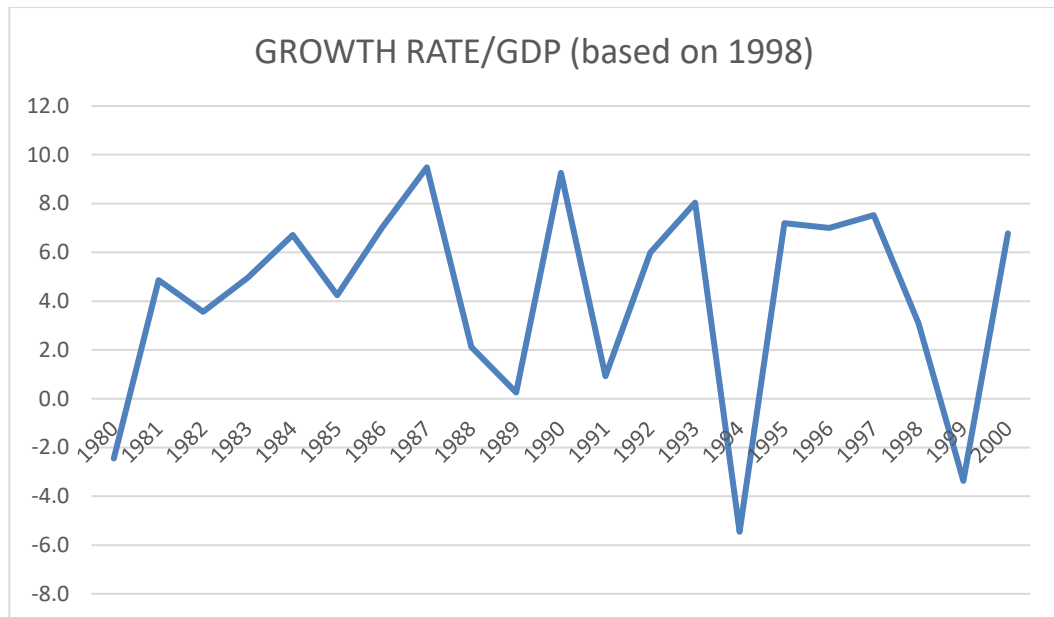


Figure 7-3: Growth rate of GDP based on 1998 prices (Source: Turkish Statistical Institution)

In this period state supported finance capital by freeing the capital flow in and out of Turkey, and continued integration into global financial markets. This integration not only made the Turkish economy a profitable financial market for international capital but also increased the relative importance of the banking sector in the economy. The number of Turkish banks increased from 67 in 1991 to 81 in 1999 (Öztürk, 2011, p. 148). Furthermore, with the Capital and Market Law, The Istanbul Stock and Exchange Market (ISEM) were restructured and became an important means of capital accumulation, especially for big capital groups. While there were 80 companies with \$13million trade values in 1986 this increased to 316 companies with \$182billion trade values in 2000 (trade value was \$82billion in 1999 and increased to \$182 billion before the 2000 crisis) Similar to the banking sector, the Stock Exchange was dominated by big capital groups (Öztürk, 2011, p. 151).

Borratav (2015, pp.193–194) suggests that under the hegemony of finance capital during the 1990s the ‘arbitrage profit’, which comes from the difference between interest rates and foreign currency exchange rates, increased dramatically. By simultaneously buying and selling money capital made huge profits; the annual

rate of arbitrage profit had been 25% between 1989 and 2002. This led to resource transfer from industry to finance capital; the ratio of the non-industrial revenues of these companies over the industrial revenues increased from 17.5% in 1982 to 50% in 1995 and reached 219% in 1999 (Altıok, 2002, p. 114). While the speculative profits of the finance sector increased, the conditions of the working class got worse. The real share of wages in added value decreased by 4.6% and real wages decreased 20% (Borotav, 2015, p. 191). Moreover, the total foreign loans of Turkey increased from 41.7 billion dollars in 1989 to 133.2 billion in 2003.

7.3.1 Urbanisation and Housing

The changing class settlement was also reflected in housing production. The restructuring of the economy in the 1980s hit the housing production system of the ISI period. The build-and-sell system could only function with low interest rates and depended on the secure income groups. In 1980s the real interest rate increased and the real incomes of the working class decreased dramatically. The increase of the interest rate opened new areas for investment but also made it difficult for developers to use commercial credit. Decreasing wages made it impossible for working class people to afford housing. Furthermore, inadequate urban land supplies saw landowners begin to use land scarcity to their advantage, which increased housing prices further. While the land owners were asking for 30% of the finished housing units in the 1970s in big cities, this increased to 50% and even 60% in some cases in the 1980s (A Türel, 1989; Işık, 1995; Baharoglu, 1996). Ultimately the build-and-sell coalition collapsed (Figure 7-4). However, due to decreasing real incomes amongst peasant urban migration increased (Table 7-5). Turkey experienced a major recession in the housing sector at the beginning of the 1980s (Işık, 1995).

Table 7-5: The Rural and Urban population 1980-2000

Year	Rural	Urban	Percentage of Rural Population	Percentage of Urban Population
1980	25.091.950	19.645.007	56,1	43,7
1985	23.798.701	26.865.757	47,0	53
1990	23.146.684	33.326.351	41,0	59
2000	23.797.653	44.006.274	35,1	64,9

(Source: Turkish Statistical Institution)

Formal housing production

With the collapse of the coalition around the build-and-sell system (Turel, 1991, p. 137; Baharoglu, 1996), housing production decreased dramatically (Figure 7-4). The population increased and therefore housing need in urban areas increased. During the military regime *gecekondu* production also nearly stopped, which further increased the need for housing (Işik, 1995, p. 793). In this point the national state intervened in the housing market in order to facilitate capital flow to the built environment (Section 3.3; Section 3.3.2). The state undertook this intervention in order to support construction capital and the capitalist class as whole, to provide housing to the working class and to reduce the class struggle (Section 4.4). The tools of this intervention were the establishment of national level institutions for the credit system and new legal frameworks for metropolitan municipalities. This was an upscaling of the state (Section 4.3.2). Mass housing production has been seen as a solution to increasing housing need, with the mass housing Law (Act no: 2985) enacted in 1984 (Işik, 1995; Baharoglu, 1996). With the mass housing act, a new mass credit system is established, which sought to offer finance to all actors: buyers, small scale and larger scale construction companies, individual developers (built-and-sell), construction material producers and cooperatives. This finance system increased investment in housing; the share of investment in private housing in total investment increased from 28.4% in 1984 to 50.4% in 1989 (Çoban, 2012; Bugra, 1998; Çoban, 2012).

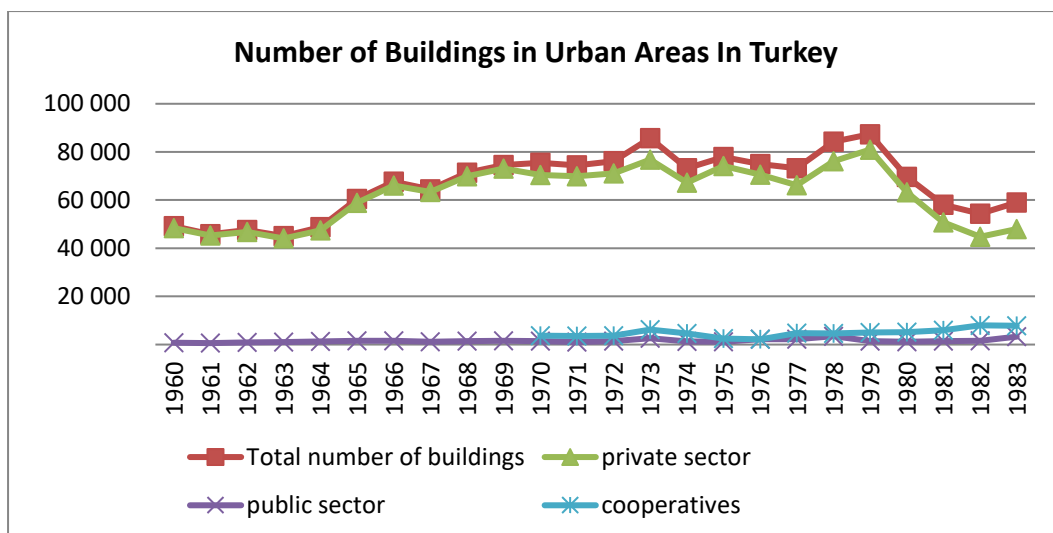


Figure 7-4: Housing production during ISI period and collapse of build-and-sell system after 1960 (Source: Turkish Statistical Institution)

When we talk about housing cooperatives in Turkey we are talking about something quite different to what the term would mean in the UK. In Turkey housing cooperatives are construction cooperatives set up to build the properties. After the construction finishes the property titles transfer to the individual members. The system is based on mass housing production and selling it off flat by flat. Since there was not a comprehensive housing credit system for secure income groups the cooperative style production became a tool of mass housing production for them in Turkey. People buy a share in these developments and make monthly payments for decades depending on the project. In Turkey, then, the cooperatives are a tool for secure income groups, especially civil servants, to capture urban ground rent. The cooperatives have been used as a mass housing production system in order to reduce the production cost of the individual flats (Keleş, 2014).

Increasing the share of housing cooperatives in housing production has been a target of development plans since 1963; however, the share of cooperatives did not pass 8% in the 1970s. Providing housing credits for cooperatives led to an increase in the number of housing cooperatives and houses built by cooperatives. While the share of housing cooperatives in total housing supply was 8.7% in 1980, it had increased to 25.2% by 1990 (Bugra, 1998). Since the policies are targeting

homeownership amongst fixed income groups, cooperatives also became an instrument of them and were used for speculative investments. Moreover, cooperative types of housing production have other problems; the construction tended to take a long time and cooperatives did not effectively control for quality (Özdemir, 2011).

With the intervention of the state in the built environment and particularly housing, the production and the number of actors in production increased. Starting from 1980s various sizes of companies – large-scale construction companies, individual developers (Yap-sat), housing cooperatives and for the first time the public sector –became active producers of mass housing. The Mass Housing Agency supported construction of 950,000 houses with credit, producing 43,145 units on public land (Özdemir, 2011; Çoban, 2012). This was an upscaling of state (Section 4.3.2) in relation to housing production.

Integration of gecekondu to the formal land and housing system

The market-oriented framework had a greater emphasis on private property, financial institutions and the housing credit systems. Based on this approach, housing is part of the economy and should function as a market. This framework further strengthened the relationship between land titling programs, housing finance and urban development (Section 3.7.3). In relation to gecekondu, on the other hand, there have been major changes in the state's approach, with amnesty laws in 1983, 1984, 1986 and 1987. While previous amnesty laws were aiming to legalise gecekondu, the 1984 act (no: 2891) went further, not only legalising existing gecekondu but also giving extra development rights, up to 4-5 floors, with the Improvements and Development Plans (IDP). With IDP plans gecekondu neighbourhoods were integrated into the formal system, providing cheap land to the construction sector and thereby supporting further economic growth. It was also a redistribution policy and aiming to compensate urban low-income groups by redistributing urban rent (Şengül, 2003; Borotav, 2015). With IDP, the state aimed to support the capitalist class as whole, support reproduction of labour

power by providing formal housing and mitigate class struggle by redistributing urban rent (Section 4.4 and 4.5).

Another target of IDP projects was the establishment of clear land ownership patterns in harmony with neoliberal policies (Section 3.7.3). According to the amnesty act in 1985, the gecekondu owners had to apply to municipalities for the legalisation process and for the title deeds. Title deeds provided the right to use the land. In order to obtain the title deeds gecekondu residents had to buy the land from the state or from the landowner it was on private land. The payment had to be made in 4 years with 12 equal instalments; the other obligation for state land was that the land should be less than 400 m². For the private land, if the land owner and the gecekondu owner reached an agreement about the payment, then they both applied to the governorship or municipality for transfer of ownership; if they could not make an agreement the value was determined by court and the ownership transferred after payments. The secure land titles were given after land registration. The Improvement plans were prepared by the metropolitan municipalities (Uzun, Çete and Palancıoğlu, 2010). (See Section 8.3.2 for further details of IDP process).

By legalising all neighbourhoods, the state converted the urban poor into land owners and property owners in harmony with neoliberal policies towards informal housing (Section 3.7.3). Due to disadvantageous locations, however, many squatter settlements did not convert to apartments despite the plans. Similar to the Land Reform Act in 1945, then, this state intervention created social fragmentation. Gecekondu with advantageous locations transformed into apartment blocks, whilst in some neighbourhood developers did not want to invest due to low levels of return. Therefore, IDP led to limited redevelopment of the gecekondu neighbourhoods (Şengül, 2003; Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005, pp. 2–25; Erman, 2011).

After this point the commodification of gecekondu increased and people built more gecekondu to sell and rent. Işık (1996, pp.790–792) argues that whilst the first generation of migrants only built for their accommodation needs the physical

improvements and legalisation processes led to commercial production of gecekondu after the 1980s. Işık (1996, p.792) argues that after 1980s gecekondu were constructed for exchange value, for renting and selling. Bugra (1998) argues that high tenant occupation levels in the State Planning Organisation report of 1991 supported the commercialisation, the tenancy levels according to this report were 32.67 per cent in Istanbul, 28.50 per cent in Ankara, 27.70 per cent in Izmir and 24.3 for Turkey as a whole. (Section 3.7.2 for neoliberal restructuring and commodification of informal settlements).

Moreover, IDP created a very dense urban environment with low levels of infrastructure and led to a dramatic increase in the population in project areas (In the case of Ankara Section 8.3.2). It also differentiated gecekondu populations and led to speculative gains from urban rent for the gecekondu owners in advantageous locations. In so far as the neighbourhoods which are built according to IDP have inadequate space for public services, then, the IDP can be seen to have destroyed the social structure within the gecekondu neighbourhoods, seeing people lose their previous social networks (Dündar, 2001b; Şenyapılı, 2004b; Sat, 2005).

Decreasing profit and investment levels in manufacturing created a desire for capital and the state to invest in the built environment, which had been neglected for decades. Metropolitan Municipalities became the main tool of this capital switch. Indeed, in the year of 2001 there were total 3.983 million buildings in Turkey and 2.323 million of them were built between 1980 and 2001. In other words, 58% of all buildings in 2001 were built after 1980 (TUIK, 2013). In terms of dwelling units, the figure is even larger; there were 11.086million dwelling units in Turkey in 2001, 7.821million (70.5%) of them were built between the years 1980 and 2001 (Figure 7-5).

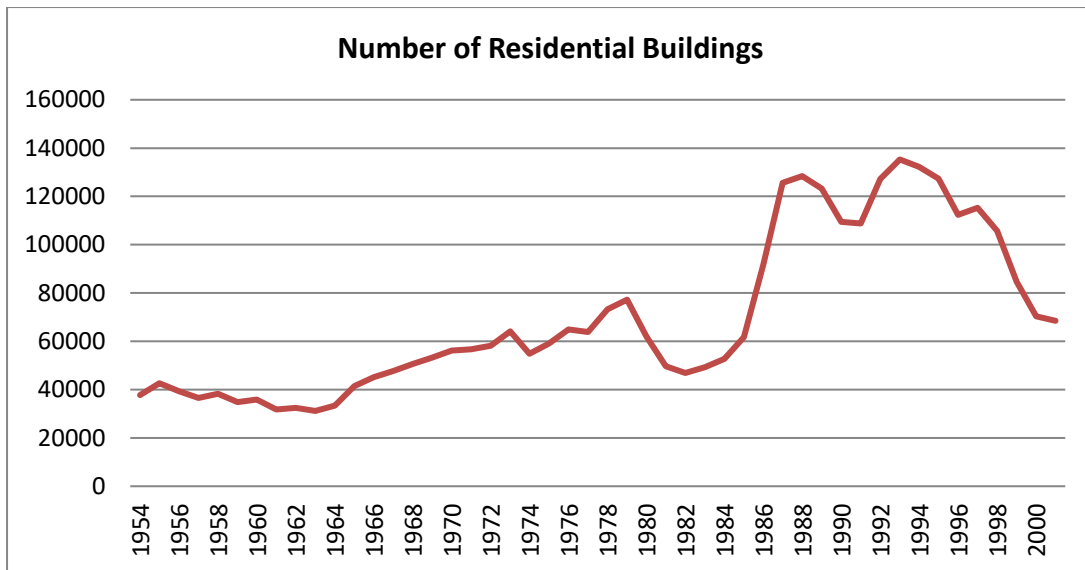


Figure 7-5: The number of Residential buildings in urban areas in Turkey
(Source: Turkish Statistical Institution)

7.4 Neoliberalism Period and Financialization 2000-2017

2002 was a milestone for political economy in Turkey. After the South East Asia crisis in 1997-1998 there were crises in Argentina, Russia and Turkey. The final stage of the same stagnation reached Turkey in 2001 and the economy collapsed. In the 2002 election, all parties who were perceived to be involved in corruption did not reach the ten percent threshold and did not enter the parliament. With the crisis of 2001, the decade-long regulations required by the IMF and WB were enacted. These regulations aimed to further integrate the Turkish finance system to global finance markets. The state had to restructure the finance system in order to support finance capital and to encourage the import of capital from abroad. Karadag (2010) suggests that the public and private banks (21 banks in total) didn't have a strong financial structure were taken over by the newly established Saving Deposit Insurance Fund (SDIF). The banks were consolidated and privatised by SDIF, at a cost of an estimated \$50billion to the treasury. Therefore, 2002 represent an important moment for Turkish political economy (Karadag, 2010).

The position of the Turkish bourgeoisie has always developed in relation to the state, with the development of a national bourgeoisie being a target of the state since the beginning of the Republic (Section 4.4 for theoretical analyses of the

relationship between state and capital as a class). The neoliberal restructuring of the economy after the 1980s was also a restructuring of the relation between the capitalist class and the state. Boratav (2016) suggests that in Turkey the bourgeois class was instrumental in the shift to neoliberalism and took control of economic policy. The 1990s were politically and economically unstable, with 13 coalition governments and several severe economic crises. After this political and economic instability, the rule of the JDP in single party governments has been welcomed by all segments of capital (Boratav 2016 and Öztürk 2011, p.185). Therefore, following the election of 2002 the JDP immediately and fully implemented the neoliberal program.

In the years 1998-2008, an IMF and WB policy framework has been implemented: the programs were aiming to reform the public sector, and establish independent financial institutions such as a banking regulation and supervision agency, and Energy Market Board independent of central Bank (Zabçı, 2014). These policy suggestions were based on the Neoliberal logic of separation of economy from politics (Bahçe and Köse, 2016; Erinç Yeldan and Ünüvar, 2016). The main argument of the IMF and WB was that bad economic management, influenced by the political demands of the working classes, was the reason behind the increased public deficit and low economic growth. Therefore, economic policies should be implemented by independent bodies (Zabçı, 2014). The strategies of these independent economic bodies are to decrease public spending, and to privatise public enterprises and public services. During this period state support to capital as a whole continued in the form of privatisation and labour disciplinary policies (See following Sections).

7.4.1 Privatisation

The total amount of privatisation reached \$68billion in 2016, with only \$8.2 billion of these privatisations made before the JDP period. The highest amount was in 2013 with \$12.486 billion (Table 7-6). According to the Medium Term Program, it is expected that privatisation revenues will be \$4.5billion in 2017, \$2billion in 2018 and \$1.6 billion in 2019 (<http://www.bloomberght.com>, 2016).

Table 7-6: Privatisation in Neoliberal Period in Turkey

Years	Amount (Billion Dollars)	Years	Amount (Billion Dollars)
1986-2003	8.240	2010	3.082
2004	1.283	2011	1.358
2005	8.222	2012	3.021
2006	8.096	2013	12.486
2007	4.259	2014	6.279
2008	6.259	2015	1.996
2009	2.275	2016*	1.170 (until July)

(Source : Privatisation Administration, 2016)

7.4.2 Labour Disciplinary Policies

Rigidity of labour markets in Turkey has been one of the main complaints of Turkish capital groups, the IMF and WB since the 1980s. These discourses have been used in order to legitimise the intervention in labour markets. The process started with the 2003 Labour Act, which institutionalised flexible employment, decreased job security for the working class and increased the disciplinary power of employers. The labour disciplinary policies can be best seen in terms of the decreasing number of workers under collective bargaining agreements in Turkey. While 1.5million (22.2%) of 7.1million workers had collective bargaining coverage in 1988, the figure decreased to 1.04 million (10%) of 10.4million workers in 2000. Finally, the figure reaches 0.78million (5.7%) of 13.7 million workers. The total employment rate in Turkey is 44.8%, 26,672,000 persons (TUIK, 2017). These figures are worse in the private sector, where it is estimated that only 370,000 (3.5%) workers are under the collective bargaining agreements (A. Celik, 2013, pp. 44–48). Between the years 2002 and 2011 OECD countries witnessed an 11 percent decreased of unionisation rates; for the same period the figure decreased 38% in Turkey.

Based on the Turkish Labour Market study group's report (World Bank 2006; pp.– xiii), one out of three workers in urban areas and three in four workers in rural areas are not registered with any social security institutions. Since being members of social security institutions is the primary condition for the social protection system (such as pension and unemployment insurance), these informal workers cannot receive these protections. The table 7-7 below summarises the main changes in relation to labour market between 2002 and 2016 (DISK, 2018, p. 26).

Table 7-7: The number, year and the results of anti-labour laws in Turkey

Years	Act no or Name	The Result
2003	4857	Flexible employment, uncertain working hours, decrease of labour rights
2006	Social Security and General Health Insurance Act	Increase of retirement Age and increasing the level of private provision of Health Services
2008-2017	Unemployment Insurance	The changes in the act allowed for usage of insurance funds to support new investments
2012	Trade Union Act	Maintain the limitations of 1980 trade union act
2012	Occupational Safety Act	The occupational safety controls start to made by private companies, as a results of this the number of job accidents and losses in creased
2014	Act no: 6552	Some improvement in the conditions of sub-contracted workers, but did not provide job security
2015	Act no: 6645	There were some improvements to working conditions, but these did not stop work accidents
2016	Act no: 6663	Some improvements about maternity leave, but there are not any amendments about free childcare
2016	Act no: 6715	Private employment agencies gain power to hire temporary employment.
2016	Act no: 6740	Private pension scheme became compulsory for workers under 45.
2016	Act no: 6741	A new Wealth Fund established and all remaining public institutions and banks transferred to this fund.

Source: (Bakir, 2017)

Subcontracting

With act no. 4857 in 2003, the subcontracting logic of neoliberal labour markets was introduced in Turkey. Before the Act there were a limited number of labourers working as sub-contractors. This act increased the number dramatically in both public and private sectors (Table 7-8; TMMOB, Makina Muhendileri Odası 2017). Moreover, Turkey has one of the highest hours of work in manufacturing per week, 52 hours; the same figure is 38.5 for the EU-15, 44.7 for Mexico and 48.0 for Korea (World Bank, 2006; p. ix).

Table 7-8: The number of workers works under sub-contracting system

Years	Number of workers employed by contractors
2002	387,118
2003	449,011
2004	581,490
2005	657,677
2006	907,153
2007	1,163,917
2008	1,261,630
2009	1,049,960
2010	1,293,898
2011	1,611,204

Source: TMMOB, Makina Muhendileri Odası 2017; p 26)

A different data set released by the Ministry of Labour and Security, shows that sub-contracting companies employ 586,000 workers in the public sector and 419,000 people in the private sector. The same data shows the most common use of sub-contractors is in public sanitation (417,000) and the private construction sector (318,000). Municipalities employ the highest number of sub-contractors amongst the public sector, hiring 36% of all sub-contracted labour. State economic enterprises are in the second place with 14% (A. Celik, 2013).

Agricultural Labour

Due to the agricultural reform program of the WB, the economic position of agricultural labour has got worse since the 1980s (Boratav, 2016). Based on Bahçe & Köse (2016) research derived from the Household Budget Survey (Turkish Statistical Institutions, 2017), landless agricultural labour was 9% of the labour force in 2002, and increased to 17.9% in 2011. Bahçe & Köse (2016) suggest an ongoing proletarianisation by dispossession; labourer households increased 36%, while the average growth rate of households was 17%. The strategies of stopping or decreasing agricultural subsidies see small scale peasants losing their land and either working as agricultural labourers or migrating to urban areas and becoming urban labourers.

Unemployment

The unemployment level increased to 10.8% with one of the worst economic crises in 2002. Despite the growth in GDP over 10 years the unemployment level is still the same as of 2014. The labour disciplinary policy program is another reason for high unemployment. Social security expenses are calculated based on the number of work days rather than work hours; therefore, companies use existing workers for overtime rather than hire new workers. The 2003 Labour Act allows employers and employees to 'mutually' agree over the long work period. If the workers in the manufacturing sector worked 45 hours instead of 52 hours another 500,000 workers would be required (World Bank, 2006, p. ix).

Poverty

As a result of these labour disciplinary policies, poverty and inequality continues to be high. Despite the increase in GDP and new social support schemes from government, Turkey still has the fourth highest level of economic inequality amongst the OECD countries. This inequality measured by the Gini coefficient is 0.39 in Turkey, which is above the OECD average 0.32. Based on this measurement Mexico is the first, Chile is the second, and USA is the third country in terms of income inequality (OECD, 2017). The income shared by the highest 20 percent of

the population did not fall under 45% between the years 2002 and 2013 (WB, 2015). Based on the 2016 Household Budget Survey (2017) the poverty level in Turkey is 21.9%. Based on the same survey, housing constitutes the largest expenditure of an average Turkish family in 2016 at 25%. The severe material deprivation rate is 32.9% in 2016 (TUIK, 2017). Based on the data from Household Budget Survey (Bahçe and Köse, 2016) suggesting that dispossession and further polarisation of the population is increasing both in rural and urban areas, and that income polarisation on the basis of the class positions of the population is sharpening, as increasing numbers of working class people borrow in order to meet their basic needs.

7.4.3 Financialization

This increasing influence of finance capital in the overall economy, politics and society has been called 'financialization' (Section 3.8). One aspect of financialization has been the increasing flexibility of the labour force, and therefore the enlargement of credit-borrowing in order to postpone a crisis of under-consumption (Bahçe and Köse, 2016; Yeldan and Ünüvar, 2016; Karacimen, 2014; 2015). The neoliberal disciplinary policies not only destroy the rights of the working class but also created a crisis for the capitalist system due to the decreasing real incomes of the working class. Therefore, to keep demand at a certain level, the credit system needs to be created and expanded (Bahçe and Köse, 2016). Since the 1990s this expansion has also included the developing countries. The function of financialization has been, therefore, both in the centre and at the periphery, as a temporary solution to a crisis of accumulation (Bahçe and Köse, 2016). The figures in the Table 7-9 demonstrate the penetration of the credit system in to daily life and the economy in general.

Table 7-9: The Percentage of borrowers in each income group

Monthly Income	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
0-1000	31.4	31	37.6	42.4	41	42.9
1001-2000	16.8	21.7	23.9	28.2	27.9	25.8
2001-3000	5.9	6.6	8	10	11.4	11.7
3001-5000	4.8	5.7	5.5	6.2	6	5.6
5001 +	7.8	5.8	6.6	6.8	6.3	5.4
Unclassified	33	28.9	18.1	6.1	6.5	8.5
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total amount of borrowers	4,978,965	5,337,247	5,838,184	6,540,726	8,041,700	8,966,464

(Source: Karacimen, 2015)

As a result of falling real incomes working class people have needed consumer credit in order to pay their everyday expenses. The proportion of household debt to GDP increased from 3% in 2003 to 19% in 2013. The ratio of private sector debt to GDP also increased from 18.7% to 34.4% (Table 7-10). Despite the fact that lending to consumers for personal use only started in 1988, therefore, the usage of consumer credit has increased sharply. As a proportion to GDP, the total of consumer loans and credit debt increased from 1.8% in 2002 to 18.7% in 2012. Moreover, household debt reached 49% of disposable personal income in 2012, which is a seven-fold increases since 2003 (Karacimen, 2015).

Based on data from the Banks Associations of Turkey, approximately 42% of borrowers of consumer loans have a monthly income less than 1000 lira (about £300) for the years 2009, 2010 and 2011. According to the Confederation of Turkish Labour Unions (Turk-Is), the poverty line for a family of four in 2010 is 2,644 liras, the starvation line is 812 liras. Moreover, the same data also indicates that the largest share of consumer loan borrowers are wage labourers (Karacimen, 2014, 2015).

Based on their Household Budget Surveys, Bahçe and Köse (2016) suggest that around 30% of working class people (propertyless labourers, rural and urban unemployed, landless and landed subsistence peasants) have to borrow in order to pay their basic physical and social needs. Although the ratio of the population unable to finance their physical minimum expenditures (food, housing, transportation and clothing) has decreased since 2002, the working classes still have the highest level, with an average 30%. The low level of wages creates a vicious circle for working class people, whereby they are unable to finance their physical and social minimum consumption and therefore have to borrow (Table 7-9). This ever-increasing debt combined with the anti-labour policies make the working classes more submissive to the demands of capital (Karacimen, 2014; 2015; Bahçe and Köse, 2016).

Table 7-10: FDI inflow and External Debt Stock of Turkey since 2006

Years	FDI inflow to Turkey (Billion Dollars)	External debt stock of turkey Corporate and state debt total (Billion Dollars)
2006	20.2	208.1
2007	22	250
2008	19.9	280.9
2009	8.6	268.9
2010	9.1	292
2011	16.2	303.9
2012	13.6	339
2013	12.9	389
2014	12.8	402
2015	17.6	397.8
2016	12.3	411

Source: The National Bank of Turkish Republic, 2017

Large levels of foreign capital have flowed into Turkey (table 7-10) in order to capture the high levels of return domestically offered. High interest rates have attracted short term financial capital, in return the relatively high levels of foreign exchange, led to overvaluation of Turkish Lira. The high value of Turkish Lira on the other hand triggers an import boom in consumption and investment goods (See Table 7-11). Therefore, whilst the ratio of government debt to GDP and

budgetary deficit decreased as planned, the household debt ratio to GDP rocketed (ErinçYeldan and Ünüvar, 2016). As a result of this speculative growth the share of consumption of Turkey's GDP reached 65%. Moreover, the income boom also supported the fiscal balance through indirect tax revenues (ErinçYeldan and Ünüvar, 2016).

Table 7-11: Budgetary deficit, and debt level /GDP ratios

Years	Budgetary deficit (%)	Current account deficit (%)	Government debt stock/GDP (%)	Private sector external debt/GDP (%)	Household debt/GDP (%)
2002	-11.2	-0.3	69.2	18.7	2
2003	-8.8	-2.5	62.2	16.1	3
2004	-5.4	-3.7	56.6	16.4	5
2005	-1.5	-4.6	51.1	17.6	7
2006	-0.5	-6.1	45.5	23.0	9
2007	-1.6	-5.9	39.6	24.8	11
2008	-1.8	-5.7	40.0	25.4	12
2009	-5.5	-2.2	46.3	27.9	13
2010	-3.6	-6.2	43.1	26.1	15
2011	-1.3	-9.7	39.9	25.9	17
2012	-2.2	-6.0	37.6	29.0	18
2013	-1.2	-7.9	37.4	32.4	19
2014	-1.3	-5.7	34.9	34.4	19

Source: The National Bank of Turkish Republic (2017)

In other words, state borrowing policy in the 1990s is replaced with the private sector and household borrowing. The private saving ratio to GDP decreased dramatically; while it was 25.1% in 2002, it decreased to an average 22% between the 2003-2008 years, 12.3% in 2010, and 9.7% in 2013 (ErinçYeldan and Ünüvar, 2016). Therefore, many scholars suggest the economic strategy of the current government is based on speculative money rather than increasing the productivity and value creation of the country (ErinçYeldan and Ünüvar, 2016; Bahçe and Köse, 2016; Boratav, 2015). By decreasing domestic savings and

increasing the dependency of the economy on external sources, this approach increases the vulnerability of the economy to external shocks.

7.4.4 Social Policy of the under financial neoliberalism

Here I outline the general features of the neoliberal program successfully implemented during the JDP period and how the state has supported the capitalist class. Turkish capital continued production by using the advantages provided by cheap labour and standard technologies. Meanwhile the real incomes of the working class decreased because of policies aimed at disciplining labour and privatisation. The problem of this model, however, is poverty. The severe material deprivation rate was 32.9% in 2016 (TUIK, 2017). In other words, 33% percent of the population are unable to meet their basic physical needs (food, housing, transportation and clothing). Therefore, the social policies of the JDP became a necessity in order to keep workers as usable labour power. In other words, the state supported reproduction of labour with social policies.

In relation to these social policies it is important to note that the JDP inherited the Welfare Party tradition. The Welfare Party, a conservative party, had established strong connections with the *gecekonu* and the urban poor during the 1990s on account of municipal aid programs. These grassroots social support programs included free computer and university exam preparation courses for students, food and fuel allowances and financial support. These support programs, and the neighbourhood level connection made the party appear reliable and accessible to the urban poor (Zabçı, 2014). The social support system of the JDP is based on this program and became a national policy. In civil society more widely we also find Islamic Welfare and social support NGOs which have organic connections with the JDP government (Zabçı, 2014; Bayirbağ, 2013). The JDP's social policy, then, was based on three pillars: reforming the social security system; introducing housing as a social policy instrument; and transforming locally established charity schemes into national ones (Bayirbağ, 2013).

7.5 Housing and Urbanisation 2000-2017

In this section I explain general urbanisation and housing production strategies since 2000. The changing class settlement is also reflected in housing production. Again the intervention of the state in the built environment, and particularly in housing, aimed to support particular sections of capital, such as finance and construction capital, and general capital accumulation. It also served capital as a whole by producing adequate housing for the working class in the right locations. The state is also involved in housing production in order to provide better and cheaper reproduction of labour power and mitigate class struggle (Section 4.1.2). Under this new class settlement, the key concepts to analyse the state intervention to working class housing are the upward scaling of state power (Section 7.5.1) and financialization (Section 7.5.2).

The 2000s saw a big economic crisis similar to that of the 1980s. Therefore, housing production decreased dramatically, while the rural urban migration flows (Table 7-12). The JDP governments followed the IMF program and used periods of growth to invest in the built environment through large scale infrastructure and housing projects. The trend of increased investment in the built environment since 1980s, then, continued during JDP period. However, due to new credits systems, the level of investment increased to unprecedented levels. In particular, housing production increased dramatically during the period (Figure 7-6). In order to take advantage of periods of growth the JDP used its legislative power to open routes for investment into the built environment.

Table 7-12: Rural and Urban population post-1990

Year	Rural	Urban	Percentage of Rural Population	Percentage of Urban Population
1990	23,146,684	33,326,351	41.0	59
2000	23,797,653	44,006,274	35.1	64.9
2010	17,500,632	56,222,356	23.7	76.2
2012	17,178,953	58,448,431	22.7	77.2
2017	6,060,789	74,749,736	7,5	92,5

Note: In 2012 the official borders of the metropolitan municipalities expanded, and the official status of the villages within the big cities of Turkey converted into neighbourhoods.

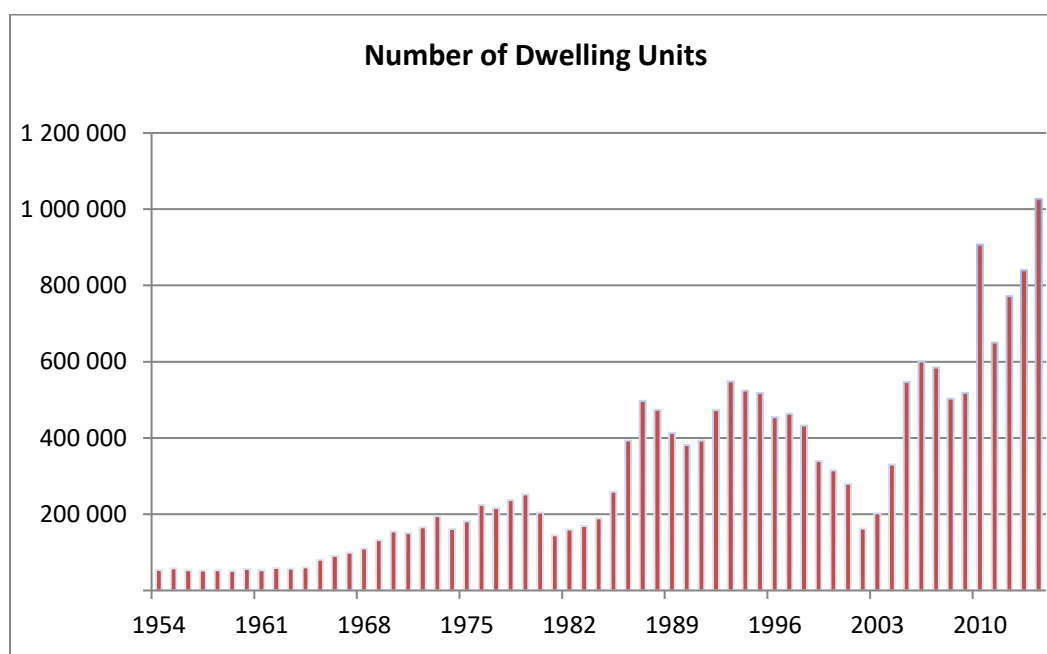


Figure 7-6: The production of dwelling units (Source: TUIK, 2017)

Notes: the figure shows the number of dwelling units produced each year, the dwelling units can be one bedroom, two bedrooms, three or more bedroom apartments.

Another main feature of this period is having zero tolerance of gecekondu construction, with the former Minister of Environment and Urban Planning describing the gecekondu neighbourhoods as, ‘a base for terrorism, drugs, improper perception of the state, psychological disorder, lack of education and health problems’ (Sabah, 2007 cited in Elicin, 2014). At the first housing congress

organised by MHA he said, ‘it [is] our wish to clear up the gecekondu type settlements which surround our cities just like a tumour’. With increasing economic and political power, the construction sector intervened in gecekondu neighbourhoods more than before. The deprivation in gecekondu neighbourhood since 1980 has been used as a legitimisation for intervention in them. The suggestion has been promoted that gecekondu neighbourhoods are sources of crime and all kinds of social and economic problems. Even in the academic writing the representation of the gecekondu population has changed since the 1980s, coming to be seen as, ‘threatening/varoslu (from ghetto)’(Erman, 2004). We have also seen a variety of state agencies adopt ‘zero tolerance’ policies against the gecekondu. With the change in the new Penal Code of 2004 (no: 5237), construction of gecekondu is a crime punishable by imprisonment.

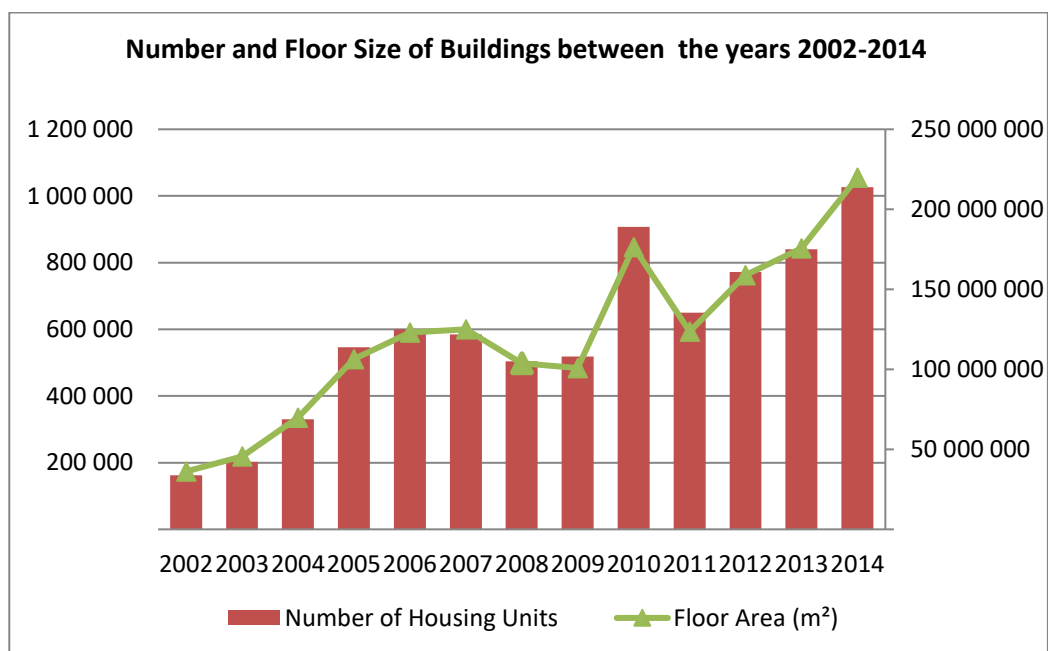


Figure-7.7: Number and Floor Size of the new Buildings 2002-2014 (Source: TUIK).

Figure 7-7 shows the dramatic increase in housing production since 2002. The Mass Housing Agency (MHA) and metropolitan municipalities are actively involved in this process, seeking to solve ownership and planning problems. Before 2002, housing production was a lengthy bureaucratic process (e.g. the procedure for constructing a house on vacant land in Turkey involved a total of 250 signatures and took approximately seven years). Moreover, the ‘share of

taxes [and] fees could be as high as one third of total construction costs' (Özdemir, 2011, p. 1104). Whilst on the one hand metropolitan municipalities and the MHA sought to solve bureaucratic problems, new credit systems, on the other, provided the capital for both private developers and home buyers. In order to understand this increase, therefore, it is important to understand the changes in these institutions.

7.5.1 Re-scaling of state and the Built Environment

After the 1980s there has been a radical reordering in the finance and service sectors and further concentration of production in the big cities of Turkey, which leads to an increase of formal and professional workers living in cities as well as overall population growth in cities. These changes required massive restructuring of cities including new public transport systems. This was accomplished through setting up the Metropolitan Municipalities and through interventions by national government; only these bodies had the large resources and the territorial sweep necessary for city restructuring.

Secondly, governments since the 1990s have sought to end *gecekondu* living and house the working class in formal, capitalist-built housing. This is seen as providing a materially higher standard of living and also providing large contracts for large construction companies. The programmes to build new working class housing have required a major input from the MHA, from the Metropolitan Municipalities, as well as some role for District Municipalities. Again, the enormous scale of the redevelopment of the *gecekondu*s has required higher spatial scales of the state to lead the programmes. The District Municipalities did not have the resources, legal powers or expertise. Therefore, especially after 2002 central state agencies and metropolitan municipalities gained further legal power and economic power in order to implement these bigger scale projects. Whilst the district municipalities did not become irrelevant, there has been an overall shift in power upwards. Moreover, the MHA made the national state an essential actor in housing production, which is also an upwards movement of power. Note that the wholesale restructuring of cities and working class housing in Turkey in the last

thirty years has no parallel in the MDCs. Therefore, state rescaling has been very different in Turkey from the MDCs. (Section 4.4.2)

7.5.1.1 MHA

The MHA has gained and increased its power in relation to different duties. Firstly, the MHA gained the power to establish companies and become a partner of existing companies in relation to housing production. This housing production power can also be used in relation to squatter redevelopment and the prevention of squatter areas, or to restore historical and regional architecture. Secondly, the MHA gained the power to undertake profit seeking projects similar to the private sector. Third, the MHA was given the power to prepare plans at all scales and change existing plans relating to mass housing development. Moreover, this power also includes of the ability to compulsorily purchase land and property to enable mass housing production. Finally, all duties and powers of the Urban Land Office and the Real Estate Bank, along with 64.5million m² of land, was transferred to the MHA in order to integrate housing production, land acquisition and redevelopment (Gündoğdu and Gough, 2009; Yılmaz, 2016; Geray 2007, p.746). The MHA, therefore, can prepare and confirm new land use planning for all private and public land in Turkey.

With this strong institutional power the MHA can bypass all conventional regulations, other institutions and plans, and create local bodies operating like private companies (Yılmaz, 2016; Batuman, 2013a; Elicin, 2014). This has given rise to a situation whereby public land has been used for private housing production. The MHA also has authority to solve all kinds of technical details about any kind of construction, and can act as a housing credit (mortgage) provider. This has seen the regeneration strategy of MHA become the principal planning tool of central government in creating attractive urban space for the investment of national and international capital (Elicin, 2014; Güzey, 2009).

The Improvement and Development Plans (IDP) areas do not have adequate social facilities and infrastructure, and have low quality of urban space. A new strategy

for redevelopment came onto the agenda after the 1996 UN Habitat Conference in Istanbul; the Urban Transformation Plans (UTP). The aim of the UTP is neighbourhood level redevelopment rather than the parcel level approach seen in IDP projects (Dündar, 2001b). Ankara Greater Municipality implemented UTP projects which were aiming to redevelop inner city gecekondu areas into upper class housing and office districts (Dündar, 2001b). The strategy of the government to shape urban areas through UTP projects continued.

During the 2000s UTP became the main strategy of Metropolitan Municipalities in order to intervene in urban space, especially in gecekondu areas. With the new legal framework in 2000s different state institution, including the MHA gained the power to implement redevelopment projects as a part of a disaster prevention strategy. In this way redevelopment of squatter neighbourhoods was legitimised via an earthquake risk reduction strategy; however, the implementation saw the displacement of the population and urban rent transfer to the private sector (Elicin, 2014).

With Article 9 of the Urban Transformation Act 2012, urban transformation projects became a nationwide strategy. The MHA becomes the highest planning authority, over all existing acts and regulations. In other words, if there are any legal obstacles to the implementation of redevelopment projects, the MHA the Transformation Act has precedence over all existing acts, including but not limited to the law on the littorals, agricultural land, pasture, olive groves, protected natural and urban landscape areas and archaeological sites (Elicin, 2014). In short, with the Disaster Risk Act in 2012 central government gain more powerful tools for implementing large scale redevelopment projects and bypassing all existing acts and policies.

With this administrative and economic power, production of 805,072 housing units in 81 provinces of Turkey has been started at 3,517 construction sites since 2002, and a total 685,533 housing units have been produced since 2002 by only MHA (MHA, 2017). Based on MHA (2017) reports 44% of the total housing units (355,938 units) are for middle income groups, and 19% (150,465 units) are for

low-income groups. Moreover, 17% of the total production (135,364 units) is gecekondur redevelopment, and 14% of total production (110,107 units) is for upper income groups.

7.5.1.2 Metropolitan Municipalities

At the beginning of the JDP period the trend of the 1990s continued and the power and revenue of the metropolitan municipalities increased; the boundaries of municipalities were expanded and the number increased. These changes have been legitimised with similar reasoning to the 1980s: making the big cities centres of economic attraction at the international level, providing effective and sufficient services. The revenues and duties of metropolitan municipalities (Act 3030, 1984) increased in 2005 (the new Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216). Whilst detailed analysis of the legislation is beyond the scope of this chapter it is important to note that there have been major changes to this act: in 2008 with act 5747 and in 2012 with act no. 6360. In relation to my discussion, however, I can briefly add that in 2008 metropolitan municipalities gained the power to prepare and implement urban redevelopment projects at all scales, bypassing the district level of municipalities. As a result we have seen, in some cases, district level municipalities in conflict with metropolitan municipalities about the implementation of urban redevelopment projects (Bayırbağ and Penpecioglu, 2015).

Another change in relation to metropolitan municipalities' power over the production of space was the 5366 'the Regeneration Sites Bill' which was enacted in 2005. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has used this act as the legal basis for its intervention in' gecekondur neighbourhoods, as in the case of Mamak and article 73 of this act gives municipalities,

' the opportunity to consider all locations, of all characteristics and almost all sizes, as regeneration sites for the purposes of re-building and restoring those worn-out urban sections, in line with the development of the city; they may create housing areas, industrial and

commercial areas, technology parks and take precautions against earthquakes, or preserve a city's historical and cultural fabric (Güzey, 2009, p. 30)'.

Although the JDP government supported the increase in the revenues and responsibilities of metropolitan municipalities until 2010, the central government became more active after 2010. Central government agencies such as the MHA and the Ministry of Transport, Maritime Affairs and Communications have become more active as agencies of central government. With increasing power, the MHA became more active in all parts of Turkey and established partnerships with municipalities. Güzey (2016) states that between 2003 and 2015 the MHA prepared 336 redevelopment projects, which set targets to produce 276,162 housing units in partnership with municipalities in different regions of Turkey.

7.5.2 Financialization and built environment since 2000

By interacting with global pools of finance capital, the national housing systems are transforming towards an Anglo-American, liberalised mode of housing finance. The influx of capital into housing occurred all around the world; while the MDC experienced this influx starting from the 1990s, the LDCs started to experience it after the 2000s (Section 3.8.1.2 and 3.8.1.3). When financialization is applied to urban policies and housing, it is not only a switch of capital between circuits (Section 3.3), but it highlights the processes which provide further integration of the finance markets to the production of the built environment through financial intermediaries and new regulations to enable this. After this paradigm change, housing provision was increasingly driven by the logic and practice of financial markets. In order to find new markets and to increase profits, the mortgage market expanded to include historically excluded groups. The solution of the housing problem of the poor was home ownership based on household debt. As a result, the interdependency and complementary relationship between the finance and housing sectors is further strengthened

In this period metropolitan municipalities and central government agencies became very active in the implementation of redevelopment projects in order to solve the problem of long bureaucratic procedures (upward scaling of state in Turkey Section 4.5.2); the MHA became active in both solving problems and giving credit. There has also been a large increase in private sector bank lending to house purchasers (Financialization of housing in LDC Section 3.8.1.2)

As we have seen in sections 7.2 and 7.3, historically there was a state monopoly over giving housing credit in Turkey. Until the 1980s only the social security organisations and the Real Estate Bank (State Bank) used to give housing credit to its members. To gain access to these credit borrowers would have to have official jobs. Therefore, only a limited number of formally employed people could access housing credit. In the past housing credits used to have fixed, low-interest rates. Due to chronically high inflation in Turkey, these loans became worthless, turning in effect into housing subsidies. This situation continued until the 2000s, seeing institutions rely on central government funds in order to continue providing housing credits (Türel and Koç, 2014). Although after the 1990s private banks started to give housing credit, high interest rates made it impossible for middle and low-income groups to access this credit. Another way of financing housing, then, was MHA credit. This saw the MHA give credit to members of house-building cooperatives, a situation supported by central government after 1980 in order to solve the housing problem in big cities. In the 1990s, however, MHA credit for members of housing cooperatives decreased dramatically, and was stopped altogether by the government in 2004 (Ali Türel, 1989; Türel and Koç, 2014).

With the decrease of inflation since 2004, the banking sector has increased credit for the housing and construction sectors. The Housing credit interest rate was 48.2% in 2002; it decreased to 17.8% in 2005 and 11.1% in 2010. The first mortgage regulation was enacted in 2007 and 30-40% of home buyers have used mortgage credits since then (Figure 7-8). The data in figure 7-8 shows the number of mortgage users since the changes in 2007, but with the decreasing inflation rate in 2004 private banks had already started to give housing credit. In the years

2002-2014, then, a total 3.6 million people have used housing credit (Türel and Koç, 2015).

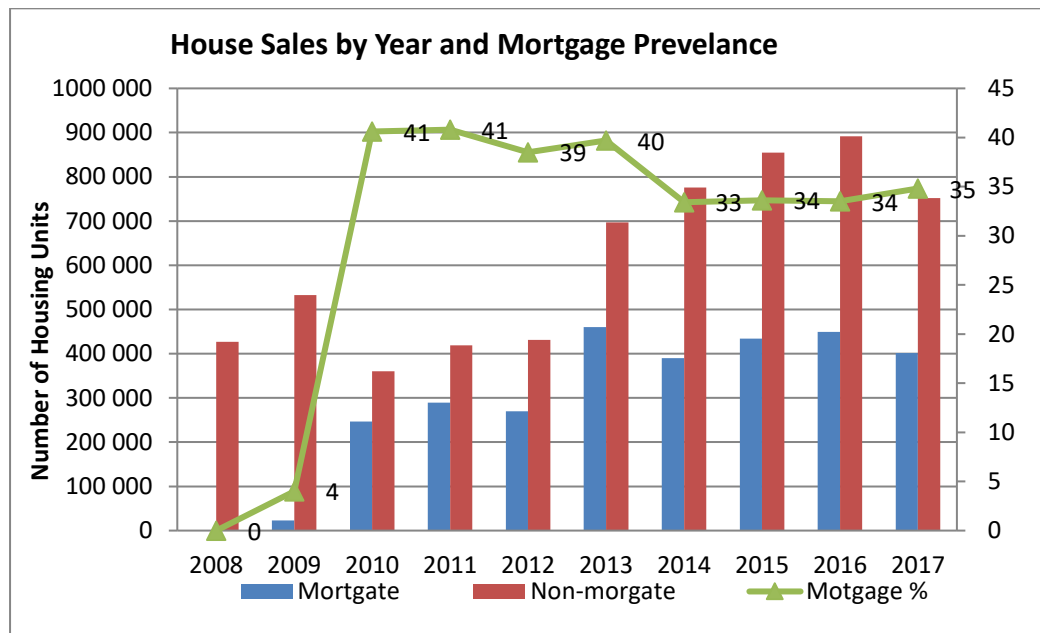


Figure 7-8: House Sales by Years and Percentage of Mortgage (Source: TUIK) (2017 does not include November and December figures)

Since 2004 the MHA has started to give credit to individuals rather than cooperatives. The MHA have given credit mostly to the middle classes (secure income groups), with 15-25% deposits required and 10-year credit terms indexed to increases in civil servant salaries. Therefore, MHA housing credits interest rates are lower than private mortgage rates (Türel and Koç, 2015). The data in figure 7-8 covers only the credit provided by the banking system. There are also many people use MHA credits. According to the Turkish Banking Association (2017) the number of housing credit users increased from 445,000 in 2011 to 491,000 in 2016. The average amount of credit rose from 81,000 Turkish Liras per person to 126,000 Turkish Liras per person. The average terms of credit remain around 90 months and the total amount of housing credit stock increased from 70 billion Turkish Liras to 170 billion Turkish Liras from 2011 to 2016 (Table 7-13)

Table 7-13: Number of Credit Users, Credit amount per Capita and Average Terms of Credit

Year	Number of Users (Thousands)	Credit Amount Per Capita	Average term of Credits (months)
2011	445	81	89
2012	380	90	86
2013	648	97	90
2014	437	109	91
2015	485	114	91
2016	491	126	90

(Source: Turkish Banking Association, 2017)

With this new finance model for housing, the ratio of mortgage credit to GDP increased from 1.9% to 6.3% in 2016 (2016 figure does not include November and December in this data set). Not only housing credit but also credit used by the construction sector has increased rapidly since 2002 (Figure 7-9). Based on Central Bank (2017) figures, the share of construction sector credit in GDP increased from 0.9% to 5.4%. For the same period GDP increased from approximately \$400billion to \$800billion. Karacimen and Celik (2017) suggest that this increase in the financialization of the construction sector led to growth of production independent of demand.

Another financial tool behind the growing construction sector was the increase in the level of Foreign Direct Investments since 2002. For the first ten months of 2016 FDI was \$8.1billion dollars, \$3.5billion dollars of which was due to net investment in real estate purchases. The share of real estate purchased in total FDI was 43%. In the period 2003-2015 the total FDI inflow was \$165billion and \$33.4billion (20.2 per cent) of that investment were direct real estate purchases (Figure 7-10).

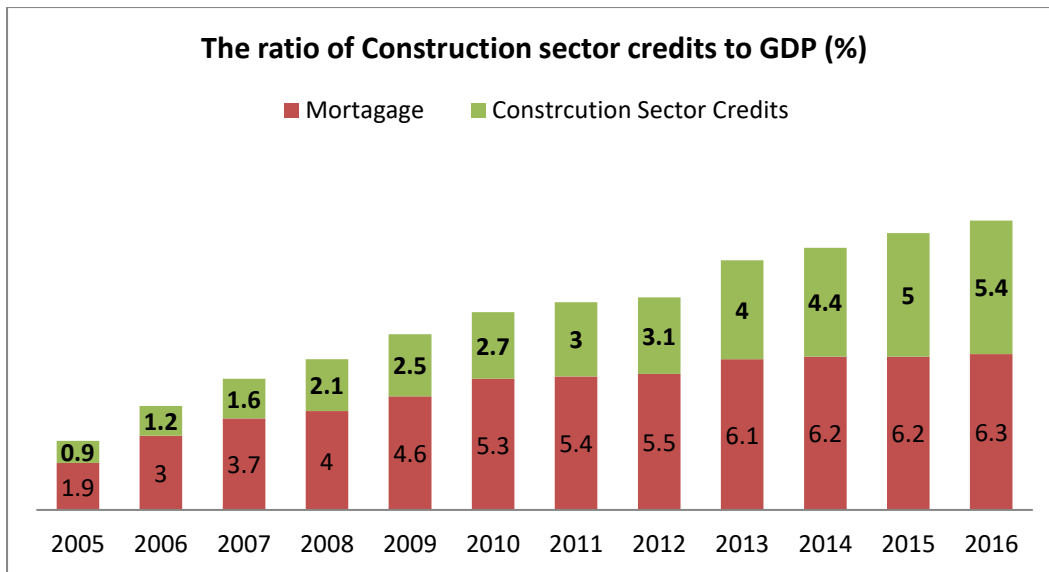


Figure 7-9: The ratio of Construction sector credits to GDP (Source: TCMB in (Sezgin and Aşarkaya, 2017)).

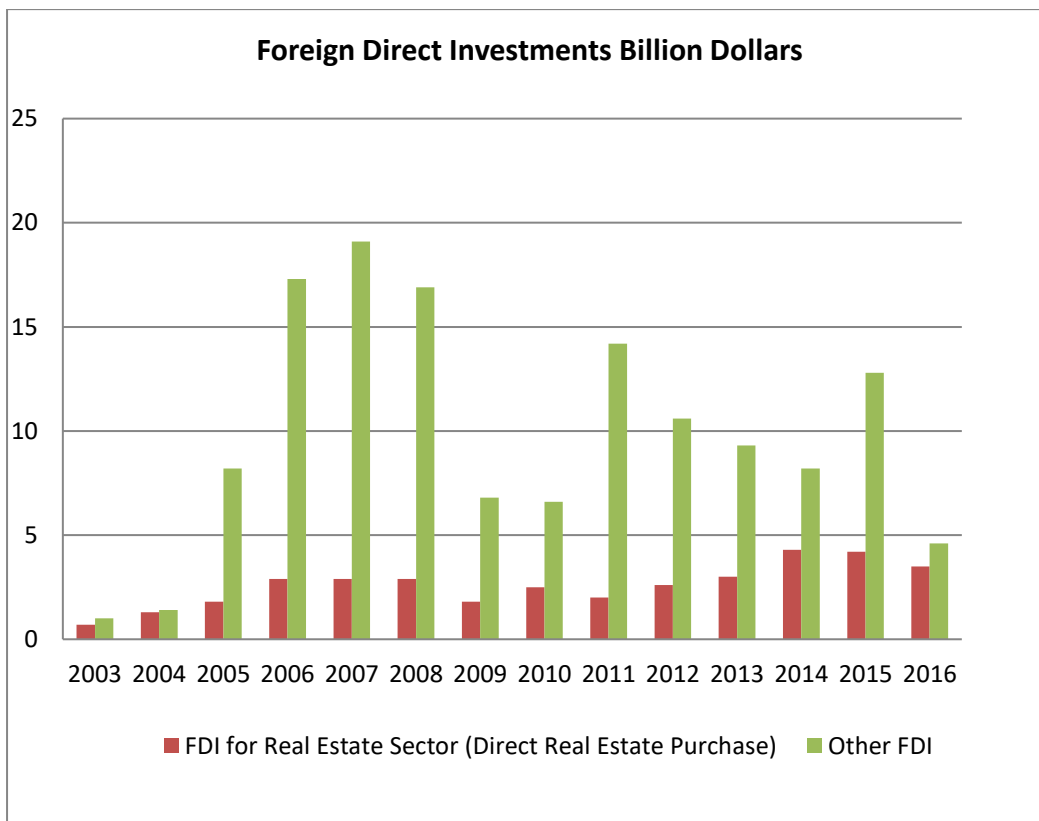


Figure 7-10: Foreign Direct Investments in Real Estate and Other sectors 2016 January- October Period, (Source: Sezgin and Aşarkaya, 2017).

Karaçimen and Çelik (2017) investigate the rise of the new financial instruments in Turkey. These financial instruments are different from those in the MDCs, for example, the subprime markets did not establish in Turkey. However, the rising amount of credit increased the supply and demand of housing and enhanced the role of housing as a mode of investment. Thus, there is little research and explanation about the effect of the growing integration of the finance and housing sectors in the poor communities. In short, there has been an evolution of urban development policies from self-help and site and services to providing the conditions for private finance to work for the poor.

7.5.3 Increasing Investment to Built Environment

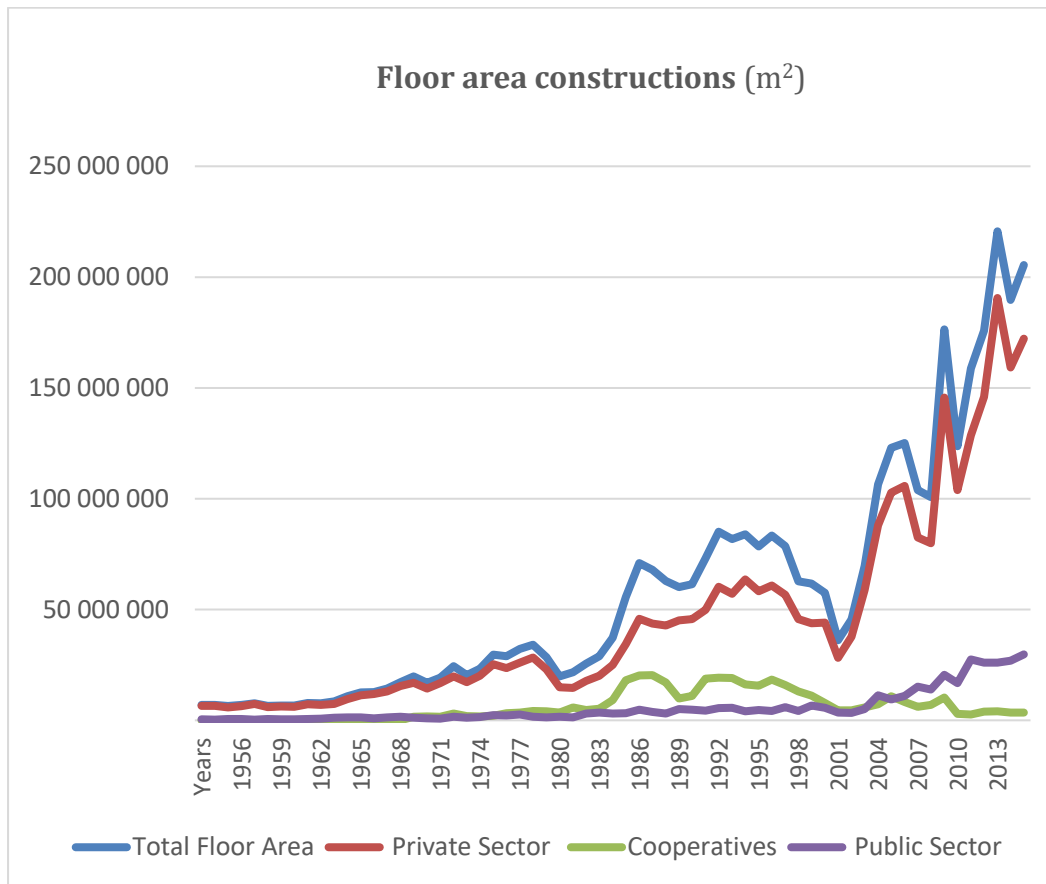


Figure 7-11: The number of floor area constructions based on investors. Source: Turkish Statistic Institutions, 2017

Under this class settlement, with the increasing role of the finance and construction capital, the state intervention to built environment, post-2002, we have witnessed a dramatic increase of investment in infrastructure and mega projects from both central and local governments. The share of the construction sector in Turkey's gross fixed capital formation became 43% percent (Gül *et al.*, 2014). In the case of Ankara: North Ankara Urban Development Projects; South Ankara Urban Redevelopment Project; New high speed train station and high speed train; new subway systems. Most of these mega projects have been constructed using public private partnerships (PPP). As of September 2016, 211 agreements have been signed, 81 projects in the Energy sector, 38 highway projects, 22 harbours, 18 airports, 18 big hospital projects and 18 marinas. The

cost of projects just signed in 2016 is expected to reach \$52 billion (Türkiye İnşaat Sanayicileri İşveren Sendikası 2017, pp.26–27).

In the years 2002-2014 the GNP increased an average 4.9% percent a year, in the construction sector the increase has been 6.5%. If we include other forward and backward sector as well as building materials, logistics, the service sector in relation to housing ownership, the share of construction related activities is estimated to reach 20-25% of GDP (Dincel, 2015). The share of the construction sector in total employment increased from 5.6% in 2005 to 7.4% percent in 2014 (TUIK, 2017). Based on another calculation, in 2003 the share of the manufacturing sector in GNP was 17.1%, at the end of the 2015 the same figure was 16.7%. However, the share of the construction sector in GNP increased from 12.5% in 2003 to reach 15.8% by the end of 2015 (Sönmez, 2017).

This increase of investment in the built environment has been supported and funded by national and international finance capital. The long term international deficit in the construction sector increased from \$1.2 billion in 2002 to \$15.4 billion in the first 10 months of 2017 (TCMB, 2017). The share of the construction sector in the long term international deficit of the private sector in Turkey increased 4.3% percent to 7.13% for the same period (TCMB, 2017). The ratio of the construction and real estate sector credit debt to GDP increased from 2.8% percent in 2005 to 11.7% percent in September 2016 (Sezgin and Aşarkaya, 2017).

Central and local government played an important role in channelling these investments to the built environment. Balaban (2012) argues that from 2002 to 2007, 78 laws and 10 bylaws totally or partly concerned with the production of the built environment were enacted. Based on these acts and bylaws 198 legal arrangements have been made by different institutions, most of which can be seen as deregulation of existing rules in order to increase the autonomy of developers (Balaban, 2012).

The upward scaling of state intervention and financialization due to new class settlement allowed these big scale capital flows to urban space (Figure 7.11). This

increasing power allows both private and public sector developers to determine the volume and the location of investment with greater ease than in previous periods. As discussed in the section on the increasing role of the MHA, the central government agencies have a strategic and increasing role in the production of the built environment. The central government institutions were delegated with the authority to prepare land use and zoning plans for specific sites or locations (Balaban, 2012; Duru, 2014). For example, the Privatisation Administration is given authorities to prepare land use plans for properties which belongs to state enterprises and are listed in the privatisation program. Similarly, the planning power for tourism zones has been transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism from the local municipalities (Law No. 4957 enacted in 2003), and the ministry has gained the authority to prepare plans for forests, meadow and pasture areas in order to facilitate tourism development. All these legal arrangements were aimed to guarantee a fast planning process for sectoral investments such as housing and tourism by transferring the planning power from local to central government.

As a result of the increase of credit opportunities small scale producers, big scale producers, the MHA and the metropolitan municipalities all became active in housing production. The dominant tendency is for large scale intervention to urban space either directly by private developers or through different level state agencies. In this process state agencies solve the complex ownership problems, accelerating the legal and planning processes. The urban redevelopment projects function as a tool in order to solve the ownership problems and ease planning process.

The contemporary Urban Transformation Projects and Mass Housing Agency Projects are targeting redevelopment at neighbourhoods which did not transform during the IDP period. While IDP projects were prepared based on intervening in single parcels, UTPs are aiming to redevelop at the neighbourhood level (upper scale). While in the IDP model gecekondu owners can make an agreement with developers, in the UTP model gecekondu owners mostly have to accept the conditions determined by municipalities or the MHA. The MHA and municipalities

mostly offer a certain number of dwelling units for a certain amount of land, if the gecekondü owners have less land, then they have to pay the difference, if owners have more land than they can get more houses (Section 10.9.1 for detail of this process in the New Mamak UTP).

7.6 Conclusion

Working class housing has always been a problem in the big cities of Turkey. Under the class settlement, state support was focused on industrial capital. Until the 1980s the limited resources of the state and private sector were mainly used to support industrial development and large scale infrastructure projects rather than housing production. Until the 1950s a lack of housing policy was not a problem because the urban population remained at the same level of around 25%. From 1950, however, the urban population start to increase. Under these conditions two models of housing production developed. Small scale producers built apartments on single parcels (build-and-sell) on the one hand, low-income groups built their own houses (gecekondü) on the other. Both of these production models were made in the context of limited investment in urbanisation.

The state supported these models of production in two ways. Firstly, the state has never challenged speculative increases in housing and rent prices, and after 1963 rent controls were abolished. Secondly, since the 1960s the state has provided the necessary legal framework for both of these models. This has seen the legalisation of gecekondüs through various amnesty acts; the 1965 Condominium Act and regulations increasing the height of building citywide (Chapter 8.2.2) represent a different face of the same approach. Furthermore, as both working class and small-scale capital took action and built houses without proper planning and zoning regulations, the state had little option but to legalise all these buildings in order to establish the rules of law and money again.

This mode of urbanisation characterised housing production and urbanisation until the end of the 1970s. The urban population continued to increase, as did the construction of gecekondus. In the 1980s, however, state intervention in urban space entered a new period, because of changing class relationships. The problems of the cities grew and large scale interventions of the state and capital became necessary. Whilst the district municipalities did not become irrelevant there is an overall shift upwards. Since then investment in the built environment has increased dramatically. In order to open the channels of investment into the built environment the state converted gecekondus to privately owned land and allowed the building of 4-5 storey apartments on gecekondus parcels. Initially, from 1983, this was carried out through the IDP programme, then since 2005 Urban Transformation Projects have been implemented in areas which could not redevelop through the IDPs. UTP plans were targeting neighbourhood scale intervention and did not include legalisation of the gecekondus constructed during 2000s.

By legalising all neighbourhoods, the state converted the urban poor into land and property owners, in harmony with neoliberal transitions. However, this intervention created socio-spatial fragmentation as gecekondus in advantageous locations were transformed into flats. In other neighbourhoods, developers did not want to invest due to low levels of return. Therefore, Improvement and Development Plans led to limited redevelopment of the gecekondus neighbourhoods (Şengül, 2003; Erman and Eken, 2004; Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005). Whilst many gecekondus remained as low-quality working class housing, the construction of gecekondus continued. The current Urban Transformation projects, since 2005, have targeted areas that could not be developed with the Improvement and Development Plans.

As we can observe from the Figure 7-11 there is an ongoing period of increase of the production of built environment. The upward scaling of state intervention and financialization allowed these big scale capital flows into urban space. And housing production increased dramatically from 330,000 dwellings in a year to 1,000,000 dwellings in a year. In terms of total floor areas production housing

increased from 45 million m² per year to 205 million m² per years in 2016 (Section 7-10).

Chapter 8 Ankara: The History of Urbanisation and Housing in Ankara

This chapter discusses political-economic changes in Ankara in relation to spatial changes, from the 20th century to the present, with a particular emphasis on housing. The chapter uses the same periodization as Chapter 7 (Table 8-1).

The history of the production of urban space in Turkey is complicated, with levels of complexity and nuance beyond the straightforward production of formal and informal space. Whilst there are plans for formal spaces, the construction industry has frequently acted on its own initiative. Moreover, both the middle class and the working class have intervened in different ways. In each period, varieties of actors have influenced the production of the built environment and have specifically altered plans for formal spaces during the process of production. Different levels of state institutions attempt to organise and lead the production of urban space at different times, albeit for the most part unsuccessfully. Therefore, I will explain each historical period in two different sub-sections with the aim of answering the following questions: (1) what do the policies/plans show us? And (2) how were the policies and plans implemented? While the first one represents the formal space of state and technocrats, the second analyses how the different classes produced the urban space. Therefore, this analysis provides an alternative reading of history based on the theoretical points established from the beginning of the thesis, and therefore offering an original contribution to the urbanisation history of Ankara.

Based on my periodization of the history of urbanisation in Turkey, the first section covers the years 1923-1945. Ankara was only a town during the Ottoman Period (1908-1950) and its urban population did not start to increase until 1923. Therefore, this first period of urbanisation covers the beginning of this growth until the end of World War 2. The first part of the section explains the planning perspective of urban plans until 1945, which describes the establishment of urban space based on modern values and standards. The second part of the section begins with common problems of urban plans of Ankara; the new founders of the

republic and the experts could not foresee the rapid increase in population and urbanisation. Furthermore, accumulation levels were low and neither the state nor the capitalist class had enough capital resources and expertise to manage rapid urban growth. I will move on to explain how the formal space was created during this period, what happened outside of the planned areas and how these planned areas were altered (Table 8-1).

The second section of the chapter covers the Import Substitution industrialisation period between the years 1945-1980. During this period the planning process closely followed wider trends. As such, the big cities of Turkey, such as Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir continue to have serious problems with infrastructure originating from this period. This period is characterised by production of the built environment by small-scale capital under conditions of limited capital accumulation (Table 8-1).

The third section of this chapter focuses on the neoliberal period. During this period two main patterns of urbanisation in Ankara are identified: (1) the planned expansion of the city towards the west corridor, and (2) the redevelopment of the gecekondu areas through the Improvement and Development Plans. While those groups with secure incomes settled down in the planned expansion areas, the rest of the working classes – those who could not afford to buy houses – had to buy or construct gecekondu. Therefore, during the neoliberal period planned houses were constructed in the western corridor, former gecekondu areas were partially redeveloped as flats and construction of new gecekondu continued (Table 8-1).

The final section of the chapter covers the years 2000 to 2017. During this period approaches based on centrally controlled, large scale planning was abandoned and urban redevelopment started to be managed by Urban Redevelopment Projects. While the uncontrolled expansion of the city continued, the inner-city and gecekondu areas became the major focus of large scale redevelopment projects. In a marked departure from previous periods, this period sees Metropolitan Municipalities and central government focussed on producing neighbourhood scale urban interventions. Therefore, the Urban Redevelopment

Project became the state's primary tool for initiating and managing these big scale urban interventions (Table 8-1).

This chapter uses both published literature and primary research. At its close the information obtained by the researcher from the metropolitan municipality regarding the redevelopment projects is presented. In terms of the redevelopment projects, the data obtained from the municipality and officials facilitated the analysis of thousands of hectares of areas under redevelopment. I also investigated the redevelopment areas in each district and the existing urban fabric of these areas.

Table 8-1: The periodisation and the structure of this chapter

Periods	what do the policies/plans show us?	How were the policies and plans implemented?
Late Ottoman period and early republic until World War II 1908-1950	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *The problems of making Ankara the capital *The built environment of the new Republic *The creation of a modern capital as a symbol of the new republic *Influenced by garden city ideas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Low-level urbanisation *Temporary informal workers and their housing *Formal permanent officials and their housing problems *Temporary workers vs small scale producers *Urban rent capture
The Post-war Import Substitution Industrialisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *The plan was based on the legalisation and support of ongoing processes *Increasing density in the formal areas and legalisation of the surrounding gecekondu areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Spontaneous solutions in the form of build-and-sell and gecekondu, and ensuing problems *Rural-urban migration *Increasing density in the city centre and ensuing problems *Small scale producers, formal and informal workers
Neoliberal 'Structural Adjustment' of Turkey's Economy 1980-2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Planned expansion of the city with population increase targeted in planned areas *The western corridor expansion supported through MHA. *MHA both produced houses for middle and low-income groups and supported cooperatives through credits in the western corridor. *The plans did not offer anything for the gecekondu areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Mass housing production *Gated community construction *Neoliberal expansion of the city and covering gecekondu neighbourhood *Clarifying ownership rights in the gecekondu areas *IDP interventions to gecekondu came from the central government and were implemented by the metropolitan municipalities *Cooperative housing production as middle class share of ground rent *Small, medium and large scale firms housing production in both new expansion areas and redevelopment areas
Neoliberal period and financialisation 2000-2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Adopting UTP as main strategy *Expansion of cities *Municipal level intervention *Redevelopment as an alternative to planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *MHA housing production *Small, medium and large scale firms housing production in both new expansion areas and redevelopment areas *A combination of central and metropolitan government, *Big interventions used to redevelop the remaining gecekondu areas *Redevelopment as alternative to planning *Projects in central districts *Making UTP the main strategy through MHA *Cooperative housing production as middle class share of ground rent * Big companies are more active in implementing neighbourhood scale projects * Increasing role of the finance sector and big construction groups, the small-level intervention became limited

8.1 Early Years of the Republic 1923-1945

The founders of the new republic wanted to create a new nation-state based on modern western values and legal systems. Therefore, the new republic wanted to sever all ties with the multi-ethnic and theocratic Ottoman Empire. An important part of the creation of the new nation-state was the creation of a new capital (Kezer 1998; Keleş & Duru 2008; Şengül 2003). Therefore, the architectural style, construction materials and the development of the city were used as important symbols of the new republic. The cosmopolitan social structure of the port cities presented obstacles to the development of the new national identity. As such, the founders of the new republic believed the nation's capital should be in the centre of the population, and that the national bourgeoisie should establish a new lifestyle in this new capital. This saw Ankara developed as a new model for the rest of Turkey, its success being to symbolise the achievements and consolidation of the new regime (Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005, p. 7; Keleş and Duru, 2008; Çalışkan, 2009).

Whilst the construction of Ankara was given great importance by the new administration, it did not contain any of the services necessary for an administrative centre. There was also a housing shortage for state officials, insufficient buildings for the different administrative functions, and the city's infrastructure and urban services were insufficient for a truly modern city. More importantly, there was neither enough knowledgeable technical staff nor the material or legal/institutional framework necessary for the creation of a new capital, based on a modern ideology (Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005, p. 36). However, the new radical modernist framework of the republic believed in technical and scientific knowledge, and as such, they wanted to implement the most recent practices in urban development and architecture. In this way, the traditional systems of building and its actors were excluded from further construction (Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005, p. 7).

8.1.1 What do the policies/plans show us?

Despite having a local council, up until 1946 the local authorities of Ankara had only been an extension of the central government. Therefore, the institutional framework of this period is based on the single party and on strong, centralised state authority (Section 7.1). Under these conditions, a plan was needed to guide the development of the new administrative system. The lack of technical knowledge was a problem solved by employing the German architect Carl Lorcher. One of the main discussions during the establishment of the new administration centre was whether to locate it in the existing city or to choose a different location (Figure 8-1). This problem had an economic base rather than a technical one. That is, locating new administrative services within the existing built environment meant transferring speculative urban rent to the local population (landlords, petty trade bourgeoisie), whilst the civil servants were largely already settled in the vineyards in the south of the old city. Therefore, the first essential decision of this discussion was to construct a new city to the south of the old city (Şenyapılı, 2004, p.37; Çalışkan, 2009).

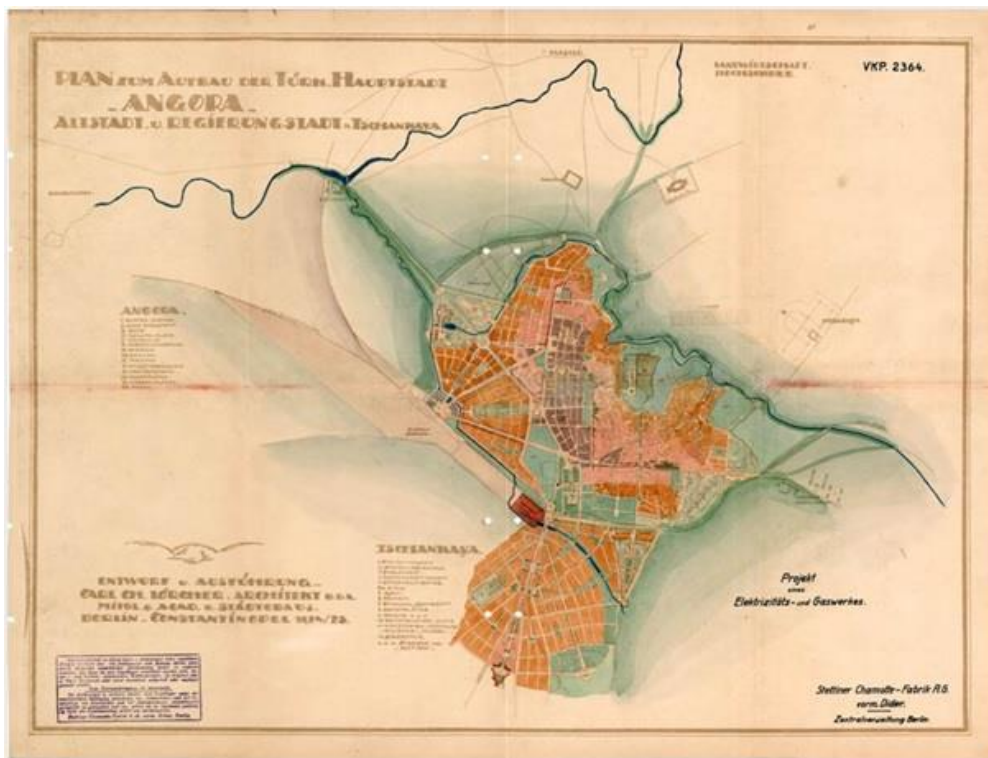


Figure 8-1: Locher Plan 1924 (Goethe-Institut, 2017)

The Locher plan managed urban development between the years 1924-1931 (Figure 8-2). The initial ideas for the development of the new city included the new city centre – Kizilay – and the new administrative centre – Bakanliklar (Cengizkan, 2002). For the first time in the history of Ankara a modern planning parcel system, rather than a historical cadastral system, was established (Günay, 2006, p. 67). The plan’s suggestions included compact development, with a trade development area around a main train station. These principal suggestions were implemented to include a low-density, grid road system and two storey single-family houses. Under the fiscal conditions of the early republic, however, these single-family houses were very expensive and only those in upper-income groups could afford to buy them. The development of the new city also triggered irregular development on the hillsides in the western part of the city (Şenyapılı, 2004, p. 40).

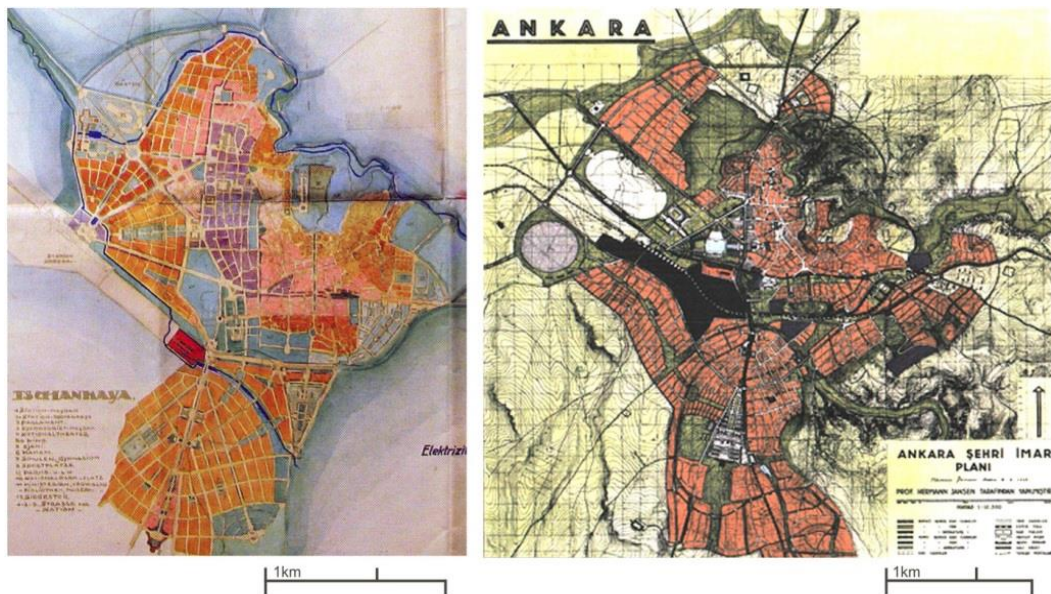


Figure 8-2: The Locher Plan 1924 and Jansen Plan 1927. Source: Günay (2006)

In 1929 the second plan of Ankara was prepared by another German architect, Herrmann Jansen (Günay, 2006, pp. 70-71; Ankara Municipality, 2007). The Jansen plan suggested a city, which surrounded the castle. The north-western part of the city was intended to be a long-term housing development, which would become a working-class neighbourhood (Figure 8-3). The authorities assumed that the population of 75,000 would become 300,000 over the next 50 years (Günay, 2006, p. 71; Ankara Municipality, 2007, p. 49). Furthermore, the decision to develop a new administrative centre on the south side of Ankara was a demand from the political elite rather than stemming directly from Jansen's suggestions (Figure 8-3). Lastly, Jansen suggested zoning plans, with different income groups and land uses separated from each other by green spaces (Günay, 2006, p. 72; Municipality 2006, p.49).

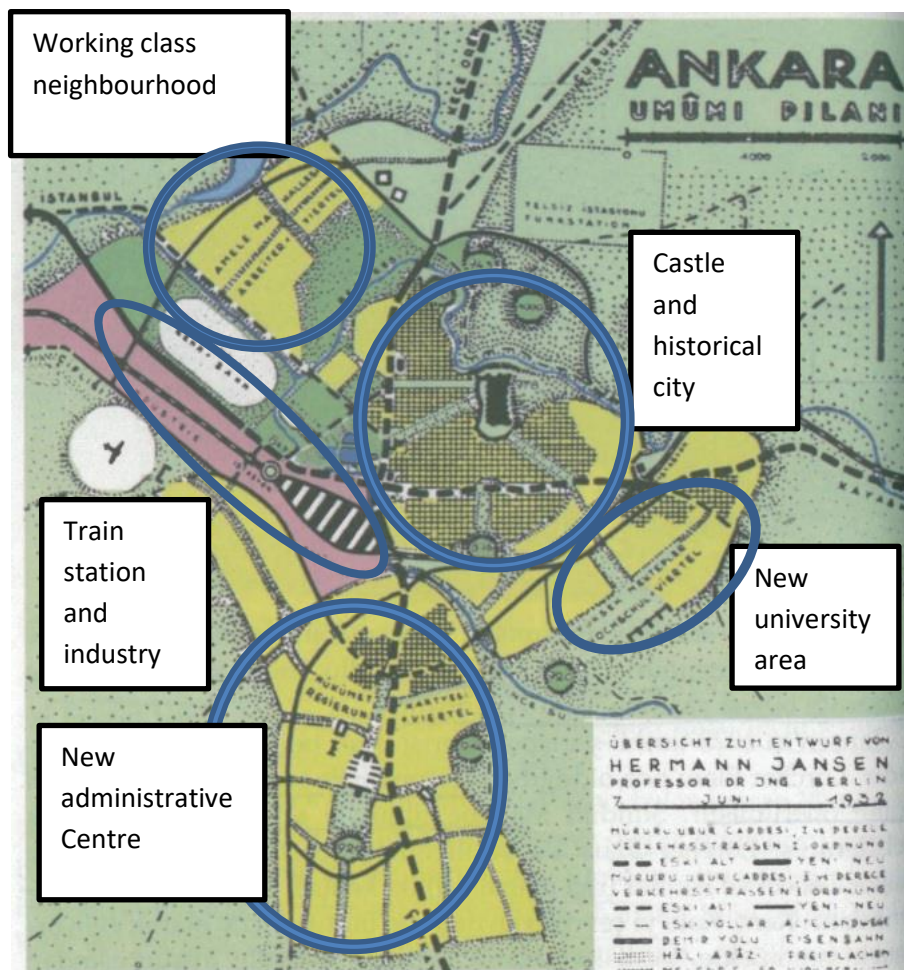


Figure 8-3: The suggested zoning plan in 1927 Jansen Plan. Source: Günay (2006)

8.1.2 How were the policies and plans implemented?

Up until the Master Plans of the 1970s urban plans had two significant problems. The first problem was that neither politicians nor technocrats could envision how rapidly the population would increase (Table 8-2). The population of Ankara surpassed the projections of the first three plans much earlier than expected (Table 8-3). Furthermore, the imaginary space of the planners and technocrats could not manage or support the real growth of the city. The population of Ankara's urban centre increased from 99,000 in 1927 to 2,238,000 in 1980, and this rapid increase continued through the 1980s.

Table 8-2: The population and population increase rate of Ankara

Year	Population	Increase rate %	Urban centre
1927	404,581	2.96	99,066
1940	602,965	3.4	188,416
1950	819,693	2.8	348,552
1960	1,276,380	4.9	738,851
1970	2,041,658	4.4	1,467,304
1980	2,854,689	3.4	2,238,967
1990	3,236,626	1.3	2,836,719
2000	4,007,860	2.2	3,540,522
2007	4,466,756	1.6	4,140,890
2008	4,548,939	1.8	4,395,888
2009	4,650,802	2.2	4,513,921
2010	4,771,716	2.6	4,641,256
2011	4,890,893	2.5	4,762,116
2012	4,965,542	1.5	4,842,136
2013	5,045,083	1.6	5,045,083
2014	5,150,072	2.0	5,150,072
2015	5,270,575	2.3	5,270,575
2016	5,346,518	1.4	5,346,518

Source: TUIK, 2017 Note: the increase rate of population refer to previous period.

The second problem faced was the expansion of the urban space, which was problematically directed towards the surrounding mountains. The historical city is surrounded by mountains, geographical borders that posed no problems when the population of the city was only 20,000 to 30,000 (Cengizhan, 2006; Şenyapılı, 2004a). The rapid expansion of the city space reached the surrounding hills in only 3 decades, after which urban development was limited by the city's geography (Cengizhan, 2005, pp. 25-26; Şenyapılı, Altaban, & Tekeli, 2005; Cengizhan, 2005, p. 66). Because construction on the hillsides was much more expensive there was not enough machinery for construction, which limited the urban development of the city.

Table 8-3: The Urban plans of Ankara with planned area and years

Name of plan	Plan Confirmation year	Existing population	Urban Residential Area (Ha)	Plan Target year	Population prediction	Total Plan Area (Ha)
Lörcher Plan	1924	~65,000	~280	**	~150,000	~700
Jansen Plan	1932	~75,000	300	1978	300,000	1.500
Development Plan 1957	1957	455,000	~5,720	1987	750,000	12.000
1982 Master Plan	1982	120,000(*)	~22,500	1990	between 2,8-3,6 millions	43.250
1994 Ankara Transportation Plan	n/a	2,300,000	~31,000	2015	between 4,5-5,5 millions	~210,000
(1998) Plan	n/a	2,800,000	~45,000	2025	between 6,5-8 millions	~200,000
2007 Plan	n/a	4,120,000	~80,000	2023	Between 10-13 millions	~842,000

Source: (Ankara Municipality 2007)

Between the years 1923-1945 the population of Ankara increased much faster than in Turkey's other big cities. The new population settled in the urban space in three different ways: (1) in the partially demolished historic buildings, (2) in apartments and houses constructed near the modern and planned administrative centre (Kizilay) and, finally, (3) in the temporary shanties constructed by seasonal workers.

During 1920s, construction of apartments started in the old city due to the rise of ground rent. The apartments had 4-5 storeys with shops on the ground floor and they belonged to one person or family. The construction of these apartments in the old city was the result of the increasing incomes of the bourgeoisie and the dramatic increase of ground rent in the old city centre. Capital was limited and originated from trade. Apartments also became symbols of modernism, and moving into an apartment signifying a transition to a higher social status (Şenyapılı, 2004, p.53). Since one person in a family typically owned the apartments, the extra units were usually rented out to others. Furthermore, new single-family houses were built in the new city, but were mostly for upper-income groups as they could not be afforded by any other social group (Şenyapılı, 2004, p. 54). Civil servants, however, could neither afford to settle in the new apartments nor in the redeveloping sites in the old city, as both of them were too expensive. This resulted in the first housing production for civil servants, built in 1925 and consisting of 198 houses built in the new city with 20 years backed credit (Şenyapılı, 2004, p.55).

The second wave of housing production stemmed from the bottom up, with civil servants organising through cooperatives. The first housing cooperative was established in the 1930s. Due to a big increase in land prices in the planned area, more and more civil servants could not afford housing. As this problem grew, civil servants came together to form cooperatives in order to produce houses by and for themselves. The only solution for this problem was to develop outside of the planned area, and the civil servants sought to use their social and economic power

to get permission to do this (Şenyapılı, 2004b, pp. 98–100; Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2006, pp. 2–26). The first housing projects for upper middle-income groups (BahceliEvler) and low middle-income groups (Yenimhalle) were developed based on Jansen's planning principles, which were to produce single-family houses. Jansen's, and later on Locher's, influence on the development of Ankara continued until the 1950s (Günay, 2006, p. 77).

After the 1920s three economic sectors started to develop: the construction, trade and service sectors. Manufacturing continued to be limited (Şenyapılı 2004b; Şenyapılı, Tekeli, et al. 2005, p.73; Ankara Municipality 2007, p.257). In contrast, the construction industry developed quickly after Ankara became the capital in 1923. The construction sector recruited workers from rural areas, yet its capacity was very limited and therefore only provided a limited amount of employment to the rural poor. The construction sector required intensive, cheap labour, meaning its workers could not afford to buy or rent houses in the new or old cities (Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005, p. 74).

Residents of working class neighbourhoods did not construct; and migrants remained as seasonal workers. Moreover, the working class did not have the institutional capacity or the economic power to establish housing cooperatives like the high-level civil servants. Moreover, the suggested housing types proposed by the development plans were single-family houses, which did not meet the needs of the working class. Workers were mostly seasonal workers from surrounding cities and towns and only the men engaged in waged labour. This situation saw these workers solve their housing problem by taking the left-over construction materials from the single-family homes and using them to construct shanties in geographically unfavourable locations, such as hill sites or on land close to swamps (Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005, p. 75). The demand for labour power and services was largely in the old town, where unplanned and uncontrolled land was juxtaposed with planned areas. The unplanned areas in the old town, therefore, became the first areas of gecekondu construction.

Whilst the new administration of Ankara was unable to provide housing for the working class, the construction sector was still in need of a cheap labour force, which consisted of working class employees. Therefore, shanties were seen as a temporary and manageable solution that allowed the working class to be housed at no cost to the city or to the poor workers. Due to the limited amount of migration the shanties were not built to the same standards as other neighbourhoods. Instead, they were mostly constructed so that 1-2 shanty houses were built together. The number of shanty houses built together could increase up to 5 or 10 houses if there was adequate infrastructure, such as an existing road. As the ruling class were trying to create a new society, a new social system and a new country based on modern western values, it was apparent that shanty housing did not fit with these new ideas. Furthermore, the shanties were seen as temporary and were thought to be clearable or removable, either through future planning interventions or by police force if necessary. Therefore, shanties were often ignored by the new administration and not accounted for in official papers or documents (Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005, pp. 76–77).

Şenyapılı (2004b) emphasises the relationship between the position of migrants in the general economy and the condition of the *gecekondus*. The migrants' marginality in society and their lack of permanent employment is reflected by the unfavourable location and poor housing quality of the *gecekondus*. That is, from the 1920s until the 1950s, the migrant workers did not have stable jobs or income. Therefore, their economic activities and function in the economy were very limited. The marginalised economic position of these workers meant that their housing needs were not seen as a problem; on the contrary the ruling class thought the workers should go back to their rural areas after finishing their temporary jobs. Therefore, when the workers arrived in the city to start their jobs they gathered together in geographically unfavourable places. Because their settlements were seen as temporary living sites by political elites they were allowed to settle in these marginalised locations. Also, in terms of population these migrants were a minority. That is, in the 1930s shanties only constituted 5% of all existing buildings (Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005, pp. 83–93). This

demonstrates why migrant workers' housing needs were not seen as important by city planners and served as further justification of the workers' marginalised position in society.

Both the former petty bourgeoisie and the new political elites of Ankara were expected to benefit from the rapid urban development and increase in land values. The Jansen Plan, however, was seen as an obstacle in the way of these profits. More specifically, the Jansen Plan was an attempt by the state to control urban development with zoning plans. This ultimately resulted in an increase in the state's regulatory efforts and a decrease in rent prices. Furthermore, at this time, the middle classes used their political and economic power to gain a greater share of the urban rent (Şengül, 2003, pp. 93–98). Therefore, the political elites stopped supporting the Jansen Plan, and subsequently Jansen was fired. Urban development during this period demonstrates that the urban space of a city is not the result of planning, but of the interplay between city planning and the actions of the various social classes.

8.2 The ISI Period: 1945-1980

While in the early years of the republic a limited number of state-owned industries were the only industrial production, during the ISI period small-scale private manufacturing developed (Ankara Municipality 2007, p.258). The private sector's small-scale industries were developed and organised as associations based on each sector of industry, such as Siteler's small-scale Furniture Industrial Zone (Section 9.2). Since becoming the capital, Ankara's dominant sector has been the service sector and state employment. Agriculture has, and continues to be, the second largest sector in terms of employment. However, during the ISI period employment in agriculture decreased, while it increased in services and manufacturing (Table 8-4).

Table 8-4: Employment in main sectors from 1970 to 1980 in Ankara

Sectors	1970		1975		1980	
	Employment Number	%	Employment Number	%	Employment Number	%
Agriculture	263,989	36.0	313,419	32.3	271.664	27.6
Industry	79,589	10.8	136,686	14.1	130.490	13.2
Service	360,179	49.1	500,627	51.4	569.232	57.9
Not clearly defined	29,882	4.1	20,935	2.2	12.821	1.3
Total	733,639	100	971,667	100	984,207	100

Source: (Ankara Municipality 2007; p. 239-311)

8.2.1 What do the policies/plans show us?

The political environment of Turkey changed in 1950 as a new multi-party parliamentary system was enacted, constituting political integration with western capitalism. A coalition of merchant capital and big capitalist farmers were the dominant force on government. The urban population increased dramatically. The population of Ankara reached 455,000 in 1956, surpassing Jansen's projections for the 1990s 40 years early. With the transition to a multi-party system, the petty bourgeoisie, small-scale merchants and construction capital were the dominant forces on city management. Therefore, the new master plans were nothing but reflections of market trends, giving legitimacy to 'informal' developments (Section 7.2). The two important issues in this period are legalisation of existing gecekondu and increases in construction rights for previously planned areas. Following the demands of the petty bourgeoisie, the single-family houses constructed based on previous plans were converted to 4-5 storey apartments (Figure 8-4).

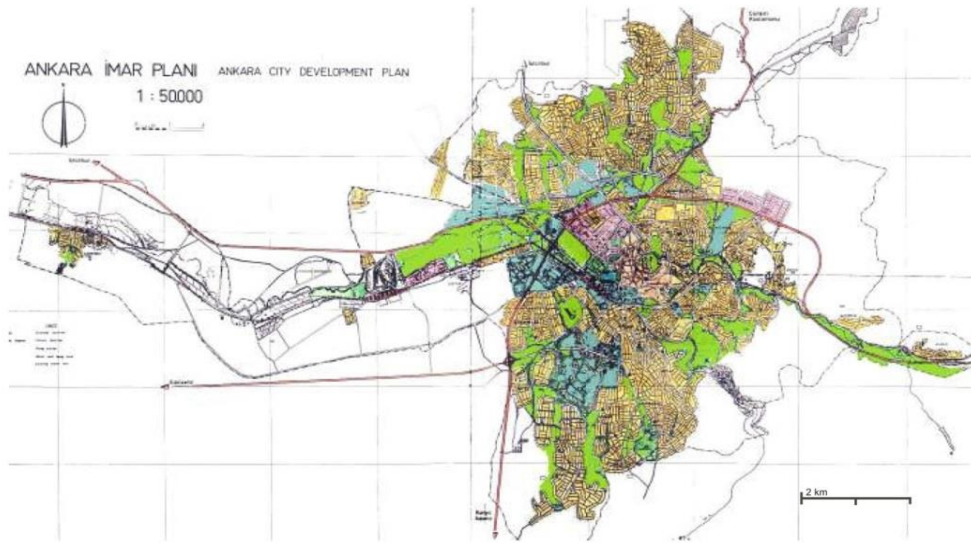


Figure 8-4: 1957 Urban Development Plan made by Yucel and Uybadin in 1957
Source: Çalışkan (2009; p 33)

The 1957 Plan was prepared by Yucel and Uybadin. This plan became a necessity due to the population limits of Jansen's plan being surpassed in the 1950s. The new construction technologies in the 1950s allowed buildings up to 5-storeys, and in this way high land costs could be shared amongst many people. Furthermore, it could be assumed that providing urban services in densely constructed areas would be cheaper (Ankara Municipality 2007, p.63; Çalışkan 2009). As such, the main approach of the 1957 plan was only to increase the height of the buildings whilst using the same road layouts.

One interesting point is that Yucel and Uybadin suggested a similar approach to De Soto much before him; they suggested that public land should be sold to the migrants who live on it and the income should be used to provide infrastructure for these neighbourhoods. When people own their houses and land, they can invest in the houses and the neighbourhood will develop. They assumed, then, that the privatisation of land and legalisation would lead to improvements in the condition of gecekondu dwellers (Cengizhan, 2006, p. 33).

8.2.2 How were the policies and plans implemented?

During the ISI period there were two important features of urbanisation in Ankara. The building and population density increased further than in the 1957 plan, and the build-and-sell production did not meet housing demand. Many gecekondu houses were constructed on the hills and valleys surrounding Ankara.

8.2.2.1 Increasing Density in the City Centre

The population projection of the 1957 plan was 750,000 by the year 2000 (Günay 2006, p.80; Ankara Municipality 2007, p.50). When the population of the city reached 650,000 in 1960, the height of the buildings was increased further by central government. The condominium Act in 1965 and the Height Regulation Act in 1968 gave further increases of construction rights, creating a creative destruction city wide that saw the low-density built environment start to change. Nearly all of the city's housing stock, then, was redeveloped as apartment blocks (Figure 8-5). The 1957 plan increased net density of the inner-city districts to 200-350 p/ha, with the later regulations increased it further to 600-650 p/ha, and buildings were demolished before their life span was at an end (Çalışkan 2009; Ankara Municipality 2007, p.64).



Figure 8-5: Redevelopment of housing as a result of 1957 Plan Çaliskan (2011; p 33)

Kurtuluş (2009) suggests that capital accumulated nationally during the WW II period lay behind these urban developments. The 1957 plan and resultant increase of construction heights was a victory of the petty landed bourgeoisie, who were pressurising Ankara’s municipal government for a long time to increase densities in the planned areas (Cengizhan 2006; Şenyapılı, Tekeli, et al. 2005; Ankara Municipality 2007; p 44-61).

8.2.2.2 Expansion of the Gecekondu

After WW II the development that characterises urbanisation is the gecekondu (Erman, 2004; Şenyapılı, Tekeli and Altaban, 2005). During the 1950s the gecekondu population was integrated to the economic system as permanent cheap labour, seeing increases in both their incomes and the time they spent at work. The development in small-scale manufacture and increases in the service and construction sectors gave them the opportunity to have jobs for longer periods. The increasing number of migrants also increased their political power.

They started to establish neighbourhood organisations and integrate with local political parties. This economic and political integration brought spatial development (Pınarcıoğlu and Işık, 2008; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2012).

In 1948 the first amnesty law legalising gecekondu was passed, albeit just for Ankara, where 650 hectares of gecekondu were legalised (Şenyapılı, Tekeli, et al. 2005, p.97). In the 1950s the limits of existing city plans had already been reached, in terms of both population and area. Mamak and Kayas developed as gecekondu suburbs due to the rail connection with the city centre (Figure 8-6) (Günay, 2006, p. 79).

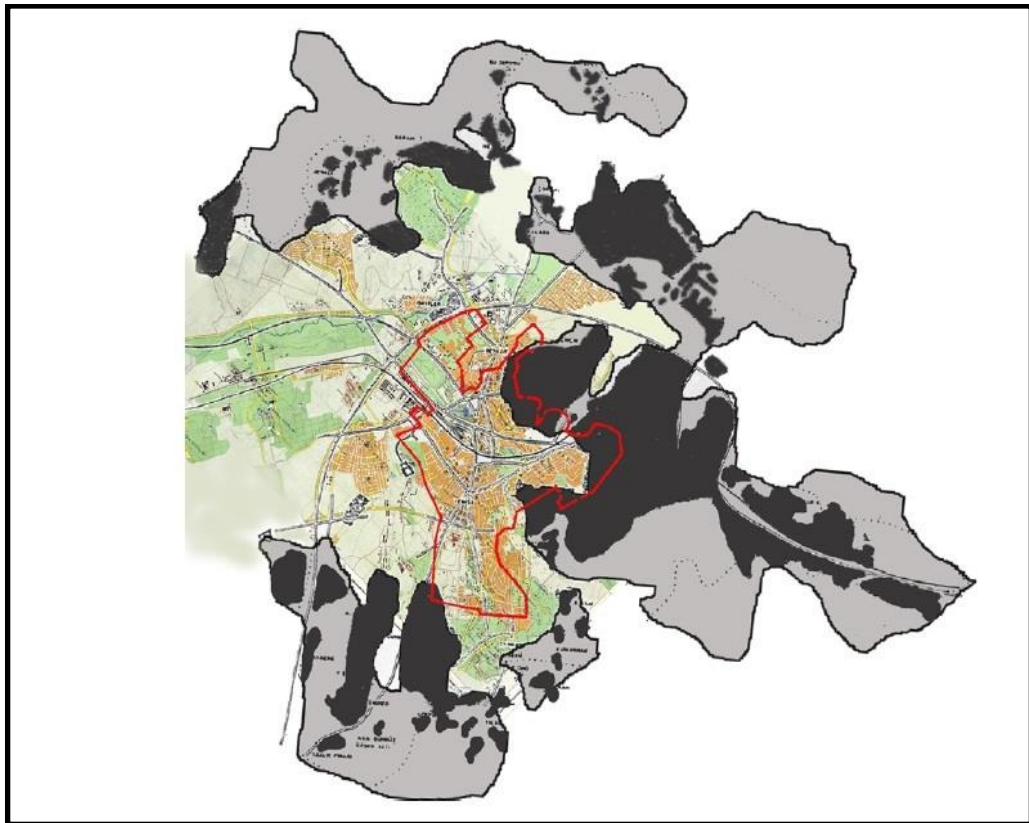


Figure 8-6: Historical development of the macro-form of Ankara. The red line shows the area of 1927 Jansen Plan. The dark black areas show the informal settlements in 1965 and grey areas show expansion of squatter areas in 1990 Batuman (2013; p 582)

As a result of the rapid population increase and low levels of investment in the built environment the high-density urban areas were surrounded by gecekondu houses. These uncontrolled increases of building density created a low quality urban space with inadequate services. The inner-city high density areas did not have adequate urban services. The urban services for these areas – schools, hospitals, and infrastructure – were planned for much lower populations. With the increase of population during the ISI period, then, Ankara had serious problems with air pollution, traffic congestion and inadequate space for urban services.

As a result of this urbanisation pattern, in 1970, 57% of the population were living in gecekondu houses and 43% in 'formal' housing units. In spatial terms 69% percent of all housing areas were gecekondu, 31% percent formal housing areas. In Ankara 51% percent of all land use was for housing (Ankara Municipality 2007, pp.317–329).

8.3 Neoliberal Transition: 1980-2000

During this period employment in industry increased but the proportion of industry in overall employment did not change. In contrast, the population working in agriculture decreased both proportionally and in terms of number. The number of service jobs and their proportion increased dramatically and the service sector continues to be the dominant sector in the economy. From the 1990s large scale industrial zones begin to be established in Ankara's western corridor (Municipality, 2007, p. 259). Whilst furniture production dominated industry until 1990, after 1990 machinery and machinery equipment became the biggest sub-sector of industrial production, and the leather and textile subsectors also developed during this time (Table 8-5).

Table 8-5: The employment level of the main sectors for the period of 1980 and 2000 in Ankara. Source: (Ankara Municipality 2007, pp.239–314).

	1980		1985		1990		2000	
Sectors	Employment	%	Employment	%	Employment	%	Employment	%
Agriculture	271,600	28	288,000	27	200,000	18	223,000	16
Industry	130,500	13	141,000	13	147,000	14	184,000	13
Services	569,200	60	648,000	60	752,000	68	966,000	70
Not clearly defined	12.000	1	11000	1	3200	0	3600	0
Total	984,000	100	1,090,000	100	1,103,000	100	1,378,000	100

8.3.1 What do the policies/plans show us?

During the ISI period the population of Ankara increased dramatically: whilst the population of the Ankara urban centre was 348,000 in 1950 it had increased to 2,238,000 by 1980. Urbanisation occurred through short term interventions with the limited capital of small scale capitalists. This model of urbanisation became unsustainable in the 1970s. Ankara had serious problems with air pollution, traffic and inadequate urban services, including water, sewerage and electricity. These problems required a massive restructuring of the built environment of Ankara, including new transport infrastructure. This was accomplished through upward scaling by setting up the Metropolitan Municipalities and through interventions by national government; only these bodies had the large resources and the territorial sweep necessary for city restructuring (Section 7.3.1). A new urban planning approach was developed by central government during the 1970s and implemented in the 1980s. Two important features of this period of urbanisation are planned expansion of the city towards the west corridor on the one hand, and redevelopment of the *gecekondu* areas on the other (Section 7.3).

A new institution, the Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau (AMANPB) was established in 1969 for three major cities: Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. These bureaus were under the Minister of Public Works and their planning authorities were above the municipalities. AMANPB had conducted comprehensive research about Ankara in the years 1970-1975. In 1990 the population of Ankara was 2.58 million and for the first time, the planning team had a realistic assumption about the fast increase of population (Ankara Municipality, 2007, p. 50). Based on the topography and existing development pattern an expansion towards the west corridor (Figure 8-7) was suggested by AMANPB (Günay, 2006, p. 98; Municipality, 2007, pp. 50–51&65).

At this point the national state intervened in the housing market in order to facilitate capital flow to the built environment. (Section 3.3; Section 3.3.2). The state undertook this intervention in order to support construction capital and the capitalist class as whole, to provide housing to the working class and reduce the

class struggle (Section 4.4). The tools of this intervention were the establishment of national level intuitions for the credit system and new legal frameworks for metropolitan municipalities. This was an upward scaling of the state (Section 4.3.2). This development of the west corridor was planned with industrial zones, housing and necessary urban services (Figure 8-7). This west corridor includes 3 major housing and industrial development zones – Batikent, Sincan and Temelli – and the development of these began in the 1980s. The plan aimed to locate 48% of the projected population growth throughout the west corridor in 12 different development zones. The Metropolitan Planning Office did not have a comprehensive policy program for gecekondu neighbourhoods and Central Business District. These points were criticised by the municipality later (Ankara Municipality, 2006). They preferred to establish a new development corridor to settle the population. For the first time a master plan for Ankara aimed to integrate the transport and land use planning through subway systems (Ankara Municipality 2007, p.51; Çalışkan 2009).

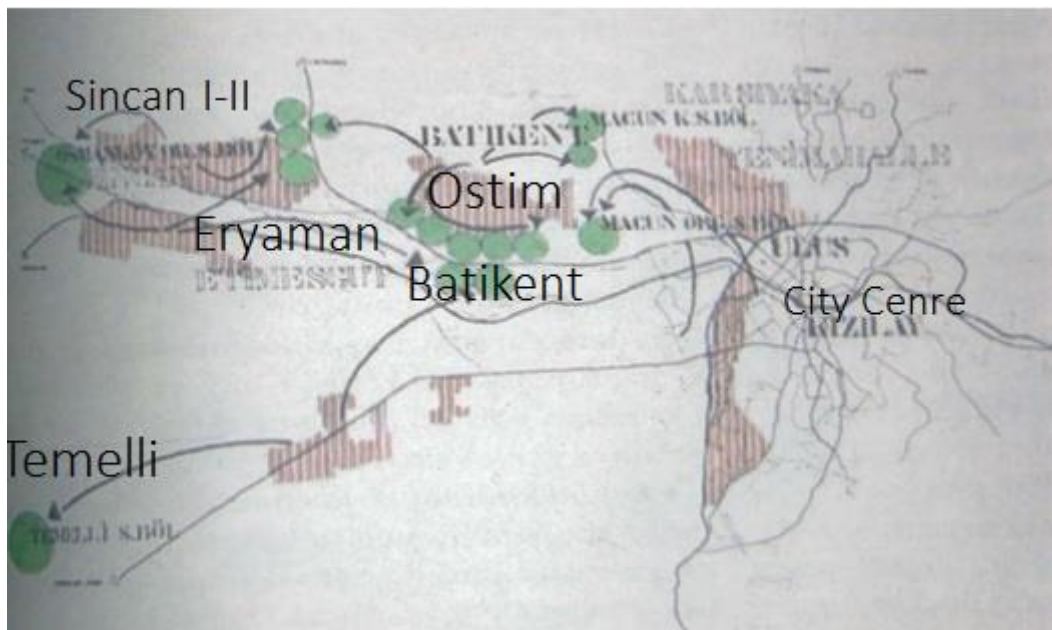


Figure 8-7: The suggested Industrial Zones and Housing development in the West corridor in 1969 urban plan Source: Keskinok (2006, p.125)

The west corridor developments, Sincan I and Sincan II housing zones were combined with industrial zones. These were similar to 19th and 20th century

housing and industrial development in Europe (Günay, 2006, p. 100; Ankara Municipality, 2007, p. 66). The example of Batikent as a part of the 1990 plan is important as it represents an alternative to the gecekondu development of the 1980s. Batikent (west city) was designed as middle and working class suburban development, including the OSTIM and Ivedik Industrial zones, and was connected to the city centre by the subway. Moreover, during this period the MHA constructed houses in the west corridor in Eryaman for low and middle-income groups, apartments which were mostly bought by civil servants (Figure 8-8).



Figure 8-8: The urban development and Zoning Plan prepared by AMANPB in 1982

Source: (Çalışkan 2009; p 35)

8.3.2 IDP Plans 1984-1990/1990-1996

The 1982 plan did not have any suggestions for the gecekondu. The housing developments in the west corridor, such as Batikent and Sincan, aimed to decentralise the gecekondu population from the city centre. Batikent became an instrument of urban land provision to cooperatives, however, and as such served the middle classes (secure income groups) rather than low-income groups. Secure income groups organised in cooperatives and took over most of the planned housing development in the west corridor (Chapter 5). It was a suburban development for 300,000 people. Batikent developed as a suburban area and had a small Central Business District (Keskinok, 2005, pp. 120–154). Therefore, the gecekondu areas mostly remained where they had previously been. With the continued increase of population during the 1980s, a new intervention in gecekondu areas came onto the agenda: Improvements and Development Plans (Figure 8-9) and Table 8.6 for details of IDP. Again, this was a national state intervention in order to facilitate capital switching to the built environment (Section 3.3; Section 3.3.2), support construction capital and the capitalist class as a whole, to provide housing to the working class and reduce the class struggle (Section 4.4). The tools of this intervention were new legal frameworks for metropolitan municipalities and city wide IDPs. This was an upscaling of the state (Section 4.3.2). Moreover, this strategy was based on the neoliberal framework of 1980s, with a market oriented framework private ownership rights has been provided. This framework further strengthened the relationship between land titling programs, housing finance and urban development (Section 3.7.3).

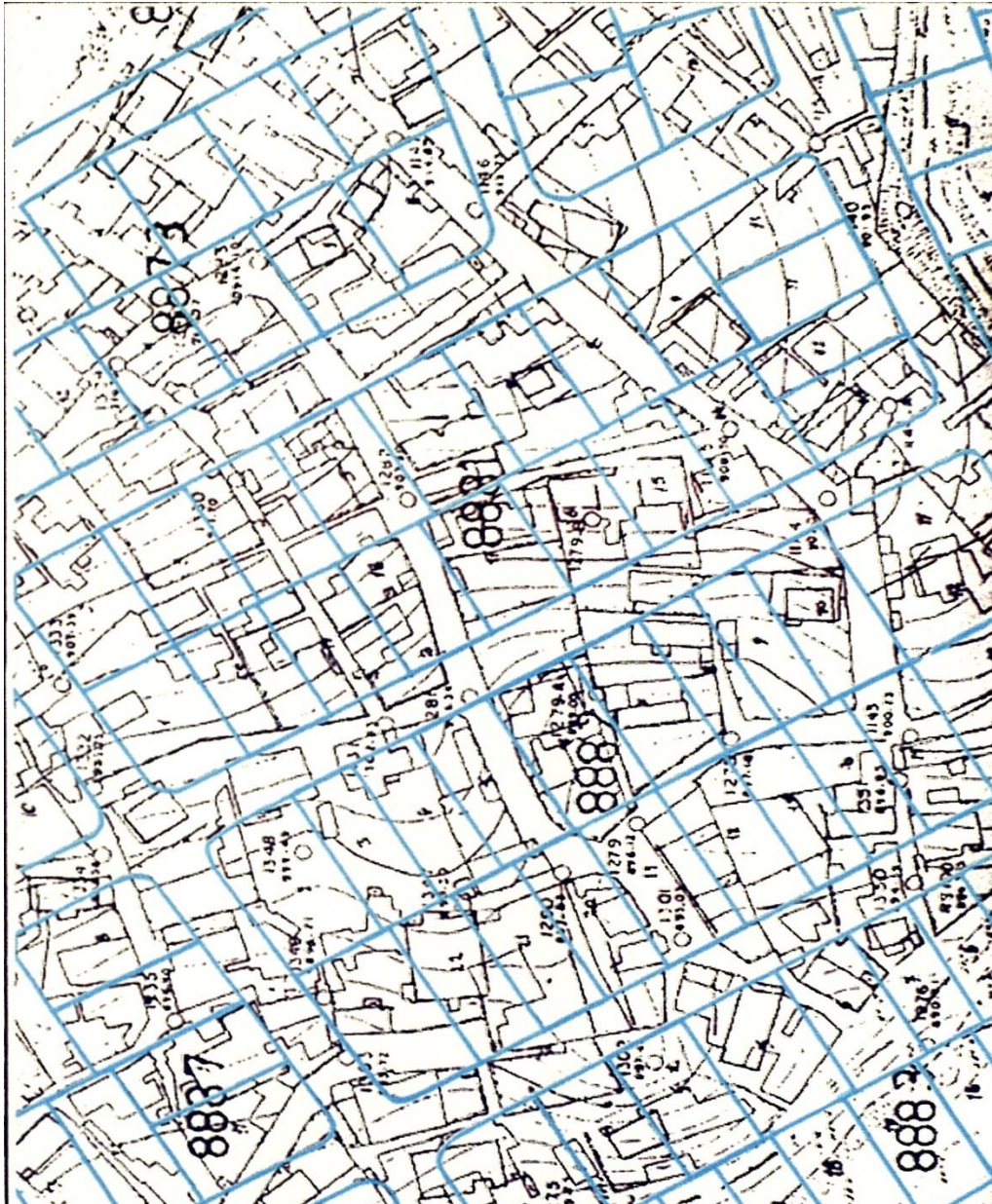


Figure 8-9: Reestablishment of the gecekondü Parcels based on IDP. Source (Sönmez, 2006; p 109)

In 1984, 188 gecekondü neighbourhoods in Ankara were listed in 6 local municipalities as IDP areas: Altindag, Cankaya, Etimesgut, Kecioren, Sincan and Yenimahalle (Sat, 2007). IDPs were implemented in two phases. The first stage was 1984-1990 and the second stage was 1990-1996.

Table 8.6: IDP details

Land readjustment	Legalisation of the gecekondus and then Individual plots were first put together and then the public share (35%) removed from this total, the final plots are redistributed according to individual shares regardless of previous locations.
Profit sharing	Legalisation of the gecekondus, all gecekondu residents became beneficiary. After legalisation gecekondu owners became land owners and share of profit based on the agreement between private developers and gecekondu owners according the plan conditions
Formalisation	Partly formalisation of gecekondus housing in profitable locations
Resistance	Due to formalisation lack of resistance
Financial tools	New housing credit system introduce mostly for cooperative and middle income buyers
Actors involved	-Metropolitan municipalities-District Municipality -Private developers small land medium scale private developers -Gecekondu owners
Benefits and disadvantages of actor involved	
District and Metropolitan Municipalities	Formalisation of housing and built environment as well as increasing revenues due to increasing population and tax revenues
Private developers	Provide planned and cheap urban land for developers, mostly small scale.
Gecekondu owners	Formal housing/better infrastructure and urban services Losing previous social connections Atomisation and fragmentation of population
Tenants	Not beneficiary, became tenants in the new flats or gecekondus
Legalisation	Formalisation of all gecekondus and provision of land title after payments

The first stage of the program was legalising the existing gecekondus and clearance of the ownership pattern in the neighbourhoods. After that, land use and land ownership maps are prepared and the main strategy of the IDP determined by planners. The IDPs have three main strategies: redevelopment, conservation and clearance. Redevelopment plans were aiming to increase building density and provide modern urban services to the project areas. Since it

increases the exchange value of the land, redevelopment was the most demanded strategy by gecekondu residents and developers. The second strategy was conservation; this was legalising the gecekondus as regular housing units. This accepted the existing land-use pattern in order to avoid the unnecessary demolition, expropriation and relocation due to the cost of these processes to the municipalities. The conservation strategy was very unpopular amongst the gecekondu residents, since it does not increase the exchange value of the land and only relatively increases public services like paved roads. Moreover, legalisation also does not make a significant change in reality, because demolition of gecekondus was highly unlikely in this period of time. Therefore, in subsequent periods the plan conditions in conservation areas also changed and municipalities allowed the construction of 4-5 storey buildings in these areas, as in the case of Altindag (Section 9.6). The last strategy is clearance, which was used very rarely and only for technical reasons such as providing land for public services or roads. This strategy was used with redevelopment; those who lose their houses are given another plot ready for redevelopment within the IDP area. In this way possible conflicts between the local municipality and gecekondu owners were reduced (Sonmez, 2006, pp. 114-116).

The IDP was obligated to have 400m² plots to enable the construction of 4 or 5 storey apartments. The blue parcels in the Figure 8-9 are the parcels for 4-5 storey apartments. The gecekondu plots were combined and re-established according to the plan conditions, suggesting that some part of the parcels (maximum 35%) were expropriated for infrastructure (roads and pavement) and public facilities (schools, health centres). After a certain percentage were expropriated the remaining land was legally owned by the gecekondu owners. In this process almost all boundaries of the individual plots change since the land is first put together and then the public share removed from this total, the final plots are redistributed according to individual shares regardless of previous locations.

The construction of the apartments (Figure 8-10) began on the condition that there was agreement between gecekondu owners and private development companies (Bugra, 1998; Dündar, 2001b; Sönmez, 2006).

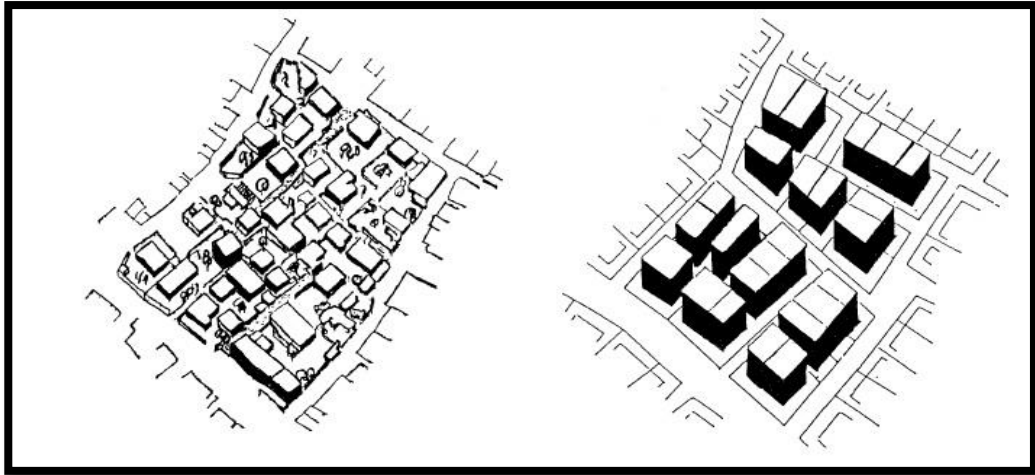


Figure 8-10: Changes of the built environment with IDP Source: (Dündar, 2001b)

8.3.3 Ankara Transportation Plan 1994

After 1980 there was a dramatic increase of investment in the built environment. During the 1980s the municipality wanted to build a subway system and as such a new zoning plan was needed. Therefore, the 1994 Transportation Plan was prepared by the municipality. This plan projected a population of 3.6 million for 2000 and 5 million for 2015 (Ankara Municipality 2007, pp.44–63; Günay 2006). The key strategy to address this population increase continued to be extending the city towards the west corridor (Çalışkan, 2009). Moreover, it also legitimised development in other directions, towards the north, northeast and south-south-west. In line with previous plans the expansion was supported by increased industrial development in each direction (Ankara Municipality 2007, p.68).

As Turkey is a middle-income country, the new city expansion for the middle and working classes was not based on private car ownership like in the USA, but was in the form of a star-shaped city structure, based on public transportation. An 8-10 km wide green-wedge system was suggested between the main roads in order to create air circulation. The municipality also supported the previous expansion pattern of the middle classes towards the south and south west.

In short, the increase of investment in the built environment allowed two different developments in Ankara after the 1980s. On the one hand, urban

development based on a star-shaped city structure continued. On the other hand, the previous gecekondu neighbourhoods were to be redeveloped as 4-5 storey apartments.

8.3.4 How the policies and plans were implemented?

During this period the management of rapid urban growth was attempted through planned expansion towards the west, however, the idealistic plans of transferring the gecekondu population into the west corridor did not materialise. At the same time secure income groups, both blue collar and white collar workers partly settled down in the expansion in the west corridor. The middle and upper classes moved out of the centre, towards the south and south east of the city. Furthermore, the gecekondu areas were partly redeveloped through the IDP Plans.

Firstly, in Batıkent and Sincan both blue collar and white collar workers decentralised with the support of public institutions. These public institutions, such as the Municipality and the MHA, were the pioneers of west corridor urban development (Günay, 2006, pp. 104–105). At the same time, the city centre areas became very undesirable for middle class people due to air pollution, high-density and traffic congestion problems. The middle and upper-income groups, which were on the south of the historical city in Kavaklıdere and Gaziosmanpaşa decentralised towards the east and south-east corridor, an expansion not constructed by state institutions but supported through zoning and planning changes. The target was cooperative development, with a minimum 15-hectare neighbourhood scale of mass housing production for middle and upper-income groups. While the metropolitan office was still active this condition was implemented, later apartments were constructed on single parcel scale in Cayyolu (Günay, 2006, pp. 104–105). Moreover, the first gated communities were constructed in the east and south-east corridor.

One important feature of the beginning of the neoliberal period is the conflict between the central and local state. Although the 2015 structural scheme was prepared it was never approved by central government. Moreover, central

government used its planning power to support expansion of middle and upper-income groups (Municipality, 2007, pp. 44–63). The new development scheme was based on a new road system which looked to create alternative main roads for Ankara and support decentralisation of urban development. However, a very different highway route was constructed by central government. Moreover, the central government prepared different, piecemeal plans for the south-west (Cayyolu) axis of the city, moving away from controlled decentralisation towards rapid urban expansion (Ankara Municipality 2007, pp.44–63).

The Golbasi and Eymir Lakes in the south of the city were designated as conservation zones, surrounded by low-density single-family housing development. During the 1990s and 2000s speculative middle-upper-income, high-density single-family houses were constructed in these areas. There were partial plans for Cayyolu, Beytepe and Gölbaşı districts prepared by central government; these triggered further speculative development in these areas. As explained in section 4.5.1, certain sections of capital can influence the state policies, in this period the big construction capital used its power in order to create the necessary conditions for rapid urban development (Ankara Municipality 2007, pp.44–63). Central government also supported big construction capital and upper-income groups, legalising partial plans for the south and south-east part of the city.

With the IDP plans central government looked to redevelop all of the gecekondu neighbourhoods. Not all areas were redeveloped as apartments, however. Firstly, the big construction companies transformed the most advantageous and profitable city centre locations to large scale housing areas suitable for upper and middle-income people (Şenyapılı and Türel, 1996). Central areas were rapidly transformed to apartments because large construction companies could easily solve ownership problems and speed up the procedures with their economic and politic power. Secondly, the small-scale companies transformed the less profitable areas, such as those close to the main road or upper-class neighbourhoods. Finally, the least profitable gecekondu neighbourhoods were either transformed by the owners' own resources or the owners preferred to wait

until the land value increased enough to interest private developers (Şenyapılı and Türel, 1996; Dündar, 2001b). With the development of anti-gecekondu policies and commodification of the gecekondu after 1980, the working class started to live in these apartments.

The IDP plans increased the density in former gecekondu neighbourhoods. During the 1950s the Ankara core had been transformed by a creative destruction process; in the 1980s a similar process transformed the gecekondu neighbourhoods. The IDP destroyed the housing and industry balance suggested in the AMANPB Plan. The speculative developments in the south and west destroyed the planned decentralisation attempts of the municipality.

Sat (2007) suggested that the IDP plans have caused many problems in urban development in Turkey. Their aim was creating and redistributing urban rent between actors such as gecekondu owners and private developers. First of all, the IDP plans were unrealistic and unnecessary. It was predicted that the population of Ankara would be 5 million in 1990 and IDP plans were made to fulfil the housing needs of this population (Sat, 2007).

Secondly, in the IDP areas, there was indeed a dramatic population and density increase, without adequate infrastructure and public facilities (Sat 2007; Ankara Municipality 2007, p.66) second major problem with IDP areas is the low standard of living conditions due to inadequate infrastructure and public facilities. None of the IDP areas have enough educational and socio-cultural facilities, green areas, and adequate technical infrastructure to meet the standards of the 3194 Urbanisation and Development Act (Dündar, 2001a; Sat, 2007). Gecekondu residents and private developers want to maximise the profit level, and municipalities could not reject their demands for political and economic reasons. As a result, the IDP areas have a highly dense built environment. Due to the low quality build environment of IDP, the Turkish housing standards (Act no: 3194) was enacted in 1985. The table 8.7 shows the amount of education, health and green space in IDP areas in different districts of Ankara. The first column shows the existing amount of facilities in hectares, second shows those proposed by the

IDP and finally the last column shows what needs to be added in order to reach Turkish Housing Standards. (Act No: 3194)

Table 8.7 the existing, proposed and the need to be added in order to reach Turkish Housing Standards

	EDUCATION			HEALTH			GREEN AREA		
	Exis. (He).	Prop. (He).	Added (He)	Ex ist (H e)	Prop (He)	Added (He).	Exist. (He).	Prop. (He).	Added (He).
Altindag	1.1	45	160.4	-	4.1	47.2	-	4.2	149.9
Cankara	1.5	56.4	89.5	-	8.2	50.4	-	5.4	170.6
Etimesgut	-	17.3	239.2	-	3.9	22.8	-	7.4	72.7
Kecioren	7	66.4	191.6	-	11.7	64.7	-	19.2	210
Mamak	24	93.5	199.6	1.2	10.8	60.5	-	5	208.8
Yenimahalle	0.6	25	199.8	-	3.4	52.8	-	3.7	165
TOTAL	47.7	303.6	1058.8	-	42.2	298.4	-	44.8	977

Source: Sat (2007)

Finally, and most importantly, gecekondü construction did not stop. New gecekondus were constructed around the IDP areas. The combination of high-densities and inadequate infrastructure triggered the middle and upper class decentralisation from the centre to south-west corridor (Günay, 2006). This trend led speculative housing developments in the south-east corridor. The area originally proposed as a small housing development turned into a middle and low-density dormitory suburb (Ankara Municipality 2007, p.68).

8.4 Neoliberal period and financialisation 2000-2017

During this period, in parallel with the national pattern, the number of agricultural workers decreased (Section 7.4.2 Labour disciplinary policies), the dominance of the service sector continued, and there were significant increases in the number of people employed in industrial production. During this period state owned

industries in aerospace and defence, automobiles and machinery continued to develop. After Istanbul, Ankara has the second largest economy and industrial production in Turkey. Furthermore, Ankara is the centre of construction and heavy machinery production in Turkey (Table 8-8).

Table 8-8: The employment level of the major sectors after 2000 in Ankara

Sectors	2000		2005		2013	
	Employment Number	%	Employment Number	%	Employment Number	%
Agriculture	223,000	16.2	94,000	7.3	77,000	4.6
Industry	184,000	13.4	303,000	23.5	394,000	23.6
Service	966,000	70.1	893,000	69.2	1,196,000	71.6
Not clearly define	3,678	0.27	-	-		
Total	1,378,000	100	1,290,000	100	1,667,000	100

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2015

8.4.1 What do the policies/plans show us?

In 2005 a series of regulations increased the power of the metropolitan municipalities. Although the neoliberal transformations of the 1980s had theoretically given the power of planning to metropolitan municipalities, it was limited to preparing 1/5000 scale zoning and development plans. With the new regulations in 2004, the metropolitan municipalities were given the right to prepare 1/25,000 scale development plans (Section 7.5.1.2). In 2006, based on these regulations Ankara Metropolitan Municipality prepared a new master plan targeting 2023. The main mechanism to manage urban growth became plan revisions for metropolitan municipalities. Under the absence of a larger scale plan there were more than 5,000 changes approved by metropolitan municipalities until 2006.

For the 2007 Master Plan (Figure 8-11) the metropolitan municipality followed a different process. Firstly, 15 different development plans were produced by the local municipalities in the Ankara metropolitan area. From here the planning team in the MMA revised all plans based on the metropolitan-level structure. Since all

the local municipalities wanted to allocate all possible developable sites for further development, the population projections of municipal plans were for 13 million people by 2023. MMA halved this target by using plan revisions, such as the reappraisal of density surfaces, and cancelling excessive development extensions. The 2007 development plan is still not approved by the ministry of urbanisation but it is important to show the planning logic of the metropolitan municipality for this period.

Çalışkan (2009) suggests that the main aim of the municipality during this period was to manage urban sprawl and uncontrolled expansion of the city through the main axes, and to transform the remaining gecekondu areas. The 2007 plan defines 6 different development sub-regions and suggests different planning and design programmes for each sub-region according to its intrinsic features. The urban fabric within each zone was defined particularly, either according to the existing urban fabric or as a development zone. An innovation for the urban core has been to designate preservation, rehabilitation and transformation zones. For the first time, then, different intervention zones have been defined within a master plan. One of the most important approaches of the plan is neighbourhood scale intervention and developments, as opposed to single parcel scale developments. The north-east, south-east and east corridors continued to be the new development zones, whilst urban development based on a star-shaped city structure continued.

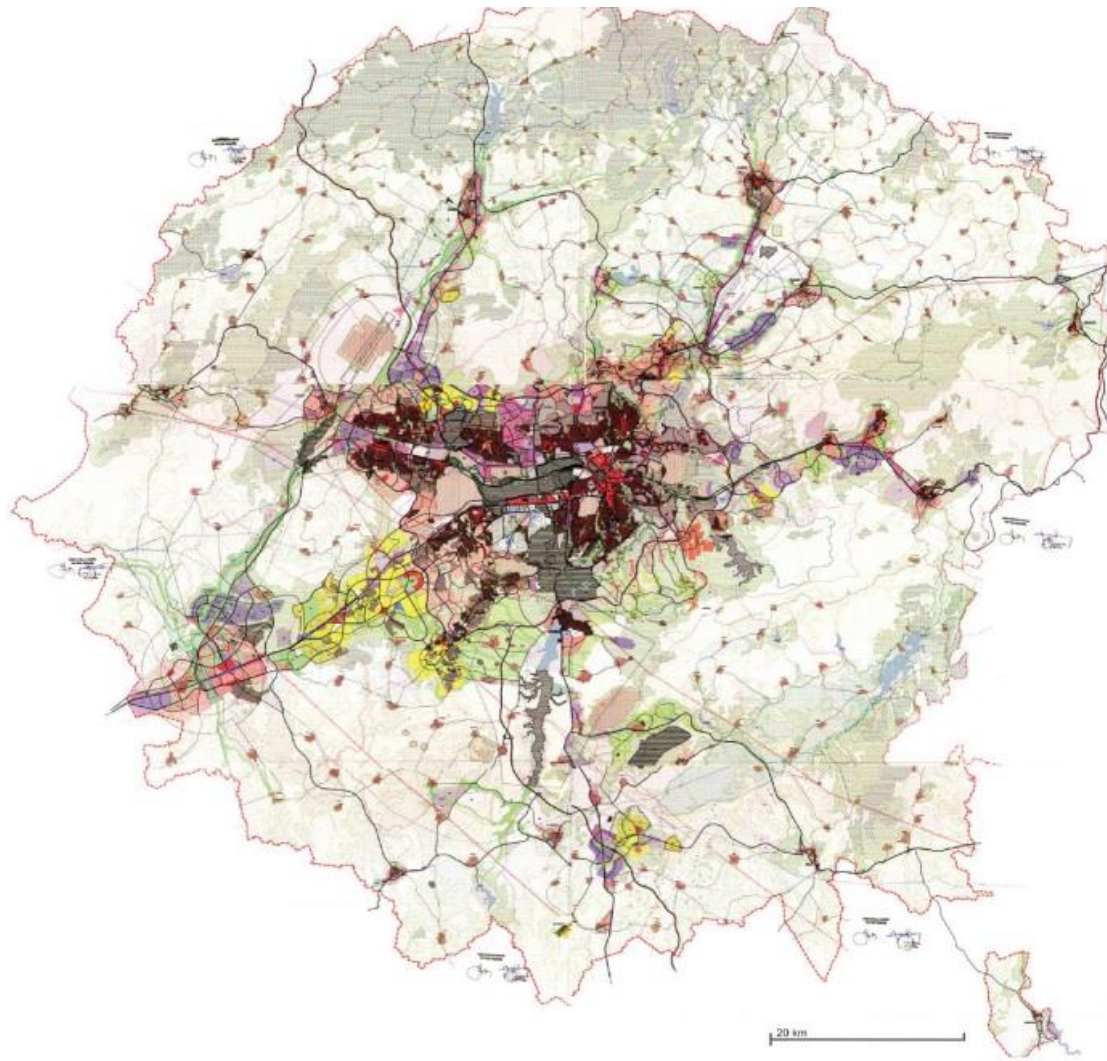


Figure 8-11 : Ankara Metropolitan Plan, 2007. Source: Çalışkan (2011, p.43)

8.4.2 How were the policies and plans implemented?

Since the 2000s we have seen the radical reordering and growth of the formal industrial and services sectors in Ankara, which have led to a large increase in professional and formal workers living in inner city areas. This change has required a massive restructuring of the built environment of these cities. This was accomplished through the upward scaling interventions by national government and the metropolitan municipality; only these bodies had the large resources and the territorial sweep necessary for city restructuring. Moreover, The MHA became active in giving credit and there has also been a large increase in private sector bank lending to house purchasers (Financialization of housing in LDC Section 3.8.1.2). The upward scaling of intervention and financialization allowed an unprecedented level of capital flow into urban space.

In 2005 the total land use of the city was 61,000 hectares, with 16,000 hectares of this land use being housing. 70% of total housing areas were 'formal' housing areas where 77.5% of the population lived. The gecekondu areas on the other hand represented 30% of housing for 27.5% of the population. In other words, approximately 1.2 million people lived in gecekondus in 2005 (Ankara Municipality 2007, p.84). Under these circumstances Urban Redevelopment Projects came onto the agenda as a tool for neighbourhood scale intervention in gecekondu areas. These large-scale interventions were supported by new credit systems for construction capital and homebuyers, and new legal and institutional systems for different levels of state institutions, in order to open channels of investment in the built environment. The different levels of state institutions prepared the conditions for production of the built environment by revising zoning plans, solving ownership problems and preparing the physical and legal conditions for investment.

After 2005, when metropolitan municipalities gained the power to implement urban redevelopment projects, upper scale planning processes were replaced with urban redevelopment projects. The redevelopment projects create the opportunity to bypass existing regulation, replacing comprehensive planning with

redevelopment, which was an upward scaling. In a break from the redevelopment projects of the 1990s the redevelopment projects of the 2000s cover massive areas, aiming to intervene in historically problematic areas. As such, new legal arrangements were needed for the redevelopment projects of the 2000s. Moreover, the actors also changed. In the 1990s the redevelopment projects were a result of processes of negotiation between residents, NGOs and metropolitan municipalities; after 2002 the process was centralised. Metropolitan municipalities and the MHA became active agents of the redevelopment process. For the year 2016 there are 88 urban redevelopment projects being implemented by the metropolitan municipality in Ankara. The projects aimed to demolish a total 40,000 gecekondus and build 120,000 dwellings (See 8.4.3).

With the new legal and financial tools, all scales of government started to intervene in urban areas. Physical transformation and big projects have been seen as ways of showing how well the municipal system and state services are working. After 2005 we have seen an increase of the power of metropolitan municipalities, such that for the first time in Turkish legislation history a project specific act has been approved by the Turkish Grand National Assembly, for a redevelopment project in Ankara: The North Ankara Urban Redevelopment Project. The main feature of the recent urban regeneration acts are bypassing all the existing planning and heritage conservation legislation (Balaban, 2012).

As a result of all these interventions the channels of investment in the built environment have been opened by the state and implemented through different levels of state institutions. The number of new housing units increased from 28,812 per year in 2002 to 95,610 in 2014. Building density has also been increasing in Ankara since 2002. A similar pattern for annual housing production can be observed in Figure 8-12.

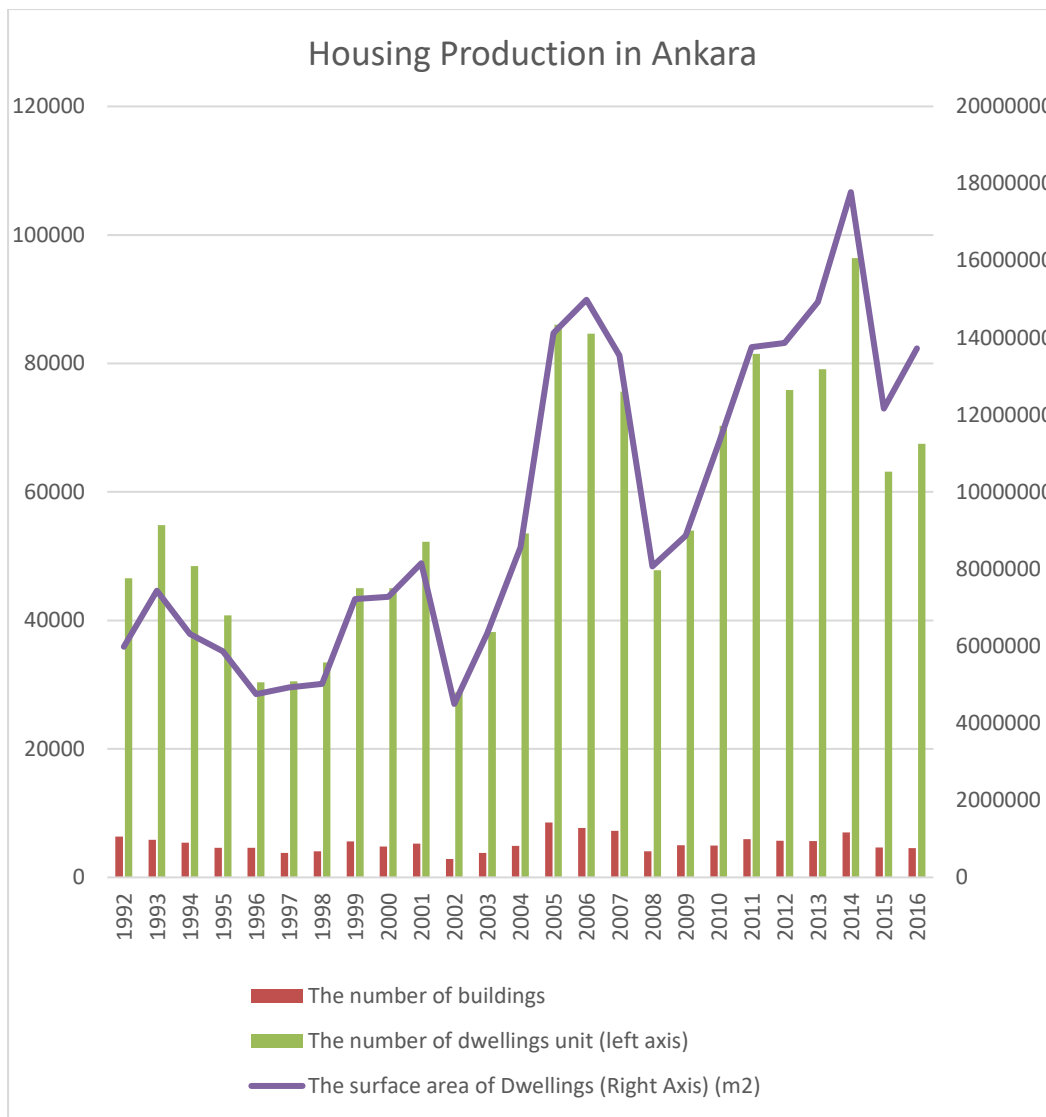


Figure 8-12: Housing production in Ankara. Source: TUIK, 2017

For the 1992-2002 periods the average annual housing production was 41,450 per year, it increased to 69,550 units for 2002-2016. The production of the built environment, then, has nearly doubled since 2002. In total 1,002,378 dwelling have been produced, since 2002 in Ankara. The introduction of new housing finance and increasing opportunities for obtaining credit since 2010 has been an important tool for this increase of housing production (Section 7.5.1.3). Figure 8-13 shows the number and the percentage of mortgages in housing sales in Ankara. Since 2008 the share of those needing a mortgage to buy a house has been around 40%.

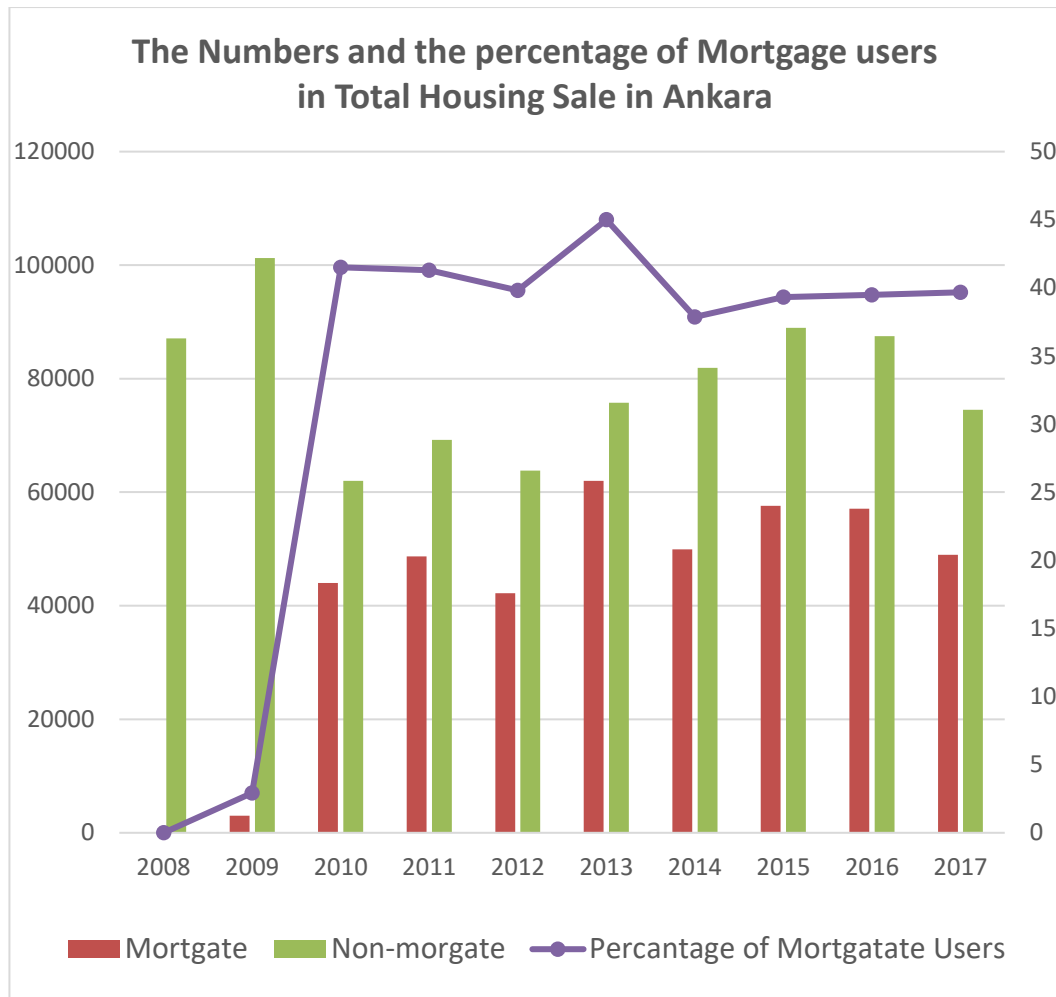


Figure 8-13: The number and the percentage of mortgagee users in Total Housing Sale in Ankara. Source: TUIK, 2017

8.4.3 Interventions to Gecekondu Housing

The upward scaling of intervention and financialization allowed an unprecedented level of capital flow into urban space. Therefore previously areas that had not been subject to previous intervention also became a subject of big redevelopment projects. State scalar change has also been powered by the government's project to change class relations. We noted in section 4.3 that new local policies and interventions may not be only class-disciplinary but may also be class-cooperative, and that these class relations may extend across the spheres of both production and reproduction. This combination of class relations within local politics has been the case in Turkey. Gecekondu housing is outside of normal capitalist relations of land ownership and building. The elimination of the

gecekondu was partly aimed at subjecting working class residents to the rule of money and law (Clarke, 1991; Das, 2006). Since the 1980s workers in employment have been subjected to a greatly increased disciplinary power of capital and the state. The governments since 2000, however, sought to legitimise its rule with at least a portion of the urban working class by providing a higher material standard of housing combined with new social and cultural facilities in the neighbourhoods.

Table 8.9: The details of UTPs

	UTP
Land readjustment	Similarly sized individual plots were put together by the state agency, and the public share was removed from the total. The remaining amount determined the condition of being a beneficiary
Profit sharing	Title deed holders and land allocation certificate holders can a sign contract for the new apartments. The state agency determines the condition of being beneficiary based on the profit-sharing model. Approximately 40 % for private developers, 30% percent for land owners, 30% for municipality
Formalisation	Total formalisation of all housing and built environment
Resistance	Resistance form non-title holders and NGOs in several project areas
Financial tools	Housing credits from finance sector and private bank and MHA credits.
Actors involved	Metropolitan municipality- Mass Housing Agency (MHA) Medium and big scale private developers Title deed holders
Actors involved	
Metropolitan Municipalities and MHA	Bigger scale formalisation of housing and built environment as well as increasing revenues due to increasing population and tax revenues
Private developers	Provide bigger scale housing production projects for the medium and bigger scale firms and housing production for middle and upper income groups.
Gecekondu owners	Formal housing/better infrastructure and urban services Loosing previous social connections Atomisation and fragmentation of population Gentrification and displacement of gecekondu residents in some cases
Tenants	Displacement, not gaining the benefits of non-title holders and small parcel holders. The number of non-beneficiaries is higher because of lack of legalisations
Legalisation	Do not legalise gecekondu, but accept land titles and land allocation certificates from previous IDPs

After 2005, both district municipalities and metropolitan municipalities started to use large-area redevelopment with the involvement of bigger construction companies as the main tool for intervention. This intervention was across all levels of government. While the district municipalities intervened through the revised IDPs, the metropolitan municipalities were using the UTP, and the MHA had its own political, economic and planning powers by which to intervene (7.5.1). As discussed above, since 2005 we have seen an increase in the power of metropolitan municipalities and multi-level interventions increasing both urban density at the urban core and large redevelopment projects at the periphery. The main difference between the contemporary period and the previous one, however, is the lack of legalisation of informality; the state policy of giving state land to the poor was abandoned. Some other details of UTP projects are in table 8.9, however, in each project the details are determined by the relevant state agency therefore I will explain the details of the New Mamak project in Section 10.4.

In the case of central government intervention, people have to pay the price of housing through long-term, low credit provided by the MHA. The price has been calculated by MHA for each project separately. The integration of the credit system after 2003 and new mortgage system provided this opportunity to integrate the housing and credit systems. One of the differences of Turkey in terms of this integration, however, is the active housing production of the state. Due to high interest rates and economic instability the ratio of mortgage users is still very low when compared to advanced capitalist countries. Therefore, central government has to be more active in order to make urban space attractive and amenable to capital (Section 3.8.1.2).

By revising old IDP areas local municipalities wanted to clean the gecekondu neighbourhoods during the 2000s, redevelopments that are ongoing. Although a new approach, the neighbourhood scale transformation projects (UTP) (Section 7.5.1). Started after 2005, local municipalities were revising the old IDPs. As in the case of Sentepe and Altindag the main approach of the local municipalities is increasing construction rights and combining small parcels to create extra

construction areas. Therefore, we can see redevelopment in peripheral gecekondu areas after 2000 as a continuation, with revised IDP projects on the one hand and large scale urban transformation projects on the other.

This redevelopment strategy had been actively used by central government during the 1980s and 1990s. The gecekondu neighbourhoods surrounding the formal built up areas have been partly cleared through IDPs since 2002. Therefore, to see the historical transition of state intervention in gecekondu neighbourhoods it is useful to analyse the IDP-style redevelopment process (See chapter 9). When the redevelopment does not occur for reasons such as fragmented land ownership or a lack of private developers to provide investment, local municipalities established partnerships with the MHA.

8.4.3.1 Intervention at Metropolitan Municipality Level

Since the 1990s a new approach has been used towards some redevelopment in Ankara, the Urban Transformation Projects (Section 7.5). Urban Transformation Projects (UTP)s are an alternative approach to redevelopment of gecekondu areas with a new financial model, participation process and social inclusion strategies (Türker-Devecigil, 2005). The aim of the UTP is neighbourhood level redevelopment rather than parcel level.

The first UTPs in Ankara were the Dikmen Valley and Portakal Cicegi Valley projects. With a new strategy these projects aimed to foster resident participation in planning processes, self-financing, and the ability for gecekondu residents to stay on redevelopment sites. An upper class, residential with office, commercial building was designed. A substantial green space target was an important spatial difference of the project of the Dikmen Valley project (Türker-Devecigil, 2005). These large scale projects, implemented by municipalities and private capital partnership, led to gentrification by displacement of the previous neighbourhood population. This model was an alternative tool for the municipalities in order to capitalise on the ground rent and offer alternative solutions the gecekondu owners, such as giving them land in other parts of the city (Güzey, 2009, pp. 182–

185). Dündar (2001b) suggests that the UTP only solves the physical problems of the IDP, however, and the social and economic problems of the gecekondu areas are reproduced in other parts of the cities.

After the Northern Ankara Project, the UTP redevelopment model became the main strategy of the Metropolitan Municipalities to intervene in urban space in Turkey. As (Güzey, 2009) suggests, 'redevelopment' became an alternative to comprehensive planning for the big cities of Turkey. Metropolitan Municipalities like Ankara use UTP projects to intervene in any area without having to consider larger scale planning decisions and meet the demands of construction and finance capital. Based on the 2007 Ankara development plan, in total the planned areas of Ankara are around 80,000 hectares, and 31,235 hectares have been declared as Redevelopment Areas by Ankara Great Municipality based on changes in metropolitan municipality act 5393 paragraph not 73. Based on these figures 39% of planned areas in Ankara are constituted as redevelopment areas (Table 8-9)

Table 8-9: Number and percentage of redevelopment areas in districts of Ankara

District	Number of Redevelopment projects (R.P.)	Total area of R.P. (Hec)	Percentage (%)
Altındağ	6	493	155
Keçiören	5	2,169	684
Çankaya	25	5,450	17,19
Yenimahalle	10	2,900	914
Mamak	4	6,809	2,148
Etimesgut	2	3,510	1,107
Gölbaşı	4	8,189	2,583
Sincan	2	395	124
Beypazari	2	77.4	0.2
BALA	2	1,343	423
Akyurt	1	330	104

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality; Source: Author's calculation based on data received from municipality.

Despite focusing on central districts such as Çankaya and Mamak, the UTP projects are spread all around the city. Not only gecekondu neighbourhoods but also the historical city centre, and greenfield areas on the periphery of the existing city have been declared redevelopment areas. The Metropolitan Municipality aims to redevelop 40,000 gecekondus through 88 ongoing projects, and construct 120,000 housing units in place of these gecekondus (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2016).

8.4.3.2 Interventions by Central Government

Another intervention in urban space generally and gecekondu neighbourhoods specifically come from MHA, the most comprehensive planning authority in Turkey (Section 7.5.1.1). MHA projects usually target the areas which could not be redeveloped before, such as historical centres and old gecekondu areas (Uzun, Çete and Palancıoğlu, 2010). In IDP projects gecekondu owners could usually stay in the same neighbourhoods. However, according to MHA policies the gecekondu owners have to pay the gap between the new house and land value, with low levels of income one outcome has been displacement (Geray, 2009, p. 746; Kuyucu and Unsal, 2010).

MHA claims that 80% of MHA projects target middle and low-income groups. However, MHA has implemented a total 267 projects in Ankara, and only one of these projects is housing production for low-income groups. This housing project is in Ankara Kusunlar and consists of 1,174 dwellings. The gecekondu residents without title deeds from the New Mamak projects have also been transferred to the Kusunlar MHA Project Area (Official 1). In terms of MHA housing projects, there have been 78,182 apartments produced since 2002, and 25,902 of these apartment is a part of urban redevelopment projects. When the conditions of redevelopment are not met due to reasons such as fragmented land ownership or lack of private developers, local municipalities establish partnerships with the MHA. By using many advantages MHA redevelop the gecekondu neighbourhoods. The table 8-10 below shows some of the redevelopment projects implemented by district municipalities and MHA partnerships.

Table 8-10: Gecekondu redevelopment projects implemented by collaboration between MHA and district municipalities in Ankara.

Area (Hectares)	Municipality	Name of the RP	Agency	Starting Year
22	Mamak	Yatıkmusluk - Altınevler	Mamak-MHA	2007
30	Mamak	DuraliAlıç	Mamak-MHA	2005
97	Mamak	Ege	Mamak-MHA	2005
16,5	Mamak	HüseyinGazi	Mamak-MHA	2005

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2015

8.5 Conclusion

Since Ankara became the capital its population and the level of economic activity within the city have increased steadily. The service sector, mostly state employment, has become the dominant mode of employment since the 1920s. Until the 1950s the urbanisation rate was limited, the urban plans aimed to establish a western-style garden city development within the planned areas. However, the level of accumulation was very limited, meaning only upper-income groups could afford these single-family houses. The first example of the two main sources of urban space production appeared during the first years of Republic: informal, 'temporary' workers and their gecekondu; and the cooperatives of the secure income groups. It was on account of the jobs of the workers being temporary/marginal economically that their spatial positions were also marginal.

Between the period 1950 and 1980 two modes of urban space production became dominant in Ankara. First, the single-family houses of the previous period were converted to 4-5 storey apartments by small scale developers. Second, the

marginal condition of the worker in the economy changed, and the single shanties were converted to working class neighbourhoods. These low-standard working class houses were located on the hills which surround the 'formal' urban space of Ankara. Both of these modes of production originate from the bottom and were formalised by the state in order to legalise the reality and sustain the economic development model.

In 1970s Ankara faced serious problems of pollution, traffic congestion and inadequate urban services, including water, sewerage and electricity. These problems required a massive restructuring of the built environment of Ankara. This was accomplished through upward scaling by setting up the Metropolitan Municipalities and through interventions by national government. Through these interventions; three different modes of urban space production were realised: first, the expansion of the city towards the west corridor and housing production; secondly, housing production through intervention in gecekondu neighbourhoods and partial redevelopment of the gecekondu areas; and thirdly, continuing gecekondu production. During this period investment in housing production increased and new institutions such as the MHA and the credit system were established. Due to this increased housing production the proportion of the population living in gecekondus decreased from 57% in 1970 to 27.5% in 2005. However, the IDP created uneven redevelopment; in many neighbourhoods some gecekondus were redeveloped as 5 storey apartments while the others remain. The increasing problems triggered the middle and upper-income groups to decentralise to the south and south-eastern parts of the city (Figure 8-14). Moreover, the production of flats did not provide necessary finance systems for all income groups, meaning gecekondu construction continued on the city periphery.

Governments since the 1980s have sought to end gecekondu living and house the working class in formal, capitalist-built housing. This is seen as providing a materially higher standard of living and also providing large contracts for large construction companies. The programmes to build new working class housing have required a major input from the MHA, from the Metropolitan Municipalities,

as well as some role for District Municipalities. The growth of banking and finance sectors made these interventions possible after 2000. MHA became active in giving credit and there has also been a large increase in private sector bank lending to house purchases. The upward scaling of intervention and financialization allowed an unprecedented level of capital flow to urban space.

After 2000 and the economic upturn, the level of available credit for both developers and home buyers increased dramatically. Intervention in urban space became a major government policy; interventions were aimed to solve all the historical problems of the big cities. Therefore, metropolitan municipalities and a central state agency gained new and unprecedented administrative authority in relation to urban space production. With this authority Urban Transformation Plans became the main tool of intervention for central government and the metropolitan municipality. With an anti-gecekondu approach, all remaining gecekondu neighbourhoods on the periphery of Ankara were declared redevelopment areas, either by the local municipality, the metropolitan municipality or by MHA. By abandoning IDP, the state does not legalise gecekondu land anymore, ending the allocation of state land for the use of the working classes (Sections 7.2.1 and 7.3.1). In this way, the growth of the finance capital is supported by the state through making housing credit the only possible route to homeownership.

The following two chapters present research into the redevelopment of gecekondus at the district, neighbourhood and central state level. The three case studies are concerned with the two main redevelopment methods used by the state, IDPs, UTPs and MHA housing production respectively. We shall see that these had very different impacts on the housing stock and very different benefits and drawbacks for all the actors involved.

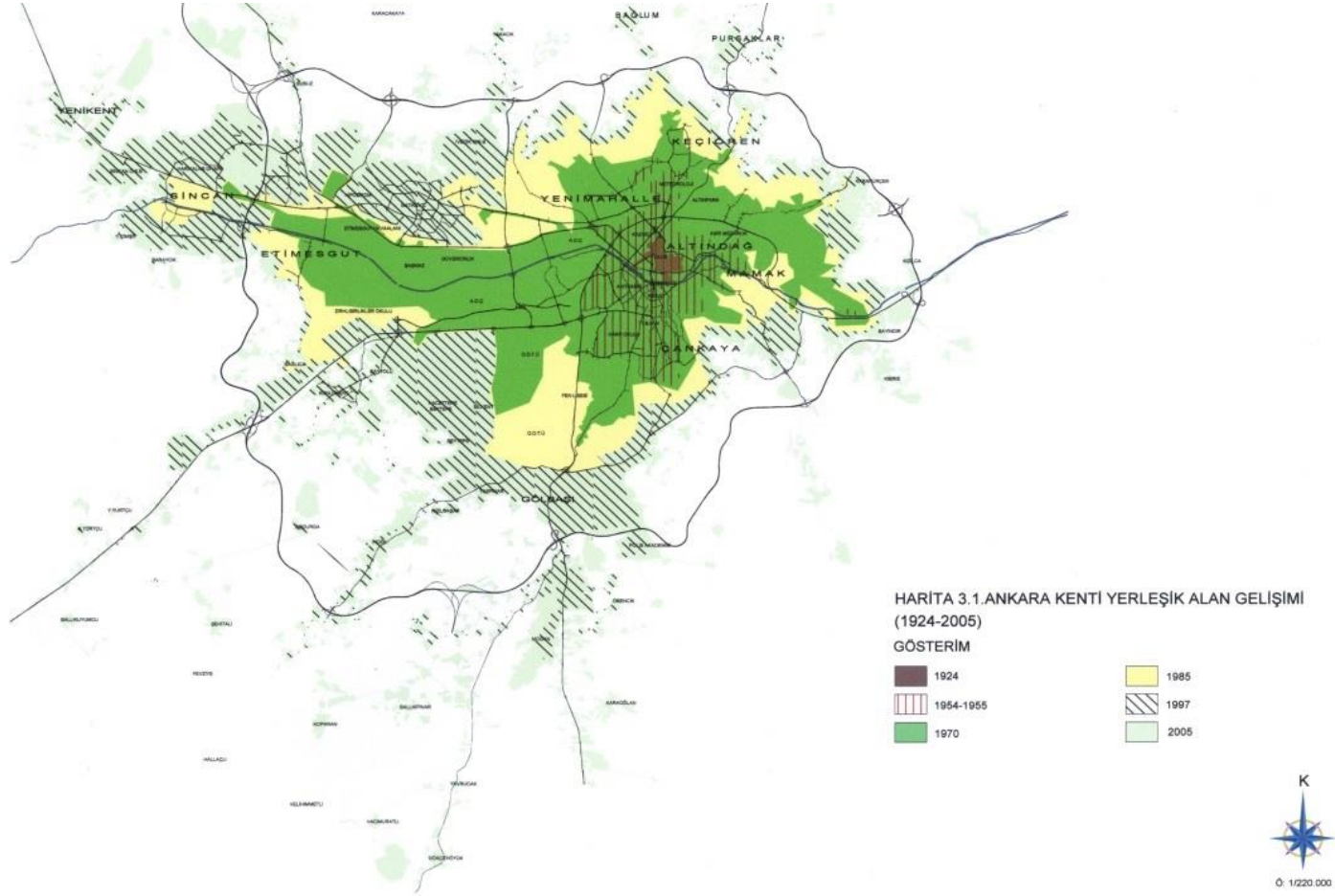


Figure 8-14: The land use study in 1997 growth of the urban built environment since 1927: Source Ankara Municipality 2005; p 74

Chapter 9. Altindag Improvement and Development Plans

9.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the Improvement and Development Plan (IDP) in Altindag District since 2007. There is not any previous research of IDPs in Altindag, Baspinar and Alemdag neighbourhoods. Therefore, the information presented here is based on interviews and focus group with gecekondü residents, civil servants in the municipality and private developers in the area. In addition, I have used municipality annual reports, strategic planning reports since 2004 and secondary literature about the gecekondü construction process in Altindag.

This chapter has ten sections. The second section gives a brief picture of the social and economic structures of Altindag District. The third section explains the building process and life in gecekondü-type housing. There are many problems and also many social advantages of gecekondüs; the fourth section, therefore, explains the social benefits of the gecekondü, whilst the fifth section concentrates on the problems of living in a gecekondü. The sixth and seventh sections explain the redevelopment processes, with section six explaining Improvement and Development Model redevelopment, and section seven explaining the real process of reconstruction of flats. Transferring from gecekondüs to the flats has social disadvantages such as individualisation and atomisation, as well as excluding some social groups, such as tenants. Therefore, section eight focuses on the experience of gecekondü owners as a result of the redevelopment projects, including improving living conditions, loss of neighbourhood relationships and fragmentation. Section nine focuses on tenants and expresses their losses as a result of redevelopment. Finally, section ten explains the benefits and disadvantages of different groups as a result of the projects, such as residents, private developers and municipalities.

9.2 Altindag and the Case Study Neighbourhoods

This section describes the Altindag District Municipality Area and includes a brief history of construction of gecekondus in the district. It also explains the contemporary politics of the municipality in relation to the production of the built environment and housing. The redevelopment project that I investigated is an Improvement and Development Plan implemented by the district municipality. Having been used in all big cities in Turkey during the 80s and 90s, the IDP redevelopment model is one of the main reasons for the low quality of the built environment in Ankara and Turkey (Section 8.3.1 and 7.3.1). Therefore, investigating IDPs and the actors involved is crucial to understanding how the built environment has been shaped in Ankara. Furthermore, this model is still being actively used by district municipalities such as Altindag and Yenimahalle.

Altindag is the oldest district of Ankara, with a population of around 365 thousand and an area of 15,847 hectares. The Altindağ District municipality (Figures 9-1) was established in 1953. The castle and the historical city centre are in Altindag District. The black circle in Figure 9-1 shows the location of the historical city centre, and the white circle shows the case study area. The first gecekondu neighbourhoods in Ankara were built here, in the areas close to the historical centre and castle, and the first research about gecekondus were made in these neighbourhoods. In 1971 Altindag had the highest percentage of gecekondu residents in Ankara with 49% of its population living in gecekondus (Kongar, 1973). For decades, Altindağ continued to have the highest number of gecekondus, being 25th in the list of the world's 30 mega slums, with around 400,000 people living in slums (Davis, 2007, p. 27).

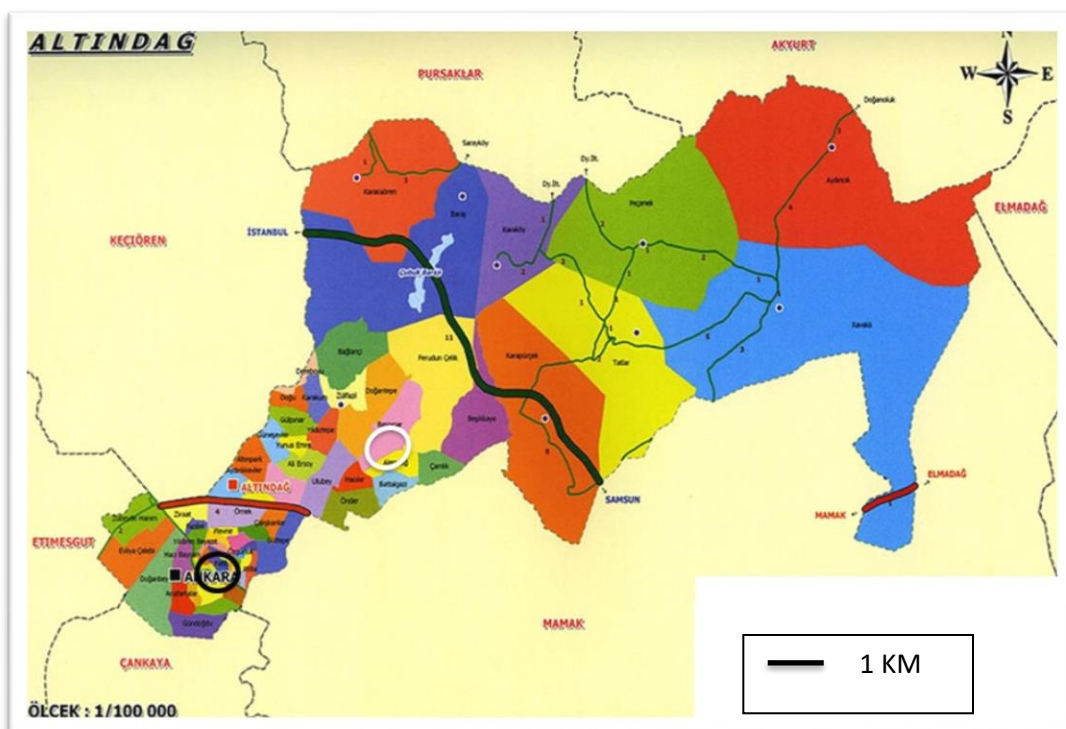


Figure 9-1: Altındağ Neighbourhood Map. Source: ASKI (2016)

The table 9-1 shows the decreasing population of Altındağ District since 1990. In terms of socio-economic profile, the district has the lowest level of education in Ankara, with 41% having only a primary school education and an illiteracy rate of 3%. Only 10% of the population has a university degree in Altındağ, whilst the figure for Ankara as a whole is 18% (Bektaş and Yücel, 2013)

Table 9-1: The population of Altındağ District 1990-2016

Years	1990	2000	2010	2016
Total	422.668	407.101	365.920	365.842

Source: TUIK, 2016

Working class housing has always been problematic in all capitalist countries and in Turkey. (Sections 3.4, 7.2 and 7.3). In 2004, only 30% of built up areas were formally constructed. Since 2004, however, new zoning plans have been prepared for 98% the built up areas. This remains an ongoing process and not all the zoning and development plans have been implemented yet. Nevertheless, between 2004 and 2016 the number of formally constructed buildings increased from 30 to 62% percent. The number of buildings in Altındağ is now 166,000 and still only 104,000 of these buildings have construction permits (Altındağ Belediyesi, 2016). In Altindag 75% of buildings are concrete, 20% percent are made out of stone/brick; 31% of the area is mountainous whilst 61% is rough terrain. Altındağ District has 38 neighbourhoods, yet because of continuous changes in the built environment and the local administrative system (5.5.1), the borders of these neighbourhoods have changed and the number of neighbourhoods has decreased since 2000. The current borders were established in 2008.

There are three main periods of gecekondu construction in Altindag. The first gecekondu in Turkey were constructed in the Altındağ District during the 1930s, around the historical city centre (Section 8.1.2). The names of these neighbourhoods are Hıdırlıktepe, Atıfbey, Yenidoğan, Aktaş, Ulus and Hacibayram (Figure 9-2). These neighbourhoods were occupied by the extremely poor and therefore been characterised by physical deprivation and criminal activities. They do not have adequate infrastructure and redevelopment projects could not be implemented due to both the complex land ownership patterns and the neighbourhood being in the historical preservation zone. Over time these inner city gecekondu neighbourhoods could not get urban services and deteriorated physically and socially (Bektas & Yucel 2013; Section 8.1.2; Sadioglu et al., 2016; Altindag Belediyesi, 2016).



Figure 9-2: Siteler Furniture Manufacturing Zone and Gecekondu Areas. Source Illustrated from Google Earth, 2017

In the second zone, gecekondu were constructed during the 1960s and 1970s. The Siteler Furniture Industry Zone (Figure 9-3) was constructed in 1969, and since then gecekondu have been constructed in the north and north eastern part of the industrial area (Bektas & Yucel 2013). These neighbourhoods are Hacilar, Ulubey, Battalgazi, Önder, Güneşevler, Gülpınar, and Başpınar. My case study area, Baspınar and Alemdag, are in this second gecekondu zone. In the 1970s in particular, some of the gecekondu areas around the Siteler manufacturing zone were converted into apartments and integrated into the manufacturing site for a variety of purposes, such as show rooms. However, most of the gecekondu in Battalgazi, Güneşevler, YıldızTepe, Başpınar continue to house working class people.



Figure 9-3: Siteler Furniture Production Zone and Gecekondu neighbourhoods constructed after 1970. Source: Illustrated from Google Earth by Author, 2017

In these neighbourhood migrants have had a daily life part urban and part rural, such as having chickens and small gardens but working in the manufacturing and service sectors. The neighbourhoods were established according to the town from migrated. The migrants from the same town established township organisations, in the cities in order to support each other. The townsman organisations are still active in the neighbourhoods. Many of the residents are also related, since the tradition of marriage with people from the same town of origin continues. There were at least 4 different hometown organisations in the case study area functioning as coffeehouses.

The last period of gecekondu construction in the Altindag District was in the neighbourhoods close to the Ring Road, such as Baraj, Karapürçek and Beşikaya (Figure 9-4). Most of the Gecekondus in these neighbourhoods were constructed since 2000. Due to the lack of urban services only a limited number of gecekondu have been constructed, and most of these gecekondu are constructed on public land and rugged terrain



Figure 9-4: The location of gecekondus built after 2000. Source: Illustrated from Google Earth by Author, 2017

Altındag Municipality (2006) Strategic Report adopted an archetypal neoliberal, ‘new public management’ strategy summarised in the report as:

- To develop market-like mechanisms, to encourage competition and to adopt business-like logics in service and management.
- To transition from rule-based management styles to target-based management, with a rational and strategic approach
- Adopting a new management style which aimed to reduce hierarchical structures in the public sector
- To transform the civil servants from traditional public bureaucrats to public operator/ business managers
- This new public management system needed to be responsive to service purchasers, more responsible, accountable and customer-focused.

Based on this perspective the strategic targets of municipalities for the period 2015-2019 were: increasing the revenue of the municipality and balancing the municipal budget; clearance of gecekondu areas through new zoning and redevelopment plans, improvement of social and economic life, and tourism activities in the historical city centre and other historical areas; all activities of the municipality in urban space had to be based on modern standards as well as cultural values. The first three strategic targets and public management program provide the core logic of municipal intervention to urban space since 2005. In other words, the core strategic target of the municipality is formalisation of urban space production through gecekondu clearance and redevelopment. Most of the other urban services, such as infrastructure and social service provision, are an internal part of redevelopment projects. Expansion of formal housing through gecekondu clearance and redevelopment became the most important target of municipality after 2004. With the policy program 18,000 gecekondu have so far been demolished for infrastructure provision and 9,000 gecekondu have been demolished for the construction of flats.

After the zoning plans were prepared, the gecekondu were demolished and roads were constructed. Since the demolition started in 2005, 300 km of road has been opened and infrastructure provided. After all this preparation, 5,952 construction permits for apartment blocks have been given to developers (Altındag Municipality, 2015). 62% of all construction permits have been given since 2008. Furthermore, Altındag Municipality and Mass Housing Agency (8.4.3) constructed 10 different mass housing projects. On account of this population increase 30 parks have been built. Altındag Municipality built 24 social and culture centres for women and the numbers of members of these centres had reached 42,000 in Altındag. Another investment made is in youth centres, with 16 youth and sport centres being opened, which have a total of 17,000 members. Additionally, 4 cultural and congress centre and 11 kindergartens have been built, and 78,000 families have been given food support and financial aid (Altındağ Belediyesi 2016; Altındağ Belediyesi 2014). These significant improvements in services were in harmony with financialization and upward-scaling of the state

intervention in the built environment; post-2002, we have witnessed a dramatic increase of investment in infrastructure and housing projects from both central and local governments (Section 7.5.3 and section 8.4.3).

The income of the municipality increased from 33 million TL in 2003 to 208 million in 2013. The main source of this income is allocation from central budgets, whilst other sources of income include selling and renting municipal real estate and taxes. The investment of the municipality increased from 2 million TL per annum to 100 million TL in the same period. The number of directly employed staff decreased from 1885 in 2003 to 404 in 2013 (Altındağ Belediyesi 2016; Altındağ Belediyesi 2014).

There has not been any previous specific research on these neighbourhoods that I did my case study analyses; therefore, first I investigate the building of gecekondü and the life of gecekondü residents. For my research I investigate the gecekondü neighbourhoods which were constructed in the second period, mostly in the 1960s and 1970s. These neighbourhoods were on the city periphery (figure 9-4) and the dynamics of redevelopment in these neighbourhoods is neglected and under-theorized. The neighbourhoods where I conducted my interviews are Alemdag and Baspinar, which are 11 km from the city centre.

I conducted 25 interviews with residents, 4 interviews with private developers/real estate agencies, and 2 interviews with municipal officials in this area. Several interviews were spontaneous group discussions rather than formal one-on-one interviews. This is a result of the interviews in the hometown organisations becoming more of a group discussion when several people became involved. I have interviewed 20 men and 5 women, 22 gecekondü owners and 3 tenants.

9.3 The Building of and Life in the Gecekondu

From their inception gecekondu were self-produced spaces and houses. Self-help construction was the only possible way for the majority of working class people to meet their housing needs, especially in the 60s and 70s (Section 7.2.1 and Section 3.7.1). In the Baspınar and Alemdag neighbourhoods, rural-urban migrants constructed their gecekondu on public and private land starting from the 1960s. The dominant migration pattern in Turkey was chain migration. In this model, people tend to move to neighbourhoods where they have a contact form their hometown. These people, with experience and knowledge of city life, were key figures for the new migrants.

In terms of origin, migrants arrived from different parts of Turkey, with most of my interviewees originating from northeaster areas such as Erzurum, Erzincan and Gumushane. There are, however, other migrants from Marmara and the central Anatolian regions. They built the gecekondu in this area because of its proximity to the Sıtlar manufacturing zone, having relatives and friends in the neighbourhood and transportation advantages. Moreover, the availability of vacant public and private land and the periodical legalisation of the gecekondu gave them the opportunity and incentive to build.

In the case study areas, the stories of gecekondu construction and the formation of the neighbourhood supported the discussions in the literature. Residents and their relatives usually built the gecekondu by using bricks, tin and timber (Resident 4). The decision around where to locate the gecekondu is generally made according to the builder's hometown and their extended family. If new migrants know people come from the same hometown or have relatives there, they prefer to build their house in that neighbourhood. Poverty increases the importance of informal support mechanisms and has therefore driven the creation of neighbourhoods based on hometown and kinship (Şenyapılı, 1986; Erman, 2004; Şenyapılı, 2004b).

Gecekondu houses have elastic construction, which means the owner can add extra rooms and change the house based on the needs of the family. Figure 9-5 shows a typical single-family house in Ankara. A.O and his wife constructed that house in 1956. Due to insufficient resources, they first built a single room of 22.5 m² and an outdoor toilet, on public land. From 1956 to 1977 they built two additional rooms, the kitchen and the bathroom. By 1977 they had a 114 m² house with the proper legal title (Şenyapılı 1986). The information from the case study area also supports the arguments of (Şenyapılı, 1986; Şenyapılı, 2004b). Resident 1, for example, first built his house as 80 m² and added a 5 m² room later. The second interviewee built her gecekondu with her sister's family, constructing two semi-detached houses on a 350 m² plot (Interviewee 2, 16.08.2015). Many gecekondu owners confirmed that the gecekondu are literally built overnight. Resident 4 suggests, 'most of us built firstly one or two rooms, then added another. We were waiting for amnesties during the election periods; therefore, we were constructing them in two days'.

Because gecekondu are constructed by the people who live in them, there is a very strong connection with living space in gecekondu neighbourhoods. Interview 11: 'to be honest gecekondu have many problems but at least we know the foundation is strong, at least we know where the infrastructure is. One can be more independent in gecekondu; I could drink tea in my garden, I could listen to music outside, and I could speak loud.'

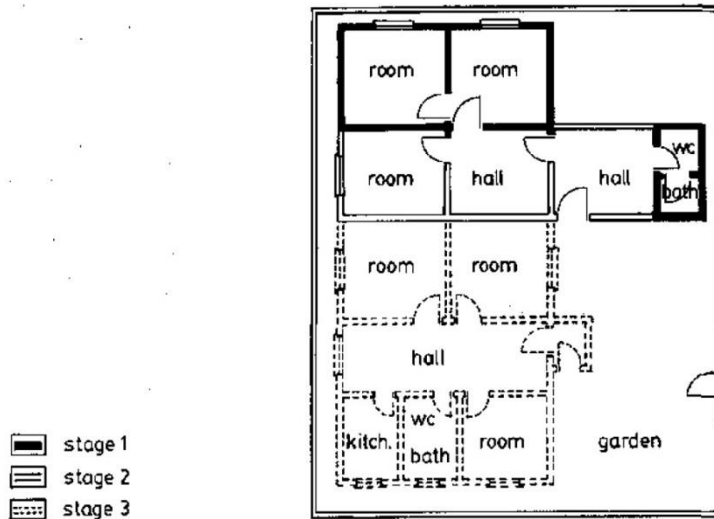


Figure 9-5: A typical gecekondü in Ankara, built by a single family with new parts added when the income of the family increased, from 1956 to 1977. Source: Şenyapılı (1986, p.157)

Resident 9 says, ‘since the municipalities did not give the construction permission and construct adequate infrastructure, in the beginning, we lost our 40 years of effort and labour. Now, when they demolished the gecekondü they demolished everything: the roof tiles, windows, doors, I paid 50-100 Liras for each of them previously. Every piece of the house was our work and effort, now all the pieces of gecekondü became worthless and useless with our 40 years of labour and effort. Since we came from the village I was happy about my gecekondü. I still live in my gecekondü and I am pleased about it. I am not degenerate like others. If the municipality had made the road and utilities at the right time, I would have bought my house based on this zoning. If they provided the natural gas, I did not want to move flats. I had my trees in my garden. I use to sit under my trees in the hot summer days. Since, we are deprived of all these facilities.’

The garden and the green areas were also self-produced and economically productive for many gecekondü owners (Figure 9-6). They used their garden for vegetable production and recreational purposes. Resident 10 suggested that in the new flats, ‘green space, well... look around, only buildings, even if there is

green space, it is not like before. Previously, we use to have fruit trees, we used to live in the green. We have lost all the green space now'. Resident 10 said, 'we used to grow vegetables and fruit in the garden; we used to have a hammock for the children. Our ways of life were really good. The garden was my only hobby.'



Figure 9-6: Gecekondus and gardens before the demolition in Baspinar neighbourhood. Source: Sinan Akyuz (2016)

The young people in the neighbourhood said they used to sit in front of their garden until midnight during the summer, all the families used to spend their summer nights in the gardens (Resident 13). The gardens used to be a common space for neighbours. Resident 10 says they used to garden together, then have tea in the garden and eat together: 'we supported each other in everything. I used to grow many different veggies such as parsley, tomato, onion. I did not buy any of these veggies from the market.'

9.4 Gecekondu: The Place of Solidarity

There were social support networks based on kinship and township in the gecekondu neighbourhoods (Sections 7.2.3 and 8.2.2.2). This social support network was an important tool for adaptation and survival in the city. This solidarity system created the gecekondus; therefore, the gecekondus were actually spaces of solidarity. Connections in social networks were reflected at the street and neighbourhood level, such as in several relatives building their houses next to each other (Section 8.2.2.2). This solidarity extends into daily life, such as working together, cooking together, gardening together, having food and drinking tea together in the gardens.

The sidewalks are shaped according to the settlement patterns of the gecekondu houses; the sidewalks are generally 7 to 10 metres wide and are multi-functional, serving as playgrounds and community spaces (Şenyapılı, 1986). Moreover, these sidewalks and gardens are spaces for community activities, especially for women. The main streets and the empty plots in the neighbourhoods are used for communal activities such as wedding ceremonies. The weddings are good examples of strong solidarity and the sense of belonging in the gecekondu neighbourhoods: 'for example, if there is a wedding, the preparations for the wedding are made by close family members and neighbours. Some neighbours cook, some people organise the table, some people welcome the guests and some neighbours let the guests stay in their houses. We were like one united house with all neighbours' (Resident 12, 07.03.2016).

'In gecekondu neighbourhoods, you could just give your key to your neighbour and you did not need to worry about that, you could entrust your money and your house to your neighbours' (Resident 12, 07.03.2016). Resident 4 says, 'if we compare the contemporary and previous lifestyles, the previous was much better in terms of social relationships. Approximately 5000 m² area covered by 50-60 gecekondus and each family used to know each other. If a child of a neighbour was sick, we all used to visit him/her. The kids in the neighbourhood grew up together and became friends. Therefore, everybody knows each other. For

example, if I don't have cash on me and my kid asks me for money I could tell they take from Uncle Ahmet (a neighbour). I will give him back tomorrow. Socially, gecekonu was better; it was more convenient for traditional Turkish family life. We used to live like in our villages'.

Neighbours used to be together both at the good and the bad times. 'If there is a funeral in the neighbourhood, for example, the weddings are postponed; if a neighbour needs something for his house he could just come to my house and ask for it' (Resident 6). 'Today for me there is no difference between moving to another neighbourhood or another city. If I am not in the same neighbourhood with the people I know it is like another city for me' (Residents 12, 07.03.2016).

In some cases, even the infrastructure for the neighbourhoods was provided collectively. Resident 7 says, 'the biggest problem when we first settled was infrastructure, because not having a zoning plan for the neighbourhoods, the municipality could not provide the infrastructure. We as neighbours came together and calculated how much we should dig in to reach the main sewer pipe in the main street. Then everybody dug into equal amount of distance and we connected our houses to the city sewage system.'

Low-density housing and familiarity between neighbours provided an auto-control mechanism for the gecekonu neighbourhoods. Therefore, they could provide neighbourhood-level security. There the neighbourhood was very secure. Interviewee 14 says, 'there was not any crime in the neighbourhood; everybody knows each other we did not let strangers come to our neighbourhood for crime'. In the hometown organisation discussion: 'we settled down decades ago and had to handle all the problems (lack of infrastructure, poverty) together. For example, we used to meet in each other's garden every night and have tea together. In the past, if a foreigner entered the street we knew he/she does not live here.'

The gecekonu-type housing was more convenient than new flats in terms of collective cooking and eating because of the gardens and their self-constructed nature. Resident 17 and Resident 18 (14.03.2016) say, 'we could not cook bread

in the garden anymore; we use to have a brick oven in the neighbourhood where we cooked bread all together'. A participant from a hometown organisation also adds a gendered dimension to this: 'previously, there were more interactions between women, such as weekly, or monthly visits, and Koran reading days'.

In the hometown association, during a group discussion one said: 'previously we were poor and gecekondus were enough for us, for example, gecekondus were perfect for children, they could easily play in the streets and in the gardens. When they constructed the apartments they had to build the parks because there is no space for children.' Some other says there are kindergartens now; 'we did not know what kindergarten is – our kids used to play in the street!'

9.5 Gecekondus Living in Poverty and Lack of Material Comforts

Despite these positive qualities, the gecekondus, for many dwellers, means also a lack of material comfort, inadequate infrastructure and poverty. All of the dwellers complained about the inadequate infrastructure and poor material conditions of gecekondus. Most of the houses are literally built overnight and completed in several days in a hurry. The quality of the materials and durability was never a concern. Also, the gecekondus were not legalised immediately; people had to wait for amnesty acts. Most of the amnesty laws have been enacted before or after the elections. Therefore, people in the neighbourhood lived for several years without electricity and water connection. Interviewee 9 said, 'I built my house in 1977 and the water and electricity were connected in around 1985'.

In many gecekondus, the toilets were outside when they were first built, and then they were connected to sewer system. In some houses, toilets are still outside. The sewage system does not function well, with sewage pipelines becoming blocked at least once a year. Most of the gecekondus have between 80 and 100 m² living space with a small garden. Having many children, the families do not have adequate living space. Most of the gecekondus have 1 or 2 rooms; one room for the parents, the other is the living room and the room of the children.

Figure 9-7 shows inside a typical gecekondü. The coal stove to the right of the picture is the only heating source for the house. The coal stove necessitates daily labour, which is mostly done by women. Women bring the coal from the coal bin, they cut the wood, and they clean the stove alongside the other housework. Coal stoves also smudge the house and curtains. There is not any hot water; they need to warm the water on the coal stove. Lack of insulation is a common problem in the gecekondü houses, with nearly everybody complaining about the lack of insulation and the cold. Whilst built in several days gecekondü are never really completed. There are always problems with them. Interviewee 4 says, 'even if you take care of the house what will it change; you can put lipstick on a pig, but it's still a pig.'

Since most of the housework is done by women, they are very critical about the material condition of gecekondüs. Resident 2 says:

'We lived 30 years in that small house; first my sister built the house, then the next year we built our house next to them. We lived 6 people, my husband, I and 4 children, then my husband's nephew stayed with us 6-7 years. In two rooms we lived 7 people. One of the rooms I was using as kitchen, we put the white appliances in that room. I had only a room for my four kids as well as using as a living room. I am old now, I cannot clean the coal stove anymore. [In gecekondü] I could not hang my clothes outside; people were stealing them. It was ground floor, easy to access.'

The husband of Resident 2:

'It is safer here [in flats]. The sewage system was very problematic; it got blocked all the time. The water and electricity supply was always problematic, sometimes the power cut continued for days. Resident 2 also adds, 'it was always cold, in gecekondü one can only warm a room up, and the other room, the toilet and bath are always cold.'



Figure 9-7: Inside of a typical Gecekondu. Source: (www.sondakika.com, 2017)
(www.sondakika.com, 2017)access date 22.03.2018

Dwellers have to spend money every year on gecekondu. In the garden and the walls, the stairs, the old and low-quality wood has been used in construction and as such maintenance is always needed. As Resident 10 (06.03.2016) expresses, ‘first of all there is no insulation in gecekondu. Yes, you have a house with garden but there are always problems about the house. The roof leaks all the time, the plastering falls off every year, the wooden parts rot, and so on. There are always problems with the house’.

In the hometown association, one participant says:

‘gecekondu life was full of suffering; moisture was a problem; different parts of the house were rotten very often. The water freezes in the pipes. To prevent that you need to leave the tap open. You can also make a fire under the pipe if your pipes are

iron, to melt the ice in the pipe. But the iron pipes are not very useful because they break easily, the ice breaks the pipes. Since the ice can break the water pipes, you always have flood risk during the winter. As I said gecekondus are full of suffering.'

Another participant in the same association says:

'There was also a security problem in gecekondus houses; the doors were wooden, it was easy to break in, therefore, there was a security problem in gecekondus-type housing. Also, the infrastructure (electricity, telephone) comes from the roof, it was not underground. As my friend says, everything was problematic in the gecekondus.... I was always working similar to a construction worker in gecekondus. When I fix things in one week, they broke again next week. We constructed these houses in a night, what can one expect from them? In summer it was a little better but in winter we could never really get warm.'

As the coal oven was the main heating source in gecekondus gas poisoning, because of the coal burning in the house, is a common incident in Turkey. Another point, from the general discussion in the hometown association, is that the consensus about gecekondus is that they are a thing of the past. 'You cannot build any gecekondus anymore, it is over, in 5-10 years all of them will be cleared, and to be honest the gecekondus means suffering.'

Erman (1996) suggests gecekondus can also mean social pressure and act as a control mechanism, especially for women. During the interviews in the women's social centre, similar complaints were raised. Official 1 suggested most of the residents are low-income groups and women are oppressed by their husbands. Even though the centre is a formal institution (run by the municipality), husbands do not let the women come to the centre. Many women in the neighbourhood want to be more active in the women's social centre but they cannot join the

classes because of their husbands. Sometimes men come to the centre first, to see what is happening here before they let their wives join the classes. In the centre, a total of 7 women were able to join the activities under this condition. She suggests, 'we do not only aim at urban transformation but also at social transformation as the municipality. There were a few members; they were so shy they could not enter my room. Much later they could make speeches in front of many people' (Official 1, 11.03.2016)

The gecekondur type housing has been the only available solution to housing for working class people for decades. The solidarity provided them with the necessary conditions for survival in the city under hard economic conditions. Therefore, the gecekondur was not only housing but a way of life constructed around self-help houses. However, due to the lack of adequate material conditions the material life quality in the gecekondus was very low. The houses were small, the construction quality was low, the infrastructure was inadequate, and the health and education facilities in the neighbourhoods were low.

9.6 Redevelopment Plans

IDPs were a national state intervention in order to facilitate capital switching to the built environment (Section 3.3; Section 3.3.2), support construction capital and the capitalist class as a whole, to provide better housing to the working class and reduce the class struggle (Section 4.4). The tools of this intervention were new legal frameworks for city wide IDPs. This was an upscaling of state intervention (Section 4.3.2). Moreover, this strategy was based on the neoliberal framework of the 1980s, with a market oriented framework, clear private ownership rights and further strengthening of the relationship between land titling programs, under the condition of strong finance and construction capital (Section 3.7.3, 7.4 and 7.5).

In order to open the channels for investment in the built environment municipalities firstly provide the conditions of clear land ownership and zonings. The first IDP plans were prepared in 1984 in Ankara; however, the first IDP

improvement and development plans in 1984 did not cover many areas in Altındağ. The IDP and legalisation of gecekondu increased construction of gecekondu in Altındağ, because it increased people's expectations of legalisation in the future. Therefore, many gecekondu were built after 1984 (Koksal, 2012; Altındağ Belediyesi, 2014). Moreover, some neighbourhoods were planned as conservation areas (Section 8.3.2). According to the municipality, the construction rights established in 1989 for IDPs were not enough for redevelopment and did not cover all gecekondu areas. Therefore, it did not change the zoning in case study neighbourhoods. The municipality made revision plans in 2007, which increased construction rights in the area. While the first IDP allowed building of only 1-2 storey houses in the area, after the IDP revision 4-6 storey apartments could be built. In this way, the area became attractive to private developers. A similar approach has been used in other places in Ankara. By changing zoning, the district municipalities make the area profitable for private developers. Here municipalities open the channel of investment to the built environment by using their planning powers. The revised plans also increase the public areas and infrastructure.

Build-and-sell type housing production is based on agreements between different groups (Section 7.2.2). The actors of these agreements are homebuyers, gecekondu owners after amnesty laws, private developers, small builders, local politicians and city administrators. A private developer starts the production by signing an agreement with each individual land owner in the parcel by offering 30-50 % percent of the finished apartment units or money for their plots (Section 8.3.2 and 7.2.2). Due to increasing construction rights, the land of the gecekondu is much more valuable than the gecekondu itself. Therefore, redevelopment became profitable for gecekondu owners too. Based on this agreement the developers pay gecekondu owners not money but flats. After the agreement, the construction process starts.

The revision of the IDP covered many neighbourhoods: Güneşevler (around about 53 ha), Ali Ersoy (around about 22 ha), YunusEmre (around about 31 ha), Gülpınar (around about 65 ha), Yıldıztepe (around about 36 ha), Alemdağ (around about 65

ha), Battalgazi (around about 69 ha), Çamlık (around about 71 ha), Beşikkaya (around about 87 ha) and Karapürçek (around about 350). Moreover, 22.7 hectares were previously part of the gecekondur preservation zone, these areas have been conducive to the housing development by the Ministry of Resettlement and Housing in order to prevent construction of gecekondus. Due to the gecekondur Act No: 775 it was not possible to include these areas as a part of the redevelopment project by the district municipality. In order to overcome this problem the municipality used the administrative power of MHA, which can intervene in urban space above all existing acts. After the land transferred to MHA, the areas were bought from Mass Housing Agency by the municipality and sold to gecekondur residents in the neighbourhood, in total 1383 gecekondur residents bought their houses from the municipality through this model (Altindag Belediyesi 2016; Koksall 2012).

The real estate office manager claimed that private developers do not have any previous experience and knowledge in the construction sector. Real estate agency 1: '70% of the developers does not have any previous experience in construction. Only 20-25% has the knowledge of construction and land consolidation and making the necessary calculations. The developers are mostly just random entrepreneurs with money, without any knowledge, particularly in the construction sector. The developers complain more nowadays because their share decreased from 70 to 60% with increasing competitiveness and the decreasing number of available parcels'. As he suggests, he was the only one involved in the construction business for a long time, the other developers were only in this business for 10 years. One of them was in the transportation sector, the other had several taxis. The construction of houses was realised through subcontractors. Some of the subcontractors are tilers, marble layers, roofers, insulation, housepainters, bricklayers, plumbers, elevator engineers and more. An average of 100 people works in the construction of one apartment block.

9.7 The Redevelopment Process

The plans and the action of different classes in the production of urban space mostly do not synchronise in Ankara (Chapter 8). Despite the plans being prepared in 2007, construction was ongoing in 2016. Especially in the IDP model different actors had to reach an agreement in order to build new flats. However, the fragmented ownership of the plots meant it was not possible to reach an agreement between *gecekondü* owners, making the redevelopment a long process of negotiation. The long negotiation process creates clashes between the neighbours. In many cases the land owners cannot reach an agreement because they want to maximise their returns. Therefore, many features of the new flats became negotiation points between developers and land owners. Since some of the owners wanted to join the redevelopment and others wanted to wait, conflict ensued. These are not violent conflicts, but they do destroy the solidarity in the neighbourhoods (Section 8.3.4); for example, Resident 1 suggests that he sold land to the developer and bought another flat, 150 m from his previous house, because the neighbours could not reach an agreement.

Every feature of the house is a point of negotiation: 'the orientation of the house, the floor of the house, the floor area of the house. Everybody wants to have a south facing flat for better sunlight. Also, the storey of the flat is an important point of negotiation too; people don't want to have a flat on the ground floor'. Resident 5 said, 'for example, we have 160 m² lands in a parcel of 2830 m². The whole plot is owned by 13 people; therefore, the developers do not want to make an agreement with us. They offer very little, lower than the value of our land. For 160 m² one developer offered us a flat on the ground floor and asked us to pay 10,000-15,000 TL (£2000-3000). The problem comes from here; even though some owners want to make an agreement the others do not want to. For example, our neighbour (shows the house next door) has a two-storey *gecekondü*. In the first floor, he lives, in the second floor his son lives. So he wants two houses. He says he will wait until the developers visit his house and make his offer. So, when people are getting their new flats we still live in *gecekondüs*.'

During the agreement process each neighbour negotiates based on the amount of land that they have. Then, different expectations and social economic conditions force people to become more individualistic. The real changes are the self-created living spaces of *gecekondu* being replaced with the formal spaces of apartments. Sometimes the developers ask for extra money for better quality materials such as better heating insulation, which creates conflict amongst the landowners about the cost of the construction. Interviewee 10 explains his experience: 'there are many things, for example, I wanted to have the best quality materials, I want the steel door, I wanted the PVC system window, my neighbour wanted wooden. Of course the developers always want to use the cheapest one. He did not want to stay in the apartment anyway; he wanted to sell the house. There are many discussions like that.'

Interviewee 4 says, 'everybody is trying to maximise their benefit, everybody wants a south facing flat. These buildings are 4-storey, there are 8 flats total, there are only 4 south facing flats.' In a group discussion Resident 5 says, 'there are squatters in this piece of land (the land in which he has a share), 3 others are in the same situation, the municipality has transferred their share to another part of the neighbourhood but they still live here. There are many people with different interests. Say I have 350 m², I want 3 flats, the other says, I want 1.5 flats, and I want 1 flat for my 160 m², but developers ask for money from me.' It was interesting to see how home ownership has changed the social relations in the neighbourhood this fast. People have lived together for decades and they squatted together, but now they blame each other for "squatting on their land".

When the developers and landlords reach agreement, they have to sign contracts in the presence of the notary. The *gecekondu* owners say they have to write everything in this contract otherwise the developers do not act on the basis of their agreements. 'For example, developers can tell you that you will get a south facing house, but if they don't write it in the contract, you cannot claim anything as landlord.' (Interviewee 5). Developers on the other hand complain about the increasing demands of *gecekondu* owners. Whilst 5-8 years ago the share of *gecekondu* owners was around 30% it has now increased to 40-45%.

Developer 1 explains of the negotiation process (Table 9-2): ‘after we have the technical drawings we start negotiations. Okay, how big is the land, 1200 m². How much land do you have? 150 m². Okay, based on the calculation how much is the price of 1 m² lands? For example, for this construction, it is 740 lira. How many m² lands do you have? You land worth 111,000 Liras. I owe you 111, 000 Liras. Then, I show the prices of the flats on each floor. He gave me these prices for his current flats, figures are thousands TL. Here all the landowners get totally 40% percent of the flats. Let’s say in this building they will get 6 houses in total, 3 of them will be in front side, three houses in the other side. I tell them. Sinan brother, choose any flats here. You I say; I want this one in the ground floor. Okay, I tell you Sinan brother, you own me 4 thousand. The other own 170 m² land, for example, it cost this much. However, do the landowners never respect that, we make the agreement here all together with all landowners. Then, each of them comes individually and says brother, let’s delete my 4000.’

Table 9-2: The Prices of each flat in a newly constructed apartment in the neighbourhood

Thousand Turkish Liras		
150	150	4th floor
160	160	
160	160	2th floor
170	170	
140	140	1th floor
150	150	
115	115	Ground floor
125	125	

Source: Developer 1 (2016)

Resident 9 and 5 explain their experience of the agreement:

‘We had 22 shareholders in our plot. 10-12 of them are the members of the same family. Each of them has 20-25 m² of land, they thought they are shrewd and they shared the land between the family members. They thought if they share each member of the family can get a house, however, they did not finish the process. They should have gone to the municipality and bought more land. Each of them needed to have 150 m² lands to get a house. Now, they share the land but they did not buy the rest of the land to make it 150m². Therefore, we are having difficulties in order to make an agreement with developers. The developer cannot give anything to 20 m² lands; (Resident 9)

‘The land became their only asset and they don’t want to lose them. Therefore, all the gecekondü owners are hopeful but also sceptical about the projects. The old people in Altındag have only one asset, the land, it is their only hope. They had 160 m² lands and their only expectation is to be able to get a house, maybe more than a house. If the developers give 1.5 flat they can pay the rest and get another flat for their children. It is their only hope, we are struggling for this. The other people, in Yenimahalle, in Kecioren, have money; they don’t care about the redevelopment. [In middle class neighbourhoods] they are only looking for comfort, they have a better life. Our only hope is this flat. We don’t have anything else, we are anxious about the possibility of the developer running away without finishing the building... I strongly believe, as a young person from Altındag, these gecekondüs will be replaced with modern apartments and these streets will be beautiful, but the lack of information about the project makes the process slower’ (Resident 5)

Due to the long period of construction and negotiations municipalities apply for designation as a disaster risk area. The Disaster Act (2012) aims to overcome these

delays and blockages in the redevelopment, since the construction of new flats takes a minimum of 1.5 to 2 years. The rent subsidies provided by the Minister of Urbanisation speed up the agreements. The rent subsidy is paid by the Ministry of Urbanisation for 18 months and in 2016 it was 750 Turkish Lira (200-250 pounds). If the houses are not made from reinforced concrete, the owners have the right to apply for rent subsidies because only reinforced concrete buildings are considered earthquake resistant. Therefore, many gecekondü owners made the agreement and apply for rent subsidies under the Disaster Act (2012). If they get the rent subsidies they have to vacate the house, and police officers come to check the house after a while. If they still occupy the house, the payments are cancelled. If the gecekondü is officially designated as a disaster risk, the water and electricity service provision stops. Moreover, the Disaster Act also enhances the position of developers and pro-redevelopment shareholders. Based on the Disaster Act, a 2/3 majority is enough for redevelopment of any building or parcel. If any area, neighbourhood or building declared as an Area under Disaster Risk, 2/3 of shareholders consensus is enough for starting redevelopment. General consensus in the neighbourhood is that after the Disaster Risk Act (2012) construction speeded up.

9.7.1 A Chaotic Construction Site

Due this long negotiation process and the land's complex legal status, the redevelopment has been going on for 10 years. In the Alemdag neighbourhood the construction, mostly finished around 4-5 years ago. In the Baspınar neighbourhood, however, the municipality had to follow a different legal procedure, because a big part of the neighbourhood was a gecekondü prevention zone. In the Baspınar neighbourhood much construction was ongoing. Lack of agreement between different actors turns all neighbourhoods into construction zones. As Resident 5 illustrates, 'I am 24 years old now, when I was a kid people were talking about redevelopment projects. Yet, we still live in gecekondü. We want to make some investment in the house, such as a new roof and PVC windows, but we could not because of redevelopment. It does not make sense to make any investment now of course'.

Since the entire neighbourhood became like a construction site (Figure 9-8), it creates security concerns for the residents. In many streets construction continues, therefore the infrastructure such as street lights are not fully functional. The half demolished gecekondus create security problems (Figure 9-9); substance abusers occupy the buildings at night. Even the local young use the buildings for anti-social behaviour. Many gecekondus are demolished or informally occupied. There were complaints about glue sniffing youths and other substance abusers using these semi-demolished buildings. Since many gecekondus have been demolished, the self-policing nature of gecekondu neighbourhoods has disappeared. Therefore, it creates a transition between informality and illegality. Many interviewees suggested that drug selling became a problem in the neighbourhood. Drug dealers come in their cars and sell drugs around the parks at nights. The drug selling which was previously common in the inner city gecekondus areas, has now transferred to peripheral housing areas.

Additionally, people throw more rubbish in the streets so that all neighbourhoods become like a scrap heap, a problem exacerbated by the remains of the demolished gecekondus and ongoing construction. This creates further problems, such as the rats that come out of demolished buildings.



Figure 9-8: Demolished Gecekondus in the Baspınar Neighbourhoods in the distance, on hillside. Source: Sinan Akyuz, 2016



Figure 9-9: Partly demolished gecekondu and newly constructed occupied apartments next to each other. Source: Sinan Akyuz, 2016

For many gecekondü owners the redevelopment is a long process. When they reach an agreement they have to wait for the construction process, at least 1.5 years but in many cases longer. Resident 2 said that, 'the developers told us it will finish in 1.5 years; we wait, but after 2 years there are still problems with the inner doors. The guy who needs to make the doors did not do his job. I did not like the house, it was small. Therefore, I sold that house and bought this one'. Her new house is also in the redevelopment area 150 m away from her previous house. She also said: 'The developers promised to finish the flats in two years, if he cannot finish, he promised to pay our rent. However, he did neither. I lived in a rented house for 6 years, because of the delay. Then I sold my house and bought this one.'

9.7.2 The Ways of Confining and Forcing to Redevelopment

The delay in reconstruction creates pressure in the neighbourhood, as people want to move into new flats as soon as possible. Not being able to move into new flats has financial costs for residents. Even before the redevelopment started, people stopped investing in their houses and the condition of the houses was getting worse every year. Also, many gecekondus are already demolished in order to provide infrastructure. Therefore, the owners of these houses have to pay rent while waiting for the redevelopment to start. The municipality does not provide some of the urban services to gecekondü, such as natural gas connection. All these reasons add to the pressure between shareholders. As interviewee 7 suggests, 'when the other gecekondus around my house were demolished all the neighbours came to me and then I had to make the agreement with the developers' (Resident 9, 02.03.2016).



Figure 9-10: Newly constructed flats in Baspinar Neighbourhood, through IDP.

Source: Sinan Akyuz (2016)

Finally, existing gecekondus and even the demolished gecekondus (Section 9.9 Tenants) are occupied by the recent rural-urban migrants. This creates social conflicts between the old gecekondu population and the new renters and squatters. The more some of the recent migrants collect recycling materials and store them in the gardens of gecekondus. This further increase the conflicts, since gecekondu owners think their attitudes make the area less safe. The informal nature of the reconstruction zones makes the area convenient for all kinds of informality and illegalities. All of these create neighbour pressure to reach the agreement with developers and finish the reconstruction as soon as possible.

9.8 The Experience of the Gecekondu Owners who moved into the Flats

9.8.1 Improvement of Living Conditions

We noted in section 4.3 that new local policies and interventions may not be only class-disciplinary but may also be class-cooperative, and that these class relations may extend across the spheres of both production and reproduction. This combination of class relations within local politics has been the case in Turkey. Since the 1980s workers in employment have been subjected to a greatly increased disciplinary power of capital and the state. The governments since 2000 have cooperated with at least a portion of the urban working class by providing a higher material standard of housing combined with new social and cultural facilities in the neighbourhoods. In terms of improved living conditions two main points come with the redevelopment. The first point is the improved living conditions offered by the flats; the second point is the increased public and private investment in neighbourhoods and, therefore, increased economic and social facilities and services.

As many participants suggested, the many basic construction problem problems with gecekondu, such as leaking roofs, bad plastering, rotten wood, are not problems in the flats (Section 9. 5). As interviewee 10 (06.03.2016) said, 'I live in the flat for 4-5 years. I am much more comfortable than before, I don't have the problems of a leaking roof, coal stove, repairing the floor, the garden wall; repairs are not my problem anymore. Also, the infrastructure (electricity, telephone) came from the roof, it was not underground, now they are properly underground it is safer and durable. As my friend says everything was problematic in the gecekondu... I was always working similar to a construction worker in gecekondu. Now it is much more comfortable.' In the hometown association the general idea was that the flats are much more comfortable than the gecekondu. The standard of living is much better in the flats than in gecekondu. Resident 2 suggested that he feels safer as his clothes and shoes had been stolen several times in front of the gecekondu. Therefore, we cannot say that there is opposition to or conflict against the redevelopment project itself.

Moreover, the new infrastructure system is much better than the previous one. 'We have lived here for 5 years, we do not have any problems here. The water and electricity supply [in the gecekondus] was always problematic, sometimes the power cut continued for days. Moreover, the central heating system of the apartments increases the quality of life much more than before. Now all the rooms are equally warm. There is no mud in the street when it rains or snows. It will get better in the future.'

All women participants highlighted the advantages of the flats. The coal stove was the biggest problem for the women because their husbands did not help them in its preparation. The women had to clean the oven, set the fire and bring the coal. There was always much work in gecekondus done by women. Therefore, the women that I had a chance to talk to about the gecekondus houses were waiting for the redevelopment and wanted to have new flats. Moreover, the services such as the women's centre became an important part of social life after the redevelopment.

A municipal service, the women's social centre opened in 2008 (Figure 9-11). The women's social centre in Baspınar Neighbourhood has 1650 members and opens every weekday 8-5. Provision includes a gym with a fitness teacher, kindergarten and 19 different courses, such as theatre, drama, public speaking and entrepreneurship. The courses open based on demand, so there is no limit to the number of courses that could be run. The official I spoke to said that one of the participants of the entrepreneurship course opened her own hair salon. There is also a theatre group established by women who joined the drama courses at the centre. The cooking classes and competitions are one of the most popular activities. There are also seminars about drug addiction and women's health. There are illiterate women in the neighbourhood; therefore, the municipality also gives writing and reading classes in the centre (Official 1, 11.03.2016).



Figure 9-11: The Women Social Activity Centre in the Mevlana/Rumi Park in Baspinar Neighbourhood. Source: Sinan Akyuz (2016)

Another service provided by the municipality are free domestic trips to historical places of Turkey, such as Çanakale (Troy), Konya Mevlana/Rumi Museum. The trips, organised and paid for by the municipality, are only open to women who live in neighbourhoods nearby. Each trip is organised for 45 people and if there is too much demand then participants draw lots. During the trips all the participants receive accommodation in 4-5 stars hotels. The transportation was chosen based on destination; if it is Urfa they travel by plane, if it is Canakkale by bus. All of these expenses, including travel and accommodation, are paid by the municipality. Municipal funding stems from a variety of sources, such as donations and municipality activity funds (Official 1). There are also youth social centres in Altindag. Similarly, the youth centres have courses such as guitar, violin, theatre, chess and Turkish Folk Dance. There are also facilities for wrestling, table tennis,

boxing, archery and so on (Interview 13, 07.03.2016). The course programs are designed based on demand from the neighbourhoods.

The improvement of the services in the neighbourhood was raised many times in the interviews. I would suggest, therefore, that the main difference between the contemporary period and the past was a general neglect of these peripheral locations for decades. Generally, people think the social services such as schools, hospitals, health centres and parks are good enough now.

9.8.2 Losing Social Connections

Although the redevelopment provides improved infrastructure and urban services, the quality of the buildings varies based on the private developers. Some gecekondü owners complained about the quality of the construction materials of the new flats. Interviewee 10 suggests that:

‘The developers use lower quality materials than they are supposed to use. ...We don’t trust the developers, they don’t respect us. I received a loan with a high interest rate, I am struggling to pay it, and 10 years is a very long time. The houses are our biggest and only asset. However, even before the first year finishes, there is a problem with the plumbing; there is no storage in the building. They [the developers] had to make storage units in the building; I don’t know how they found a way to bypass that regulation.

Furthermore, the lack of sound and heating insulation in the apartments also creates further conflict amongst the residents. The gecekondü owners have lived for decades in separate houses. As such, it is not easy for them to adapt to the conditions of apartment life. There are many arguments in apartments about sounds from neighbours. Interviewee 7 is apartment manager and says, ‘I have lived in this building for 3.5 years. If I don’t yell at people, they don’t listen to me. These people get used to the gecekondü life. Here, we live as a community, they have to respect that. This is apartment life; they have to accept the rules’.

There are also expenses and responsibilities that come with apartment life. Many residents said that living in the apartments is more expensive than living in the *gecekondu*. There are some extra fees for cleaning of the building and electricity for the elevator. Some residents do not want to pay it, or cannot pay it regularly, which creates conflicts between residents. Moreover, natural gas is used for heating the flats. In *gecekondu* people used coal and wood for heating. The municipality and different state institutions give free coal to residents. Therefore, they did not have to pay for heat for the most part. However, in the flats they have to pay for natural gas. Resident 11 (07.03.2016) explains that, 'last month I paid 260 Liras (52 Pounds) this month I paid 194 liras (38 Pounds). The apartment fee is 25 liras.' All of these are extra expenses for the *gecekondu* population.

Even though the neighbours stay in the same neighbourhood the self-produced space gets lost as a result of the redevelopment projects and alongside the space the previous social connections. In *gecekondu*, residents had an active social life in the gardens and in the houses; the reconstruction demolishes this daily life as well. Despite the material development, such as hot water and heating, the new daily life has been described as very monotonous and boring by nearly all participants. Interviewee 12 explains: 'The gardens and social life in the gardens were very relaxing; it was a hobby and an activity for us. On the weekends we used to have barbeques. We lost those connections, now I had to go 20 km for a barbeque. How can we do that? If you try in the balcony they complain to the building manager.'

9.8.3 Fragmentation and Atomisation

The long process of negotiation between neighbours and developers creates conflict between neighbours. Many neighbours argued with each other and sometimes it ended in litigation. There was formal land ownership and home ownership before, so whilst ownership is not a new concept, the increasing ground rent and individual legal agreements atomised the *gecekondu* owners. These conflicts, before and during the redevelopment about reaching an

agreement, weaken bonds of solidarity. Individual property ownership logics then make residents work more for their own interests rather than as a collective. One of the main drivers of conflict relates to the gain of the other gecekondü owners. This saw people suing their neighbours in order to get more money for their land. In a sense, capitalist production of the built environment can be seen to destroy the old way of social life in order to capitalise on the ground rent. The redevelopment atomises and individualises the gecekondü owners. Firstly, during the negotiation process individual ownership rights (land titles) damage the solidarity and neighbours negotiate and compete to maximise their return (Section 9.7)

Secondly, the apartments/flats and the reconstruction of the built environment makes people more individualistic/atomised in daily life and alienated in social relationships. The redevelopment achieves this by deconstructing the social networks and the gecekondü space. There is a common opinion about the loss of neighbourhood relationship as a result of redevelopment. A Participant explained, in the hometown association, 'in the apartments you don't have the previous relationships with neighbours. People live in different conditions and places now. Everybody focuses on their family now; we cannot visit people as we did before. It is not the same as in gecekondü anyway; we were neighbours for 30-40 years in gecekondüs.' The formal space of redevelopment destroys the active and productive use of green spaces. Even though the green space has increased in quantity, people don't feel the parks and the green space are very useful. In the discussions from the hometown association: 'the gardens were useful and fun. We used to have barbeques, now if you don't have a car, you cannot make a picnic anymore.' Interviewee 12 says, 'the flats do not fit the traditional Turkish lifestyle. The apartments make us lose the traditional lifestyle. We used to do gardening with our neighbours and chat every so often'. In comparison, it was very common for people to describe flats as "modern prisons", "luxury prisons", "high prisons", and "cages".

The experiences of the gecekondü owners who moved to new apartments are very different to classic examples of gentrification, but it is not a wholly positive

process. In short, living in an apartment increased the material quality of living conditions for the former gecekondü residents. Not only the housing conditions but also the urban facilities and economic activities in the neighbourhoods increased with the redevelopment projects. However, there are problems about the IDP redevelopments. The quality of houses varies based on the small-scale developers and living costs increased. New flats have heat and sound insulation problems. The previous social structure and life gets lost in the new flats. The gecekondü resident fragment during the negotiation process, based on private ownership rights. The combination of fragmentation and the monotonous nature of apartment life, then, create further atomisation of working class people in the Altindag case.

9.9 The Benefits and Disadvantages

This chapter includes the first analysis of interests involved in the redevelopment. A deeper analysis of social relations and dynamics in relation to working class housing and state intervention in working class housing comes later in chapter 11. This chapter explains the benefits and disadvantages of the redevelopment programs for gecekondü owners, private developers, tenants and the Municipality.

9.9.1 Economic benefits of redevelopment projects for gecekondü residents

The benefits and disadvantages of the programme varied sharply between different groups of residents. While for gecekondü owners there are many economic benefits, there are also many disadvantages. For the disadvantages of redevelopment projects for gecekondü owners please see Sections 9.8.2 and 9.7.2)

The first and the biggest benefit of the redevelopment for gecekondü owners are the flats given for their land. Gecekondüs are self-produced space and there are strong neighbourhood relationships. As we have seen, however, the standards of life in gecekondü are very low and the infrastructure is not adequate. Therefore, with the redevelopment the gecekondü owners take advantage of state and private sector investment in the neighbourhood. Although the situation changes

based on each construction, on average owners of 150 m² land get a free house. The first group of people is the legal land owners with 150 m² and above land. They can get at least one flat as a result of the redevelopment. This group is showed in green in Figure 9-12. The second group of people are without any legal title. In this condition, even if they occupied a large amount of land, historically they could not get any discount or house. They can buy the houses from the developers as any ordinary home buyer. The third group of people live in the gecekondü preservation area in Baspınar neighbourhood. The Altındağ Municipality takes the initiative for these redevelopments and sells them the land they have occupied since the 1970s. They paid 15,000-20,000 Liras. In this the municipality subsidises a total of 1383 gecekondü residents. Gecekondü preservation areas were land given to low income groups in order to prevent illegal gecekondü construction. These people could not have a title to the land but built their houses and occupy the land.

The fourth group of people are the people without any land ownership. These include tenants and anyone who could not get the legal titles of the houses because of different reasons. For these groups of people, the only possibility is buying houses through private credit or MHA credit. Since the zero tolerance of gecekondüs policies and lack of available land, the only possibility is homelessness or temporary slums (Section 9.9.3).

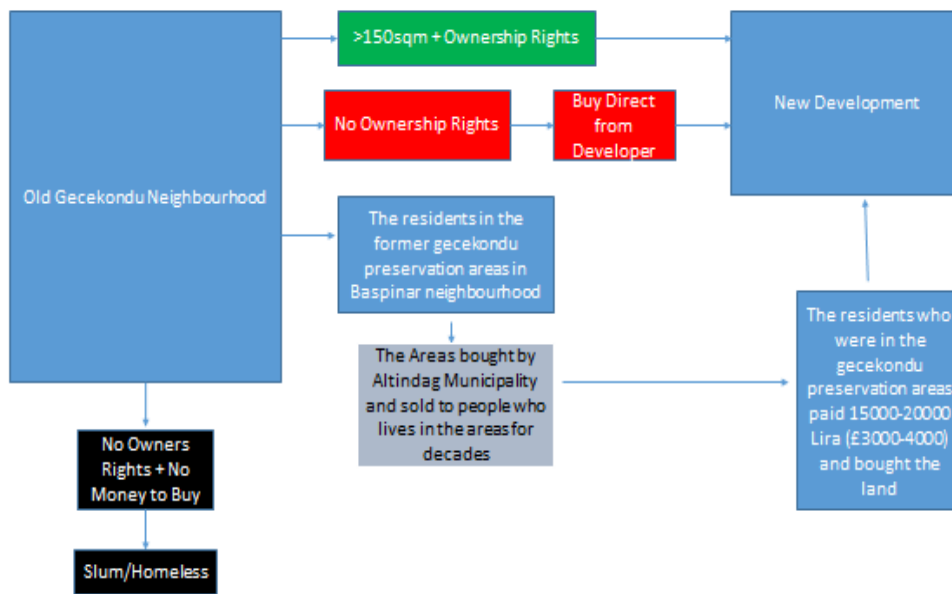


Figure 9-12: Clearance of land ownership pattern for redevelopment by Municipality. Source: Sinan Akyuz, illustrated from interviews and municipality report, 2016

Another advantage of redevelopment for those who are staying in the area is that it increases urban and public service provision in the neighbourhood. For example, there was not any post office or bank in the neighbourhood before. The number of schools was much lower than currently and there were not any social facilities such as the women’s and youth centres. These services and many shops have opened in the area with the increasing population.

One of the main differences between today’s IDP (after 2002) and previously (during 1980s) is the introduction of the credit system. In the 1980s housing and construction credit was not common. Therefore, small amounts of payment from home buyers were important financial resources for developers. However, the increase of housing credit and private sector credit gave the gecekondu owners and developers more flexibility in terms of the process. Now developers can pay for the land easily, but the land owners preferred to be paid in the form of flats, since they are inflation resistant and house prices in the areas increase rapidly. Based on the interviews, the housing prices have increased 300% since the

redevelopment projects started. In return, an indebted working class is created. The main difference in relation to the long-term housing cycle is that the finance system can now serve lower level income groups. The credit includes more people in housing.

The recent Disaster Act is providing 18 months of rent subsidies to gecekondü owners. Therefore, rent during the construction period is subsidised by central government. This act worked as an important catalyst in redevelopment

9.9.2 Benefits for Private Developers

The redevelopment projects provide cheap urban land for developers. When I ask the reason for making this investment in this neighbourhood the developers suggest it was the only available land around. This is because the small-scale producers can only work at the scale of individual buildings. This urban redevelopment, then, provides them the optimum size parcels. In other words, the IDP level redevelopments in Altindag benefitted small developers – the petty bourgeois – but not larger developers; this scale of construction business is very small for large scale construction companies.

I interviewed 4 small-scale private developers and 1 real estate agent in the neighbourhood. Developer 3 suggested that the construction of each flat costs 100,000 Liras. There are 24 flats in this building, so the cost of an average apartment building is 2,400,000 liras for the developer. These are the prices of regular flats in the neighbourhood (Developer 2). Based on these selling prices, this developer makes 3,800,000 Liras from selling all these apartments. The developers already sold nearly all the houses. On average, a developer makes 58% profit from developing apartment buildings. In this case, he made 1,400,000 TL (£350,000) return in 3 years from one building (Table 9-3). These two developers had two apartment blocks under construction at the same time. Their biggest expense is the flats that they give to the land owners. On average they give 30 percent of the finished flats to land owners, therefore they want to give minimum to gecekondü owners. Table 9-3 shows selling prices of flats, each building

constructed by different developers therefore have different prices but these are average prices in the project area.

Table 9-3: The selling Prices of the typical flats in the Project Area

Thousands of Turkish Liras		
170	185	5th floor
190	190	
170	175	4th floor
180	180	
160	165	3th floor
170	170	
150	150	2th floor
160	160	
130	130	1 floor
150	150	
110	110	Ground floor
120	120	

Source: Developer 1, 2016

The developers complained about different construction permits in different neighbourhoods. In the Baspinar neighbourhood the area was a gecekondu prevention zone, therefore, as they could not directly intervene with the IDP plan they follow a different legal procedure. Therefore, in this area the municipality allows the construction of 7-8 storey apartments while in the rest of the neighbourhood it is only allowed up to 5 storeys. The first developer also complained about the limits, he said, '25 years later, these apartments will be demolished and new apartments, 15-20 storeys will be built, they should allow us to build now rather than 25 years later.'

In Ankara, the neighbourhood-level urban services are provided by both the district municipalities and metropolitan municipality. If the building takes utilities

from a road wider than 12 meters it is the metropolitan municipality's responsibility to provide urban services, if it is narrower than 12 meters then the district municipality is responsible for the service provision. The metropolitan municipality has a more pro-business perspective; therefore, the metropolitan municipality does not demand some fees. As a result, the developers were critical about the district municipality because of demanding fees which are not demanded by the metropolitan municipality in other redevelopment zones.

9.9.3 Tenants

I interviewed 3 gecekondü tenants but all of the interviews were more like a group discussion. The current tenants of gecekondus represent many different groups of people. The first group is the working class working for minimum wage who could only afford the gecekondü as housing. Some of them are also victims of the different redevelopment projects of the MHA and could only afford to live in gecekondus whilst they are waiting for the construction of flats. I had two interviews with this group. The second group of tenants are Syrian refugees, especially in the next neighbourhood, Onder, there are many. Lastly, the most recent migrants, from rural areas, live in the half-demolished gecekondü. I had one interview with this group.

For the minimum wage working class, gecekondü have many financial advantages, such as not having to pay for heating, as the municipality gives them coal subsidies and they take firewood from the remains of the gecekondus. When I was in the field area I witnessed many people collecting wood in this fashion. 'If I were living in an apartment, I would pay 500 Liras rent, 200-300 Liras other fees. In gecekondü, one doesn't spend that much money, now I pay 100 Liras for rent and 150 for the other fees. Moving to an apartment basically doubles my expenses' (Interviewee, 10). The minimum wage in Turkey was 1000 Liras in 2016. In other words, living in flats increases the cost of the accommodation from 10% of the minimum wage to 50% of it.

There are tenants who are victims of the other gecekondur projects and they rent gecekondur because it is the cheapest option. 'We used to live in 60 Evler (inner city gecekondur area); I came to Ankara in '68. It was our house, and then the MHA came for redevelopment. Now we live in this house 60-70 m², we pay 300 lira for this house. We don't know anything about recent condition of our project now. MHA told us we had to pay 40,000 Liras for 115m² houses, I cannot pay it. I lost my job because I had to move here. I used to work, but when I moved here, it increased my transportation cost and I could not afford to go every day. The MHA did not make any explanations to us. They ruin our life. They pay us the rent subsidies, but I don't have enough money to pay 40,000. I don't know what to do. I will go further away when the constructions finish here. I will go to the villages of Ankara.' After he lost his job he starts to collect recycling materials and sell them with other members of the family.

Another tenant says, 'we have lived in this gecekondur for two years, and I pay 100 Liras for rent, because it will be demolished. I had many landlords before; I am very pleased with the new landlord. However, I don't know what to do after this gecekondur is demolished. I was thinking about that now. I might apply to MHA for a house; we are just two, my wife and me. I might apply this MHA credit, I cannot find any gecekondur anymore, and all of them will be demolished soon. Gecekondur had many advantages for me, I only pay 100 Lira rent. I cannot find any more; also the Syrian Refugees rent the houses for high amounts.'

The last group who still lives in gecekondur are the most recent migrants. The lack of cheap land for squatting creates fresh poverty for people who just migrated from rural areas. Not having any job, they collect recyclable materials, their whole life is informal. These people live in half demolished gecekondur without any electricity and water. They use water and electricity informally by making their own connection. In this way they also do not have to pay rent or any fees for water and electricity. They cover the roof and the windows of half-demolished gecekondurus with plastic tarpaulins and live in these houses. One of the families told me the developer will start the construction in two months. But municipalities and security force do not intervene because these people are not

criminals, they are just poor. The arrival of these recent migrants to the redevelopment sites makes the local people reach an agreement with developers faster, however, since they have seen as a security problem by the locals (Section 9.7.2). The recent migrants move from one construction site to another, staying in half demolished gecekondus until new construction starts.

The gecekondu houses and legalisation have functioned as a welfare system since the 1950s. The gecekondu have protected millions of people from this kind of poverty and homelessness. The lack of gecekondu and formalisation of housing provision create the conditions for a new kind of absolute housing problem in Turkey.

9.9.4 Benefits for Municipalities

In relation to the revised IDP plans, Altindag Municipality has prepared 870 plans for redevelopment. This is significant for a municipality that has a historical problem of unplanned development, representing an important shift towards formalisation. The first benefit of the redevelopment projects, then, and especially for local municipalities, is the planned development of the built environment. With these redevelopment plans, the level of formal built up areas has increased from 30% in 2004 to 62% percent in 2016.

Secondly, the revenues of the municipality increase with the redevelopment, because of increasing population and therefore tax revenues. Also the share of state funds for the local municipality increases in line with the population. The fees for construction and the money from the selling of houses and shops that the municipality gains through the projects represents an additional revenue stream for the municipality. Using these revenues the district municipality has constructed 16 social centres for women, 4 cultural and congress centres, and 11 kindergartens in Altindag (Altındağ Belediyesi, 2014; Altındağ Belediyesi, 2016).

9.10 Conclusion

Reproduction of labour power and providing basic urban services has been always problematic in Turkey. Due inadequate housing supply migrants built their house. The migrants not only built their houses, they also built a social life and support mechanisms within the neighbourhood. Although having these positive features *gecekondu*, for many dwellers, meant a lack of material comfort, inadequate infrastructure and poverty. The inadequate infrastructure and the lack of material conditions for human dignity saw people suffer for decades in *gecekondu* houses. Although government legalised the *gecekondus* and provided basic services, such as water and electricity, the absence of conditions for modern human standards continued.

After the restructuring of the banking system in 2002, the city restructuring programs entered a new stage. With the increase of the finance sector, a housing credit system was established, and, with decreasing real interest rates, housing credit was utilised by a larger percentage of the population, which is called financialization of housing. Due to financialization and upward-scaling of the state intervention in the built environment post-2002, we have witnessed a dramatic increase of investment in infrastructure and mega projects from both central and local governments. Higher capital and administrative power allowed intervention in previously non-intervened areas such as Altindag. Therefore, it was possible to redevelop these areas after 2002.

Gecekondu housing is outside of normal capitalist relations of land ownership and building. The elimination of the *gecekondus* was partly aimed at subjecting working class residents to the rule of money and law (Clarke, 1991; Das, 2006). Since the 1980s workers in employment have been subjected to greatly increased disciplinary power of capital and the state. However, governments since 2000, have also cooperated with at least a portion of the urban working class by providing a higher material standard of housing combined with new social and cultural facilities in the neighbourhoods.

Although providing basic services and housing for title holders, the major problem with the redevelopment is formalisation of housing provision that excludes non-title holders. As a result, the non-title holders have to live in even worse conditions than before. Conditions they share with new migrants, without formal employment relationships who are also excluded as a result of the redevelopment.

The redevelopment projects on the one hand provide better housing conditions for established migrants and the urban poor, on the other hand they take away the opportunities that the previous migrants had in being able to access such as cheap housing. The only route to cheap housing after these projects are the formal private and state credit systems. In this way, redevelopment integrates the urban poor into the formal credit system or totally excludes them from social and economic life, as in the case of recent rural urban migrants.

Chapter 10. Mamak Urban Transformation Project

10.1 Introduction

Since the 2000s we have seen the radical reordering and growth of the formal industrial and services sectors in Ankara, which have led to a large increase in professional and formal workers living in inner city areas. This change has required a massive restructuring of the built environment of these cities. This was accomplished through the upward scaling interventions by national government and the metropolitan municipality; only these bodies had the large resources and the territorial sweep necessary for city restructuring. Moreover, The MHA became active in giving credit and there has also been a large increase in private sector bank lending to house purchasers (Financialization of housing in LDC Section 3.8.1.2). The upward scaling of intervention and financialization allowed an unprecedented level of capital flow into urban space.

Since 2005 there has been an Urban Transformation Project (UTP herein) in the Mamak District on the eastern side of Ankara. The name of the project is the New Mamak Urban Transformation Project and it is implemented by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. The New Mamak UTP is one of the biggest UTP projects in Ankara and covers an area 7 million m². In contrast to the IDP projects, in Mamak (UTP), the Metropolitan Municipality plays an essential role in the process. The Metropolitan Municipality clear the area by 'mutual agreement' with gecekondus owners and then demolish all the gecekondus. After clearing, the municipality hires private companies for the construction. In all redevelopments the municipality aims to self-finance projects by offering finished flats for both title deed holders and private companies. The project affects 50,000 people and aims to construct 50,000 flats by demolishing 13,500 gecekondus. At the end of the projects, these 50,000 flats will be allocated between the actors: 11,000 for the municipality, 23,500 flats for private developers and 15,500 flats for the residents with a title. The main target of the municipality is to implement a self-

financing project through selling some flats and giving the rest to the private sector and residents.

Urban Transformation (8.4.3) model redevelopments are different from the IDP model redevelopments (Sections 8.3.2). In UTP projects, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality determines who is to be a beneficiary. In order to implement the project quickly and profitably, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality allows only title deed holders with more than a certain amount of land to be beneficiaries. Therefore, non-title holders, tenants and small land owners are excluded from the redevelopment. Despite the beneficiaries being positive about the quality and the material condition of the flats, they complain about losing their previous lifestyles and social environment. Moreover, they also complain about the slow progress of the project, the chaotic construction environment and the lack of new facilities despite being 10 years into the project.

The decision to implement the project was taken in 2005, but many residents did not sign contracts until 2008-9. The residents resisted the project and sued the Municipality. After that, the Metropolitan Municipality accepted some of their demands. These included providing rent subsidies, flats for people without title deeds, and increasing the amount of compensation paid for gecekondus. The Municipality also promised that the title deed holders would be able to settle in the same neighbourhoods and that the project would be implemented in 11 stages.

The Metropolitan Municipality constructed 1,300 flats in Kusunlar for residents without title deeds and displaced them there. The condition and the location of the flats was heavily criticised by the residents. Kusunlar is 16 km from the city centre, the public transport connection is bad, and the flats were delivered to residents without a heating system. The quality of materials such as kitchen cabinets was also very low; as such, residents had to invest too much in their new flats. The displacement destroyed the social support system that had been established in the gecekondus and they had to buy 15 years of credit to pay for the flats.

After 10 years past, based on the municipality's web site, 10,200 gecekondus owners had signed the agreement with the municipality, 7,186 gecekondus have been demolished and 4,900 flats (including 1,300 Kusunlar) delivered (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2018). I did my investigation in 2016 when the municipality had only delivered 1,200 flats to the beneficiaries in the project area and 1,300 flats in the Kusunlar area.

I conducted 20 interviews with people already living in new flats. I also conducted 2 interviews in the Mamak Municipality; one of them was with civil servants in the planning department, the other with a council member for Republican Party. Similar to Ankara Municipality, Mamak Municipality is under the control of the JDP. I conducted an interview with a manager in Ankara Municipality. I also interviewed white members of a local opposition group and conducted 15 interviews with the displaced residents in Kusunlar. Furthermore, I used secondary literature such as the New Mamak Transformation Plan reports and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Annual Reports.

This chapter has 10 sections. After this introduction, the second section gives a brief picture of the built environment of Mamak District and explains land use and the built environment before the redevelopment project. Being one of the oldest gecekondus districts, the project was very problematic in terms of urban development. There are main transportation lines, a valley, hills and a river. The percentage of uninhabitable land is very high, and there had been several unsuccessful redevelopment efforts since the 1950s.

The third section explains the gecekondus and life there. Similar to the Altindag District, social life around the gecekondus has been described as comfortable, relaxed, and free by nearly all residents. In this neighbourhood the residents did not complain about the material condition of gecekondus to the same extent as residents of Altindag.

The fourth section explains the New Mamak Urban Transformation Project with an emphasis on the active role of the Metropolitan Municipality. The municipality

divides the residents based on land ownership and only includes title deed holders as beneficiaries. Moreover, the conditions of being a beneficiary and resident compensation are determined by the municipality. As a result of these conditions, resistance was organised in the neighbourhood and residents did not sign the contracts with the municipality. The objections and demands of the residents are explained in section five. The gains and changes residents achieved are explained in section six. In section seven the double strategy of the municipality is explained, whereby the municipality coerces residents using its legal and administrative power on the one hand, and convinces them by accepting their demands on the other. The eighth section explains the difficulties faced by residents in the Kusunlar Neighbourhood.

The results of the project, both positive and negative, for the various actors – residents, tenants, private developers and the municipality – are explained in section nine. Finally, section ten explains the transition from IDP to UTP and the changing nature of intervention in working class housing for the different actors.

10.2 Mamak

This section provides background information about the Mamak District, and explains the historical attempts of the state to legalise and redevelop the gecekondus in Mamak. After this introduction this section has two sub-sections. The first provides information about land use and the built environment prior to the redevelopment projects. The second gives information about life in gecekondus. While the first sub-section is based on the information of municipal reports, the second is based on the personal experience of the gecekondus residents.

The Mamak District is one of the central districts of Ankara (Figure 10-1). The Mamak Municipality was established in 1983. The population of Mamak was 431,000 in 2000, and had increased to 637,000 in 2017. The area of the Mamak district is 308 km. The working class housing provision has been always

problematic in big cities of Turkey, Mamak is a typical example of this. Mamak is one of the oldest Gecekondu neighbourhoods in Ankara; being geographically unfavourable for housing development and having the advantage of the suburban train, it had been a gecekondu suburban zone since the 1940s (Section 8.1.2; Mamak Belediyesi 2008; Turkish Statistical Institution, 2017).

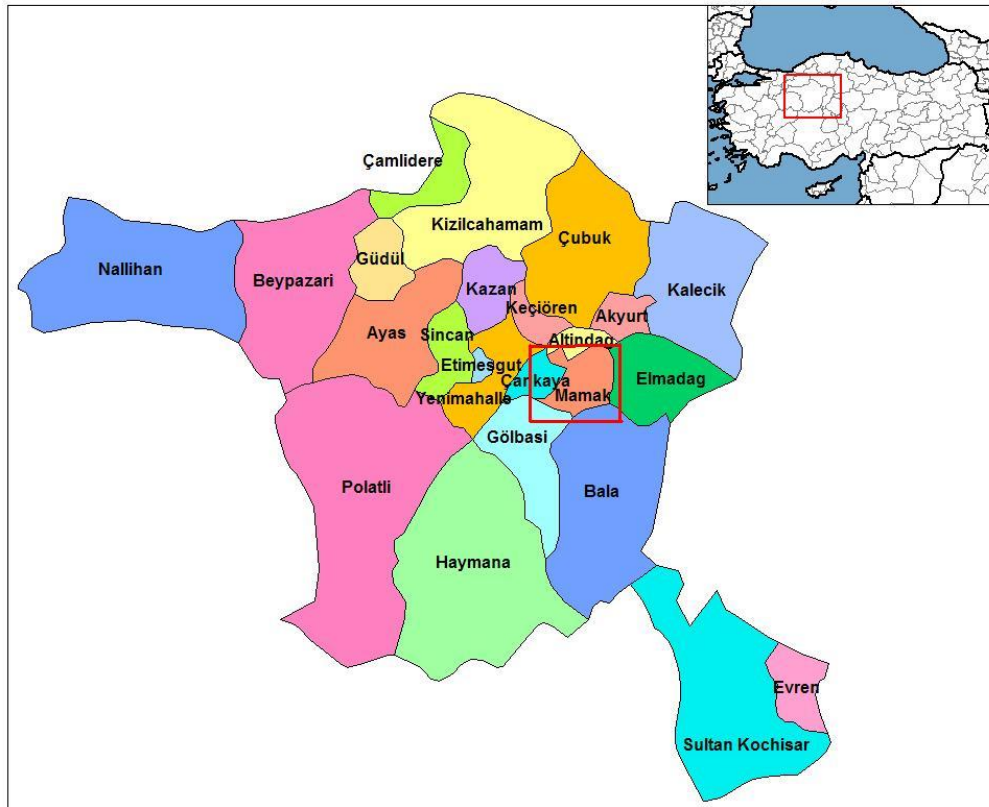


Figure 10-1: The location of Mamak in Ankara. Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2008

There have been several interventions in the gecekondu neighbourhoods in Mamak since the 1950s. The first strategy was legalisation and land division in 1956. After this plan, in 1984 all the gecekondu were pardoned and land allocation certificates were given in 1985. Starting from 1987, IDP plans were prepared. These plans aimed to regulate ownership patterns through the authorisation of construction of 2, 3 and 4-storey apartments (Suphan-Somali, 2013, pp. 93-102). During the 1990s in some neighbourhoods the construction heights increased from 2-3 storeys to 4-5, with revision of the IDPs (Figure 10-2).

These plans were based on combining small parcels and increasing construction rights in order to trigger redevelopment. In contrast, some other neighbourhoods were declared as 'construction limited areas' due to landslide risks.

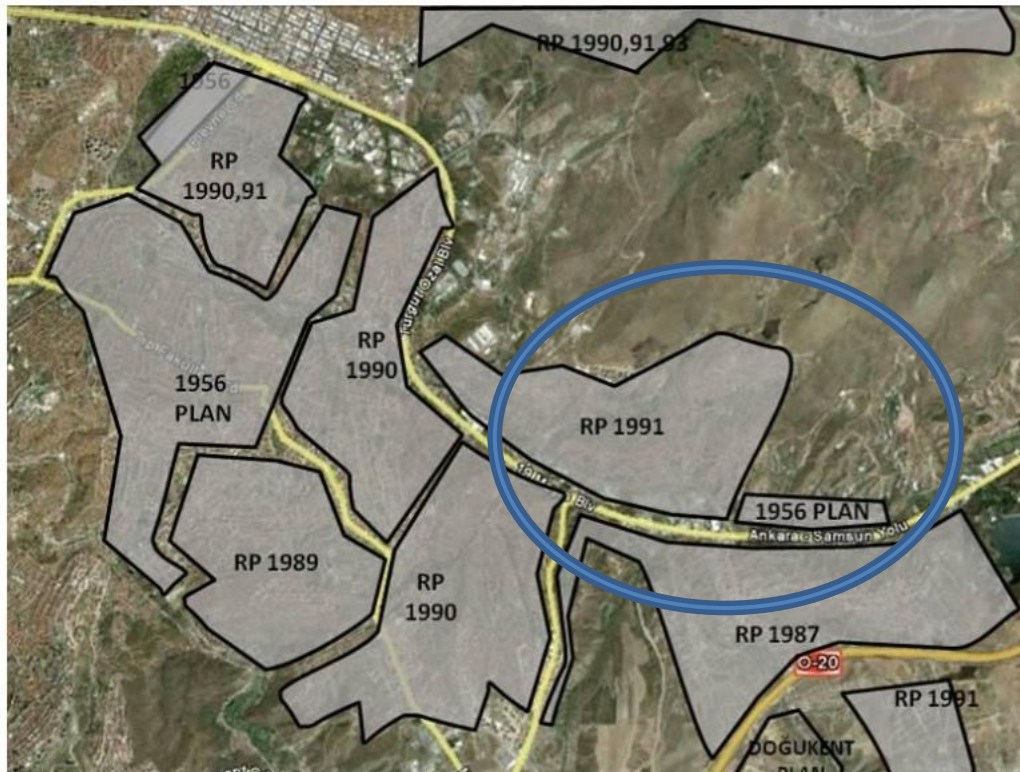


Figure 10-2: The different interventions in the gecekondu neighbourhoods in Mamak before the 2000s, The Rehabilitation Plans are another name for Improvement and Development Plans. Blue circle is the New Mamak Development Zone. Source: Somalı (2013; p 95)

Being geographically and topologically unfavourable for high-rise construction, the different Improvement and Development Plans could not be effective in many of Mamak's neighbourhoods. However, similar to other districts of Ankara, since 2005 there have been large scale redevelopment projects. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has implemented 4 different redevelopment projects in the Mamak District, the total area of these projects being 6,809 hectares. Moreover, Mamak District Municipality and MHA have established partnerships for 4 other redevelopment zones; Yatikmuslik-Altievler, 22 hectares; Duranali, 30 hectares;

HuseyinGazi, 16.5 hectares; EgeMahallesi, 97 hectares. In this way the District Municipality and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality want to cover all the previous IDP areas.

After several interventions in 2005, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality started the 'New Mamak Urban Transformation Plan' based on article 73 of the Municipal Law (No: 5393, in 2005). The New Mamak redevelopment area is a former IDP area that could not be redeveloped through the IDPs due to fragmented ownership and the high percentage of uninhabitable land. When the project first started in 2005 it included 14 neighbourhoods and 56,000 people (figure 10-3). The 14 neighbourhoods and their population are: Misket 6,072, Dutluk 5,601, Şirintepe 5,521, FahriKorutürk 7,457, Üregil 2,273, ŞahapGürler 9,983, YeşilBayır 12,373, KüçükKayaş 8,576, Derbent 11,016, Dostlar 11,021, Köstence 5,708, Araplar 2,599, Tepecik 6,857, and BüyükKayaş 4,661. In 2009, however, Misket neighbourhood was excluded from the project and the number of people in the project area decreased to 50,000.



Figure 10-3: The initial Urban Transformation Area in the New Mamak Redevelopment Zone. Source: Mamak Municipality, 2008

10.2.1 Land use and the built environment before the New Mamak Redevelopment Project

This area is very problematic in terms of urban development due to several main transportation lines, valleys, hills and rivers. The percentage of uninhabitable land is very high (Official 1 and Official 2). The main transport lines and the Hatip stream divide the UTP area on the north and south axis. The transport lines are Ankara-Sivas high speed train line, the suburban train line, and the Ankara and Samsun highway. There were also buildings constructed based on IDP plans (Figure 10-4). The New Mamak Project area is considered as an entrance to Ankara from the east, and gecekondu neighbourhoods have been seen to create a 'negative image' of the city for decades (Municipality Official 1 and 2: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2008).



Figure 10-4: The New Mamak Redevelopment area before the UTP project.

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2008

In the UTP project area, there were 4.29 million m² of land under private ownership, 2.14 million m² under public ownership, and 0.7 million m² used as parks and pedestrian ways. The central state holds 485,000 m² of land alone and 181,000 m² in shared ownership. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has 94,500 m² alone and 96,500 m² shared. Mamak Municipality has 596,000 m² land alone and 530,000 m² land with shareholders.

In the redevelopment project site, there were 13,480 existing buildings. 13,305 of these buildings are without construction permits and only 175 of them have the permits. In terms of ownership, 5,649 buildings are with the title deeds, 1,192 buildings are without title deeds and 3,634 buildings have land allocation certificates on account of legalisation in the 1980s. For the rest of the building the title situation is not defined in the report. The buildings in the project area are mostly single storey, brick-built gecekondus: 11,220 are single storey and 11,843 are built of bricks (Table 10-1).

Table 10-1: The condition of buildings in the project area before the redevelopment plans

Building materials	Number	Building Storeys	Number	Ownership	Number
Built of bricks	11,843	1 storey buildings	11,220	Home owner	9,121
Reinforced concrete	670	2 storey buildings	1,693	Tenant	2,151
Other	967	3 storey buildings	221	Other (Public, Empty, non-defined-retail)	2,208
		4 and above storey buildings	71		
		The others (shops)	275		

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2008

In terms of usage, 12,307 buildings were used as residences, there were also 279 shops, 232 shops-residences, and 662 buildings were not clear. Moreover, there were 35 mosque, 12 schools, 13 gas stations, 19 public buildings, 25 commercial buildings, 19 NGO buildings and a bread factory, a pipe factory, a brick factory, a marble factory, a flower factory, a paper factory, a concrete factory and car showrooms.

10.3 Gecekondu and life around gecekondu

Similar to Altindag, the residents built their own houses in Mamak, with several drivers affecting where migrants located their homes: having available state and private land, train connections to the city centre, having people from the same towns nearby, being next to the river and therefore able to access water easily. Also, as this location was far from the city centre the land was cheap.

Again, as with Altindag, social life around gecekondu has been described as very comfortable, relaxed, and free by all residents. Another highlighted result was emotional connection to the gardens, with many residents still remembering the number of the different kind of trees. Resident 2 said that, 'I had 13 fruit trees; apricot, cherry, apple, pear and eight poplars; I took pictures of all of them and they hang on the wall now.' The social life and support mechanisms were also similar to the Altindag case (sections 9.4 and 9.5), with people knowing each other. They had an active social life in the gardens, residents using them actively for vegetable and fruit production, and women cooking and preparing food there together. Most of the residents in the project area are from the central Anatolia Yozgat, Cankiri and Corum provinces.

In the Mamak redevelopment zone, people complained less than in Altindag about the condition of their gecekondu. The economic condition of the gecekondu owners was likely to be better in this zone, as most of them have been

living in Ankara longer than the people in Altindag. Also, many gecekondü owners had two incomes or a regular job. Therefore, both economic and spatial conditions were better than those in Altindag. Resident 1 said that his gecekondü was in good condition: 'I had water well in my garden. I had 4 rooms; kitchen, bath and toilet, all were in very good condition. Several gecekondü owners mention they had water wells in their gardens, also tandoors and extra buildings like garages.' Resident 4 said that after he retired he opened a blacksmith in the garden of the gecekondü and worked with his sons. Resident 9 said, 'I had a garden about was 100 m² and bought animals, cows and sheep in order to sell them. I used to sell these animals in the market. Otherwise I cannot afford to have 5 children, all of them graduated from the university with the help of God. I could not afford all these, if I did not feed those animals.' Since there is a river in the project area, there were also water wells and vegetable gardens through the stream bed (Resident 5, 2016).

However, since the gecekondüs are close the river there were also many problems about infrastructure and health conditions. In the interview with a group of women, they said that, 'previously there were many rats in the neighbourhood, the pipes used to break every so often, I could not sleep because of the rats and slept on the couch all the times. Our house was northern facing, therefore the water used to be frozen. The men do not know the problems of gecekondü.' Resident 7 report that, 'there were floods several times, there was not any canal before, the canal constructed in 1988, the river side was flat, and there were big floods two times here. All the area between the train rail and Samsun Road covered with water. Moreover, the river also attracts the insects and rats.' Other residents also complained about the sewage systems. Resident 11 said that, 'there was not any sewage system before, there were cesspools. We used to empty the cesspools to the river or call the municipality and they emptied them.' Resident 18 said that, 'there are many high chamfers in the area; it was not safe for children.'

To summarise, the gecekondü and life around the gecekondü were described similarly by the residents, both in terms of positive and negative features. While

gecekondu have several advantages, such as having gardens, and designing the space based on the individual needs of the residents, the infrastructure was problematic. One difference in Mamak District was having less complaints about the condition of the gecekondu than in Altindag.

10.4 The Redevelopment Project

This section describes the implementation of the New Mamak UTP. After the 1980s there has been a radical reordering in the finance and service sectors and further concentration of production in the big cities of Turkey, which leads to an increase of formal and professional workers living in cities as well as overall population in cities. These changes required massive restructuring of cities including new public transport systems. The formalisation of working class housing has been a target of government since 1980s. In the case of Mamak this target achieved through rescaling of state intervention and integration of finance system. Moreover, the raise of the finance capital and therefore financialisation of housing allowed an unprecedented level of capital flow into urban space after 2000. Therefore previously non intervened areas also became a subject of big redevelopment projects as in the case of Mamak Area.

The New Mamak Project is different to the IDP projects in Altindag. While in IDP projects, the landlords have the power to direct negotiation with the small-scale developers, in UTP projects the land owners are excluded from the negotiation process. The Metropolitan Municipality determine the conditions of being a beneficiary and demolish large numbers of gecekondu in order to construct thousands of flats. The scope of the project and the number of participants necessitated higher levels of state agency and involvement with higher levels of administrative and financial resource. Therefore, in UTP the municipality makes the agreement with the gecekondu owners, demolishes all the gecekondu and then gives the land to the private developers for construction. In these projects

the main target of the municipality is to make the developments self-financing. This chapter explains the intervention logic of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality.

The project aims to change the negative image of Mamak. The Mamak neighbourhood was famous for its prison, the landfill and gecekondu. Moreover, it is an entry point to Ankara from the eastern part of Turkey. Therefore, the municipality saw changing the built environment of the project area as a means of changing the image of the city and of Ankara (Official 2).

The current redevelopment plans target the areas could not have been redeveloped in previous decades. Official 1 said that the current project area is partly legalised and has very fragmented patterns of ownership. The previous IDPs were either not implemented or not properly planned, with geographically problematic areas being left outside of the plans. The redevelopment model of the New Mamak Project is based on the Metropolitan Municipality Act paragraph 73 (2005). When an area has been determined as a UTP, the previous IDPs are cancelled. In this model the Metropolitan Municipality play an active role expropriating the land based on 'mutual agreement' (Section 10.6). After demolishing all the gecekondu, the municipality hires private companies for the constructions. The construction continues based on the same model. The main strategy of this model of development is to now use the public resources, and to provide self-finance for the redevelopments ((Mamak Municipality 2008; Official 1, 2016).

1 stage: clearing of the gecekondu by municipality and solving ownership problems of the land	>	Planning and giving out the construction of flats based on build-and-sell model.	>	Finishing all the area based on built-and-sell system.
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The main intervention logic of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality is a simple calculation of the number of flats based on the legal status of title holders. The municipality calculate the number of beneficiaries based on title deed and land allocation certificate holders. After they determine the number of flats for beneficiaries, the rest of the flats are constructed in order to finance these flats. The number of flats in order to finance the rest of the projects changes based on the location. In central locations the private developers work with a 50% share, whereas in peripheral locations like Mamak the developers demand more; therefore, peripheral urban redevelopment projects have higher a density of buildings. As such, in order to give 1 flat for the beneficiary, the municipality has to allow and manage the construction of 3 flats. In the initial project the municipality thought this ratio of sharing model was profitable for the private developers. Therefore, it was planned to build 45-50,000 flats for a self-financing project (Official 1 and 2; Mamak Municipality 2008).

In order to clear the gecekondus and solve the ownership problems, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality included land owners as beneficiaries in the projects. The situation of being a beneficiary was determined by the legal status of land; therefore, there are 2 different beneficiary groups. The owners of the registered properties can be beneficiaries regardless of the amount of land they have. In this way the owners of legal flats can be beneficiaries without any land ownership. Official 1 describes the situation: 'The core of the project is determining the condition of the agreements [based on the ownership condition].' The title deed holders and the owners of registered properties can sign a contract for a bigger house by borrowing from the municipality. The residents with land allocation certificates will get a 100 m² flat for 400 m² of land.

In the Mamak region, builders are known to expect an advantage of around 60% on their shares when they generate housing according to the build-and-sell system for 4-5 storey apartments. However, in the mentioned projects, apartment prices are around 700 - 800 YTL/m². Since the new Mamak project had higher quality than the standard housing in Mamak – such as a closed green areas, social facilities, security services – this figure may be around 1,000-1,200

YTL/m². Due to this higher price of flats, the municipality wanted to reduce the share of construction companies to 40-45% rather than 60%. Because the municipality do not pay the construction companies, at the end of the projects the actors – municipality, construction companies and land owners – share the finished flats. So the aim of the municipality was giving 40-45% to the private developers (Mamak Municipality 2008). However, this target could not be achieved in Mamak and the private developers asked for 60-70% (10.8)

The condition for being a beneficiary was not only based on home ownership, however, but also on the amount of land owned with title deeds and land allocation certificates. In order to be a beneficiary resident should have more than 167 m² lands without construction and zoning permissions, and more than 100 m² with construction permission (Tables 10-2 and 10-3).

Table 10-2: The amount of land and the compensates of beneficiary land allocation certificate holders after legalisation in 1980s

The land without a construction and zoning permission	The number of beneficiaries	The house that beneficiary get	80 m ²	100 m ²	120 m ²
0-167	4,267	0	0	0	0
167.01-333	1,960	1x80	1,960	0	0
333.01-375	221	1x80	221	0	0
375.01-416	189	1x100	0	189	0
416.01-458	106	1x100	0	106	0
458.01-500	137	1x120	0	0	137
500.01-708	261	1x120	0	0	261
708.01-916	91	1x120 + 1x100	0	91	91
916.01-958	30	1x120 + 1x100	0	30	30
958.01-1000	31	2x120	0	0	62
1000.01-1208	46	2x120	0	0	92
1208.01-1416	38	2x120 + 1x100	0	38	76
1416.01-1458	10	2x120 + 1x100	0	10	20
1458.01-1500	8	3 x 120	0	0	24
1500.01-1667	22	3 x 120	0	0	66

1667.01+	218	3 x 120 +			654
Total	7,635		2181	464	1513

Source: (Mamak Municipality 2008)

Table 10-3: The amount of land the compensates of beneficiary with zoning permission

With construction permits	The number of beneficiary	The house that beneficiary get	80 m2	100 m2	120 m2
0-100	5,905	0	0	0	0
100.01 - 200	3,158	1x80	3,158	0	0
200.01 - 225	514	1x80	514	0	0
225.01-250	371	1x100	0	371	0
250.01-275	347	1x100	0	347	0
275.01-300	324	1x120	0	0	324
300.01-425	678	1x120	0	0	678
425.01-550	232	1x120 + 1x100	0	232	232
550.01-575	74	1x120 + 1x100	0	74	74
575.01-600	268	2x120	0	0	536
600.01-725	174	2x120	0	0	348
725.01-850	71	2x120 + 1x100	0	71	142
850.01-875	5	2x120 + 1x100	0	5	10
875.01-900	2	3 x 120	0	0	6
900.01-1000	13	3 x 120	0	0	39
1000+	117	3 x 120 +	0	0	351
	12,253				
Total	19,888		5,853	1,564	4,253

Source: (Mamak Municipality 2008)

3,900 people have the land allocation certificates from the 1980 legalisation. Based on the amount of land, 3,003 flats should be given them in exchange for their land. In total 15,570 flats should have been given to the beneficiaries at the end of the projects. In order to produce 15,570 flats with a 40% share the municipality should produce 39,000 flats. To pay for the other expenses – infrastructure, green space, and transportation – the municipality should produce 50,000 flats in this project area (Mamak Municipality 2008).

The UTP projects target the areas that could not be captured by the formal space of capital and the state in previous decades. Therefore, in UTP plans the Metropolitan Municipality became the main agent of intervention with its administrative power and financial resources, meaning that in UTPs the areas and the number of residents affected from the projects is very high. The core intervention logic of the municipality is clearing the area, with zero subsidies. Therefore, the model works based on sharing out finished flats. Each actor – in these case land owners, the Metropolitan Municipality and private developers – receives a share from the projects.

10.5 The objections of the residents, Local Council Members and NGOs

This section explains the opposition of the residents to the project and the organisation of resistance in the New Mamak UTP area. The resistance against the urban redevelopment project started in Dikmen, a city centre redevelopment. After the Mamak project decision was taken, the housing rights group and local opposition party members organised together against the redevelopment project in Mamak. NGO member 1 explains the struggle process as:

In the beginning we said this redevelopment aims to displace residents and capture ground rent. Therefore, first we established a housing rights office in the area. We initially started in Dikmen Redevelopment [city centre] site. Then, we transfer our struggle from Dikmen to Mamak. In Mamak we established housing struggle offices in 2 points. In the offices we organised meetings with the residents. However, the decisions around redevelopments are taken only by the mayors who are greedy for urban rent. There is not any participation from the residents. They prepare all the conditions for the redevelopment and then they make the residents sign the contracts. After we did the meetings with big participation, the residents do not sign the contract; they did not sell their houses. Since the municipality

could not solve the ownership problems they could not start the construction. We collected 4,000 signatures and gave it to the Mamak municipality. Initially, the Mamak Municipality and Ankara great municipality were together in the project. Mamak Municipality prepared the terms of the contracts, and prepared the 1/5000 zoning plans with Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. We applied to the court, in 2006, 2007 and the court ruled in favour of us.

One of the main critiques of the Republican Party council members is the lack of participation. The opposition party members are highly critical of the implementation due to the lack of participation in the planning process. 'Our resistance was the way of implementation of the project; first of all there was not any participation in the projects. 13 neighbourhoods, thousands of hectares in area, but 3-4 civil servants in the municipality make the decision on redevelopment... There is not any dialogue with the local residents, after our resistance and criticism, and then they start to make meetings for informing the residents. I have attended two of these meetings; they were big meetings with high numbers of residents' (Council Member in Mamak Municipality). The other demands of the resistance groups are inclusive redevelopment for all residents, adequate rent subsidies during the construction of the new flats, the decrease of the amount of lands demanded by the Metropolitan Municipality based on the flat-for-land sharing model, a flat for everyone, compensation for the loss of the tenants, and cancelling the current condition of the agreements.

Different projects and different conditions also discouraged the residents from signing agreements. Resident 13 suggests that: 'if these redevelopments were IDP, I would get 2 flats; I used to have 300 m² lands. They did not really care about us. In other projects, they [the municipality; the state; the developers] give 3-bedroom houses for 150 m² land.' Resident 19 also suggests that, 'we had 250 m² lands, in other places they offer 1.5 flats here only one flat.' Disappointment due to the decreasing amount of compensation in the form of flats discouraged the residents and delayed the redevelopment process. Residents 8 and 16 raised similar complaints.

The top down approach of the municipality and the conditions they enforced were not directly accepted by most of the population and people struggled against the project and the compensation. The housing rights organisation which was established in central city gecekondu neighbourhoods transferred their resistance to the peripheral neighbourhoods.

10.6 Gains of struggle and changes to the projects

This section explains the gains of residents as the result of struggle organised by NGOs and supported by Republican Party council members. Due to this struggle the initial conditions of projects were changed. Organised around the struggle group, the resident applied to the court against the project in 2006-7. In the first case the court ruled that the residents are right; however, the municipality took another council decision with the similar program and conditions. Then in 2009 the residents sued the redevelopment project again. After these court decisions and due to the 2009 election Ankara Metropolitan Municipality had to change the conditions of the project. The project was divided into 11 stages (Figure 10-5). Stages 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7 were planned as the priority stages in order to give the flats to beneficiaries. Moreover, the total area of the project decreased from 9 million m² to 7 million m².

The municipality also changed the conditions of the contracts, with the municipality offering to give people houses in their current neighbourhoods. The residents also started to get paid rent subsidies after the struggle. The municipality also offered shops to shop owners (The Mamak Council Member and NGO representative). Moreover, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (AMM) had to increase the amount of compensation that they paid for the gecekondus. The municipality had to compensate the gecekondu owners in order to demolish the houses. Before 2009, the municipality used to pay only 10% of the value of the gecekondus to title deed holders, this amount increased to 100%. However, the land certificate owners and non-title holders still got only 10 % of the value of their houses.

Resistance to this project also changed the conditions of some other projects. For example, the Metropolitan municipality have implemented redevelopment projects in the Karaagac, Gulveren, Gulseren and YatikMusluk neighbourhoods. After the meetings organised by the housing rights groups, the residents in these neighbourhoods were also given rent subsidises. The rent subsidies were given in two ways, either direct cash payments in order to cover the cost of private rent, or the municipality offered flats to residents until the end of the construction process in an area close to project site for free. The cash rent subsidies started as 270 Liras per month and increased to 500 Liras in 2016. Resident 11 reported that, ‘we signed the agreement in 2009 and the constructions started in 2010. We had got rent subsidies for 4 years.’

The resistance also changed the way projects were implemented. Initially the Mamak Municipality and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality were implementing the project together; in 2010 Ankara Municipality took sole responsibility. Before 2009 Mamak Municipality was also actively involved in the planning and design process (Official 2, Mamak Municipality 2008). The struggle groups said that they got their main demands and, therefore, reduced the level of struggle in the area and stopped applying to court against the projects. However, the demands for non-title holders are continuing, with them demanding cheap housing in the redevelopment site.

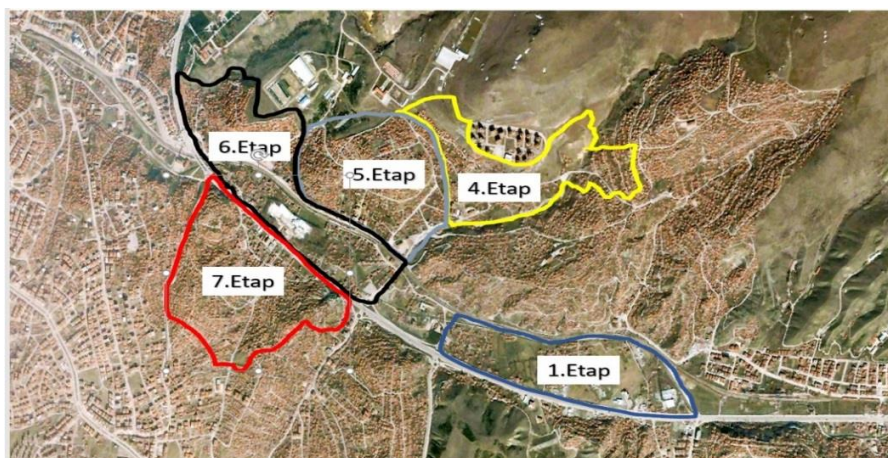


Figure 10-5: The Priority stages after the 2009 court decision in New Mamak Redevelopment Project. Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (2016).

As a result of the struggle, compensation of the residents increased, and the non-title holders were offered low income housing in other locations. Having accepted most of their demands the level of struggle decreased after 2010, and the implementation of the project accelerated.

10.7 Convincing People and Forcing people

This section explains the ongoing strategies of the municipality in order to continue the project. In order to implement the project, the Metropolitan Municipality firstly accepted some of the demands of the opposition. Secondly, they started construction on the stream side in stage one (Figure 10-5). Moreover, the Metropolitan Municipality constructed flats in Kusunlar for people without title deeds (Section 10.8). Thirdly, they made local leaders sign the contracts in order to convince other people (Mamak Municipality Council Member). The chaotic construction site also made residents want to leave the area.

Due to the struggle at the outset many residents did not want to sign the contracts with the municipality. In a group interview, two different families explained their experience: 'in the beginning they came to the neighbourhood and told us, the area was declared as urban redevelopment zone, you had to leave your houses. We organised and sued the municipality. We lost 3 times [there were also several individual law suits against the projects]. We were 50-60 neighbours all together, in Yaprakcik Neighbourhood. Therefore, we had to sign the contracts.' Resident 2 said that, 'there were some neighbours who applied to court against the projects, thanks to them the money that we get from the municipality increased.'

Many residents signed the contracts after 2008-9, but despite 8-9 years having elapsed, the municipality have only delivered 1,200 flats as of 2016. The struggle groups suggest that the municipality claims to have delivered 5,100 flats [in 2016], however, that number also include the ongoing construction of 3,900 flats, with only 1,200 completed flats delivered to the beneficiaries by 2016 (NGO member, 2016). Another resident (19) said, 'we resisted for three years, I had advantages,

I had a lot of land but I resisted for the other people who do not have any land. My father had 260 m² land, we are three siblings. We bought land; with the money for gecekondus we had a total of three flats. We paid 57,000 TL in total. We lived in the municipality flats until the construction finished, we did not pay any rent.’ As an active member of the struggle Resident 19 said that, ‘we did not tell anyone you cannot sign, we told people we should resist, and we can get more rights. We worked for this, the municipality did not want to compromise; they wanted to continue with the conditions that they offered in the beginning. However, after the struggle we increased our gains from the project, for example they increased the money for the gecekondus.’

The general perspective of the residents was that they had to sign because of the chaotic construction environment and lack of hope around getting more. Resident 11 said, ‘we had to sign the agreement. We did not really want to sign; these areas were construction limited areas. We talked with many private developers and they did not want to work with us because our land was in a construction-prohibited area. The developers did not enter here or asked too much money from us.’ Resident 13 supports this: ‘if it was IDP I could have got 2 flats. I had 300 m² lands. In other places they give a flat for 150 m². We wanted to have a private agreement, they asked 50,000 liras, because it is a river bed we had to construct steel pillars in the foundations.’

The problems around the chaotic construction environment are similar to the Altindag case. Resident 13 said, ‘some people immediately signed the contract. When they noticed they can get several flats. They demolished their gecekondus. Later the scrap collectors settled in the half demolished gecekondus and then the locals had to move. We did not know what to do with the scrap collectors, they are dangerous people, and they came from Cincin [inner city gecekondus areas]. They collected the windows and doors from the demolished buildings.’ Resident 10 said, ‘living between the half demolished gecekondus is not easy, the glue sniffers, the scrap collectors, the number of crimes increased. At night it is not clear who lives here. The security was a real problem. The entire social pattern

has gone; therefore we had to go too. People have lived in this constructions site for 7 years, they are fed up of it, and it was not safe anymore.'

The municipality accepted the demands of the residents on the one hand, whilst creating uninhabitable conditions to make the residents leave on the other. Therefore, the municipality used both compromise and force to make residents sign the contracts.

10.8 The Kusunlar Project Area

As it was discussed in Section 3.8 and 7.5.2 under the hegemony of finance capital, the housing provision was increasingly driven by the logic and practice of financial markets. In order to find new markets and increase profit, the mortgage market expanded to includes historically excluded groups. The solution of the housing problem of the poor was home ownership based on household debt. As a result, the interdependency and complementary relationship between the finance and housing sectors is further strengthened. In LDCs state has to build the necessary legal framework and connections between the risky housing and real estate market and financial and capital market circuits. Kusunlar is an example of integration of low income groups to the housing finance system through upward scale intervention to the housing.

This section explains the housing development in the Kusunlar area. In 2009 the municipality offered housing for the residents without title deeds in Kusunlar. Kusunlar is a housing development zone for low income groups. Only a third of the residents of Kusunlar are displaced people. The rest of the residents bought the houses because they were cheap. After the resistance of the residents, the Ankara Municipality gave flats to residents without any title deeds in Kusunlar. As a result, 1,303 residents from the New Mamak project, 6 residents from the Dikmen Valley project, and 65 from the other redevelopment project areas have moved to Kusunlar. There are 4,232 housing units in Kusunlar; 1,374 of them were built by Ankara Great Municipality for the displaced population, 1,482 housing units were built by MHA for low income groups and 1,376 of them were built by

the governorship for low income groups (Mamak Municipality, 2016). The governorship is an agency of central government for each town and province; it is responsible for the implementation of legislation, constitutional and governmental decisions. The head of the institution is the governor, appointed by the president based on the recommendation of the Interior Ministry. The Kusunlar Housing Zone is 16 km from the city centre (Figure 10-6). The housing development plans were prepared in 2008 and construction finished in 2012 (Aslan and Güzey, 2015).

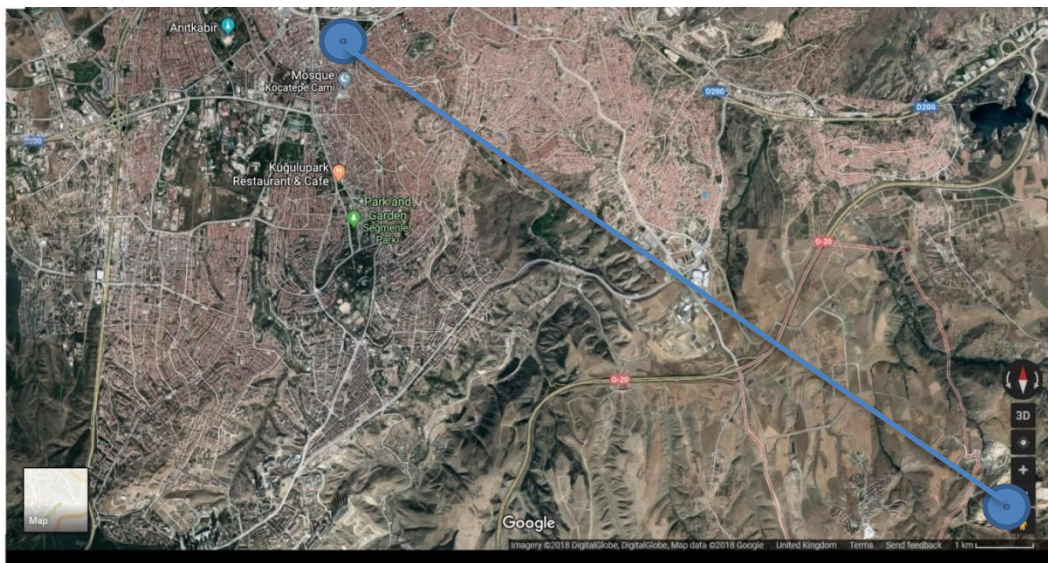


Figure: 10-6: The Location Kusunlar and Ankara City Centre. Source google earth, 2017

The struggle group said that the Flats in Kusunlar for residents without title deeds are the direct results of their efforts (NGO representative 1; Municipality Council Member). Despite seeing providing housing for non-title holders as ‘unfair’, the municipal officials saw it as the only way to ensure implementation of the project: ‘based on 5,293 act 73 articles, there was an amendment in 2010; this amendment allows us to provide housing for non-title holders. Based on this act we built 2,400 flats in total in Kusunlar and Hidirlik, for the non-title holders, we accepted the value of the gecekonu as advance payment and then you pay in 10 years. They did the agreements with the bank directly and then started living in the new flat. The beneficiaries start their payments after they move in the new

flats. The payments are 200-300 lira, not too much, and do not affect their budgets. To be honest it is not fair to provide them this opportunity, they came and occupied this land for 20-30 years without paying anything, but we cannot clear this area without providing these opportunities to the residents. In the end they are our citizens too' (Official 1).

The residents describe the area as 'an open prison'. Somewhere, 'they come just to sleep,' 'without anything to do' (Figure 10-7). Right now, then, it is only a dormitory with problematic infrastructure. The residents have to go to the city centre for work and all main services, and the public transport connection is highly inefficient. There is only one bus an hour and Dolmus (a shared vehicle) every 30 minutes from the city centre. The public transportation finishes at 10.30, therefore after 10.30 people have to call taxis. Taxi drivers do not want to come here and leave passengers at the nearest shopping mall. Due to the limited number of buses and Dolmus people have to travel standing up. A resident says, 'transportation is very bad; the buses are not enough, we are packed like sardines in the buses. There are many discussions and fights on the buses.' Another resident says, 'if you want to be at your job at 8:30 you have to leave here at 6, we have complained about the number of busses many times, but [the municipality] did not do anything' (Residents 27, 28, 29).



Figure 10-7: Kusunlar Housing Development Area from distance. Source: Sinan Akyuz, 2016

Although a direct achievement of the struggle, Kusunlar is very problematic in terms of location; it is only a dormitory town far from the city centre. There are no employment opportunities in the area and residents have to go to the city centre. The transportation is problematic and the quality of the flats is very low.

10.9. The Results of the Urban Redevelopment Project in Mamak

The description of the redevelopment process above allows us now to summarise its impacts on the different social groups and interests involved. This section explains the benefits and disadvantages of the redevelopment programs for gecekondü owners, private developers, tenants, and the Municipality. A deeper analysis of social relations and dynamics in relation to working class housing and state intervention in working class housing comes later, in chapter 11.

Benefits and disadvantages for the residents varied based on land ownership. As such, the project divided the residents into groups, thereby destroying the social connections established in the area over decades. While the title deed holders can be beneficiaries of the project, the tenants and residents without title deeds were excluded from the process prior to 2008. Therefore, I examine first the outcomes for those with title deeds, and then turn to the outcomes for tenants and residents without title deeds.

10.9.1 Benefits and disadvantages for gecekondü owners

The governments since 2000, cooperates with at least a portion of the urban working class by providing a higher material standard of housing combined with new social and cultural facilities in the neighbourhoods (Section 4.3). Moreover, the titleholders receive several benefits from the projects. First, whilst the exchange value of a gecekondü in the project area was approximately 25,000-30,000 TL (£5,000-6,000), the value of the new flats was 150,000-200.000 TL (£30-40,000) (The green groups in figure 10-8). Moreover, there is also a rent subsidy, gained as a result of the resistance since 2009. In 2009 this amounted to 370 Lira

per month (90 £). The officials suggested that since delivering the flats takes a long time, the residents gained 20,000-30,000 (£5,000-6,000) from the rent subsidies. The rent subsidies started to pay after 2010, therefore it has been classified as gain by officials, but the residents has to pay the rent because of the projects.

Many residents with title deeds have several flats as a result of the projects. Resident 4 said, 'I got 4 houses for 700 m² land, three of these flats have 3 bedrooms the other has 2 bedrooms'. Resident 5 said, 'there are local people who are from the Uregil village and the other village originally, they have big amount of lands and therefore they got many flats. Some residents got 10-13 flats.' In a group interview with several women one of the participants said that, 'my family got 2 houses, they used to have 290 m² land, after the new plan it decreased to 140 m², the municipality also paid 13,000 TL (£3,250) for the gecekondu.'

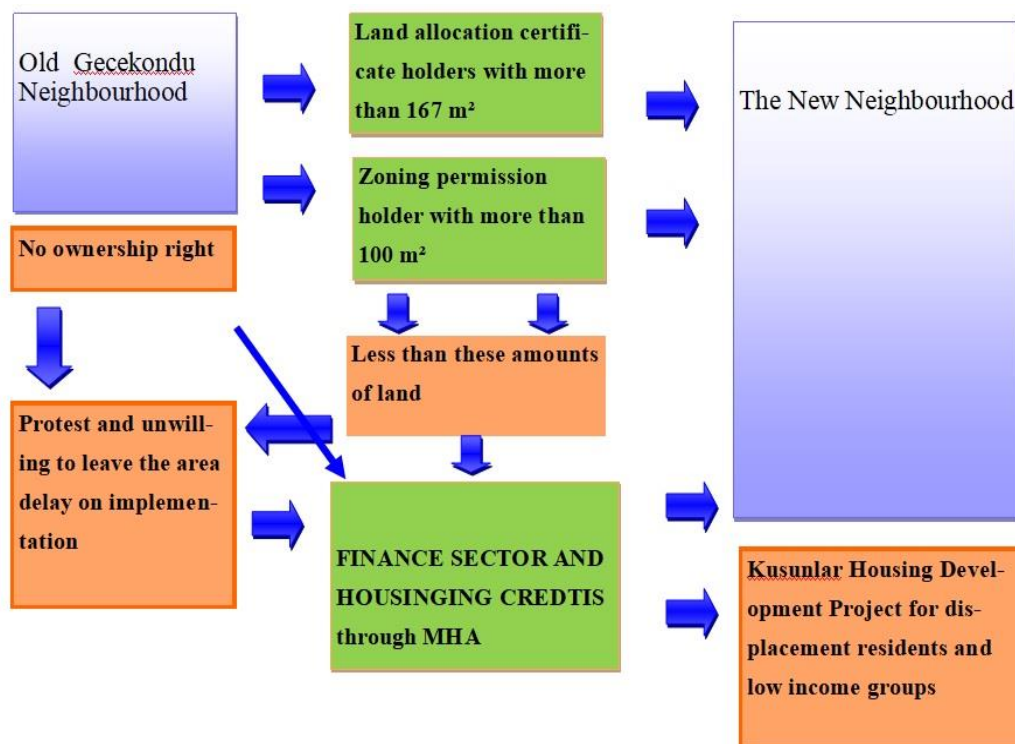


Figure 10-8: Clearance of land ownership pattern for redevelopment by Municipality. Source: Sinan Akyuz, illustrated from interviews and municipality report, 2016

However, there are still negative effects of the redevelopment projects for the title holders. Some residents used loans in order to get a bigger flat or use loans due to not having enough land (the orange groups in figure 10-8). Resident 14 said, 'my family paid 45,000 TL (£11,250) in order to get a 3 bedrooms house because our land was only enough for a 2 bedroom house.' Moreover, the redevelopment project increases the cost of living for the residents. There are costs of moving in and out, and many residents bought new furniture for the new flats. There are also increasing costs of living because of new expenses such as natural gas and apartment fees. Resident 4 said, 'of course moving in was expensive, previously we did not pay for heating, there are also new fees such as apartment fees.' The new tower blocks have security, camera systems and cleaning staff. All these services are paid for by residents. The apartment fees differ for each tower block, but the fees are 80 TL, 100 TL and 120 TL (£20, £25 and £30) each month. Some residents cannot pay it and have had bailiffs sent in (Resident 4). The heating also costs much more than before: 'we pay at least 200-250 TL for central heating every month' (Resident 17).

10.9.2 Improvements in the flats and neighbourhood

Resident 17 highlights the material improvements with the new flats: 'the gardens were good but it necessitated hard work, the flats are warmer, there is security outside, there are 3 toilets in the flats – bedrooms, bath, toilet – it is orderly, clean, the life is easier here. I don't need to clean the stove; we have central heating and natural gas. I was always afraid of gas poisoning in the gecekondu, I prefer apartment life.' Resident 7 said, 'during the winter the air contamination was really bad, I can notice that nowadays when the residents of the remaining gecekondus burn coal. I feel how did we live in these houses? The bad weather conditions do not affect as before.' The residents also suggest that the municipal services such as garbage collection and transportation are now satisfactory. These were not good before the redevelopment; the rubbish was not collected regularly which cause lots of fleas.

10.9.3 Problems with the new flats and neighbourhood

On the other hand there are problems about the process of redevelopment. The main issue is the lengthy construction process and, therefore, the lack of social facilities. None of the planned facilities are finished yet, the construction of the hospital and the shopping centre are ongoing: 'there is not any facility here, any health station and schools. Now we have to send our children to other neighbourhoods, far away for primary and secondary schools' (Resident 3).

Furthermore, the previous relationship with green space was productive and active. Contemporary parks are not very functional and economically not productive. NGO representatives suggest, 'all the geographically problematic hillsides designed as green space, there won't be any place to sit or walk in these parks.' Both residents and security personnel complain about the lightning in the park, as despite the park being built 2 years ago the street lightning still does not work. I also heard complaints about the trees in the park. Resident 8 said, 'they offer no protection from the rain and sun, they are useless.'

The lack of sound insulation in the apartments is also a common complaint. Resident 13 suggests that the quality of the materials is not very high: 'there is not any sound insulation, inside the apartments. We do not hear sound from outside but we can hear the neighbours. Moreover, the designs of the flats are different, the first flats have 2 balconies, and the later ones have only one.'

The women that I talked to as a group also suggested that there are not enough schools, shops and bridges over Samsun Road. Since there is not a grocery store in the neighbourhood, one of the residents sells vegetable and fruit to the neighbourhood from a truck.

Residents suggest that since the buildings are 17 storeys, there are around 100 flats in each building and it is not possible to know the neighbours anymore. 'Nowadays our only conversations with the neighbours are "hi" that is pretty much all. We are from Akyurt. Our village is close. Previously we used to go not

often. After the redevelopment we made a garden there and, my parents especially, go more often nowadays' (Resident 4).

Resident 14 said: 'there is a control from the housing development management; we bought satellite dishes that people put in their balconies, then the management told everyone, we cannot put it there. They will buy a big one for the apartment and everybody will use it.'

The projects, then, have several advantages for title deeds holders, including having flats in better material condition and receiving several flats. However, the development has destroyed the social life of the neighbourhood and created atomised, individualised residents with a monotonous life.

10.9.4 The problems of tenants and non-title holders

The residents without title deeds were displaced to Kusunlar. There are serious problems about the Kusunlar Housing Development. These people were displaced from their gecekondus, where they had lived for decades. They had to take out long-term housing credit. Since most of them have minimum or insecure incomes, the monthly credit payments represent a serious financial burden for them. Moving to new apartments increased their cost of living with extra fees such as heating. Moreover, the flats were delivered without totally finished internal facilities, such as pipes for the gas system, meaning they had to pay extra when they moved in. The quality of the housing is low and the flats are only 75 m². Kusunlar is 16 km from the city centre and functions as a dormitory town, with residents having to travel to the city centre for most of their daily activities. There are facilities such as a school and community clinic but the residents complain that the services are low quality. I will now examine these problems in more detail.

Firstly, these people are displaced from houses where they have lived for about 30-40 years. They paid all the bills, and they were used to having all the services and infrastructure of the former gecekondu. They have diverse stories about why they never acquired title deeds, and I did not find a 'typical' reason. Because of

moving to Kusunlar, they have lost all of their previous social connections and neighbourhood relationships.

Secondly, the payments are high for their budget. Before demolition of their old houses, the municipal experts made a price determination, which was the same for everybody and required a 10% down payment for the new flats. After this they have to pay 55,000 TL (£13,750) to Great Ankara Municipality over a 10 years term. The loan started with 270 TL monthly payments, which rise to 350 TL. Even after 3-4 years residents are still paying for the interest and have not started to pay the capital. Many residents said the monthly payments are the biggest burden for them, resident 25 said, 'my salary is 1300 TL, as with many residents here I have only a pension, which is 1,300 lira (£325). The credit payments, the apartment fees, and heating cost totally 500-600 (£125-150) and the credit payments increase every 6 months based on the salaries of civil servants. There are also the electricity, water, and phone bills. In total my monthly expenses are 1000 TL (£250), the rest is 300 Liras (£75). I sold my car; I used to have a car. The municipality did not allow me to sell melons, otherwise I would sell melons.'

Thirdly, moving into new flats increased the cost of living. All of these people have low-incomes and moving to tower blocks made life harder for them. For example, when they were living in gecekondü, they did not have any expenses for heating since the municipality provided coal. There are also new expenses such as apartment fees and increased transportation costs. Moreover, when they first moved into Kusunlar the buildings were not finished, there were no heating systems in the apartments. Everybody in Kusunlar had to pay for a gas-fired heating system when they moved in. As such, during the first 3 years, they had to use heating stoves in the flats. Due to the low quality of the materials (Figure 10-10), they had to pay repair fees in addition to their monthly payments. One of the residents said, 'we have to pay again and again to repair everything from our budget. When it rains the water comes through the walls, moreover the toilets and bathroom water goes through the floor to downstairs. We had to pay for all of this.' Some of the residents said they have spent 7,000-8,000 thousand TL

(about £2000) since they moved in for the heating system and repairs (Resident 24).

Some of the residents have started to work informally in order to pay the loans. Everything in their life is designed according to payments. A resident says: 'whenever I want to buy something I think about the loan and I don't buy. See my shoes, I need a new pair of shoes but I couldn't buy. I am a retired person and my income is monthly 1300 TL (£325). I have to pay 350TL with all the bills, transportation etcetera it costs 600-700 TL. How can I live with 600 (£150) TL for a month for 2 people?' (Resident 31) Most of the residents that I talked to are retired but they still work occasionally (some of them work in the municipality gardening service, some of them in construction) to pay their bills.



Figure 10-9: Kusunlar Housing Development. Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2016



Figure 10-10: The low level of material quality in Kusunlar: when it rains, the water entre the flats. Source: Saltik (2016)

Furthermore, there are many complaints against the settlement administration. Since it is a MHA and Ankara Great Municipality project it is managed by a company owned by MHA. The residents have to make monthly payment to the management company for their services. However, the residents said, 'the buildings are dirty, the elevators mostly do not work, the balcony doors are not working, and when it is windy you can feel and hear the wind in the house.' 'There is one service-man for two building, so they clean the buildings once every 20 days, but they take money for general services every month. We pay 67 TL every month for general services' (Resident 27). Resident 24 said, 'If something is broken we call the management but they don't care. They always say we will take care of it but they don't come to fix anything and they are so rude to us.'

Nearly all the residents complained about the size of the houses. The flats are 75 m² gross and have around 60 m² net usage area, the balconies are also very small. All of residents said that it was very hard for them to adapt to Kusunlar, in terms of both houses and the neighbourhood. Moreover, security is one of the biggest concerns of the residents. Due to the poor quality of materials it is easy to break into the houses. They also claimed that being cheap and far from the city centre, the flats are used for some illegal activities. 'The housing units that have 1

bedroom and 1 living room are mostly used for illegal activities. When you come here at night there are many luxury cars here. Who has those cars here, we are all poor?' (Resident 29).

Although come from the New Mamak project area they are from different neighbourhoods, as such they mostly lost former neighbourhood relationships. The problem of inadequate facilities is also worse in Kusunlar; there is one primary school, secondary school, health centre and grocery store in the area. Whilst in New Mamak people can go to the surrounding neighbourhoods for these services in Kusunlar people have to use the services in the neighbourhood; therefore, they are more critical. For example, the quality of education, according to residents is very bad, they claim teachers do not care about their children because it is a poor neighbourhood.

In conclusion, the initial project saw residents divided based on whether they had title deeds or not. For those with title deeds the project had several advantages. The title deed holders can get flats at the end of the project. The new flats are better in terms of material conditions and have a higher exchange value. Moreover, state and private sector investment in the area provided better services, both in terms of infrastructure and municipal services. There are still problems for the residents with the title deeds, however; the projects totally changed the built environment and the social life which was built around the gecekondus. Therefore, residents complained about the loss of the social relationship in the neighbourhood. That the project has been delayed and is still being implemented also creates unfavourable conditions for the residents. The social facilities are not finished and the people who still live in the gecekondus are surrounded by a chaotic construction site. The residents without title deeds were excluded from the redevelopment before 2008, after the resistance and the changes agreed in its aftermath they were given low-quality housing in a peripheral location.

The new housing for the tenants and non-title holders is low in quality and the payments represent a strain on their budgets. The houses were handed over

before they were fully finished and residents had to pay many extra costs and for maintenance. Moreover, this low quality housing in an isolated location displaced people from the houses they had lived in for 30-40 years. This displacement increased their transportation costs and added extra expenses such as heating and service charges.

10.9.5 The Results of Project for Private Developers

This section explains the benefits of the UTP for the construction sector. UTPs give big and medium sized construction companies the opportunity to enter the redevelopment market easily. After solving the ownership problems, the Metropolitan Municipality get the big and medium scale companies to build the housing. The IDP, in contrast, was more favourable for small-scale capital, which can only operate in at the single building scale. The UTP provides conditions that enable the demolition of thousands of gecekondus and the production of thousands of flats. Therefore, since 2005 the historically undeveloped gecekondu neighbourhoods have been opened to the intervention of big construction companies through the support of different levels of state intervention.

For these big property developers, however, Mamak in particular and peripheral locations more generally are not especially desirable. Despite the direct intervention of the municipality profit level are still lower than the companies would like. While in central locations such as Dikmen a 40-50% share was enough for private developers they expect more in Mamak. Initially the Metropolitan Municipality assumed that a 40-45% share would be enough for private developers because of the high quality of the redevelopment projects (Section 10.4). However, the developers still demanded 65-70% of the flats. Under this circumstance, the Metropolitan Municipality gave valuable municipal land in other districts to the private developers in exchange for construction. An NGO representative suggests that the value of land given to private companies is much higher than the value of the flats constructed by them: 'In order to build 4 buildings they gave a piece of land by changing the zoning regulations, the value of that land might be 20 buildings. The location of the land is very good on the

Eskisehir and Konya Roads. The First Company constructed 4 buildings and got land in the best location, there is a big private hospital on that land now.'

Although the projects target large-scale redevelopment of the historical gecekondur neighbourhoods, the location is still an important feature for the developers. As such, while in the city centre big and medium scale companies are more willing to get involved in the projects they are more demanding in the Mamak Project.

10.9.6 The results of the project for Mamak Metropolitan Municipality

While the Municipality see the project as an important attempt to change the 'image' of Ankara and Mamak, they face several problems in relation to implementation. The self-financing target of the project could not be met. The municipality had to use extra finance in order to convince private developers to get involved. The residents did not sign the agreements based on the flat-for-sharing model and sued the municipality for a variety of reasons. Due this resistance the project was slower than anticipated, and in order to reduce the resistance the municipality used more public resources such as rent subsidies. This saw the zero-subsidy policy create a very high-density built environment. I now examine these problems in more detail.

Firstly, although in the beginning the share of the construction companies was calculated as 50% in reality they asked for 65-70% of the finished flats. Therefore, the self-finance target of the municipality was not met in the New Mamak Redevelopment Project Area. In order to solve this problem, the municipality gave valuable land to the private developers.

The municipal officials highlight that they are still at the beginning of the project and the real economic results will become clearer in time. However, the NGO representative reports that the poor planning of the Metropolitan Municipality led to the squandering of public resources. Due to this poor planning, 120 million Turkish Lira has been paid as rent subsidies. Since the municipality started the project as a whole, many gecekondur residents from different stages are paid

subsidies but the construction of the new flats has not started yet. The municipal officials also accept that they spend too much money on rent subsidies: 'we do pay 2.5 million liras rent subsidise every month (£600,000), until the residents have the flats they get 20,000-30,000 (£5-6,000) as rent subsidies' (Official 1).

Secondly, Ankara Municipality implements the projects based on the consent of the residents, because municipality projects are implemented based on the 2005 Act no. 5393. The municipalities are political institutions and civil servants have to deal with citizens directly. They have to consider their demands at some level. According to the civil servants the political nature of the municipalities makes the projects slower: 'In the end the municipalities are political institutions, and we are directly dealing with the citizen. We had to make our project without making problems with our residents. Unfortunately, in some redevelopment areas, we had agreement with the majority of residents, let's say we had agreement with 80%, but 20% are resisting' (Official 1).

Finally, the zero-subsidy policy produces very high density urban areas. The officials suggest that it is the only way to provide housing given the realities of the Turkish economy: 'to be honest the best redevelopment model is the one that follows the macro planning regulations. The best one is the one which does not change the population targets of the macro scale plans. However, this is related to social and economic conditions of the country and municipality. We do know it would look much better with lower levels of construction density. [However] we have to do that; we really wanted to build up everywhere like the Dikmen Valley project. If we try to do that, then how are we going to finance that?' (Official 1)

In spite of the increased planning powers and financial resources, redevelopment projects are dynamic processes and the implementation changes depending on the location, construction conditions and the resistance from residents. In the New Mamak Project for example, the initial target of a zero subsidies policy could not be met. This meant the municipality had to use more public resources in order to convince people and to facilitate construction. The resistance of the residences changed the implementation conditions of the projects. Thus the municipality's

unrealistic targets, such as implementing all projects in a single stage, create security and health problems for residents and increase the cost of projects.

10.10 Conclusion

Since the 1980s we have seen a radical growth and restructuring of the built environment in Ankara. This was accomplished through upward scaling interventions by national government and the metropolitan municipality; only these bodies had the large resources and the territorial sweep necessary for city restructuring. Formalisation of working class housing since the 1980s through different programs are internal to this bigger city restructuring; governments since the 1980s have sought to end *gecekondu* living and house the working class in formal, capitalist-built housing. The state has undertaken this intervention in order to provide support to capital accumulation. Moreover, these intervention have been used as a way of compensating the working class for their losses in production and to decrease the reproduction cost of labour by providing better quality housing for the working class. Therefore, the state both reduced the reproduction cost and reduced the class struggle.

Due to financialization and the upward-scaling of state intervention in the built environment, post-2002, we have witnessed a dramatic increase of investment in infrastructure and mega projects from both central and local governments. Due to these changes, bigger scale construction companies implemented big scale projects through metropolitan municipalities and the MHA. In consequence, after 2005 the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality directly intervened in the *gecekondu* neighbourhood by using its planning powers and resources. In this intervention, based on the 73rd article of the 5393 with Urban Transformation Model, the Metropolitan Municipality took ownership of the land by signing agreements with the residents based on a flat-for-land sharing model. This model differs from the IDP in that the municipality do not legalise the *gecekondu* land anymore but accept previously legalised conditions of ownership.

In this model the gecekondü residents are excluded from the construction process as actors. Even though the residents still have some rights as land owners, the conditions are determined by the municipality based on the self-financing logic of each redevelopment project. As a general strategy the state decreases the share of gecekondü residents (working class people) in order to transfer that capital to the municipalities, the MHA and bigger level construction companies. Therefore, in general, the benefits of land owners decrease, and the non-title holders tend to be excluded from the process. However, the residents are not only a passive actor in the current redevelopments. Organised around NGOs and local politics, residents resisted and did not sign the contracts. In the case of Mamak, due to the struggle of the residents the municipality had to compromise more and had to accept new conditions. However, this will not necessarily be the case in other locations. The main strategy of the municipality and the central state being to exclude non-title holders or to include them by integrating them into the formal credit system.

Chapter 11. Conclusion

11.1 Introduction

This thesis conceptualises gecekondu and the redevelopment of gecekondu as modes of housing production. It covers a broad period of history, albeit with a particular focus on the period of 2000. In different periods of Turkey's history, different class settlements have been established, such as during the periods of Import Substitution Industrialisation and Export Oriented Growth. In each period there have been different class settlements between the state, construction capital specifically, capital as a whole and the working class. The gecekondu and the redevelopment of the gecekondu are not separate from these class settlements. The separation of the housing problem from the class settlements misleads or provides a limited explanation: many current urban researchers focus only on one aspect of the redevelopment projects, such as displacement or social spatial problems. However, the mainstream pattern of housing in Turkey is the transition from a populist and inclusive redevelopment to semi-inclusive redevelopment through the slum clearance and redevelopment programs.

This Chapter has 7 sections. After this introduction, the second section summarises very briefly the main theoretical elements from Part II. Based on these theoretical points, the third section summarises the political economy of Turkey until the 1980s in relation to the state, housing and the reproduction of labour power. Later, section four summarises the main points in relation to working class housing, the state and production of the built environment for the period between 1980 and 2000. Section 5 highlights the theoretical concepts that have been used in order to explain the state intervention to working class housing since 2000. Section 6 is a summary of the findings of the case studies. It briefly highlights the main findings of the housing production and policies of the JDP governments since 2002. Chapter finishes with policy conclusions; this has four policy suggestions that would lead to better housing for the gecekondu residents.

11.2 Theoretical Bases Summarised: The Urban, Production of the Built Environment and Working Class Housing, and the State

The comprehensive analyses of the Marxist perspective of urbanisation provided the necessary base for analysing this transition. The built environment is a crucial for capitalism, and is created by capitalism in a capitalist way; moreover, the capitalist mode of production needs the urban in order to expand and maintain itself. The Marxist conceptualisation of the state explains the role of the state in relation to different class settlements. The state plays an essential role in the production of the built environment and especially working class housing. Without Marxist analyses of the state, the urban realm and the built environment we cannot conceptualise the redevelopment of squatted housing in Turkey.

11.2.1 The Urban

This chapter theorises housing production and gecekondu redevelopment projects in Turkey from a historical perspective. In order to understand the common housing production and the redevelopment projects as a part of housing production in Turkey, we need to understand the evolution of housing production as a part of the production of the built environment. Therefore, I have investigated the Marxist theoretical approaches to the urban and production of the built environment. The Marxist theorisation of the urban is a complex literature; however, I bring together the main theoretical elements. The first one is the totality; the capitalist mode of production is a totality consisting of the reproduction of life through paid and unpaid work and the way it uses nature and the built environment. The built environment is an essential part of the production and reproduction of labour power, and in turn is transformed by them. Therefore, in capitalist societies the built environment needs to be produced in a capitalist way in order to expand capital accumulation and find new modes of exploitation. Whilst Castells only focuses on reproduction and describes the urban as a place of collective consumption, the urban continues to be essential for production. Therefore, for my research cities are conceptualised as a part of the totality and as a combination of production and reproduction of domestic life

(Chapter 2).

11.2.2 Production of built environment and the working class housing

Based on the urban framework I analysed the theories of production of the built environment and working class housing. This analysis started with the Marxist analyses of ground rent. Ground rent arises from the legal ownership of part of the globe. Ground rent in urban areas is related to other land usage and public and private investments. Beitel conceptualises the ground rent as the sum of Absolute Rent + Differential 1 + Differential Rent 2, arguing that the value of the ground rent is not diminished by an increasing number of housing constructions. Although not having a long-term study of the ground rent value of Ankara, under conditions of fast population and urban growth this conceptualisation is accurate.

Investment in the built environment is synchronised with the overall economic cycles. The economic cycle and the building cycles simultaneously rise and fall in capitalist economies. The collapse of the property market can create over production in the built environment and therefore might pose serious problems for the overall economy (Section 3.3 and 3.2).

Since the development of capitalism, the provision of working class housing has been always problematic. The main problem of working class housing is that the income of working class people is low in relation to the cost of housing. Therefore, the working class have lived in slums in many countries. On the other hand, housing is essential for healthy social reproduction. Substandard housing and the misery it engenders has serious effects on the healthy reproduction of labour. Therefore, housing provision for the working class has sometimes been supported by the state in order to provide a better quality of labour power. In the LDCs, on the other hand, the housing problem has been solved by the self-production of housing (Section 3.7).

Policies towards squatting/informal housing have been changed since the 1950s. Under the domination of classic modernisation theories squatter housing was seen as a temporary phenomenon, the low level of economic growth making

informal housing a major feature of many LDCs. Later, in the 1960s and 1970s, self-help production of housing was supported by the international organisations and government in many LDCs. However, with the neoliberal turn in the 1980s there have been major changes in the policies of the government towards squatting/informal housing in LDCs. The land has been sold to the residents, and the in-situ upgrading programs have been changed with conventional housing provision by private sector builders. This policy change was aiming to integrate 'low middle income earners' in formal housing markets (as well as housing production for the middle and upper income groups). Slum clearance programs have been implemented in many LDCs since the 1990s. More recent research focuses on the formalisation of working class housing through the financialization. As in the case of Brazil and Mexico the formalisation and housing production for low income group always depends on state intervention (Section 3.7.3 and Section 3.8.1.2).

11.2.3 The state

Since housing is essential for the reproduction of labour power, states have intervened in working class housing problems in many different countries, in many different ways. These interventions take different forms, such as implementing rent controls, providing state housing, in situ slum upgrading programs, slum clearances, direct production of housing, and state led gentrification.

For this research I use an eclectic Marxist approach to the state. There are several contradictions in the capitalist system. Firstly, due to the competition between capitalists in order to maximise the rate of profit, they tend to undermine each other's interests. Secondly, the contradiction between capital and labour: in order to increase the rate of profit capitalists tend to increase the rate of exploitation, which in return increases the class struggle. Under these contradictions, the state is needed in order to maintain capital accumulation and mitigate the class struggle. Moreover, the reproduction of labour power is essential, but not profitable for the capitalist class. Therefore, the state also provides the necessary

conditions for the reproduction process, such as welfare services. Under these circumstances state policies are permanently influenced by the working class and capitalist class as whole, as well as by individual capitalists.

11.2.4 Rescaling of the state

The discussion about state rescaling is also valid for theorisation of contemporary interventions of the state. The Strategic Relational Approach sees the rescaling in three different dimensions: upward movements of power towards international organisations, downward movements of power towards the local state, and outward movements of power towards the role of the private sector and quasi-state actors, increased through public-private partnerships and networks.

Cox (1997) on the other hand highlights the importance of local agents. Cox shows that local dependency may lead to the rise of new arrangements within which labour, corporations and welfare play a significant role. Therefore, the identification of a purely neo-liberal localism is not accurate. Adequate analyses of rescaling need to include both the disciplinary and the cooperative side of capital-labour relations for the production and re-production nexus (Gough, 2004). Therefore, adequate analyses of the intervention of the state in urban space need to include both the disciplinary and the cooperative side of capital labour relations for the production and re-production nexus, in particular at the local level. I will now apply these theoretical elements to the history of working class housing in Turkey and to the development projects since 2000.

11.3 Production of Built Environment and Working Class Housing between the in Turkey until the 1980s

In Turkey, workers have historically had severe housing problems: the limited capital accumulation and low-level of return on housing meant that the state and the big capital groups did not want to invest in working class housing. The political economy of Turkey in this period is Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI). The main target of ISI was using limited state resources to produce consumer goods domestically. The spatial consequences of this economic strategy are the

concentration of manufacturing in the big cities alongside massive rural urban migration, leading to a massive increase in the urban population (Section 7.2). Under these circumstances, and up until the 1980s, a large amount of state land was allocated to the working class through periodical legalisation of *gecekondu*. This mode of urbanisation demonstrates the theoretical points of chapter 2: housing cannot be understood except in relation to production and overall class relationships.

What we can identify here is a class settlement based on the allocation of state land to the working class for reproduction. This settlement took place in cities between the years 1960 and 1980. Big capital took advantage of state support for industrialisation, small capital produced housing for secure-income groups, and the working class solved its housing problem by self-building houses. This was not a smooth and struggle-free process. There has been always demolition of *gecekondu* at the neighbourhood or specific building scale; however, the state managed the housing problem under limited capital accumulation through the periodic legalisation of *gecekondu*, and by allowing non-planned housing developments (Sections 7.3; 7.4; 7.5). This demonstrates the theoretical points from the state chapter: under the internal contradictions of capitalism, the state is needed in order to maintain capital accumulation and mitigate class struggle, as well as to reduce the cost of reproducing labour power. Moreover, different class forces permanently influence the state policies, as in the case of legalisation of informal *gecekondu* land.

Under this class settlement, two modes of production became dominant in the housing market until the 1980s. The first mode of housing production was the build-and-sell model pursued by small-scale private developers. The second was self-help *gecekondu* production. Unlike the common tendency to separate formal and informal housing production, both the modes of housing production were bottom up responses to the housing shortage and mass rural-urban migration. On account of limited resources, which were directed towards industrialisation, the local and central state did not challenge these semi-formal modes of housing production and speculative increases of housing and rent prices in the big cities.

Rather than challenging them, then, the state integrated these modes of provision into a formal system. While *gecekondus* have been legalised in the amnesty acts of 1948, '53, '63, '76, '83, '84 and 1990, the build-and-sell system was legalised and formalised with strong regulation and planning changes (Sections 7.2.3 and 7.3.1). The state had little option but to legalise all these buildings in order to re-establish the rules of law and money. Moreover, by legalising the *gecekondus* the state kept the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods as reserve housing development sites for the future. This point demonstrates the theoretical points from the built environment and working class housing chapter. The housing of the working class has always been problematic, especially in the LDCs. Under conditions of limited capital accumulation, workers have no option but to build their own houses. During the 1960s and 70s in Turkey the state followed policies based on legalisation and providing basic infrastructure, similar to international examples. This demonstrates the theoretical points from the built environment chapter.

11.4 Production of Built Environment and Working Class Housing between the years 1980 and 2002

The political economy of this period is characterised by export led growth and the rise of the finance and construction sectors. The spatial reflection of this political economy was continuation of high levels of rural-urban migration, growth of finance and business Sectors in the big city centres, as well as growth of the professional class in cities. Under these circumstances, the problems of the cities grew and large-scale interventions of the state and capital became necessary.

Based on main themes established from Marxist state theory, particular fractions of capital can dominate state policies; for instance, property capital and finance capital have become the dominant power bloc since the 1980s. In terms of the relationship between the state and capital as a whole, since the beginning of the Republic the state has wanted to establish national capital and has supported capital accumulation through different strategies, such as Import Substitution Industrialisation (7.2) and Export Oriented Industrialisation (7.3). In each period of political economy, the state has supported the capitalist class as a whole. In the

1980s this support also involved the repression of the working class in production, such as the dramatic decrease of trade union membership since the 1980s.

The neoliberal political economic program started in 1980 and the real incomes of the working classes decreased. The anti-labour nature of the economic program increased the class struggle. The legalisation of gecekondü ownership through IDP has been used as a way of compensating for the losses of the working classes. The interventions of the state in gecekondü neighbourhoods in Turkey have had both cooperative and disciplinary sides, meaning impacts on capital labour relations and the production and re-production nexus cannot be construed as purely neoliberal.

The IDP aimed to increase housing production and provide clear patterns of land ownership. Since then, investment in the built environment has increased dramatically. In order to open channels of investment into the built environment the state has converted all gecekondü areas into privately owned land and allowed the building of 4-5 storey apartments on most gecekondü parcels. Under this new class settlement, small-scale building capital continued to operate at the urban scale, moreover, large-scale capital became active in the large-scale housing production in the major cities.

Furthermore, bottom-up level of production also increased, both for secure-income groups organised around cooperatives, and the continued self-production of gecekondüs. The central state supported the cooperatives with credit. On account of the lack of a proper finance model, cooperatives were a convenient way of providing housing. The other important feature of this period was the upward scaling of state intervention to housing in order to provide mass housing production schemes. This sees single parcel apartment construction partly replaced by mass housing production, either by the state, cooperatives or big construction capital. This was supported with the provision of credit to both the cooperatives and big companies.

This change in housing provision was in harmony with global changes. At the

strategic policy level since the 1980s many LDC countries have moved from in-situ upgrading to conventional public housing provision. This policy change aimed to integrate 'low middle income earners' in formal housing markets. However, redevelopment has not taken place in all gecekondu areas. The areas with advantageous locations in the form of Differential Rent 1, such as being close to middle-income, formal neighbourhoods, or Differential Rent 2, close to highways or universities, have been redeveloped.

The IDP was not only an intervention in the housing problems of the working class. By allocating the land to the urban poor (working class), the state solved several problems. It legalised thousands of hectares of land and integrated it with the formal housing market. By selling this state land to informal owners, the state increased the revenues of both municipalities and the central state. Moreover, it provided services to the residents and solved problems around inadequate infrastructure (Chapter 9 and 10). In this manner, the IDP projects were inclusive. The urban poor were converted to home owners. The result was not displacement, as is commonly highlighted in the academic literature about the current redevelopment projects. The IDPs created a fragmented and partly reconstructed built environment. The remaining and new gecekondu neighbourhoods then became the subject of the UTP model redevelopment.

11.5 The state intervention to working class housing in Turkey after 2000

Under the class setting after 2000, there has been an unprecedented levels of investment in the built environment; financialization and the rescaling of the state intervention to built environment and housing are two concepts that are key in order to understand the urbanisation and redevelopment practices in Ankara and Turkey.

11.5.1 Financialization, built environment and working class housing since 2000

With the restructuring of the financial system due to the 2001 banking crisis, the role of finance capital in the economy further increased. With the new regulation, the medium and low-income groups were integrated into the new credit systems,

such as the mortgage system. Especially for the low-income groups, credit became a necessity for maintaining their life. Under the hegemony of finance capital, the ratio of the private sector and household debt to GDP rocketed and has now reached 20% for households and 35% for the private sector. With the rise of the finance and service sectors in the economy, city governments wanted to restructure. These are large-scale restructuring projects aiming to intervene in nearly all of the built environment of cities. Based on the 2007 Ankara development plan, in total the planned areas of Ankara are around 80,000 hectares, and 31,235 hectares – 39% of the planned areas of Ankara have been declared Redevelopment Areas by Ankara Greater Municipality.

Under this class settlement, since 2002 state intervention in housing changed its character. First of all, an unprecedented wave of investment in the built environment started, supported with national and international finance capital. The new model targeted even larger scales of housing production through direct state production or public-private partnerships. In harmony with international housing policies, with the introduction of new housing finance models since 2003, private housing credit became the tool of secure-income groups. The MHA housing credit, on the other hand, targeted low-middle income earners' integration to formal housing production.

The new system integrated finance with housing provision whilst simultaneously formalising it. Therefore, people pay in advance when they buy houses even from small-scale developers. Ever more people accessing housing credit means the state do not allow construction of *gecekondu*s anymore, instead making people borrow from the MHA or from private banks. The first mortgage regulation was enacted in 2007 and 30-40% of home buyers have used mortgage credit since then. In the period 2002-2014, a total of 3.6 million people have used housing credit (Section 7. 5.1.3).

11.5.2 Rescaling of state intervention to built environment

In order to integrate low middle income earners in the formal housing market and credit system, different levels of state agencies actively intervened in non-redeveloped *gecekondu* neighbourhoods. The Metropolitan Municipalities, the District Municipalities and the MHA have implemented housing development projects and *gecekondu* redevelopment projects. The state increased the scope of housing production using its planning and administrative power, a complex and historically accumulated mode of intervention. Whilst the district municipalities did not become irrelevant there is an overall shift upwards. Moreover, the MHA made the national state an essential actor in housing production, which is also an upwards movement of power.

In the current period of class settlement since 2002, the intervention of the state in housing in Turkey has been largely centralised. During the first intervention, IDP redevelopments, the metropolitan municipalities were established in order to solve city-wide problems in a context of fast and massive urbanisation. Since not all *gecekondu* areas are redeveloped through the IDP, in the UTP model metropolitan municipalities have further financial and legal tools. Moreover, the central government involvement in the urban space also increased through the MHA (section 7.5.1.1). The MHA can establish partnerships with district and metropolitan municipalities as well as producing housing by using its own financial and institutional resources.

All these interventions – IDP, UTP and MHA housing production – have accumulated historically. Therefore, all these interventions could happen next to each other, within the borders of the same district municipality. But the contemporary interventions in the historical *gecekondu* areas tend to be large-scale and organised and supported by the central government. In order to solve large-scale ownership problems and facilitate the production of thousands of flats, higher levels of state intervention are necessary; for instance, the Mamak district municipality transferred the New Mamak Project to the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. In Altindag, district municipality applied to MHA for

solving ownership problem of gecekondu prevention zone and used

11.5.3 The JDP and neoliberalism

Contrary to the common theorisation of neoliberal ideology of the state, which sees it as unnecessary and unproductive, capital still needs state action to restructure the economy and cities. Since the 1980s urban restructuring has been managed and determined through strong state intervention in Turkey. In contrast to other countries, the role of the state in housing production has not decreased but rather increased, both as a regulator and as a direct producer.

The role of the governments since the 1980s has been described as purely disciplinary in terms of the class relationship. However, many governments have implemented both disciplinary and cooperative policies in tandem. In terms of urbanisation, legalisation and increasing construction rights on gecekondu land have historically been used as cooperative policies, in order to gain the support of sections of the working class. The current redevelopment projects have been used as a tool for cooperative policies too. The provision of social services to the historically neglected gecekondu neighbourhoods, as in the case of the Altindag, and provision of social services such as food and coal donations, has been an important cooperative tool of the governments since 2002. Therefore, the contemporary role of the state and class relations are not simply coercive and neoliberal but have also had many cooperative features. Accordingly, I suggest a different analysis of JDP politics as being both coercive and cooperative.

Although there are examples of displacement, it is not straightforward displacement based on housing intervention in many cases. As Bayirbağ (2013) suggests, the JDP uses housing as a social policy instrument. The gecekondu owners with title deeds benefit from the process as land owners. It is for these reasons that redevelopment projects at the urban periphery are not based on displacement of the original residents. Although the programmes create fragmentation and atomisation within the gecekondu residents, they are at least partly inclusive, providing the necessary services of modern life to areas neglected

for decades. Therefore, the perceptions of people are not only negative but also positive in relation to the new flats and service provision. This is a partly inclusive slum clearance model, constructed upon private ownership rights. While constructing clear ownership rights, the state has cleared low-standard and non-regulated neighbourhoods and constructed new formal urban spaces. Since it is construction based on private ownership rights, it creates winners and losers in the process based on their land titles.

11.6. The Results of the ongoing Redevelopment Programs

11.6.1 The chaotic implementation process of the IDPs and the UTPs

Since the scope of the projects is very big and includes thousands of gecekondus, the process of signing the contracts and the negotiations between the residents and municipalities is very long. In the case of Mamak it took more than ten years, and in the case of the Altindag the project has been implemented over more than eight years. Moreover, since the conditions of the projects change and people sue the municipality or their neighbours, court decisions and the demands of the residents further affect the conditions of the projects. There are many uncertainties for the residents. Therefore the construction mostly takes longer than planned. Since residents sign the contracts individually, the construction process is long and drawn out. This in turn enhances the security problems, anti-social behaviour and substance abuse, and destroys the self-protecting social relations of the historical gecekondu neighbourhoods.

11.6.2 Semi inclusive slum clearance

The state establishes the rule of law and money by decreasing the share of gecekondu residents (working class) in order to transfer land-capital to the municipalities, MHA or construction capital. Therefore, the state does not legalise the gecekondu anymore, instead it adapts the MHA credit and redevelopment programs and makes them pay in the long-term. The control of money and law over urban space and daily life are constructed through this multi-level intervention. It is not only a spatial intervention but also social and political. The

main difference between the contemporary interventions (UTP) and previous interventions (IDP) are the lack of legalisations of land rights. The metropolitan municipality transferred the ownership of the land to itself by signing agreements with the residents based on a flat for land sharing model. In contrast to the IDP, in this model the municipality did not legalise the gecekonduland anymore, but accepted only previously legalised conditions of ownership (Section 9.6 and 10.4). Since the credit system is not well functioning and does not include the whole working class, the state took again an active role here. In contrast to the advanced capitalist countries, the state production of housing is increasing since 2003; in the end the aim is support for production and consumption, creating a modern, individual consumerist life.

In this model the gecekonduland residents are excluded from the construction process as actors. Even though the residents still have some rights as land owners, the conditions are determined by the municipality based on a self-financing logic for each redevelopment project. As a result, the gains of the land owners decreased in general, and the non-title holders are excluded from the process (section 10.4).

11.6.3 Economic and spatial marginalisation

For the tenants of gecekonduland, being without land titles, the only option is social and spatial marginalisation either formally through the MHA housing or informally through living in the half demolished or remaining gecekonduland. For the non-title holders and the poor working class, the MHA housing for low-income groups is the only possible way of accessing housing. The new low-income housing provision is at the city periphery and spatially excluded, as in Kusunlar. Despite having the services, the new low-income housing areas have the potential for ghettoisation in the long-term. The concentration of income groups in the long-term already starts to create security problems and potential crime sites.

For the groups who cannot access any kind of formal credit, the half demolished and about to be demolished gecekonduland is the only option. This is a new kind of poverty for Turkey. It is similar to the pre-1950 condition of the gecekonduland.

Economically marginal, spatially marginal and socially marginal, after 70 years the gecekondus have reverted to housing temporary workers and the unemployed.

11.6.4 A new way of life through the redevelopment

Gecekondu and the life around them had many features outside of capitalist production. The residents in the gecekondu neighbourhoods created a life based on social support and trust of each other. They provided the village-like life which the residents used to have. For example, some of the food production had been done by the residents collectively, such as bread production in the neighbourhood tandooris. The gardens had been used for recreational and food production purposes; having chickens, growing vegetables and fruits had been common practices in the gecekondus. Although having many infrastructure and material problems, these support networks and this way of life made gecekondus habitable for the residents. The redevelopment, then, not only changes the physical environment but also changes the way of life of the residents. All kinds of previous social relations and ways of living are restructured with the new built environment. In the case of Altindag for example, new social support mechanisms and modes of social life arise based on state and private facilities, such as women and youth social facility centres, cafés and restaurants in the area. On the other hand, in the Mamak and Kusunlar projects the new built environment does not provide these necessary facilities.

Due to the loss of social support networks and the exercise of total control over housing by the state, in all projects the residents describe the apartments as 'modern prisons' or 'half open prisons'. This is not only because the new flats are high-rise, but also because the new built environment brings with it an individual and monotonous way of life. By destroying the social and physical environment the redevelopment projects create individualised home owners. In the MHA flats they are also indebted.

Moreover, the redevelopment creates a modern, individual consumerist lifestyle. Excepting the residents displaced to Kusunlar, nearly all residents said that they

bought new furniture for the new houses, and they start to pay new fees that were not paid before, such as heating and service charges. Therefore, the redevelopment creates individual consumers and an atomised way of life.

11.7 Policy Conclusions

Based on this research, I suggest some policies which could provide better housing for gecekondü residents:-

- (i) Housing provision should cover all the residents with equal conditions. The current implementation of the projects breaks the social bonds and communities. The provision of low-income housing in remote locations leads to the consolidation of poverty in particular neighbourhoods. This method of provision will lead to further social problems in the near future. Therefore, the redevelopment projects should include everyone in the area. All the residents need to be provided with decent housing in accessible places – if possible in the same location – with proper infrastructure and services.
- (ii) The process of negotiation between the residents and developers and between the state agencies and residents should be more organised and transparent. There are many uncertainties in the process: the municipalities and state agencies do not explain the process explicitly, and therefore the conditions are implemented differently for each agreement. This situation creates inequalities between the residents.
- (iii) The lack of clarity on the implementation process is reflected in the processes of demolition and construction of new flats. The residents have to live between the half-demolished gecekondus for years. In order to convince the residents, the Ankara Municipality has had to pay millions of Liras in rent subsidies as a result of lack of organisation and planning. Moreover, the lack of organisation also leads to loss of public resources, as in the case of Mamak. This problem can be easily

solved through the separation of the projects in stages and only signing the contracts with residents at certain stages of the project.

- (iv) The people in gecekondu have a strong connection between nature and community. The new formal neighbourhoods could be designed to enable collective shared spaces, such as community gardens rather than parks.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix 1. Information Sheet



The
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Of
Sheffield.

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

Research Project Title:

Redevelopment of the squatter settlements neighbourhoods in Ankara, Turkey

What is the project's purpose?

The aim and the possible contribution to knowledge of the research will be to understand the enormous process of building and rebuilding with strong state enrolment taking the present time and its impact squatter settlements neighbourhood.

Why have I been chosen?

I will interview with 3 main social groups, the first group is the professionals; national and local state staff, academics and NGOs staff. Second group will be gecekondü residents and tenants and final group will be private developers. You are being invited to take interview because you are member of one of these groups. If you decided to participate you will be given a consent form to sign. You are however still free to withdraw at any point of the interview. If you decided to withdraw, then your responses to questions up to that point will be discarded unless you give me explicit permission to use them.

What is the interview about?

The research seeks to understand the process and the result of the redevelopment process. Therefore the questions are about your experience about the process and the outcome of the process from your perspective.

Do I have to take part?

It is entirely up to you whether to take part or not. If you decide not to, you don't have to give a reason.

Will my taking in this project be kept confidential?

Yes. All the information that we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Expect in the case where you have given clear consent for your name to be linked with the responses. Your name will not be directly linked with responses in the final PhD thesis or in other publications. Your anonymity will be kept if you prefer to have your responses linked with you. Your anonymity will be kept if you prefer not have your responses linked with you. All interview records (paper and audio) will be kept confidential and used for analysis, writing of publications and final PhD thesis. Furthermore the data will be stored as digital files in password protected folders on a university computer.

What does participation in this project involve?

No distinct planning is required for engaging in this research. Participant in this project will involve a 30-40 minutes interview and will be conducted at a date, place and time that are convenient to you. You may withdraw from the interview at any point and you are under no obligation to provide reasons for withdrawal.

Will the interview be recorded?

If interviewee is happy with it, the interview will be recorded with the consent of interviewee. Furthermore, notes will be taken during the interview. The audio recording made during the interview will be transcribed and used for research purposes only. The transcript and recording will be securely kept and expect me, no other person will have access to them.

Who has ethically reviewed the project?

This research has been ethically reviewed and approved by the University of Sheffield Ethics Review Panel.

More information or complaints

For further information, please contact:

Sinan Akyuz (PhD Researcher)

Sakyuz1@sheffield.ac.uk

00905366699938

+44845623612

Dr Jamie Gough (Project Supervisor)

Dr Lee Crookes

Appendix 2. Participant Consent Form



The
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Of
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Title of Research Project: Redevelopment of the
squatter settlements neighbourhoods in Ankara, Turkey

Name of Researcher: Sinan Akyuz

Participant Identification Number for this project: _____ Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet/letter
...../...../.....explaining the above research project
and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw
at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative
consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular
question or questions, I am free to decline. *The researchers phone number is 0090536
669993.*

I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential.
I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my
anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with
the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the
report or reports that result from the research.

4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research

I agree to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant Date Signature

Appendix 3. List of the Interviews in Altindag

1	Reference	Date of interview	Area	Social Group	Gender
2	Interviewee 1	05.09.2015	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Man
3	Interviewee 2 and 3 (couple)	16.08.2015	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Man-Woman
4	Interviewee 4	07.09. 2015	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Man
5	Interviewee 5	07.09.2015	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Man
6	Interviewee 6	26.10.2015	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Man
7	Interviewee 7	26.10.2015	Altindag	Gecekodu Tenant	Man
8	Interviewee 8	27.10.2015	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Man
9	Interviewee 9	28.10.2015	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Man
10	Interviewee 10	02.03.2016	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Man
11	Interviewee 11	06.03.2016	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Man
12	Interviewee 12	07.03.2016	Altindag	Gecekodu Tenant	Man
13	Interviewee 13	07.03.2016	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Man
14	Interviewee 14	07.03.2016	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Man
15	Interviewee 15	09.03.2016	Altindag	Gecekodu Tenant	Man
16	The manager of women social centre	11.03.2016	Altindag	Official	Woman
17	Interviewee 16	12.03.2016	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Woman
18	Interviewee 17	12.03.2016	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Woman
19	Interviewee 18	14.03.2016	Altindag	Gecekodu Owner	Woman
20	The township organisation/focus group/interview (3 people)	15.03.2016	Altindag	Gecekodu Owners	Men
21	Private developer 1	16.03.2016	Altindag	Private developer	Men
22	Private developer 2	17.03.2016	Altindag	Private developer	Men
23	Private developer 3	18.03.2016	Altindag	Private developer	Men
24	Real estate 4	18.03.2016	Altindag	Private developer	Men
25	Muhtar	19.03.2016	Altindag	Private developer	Men

Appendix 4. List of interviews in Mamak

No:	Reference	Date of interview	Area	Social Group	Gender
1	Official 1	11.07.2016	Ankara Municipality	Manager in Ankara Municipality /official	Man
2	Resident 1	10.07.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu owner	Man
3	Resident 2	12.07.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu owner	Man
4	Resident 3	11.07.2016	Mamak	Previous gecekondu –now flat tenant	Man
5	Resident 4	11.07.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu owner	Man
6	Resident 5	13.07.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu owner	Man
7	A groups of women	12.07.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu owners	Women
8	Resident 7	10.07.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owner	Man
9	Resident 8	07.07.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owner	Man
10	Resident 9	10.07.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owner	Man
11	Resident 10	17.07.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owner	Man
12	Resident 11	18.07.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owner	Man
13	Resident 12	18.06.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owner	Man
14	Resident 13	19.06.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owner	Man
15	Resident 14	20.06.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owner	Man
16	Resident 15	21.06.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owner	Man
17	Resident 16	22.06.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owner-Muhtar	Man
18	Resident 17	22.06.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owner	Man
17	Official-2	25.06.2016	Mamak	Mamak Municipality official	Man
20	Resident 18	24.06.2016	Mamak	Tenant in new flats; previous gecekondu resident	Man
21	Resident 19	26.06.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu owner	Man
22	2 families focus group 7 people	27.06.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu owners	Man-Women
23	Resident 21	29.06.2016	Mamak	Gecekondu Owners	
24	NGO Representative 1	07.07.2016	Mamak	NGO Representative	Man
25	Republican Party Council Member	08.07.2016	Mamak		

Appendix 5. List of interviews in Kusunlar

No:	Reference	Date of interview	Area	Social Group	Gender
1	Resident 22	20.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
2	Resident 23	20.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
3	Resident 24	21.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
4	Resident 25	21.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
5	Resident 26	21.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
6	Resident 27	25.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
7	Resident 28	25.07.2016	Kusunlar	Tenant in other area	Man
8	Resident 29	28.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
9	Resident 30	28.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
10	Resident 31	28.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
11	Resident 32	29.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
12	Resident 33	30.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
13	Resident 34	31.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title deeds	Man
14	Resident 35	31.07.2016	Kusunlar	Gecekondu owners without title	Man

Appendix 6. List of the Redevelopment Projects in Ankara

N o	Urban redevelopemtn and development projects (urdp)	Are a	Existing	Institution	District	Yr
1	Kuzey ankara giris protokol yolu	158 3	10 000 gecekondur	AMM	Keçiören	20 05
2	Konya yolu- çaldağ	320	420 building	AMM	Çankaya	20 05
3	50. Yil	116	1400 gecekondur	AMM	Mamak, çankaya	20 05
4	Güneytepe /mühye	170	Gecekondur	MHA/MMA	Çankaya	20 05
5	Central business district	130	200 buildings	AMM	Altındağ,yeni mahalle	20 05
6	Aliminyumcular - ovacik	80	Greenfield		Keçiören	20 05
7	Kasalar	255	Buildings	AMM	Y.mahalle,keç iören	20 05
8	Göksu-susuz	650	100 buildings- grenfield	AMM	Etimesgut	20 05
9	Dogukent- kuskunlar	758	60 buildings- greenfield	AMM	Mamak	20 05
1 0	Şirindere- karakusunlar	13,6 7		AMM	Çankaya	20 05
1 1	Lodumlu- beykent health campus	600	Buildings	AMM	Çankaya	20 05
1 2	Imrahor valley- mühye	356 0	Greenfield- 500 gecekondur	AMM	Çankaya	20 05
1 3	Dikmen 3 etap	87.3	Gecekondus	AMM	Çankaya	20 08

14	Nasreddin hoca	7,3	Buildings	AMM	Çankaya	2005
15	Ismetpaşa-ulus	13		AMM	Altındağ	2006
16	Incek,taşpınar,kizilcaşar	2235	200 buildings	AMM	Gölbaşı	2005
17	Tobb lodumlu	14,3		AMM	Çankaya	2005
18	Tobb söğütözü	43,7	21 building	AMM	Yenimahalle	2005
19	Ulus historical city centre	210	3800 gecekodu 400 building	AMM	Altındağ	2005
20	Atıfbey hidirliktepe	104	6289 buildings	AMM	Altındağ	2006
21	Yükseltepe - taşlitepe	108	Gecekodu	AMM	Keçiören belediyesi	2006
22	Mevlana kapi-karaoğlan	420	Greenfield	AMM	Gölbaşı	2006
23	Temakent urdp	2860	200 buildings-greenfield	AMM/MHA	Etimesgut	2007
24	Çukurambar urdp	255	Greenfield	AMM	Çankaya	2007
25	Tilkiler çiftliği urdp	224	Gecekodu	AMM	Yenimahalle	2007
26	Fatih urdp	220	Buildings	AMM	Sincan	2007
27	Istanbul yolu urdp	365	Greenfield	AMM	Etimesgut yenimahalle	2007
28	Büyükesat vadisi urdp	36	Gecekodu	AMM	Çankaya	2008
29	Bha-hipodrum-fen işleri	200	17 building	AMM	Yenimahalle	2006
30	Karaali beynam	930	Greenfield	AMM	Bala	2006
31	Ahlatlibel (anayasa mhk.) Yalincak	6,3	Greenfield	AMM	Çankaya	2006

3 2	Saklikent urdp/karacakay a, susuz	120 5	Greenfield	AMM	Yenimahalle	20 06
3 3	Şükriye mah. Urdp	19,6	Buildings	AMM	Altındağ	20 06
3 4	Tanyeli kavşağı - konya yolu	9,6	Buildings	AMM	Çankaya	20 06
3 5	Güneykent urdp /	380 0	3780 buildings	AMM	Gölbaşı	20 06
3 6	Tcdd	593 5	100 building	AMM	Mamak, sincan	20 06
3 7	Anadolu boulevard	5	Greenfield	AMM	Çankaya	20 06
3 8	Karagedik /bilkent	166 9	Greenfield	AMM	Gölbaşı	20 07
3 9	Batikent city centre urdp	108	Buildings	AMM	Yenimahalle	20 07
4 0	Beynam urdp/ çimşit	413	Buildings	AMM	Bala	20 08
4 1	Balgat urdp	11	Buildings and road	AMM	Çankaya	20 09
4 2	New Mamak 1 New Mamak 2 New Mamak 3 New Mamak 4 New Mamak 5 New Mamak 6 New Mamak 7 New Mamak 8 New Mamak 9 New Mamak 10 New Mamak 11 New Mamak 12 New Mamak 13	49 192. 9 67.1 45.9 53.5 66.5 68.2 27 50.4 117. 3 42.4 77.1 129. 8	14000 gecekondu	AMM	Mamak	20 09
4 3	Seyirce (poliskent) kdgpa	175	Greenfield	AMM	Sincan	20 10
4 4	Maltepe	6,5	Buildings	AMM	Çankaya	20 10

4	Beytepe urdp	7				20
5	beytepe urdp	14	Buildings	AMM	Çankaya	10
5	beytepe urdp	8			çankaya	20
	3				çankaya	10
4	Yildiz urdp	8		AMM	Çankaya	20
6						10
4	Dikmen valley 5 stages	186.3	1940 gecekonu	AMM	Çankaya	20
7						10
4	Mühye güneypark urdp	185	Informal buildings and greenfield	AMM	Çankaya	20
8						10
4	Kuzey ank.solfasol urdp	16,2	Gecekonu and greenfield	AMM	Altındağ	20
9						10
5	Ballıkuyumcu urdp	300	Greenfield	AMM	Yenimahalle	20
0						10
5	Aşot urdp	180	Buildings	AMM	Yenimahalle	20
1						10
5	Çayyolu karadede urdp	15			Çankaya	20
2						10
5	Halk ekmek and flour factory	6	Buildings	AMM		20
3						10
5	Ogm gazi facilities urdp söğütözü	62	Buildings	AMM	Yenimahalle	20
4						10
5	Yildiz 5998 street urdp	8		AMM	Çankaya	20
5						10
5	Güzelhisar - büyük ankara fuari	330	Greenfield	AMM	Akyurt	20
6						11
5	Akçali	201,5		AMM	Çankaya	20
7						11
5	Sukent	8,1		AMM	Çankaya	20
8						11
5	Basbakanlik gazi settlemetns	90		Amm/council of ministers approved		20
9						12
6	Kurtulus 1 stage urdp	9		Beypazari/council of	Beypazari	20
0						12

				ministers approved		
6 1	Ayvaşık	68,4		Beypazari	Beypazari	20 12
6 2	Söğütözü-tarım kredi	5,1		Amm	Çankaya	20 11
6 3	Kepekli-turan güneş tp.	5,2		Amm	Çankaya	20 11
6 4	Hacikadin valley	143	Gecekondu+ buildins	Amm/coun cil of ministers	Keçiören	20 12
6 5	Ataturk farm zoo	212, 55		Amm	Yenimahalle	20 12

Appendix 7. Interview Questions

Questions for gecekondü owners:

- 1) Basic Information
 - a. How old are you?
 - b. How long have been living in Ankara?
 - c. How long have you been living in current house?
 - d. Where have you been lived before this house?
 - e. How many people live in your house?
 - f. When did you build your gecekondü?
 - g. When did you buy the plot for the gecekondü and from whom did you buy it?
 - h. Why did you choose this particular location?
- 2) Question about redevelopment process
 - a. When did the redevelopment process start? Can you give me details about the process?
 - b. When did you sign the agreement with the developer? How did the developers and gecekondü owners meet and agreed about the redevelopment?
 - c. What happen the after you signed the contract? Did you rent a house in the same neighborhood or the developer gave you a house temporary?
 - d. (If they have already moved into the new house) Can you explain a little bit about the period between signing the contract and settling down in your house?
 - e. How big was your plot?
 - f. When did the construction start? Did it start just after the agreement?
 - g. How many people own the total plot? How big was the total plot for the redevelopment?
 - h. Did the developer or municipality provide you any subsidies during the construction process?
- 3) Question about gecekondü
 - a. Were your old rooms of the gecekondü big enough?
 - b. Were there any infrastructure problems about your old house? (Ext. Were there any problem about electricity supply, water supply, sewage system)
 - c. Did you have inside toilet and bathroom in your old gecekondü?
 - d. Were there any other problems about your former house? If there, could you give me more detail about that?
 - e. Did your old house meet your needs in daily life?

- f. What were the best and worst features of your former gecekondü in terms of your daily life?
- 4) Question about the new house
- a. How many flats did you have as a result of the redevelopment project for your plot?
 - b. What is your opinion about your new house? Does it meet your needs?
 - c. When you compare your gecekondü and new apartment units which one do you prefer and why?
 - d. How many meters square was your old house and how big is the house that you have after redevelopment?
 - e. Do you have any problems in your new apartment?
 - f. Do you have any problems with your new bathroom and toilet?
 - g. How big are your new living room and the rooms?
 - h. When you compare your new and old house what are the features that you had before and you would like to have in your new house?
- 5) Question about the neighbourhood after redevelopment
- a. Were there enough car spaces and pedestrian spaces before redevelopment?
 - b. Were the health care services, schools and recreation areas adequate before the redevelopment?
 - c. Are the health services, schools, parks and common area after the redevelopment adequate now?
 - d. Is there enough space for commerce after redevelopment?
 - e. Are there any inadequate services before the redevelopment?
 - f. When you compare the old neighbourhood and the new neighbourhood what are the main features that changed with the redevelopment?
 - g. Was there any anti-social behaviour before redevelopment? Is there any now?
 - h. Is there any problem between old residents and newcomers?
 - i. What are the main differences between living in a gecekondü and living in an apartment?
 - j. Does living in an apartment preferable?
 - k. Did anybody lose her/his job because of the redevelopment?
 - l. How the small scale market and business owners affected after redevelopment?
 - m. Are there any protests or opposition against the redevelopment process? If yes, who are the oppositions? What are their motives? Did you involve any of the opposition groups or protests?

- n. Did anyone use the court system against the redevelopment process?
 - o. Are your old neighbours still living in the same neighbourhood?
 - p. Were there adequate facilities for elderly people, before the redevelopment?
 - q. Are there adequate facilities for children and youth, after the redevelopment?
 - r. Equally, what about the youth centre and social centre for women?
 - s. Are there adequate market and bazaar spaces after redevelopment?
 - t. Are there adequate green space and recreation areas after redevelopment?
 - u. Do you think the redevelopment created any job opportunity for local people? Does anybody from neighbourhood walk in the constrictions for example?
 - v. Does redevelopment led to any job loss in the neighbourhood?
 - w. Were the municipal services (public transportation, refuse collecting and ext.?) adequate before the redevelopment?
 - x. Are they adequate after the redevelopment?
 - y. Does the redevelopment affect the relation between the gecekondü owners and renters?
 - z. What is your general opinion about the redevelopment? Has your opinion changed during the redevelopment?
- 6) Question about the Economic situation
- a. How the redevelopments affect your family's economic situation? Does your cost of living increased after moving into the flats?
 - b. How much monthly fee do you pay for the flat? Can you pay it?
 - c. How much do you pay for heating before and after the redevelopment?
 - d. Do you owe money to someone or do you have any credit debt?
 - e. How much do you earn in a month?
 - f. Where do you work and how do commute to your work?
 - g. Does your employer pay you regularly?
 - h. Do you have social security?
 - i. How much do you think one should earn for a comfortable life in Ankara?
 - j. What is your overall idea about the redevelopment projects? Does your idea change before and after the project?

Questions for gecekondü tenants

- 1) How old are you?
- 2) How many rooms does your current house have?
- 3) How many people do live in the current house? Where have you lived before?
- 4) Why did you choose this neighbourhood?
- 5) How much do you pay for the rent?
- 6) How did you prefer to rent a gecekondü rather than an apartment?
- 7) Has the cost of the rent increase after the redevelopment started?
- 8) If the cost of rent continues to increase what is your plan? Where will you go and why?
- 9) What is your plan after all redevelopment plans finish and all gecekondü houses converted to the apartment blocks?
- 10) Does the redevelopment affect your job?
- 11) What is your rights and role as a renter in the redevelopment project? Are there any subsidies for rent?
- 12) Are there any opportunities for the renters in terms of renting or buying a house after redevelopment finishes?
- 13) If you have an opportunity where do you want to live? Do you prefer to live in a gecekondü or in an apartment? Why?
- 14) Do you want to stay in the same neighbourhood after the redevelopment project?
- 15) Do you have any infrastructure problems in your house right now?
- 16) Could you please explain the difficulties that you experience during the redevelopment and as a result of redevelopment?
- 17) Do you think are the following facilities are enough after redevelopment project?
- 18) Schools, health care centre, social area for women
- 19) How the redevelopments affect your relation between landlords?

Questions in the chamber of urban planners

- 1) Introduction. Starting from 2002 the central government increase has started strongly involved the redevelopment of the gecekondü areas? It was not new phenomenon but the scope of the projects and the creation of the new intuitions are new. What are the reasons behind the interest of the central government to redevelopment of the gecekondü areas?
- 2) After 1980 the redevelopment of the gecekondü areas became one of the most important issues of the Turkish urban studies. My

primary concern is the changing role of the actors through different redevelopment models. I want to discuss with you about the differences of the roles and responsibilities of the actors in the improvement and development plans, urban transformation projects and finally in the transformation of the areas under disaster risk.

- 3) How the role and responsibilities of the local authorities have changed through two different models?
- 4) How the role and responsibilities of the private developers have changed through two different models?
- 5) And finally, how the role and responsibilities of the gecekondü owners have changed through two different models?
- 6) How did these changes affect the implementation process? For example, while small scale developers were very active during the improvements and development plans big companies are more active in urban transformation projects. How and why does it happen?
- 7) What are other differences in terms of implementation for example for local municipalities?
- 8) And for gecekondü owners?
- 9) For example, improvements and development plans have been implemented mostly by small scale one-man firms and the results was the low quality of the urban environment with inadequate social and technical infrastructure. Moreover, urban transformation leads to replacement of the urban poor far from the city centre.
- 10) How the changes of the roles affected the results in terms of social and economic results?
- 11) How do you interpret the effect of the changes of the roles and responsibilities on spatial results? Could you give me detail about the results?
- 12) My other question is about the decision making process? According the chambers of Architects 14 % of the Ankara metropolitan area declared as urban transformation area but how are these decisions taken? Also, what are the role and responsibilities of the actors in the decision making process?
- 13) Do central and local government has suggested any cooperation to campers of urban planners? Or have there been and corporation about the urban redevelopment projects between chambers of urban planners and central and local government before? If yes, when and how?
- 14) I know it is a very broad issue, but what are the main problems of the current redevelopment projects which call as urban transformation?

Interview questions to Ankara Metropolitan Municipality

- 1) If you consider the Ankara Metropolitan municipalities policies towards the gecekondu neighbourhoods, how did the policies evolve thought the 1990s, 2000s and after 2000?
- 2) When you compare the Improvement and Development Plans and the current Urban Transformation Projects what are the changes in the role and responsibilities of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality? What have been changed from your perspective as an official?
- 3) What have been the advantages of the private developers in the Urban Transformation Projects? For instance, are there any tax deductions in the redevelopment projects?
- 4) How these advantages of the private developers have been changed in different redevelopment models?
- 5) What have been the main roles of the Metropolitan Municipality in redevelopment projects?
- 6) How the Ankara Municipality does choose the redevelopment zones?
- 7) When we compare the different redevelopment projects in 1990s, 2000s and 2010s how advantages of the gecekondu residents have been changed?
- 8) How would you describe the coordination and the relationship between the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and the local district municipalities in different redevelopment models?
- 9) How would you describe the coordination and the relationship between the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and the MHA since 2005?
- 10) What do you think about the physical results of the different redevelopment projects?
- 11) When you compare the economic result of the redevelopment project for the gecekondu residents how would you describe in in different strategies?
- 12) In terms of the effect of the projects to the social life of the residents has been criticised by academics, what do you think about the social effect of the redevelopment projects?
- 13) What have been the economic results of the different redevelopment model for Ankara Metropolitan Municipality?
- 14) What have been the changes of the role of the Local municipalities in the redevelopment process since 1980s?
- 15) Could you give me more detail about the implementation of the New Mamak Redevelopment Project?

- 16) Does municipality make profit from the redevelopment projects?
How does the municipality finance the current redevelopment projects?

Interview Questions for the private developers

- 1) How long have been working as a private developer?
- 2) What is your area of expertise?
- 3) How you ever constructed any flats in this neighbourhood before?
- 4) How does the urban transformation effect you job?
- 5) Do you know any of your colleague who entre the construction business because of the redevelopment projects?
- 6) Could you give me more information about the construction as a part of the redevelopment projects? Could you explain the process from the beginning to end?
- 7) Could you give me more information about the advantages of the urban redevelopment projects for the private developers?
- 8) Why did you choose the make an investment to this neighbourhood?
- 9) Why this neighbourhood could not redeveloped previously and the construction started after 2008?
- 10) Could you please describe the agreement process with the gecekondü owners?
- 11) What are the main problems for you in this negotiation and agreement process?
- 12) How many constructions do you have currently in the redevelopment zone?
- 13) How many workers do you work in these constructions?
- 14) What are the main advantages and disadvantages of the redevelopment programs for you?
- 15) What are the results of the redevelopment for the gecekondü tenants?
- 16) What do you think about the level of social, education and health facilities after the redevelopment projects?
- 17) How much profit do you make from the construction of 5-storey apartment?
- 18) Does the gecekondü owner stay in the same apartments after the redevelopment projects?
- 19) How is the house selling in the redevelopment site?
- 20) What are the main problems in your agreement process with the gecekondü owners?

- 21) Do the gecekondü owners own you money in general or do they get housing credits?
- 22) How do you define the value of the gecekondü land and the value of your flats?
- 23) What was the value of the metre square land in the beginning of the redevelopment and how does it changed?

The questions for District Municipalities of Altındağ/Mamak

- 1) Introduction. My primary concern is the changing role of the municipalities through different redevelopment models. I want to discuss with you about the differences of the roles and responsibilities of the municipalities in the improvement and development plans, urban transformation projects.
- 2) How many urban redevelopment projects are in Altındağ/Mamak municipality?
- 3) How the role and responsibilities of the Altindag municipality have changed through two different models?
- 4) Do you know how much improvement and development and transformation of the areas under disaster risk plans have been implemented in Altındağ/Mamak municipality?
- 5) How the planning and implementation process is different? What is changing for planners in municipality in different models? For example what is your role as a planner in an improvement and development plan? What is your role as a planner in a transformation project?
- 6) How the decision making process work for different models? What are the priorities of the municipalities in the decision making process?
- 7) What are your priorities in the implementation process?
- 8) What are the differences in terms of implementation between urban transformation and the transformation of the areas under disaster risk?
- 9) How many areas declared as under disaster risk in the Altindag municipality border? Who has identified these areas?
- 10) As a planner in municipality what are the spatial results of different models?
- 11) As a planner which type of the projects do you prefer in terms of spatial, economic and social results and why?
- 12) What are the differences in terms of financial models in two different redevelopment models?

- 13) What are the differences in terms of organizational models in two different redevelopment models?
- 14) What is the role of the MHA in two different models? What do you think about the increase of the role and responsibilities in MHA in gecekondur redevelopment?
- 15) How the coordination between MHA and local municipalities work?
- 16) Are there any continuing cases against the redevelopment projects? If there are how many which models? Are the cases against the project themselves or any specific feature of the projects?
- 17) What is the role of the Ankara greater municipality for decision making process? Does the local municipalities work in a coordinated way with the Ankara greater municipality? Are the decisions top down?