

URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL THOUGHT IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

URBANIZATON AND SOCIAL THOUGHT IN TURKEY

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Each social thought has reflection in space. Especially, the urban space becomes the transformer for these thoughts; ideologies. Material activities and the ideological concepts of social processes are related to space. In fact, they need to be embodied within the very dynamics of space. To see the effects of ideologies within urban space, there is a need for analyzing the urbanization in terms of social thought. Therefore, in order to understand social phenomena, it is also important to conceive their spatial determinations, and their reflection in the urban space. Related to this thought, in this study the relationship between the social thought and the urban space is examined. Accordingly, the opinions of experts in Turkey are examined throughout the concept of the study. By using the technique of depth-interview, academicians' evaluations are gathered.

Keywords: Urban, Urbanization, Social Thought, Ideology and Space.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE KENTLEŞME VE TOPLUMSAL DÜŞÜNCE

Özaksoy, Gonca

Yüksek Lisans Sosyoloji Ana Bilim Dalı

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Mehmet Cihan Ecevit

Nisan, 2005, 158 sayfa

Her toplumsal düşüncenin mekansal yansımaları vardır. Özellikle, kent mekanı bu toplumsal düşüncelerin dönüştürücüsü haline gelmiştir. Maddi aktiviteler ve toplumsal süreçlerin ideolojik kavramları mekanla bağlantılıdır. Aslında, bu toplumsal düşünceler mekanın dinamikleri içerisinde somutlaşmaktadır. İdeolojilerin mekansal etkilerini anlamak için, toplumsal düşünceleri kentleşme kapsamında analiz etmek gerekmektedir. Bundan dolayı, toplumsal olguyu anlamak için onların mekansal belirlenimlerini ve mekandaki yansımalarını da değerlendirmek gerekir. Bu düşünceye bağlı olarak, bu çalışma toplumsal düşünce ve kent mekanının ilişkisini incelemiştir. Buna bağlı olarak, derinlemesine mülakat tekniği kullanılarak elde edilen verilere dayanarak, uzmanların Türkiye'nin kentleşme sürecini ve kent mekanını nasıl değerlendirdikleri incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kent, Kentleşme, Toplumsal Düşünce, İdeoloji ve Mekan.

To My Family...

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Each social thought has reflection in space. Especially, the urban space becomes the transformer for these thoughts; ideologies. To see the effects of ideologies within urban space, there is a need for analyzing the urbanization in terms of social thought.

Material activities and the ideological concepts of social processes are related to space. In fact, they need to be embodied within the very dynamics of space. Therefore, in order to understand social phenomena, it is also important to conceive their spatial determinations, and their reflection in the urban space.

As Lefebvre (1996: 33- 39) points out, “the social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into a space, and in the process producing that space itself.” Therefore, the development of Turkish social thought should be located within the relationship between the social production of space and the spatial determination of social relationship.

According to Lefebvre (1978; 341) space is not independent from the power relations. It is political and ideological, and it is a product filled with ideologies.” In this respect, Lefebvre’ view seem to be a guide for understanding the concept of the urbanization of Turkish social thought.

In order to define the social production of space, Lefebvre (1996; 33) introduces a conceptual triad: “spatial practice, representations of space and representational space.” According to this triad, the spatial practice; “embraces production and reproduction and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristics of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society’s relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance.”

In addition to this, representations of space” are tied to the relations of production and to the ‘other’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to ‘frontal’ relations” (ibid; 33). The representation of space defines the conceptualized space in terms of the meanings and symbolic values and signs attributed to it.

Finally, representational space “embody complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life. “ This is the space “as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’. It overlays the physical space, making symbolic use of its objects” (ibid; 33-39).

Throughout this study, the concepts of spatial practice and representations of space will be used as theoretical concepts to understand and to put urban space as the space of representation of Turkish social thought.

In a changing structure of the world, urban space becomes the comprehensive concept. The control and management strategies of these spaces, therefore, has been relating to the ideologies. That is why, urbanization process is the main concept this study to see the ideological perspective of urban space within the historical context. If space is the product of both social and economic structure, the urbanization process should not be concerned without the relationship of social thought.

In this study, social thought is interpreted as determinant concept that affects social, political, economic and cultural structures of society. Urban-as the second concept of the study- is interpreted as the space of social relations.

In accordance with the theoretical framework, the structure of the thesis is as following, theoretical and methodological framework of the study is covered in this chapter.

Chapter II introduces the urbanization theories and urban definitions, and also perceptions as global and local theoretical review.

Chapter III focuses on, the Turkish Social thought and their urbanization process, spatial determinations. Therefore, in this chapter five social thought systems will be tried to be examined. In this regard, these systems are reviewed under five headings; Kemalism, Nationalism, Islamism, Liberalism/Neoliberalism, and also Feminism. Because of the technical limitations, this study could not cover the left approach in its detail. However, it will be tried to be related to this study generally.

In chapter IV, the results and the outcomes of interviews conducted with academicians who have expertise on urban, urbanization, and urban sociology, urban planning is introduced. Therefore, this chapter covers the urban perceptions of the experts.

Finally, Chapter V introduces the conclusion the study.

1.1. Aim of the study

Under the heading urbanization and social thought in Turkey, this study aims to examine the followings;

The first one is to examine the urban and urbanization theories in order to understand that space is not neutral and it's the product of social thought.

The second objective is to understand the Turkish social thought within a historical perspective in order to see its spatial reflections, and representations of it within urban space.

Finally, the third objective is to examine the differentiated aspects of social thought with their political representations in terms of spatial determinations.

1.2. Importance of the study

Ideological perspective of urban space becomes the major concept for urban studies. That is why; urban theories cover the social and political aspects of space. Especially, with the globalization discussion, the urban areas gain more importance for international network. In this process, the social structure and the social thought of each society should be concerned as a dependent part of this network. The relationship between social thought and the urbanization process of

Turkey is important concept to see the affects and the roles of Turkish social thought. The main reason for studying this subjects stems from the importance of this thought. In order to understand the historical development of Turkish social thought, there is a need for examining the urbanization process of Turkey. Covering these concepts, this study tries to see the ideological construction of Turkish urban spaces via the Turkish political system as the representation of social thought.

1.3. Limitations of the study

The first limitation is that the concept of this study is very comprehensive. Therefore, examining the Turkish social thought under five headings cause general studying of each heading. Additionally, as being a comprehensive and complex concept, urban is reviewed in terms of its some aspects. Thus, the study covered mostly the features urban within the circulation and the process of Turkish urbanization process.

The final limitation of this study is the research part. The present study covers the 10 interviews. This study tried to be planned to reach different approaches as the representation of social thought. However, the interviews could not be organized from different approaches in terms of social thought.

1.4. Methodology

The main reason for this study is to examine the interaction between the ideology and the urbanization process in Turkey. That is why; this study aims to see the differences of ideologies within the urban spaces. From this perspective this thesis appears as a descriptive assessment of different social thoughts in Turkey in terms of urbanization process.

The main problem of the study is to examine how the Turkish social thought interpret the urban and how they become differentiated from each other within urbanization process. Starting with Republican period, Turkish social thought is titled under five categories; Kemalism, Nationalism, Islamism, Feminism and Liberalism/Neoliberalism.

All ideologies determined the urban areas towards their perspective. From usage of urban spaces, to the housing system, to the urban life style, each ideology has different understanding. To see this differentiation, this study tries to examine urbanization process of Turkey concerning the ideological interpretations and their reflections in space.

Before starting to the survey, the subject and the problem of study were determined. According to the structure of the study, depth interview technique was accepted as an appropriate technique for the study. It was decided to limit the study with the 20 academicians who are experts on urban and urban sociology from different universities. However, 10 academicians could be reached.

The survey was conducted in March and April 2005. Depth interviews with the academicians in Middle East Technical University and Gazi University were applied by the researcher herself. 10 depth - interviews were conducted. Although, the study has aimed to reach to the academicians who have different social thought or approaches, researcher could not conduct the study in this way. For this reason, the different approaches were discussed with interviewers, and the opinions of them are evaluated in light of conceptual and theoretical discussions. Accordingly to the qualitative data, interpretation about the relationship between ideology and the urbanization process become possible.

The main method of data collection is based on "structured interviews" (questions are in the appendix A). All interviewers were asked about the same questions. Questions were structured from the interrelated concepts. These concepts include the urban, urbanization, urban culture, urban identity, urban politics, urban problems and the solutions of them; and also the relationship between the ideologies and the urban.

The length of the interviews was between 1 hour to 2 hours according to the interviewers' expertise on the issues and their desire to talk.

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CHAPTER II

URBAN PERCEPTIONS AND URBANIZATION THEORIES

This chapter introduces the urban perceptions and urbanization theories to see the concept of thesis in the general literature. From this perspective, in this chapter, it is tried to be examined that the urban is the space of social and economic relationship. It is not independent from social network, and also it is not neutral as a space. Therefore, this chapter tries to introduce the base for examining urban in the context of social relations.

2.1. Urban Perceptions

Mainly, three theoretical approaches study and explain city:

Weber, while handling city within the framework of collapse of traditional authority, and rise of rational, bureaucratic authority; considers it as an analogous subject of transformation from feudalism to capitalism. While focusing on economic and political organization in the conceptualization of city, he also underlines commerce as economic activity and relative characteristics of city as politics (Saunders: 1981).

Durkheim, different from Weber, explains city as an advanced level of labour division, solidarity among people and roles of these people. According to Marx, on the other hand, city is an arena of class division and struggle. Like Weber, Marx argues that city has crucial role for capitalist development. Like Marx, Engels considers city as an indicator of the capitalist class structure and relationship (Katznelson: 1992).

Chicago School¹ explains the city focusing on the population movement from rural to urban and economic, political and cultural integration problems of the newcomers. This School has developed in two main lines: first one is ecological approach that studies settlement of different groups in cities and their struggles with each other. Robert Park's theory that links environmental principles with social studies is an example of this. Second one comprises ethnographic studies: by using

¹ Chicago School is the first approach that considers modern city itself as an object of study.

anthropological techniques, it studies behaviour of group members and reasons that lies behind it. This approach has three basic subjects: relations and connections between individuals and groups, their transformation in modern city and social reforms that address to solve problems resulting from this transformation. These three subjects are related with the social integration problem in rapid urbanization process, which means that main concern of this approach is problems like integration or alienation, resulting from modernization experience.

The processes of industrialization and emergence of big cities can not be separated with each other. These integrated powers transform existing social boundaries. Therefore, comparison of rural and urban life is the second theoretical approach of urban studies. Louis Wirth (1938) and Georg Simmel (1903) take place at this stage. In Wirth's article entitled `Urbanization as a Way of Life` and in his other studies, city is defined by greatness, population density and heterogeneity variables. Simmel, on the other hand, focuses on the effects of social and cultural consequences of modernity on individuals in his article entitled `Metropolitan and Mental Life`. The opening thesis of this essay on the urban condition posits that individuals are under pressure from levelling objective forces. The urban condition brings about a thorough transformation of individual experience. Simmel concern is with the objectifying as well as liberating influences of money economy on the social relations and personality traits of urbanites. He also situates the modern life of senses against the excess of shocking and hyper stimulating impressions, typical of urban experience. The urban way of life resulting from this intensification of nervous stimulation is characterised by two modes; distance and stress. Simmel understands urban individuals in part on psychological grounds. "The psychological foundation is the intensification of emotional life due to the swift and continuous shift of external and internal stimuli" (Levine; 1971, 324-339).

Starting from 1930s, Chicago School experienced a decline in analysis of urbanization and after the World War II; it considerably lost its influence in urbanization literature. Due to increasing state intervention after the War, shifting of social expenditures into cities and changing social and physical structures of the cities, Chicago School's social solidarity and disorder problems marginalized. In 1960s, Marxist and Weberian approaches, which try to understand state intervention

to the city and consequent contradictions and conflicts, came on the scene in urban literature (Şengül: 1994).

While Weberian approach tries to understand state intervention to city in the logic of bureaucracy, Marxist approach institutionalized this intervention in the context of capital accumulation process and class struggle. In Weberian approach, main concern is to put forth states' determining role in the distribution of scarce resources as housing and health among different group into consideration. R. Pahl (1975) tends to the general theory of social and environmental restrictions in accessing scarce resources in city. Pahl's starting point is to determine who can access to the scarce resources in the city and who decides how and to whom these scarce resources are distributed. He place city administrators at the centre of his explanations.

Main point in Marxist approach is that, form and development of the city is not independent from capitalist development conditions and rules. In this context, Castells underlines the relationship between the place and social processes. He considers city place as an expression of social structure. Social structure is composed of political, economical and ideological levels. Economic level, on the other hand, is an indicator of capitalist social structure (Şengül: 2001).

According to Castells (1977), urban problems gradually located at the centre of political discussions in industrialized capitalist societies. The reason of this change is capital accumulation that paves the way for intensification in production machineries, administrative units and manpower. Because, intensification of labour in one place leads to intensification of consumption goods that labours are needed. Therefore, collective consumption arises. He argues that the problem of urban plies between consumption and production. While he conceptualizes economy as production place, consumption place and exchange place at place level; he considers collective consumption as a reference for the re-production of labour. Although re-production of capital is required for capital accumulation, it is left to the state in some non-profit areas as health, housing, hospital and school. Production and control of re-production areas by state cause politicization of urban life. Castells (1983) adds that this process reveals urban contradictions since socialization of

consumption leads to state intervention and social movements that try to prevent this intervention. Urban problem should be evaluated in this context.

Place is the conveyor of social power struggle. According to Lefebvre (1996: 32-34), for “each social group, that seeks to protect or change power relationships, it is vital to establish control mechanism over place. For this reason, place is a social product. Main starting point is to define how place is produced in capitalist society and to analyze contradiction during this process. With capitalism, place is materialized and started to be produced as a source. The city, according to Lefebvre, is defined by the re-production of place, daily life and capitalist social relationships. Therefore, it is considered as a place, where production relationship is re-produced in daily life. With daily usage of place, capitalist social relationships are re-produced. He says that city-based production is an urban revolution and this revolution, on the one hand, solves capital crisis and on the other hand, weakens control of capitalist relationships on re-production”. Harvey goes one step ahead from Lefebvre and indicates that the importance of urbanization stems from the fact that it increases demand for industrial capital. Therefore, he tries to understand urbanization process by putting it into the capital accumulation process. From this point of view, `urban process means establishment of infrastructure for production, circulation, exchange and consumption (Martin; 1982).

“Harvey (1985) while explaining urbanization process as a result of capital accumulation, argues that crisis that emerges as a result of capital accumulation, which appears due to capitalist competition, can be solved by second or third cycling of investment areas: from industrial investment (first cycling) to investment to `constructed` urban space (second cycling). Investment to the third cycling of capital is investment in science and technology and social expenditures for re-production of labour” (Aslanođlu; 1998, 65- 67). Therefore, Harvey’s approach can be considered as capital urbanization, re-production of labour and explanation of urban process cycling.

From these perspectives, city is considered within the framework of capitalist social relations. This means that city is defined as a place, where capitalist relations are regulated and controlled. Together with increasing capitalist movement in 1970s, people were in doubt about developing general theory of urbanization. With this

critical approach that was dominant in 1980s as well, a tendency emerged, critical about urban sociologies' basic principles as acceptability, justice and rationality. As a result of this tendency, locality is emphasized instead of urban or urban systems, and place and social-individual differences and originalities in city are gained importance.

What distinguish the world at the end of the twentieth century are the trans-national attenuation of 'local' space, and this breaking of space into 'discontinuous realities'. Therefore, with the question about individual and social identity, location and dislocation, position, spatiality becomes control points. Spatial configurations, connections between places, are significant only in the context of a specific question or investigation of particular sets of relationships. In this sense, the relationships between space and domination can be questioned. For Massey (1992; 81) "space is a complex web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and co-operation; it is power-geometry. Depending on their position in the social structure, people are differentially located in space, with differential abilities and opportunities to overcome the effects of distance. While people are affected by the radical transformation of local and global relations, by the power of multinational capital and global telecommunications, there are radical inequalities, in the spatial spread of individuals' lives".

From these points of view about the city it can be said that architecture and material culture can in form us about the society, which constructed and used it. The city itself can be treated as a representation of the society, which constructed it. In this perspective, people think of the world in terms of their built environment and geographical experience. Material culture and the embodied materiality of culture can be found in the practices of everyday life.

Urbanization and the urban concept cannot be thought and analyzed as independent concepts. If space is the product of both social and economical structure, the development of urban areas and urbanization process cannot be separated from the ideological analysis.

2.2. Urbanization Theories

In this section, the theories about the urbanization are introduced in order to see the ideological strategies to construct the space throughout the social and economic structure of society.

2.2.1. Development, Underdevelopment and Urbanization

Although Modernization, Westernization and Contemporaneous theories are study and explanation way, they indicate concrete processes in Turkey. Modernization and development of a country become synonyms. In the analysis of meta-theories that explain improvement (development) fact, this concept is attributed positive qualification. While modernization approach directly adopts development fact without any questioning and defines its tools, other radical approaches, like Dependency School discuss whether development is possible in capitalist system or not. From the perspective of liberal and radical approaches, cities have also positive role in development process. In this context, modernization approach is considered as the main driving force of urban development. From the perspective of radical approaches, city is a place where social contradictions and powers accumulated and thus it can be source of radical transformations.

2.2.1.1. Modernization Theory

This approach, developed in 1950s in the United States, comprises approaches, which analyses development in underdeveloped countries on the basis of concepts that are developed by classical economists and by brings solution proposals within the framework of capitalist market economy (Şengül;2001). Modernization paradigm defines improvement process from `traditional` structure to `modern` one. Each `modernity` is analyzed at the level that should be targeted and achieved by traditional societies.

Modernization has different yet complementary meanings in itself, depending on the different perspectives. If capitalism is considered as economic fact and industrial development is considered as political one, it will express nation-state and liberal democracy. In socio-cultural sense, on the other hand, it is qualified as

individualism, secular world view, differentiation of social structure, improvement of scientific way of thinking and increasing urbanization (Yüksel; 2002).

Likewise, Wagner (1996) indicates that modernization is taken into account with the development of empirical-analytical approaches on modernization, urbanization, industrialization, democratization and knowledge. Durkheim's and Weber's analysis of improvement affect modernization understanding of 20th century. While Durkheim makes classification of traditional and modern societies, in which, mechanical and organic solidarity are dominant, he theorizes modern society at one upper level and explains peculiarities of individual, differentiation, division of labour, specializing and improvement of production areas. On the other hand, Weber explains capitalist system in the context of social development and emphasizes on the question that why does capitalist production style emerge in Western European State? By creating a relationship between rationalist and capitalist development, he submits rationality as the core of capitalist development (Cirhinliođlu; 1999).

Weber's development approach, peculiar to Western societies, plays important role in development of modernization theories' Western European centred perspectives. Concepts and notions of evolutionist, expansionist and structural-functionalist schools are important in these theories and development level of societies is explained by concepts like social differentiation, rationalism, universalism and instinct for success (Şengül: 2001). Thus, modernization and economical development means industrialization and rapid capital accumulation.

According to modernization approach, the third pillar of industrialization and social modernization is urbanization. Modernization theorists are agreeing on that there is close relationship between urbanization level and social modernization in a country (Davis and Casis: 1966). It is argued that some concepts of the West's modernization models and its process are universal and in educational level, facilitation of information and communication possibilities and widening economical and political participation with urbanization in all around the world is indicated as proof of it. It is argued that if modernization follows urbanization, the, urbanization level will be perceived as an expression of societies' modernization level.

For example, Lerner (trans: Cirhinlioğlu; 1999) considers that the concept of urbanization is the most evident characteristic of modernization.

Basically, the relationship between urbanization and modernization is taken into account at individuals' level. Individual, developed with urbanization has rationality and empathy characteristics. Therefore, modernization process is evaluated by literacy, urbanization, socialization and empathy characteristics. Therefore, in any society, modernization can only start having achieved certain minimum level of urbanization, which means that social changes that constitute context of modernization can arise in cities.

Consequently, modernization theories argue that these processes developed in the west will emerge in surrounding countries as well. Some important problems, like unemployment, informal sector, squatter settlements, insufficient infrastructure and housing emerge in surrounding countries because they try to realize development process of the west in their own countries. However, these problems are temporary and can be overcome in the process of economical development and social modernization (Hoselitz; 1961).

2.2.1.2. Dependency School

Another paradigm of development theories is Dependency School. This theory is a development perspective that emerges against modernization theory. It explains underdevelopment process with external economic and political reasons, and analyses underdevelopment by relationship with hegemonic capitalist countries, dominated in the centre. Dependency School considers social formation as holistic yet unequal, meaning that hegemonic and developed countries in the centre, and, insulted and underdeveloped countries in the periphery (Ecevit; 1999).

“Dependency school is evaluated within the framework of three approaches. Rightist ECLA (United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America) represents first approach. Accordingly, international economic system plays important role in rescuing countries from underdevelopment. Underdevelopment is associated with traditional or pre-capitalist structures, and feudality and import substitution policies and national bourgeoisie are proposed as solutions. It is argued that independent

capitalist development is possible with industrial bourgeoisie and import substitution for industrialization, managed by technocratic state” (Şengül; 2001).

Second approach can be defined as `historical-structuralism approach` and it is in the centre because Furtado, Sunkel, Dos Santos and Cardoso are important. This approach starts from the point that different countries have different histories and structural relations, and it indicates that these peculiarities are important in analysis. Cardoso (1972) improves the concept of dependent development and indicates that dependency does not prevent development; capitalism and development are not in contradiction with each other. Originality of Cardoso’s theory is that it rejects the analysis of dependency, resulting from only external factors. For him, even underdeveloped countries can accelerate their development by reorganizing their own internal structures. On the one hand, external economic forces support for relative development of underdeveloped country to ensure their own survival, and on the other hand, economic elements of underdeveloped countries have to be integrated with these powers. Therefore, there is mutual interaction between them.

Third approach comprises left tendency where neo-Marxist writers are involved. Researchers like Baron, Sweezy, Frank, Emmanuel and Amin are forerunners of this tendency. According to Frank, who uses the term of `development of underdevelopment`, main reasons for underdevelopment in periphery countries are Metropolis countries and capitalism. As a result of commercial relations between periphery countries and central ones, former countries become part of world capitalist system and turns into satellites, depending on the centre. Thus, underdevelopment of these countries is considered as structure, resulting from development. Frank’s view on capitalism bases on analysis of exploitation relationship established between underdeveloped periphery and developed capitalist societies. In this framework, underdevelopment is considered as a result of world system; metropolis countries establish monopolistic structures on peripheral countries with trade and expertise mechanisms, thus, industrialization of underdeveloped countries are impeded and their development are distorted due to emergence of depended export economy.

Dependency School’s approach on cities is greatly influenced by the thesis that interprets position and functions of the metropolis in the framework of exploitation

relations in Frank's model. Most intense exchange relations with metropolis countries occur in big cities of the underdeveloped countries. For underdeveloped countries, metropolitan cities are units that impede development. Centres where national sub-systems integrate with international capitalist system intensify their relationships (Geisse and Coraggio: 1972; trans: Şengül; 2001).

Marginal sector is another study area of Dependency School in underdeveloped countries' cities. In order to continue this relationship, cities, where capital and power is accumulated, create inequalities and instability not only among regions but also in the city as well. This dependency relationship forms its opposite in cities as marginal population. This instable population, which have different social, economic, cultural and political peculiarities than the hegemonic part of the city, is considered as `continuous` and `side product` in terms of structural sense, as opposed to Modernization School's definition of `temporary` and `un-functional` (ibid;121).

2.2.1.3. Thesis on integration of production types

Thesis on integration of production type (in development process), proposes to use Marxist concepts and categories in analyzing peripheries' transitional social formations (Wolpe: 1984). Accordingly, capitalist production type encounters different non-capitalist production types (CPT) in each social formation. In this framework, particularly during colonization period, CPT tries to transform non-capitalist production types. Efforts to establish hegemony encounters class resistance of existing types, or, existing production types are protected, supported or reinforced to meet requirements of CPT. According to Şengül (2001), although CPT's re-production conditions are hegemonic in today's periphery formation and in the context of national economies, hierarchically integrated structures, which are not transformed into practices in non-capitalist modalities (social, ideological and economic) are defined. In integration thesis, cities are evaluated as area of struggle at national formation, where different labour process and types that emerge due to the integration of capitalist and non-capitalist production types, try to transform each other. It can be said that capitalist production and its social dynamics affects the transformation of non-capitalist relations. Thus, important changes emerge as capitalist production types penetrate into peripheral cities.

Capitalist production type's technology/capital intensive investments flow into places where infrastructure and transportation facilities are relatively advanced and this results that producers in rural area are deprived of production tools and labours massively migrate to these centre cities. This process contributes to development of informal sector. Therefore, integration analyses urban areas in two categories; Production of Small Good and Informal Sector.

2.2.1.4. Production of Small Good

In Marxist rhetoric, villager means agricultural small good producer or semi-feudal land tenant. According to Marx, penetration of capitalist capital into agriculture removes peasantry and villagers become urban-labour class. Lenin and Kautsky add new dimension to Marx' peasantry thought. According to Lenin, non-capitalist production types restrict entrance of capital into agriculture and merchants' and usurers' capital impede development of capitalism. Diversity of non-capitalist production and labour relations is considered as factors that makes difficult dissolution of peasantry. According to Lenin, peasantry will disappear. This is explained by settling of capitalism in internal market. Lenin indicates the role of differentiation of peasantry in development of internal market and says that rental labour factor has important contribution to this social differentiation process. In conclusion, since production of peasantry has heterogeneous structure, he argues that peasantry should be evaluated in the framework of relations between other production forms and development of merchandise relations (Ecevit: 1999 & Zülküf: 1986).

"Kautsky indicates differences in capitalization between agriculture and industry. Division of land impedes accumulation of property and since the city exploits surplus, capital accumulation can not be realized. He says that proletarianization is an example of differences in capitalization between agriculture and industry. Proletarianization emerges because of lack of cultivable lands in agriculture and this is associated with disappearing villager entrepreneurship. For agricultural proletariat, it is not possible to completely coming apart from property. Kautsky makes small entrepreneurship and big entrepreneurship differentiation in agriculture and argues that small entrepreneurs survive as long as they provide labour to big ones.

Intensification of big entrepreneurs dissolves small ones, because shortage of labour force and eradicate labour supply for big entrepreneurs. Therefore, existence of these entrepreneurs is linked with avoiding competition with big ones and explained by payment and capitalist relations” Chayanov discusses surviving of peasantry. According to him, non existence of class formations and polarization in rural and existence of cyclic differentiation, depending on population, ensures surviving of peasantry and causes disappearing of capitalist and exploitation relations. Villagers arrange land, labour and consumption in a way that this does not create polarization or class consciousness in villager economy and in this context, they can struggle with change. Chayanov is criticized in the sense that it conceptualizes peasantry in its demographic characteristics and independent from capitalist economy; and in this conceptualization he disregards labour for salary and division of labour in house” (Zülküf: 1986, 126-256, 182-192).

Surviving of small good production style, which disappears in formations where capitalism is hegemonic, in peripheral cities, can be interpreted as a way of struggle. Small Good producers, as household entrepreneurs, produce and consume goods for their own production and consumption needs. Therefore, for peasantry, production conditions mean simple re-production. According to Ecevit(1999;57) “in Bernstein’s analysis, this re-production structure depends on selling of labour force in return for salary; re-production is secured by production of use value and thus; main target in small good production is to meet subsistence needs of simple re-production; production in consideration of profit is out of question. Although it is a kind of self-control; they define type of yields and agricultural methods and regulate production process of small good producers by capital-monopolist prices and Market regulations”.

Friedmann, Gibbon and Neocosmos analyze peculiarities of small good production in capitalism. Therefore, they look at from different perspectives to Bernstein’s assumptions. Versions of small good production in capitalism are considered as follows: small good production in capitalism is changing; it is linear proletarianization, meaning that small meta production disappears in time; there is exploitation of labour with secret salary; there is functional explanations; and compulsory unification of small good production with subsistence one.

As Bernstein indicates, according to Friedmann, capitalist production type is explained by circulation of goods, particularly labour force. Since it considers all production factors as goods with their prices in market, small good production is defined according to capitalism and it gain functionality depending on the degree of turning into good. According to Friedmann, there are three production categories: Capitalist production type, Basic production type, and Household production. Basic production type and capitalist production type are peculiar to capitalism. The difference is that; in basic good production, there is household work, production factors that turns into good and labour force in return for salary. Gibbon and Neocosmos examine class positioning of small good production by studying originality of small good production in capitalism. They indicate characteristics of small good production as follows: change and relative expertise in generalized good production conditions, and accumulation and regulation with competition laws. Small good producers are not different from capitalist good producers: Differences in small good production, like division of labour based on gender, family structure and differences in production and reproduction are common elements that take place in the context of capitalism's differences. Therefore, they can survive as long s they involve division of labour of capitalist system. Generalized good production of small goods producer is regulated by competition laws of capitalism and this result from relationship between capital and unpaid household work. In this class situation, they are not exploited by other classes. Likewise, rent, interest and merchant profit, which are subjects of Friedmann's basic good production, are the same in capitalist initiatives. However, according to Neocosmos and Gibbon, there is an exploitation relationship between families and women and children. Thus, small goods production exists as long as household work is an indispensable part of labour costs. Because, though there are differences from industrial production, good and bad relations of small good production integrates with capitalism; and, capitalism reproduce it and transforms into production structure on which it has hegemony (Bernstein;1986).

It is possible to argue that agriculture is the sector that serves best to capitalist development and production of small goods create suitable environment for transition to capitalism. Boratav (1981) indicates that in underdeveloped agricultural structure, `property owner, manager, producer, distributor and fund-owner`, which

involved in or around company, are also types of enterprise and they can be transformed into types of capitalist, semi-feudal or small good producer, in accordance with relative situations and in context of relationship between renter and meatier. According to Boratav, whether small good production is production relationship or not depends on definition and understanding of production relations. An understanding, which link production relationship with only property relations, considers that small good production is an economic situation, where exploitation and classification does not exist because of indirect producers do not leave their production tools; and this situation can not be considered as production relationship. However, if production relations are considered as economic activity of `capturing` surplus and merchant and usurer capitals are evaluated as prolongation of small good production, then, it will be considered as production relations. Therefore, small good production, which is exposed to usurer and merchant exploitation, is considered as primitive type of capitalist exploitation. In this sense, it can facilitate capitalist transformation in agriculture. Another urban analysis of integration thesis is informal sector and it is presented as a product of new conditions resulting from integration. It mainly emerges in the service sector, where different jobs are different from pre-capitalist version and they are original forms of new conditions. Reproduction efforts of non-capitalist styles in unequal and restricted development process, due to imperialism, causes development of different labour types in cities. Şengül (2001; 124) indicates that "cities represent dynamic political place, where capitalist production types penetrate into these areas and try to transform them, yet, old styles resist it".

2.2.1.5. World System Theory

It evaluates historical development from the perspective of systems. System is defined as single social unit that is connected on the basis of single division of labour. In this context, Wallerstein (2000) conducts his analysis on the basis of reciprocal regional advantages in world trade and production, and change in expertise and development. According to world system approach, there are three historical phases, developed by different systems: mini systems, world empires and world economies. First phase, mini systems, is composed of single cultural structures, which are independent from each other.

Administrative and social structures are narrow and limited. Second one is world empires phase. They have agricultural based economy. There is strong political-military organization, which is important part of war economy. Third and last historical phase is capitalist world system. State transfers its regulation and coordination duties to market mechanism and defines its own function as to draw framework of market economy. Most important thesis of world system approach is that world system is more meaningful unit than nation-states in studying social and economic norms. Nation-states and world market are not meaningful units; what is determining is capitalist world economy that can be considered as single unit, which collaborates other units. Another characteristic is existence of multi-state systems. It is argued that there is no single hegemonic state in multi-system. Wallerstein, like similar analysis to Dependency School, indicated that world system depends on unequal transformation and it has hierarchical structure; and he adds the concept of semi-periphery as a buffer concept to the Dependency School's centre-periphery model. Semi-periphery countries have characteristics of both sides; they play role to decrease tension between centre and periphery. According to Wallerstein, each country has opportunity of passing from periphery to semi-periphery; and, semi-periphery to centre (Cirhinlioğlu; 1999, 128).

“World System Approach shifts unit of analysis from nation state to universal dimension and centre of dilemmas from class struggle to circulation relations; so that, it creates basis for globalization thesis. However, in between is that world system highlights economy and neglects cultural dimension. Like integration thesis, world system approach transforms integration to international framework and indicates world-scale integration. Therefore, it argues that it is a mistake to evaluate experiences of third world cities different from central ones. In this context, cities function as part of international city systems. Place organization in all around the world is conceptualized as physical expression of international division of labour and world system. In the framework of this understanding, economical and social expression of hierarchy is place hierarchy between cities” (Şengül; 2001, 128).

“World cities” emerge as an important conceptualization in the analysis of this place hierarchy. In the place organization of world system, world cities emerge as centre of global capital accumulation process and checkpoints of complex system.

“World systems are places where cultural goods and symbolic hierarchy are produced at world scale” (Ercan; 1996, 61-96). World cities are centres, where world scale financial transactions and headquarters of multinational corporations are intensified. At the same time, important productions are intensified in cities. World systems are ideological influence and control centres. In this framework, world cities not only reflect logic of capitalist world system but also they act as checkpoints to ensure functionality of the system. Friedmann and Wolff (1982) indicate that world cities are not only peculiar to centre countries and they can be seen in semi-periphery countries as well.

Sassen (1981) argues that world economy is very broadened and reached to extreme points; and this requires better organized and centralized checkpoints in world cities. Another characteristic of world cities is that, they become centre for migration in international level. As a result, qualified and non-qualified labour force accumulates to global cities. In another aspect, this cause emergence of legal and illegal informal systems at an increasing rate. Capitalism increases contradictions among world cities. The burden of being world city is on the shoulder of unemployed people, informal sector and migrants. Thus, conceptualizations or underdevelopment analysis can be used for world cities as well.

2.3. Urbanization of Turkey

The city and urbanization concepts are defined together. One city is defined, urbanization means changing of city in certain direction. City can be defined as particular situation of human settlement in time and place with certain distinguishing characteristics. Turkey experienced a rapid urbanization process during the 1950s. Changing structure of rural and the economic structure of society leads to increase migration to the cities. In this process, Turkish social thought become the crucial actor to determine the strategies of urbanization process. To understand these strategies and the affects of social thought to the urbanization process, the theories and the urban perception of Turkey should be considered in this study.

2.3.1. Urban

According to Erdoğan (1978;154-169), in city, as compared to rural, there is more population and building, non-agricultural activities are dominant, production is coordinated and controlled, there are distinctive administrative system, ecological structure, social organizations and social way of life, differ from rural ones and reflect characteristics of city.

Ozankaya (1994, 320) clarifies that “city emerges, where economic activities are diversified and industrial and service sectors (commerce, education, health) are developed: `With industrial revolution, modern industry and succeeding organized services create new structure in cities, particularly in modern industrial cities; individuals can understand explain his/her natural and social environment and consciously modify it accordance with his/her natural development; and thus, individual’s capacity to control natural and social environment, their knowledge and culture developed. The city is the main organizational power of its environment and region, and it connects its region with other ones”.

Şenyapılı (1981, 20) gives an example of conceptualization of city by theorizing village concept: “Those, who protect land, stop cultivating and abandon it. Other workers provide their living. Certain amount of the production is given to the people who have distinctive role within society. Once agricultural land expands and population on it grows, new regulations are needed to ensure better protection of land. Protectors, who acquire sovereignty over land and workers, started to lay down new regulations to ensure better protection. New type of settlement, as a reflection of these regulations to place, is called city”.

According to Kartal (1978), city is a kind of settlement, where non-agricultural goods are produced, all production is controlled, distribution is coordinated and greatness, density, heterogeneity and integration exist, together with technology. Similarly, Keleş (1978) defines cities as the centre of settlement, where production is mainly non-agricultural, production tools and population is heavily intensified and there is high ratio of differentiation, organization, division of labour and expertise.

There are different definitions of urban. They have several and different criteria, first of which is population. In this respect, if a population in certain settlement exceeds

certain number, then it is called as `city`, if not, it is called as `village`. To clarify it, different population criteria are used in Turkey as 3000, 5000 or 10.000 (Ünal; 1936). Ünal, on the other hand, argues that in Turkish literature, there is a common conceptualization and definition about city, which means that if a settlement has 10.000 or more inhabitants, it is defined as city. A second criterion is administrative status of settlement. Accordingly, inhabitants of city or district centre is considered as `urban population`. However, many city or district centres do not have urban character, but some other settlements have. Particularly for political considerations, transformation of villages into district might be misleading in using administrative status criteria for rural-urban distinction. A third criterion is population composition of the settlements. Accordingly, a settlement, where majority of population work in non-agricultural sectors, is called city. Tümertekin (1965) classifies cities in accordance with their functions; in order to be classified as industrial, managerial or service city it is not necessary that active population should reach certain level in these sectors, but only the sectors, where biggest part of the active population is taken into account.

Regarding conceptualization of city, ideas are mainly focused on `planning` and `regulation`. City is designed as settlement areas, business areas and entertainment areas, which are independent from each other. In this process, urbanization, accelerating with migration waves of 1950s, is also mentioned. Therefore, urbanization process should be carefully studied.

2.3.2. Urbanization

With the change in rural structure, urban also changes to some extent. Rapid population growth in cities is an example of this situation. Urbanization is understood as the population flow to the cities, which results population growth in city.

However, Şenyapılı (1981, 2-4) argues that “urbanization should be defined by looking at the definition of city: `if, in any settlement, non-agricultural production increases and both agricultural and non-agricultural production is controlled and coordination of all production activities is intensified, than this settlement is being urbanized”.

Kartal (1978, 24) states “urbanization is one of the most important concepts of the last two centuries. As a result of technological improvement, change in production type and production relationships, large amount of population abandons their land. This population movement creates the concept of `urbanization`. He also states that population and number of cities continuously increase and in connection to this, urbanization, which is a result of change in agriculture and industry, effects, or in some cases accelerates, social transformation process”.

Different from the others, Keleş (1978, 6) conceptualizes urbanization in broader perspective and defines it as: “urbanization is the population accumulation process, in which number of cities increases parallel to industrialization and economic development and today’s cities enlarges in parallel with population accumulation, which also creates organization, division of labour and expertise in social life and changes human behaviour and relations peculiar to cities”.

In accordance with these definitions, Doğan (1980, 16) says that “urbanization invites poor majority of world population to city that means at the same time power loss in rural areas and power accumulation in cities. Thus, urbanization becomes modern and inevitable coercion that pulls away individual from environment by force and mess up balance of nature”.

According to Merter (1990, 98), urbanization is the most striking aspect of social transformation and defines development level, industrialization and population structure.

“Urbanization is an increase in non-agricultural production; size, density, heterogeneity and integrity degrees of human settlement or city. Urbanization in a country means a change in the settlements in that direction. At the same time, overall production is controlled and coordinated more effectively” (Mimarlar Odası; 1971, 8-9).

“Defining urbanization from demographic perspective or considering it merely population movement is insufficient. Changes in the economical and social structures during urbanization should be evaluated as well. This means that in order to give valid definition for urbanization, elements that reflect economical and social changes should be added. In a broader term, urbanization is the population

accumulation process, in which number of cities increases parallel to industrialization and economic development and today's cities enlarges in parallel with population accumulation, which also creates organization, division of labour and expertise in social life and changes human behaviour and relations peculiar to cities" (Türkiye Şehircilik Günü Kolokyumları; 1985, 22).

According to Kartal (1983, 33), "urbanization is a two-sided process of disintegration, intensification and movement. Disintegration occurs in rural and intensification occurs in city. In accordance with the peculiarities of disintegration and intensification, movement occurs between rural and urban. Functioning of these three facts interdependently also constitutes functioning of urbanization process in a country".

Urbanization definitions focus on movement between rural and city. Pushing power of rural and pulling elements of urban are considered as reasons of urbanization process. In order to explain rapid organization process in Turkey and evaluate its progress, structures and reasons of the urbanization should be considered.

2.3.2.1. Reasons for Urbanization

Urbanization develops under the effects of economical, technological, political and socio-psychological elements. Keleş (1996, 23- 27) explains reasons for urbanization as follows: "Some economic reasons, taking root from the conditions of agricultural sector, pushes population from rural. These can be defined as thrusting or negative reasons for migration. Population movements from villages to cities are linked with excess supply in agriculture. In this process, production activities are carried out by using more capital, better technology and productive force. Using modern tools in agriculture, mechanization, abandoning primitive methods in agricultural production process and using new inputs decrease the need for labour force in agriculture. Insufficiency in agricultural income, unequal distribution of land ownership, scattered characteristic of agricultural lands and climatic conditions are elements that strengthen thrusting elements. Novelties of industrial revolution and changes in agricultural conditions, together with technological improvements, accelerate urbanization. Role of increasing production in urbanization depends on the developments of new tools that enable easy and cheap transformation of

produced goods. Political decisions, taken at several level, characteristics of administrative structuring, some legal institutions and international relations may have nature that encourages urbanization. Socio-psychological factors, differences between village and city, way of life, attractiveness of cities, cultural and social opportunities and services can also be considered as important elements that accelerates urbanization”.

According to Tekeli (1980, 327-345), Turkey's urbanization experience can be traced back to the 19th century. In parallel with westernization and capitalization process in Ottoman Empire, urban population in Turkey increased and structure of cities started to change. Establishment of municipalities, due to the insufficiency of traditional city management, in Ottoman Empire in the second half of 19th century was a result of this transformation. With the establishment of the Republic, this transformation continued. Externally dependent economy and denial of its organizational structure brought together a new capital, Ankara, and a railroad project, that will integrate internal market. Until the end of World War II, urbanization was slow process and it could be controlled within the existing institutional structure.

Sencer (1979), on the other hand, argues that urbanization in Turkey is not result of single element, but a combination of different elements; population revolution and elements that play role in urban transformation, which can be explained with the new forms of social transformations, are powers that cause population movement. Therefore, population movements, under the influence of these powers, take place from rural to urban. According to Sencer, mainly pushing of rural rather than pulling of urban are powers that cause population movement from rural to urban, thus, structural transformation initially appeared in connection with the thrusting power of rural.

If population growth, transformation in agricultural sector and economic development policies are considered as the reasons of urbanization in Turkey, then, effects of 1930s and 1940s agricultural policies on urbanization process should be evaluated. In Turkey, tendency of analyzing urbanization process within the Republican era modernization framework, also defines policies of the period. Particularly, changes in agricultural sector accelerate urbanization process.

After the World War II, in Turkey, where most of the population depended on land for living, both improvements in the economy in general and need for better living standards for agricultural population. According to Köymen (1999,12) “state’s main target in land reform, starting from 1930s, is to give land to the farmers, who do not have any, from treasury estate without touching to the great landowners”. Sencer (1971) says that “these land reforms have been developed to meet requirements, resulting from devastation of wars and population movements, extraordinary periods and events. Improvements enacted to solve land problems, was an important step for agricultural development. These improvements could not reach its goal because of failure in nationalization of big private properties’ land and unsuitable land resources”. For Sencer, this exacerbated Turkey’s land and agriculture problems.

At the same time, as Tekeli and İlkin (1999, 44-45) indicate, “the target of agricultural policies, implemented in the first years of the Republic, populism adopted by the Republic, positivist science, world economic crisis and one of the most important aspect of populism was to make villager as a small producer”.

Some parts of the agricultural policies were called as ‘Village Movement’, developed in 1945 and 1950 and showed its effect in 1960s. In this framework, Tütengil (1975, 105-120) indicates that new trend, called ‘Village Movement’ developed due to efforts that argues village development is the basic and essential for state development. Village Movement can be defined as a kind of populism that focuses on village and its problems. Çetin (1999) indicates that main target of Village Movement is to ensure cultural and economic developments of villagers and dominant idea is to enlighten them. In this framework, Çetin argues that “in the beginning of World War II, Turkey was still agricultural country, though its industrialization accelerated by following populist policies: ‘in 1939, 75.6% of population was farmer. During World War II, agricultural production decreased and state took extensive measures to increase it” (ibid; 218).

Indeed, it is possible to evaluate state-Village Movement relationships and characteristics of policies by Turan’s (1989, 61-62) view: “establishment of the Republic was victory of Ottoman bureaucratic elites, in favour of Westernization. This cadre defended countries modernization or westernization in cultural sense.

According to their transformation strategy, transformation should be adopted by central elites and then diffused to rural. Within the framework of this transformation strategy, inefficiency of government reveals and need for novelty becomes a current issue. This process ensured great support for Democratic Party (DP).² One of the most important characteristics of government was its integration with the public. It was the first time, during the political history of the Republic era, people, and particularly villager have reached a kind of consciousness that they have an influence on government and they identified themselves with government. The policy of state support to private sector, which had been initiated in the first years of the Republic, was accelerated during the government of DP. New bourgeois class, emerged in this framework, was new voters for DP. Another important policy of the government was supporting tractor in rural area, so that, horizontal movement of population was encouraged and accelerated.

Özbay (1998; 155-173) indicates that in this framework, “lack of manpower in agriculture ended in 1950s. Although all available agricultural land was used, excess manpower due to continuous economic growth and inadequacy of agricultural land became most important problem for family business in villages and as a result, rapid migration from rural to urban, starting in 1950s, changed population distribution between urban and rural”.

Therefore, according to Sönmez (1999, 1-19), protective foreign trade policies and ‘import-substitution’ industrialization policies in 1950s accelerated industrial development in Turkey, as a result of which, increase in industrial production exceeded that of agricultural production and capitalism in agriculture continued its development, by passing through several phases, until the end of 1970s. Population growth rate also accelerated due to changes in social and economical structure and decrease in mortality rate.

Agricultural policies, together with acceleration of industrial development, also changed socio-economical structure. Increasing unemployment due to population growth, and mechanization in agriculture laid ground for 1950s migration waves.

² Government Party in 1950 with the leader of Adnan Menderes.

Keyder (1999, 163- 173) indicates that land demand, accelerating with DP's policy, brings new opportunities together. Labour market is enlarged for rural population; seasonal job opportunities rises and increasing labour demand in cities facilitate migration. In this framework, according to Köymen (1999, 13-14) "1950s development policy was that with USA's support, development loans, USA capital and some institutions in underdeveloped world under USA's political and cultural values; initially some sectors are modernized and due to spill over effect, total development can be achieved step by step. In those years, Turkey also adopted this development strategy; priority was given to agriculture and with the assistance and loan, obtained within the framework of Marshall Plan³, incredibly rapid mechanization in agriculture and migration from villages to cities occurred".

Tolan (1972, 12-17) evaluates transformation in rural structure and thrusting of rural as this: "transformation in rural structure, rapid mechanization in agriculture with the effect of Marshall Plan in 1950s, agriculture on unproductive land that decreases productivity, price policy that supports agricultural production, decline and cooperation of agricultural enterprises, inadequacy of small enterprises in feeding increasing population and all these elements force feudal social structure to change".

In the beginning of 1960s, agricultural structure was partly and locally opened to the market economy. Modernization policies of the period did not cover all rural areas and resources and instruments caused unequal distribution of property among the population. Aytekin (1963, 15) indicates that "in cities, there was also unequal distribution and thus, in urbanization process, individuals with low income, no land and insufficient access to main services i.e. education or health, struggle for existence. Therefore, migration of the individual to city, indeed, is not a choice between unavailable alternatives. This means that, with the growth of agricultural enterprises by benefiting technological improvements, some small villagers lost their properties and they either became agricultural worker or they abandoned village". Those small villagers usually loose their property due to indirect methods and villager, trying to modernize itself with limited opportunities, loans to provide

³ The financial support by the United States of America in 1950s.

agricultural inputs and as a result of loan/interest rate mechanism, he loose his property in the course of time (Kiray;1969).

Developments in agricultural technology reveal secret unemployment, which is very common in rural, and as a result, some agricultural population abandon their land. In this way, these people migrate to cities.

“Another element that causes urbanization is power of transformation. This simply means advancement in transportation techniques. Urbanization motions take place between particular settlement of a region and adjacent settlements, among which goods and services trade gain autonomy with certain intensified transportation and communication webs” (Keleş; 1996, 23-27).

“Augmentation of transportation means rapid development of infrastructure institutions, particularly transportation lines, which opened village to the outside after 1950s. Similarly, with the augmentation of communication means, relations with the rest of the world strengthens and this increase consciousness of the villager” (Mimarlar Odası; 1971, 32).

In Turkey, transportation infrastructure and facilities, which has transmission role, is considerably developed recently with the increasing efficiency of market relations; and this development takes place in road transportation, which is the most suitable way of carrying goods and individuals. In parallel to this development, number of motor vehicles increases considerably. These developments establish market relationship between closed and self sufficient production units and city; accelerates population movement and urbanization.

Another reason for urbanization is attractive powers that attract population to cities. They can be de defined as non-agricultural job opportunities. According to Keleş (1996, 51-52), “since establishment of the Republic, important industrial investments are made in certain periods and by the state itself in certain areas. Since Law on Encouraging Industry, enacted in 1927, failed to boost domestic production, state established certain fundamental industries within a plan attempt. These industries create job opportunities and rationalize population flow into their cities”.

“In the beginning of 1950s, when urbanization started quickly and developed, ratio of agriculture and industry in national income did not dramatically change. Yet, starting from 1954, investments shifted from agriculture to construction, transportation and other service sectors. In the period of 1950-1960, in parallel with slow industrialization in certain cities, increase in added-value and number of workers in manufacturing industry fell behind urbanization, which means that in spite of all industrialization efforts, new employment opportunities could not benefit from migration” (Atalık; 1968, 15).

According to Tolan (1972, 18-19), in reality, “it is not industrialization of urban that attracts migrated population to urban but it is the accumulation of capital, consumption and service functions in there. Funds, accumulates due to the unjust social distribution of resources and production tools, are transferred to certain cities and led to the development of traditional, unproductive and speculative sectors. As a result, job opportunities in these sectors increase rapidly”.

In order to benefit from city economies and external economies, industry moves to big centres, where there is considerable amount of capital accumulation and lots of production areas. Each new industry, establishing in the big centres pulls other industries this diminishes industrialization hope of other regions. In general, these industries produce consumption goods and relatively important capital; wages are higher than rural, which increases pulling affects of cities.

Rapid migration and the urbanization process cause many problems in Turkey both socially and spatially Therefore, there is a need for analyzing the results and problems of urbanization process.

2.3.2.2. Results and Problems of Urbanization

Keleş (1978, 40-43) argues that “in Turkey, urbanization problems are direct or indirect results of urbanization process. Firstly, urbanization in Turkey depends on industry and it is not sufficiently accelerate development. Secondly, urbanization mainly takes place in Western Anatolia, due to which, urbanization gap between east and west is widened and regional imbalances emerges. Thirdly, income and life standard gap between villages and cities widens. Lastly, with urbanization, differences between villages and cities occur in cities and this transforms cities into

big villages. This indicates that migrated villagers can not adapt to city and continue to practice several characteristics of village life”.

Results of urbanization are usually evaluated with some problems. Population growth, housing problem and squatter settlements, unemployment and development of informal sector, alienation of migrants in city are main points in debate. However, central point, to which migrated people focus on together with housing, alienation and unemployment problem in squatter settlements, as a result and problem of urbanization.

2.3.2.2.1. “Squatter” (Gecekondu) as a Result of Migration

The most important problem and one of the basic requirements during the urbanization process are housing. Settlement and housing becomes fundamental problem with rapid urbanization and triggers squatter settlements.

According to Gökçe (1971, 10), “villager, who migrates to city with his family hoping to have better living standards, could not find permanent job and get low income. Thus, he seeks to meet housing needs with easiest, fast and cheap way. Therefore, he usually erects illegal buildings on treasury’s estate or on someone else’s property. These buildings, with four walls and a roof, are erected with the help of neighbours and relatives in one night and called shanty. Poor quality in construction, deficient or non-existence of infrastructure is main characteristics that define physical aspects of squatter settlements. In addition, inhabitants of these squatter settlements develop peculiar type of living due to temporary employment, low income and transformation from rural to urban life”.

According to Kartal (1983, 42), “housing is not the only function of squatter. Apart from this, it is social security, saving and investment means for migrated people; it is living environment where rural habits practice; and it is agricultural enterprises for family needs and partially for the market”. For Şenyapılı (1981, 42), in order to be called as squatter, any building should be constructed contrary to the building code, and on a land, property of which is not belong to the building owner and without taking consent of landowner.

These squatters are called as `marginal houses` because of both their marginal location and inhabitants, who could not be a part of traditional housing market due to their insufficient economic powers.

In addition to the housing feature Gökçe adds that (1971, 13), “relationships and way of life of these migrants, who establish squatter settlements, show that they develop kind of sub-culture, which reveals `squatter reality` that can be termed as a `society in transition`”.

In this framework, Keleş (1978, 42) says that, “as a result of urbanization, the differences between city and village transferred to the former; particularly the differences between squatter settlements and rich part of the cities is as sharp as that of city and village. Housing and service differences, direct result of income inequalities within city, can be easily monitored between squatter town and rest of the city: `some research conducted in Ankara show that 34.7% of squatter has sun-dried brick walls and 25% of their roof is made of soil. However, in richer parts like Çankaya and Kavaklıdere, there is no building with soil-roof”.

According to Tolan (1972, 57), “one characteristics of squatter is that it is a reproduction of village atmosphere: `in squatter settlements, particularly in the initial period, it is difficult to find systematically constructed buildings or rational strict-line streets, and appearance of pastoral living space in squatter creates conflict with technocratic urbanization, which has characteristic of western ideologies’ productive rationality`”. For Tolan, abstract city and concrete living space are confused and activities conducting in house, courtyard and street trio are integrated with city. In this framework, for slum resident and from the perspective of society, semi-open courtyard is a place for transferring social activities. He explains that “internal order of squatters during their early settlement and development can be explained as multi-functionality of place like in rural. Same room meets living, eating and sleeping requirements. However, in urbanization process, room loses its multi-functionality and single-functional internal order is established” (ibid; 166).

As it is understood from these explanations, rural buildings looks like each other and squatter is a prolongation of these buildings in city. This perspective can be concretized by Merter’s (1990: 29) following statement: “People, migrated from

villages to cities, constitute squatter settlements and slum residents. Although they form as nuclear family, they receive economical support from villages. Therefore, slum residents have both rural family characteristics and urban family characteristics”.

However, in this framework, both in terms of their way of life and sub-culture characteristics, these families cannot be considered as totally urbanized. Tekeli (1998, 136-152) explains this alienation and staying between village and city with arabesque culture. New city-folk find an opportunity to strongly express their choices with market mechanism. Rapid urbanization, starting from 1950s, results in deformed cities due to non-existence of infrastructure and migration from rural to city. Thus, in order to control urbanization and to solve existing problems, planning process is initiated and an urbanization policy is trying to be developed.

2.3.2.3. Politics of Urbanization

Urbanization policy can be understood as rules and procedures that define nationwide distribution of population and economic activities at the national level; and also explains a set of measures, particularly oriented to solve urban problems, resulting from urbanization process. In Turkey, since problems of urbanization and squatter became public in late 1940s, it is not possible to argue that before the end of World War II, the state had a conscious urbanization policy. Until that, main steps were planning initiative, following the proclamation of Ankara as a new capital, and legislations of local administrations to ensure excellence, cleanness and systematic improvements of the city. After the World War II, common aims of a series of laws on squatter settlements and Building Code of 1957 was to find solution to urbanization problems. Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, established shortly after the enactment of Building Code, is the central institution, responsible for development of general policies on nationwide distribution of population and urbanization. It has regulatory, investment and guidance duties for determination and implementation of urban policies. Since the period after 1960 is called as `planned period`, urbanization policies in this period can be found in development plans (Keleş;1982).

In the first five-year development plan(1963-1967), urbanization was considered as an indicator of development, yet, with the term of `balanced urbanization`, the plan predicted urbanization in line with new job opportunities in cities. This approach indicates that structural changes in agriculture could not be identified and urbanization is an end result of leaving from agricultural activities, thus, its reasons could be found in rural. Second five-year development plan (1968-1972) listed related principles in regional development, urbanization and settlement chapter, and considered urbanization as an element of economic and social development. The plan also anticipated to benefit from urbanization for removing inter-regional disparities. In order to attain this target, it foresaw several criteria as benefiting from urbanization to boost economy and use it as a development tool, supporting urbanization with industrialization, directing public investment to the areas, which has potential to develop its adjacent, establishing organized industrial zones in developing centres and implementing investment promotion in the eastern part of Turkey (Mimarlar Odası; 1971, 64-65).

According to Keleş (1982, 54-74), “the most important point, where second plan differs from the previous one is its approach for big cities and towns. Second plan adopts support for big cities but not for towns. In this understanding, development of big cities is not prevented but supported”.

Third plan (1973-1978) underlined following points regarding urbanization policy: a) instead of population accumulation in big cities, a new urbanization concept, which ensures integration of social, economic and cultural organization. Continuous and reciprocal functional relations is ensured between urban and rural settlement and utilized for gradual urbanization. b) In addition to precautions that ensure employment of migrants in productive jobs, organized industrial zones should be utilized in cities, which have development potential. c) In order to facilitate their adaptation into urban life, develop their skills, incorporate them into the social security system and ensure their housing, special programs are going to be developed.

In the forth five-year development plan (1979-1983), it was stated that in the existing settlement structure, unbalances in favour of big cities at the expense of medium and smaller ones exacerbates just like unbalances among regions and the plan

focused on the precautions to remove problems stemming from this, i.e. increasing production of building land, preventing speculation and preparing appropriate plans for the development of cities and towns. The sixth- year development plan (1985-1989) gave more emphasize the transformation of squatter areas. Therefore, social housing and the credit provision schemes were seen as the main policies for this transformation. On the other hand, the seventh-year development plan (1990-1994) included urban development strategies; therefore the investments based on technology were encouraged. The eighth-year development plan (1996-2000) encouraged the housing ownership. In this process, the integration of private sector to the structuring sector and expanding market economy become privileged policies.

Municipalities have also important roles for implementing policies that effects urbanization process. According to Keleş (1982; 77), “they implement these policies in the framework of their monetary capacities. Since these capacities are limited, it is difficult to argue that they are successful”.

In conclusion, Turkey’s urbanization experiment is analyzed in five periods (Tekeli; 1998, 1-25). “The first period stretches from integration of Ottoman Empire into the world capitalism in the second half of 19th century to the proclamation of the Republic and it is called as ‘modernity period`. Second period covers the period between establishment of the Republic and end of World War II. In this period, a modernist legitimacy framework is developed in urbanization. Third period covers the era from the end of World War II to 1960. It can be said that in this period, populist modernity project is implemented. Forth period continues from 1960s to 1980s. Turkey experiences rapid urbanization and therefore search for a planned economy. Fifth period starts from 1980s and covers the years, when modernity project is started to decline. In this period, urbanization speed also decrease. Turkey is affected from globalization. After 1980, three strategic choices of Turkey are important for integration to the rest of the world. “

All these periods will be examined in their details in Chapter III under the headings of social thoughts.

According to the urban definitions and urbanizations theories it can be said that urban as a social space is structured in relation to the social, economic and political

life of society. Especially, socio- economic structure determines and transforms the spatial character of that society. From this point view, historical view of society towards the urbanization process could not be concerned without understanding theories about urban and urbanization. In this respect, this chapter shows that the concept of development,, transform the social, political and economic structure of that society. In addition to this thought, the spatial structure is also changed according to the development of society.

In this context, Turkey' transformation process from rural to urban can be seen as an example for this development tendency and its strategies. Thus, development strategies transform spatiality of society. In this respect, next chapter will introduce the development of social thought in Turkey examining their spatiality.

CHAPTER III

TURKISH SOCIAL THOUGHTS AND THEIR URBANIZATION CONCEPTS

This chapter examines the Turkish social thought. Social thought should be understood as a determinant concept that affects social, economic, political and cultural structure of whole society. Thus, social thought is used as the same with an ideology. In this respect, each social thought has spatial characteristic. The urban itself can be treated as a representation of the society, which constructed it. In this perspective, people think of the world in terms of their built environment and geographical experience. Material culture and the embodied materiality of culture can be found in the practices of everyday life. That is why; in this chapter the relationship between the social thought and the urban is examined.

From this thought, Turkish social thought is evaluated under five sub-titles. These are determined depending on their functions and the power of changing the structure of society. In Turkey, the best illustrative mechanism for social thought can be interpreted as political life. Therefore, in this study, as the representative of social thought, political life is used in order to understand the development of Turkish social thought. After introducing the general development of Turkish social thought, this chapter will examine the urbanization tendencies of these ideologies. In this respect, Kemalism, Nationalism, Islamism, Liberalism/Neoliberalism and Feminism are examined according to their urbanization tendencies, and their spatial reflections.

3.1. Kemalism

Spatial characteristic of society is the material formulation of social space as a medium and the outcome of human experiences. In this context, representations of space combine ideology and knowledge within the social and spatial practice. Kemalism, in this process, with the concept of development and modernization project construct the space towards its ideological context.

Kemalism is an ideology that articulates practices, meanings and habits, which mediates Turkish society to establish social understanding; it is a level on which this

practice is written it is a concrete social system that is composed of political social relations and practices` Çelik (2001:76).

According to Yeğen (2001: 56-75), Kemalism is an ideology that develops the modernization westernization adventure of Turkey. Therefore, it develops within the framework of radical secularism, ethnic nationalism and authoritarian centralist formation. In addition to Yeğen, Giritli (1988; 59-73) Kışlalı (1994) adds that Kemalism as an ideology and a way of life that changes in accordance with empirical reason and scientific data and relies on reason and humanitarian values and responses yearn for contemporary society and reflects desire to overcome underdevelopment.

3.1.1. Is Kemalism an Ideology?

According to Kışlalı (1994; 14), ideologies “meet social requirements, accepted by the people who feel those requirements and coherent beliefs in itself. Therefore, Kemalism emerges as an ideology”. As Duverger (1988; 59) defines, “ideologies are systems of ideas, thoughts and faiths. Nevertheless, if it is considered that ideology is a way of thinking and it forms (probe) programs of political action, then, Kemalism is also an ideology since it is a faith system and action program of national modernization”.

Giritli (1988) indicates that Kemalism is a `national modernization` project and its fundamental principles are pluralism, which contains pragmatism, positivism, realism, secularism and populism. Kili (1995) broads this thought that goals of Kemalism or Kemalist revolutionary model are modernization and reaching to a level of contemporary civilization. Consequently, Kemalist ideology relies on the principles of nationalism, nationality and secularism and influenced by positivism the Westernization. Complete independence, consciousness, modernization and national sovereignty are also fundamental principles of Kemalism.

Yeğen (2001; 57) defines fundamentals of Kemalism as follows: “radical secularism against Islam and Islamist tradition, assimilative nationalism that suggests cultural homogeneity against ethnic heterogeneity and an idea of state-bureaucracy that covers everything and leaves out nothing”.

Özgen (1998), on the other hand, defines fundamentals of Kemalism as follows: Consciousness of national history, love for homeland and the nation, development of national culture and language, independence, national solidarity, modernization and army, school and secularism. Hughes (1993) explains that the tendency of an official and a doctrinal approach to the basic principles of Atatürk's political and social reform programs emerges in 1930s.

Çelik (2001;75-92) indicates that the years of 1930–1945 emerges as a mythical prolongation of Kemalism and they represent development of a secular, modern and Westernized Turkish identity and a new order in which Turkish nation is represented as undivided, homogenous and harmonious.

Considered at a national dimension, the principles of Kemalism that are reflected in the emblem of RPP (Republican People Party) constituted as six arrows are: Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Secularism, Etatism and Revolutionism. Republic is nationalization and populism of political administration type. Republicanism makes Turkish Nation's will sovereign in state life, administration and functioning of this administration (Kili; 1995). According to Kışlalı (1994; 15), "republicanism of Atatürk's Kemalism is synonymous with democracy. Republican regime represents a state administration under democratic system"

Nationalism and civilization are two main principles of Kemalism. According to Kemalism, nationalism is entire politics, required for Turkish Republic. In this sense, state nationalism or government nationalism is more important than ethnic nationalism. In the same rhetoric, Zürcher (2001; 44-56) indicates that Kemalist nationalism is not ethnic but cultural.

Kili (1995) indicates that nationalist understanding absorbs the rejection of traditional Turkish societies' religious community faith and the acceptance of the need for living as a nation and a citizen that are the most important elements of being contemporary. She adds that the establishment of the nation-state and the pursuing of national politics are the basis for contemporaneous

According to Kili (1995; 271), "secularism is not only the separation of state and religious but also an ensuring and protecting religious freedom of individuals.

It is an equality of individuals, regardless of their religious differences before the Law. Therefore, secularism is rescuing governments, politics, education and duties arising from state and social life, from the effects and monopoly of religion and religious practices; separation of state affairs from religious one and ensuring hegemony of reason and science in state and social life”

Çelik (2001) argues that the target of the reform movement based on secularism is to create a `Turkish identity`. The principle of Etatism, does not only express economic initiative in the sense of establishment and support of individual enterprises by the state but it also includes the organization of social life `for the people and in spite of the people` within a framework. According to Çelik, Etatism means mobilizing people to establish modern, secular and rational society. However, class differences in society become marked with industrialized and capitalized state and this, in essence, conflicts with Kemalist populism.

In the establishment years of the Republic, apart from supports to private entrepreneurship, due to the limited entrepreneur experiences, capital shortage and lack of technical knowledge, private entrepreneurs did not constitute a powerful source of economic development. Therefore, state initiation became inevitable. In this context, Kili (1995) defines etatism as follows: state regulates the general requirements of economical activities and enters into market in areas where private entrepreneur is reluctant or unsuccessful or there is public benefit. This means implementing statist policies to form a national economic development model.

Eroğlu (1988) considers etatism as a political practice that shows characteristics of economic, social and cultural development in Turkey. Expansion of state authority means spreading of public services and activities. Etatism is used as a synonymous of mixed economy; that is to say, on the one hand, there is state control, state-owned industries and on the other hand, there is improvement. In this context, Eroğlu argues that etatism is a state intervention with a social aim and depends on planned economy.

Revolutionism is the sixth arrow of the Republic. Zürcher (2001; 51) calls it as “reformism and defines it as a transformation ideal controlled from top”. Çelik (2001; 87-88), adds that “revolutionism can be described as protection of success of

national independence movement and continuous transformation until the contemporary civilization level is reached". Revolution is a process that has two steps: altering existing institutions and establishing new ones where social transformation is materialized by initiatives from the top. Thus, it can be said that Kemalist revolutionism is composed of two basic elements: replacing old institutions with new ones in accordance to the present requirements and opening for change continuously.

When Kemalism is considered as disconnected periods, it is impossible to characterize it as a hegemonic social development in 1930s. Yeğen (2001:62) "justifies it as there was no support and response from civil society to Kemalism; it established its hegemony outside of the social consent of the people and was not able to establish a general intellectual and moral leadership in national-popular sense. Therefore, Kemalism could be said to be in a mythical dimension in 1930s. As a result, in the first free elections, the Party, which carried the Kemalist program lost government and replaced with the Democratic Party government. Multi-party experiment also led to the development of right-wing populism". Çelik (2001:89) defines the new interpretation of populism, symbolized in DP, "legitimized religious and rural values, which are forerunners of popular culture in communication with the masses. Although 1950s were described as a period of discontinuation of Kemalism, RPP's defeat in 1950 election could not be described as a defeat of Kemalism and its intellectual and institutional tradition. Because, institutional dimension of Western, national and secular society ideal that precedes Kemalism and basis for Turkish politics had been established". Yeğen (2001:65) adds that with the defeat of 1950 and afterwards, Kemalism retreated from 1930s development and correction program to the idea of general Westernization and Nationalization. Therefore, instead of Kemalism, Atatürkçülük, which symbolizes looser and less systematic idea started to be used in this period".

Çelik (2001:89) indicates that together with the Democratic Party period, democracy was presented as an alternative to dominant Kemalist doctrine. A new platform was formed, where existing complaints and demands were represented with a democracy myth; and forces, which had been kept away from politics by Kemalist doctrine, were reintegrated into the political system. At the end of 1950s, Turkey's political and economic situation was exacerbated by a more authoritarian DP and

RPP's reactions. As a reaction against increasing disorder and to protect Kemalism, `statist elite` began to act against DP government in 1960 and the Government was overthrown by a military intervention. In that sense, democracy was integrated with Kemalist hegemony." The prevailing period until the end of 1970s was defined with opposing dualistic identities of rightist/leftist, traditionalist/modernist, reactionist/progressivist and extreme patriotic/Marxist. In line with this, there was equivalence between Kemalist modernization project and democratic ideals. According to Çelik, `Democratic and Modernist Kemalism is an imaginary situation, because it refers to the all possibilities of every subject in that period" (ibid: 90).

In that sense, Kemalism provides an opportunity for developing different identities and their integration with secular–modern Turkish identity. Oppositions and struggles that emerged with political radicalism at the end of 1970s eroded the hegemony of Kemalism, providing a base for another military intervention. These military interventions can be interpreted as a political uncertainty of the state and can be seen as a response of Kemalism's totalitarian tendency.

"Together with military intervention, several programs that were initiated were in favour of Turkish bourgeoisie yet against agricultural and commercial and labouring classes. If it is interpreted within the framework of a new dominant populist understanding which indicates the concept of justice towards negativity in the conflicts arising from widening of national market and growing up cities, Kemalism was used as precedence for re-coordination of society" (Yeğen:2001;68-69).

Starting from 1990s, Kemalism, via Atatürk symbolism, becomes ideological indicators of systematically building and betterment programs, whose main actor was the state.

Çelik (2001; 91) underlines that" the dominant characteristics of political life after 1980s are augmenting Islamic forms and reaching limits of the hegemonic dichotomy in politicized society where Kemalism loses its imaginary dimension, but still has the potential to re-establish its hegemony by its political project, especially with the intervention of military".

3.1.2. Industrialization and Economic Policies of Kemalism

According to Aydođan (2002; 357-406), one of the fundamental principles of industrialization is to benefit from universal gains of the West in areas of science, technology, administration and culture. For Kemalism, on the other hand, primary benefit is to ensure development by protecting independence and national identity considering social characteristics of developing countries. In this context, an economic development model is adopted where it depends on the power and source of its people, gives utmost importance to national independence, includes private initiative but not capitalist, adopts etatism but not socialist or both. In addition to Aydođan, Kuruç (2001; 298- 313) defines characteristics of the unique Kemalist model as follows: a nation-state with its own fiscal discipline, balanced national budget, temporary external debts, reserve accumulation with external surplus, depoliticized fiscal management and creation of farmers from villagers. In this unique Kemalist model, capital accumulation has two good bases: railroads and industrial programs.

Aysan (1988; 281) indicates that “Atatürk’s economic development model is balanced, rapid and planned mixed economy model under democratic order. The objectives of such a development model are as follows: ensure full-employment, rapid and balanced capital accumulation, balance of external payments, balanced income distribution, high growth rate without inflation, balanced regional development, developed private entrepreneurship and rapid technological improvement”.

The strategies are like that individual entrepreneur should be protected and supported. State should monitor and control private enterprises and support them to direct for the main economical objectives. State’s direct sanctions and the roles of the state-owned enterprises should be limited not to prevent individual entrepreneurship. Infrastructural investments are the most appropriate areas of state investment and they have utmost importance for the state. Investment priorities of the state are security-peace, national defence, transportation, national education, health, social security, agriculture, commerce and trade. Expenditure priorities are public works, agriculture (irrigation), agricultural industry, heavy industry, light industry, commerce and services.

Achievements should be evenly distributed, economy should be run in accordance with the rules of the market economy, and State should obey the latter rules in monitoring and directing markets and in establishing and operating state-owned industrial and commercial enterprises.

3.1.3. Modernization and Kemalist Urbanization Tendency

The production of space has political dimension. From the design of buildings to the way public places reproduced, the urban space represents the ideologies and their strategies. In this concept, Kemalist construction of space can be seen as the most visible application.

As Lefebvre (1996; 33-34) points out, “the social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into space and in the process producing that space itself”. Therefore, the historical exploration of the Turkish modernization must be located within the dialectics that occur between the social production of space and the spatial domains of social networks.

The socio-political context of the early Republican period appears as the setting that is shaped by the formation of the nation-state, the emergent state ideology and the process of nation building. Westernization is characteristic principal change that takes place in traditional Turkish cities. “Together with the reforms of the Republic, the influences from the West firstly inspired the transformation of the physical environment, administrative and public buildings, both the living environment and the public space. In the republican era a new concept of public sphere was developed through the modernization efforts of the new regime” (Çağlar; 2001, 35-36). Tolan (1972) indicates that regardless of their inclinations, intellectuals, technocrats and politicians could not refrain themselves from westernized urban concept with the effect of historical development. This is one of the main factors in westernization of urban. He adds that this is due to the fact of relating western concept of place with Western ideology, that is to say, rational functionality and productivity understanding, is harmonious with economic development and industrialization.

The intention of the new state has to be defined in respect to their relevance for the task of creating a new and 'modern' capital. The foundation of the Turkish Republic that was established upon the ruins of the Ottoman Empire was followed by a period of social and economic reorganization. This reorganization can be defined as modernization program of society. Modernization has been implemented in Turkish Republic as an "ideology of development" comprising extensive transformation in all fields of social life. With regards the ideological theme of modernization, it can be thought that modernization project was put into practice comprising reorganization of all fields of social life.

The spatial organization becomes the main area that need reformulation in terms of modernization project. According to Akyürek (2000) modernization project would be actualized through the construction of the country as the place for the new life practices of the society. Therefore, Tekeli (1998; 1) sees this projects as an "urban development project, whose achievement impelled the fulfilment of a successful urbanization. Then, the city needed to be the place of modernity, where new economic and social relations would be performed".

An architectural expression of formal modernization programs, initiated from the top and implemented by the bureaucratic professional elites of nation-states, is evaluated as a kind of visible politics of the civilization mission. Modernist architectural principles constitute the base for Kemalist nation building. Modern architecture thus is the supporter of the Republic project; it represents modernity against traditional and progress against reactionism (Bozdoğan; 1998, 118-135).

Republic of Turkey is in a process of modernization, which was established upon the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, within Enlightenment tradition since its establishment. It has four dimensions: rationalist–universal thinking; economic dimension as capitalist development, industrialization and institutionalization of private property; institutionalization of nation-state and representative democracy. This project is an urban project (Tekeli; 1998, 1-25).

During the 19th century, capitalism and modernization efforts affected Ottoman Empire in economic, political and social terms. These transformation efforts, at the same time, altered city and city plans. In the context of modernization and foreign

trade relations, understanding of city in Ottoman Empire has changed. New business centres and new public institutions have established that required new infrastructure. Population growth and class differentiation also resulted in enlargement of cities and suburbanization. By looking at these developments, it is possible to argue that Ottoman society has experienced urban transformation within the framework of rationality principal of modernity (Keyder and Öncü: 1993).

These novelties in the context of modernist development tendency in Ottoman Empire lead to city planning in the Republic of Turkey. With the proclamation of the Republic, meaning and characteristics of modernization project and planning in Turkey has considerably changed. Thus, city, as the centre of modernity started to be evaluated within the framework of national space in the Republic.

According to Tekeli (1998:5), “development efforts of country as a national place also require modernization of cities”. Kemalist project, while trying to achieve westernization and industrialization of Turkey, removes former thinking and paves the way for modern institutionalization. With railroads, this transformation is channelled to the whole Anatolia (Rodwin: 1970).

Within the framework of development of nationalist tendencies and ‘socialist’ economic policies, proclamation of Ankara as the new capital of the Republic is the most important urbanization achievement in the targeted industrialization project. Ankara was going to be the symbol of the virtue of the Republic and the modern life. According to Tankut (1993: 17), “the social life displayed within the decor and the physical environment of this new capital was to be a model for other Anatolian towns”.

Considering the creation of a new Ankara as a model of new social practices, the spatial production of this new city can be conceived as an example of change towards a desired form of order. Then Ankara should be viewed as an originator of a new society that had to carry out social transformation in parallel with the modernization project. (Akyürek, 2000; 17)

Tekeli (1994) explains the decision of the proclamation of Ankara with three reasons. The strategic and political position was important factor to this decision. National security was the one reason to choose Ankara as capital. A location of the

city to the middle of the country would be more convenient. Additionally, this location can be explained also with the break away from the network of old dependencies. By this relocation, rejection of the cosmopolitan cultural values of Istanbul became possible. He sees the second reason as spatial organization of the city. As the capital city in central Anatolia, constituting a national economy would be easier among all regions. The final factor that Tekeli mentioned is urban scale. One of the nationalistic ideals of the founders of the new Republic was to establish a new capital where a modern, civilized and westernized life could flourish. In this sense, Istanbul can resist this transformation. On the other hand, Ankara can be the place where Republic change or create the life styles.

Ankara, therefore, is planned to be constructed in accordance with modern living standards and modern places of the nation-state. As Bozdoğan (1998: 118-135) indicates, Ankara as a capital of the Republic was constructed in 1930s rational and functional principles of modern architecture, similar principles of nation building. In the reconstruction of Ankara, service buildings as government offices, schools and hospitals are designed to reflect state authority. In the frame of national goals, the development of Ankara was the creation of a new image for Turkey with Republican ideals via new institutions, and a new physical environment.

Sey (1998: 25-41) indicates that the reconstruction of Ankara as a modern city is a prestige project for the regime. In this respect, the spatial character of the new capital city, Ankara, can be considered as a stage for new social practices. Ankara as the centre and the symbol of the Turkish Republican State had to carry out the principles that the state gives it for the modernization project with a modern life style in new physical environments. “ It is significant to understand how a city become the object of a comprehensive object of social change, according to the relationship between the social and political ideals of the new regime and the creation of a new spatial layout as the administrative centre” (Çağlar: 2001, 40). She defines the case of Ankara that the capital of the newly born Turkish Republic was constructed as a model for new social practices and new urban order as the locus of these practices. In the modernization process, institutional changes consisted of the displacement of previous forms of social institutions and organizations such as administration, education, and social associations.

With the spatial transformation, it was intended to achieve a new urban setting as the locus of new forms of public order and urban relations. These conscious transformations sponsored by the state were named as the “modernization project of the new Republic: Westernization” (ibid: 148).

Urban setting of Kemalism can be seen more clearly in Ankara via the public institutions. For example, in the early Republican period, urban developments along the Boulevard were composed of monumental public structures with the aim of creating a modern urban order.

Atatürk Boulevard can be considered as the representative urban space for Ankara. In this area, there are monumental public buildings. These are all important socio-cultural institutions of the modern nation state. According to Çağlar (2001; 151), besides governmental buildings, the educational institutions also take place in the area. Education is the one of the most important instrument of the nation- state to create the modern citizen. It was an instrument to spread ideology of the state and to discipline its citizens. On the other hand, the Museum of Ethnography and Türk Ocağı were the new generators of modern public life based on the idea of a reconciliation of national culture. The Radio House, Turkish Aviation Institute, and also Opera shows the changes in the cultural life of the citizens of Ankara with their new and modern institutional style.

Additionally, the Gençlik Parkı was one of the earliest urban spaces in the city. The built environment encompasses not only the physical design of new spaces, buildings, forms and objects but also the fashioning of space via nationalist practice, performance and symbols. According to Houston (2005), modernism in Turkey and the animators of its new Kemalist cities were oriented to Islamic/Ottoman cities and their governing order.

In the cities, “the cultural activities and sports are important efforts creating new social. Republican ideology, tries to spread these activities in Ankara to constitute modern social life. The government also encouraged the young to do sports for their health and socialization. Depending on this aim, the establishment of the Stadium in Ankara changed the social life of the city”. Also Gençlik Parkı constitutes a powerful metaphor for social change, not only representing the introduction of an ideal city

park into the urbanization process, but also being a transformative space of past into the future. In this process, nationalistic ideology and ideals were represented by the design of Gençlik Parkı (Uludağ: 1998, 122).

The establishment of Gençlik Parkı in the capital city was the most important attempt in the urban landscaped environment. The park was developed as a representational space of that ideology. For Uludağ (1998: 112) “it was the rationalization of idea of modernization with the aim of creating the need of recreation appropriate to the ideals of Republican leaders”. This can be considered in terms of Lefebvre’s model of representational space. “Representational space is directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of inhabitants’ and ‘users’ ” (Lefebvre: 1996, 39). In that case, the Gençlik Parkı can be considered as a symbol of representation of the everyday life. Therefore, it is possible to say that the Republican ideology reproduces and symbolizes itself via establishing of Gençlik Parkı in the social life of Ankara. Thus, Gençlik Parkı becomes the important symbol of ideology. It also changes the traditional social practice of Ankara.

The key architectural developments from the single-party period, particularly post-1930: the constructing of standard administrative, educational and other public buildings- for example, the village institutes, hospitals, schools and post offices- over the whole country. The other feature of the architectural development is the making of new ceremonial and public spaces, including the formal square and municipal park, organized around a variety of Atatürk statues; the fostering of new associational and spatial practices (Bozdoğan: 1994, 37-55).

Cities in Turkey are also animated as Kemalist in sound. Most clearly, the aural environment of the Kemalist is created and heard through language. Standard built forms of the Republic- the schools, the palace of justice, the military bases, even the concert hall- hum in linguistic monotone (Houston; 2005). “They also echo with the sound of the national anthem: school children are made to sign it every Monday morning and Friday afternoon” (Ibid; 10).

Kemalist thought with its modernization project tried to destruct the past historical root via spatial reorganization and creating new social life within this spatial area.

Ankara can be considered as an example for this transformation because all buildings and spatial construction of Ankara with its parks, boulevard and public institutions represent the ideological impacts of Kemalism in terms of “Ideology of development”. Therefore, it can be said that space becomes the container of Kemalism to reach the idea of modern society.

3.2. Nationalism

French Revolution and Industrial Revolution that take place in the last quarter of the 18th century clearly indicated basic tendencies of the capitalist world order and constituted basic characteristic of the world: an inter-state system, which is composed of world economy and nation-states. French Revolution, at the same time, caused to capitalist structures like ideologies that aimed at understanding world, and institutionalized political movements that intended to alter world. Development of nation-states is a result of this process.

In this context, nation-state becomes an important concept. According to Giddens (1994; 34-35), “nation is a community, which is bound by administration unity, is observed by both internal state system and other states’ system intellectually and exists in a region that has well-defined boundaries. Nation, as a modern phenomenon, is evaluated differently from ethnic communities in terms of its characteristics. Nationalism defines and rationalizes the government in the basis of culture. Nation should be evaluated differently from ethnic community, yet, it needs ethnic nucleus to survive”. For Smith (1986) nation should either absorb some existing ethnic characteristics and assimilates their orations, memories or symbols, or it should develop its own. Therefore, shaping the nations is simply a part of the modernization process; it is determined by ethnic predecessors. These predecessors can get into conflict with modern ones, and in this context, state’s power becomes important.

State’s power has important role in formation of nation-state. Therefore, nation state can be understood as political union of powers. Nation-state tries to govern people by homogenizing people within their own rules with common culture, symbol and value systems (Guibernau: 1996 cited in Koçak: 1998, 12).

Nationalism can be defined as project for developing homogenous society, at the levels of social control and political legal mechanisms, which does not depend on individualist basis; it is a project, oriented to integration of culture, state and government. Nationalism, in general, is evaluated on the basis of its relationship with modernity. According to Gellner (1992), it is a modern and historical phenomenon that appears in the transformation period from agricultural societies to industrial one. During industrial revolution, the spirit was nationalism and it created nations as well. Therefore, nationalism can be defines as follows: `it is a reality that is technologically developed, continuously grows, based on division of labour, gives attention to cultural and economic activation of individuals, assemble common language in a centralized educational system, meet needs for objective requirements of modern industrialized society, designed for ensuring political legitimacy and social control and expresses itself in upper culture`.

Hobsbawn (1990) indicates that nationalism develops as a result of interaction of politics, technology and social transformation, it acquires different characteristics depending on time and geography; and it should be evaluated as a new originality or modern world. Hobsbawn, at the same time, develops concept of `popular pre-nationalism` and with this, he expresses that in historical framework, cultural and political dynamics (religious community, ethnic grouping, language and political dynasty) are precede nationalism and have an effect on its formation.

Anderson (1992), in similar way, indicates that nationalisms can only be developed within capitalism's modern conditions and this relationship is existentialist. Together with press capitalism, objective conditions of time and place started to integrate with government, which means integration of printed text, knowledge and government. Therefore, pre-modern culture transforms into new community under the objective conditions of capitalism. Anderson establishes relationship between pre-modern institutional structures that precedes nationalism and consciousness form that lies behind them, and formation process of nationality and political structure that represent it. Therefore, regional, political and subjective imaginations and press capitalism dynamics become most important predecessors towards theorizing nationalism.

Giddens (1985) distinguishes nation-state from nationalism. Although focus of nationalism is nation-state, it defines nation-state as power. Nation-state and capitalism, in terms of their formation, develop together. Cities include rural/agricultural production places as a result of development of monetary power and nation-state replaces city. Nationalism, on the other hand, emerges as an objective answer for destruction of community structures and condition in which individual is no longer defined by Muslim community as a result of urbanization and technological improvement. According to Giddens, nationalism is “cultural sensitivity regarding sovereignty that accompanies administrative governments’ arrangements in nation state, which has well-defined boundaries” (ibid: 219).

Since concept of nation envisages nation-state, nationalism becomes problem of hegemony. In that sense, Gellner (1992: 20) considers nationalism as problem of equating cultural units with political ones. “During development of upper-culture, resistance of different cultural forms in political boundaries can be evaluated as problem in terms of ensuring social control. In this framework, controlling education system, which is the most important mechanism, means assimilation for lower-cultures. The concept of nationalism is a social power problem that bases principle of coherence of cultural and political units. Nationalism, at the same time, is a political legitimacy theory that envisages non-separation of ethnic boundaries, and particularly ethnic boundaries within state”.

As Anderson and Hobsbawn indicate, characteristic of nationalism and establishment of nation-state process as formal political program, ordered from the top, is starting point to understand Turkey. In Turkey, nationalism is defined as a target for integration with development and modernization process.

Approaches that consider nationalization/nationalism as a step to reach modern civilization become current issue in the framework of official nationalism ideology. Therefore, modernization efforts of Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, in other words; Westernization effort, regarding as equal to scientific, industrial and technological development, constitutes national politics of both Governments. In this framework, relationship between Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey is accepted as continuation than break of. Capitalism emerged when Ottoman State was transforming into World Empire.

Although world empires are political units that survive without anyone's help; nation-states, started to develop with capitalism, are parts of inter-state systems. In terms of structural time, the Republic of Turkey is a nation-state, which is a product of capitalist world system; and in this sense, its relationship with Ottoman Empire indicates a break of (Alpkaya: 2001, 477-499).

In Ottoman period, creation of national economy and national bourgeoisie is seen one of the main targets among the conditions of ensuring national development. According to Insel, understanding of national economy depended not only protective but also monopolist economic understanding. It is the state that ensures and distributes this economical development. National economy understanding, fed by the idea of organic society, also requires understanding of economy in organic sense. In this context, economical development is designed within corporatism. Although national bourgeoisie could not be fully developed in the Ottoman period, it defines main lines of nationalist-development thinking that has effect on the Republican era (İnsel: 2002, 762-776).

Nationalism, indicated as formal political program, ordered from the top by Anderson and Hobsbawn, is considered as starting point to explain Kemalist nationalism. In Turkey, nationalism is evaluated with the target of integration via development and modernization process. Approach that considers nationalization and nationalism as a target for reaching modern civilization becomes current issue within the framework of official nationalist ideology. Therefore, modernization efforts of Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey is defined as a target for Westernization as equal to scientific, industrial and technological development.

According to Insel (2002; 767), "this national economic stage has an economic understanding, which is not only protective but also monopolist, and it is the power of state that ensures economical development. National economy understanding that is fed by the idea of organic society, brings together an understanding of organic and corporatist economy. In this sense, economical development is designed in the structure of corporatism and becomes on the agenda in Ottomans. Even though full fledged establishment of national bourgeoisie can not be accomplished in Ottoman period, it prepares base in for the Republican era and this

economic nationalism development project lay not only in the ground of nationalist thinking but also that of liberal left and radicalism ideas”.

The Republic of Turkey is established as an ideology that depends on nationalism, secularism and modernization trio. Therefore, establishing as a nation-state, nationalism also becomes official ideology of the Republic in principle. According to Mert (2001; 45-83), nationalism, part of founding ideology, changes characteristics in time and in Turkey’s agenda, nationalism and patriotism are considered separately. Nationalism is usually evaluated as leftist nationalism, whereas; patriotism is evaluated as political discourse of radical and centre right. In this sense, nationalism of the founding period, in the framework of secular and modern nation-state and functions of nationalism replace traditional, Islamist and loyalty references, and creates secular-social identity reference.

Akarll (1993; 18-25) defines the period between 1920s and second half of 1930s as a process of nation-state establishment, within the framework of power and government relationships among political cadres. In this period, nationalist Kemalist cadres were established on tendencies, which can be described not only liberal, and Islamist but also communist political parties and define them as ideologies that must be overwhelmed or transformed. This corresponds to what Hobsbawm calls political pre-nationalism and evaluated as elements that should be internalized in the structure of nation-state. In other sense, these trends are theorized as necessary to be eliminated. In this sense, Kemalist Nationalism transforms from purely cultural concept into a program that creates upper-culture. Since the Republic of Turkey is established on modernization ideology, it has to modernize Ottoman values as well. Therefore, nationalism, which depends on Turkism and secularism instead of Islam and Ottoman value system, becomes main ideology of the Republic. “Ottoman tradition, language and culture are considered as elements that need to be overcome in terms of secularism, and Kemalist nationalism emerges within the framework of new History thesis, Sun Language Theory and New Nation” (Koçak; 1998, 32).

As Anderson indicates, in order to spread its own political legitimacy to social ground, Kemalist nationalism has to destroy cultural and political belongingness together with their institutional structures that precedes it.

In that sense, according to Kasaba (1998; 12-18), Kemalist elites have to spread their upper-culture, which is defined by themselves in the dichotomy of new/old, traditional/Western and progressive/reactionist.

“Principles of Kemalism constitute ideological wholeness under nationalist principle and expresses political legitimacy and national upper-culture that spreads on the basis of social control. Nationalist ideology aims to create homogenous, modern, theoretical, mystic and collective identity” (Akarlı: 1993, 23). However, according to several discussions, nation was defined quite secular, social relationships and traditional structure of nationalism could not be defined under this geographical condition and many elements were left behind. Thus, the concept of nationalism gained dominance and as time passed, it is used more radical and rightist sense together with Atatürkçülük. “Religious symbols and values, and community understanding, peculiar to traditional society constituted main elements of rightist nationalism and carried Democratic Party to the government in 1950s. During this government, nationalism transforms from elitist historical project into populist one, originated from people’s political involvement and heads towards demands and values of masses” (Mert: 2001, 62). Democratic Party’s achievement is to define nationalism in populist sense and this path is later followed by Justice Party (AP), Motherland Party (MP) and True Path Party (DYP). In this sense, Democratic Party tradition follows a policy for carrying traditional society to government and where political power is monopolized, there is secularism and modernity and contrary to political centre, real nation carries economical burden. In other words, in terms of cultural values and political power, it is a base that constitutes Democratic Party tradition, which depends on powers of local elites or masses that can be characterized as rural. In this sense, what is national goes out from conceptualization that is imposed by the centre and subjugated to local in terms of culture and economics (İnsel: 2002, 772-773).

As Bora (1995: 34-48) defines that 1950s popular nationalism is based on Turkism and nationalist conservatism. In the ground of this populist nationalism trend, there was rightist populism that basis for reactions against modernization, which took place in 1950s. Ideological sources that affect development of rightist populist nationalism are Turkism and Turk–Islamist populism. With its fascist society and

state view, Turkism is more far away to populism than Kemalist elitism. In this framework, these communities were integrated into political arena.

Towards the end of 1950s, due to radicalization of political agenda, statist elites organized a military intervention against government and Democratic Party was closed. Justice Party (AP) established as a prolongation of Democratic Party went away from populist nationalism and paid attention to liberalism, which is emphasized economically: great Turkey, in terms of economy, rapid increase in prosperity and consumption goods that once again becomes a part of daily life, indicates economic development. Therefore, this development is presented as national duty. In 1970s, radical nationalism emerged as a political movement. In the end of 1970s, political rhetoric was disagreements between rightist/leftist and traditionalist/modernist. In this sense, radical nationalism emerged as way of expression identity search of masses, which are rural and migrated to cities (Mert: 2001, 62).

In this period, central-rightist rhetoric and radical nationalist rhetoric were interconnecting. In a sense, national identity was being Turk and national identity, which had been defined by Kemalist ideology in the process of nation-state building was replaced with being Turk and religious identity.

Bora (1995a) defines that Eastern nationalism, that has its own ethnic and cultural basis represents this new tendency. In this stage, Radical Turkish Nationalism became popular and national elements came to the fore as a reaction to Western nationalisms' standardization and universalizing effect of national values.

“In this rhetoric, Nationalist Movement Party and idealist movement are considered as the most radicals. It is possible to argue that this chauvinist character of MHP and idealist movements regressed in 1950s. Yet, in 1970s, Turkism idea and chauvinist elements once again radicalized. Islam emerged as fundamental element of national identity and nationalist-conservatist rhetoric established at the centre of central-rightist dichotomy in 1970s and 1980s. Central-rightist and nationalist-conservatist rhetoric was gathered under single party with Motherland Party (MP). In this context, radical nationalist Turkism rhetoric was added into politics within central-rightist rhetoric. Motherland Party did not accept nationalism only as a rhetoric and staff. It followed a policy for solving problems due to military

intervention. MP nationalism is linked with economic liberalism. It followed new populist policy and underlined that the feeling of oppression is overcome by nationalist–economic policies (Mert: 2001, 64-65).

As Bora (1993: 8-54) indicates, if MP's policy of connecting nationalism with liberalism is evaluated in capitalist world's identical culture, then it will be inevitable that nationalist ideology gains economic character as well. In this context, Özal makes nationalist rhetoric positive in Turkey. With modernization effort, migration and urbanization movements entered into the scene during Democratic Party and in 1980s, MP was evaluated as the party of migrated population. In other words, rhetoric of MP is interpreted as urban nationalization.

“Apart from conceptualization of urbanization, it is not possible to talk about urbanization analysis of MP that depends on modern, developed, progressive and technologic and scientific elements. It is qualified as the party of masses that come from urban and follow traditions of Democratic Party. In that sense, it is indicated that since Motherland Party emerges in the rapid urbanization period, it urbanizes nationalism” (Mert: 2001, 65). In the framework of this definition, nationalism, which includes traditional–cultural concerns, is one dimension of urbanization.

“In 1990s, nationalism has two aspects: first one is national eternalness and reactionary nationalism that use rhetoric of state eternalness. This trend, together with radical nationalism, affects central–rightist and central-leftist politics as well. Another aspect is emergence of westernised nationalism due to its integration with globalization process in 1980s and 1990s. Forerunner of this trend are internationalized high class of big capital, middle class of urban and media elites” (Bora: 1995a, 100).

“Nationalist ideology that moderates with economic policies and takes root in central–rightist rhetoric, changes attitude in 1990s and radicalized. This radicalism is shaped by rhetoric of True Path Party and developers as a reaction to Kurdish nationalist movements in South-eastern Anatolia. Radicalization of nationalism is explained by excluding DYP from central–right after military intervention and marginalization of it, having established coalition Government with Welfare Party” (Mert: 2001, 64).

By looking at general developments, it is possible to argue that central-rightist rhetoric and nationalism place at the centre of Kemalism. Kemalism is tried to be integrated with central-rightist politics. In this sense, conceptualisation of Atatürkçülük as nationalism is supporter of rightist Kemalism (Bora & Taşkın: 2001, 529-545).

In 1970s, emergence of pluralist characteristic of politics and democratic rhetoric led to the emergence of Islam in politics, which place at the centre of central-rightist rhetoric as principal element of nationalism. While evaluating nationalism in Turkey, Islam should also be taken into account:

“Relationship between nationalism and Islam takes meaning with populist policies in Turkey. Islam is considered as an element that strengthens national homogeneity. Nationalist-conservatist rhetoric, which defines ideological coordination of Turkish right that emerged in 1950s and developed in 1960s, represents main approach that reconciles Islam and Nationalism. In 1980s, the religious was integrated with official ideology to strengthen social stability and loyalty to state. Particularly, in the rhetoric of MP, nationalism and religious conservatism is associated with economic liberalism that enables settlement of Turkish-Islam synthesis. Then, Turkism and Islam emerge as equal determinants of national identity” (Bora: 1999, 72).

Lastly, “Pan-Turkism was rationalized in 1990s and defined as a new element of nationalist movement against Kurdish nationalism. Pan-Turkism draws near to state and political centre that strengthens massive and political links of MHP and regression of Islam. Growth of Islamic movement and its conflict with nationalist one is seen as the reason of this movement. At the same time, nationalism gained ground among urban and middle and upper class youth that is evaluated as popular nationalism. Now, symbol of being Turk popularises and nationalist movement is linked with liberal nationalism” (Bora: 1995a, 122-124).

In conclusion, nationalist movement in Turkey can be taken into account as Bora’s (1995a; 100) classification: Kemalist/official nationalism (nationalist ideology of the establishment period), Kemalist nationalism (Leftist nationalism), Liberal nationalism, Chauvinist Turkish nationalism.

Although all rhetoric is intersected periodically and practically from time to time, their starting point is Kemalist nationalism. According to Koçak (2002; 37-43), all kind of Turkish nationalism try to legitimize, establish and strengthen itself with Atatürk's nationalist understanding.

In terms of contemporary nationalism, nationalism in Turkey is considered as Occidental nationalism. This nationalism, which expresses itself in terms of popular civilization, is in the new rhetoric of European bloc. This reveals populist and Occidental Turkish nationalism, which becomes distant from rural and villager, as rising value. In this rhetoric, Islamist element once again comes on the scene yet, it gains meaning in individual liberal enlightenment and nationalist relationship. In this sense, community of liberal, nationalist, conservatist and rationalist individuals is tried to be created in the system of capitalist social control mechanism. Due to influence of Occidental nationalism, identity is defined as `Euro-Turk`, rather than 1930s national-identity (Bora: 1995a, 125).

3.2.1. Nationalism and Its Urbanization Tendency

Every ideology has spatial dynamics. In this framework, nationalism theorizes itself by symbols, values and rituals. Particularly in official modernization programs that imposed from the top and implemented by the professional elites of nation-states, urbanization and architecture appears as symbols.

In the process of nation-state creation, architecture is defined as visible politics and considered as civilization mission (Bozdoğan: 1998, 118-135).

Together with the effort of creation of a nation, central education system, military obligations and nationwide communication and transportation networks gains importance. In this process, symbols and rituals play important role. With national flag, national anthem, national currency and rituals, nation celebrates its own existence. Place gains meaning at this point. In other words, place is nationalized by a series of monuments and statues. Place transforms into temple, where citizen commemorate nation (Özkırımlı: 2002, 706-717).

Development of state structure and creation of national identity can be considered as place prolongations of Kemalist project in the process of nation-state building. In

this framework, nation-state creation strategies' politics on place are announcement of Ankara as capital, decision of public institutions on location choice and their construction and nationwide spreading of transportation network. Announcement of Ankara as capital symbolizes national unity, centralization and creation of homogenous structure around an identity.

“Together with new nationalization movement that emerges in Europe (National Socialism in Germany, fascism in Italy) in 1930s, radical nationalist and chauvinist ideas also emerges and their reflections are seen in architecture. Monumental, symmetric and large-scale architectural understanding emerges. Architecture is understood as symbolic politics by which state demonstrates its power. Turkey is also affected from this process and `national architecture` understanding becomes dominant. In the establishment period, official buildings are constructed in national style. Due to the domination of central politics, services and industrial buildings are more emphasized rather than the health, education buildings, housing and public settlement” (Alsaç: 1973, 12-25).

Establishing civilized countries' city life, improving health conditions in cities, ensuring city structuring around symbolization of main Republic regimes and its architectural perception are important. In this sense, as Batur (1998; 209-234) indicates, formulization of environment constitutes symbolic example of this politics; “square of Republic and Atatürk statue at the centre of this square on the main boulevard (Gazi Boulevard) of the city”.

Cities, considered within the framework of modernization project, are also programmed by these politics, yet with the dominance of national identity, nationalization of (chauvinist) architecture efforts gains ground. In this context; nostalgic, synthesis-oriented, monumental and populist approaches become important and a kind of urban structuring emerges, in which rationalist-functionalist principles of modernist architecture and old style are synthesized, it is used in monumental forms and shaped with folklore elements.

Urbanization process indicates place organization of both economic activities and modernization (socio-cultural) processes. In this process, urbanization helps nationalist development. In this framework, Friedmann (1973) underlines the

importance of innovation, opportunities and political transformations in the relation between urbanization and national development. Particularly for developing countries, city led to the development of opportunities and extends social power by ensuring exchange of information via communication opportunities. Another aspect is that, due to rapid urbanization and migration, which is a result of urbanization, developing together with industry; masses from different classes could not become a united whole in cities. Creation of national upper-identity could not reconcile identities in conflict. In other words, rapid urbanization accelerates development of politics of masses.

According to Hobsbawn (1990), development of modern nationalism can only be understood by spreading isolated societies within population growth in urban and global economy, and centralized administration organs with their representative (democratic) politics.

Friedmann (1973) considers this process for developed countries and affiliate it with urbanization process. Therefore, differences in place context of modern nationalism emerge: economical constraints in selection of place and leaves from centralization; increasing in geographical mobilization; widening of communication network and development of communication elements between centres can be considered as reasons of this difference. Friedman's innovation, taking as renovation of existing traditions, plays important role in creation of national identity together with symbols and rituals. City gains meaning in conceptualization of elements like; national flags, national anthems and ceremonies, which refreshes national identity. For Turkey, national identity and nationalism is seen in architectural view and principles in the construction of Ankara as capital city includes construction of nation as well. Process of modernization and construction of nation and its reflection in place is not only limited to establishment period. Mechanisms, educational unity, symbols and rituals, which are developed in the construction of nation, exist in re-production phase as well. As Özkırımlı (2002; 70) indicates, "Increase in literacy rate, improvement of communication opportunities and audio-visual press are important roles in re-production of nation".

Nationalist understandings that change within the framework of liberalized politics also emerge. It is possible to argue that especially after 1980, liberalist-nationalist doctrine is dominant and in this framework, strengthening nationalist conservative populism is on the agenda of Turkish politics. Definition of national power and pride in terms of economical and technological improvement and consumption is the main principle of liberalist nationalist doctrine that develops in 1980s (Coşar; 2002, 718-730). With this doctrine, nationalism references popular culture and daily life. In every field like music, sport, cinema, literature and advertisement `nationalist fetish objects` (national flag, official dress, logos, maps) can be seen. Every areas of daily life gain national meaning. This area represents living space of unofficial nationalism that is not in compatible with official one. This means official ideology and nationalism are re-defined in this area. These popular unofficial nationalist areas can be considered as re-production mechanisms of nationalism.

In this context, three reference points of urbanization and nationalism in their parallel development periods are informative in developing relationship between urbanization and nationalism: modernization, development of nation and liberalism and populism. From 1990s onwards, an Occidental nationalist trend is dominant in Turkey, which sees national interest as integration with globalization process and adaptation of civilization. This trend, in which urban middle classes represent capital and media elites, lays the groundwork for liberalizing and popularizing nationalist tendency.

Re-production of nationalism in the process of popularization turns into `grotesque` propagandist characteristic. In that sense, particularly newspapers that publish nationalist messages, songs or sports games can be given as example. On the other hand, there is a national symbol system, which can not be perceived but exist in the details of daily life: newspaper logos, stamps, license tags, name of coffees, foods etc. Symbols that gain meaning and become more visible in urban, and popular and official culture forms ensure difference, continuity and legitimacy of nationalism (Özkırımlı; 2002).

Urbanization of nationalism with the liberal policies of 1950s legitimizes reproduction and popularization of nationalism in urban. In the framework of Özkırımlı's analysis, popular nationalism, reinforcing by official ideology, transforms into an ideology that defines daily life and continuously reminds national identity:

Educational system is under state control to a great degree; and educational curriculum is defined by the centre (...) Exuberant celebration of national festival is encouraged and infiltration of national symbols into daily life is ensured (playing national anthem in schools, official meetings, sport games; requirement of having the portrait of Atatürk in official buildings; giving streets, squares and parks a name of `great Turks` etc.) (...) Mass communication tools provide great support for re-production of nationalism by influencing public -catching Abdullah Öcalan and Kardak crisis-(ibid: 715).

3.3. Islamism

Islam is an organized body of religious doctrine, with its own rights and disciplines. At the same time, "it is a system of social ethics and practices generally common to those who believe in this region independent from irrespective of racial or political divisions" (Gibb; 1970:3). "The system itself is based on the Qur'an and therefore is accepted as the literal Word of God, expanded by Traditions traced to the Prophet, and elaborated in the Sacred Law, on Sharī'a. (ibid: 5)

The rules of Islam is set of for social, political and private lives, these rules are constructed theologically. That is, the legitimacy of this constructed structure is maintained by the sacred power of Allah. In this system, the source of social, cultural and individual identity is a religious are which is constituted in term of Sharī'a. Umma (Muslim community), is the general and basic reference of all kinds of identities. All people, of whatever class or group and under whatever influence, were Muslims (Rahman: 1979, Gibb: 1970).

Modernizations process by its characteristics; the establishment of nation-states, the national economics integration to the world system and secularization determines the Turkish cultural, political and social policies and also Islamism in Turkey.

The process of modernism is not a total withdrawal of religion, but its revision in accordance with the rational principles. (Tuncay: 1981)

"Turkish modernization reforms aimed to strengthen the central state while weakening the religious establishment. From 1922 to 1924, the government abolished the sultanate, the caliphate, the office of Şeyh-ül-Islam (the highest religious authority in the Ottoman Empire), and the Shari' a courts. Between 1925 and 1930, religious orders and the fez (ottoman Muslim head gear for men) were outlawed. Swiss civil codes, Italian penal codes, and the Latin alphabet were adopted and then the principle of secularism was inserted in to the constitution in 1937" (Sakallıoğlu; 1996, 233-234).

According to Yavuz (2003:31), "the Kemalist reform o aimed to create state monitored public spaces to secularize and nationalize society. The opportunity spaces were limited. The centralization and interference of the state politicized

religion to an unprecedented degree. Rigid state policies led many people to perceive Islam increasingly as the language of opposition. Thus the large Sunni periphery embraced Islam as a way of challenging the policies of the centre. The debate between the Islam and secularism has become the debate about the boundary of state and society, the public and private”.

As the Kemalist elite increasingly came to view the communist movement in Turkey as a security threat, it also saw the Islamic movement as an antidote to the perceived ills created by the Left. Thus the deepening of electoral democracy and “the repression of democratic Leftist forces” helped to create political opportunities for Islamic movements.

“Democratic Party (DP), when gained power in the 1950 elections, exploited religious themes and had some implementations in this direction. By this power, DP has tried to expand the free area of religious public sphere. It has become the representative of Kurdish, small traders and the periphery” (Maḥçupyan: 1998, 140-141). Why DP has been so powerful is because Republican People’s Party (CHP) seemed to have underestimated the bitterness that had built up in the villages in reaction to their authoritarian behaviour. CHP sought to appeal to the electorate by lessening the state’s control. In religion, especially, it reintroduced Koran courses, and allowed foreign currency to be provided for Turks to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Just before the elections, it reopened many important tombs and monasteries for visiting. In spite of these efforts, on 14 May 1950, it was trounced because they did not succeed in convincing the electorate that they were sincere in their relaxation of measures association with religion.

Once in power, DP’ first acts was to confirm that the proscription on calling to prayer in Arabic would be lifted. Menderes presided over the opening of the Imam-hatip schools, authorised the opening of a further important tomb, etc. These indicated quite explicitly that his government was favourable towards Islam (Shankland: 1999, 35-39).

From 1915 to 1950, the internal dynamics of Turkish Islamism were shaped. The secularization policies of the state did not succeed fully because they focused on public sphere and were not able to touch the grassroots level of informal societal

networks. However, DP relied on the local informal networks and in turn, reproduced and consolidated authoritative, hierarchical patron-client relations. The DP's liberal policies towards Islam prevented the radicalization of religious groups, and expanded the social basis of the state by integrating religious groups in to the system (Yavuz: 2003, 56-62). Some of them have become reconciled with the modernist official ideology, but some have continued their opposition within fragmented structures like *Nurcus*, *Süleymançıs*, *Kadiris*, *Işıkcıs* (Mardin:1989, 284-289).

In the 1950s and 1960s, Islamic movements acquired nationalistic, anticommunist, and conservative features. Thus, Islamic movements during the period of DP fully integrated in to the centre right of the Turkish political spectrum. It means that the political system failed to cope with the massive increase of popular political participation and the mobilization of an Islamic identity.

The program of DP was hardly distinguishable ideologically from the Republican People's Party (RPP). One element of differentiation was the new part's attitude toward religion and also less government intervention in religious affairs. This provide sufficient to mobilize large segments of the population and incorporate many Islamic elements. The decade of DP was seen as an expansion and consolidation of Islam's place in official political life of the country. In this process Islamic sects remained illegal, but were in fact tolerated and edged their way in to political scene, especially the faith of *Nurcu* Sect, supported DP (Margulies and Yıldızoğlu: 1988, 13; Yavuz: 2003, 63; Shankland: 1999, 39).

DP was basically free-market oriented and its power base consisted of large numbers of land owners and peasants in the more developed regions of Turkey. For these diverse and pluralistic elements making up the power base of the DP, Islam did not represent a political ideology but, rather cultural traditions. The demands of rural massed of the party can be seen as an evidence for cultural perspective of it; religious courses and radio broadcasts, the call for prayer in Arabic; setting up Imam-Hatip schools, and also faculty of Divinity at Ankara University.

For Sakallıoğlu (1996; 237), "what DP achieved was to lend legitimacy to Islam and traditional culture in the context of the official politics of the country. However, in the

DP's time, Muslims were not protected in a real sense because DP took steps to appeal to traditional Muslim sentiment for political gain. In fact, during the 1957 elections, the DP was faced with economic failures and rising unpopularity, and so tried to enlist the support of the sects and the *Nurcus*".

The spreading effects of the sects and Islamic reactions cause a coup against the DP government on 27 May 1960. The military government between 1960 and 1961 used Islam as an underlying ideological principle of its reform platform. Thus, the military, in short, continued the state's political tradition of distinguishing between two Islams-one secular and dispassionate, the other reactionary. In this process, enlightened Islam was regarded as the best bulwark against communism and religious fanaticism (Yavuz: 2003, 63-64).

After DP, Justice Party (JP) has become the constitutional party. It helped to achieve the integration of the rural and provincial populations into urban life. For Yavuz (2003; 65), "JP aimed to build bridges between society and the state. Therefore, it offered a way of blending personal religious piety with political secularism and the market economy". According to Sakallioğlu (1996; 239), "JP was limited by its Liberal-Westernist Stance, which lied the legitimacy of political system to popular sovereignty and eliminated Islam from the public sphere".

Unlike the DP, JP sought a more secular-liberal identity, and these direct consequences on the form and substance of its policy toward Islam. From this point of view, the exceptionally rapid socioeconomic development, increasing prosperity, and Welfare benefits that the JP governments managed to bring about in the 1960s helped the party increase its legitimacy within the secular-bureaucratic elite.

Margulies and Yıldızoğlu (1988: 14) see the 1960s, "increasing Islam's profile in official politics. This reason is that the DP and JP were able to implement economic policies. In fact, they both met basic demands of agrarian producers. Rising prices for cereals, extensive state investment in infrastructural projects, cheap credit and favourable prices enabled farmers to expand production; agricultural output increased dramatically throughout the 1950s. Domestic trade expanded the satisfaction of the provincial bourgeoisie of merchants, traders and middlemen. In short, the 1950s and 1960s were a time for the peasantry and provincial middle

classes. In fact, these two classes constitute the popular base of Islamic resurgence”.

The rapid industrialization and rural-urban migration of the prior decades led to rising waves of workers activity. In fact “rapid urbanization, industrialization and was rural-urban migration created widespread rootless ness, anomie, estrangement and identity crises which created grounds for the re-emergence of repressed orders like “*Nakşibendi*’ and the reconstitution of neo orders like ‘*Nurcus*’ and ‘*Süleymancıs*’ ” (Seylan:1987, cited in Açıklın:1987,11-12).

“In the 1970s, political divisions were based on ideological divisions between the Left and Right. RPP defected to the left, and become and advocate for ethnic (Kurdish) and religious (*Alaquite/Alevi*) minorities. This differentiation caused movements among growing peasant militancy, radical student movement. In this process, Justice Party assumed an identity as the party of big business and consequently lost the support of other constituencies, giving rise to a number of smaller parties, for example, the National Order Party (later National Salvation Party, or NSP)” (Margulies and Yıldızoğlu: 1988, 14).

According to Sakallıoğlu (1996: 241) “the power is based on the NSP emanated from the Muslim Sufi sects and Islam on a popular level”. It is widely acknowledged that the party was supported by *Nakşibendi* sect. A distinctive feature of the NSP’s sect based support was the existence of a *Nakşibendis*. This was the first time in Turkish politics that sects had played a crucial role in backing a pro-religious political party”

The standard argument for the genesis of political Islam in the 1970s emphasizes economic grievances along with the cultural alienation of small merchants, businessman and artisans (Turan: 1991, 45 and Sarıbay: 1983, 219).

The rise of the National Salvation Party signalled the return of Islam as a reaction for socioeconomic opposition to the central authority. NSP’s policies stressed the importance of “morals and virtue” opposed secularism. In 1974, Erbakan and Ecevit (NSP and RPP) made a coalition. In doing so, NSP invested the Islamic movement with the legitimacy of a national party platform.

At the time of Erbakan's re-entry into politics, Turkey was still under the influence of 20 May 1971 coups. They suggest that the military authorities, confident in their ability to limit Islamic movements/militancy saw Erbakan both as a potential opponent to Demirel's Justice Party, and a means to impede the spread of communism. Although Erbakan with its "*national sigh*" aimed to state-led economic development within a populist Islamic framework; raising the number of Imam-Hatip schools, introducing the religious moral lessons into middle schools and increasing the numbers of state-funded imams in villages; they couldn't succeed in doing these goals within the coalition (Shankland: 1999, 88-90).

"The rise of Islamic thought in politics and public area cause a 1980 military coup. The impact of the military intervention of 1980 on the Islamist movement was twofold: One of them was prosecution of NSP leaders were prosecuted for violating article 163 of the penal code, which outlaws "the exploitation of religion for political purposes". The other was the NSP's middle and lower-tier cadre entered the Özal's new party" (Margulies and Yıldızoğlu: 1988, 16).

"Authoritative secularism was reason for Strengthening of Islam and the cooperation of social needs under the religious form. These were moved to political sphere; therefore secularism and democratisation was thought separately. With the state covered secularism, request for democratisation has given rise to Welfare Party (WP)" (Mahçupyan: 1998, 151).

WP prouiding openness of public sphere for the Islamist demands, set the radicalization of Islam and it has built a bridge between the state and society (ibid; 283). Because Welfare Party, unlike the NSP, has been broadening its constituency to include youth; women and those have been suffering under the economy's market conditions since 1980. "Welfare Party adopted an anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian rhetoric in order to appeal to subaltern populations. The man support base of the party shifted from the conservative provinces to urban poor areas in metropolitan centres and to Kurdish regions" (Tuğal: 2002, 93).

"In 1987 Erbakan returned to the fray by taking over leadership of the Welfare. During the 1990s, the Welfare Party made spectacular gains and then in 1991 elections, by combining with the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and the Democratic

Reformist Party (Islahatçı Demokrasi Partisi) they gained 62 seat 6 in the Grand National Assembly” (Shankland: 1999, 92).

During the 1980s, some new concepts like democracy, civil society, and liberal Islam and women rights appeared in the Islamic literature. This was the result of increasing differences and the Özal’s politics. Islamic thought 1950 to 1980 has changed into more modernist discourse. These changes can be seen as a contribution to Turkish democratic structure. The agreement between the Islamic groups and public sphere and also political life has more contribution to these areas (Çaha: 2004, 466-492). In this concept, NSM (National Sight Movement) helped to integration of the Islamic groups into politics. NSM is the movement; on the one hand it represents the refecton towards the system. On the other hand it supports urbanization and modernization NSM organized the periphery groups towards the centre and also it harmonizes the centre by them. This movement wants to organize society b describing the public politics again through the common goals and shared Islamic identities.

During the Özal period the new areas which were emerged as a result of neo-liberal economical politic and also new Anatolian bourgeoisie led WP’s politics change into more market economy. From this point of view, MGH Started to move as a tool for new bourgeoisie and its politics. However, in an economic sphere, it gave new meaning to “justice and ethic” for the “other” excluded groups in society. “Just order” becomes the discourse of 1990s (Yavuz: 2004; 591-603). “Just order is seen not as a way of bringing about an Islamic political system but as a way of addressing the immediate social and economic problems of Turkey” (ibid: 2003, 222).

Beginning with the post-1980 military regime and during the ensuing MP governments from 1983 to 1991, state policy toward Islam underwent radical changes. Official discourse, for Sakallıoğlu (1996; 244), articulated and tolerated Islamic elements in the political-public realm. In this perspective, The *Süleymani* and *Nakşibendi* orders are allowed to run unofficial Qur’an courses and youth hostels to educate needy youngsters who have come from provincial and rural areas to be educated in the cities. “With the promoted liberal thought in the 1980s, Islam become the main control vehicle through which the state reshaped modernity in line with the ideology of marketing” (ibid; 245).

In this process, WP's economic politics has changed in to more modernist perspective. According to Yavuz (2003:215), "Islamic groups support full integration into the EU for the rise of new bourgeoisie from Anatolia, also they think that religious freedom would be protected better under the EU; the increasing influence of a new generation of Muslim politicians and intellectuals".

The rising supports of WP and its politics were seen as a threat for the Republic. In fact; 1996 was the time that Welfare Party, The True Path Party and Motherland Party made a coalition. However, faced with mounting criticism from within his own party, an erosion of support for the coalition among the True Path Party, widespread civil protest, and explicitly pro-secular moves from the army, national Security Council, and state prosecutor, Erbakan resigned in 1997. After then he was found guilty of acting against the secular constitution. He was prohibited on taking away active part in politics for five years (Shankland: 1999, 93-243).

After closure of WP, the parliamentarians establish the Virtue Party (VP). Recai Kutan as a leader of FP, gave more emphasize an integrative to EU, democracy and multiculturalism. During 1990s; after closing of VP, Islamic thought, especially MGH separated in to two mentality; are of is the conservative faction of VP; Happiness (Saadet) Party; the other areas is the more Moderate Leaders Party, the Justice and Development Party (JDP)- (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi/AKP).

Discourses of the AKP, emphasizes on democracy, laicism, human rights and freedom. It gives priority to free market economy and competitive economy. Party, especially concerns the social policies of the state; depending on this view, private sector, and civil institutions and civil society organizations become important to force state to generate social policies (Akdoğan: 2004, 625). According to Akdoğan, AKP in its position and discourse can not be seen as a politic Islam category. AKP sees itself as a mass party of the centre-right.

"AKP represents another attempts to retrieve the pioneering legacy of Özal in expanding the public sphere and bringing a shared code of moral values into the public sphere" (Yavuz: 2003, 258). AKP represents the philosophical transformation. AKP while protects Islam as a reference source; it accepts the importance of concerning the modernist thoughts for the political goals. For this reason, AKP

gained more support from the all levels of society and it started to spread over the Islamism becoming more popular (Yılmaz: 2004, 616).

For Yavuz (2004: 602) “AKP’s social and cultural thought is conservative, economic thought is liberal and its political concerns are still statist. AKP to gain more support, to make more connection with the more masses, and to become powerful against the statist-elites describe its transformation thoughts and needs in terms of ‘the criteria of European Union’ “.

Although, its basis comes from MGH, AKP’s politics is for a way from Islamism, and MGH. It is more obvious in the international politics; during the Iraq War; sending Turkish soldier to Iraq or the opening of Turkish areas for American soldiers can be seen as a loss of Islamic reflex of AKP. However, there is no agreement inside the parliamentarians, therefore, this process showed that the Islamic thought of society cannot be forgotten easily (Çakır: 2004, 575).

Islamism in Turkey in brief, has pluralistic characteristic. More importantly, there are a range of Islamic groups and platforms expressing different interests, priorities, goals, and sentiments. Despite its diversity, political Islam in Turkey has become a dominant idiom in the politics and culture. Especially for the government, Islam is used as an antidote to leftist ideology by increasing the thought of nationalism and conservatism. In addition, Islam in Turkey serves as “melting pot” to integrate diverse ethnic groups. As conclusion, Islam in Turkey is usually understood and seen in the state form. It becomes more liberal for increasing religious consciousness. These are explained in relation with urbanization of Islam.

3.3.1. Islam and Its Urbanization Tendency

Space is not a kind of pure, but is a set of structures and relations. It is crucial in thinking about culture an ideology because it is where ideology and culture take on physical existence and representations.

“Islam is seen as an urban religion. The ideological as well as the organisational elaboration and institution of Islam occurred in the urban centres” (Zubaida: 1985, 313).

In Turkey, Islam is an integral part of life in the city as it grows and develops. From this point of view, the city can be seen and thought in terms of Islamism. Shankland (1999: 15) shows how Islamic spaces confuse at the centre of city: "A visitor arrives by air to Ankara the heart of the Republic. From the airport, the road into the city cuts through ever-expanding suburbs and squatter towns built on the slopes of bare rack hills; In the midst of almost every settlement, usually in the most conspicuous part of the landscape, lays a mosque. As the road passes into the heart of the city, the visitor passes *Kocatepe Mosque*, which the classical monument of modern Ankara, the mausoleum of *Atatürk*, set upon the opposite hill, and acts as a focus for religious belief in Turkey's capital"

Mosque is the most important structure for all Islamic cities. For Marçais (1928: cited in Abu-Lughod: 1987, 156) "Islamism is a religion of cities and he introduces several characteristic elements of the physical Islamic city. For example, a city must have a congregational Friday mosque and it must have a market/bazaar nearby. Associated with the mosque-market, the public both is the other feature of Islamic cities". For Alsayyad (1991: 13) "the typical Muslim city was identified as an inward oriented city with a Friday mosque and a market bazaar at its centre".

Islamic city is analyzed with more Middle Eastern cities. In this perspective, the religious function of the city determines the space, and mosque is the most important feature of city because of its cultural, educational and religious roles (Aktüre: 1981, 8).

Cities are the products of many forces, and the unique to the combination of those forces. Therefore, some forces create Islamic city. According to Abu-Lughod (1987: 155-176) subdivision into smaller quarters (district), neighbourhood, gender segregation in spaces, segregation between commercial and residential quarters are the main features that makes city as Islamic.

In Lapidus model, the city is analyzed in two ways; on the one hand in the relationship between space and social groups, on the others hand in the perspective of geographical and religious aspects of city organization. According to Lapidus (1969: 51-52)," the religion as a social control and administrative centre, affects city. He adds that districts are the smallest but the most important organizations in

Islamic cities. These districts represent the powerful social control among the religious groups”.

When Islamic city is analyzed, two major factors come into mind: first one is its social organization the other one is its spatial organization. Islamic cities are explained with its more powerful social control. In this view, Sjoberg (1965) analyses of pre-industrial cities can be related with Islamic cities. Pre-industrial cities are explained in terms of social control mechanisms like family, economy, education and religion. In a social life, family and guilds are important tools for applying control in the cities on the other hand; religious is the other important tools for social control.

For Muslims, cities often possess a special sanctity, and are regarded as the sole places in which a full and truly Muslim life may be lived. Muslim Urbanities are deeply attached to their residences. Islamic cities are controlled by patrimonial rulers and the fact that Islamic cities were aggregates of sub-communities rather than socially unified communities (Turner: 1998, 99).

Islamic cities are divided into quarters or districts, and each district has its own homogenous community. The social solidarity of these districts reflected the religious identity of its inhabitants: The continuity of tribal organization within the city context imported rural arrangements into urban life (Turner: 1998; Lapidus: 1969; Abu-Lughod: 1987; Gilseman: 2000).

For Weber, it was the urban piety of certain status groups within the context of autonomous cities that was characteristic of the rise of European capitalism. The absence of urban piety of artisans and the absence of city autonomy in Islam an important aspect of the problem of capitalism in Muslim culture (Turner: 1998, 94).

“Islamic cities are not really urban communities. To constitute a full urban community, a settlement must display a relative predominance of trade-commercial relations with the settlement as a whole displaying the following features;

- fortification
- market
- a court and autonomous law
- a related form of association
- a partial autonomy and autocephaly

While the pre-industrial Islamic city, usually had a market and a wall, it had a market and a wall, it had however no legal privileges and no charter; for Islamic law emphasized that all believers were equal. Whether living in town or country; nor did they city have any form of autonomy, any recognition of a distinct territorial status.

It was in the city that urban piety, legal autonomy, occupational associations and political involvement developed” (ibid; 94-99). Therefore, it is necessary to study Islam in terms of cities. Space and its ideological construction and also its social reflection are a tool for understanding ideologies.

The physical form of the Islamic city reflected its social structure. In its similarity, there are some common features to Islamic cities: according to Castello (1977; 10) “the seat of military power, a royal palace, mosque, the bath house, bazaar and the type of house are the major common characteristics of Islamic cities”.

“The fundamental feature of the structure of the Islamic city is the separation of its economic activities and its residential functions. The economic centres occupy the centre of the city. The central area of the markets is linked to the main mosques. The specificity of the central area appears in its activities, focused on trade, religion, and education. Around this centre, there spreads an area devoted above all to residential housing” (Raymond: 1994, 3-18).

In addition to them Alsayyad (1991: 13) explain that “the typical Muslim city was identified as an inward oriented city with a Friday mosque and a market bazaar at its centre”. For him, irregular streets leading to segregated residential quarters make its circulation network.

“The mosque and the market are the two “focal points” of the city. The mosque is the political as well as religious centre of the settlement. Near the mosque as a religious centre, there are small shops. With is Friday mosque, its markets and, its public baths, can the duties of the religion be fully performed. Public space has a complex range of meanings. These meanings are not socially neutral but rather they are some social forms and relationship. This is true of the space of the mosque itself. The mosque is the public in the sense that within it men form a congregation as Muslims. This space dissolves the specificity of self and family and group into what is taken as the basic, fundamental identity of membership in the community of the faithful. It opposes the social definitions of space as mosque and market are often linked, so one the code of honour and the countervailing forces of divine authority placed in sacred areas. Mosques enormous symbolic and practical importance makes them both signs of community and also fit signs of the prestige and power of the rulers” (Gilseman: 2000, 175-176).

“In a physical and its social organization, there are three Islamic elements that set in nation the processes that give rise to Islamic cities are: a distinction between the members of the community and outsiders; this leads to distinction by neighbourhoods; the segregation of the sexes within the space and a legal system not general regulations over space but regulation of neighbours over space” (Abu-Lughod: 1987, 172).

The major features of Islamic cities are the division of spaces depending on sexes. For example, house is gendered spaces. The creation of male and female turf is the most important element of the structure of the city contributed by Islam for Lughod (ibid: 167). He explains that turfs were to establish visually distinctive or insulated regions. Therefore, the object is to protect visual privacy. In this sense, Islamic law regulate the placement of windows, the heights of adjacent buildings and the mutual responsibilities of neighbours toward are another for guarding visual privacy.

In a social context, in which hierarchy and stratification and group identity are regarded as the basis of the social order, the preponderance of spatial settings is seen in terms of exclusion, visibility, invisibility and closure. In these contextual settings, open spaces are rare. These are of man’s. It is explained in the context

how they see women or how they conceptualize women in society. If space means relationship, men and women relationship is reflected in the space too.

Gilseman (2000: 171-172) explains that "women are the centre of a family's social identity. Women are seen both as the embodiment of purity and also as a source of danger. Their sexuality may bring dishonour and destruction. Therefore, women may only exist in the private domain, in social closed space. They have no public and open life. The house is globally defined as female".

"These reflections in analyzing space show the Islamic complexity. Islamic forms and institutions are always interrelated with other forms. In Islamic context, "seeing" is more important in institutions and forms. Like in mosque, or palaces, being above, looking over is a powerful symbolic element. In this culture, in public places the publicness, the "being seen" is both a guarantee and a risk. In that sense, mosque is no one's space, it is communal. At the mosque and in the market powerful religious sanctions hedge round with prescriptions and taboos. However, houses are so built, windows so sited, entryways so constructed that no one can see in unlike mosque and markets into which anyone may come" (ibid: 190).

The form of the house resulted from the demands of climate, of family life and of Islamic ideology. The emphasis on family privacy means that the house might be divided into upper and lower storeys, the visitors using only the lower storeys, or there might be a separate court for the harem as family sanctuary. The emphasis on family privacy in pre-industrial city influenced the design of houses and the pattern of social relationships at the family level (Castello: 1977, 11-62).

Islamic thought and its social context is easily seen at the spatial level. Most importantly, mosque and the market is seen as a male public area, and the segregation of spaces in terms of sexes and the division of districts in terms of ethnics are more important examples for socially construction of space.

These are all same for the Ottoman Era of Turkey. Ottoman Empire is ruled on Islamic ideology. The historians of Istanbul tend to speak of Istanbul as if it was the first Turkish or Muslim city, because for Muslims, its conquest had a symbolic meaning. Characteristics of Muslim cities were partly implemented in Istanbul. The

quarter (district) as the socially definable unit of the city, its centre being the mosque, had the same function.

The system of Foundation (pious foundation) is another Muslim institution found its most developed implementation in Istanbul. The Friday mosque and the market connected with it, was also a characteristic of the early Muslim cities. However, for Kuban (1996: 207) in Istanbul, this characteristic had no meaning. The city was too big, and there were too many Friday mosques, and they were not necessarily connected with the control markets. In addition, the concept of *Külliye* means a “social complex of various buildings connected with a mosque” (ibid: 207). This is different for Istanbul; there were small complexes without mosques, expressing a more developed concept of social Welfare and culture. In short, Istanbul was not a model city corresponding to some ideal of a Muslim city. It was own type in context of Islam. Kuban gives the social and the spatial complex of Istanbul as an example for Turkish Muslim cities. In this context, two social institutions, between which the social life of the common person was organised, were the family and the mosque.

There was the bazaar (market) in between, and above all of them, the palace. District (quarter) is the urban institution corresponding to the family is both social and physical entity. The larger social content of the city was distributed corresponds between the mosque and the *Külliye*, the bazaar and the palace. While the district corresponds compact social group, the mosque corresponds less compact and more diffused social context. The district and the *mescid* constituted a single, compact, socially meaningful unity, but if a *mescid* was the spiritual centre of a district, the house constituted the base of its physical character, expressing family life in its socio-religious character. The physical shape of the city, consisting of an organic accumulation of districts, was created by houses. The woman in the city had to seclude herself in the family area, i.e. the house. Like the previous explanation of Islamic city characterise, in Istanbul, residential district might be completely separate from the commercial quarters. Houses are identified as a private universe. Another characteristic of all Muslim cities is cul-de-sac, blind alleys, was related to Islamic concepts of family privacy. It was not a street, it was an outlet from a house or a group of houses, there were only an open space around the local *mescid*, or public fountains (Raymond; 1995).

In addition to these characteristics with Istanbul, the Foundation becomes an important institution in city. All kind of public services, from the construction of mosques to the water supply, from education to health, from the distribution of food for the poor to the founding of libraries, from caravanserais to hostels, caravanserais and shops were erected and functioned within the system of the Foundation. The Foundation was on individual act and contribution, of religious nature, a charity. The charter of the Foundation provided the necessary means to city (Kuban: 1996, 199-286 and Raymond: 1995, 154-158).

This spatiality was changed with the Republican Era. The secularization and the changing of government, the Kemalist thought also changes the spatial from of social context. It shows that ideologies changes and effect spatial construction. Each ideology constructs its space. It is obvious in the Turkish period, throughout the Ottoman era to Turkish Republican Era. The Republic sought to release itself from the Ottoman image and to symbolize the national state. In this concept, the first thing was the changing of capital city. The development of Ankara as a capital city was mainly to create a new image for Turkey with republican and national goals.

In Turkey, the urbanization process is thought with modernization process. In fact, in Ottoman era, during the 19.century, the modernization process affected capitalist circulation of government. Industrial revolution also had affects on Ottoman institutional and economical structure. This gives birth for the spatial development. However, with the Republican era, these reforms changes into new direction differently from Ottoman thought. New urban should have been national and modern (Tekeli: 1998, 1-24).

“Turkish nationalism had emerged in relation to ideas of modernity (citizenship, statehood, industrial development). Which were secular? This secularism was opposed to the Islamic multiculturalism of the Ottoman state. Islam was relegated to the domain of private morality. That is, every aspect of the public practise of the faith was to be dismantled and swept away on the road to modern nation-statehood until 1950. This period represents the public face of the Islam with the Democratic Party” (Stokes: 1994, 24).

“Republic was against to Islamic understanding of life. Therefore, public areas were controlled by the state by privatizing Islam. However, when the Democratic Party, become the leader party, it aimed to free the Islamic public space. It becomes the party of rural, small merchant party” (Mahçupyan: 1998, 140-141).

“Once in power, Democratic Party’s first act was to confirm that the proscription on calling to prayer in Arabic would be lifted. Menderes presided over opening of the *Imam-Hatip* schools, authorised the opening of a further important tomb, the *Eyüp Sultan Tomb*. Since his popularity increased, he starts to use the symbols of Islam more explicitly” (Shankland: 1999, 38-39). The increasing migration from rural to urban has led to disordered urban context. Especially the squatters were the production of modernization programmes of Menderes government. With the rural migration to urban, many features of rural have been moved to urban areas. According to Bulaç (2004: 49) in social aspect; “whole Islamist world and on Turkey, the great social migration movement started 1950s. Rural masses migrated from villages to cities. This leads to transformation of social structure”.

Democratic Party has become the Faith party in 1950 by the lots of squatters. 1950-60 represents the “becoming district” in urban. Development of urbanisation in the 1945-50 periods was just started. Economical organization and service system were very weak. After industrialization and urbanisation was started in 1950, low level educated, unorganized, unqualified workers who have been migrated from rural to urban, become the other features of the city. Unlike their social and spatial integration, economical contributes to the cities of migrants is more important. Especially, they become the reproductive force in industrial sector. Then they were seen as on marginal or informal sector in economy (Şenyapılı: 1998, 301-317).

Rapid expansion of cities and rapid increases in population cause the increase in employment and in service facilities in big cities. Rapid increase in population and spatial expansion of cities led to the concept of squatter (*gecekondu*) that occurred by the occupation of public land.

Squatter sphere for Erman (1998: 317-324) was seen as a sphere in which rural way of life was reproduced. In this concept, squatters were identified as rural in urban and they were seen as a source of “arabesque” in the city.

After Turkish Republic emerged in relation to ideas of modernity, Islam was relegated to the domain of private morality; that is, every aspect of the public practice of faith was to be dismantled and swept away on the road to modern nation-state. In this context, Islam was presented as a voice of periphery. However, after DP this situation was changed and Islam started to be vital element of Turkish urbanization (Stokes: 1994, Chp: 2).

Especially, during the Welfare Party, the urban thought was challenged by Islamic perspective. The increase in population, infrastructural improvement, massive migration produced a dislocated rural population in urban. This movement brings with a rural way of life that is more entrenched in Islamic cosmology. With the becoming squatter, as it was mentioned before, "villagification of urban life" becomes the problematic spatial construction of cities. The new synthesis consists of more nationalist enthusiasm, Islam and also their way of life. In facts arabesque (their music style) was seen as a reflection towards urban life. In this process, the Welfare Party offered such a synthesis to meet these new demands (Shankland: 1999, 95-101).

Immigrants were not integrated into the formal economy, but instead came to form an informal sector. Squatter areas become important centres for political parties seeking to mobilize support. "Within these squatter towns, Islam becomes a means of communication and alliance formation. Islamic rituals and teachings are reinterpreted under these new urban conditions to provide the cognitive means to understand the social and political world of a new and unsettling urban life" (Yavuz; 2003, 83).

In such an integration way, *hemsehrilik* and religiously oriented Welfare associations become on main tool to adopt these people to the urban life. These groups are informal that forms to assist members in social, political and economic fields. It mobilizes pre-nationalistic loyalties (to the rural, hometown, religious solidarity networks). Family and village kinship networks are tended to reconstitute themselves within their own quarters (district). In addition to these groups, local mosques often become the centre for integrating and assisting newcomers. For Yavuz (2003: 85) "the mosque-building; which includes the establishment of a religious association, collection of money and voluntary work, helps newcomers to

know each other through their shared language of Islam and to create a web of interactions that can be used in other spheres of social life”.

The squatter sphere (*gecekondu*) has also political importance in the city. Especially, during the late 1970s, squatters determined the political agenda of the urban. Left and right parties tried to effect and influence them to take them their way. Democratic Party was the example for becoming Faith Party by the support of squatter “people” in this context, squatter sphere has not only spatial meaning but also political impact in urban process (Şengül: 2001,85 and Gürel: 1997,24-27).

Urban in 1980 changed its face. Especially, Islamism increased more rather than past years. It becomes universal in its thoughts; however its social aspect was still local. As a social movement, Islamism identified itself as a local condition, but as a thought, it carried universal role (Çiğdem: 2004, 26-34).

“The mass migration changed the social construction of cities. In this process, the basic argument was not only Islamisation of formal society the state, but also Islamisation of all cultural and social structures” (Bulaç: 2004, 48-67).

Democratisation and liberalisation after 1980 made many changes and transformation in both public and political spheres. In fact, many groups have the hopes of basic rights and independence, social civic and religious freedom. In this context, Islam was the most important value that increased in public sphere among these groups. During this period, Islamist movement has two trends; Islamisation of institution by moving Islam to the public. The other trend was the global Islam, the spreading Islam over the local to the global (Çaha: 2004, 476-492).

“1980s was the period of marketization of Turkey by Özal. Özal was utterly committed both to the opening of Turkey’s markets and to Islam. The drive towards the more religious lessons and installing mosques helped to create an ever more pervasive presence of Islamic doctrine and practice in the public life. In fact, military have used the desire for Islamic inactivity as a means of restoring civil peace, the possibilities of education, economy and politics. Islamist part of country can spread into these spheres (Yavuz: 2003, 44).

The other aspect of Islamist spread can be explained with organization. Especially, the religious groups/organizations did contact with wide masses. While in 1970s the left could reach the people in the squatter and etc, in 1980s, religious groups could (Çaha: 2004, 482-483). "The 1980s, social differentiation affected Islamist groups too. Democracy, civil society, liberalist Islam, women's rights and Koran interpretation were the new words come into Islamist literature. The integration of Islam to public and political sphere represents also democratisation of these spheres by combining and represents differentiation. In addition to this, Islamist masses have the role of being mediatory sphere between the state and the people who are poverty bay its educational facilities, religious activities and groups. Especially, the Foundations are the more important role to become a shelter for people in cities" (ibid: 491).

After 1980s, the urbanisation of Islam can be seen as a social reflection of it, not of its spatiality. Especially, after WP, the cities in Islamist thought were formed in terms of liberalization, democratisation and organization of them. Therefore, Islamist reflection in public sphere should be seen in the context of its movements.

For Saktanber (1997: 140-156) the Islamist visibility since 1980s represents two intertwined processes. The first one is a politically determined social towards the actualization of a middle class ethos for an Islamic social order. The other one is a reflection of the new meanings attributed to the social sphere. In this context, private has enlarged its boundaries for covering new areas, and changed its content. According to Saktanber (1997: 52), in Turkey, "Islamism have to create its own middle-class to get rid of cultural hegemony of the state for transforming morality. In fact, the middle-class plays the most powerful role for production, and spreading the new social types".

Mardin (1989: 229) sees this visibility of "revitalization of Islam in its same sphere in terms of their practices. It can be explained with two aspects. One the one hand; Islam is a religion. Which tends to organize all aspects of social life including the private everyday life; on the other hand; the boundaries of the private have been expanded and gained new richness and variety in the contemporary world. By privatization process, Islam has received a new uplift".

In these concepts, the increasing and effective foundations, Islamist manufacturing, journals and Islamist institutions can be understood. In fact, the foundations are the main control mechanism in changing Islamic context in urban. The standard way to form a charitable trust remains a foundation. The Welfare Party runs an extensive chain of 'National Youth Trusts' (*Milli Gençlik Vakfı*). Nakşibendi sects possesses a large number of 'Right Teous-Path' (*Hak-Yol Vakfı*), *Mevlevis*, *Naksibendis*, *Nurcus*; *Süleymancis* are the most powerful sects, which posses in Islamic thought. "As a result of new opportunity spaces in economy, politics, and the cultural domain, *Nakşibendi* and *Nurcu* groups are using the media and communications networks to develop discursive spaces. Media, economy and education as an urban representative are the main tools for constructing and integrating Islamic identities for sects" (Yavuz: 2003, 32).

To increase moral and religious consciousness, such foundations become effective by using mediating economy, media and education. Religious groups seek to use the market to create heaven on earth.

With the liberalization and privatization process of economy by Özal, in 1980s two distinct bourgeoisies (TUSIAD and MUSIAD) have emerged in Turkey. They compete over the ideological and cultural orientation of the country additionally to their economical force. Economic resources formed the basis of associational life in Turkey and these associations become the habitat for the construction and articulation of an Islamic consciousness in accordance with market needs. According for Yavuz (2003: 93) "one of the main institutional developments in the modern Islamic revival has been the establishment of the independent Industrialist's and Businessmen's Association (MUSIAD). MUSIAD (Anatolian Tigers) was organised to oppose the state's continued favouritism toward a handful of business conglomerates, which are represented by the Association of Turkish Industrialist and Businessmen (TUSIAD). Yavuz adds that MUSIAD produced on Islamic economic manifesto. It extols the life of Prophet Muhammad as an guide for conducting one's own life; by invoking the example of the Prophet as a merchant, the MUSIAD seeks to justify a free market system and to oppose the state's intrusive role in economy. It also opposes heavy taxes, the distributive role of the state and trade unions".

In effect, Islam is used as social capital to promote cooperation and solidarity on behalf of economic interests. Because of these reasons, the new Muslim economic actors also are shaping a new social and cultural landscape in Turkey through Islamic literature, television stations, newspapers, and an Islamic conception of leisure (Yavuz: 2003, 94 and Demir: 2004, 870-887).

Tuğal (2002: 85-111) categorize Islamic stance in Turkish economy: “proponents of moral capitalism, proponents of alternative capitalism and moral anti-capitalism. Moral capitalism is the dominant economic ideology among the Islamists of Turkey. It believes in the virtues of the free market and also acknowledges the social problem of it causes. They focus on lifestyles and consumption patterns. They privilege morality, religion, community and umman over economic prosperity and development. On the other hand, alternative capitalism envisions a more liberal capitalism. The meaning behind this solidarity is expansion, profit and stronger competition with the global bourgeoisie. For Tuğal, alternative capitalist are cautious about anti-Westernism. Islamism has interpreted as the ideology of the rising provincial bourgeoisie. The reason for this misplaced focus is the institutional strength of alternative capitalists. Finally, the moral anti-capitalists think that capitalism is a system that is incapable of fulfilling the basic (religiously/morally defined) human needs. They represent a perspective towards which moral capitalists might shift as their disillusionment with capitalism. From all these identification, it can be said that the utilization of religious practices and idioms to justify the market economy has become the major source for the inner secularization of Islam. Economical basis are used for the sustenance of a moral community”.

In addition to economic force of Islamist, media become the main tool for shaping norms of everyday life and defining mainstream culture. Since the 1970s, the Islamists groups have been using the same tools like education and printing to challenge the hegemonic state ideology and reinvent local and oral Islam in Turkish urban life (Yavuz:2003, 105). The expansion of print Islam may be seen as a continuous struggle to eliminate folk, mystical Islam in favour of a more rational, textual urban Islam. According to Tuğlalı (2002: 92-93), the media is crucial to Islamist movement in Turkey. Activists and followers participate in collective readings in coffee houses and civil organizations.

They create intellectual space for popular negotiation of the meaning generated in Islamist print. Due to diversity in the movement, the Islamist press has wide range of opinions. *Yeni Şafak* is a forum of the liberal wing, but *Akit*, *Selam* and *Haksöz* are the radical Islamist print. From all these examples and meanings, Islamist print aims to popularize Islamism and increase public opinions towards Islam. Therefore, it becomes sacred place for reviving Islamic consciousness. Therefore; literary public spaces are sites in which diverse role models are explored, and are used as a vehicle through which new Islamic consciousness and practices are carried to the margins of Turkish society. This has very clear appearance after 1980s.

The post 1980 political and economic setting favoured the social and political activities of those Islamic groups. Especially, the emergence of a new class (Islamic middle class) became the visible face of Islam in public sphere. However, of the 1990s the new aspect appeared in Islamic increase.

Çiğdem (2004: 31) explains, "Islam has been identified and represented by academicians as religious since 1990s. Unlike moving this movement to the public sphere, this trend tries to solve transformations in it. Especially, after 1980s, Islamist criticized the social justice, that was why Islamism has been increased and uplift. By questioning the social justice, they helped to take attention to the social anxiety and emphasis".

Another reason for Islamist uplift was the centre- right politics. Increasing of free market economy caused social injustice and corruption among society. During the decrease of central-right, Islamist movements and radical Islamism could manage these difficulties by privileging the society emphasis (Mert: 2004, 411-420).

According for Yavuz (2004: 599) "rapid capitalism and its results (corruption, social injustice etc) cause social problems. In fact, Welfare Party, at that time, become a representative or protest mechanism of people who were criticising this injustice system".

The development of urbanization process and the globalization affected Islamist reading of religious and the world. From this point of view, "after the period of 90s and period has started to give emphasis on community, multiple public ness, using of civil initiatives, and also privileging of Islamic life in itself "(Bulaç: 2004, 49).

“As addition, the increasing Islamist middle class during this period (after 1980s) lead to transformation of spaces in the cities. The holiday areas, restaurants, hairdressers, beauty saloons, and cafes have been designed according to new Islamist class demands. The Islamist appearance and visibility; in other words; Islamist behaviour/performance can be related with the emergence of these against spaces which privilege protecting religious ethic. Therefore, Islamists redefine religious identity at public space, and research, criticize, and force it. In this process, they rebuild religious identity by appearance, wearing style, visual signs and etc. It means that Islamists create their spaces from their urban public spaces. Solidarity and belonging are protected with these spaces as a feelings of Islam (Kömbeçođlu: 2003, 54).

In Turkey, both socially and politically, urbanization and urban spaces are shaped and ruled in accordance with the ideologies. Islam, after 1950s became the major determinant character for effecting people and their spatial organization. Especially, with the economic development and liberalization process, Islam organizes society throughout the aims of it. Public appearance of Islam can be seen best illustrative, organizational visibility of ideology in Turkey.

3.4. Liberalism/ Neoliberalism and Their Urbanization Tendencies

The seventies and early eighties introduced new urban development in the context of favourable, macroeconomic development strategies. These strategies aspired to alleviate poverty, unemployment and inequality.

During the 1970s, the link between mass production and consumption was shattered due to a range of trends; the declining profitability of Fordist sectors; the intensification of international competition; the spread of decentralisation and mass unemployment. Therefore, the Fordist system was subjected to a variety of crisis tendencies Fordist system was its rigidity in the face of increasing market economy and technological change. In the eighties, there was a slow-down in rates of economic growth because of the increasing costs of raw materials, increasing cost associated with safety and environmental legislation, market saturation of mass-produced goods, increasing consumer and market volatility etc.

“These conditions produced a decline in popular standards of living and worsening rates of unemployment, poverty and inequality. The structural transformation of these positions was accompanied by global economy, in other words, globalization. The key feature of the process has been shift away from ‘import-substitution’ towards ‘export-oriented’ industrialization strategies” (Burgess, Carmona, Kolstee: 1997, 17-18)

This development has affect on urban process. Especially, in the late eighties significant changes occurred in urban planning derived from neo-liberal free market. In addition, this process leads to define city is the engines of growth. Neoliberalism is the form of the resurgence of liberalism. Therefore, there was a need to looking what are the features of liberalism; liberalism is a complex multifaceted phenomenon.

It is a conceptual ensemble in economic, political and ideological discourse. Therefore, it seems to be everywhere. Ideologically, liberalism claims that economic, political and social relations are best organized through formally free choices of formally free and rational actors. These actors seek to advance their own material or ideal interest in an institutional framework. Economically, it endorses expansion of the market economy- that is, spreading the commodity form to all factors of production. Politically, liberalism implies that collective decision-making should involve a constitutional state with limited substantive powers of economic and social intervention and a commitment to maximizing the formal freedom of actors in the economy and the substantive freedom of legally recognized subjects in the public sphere (Jessop: 2002, 453- 472).

“Liberalism is consistent with four features. The first of them is the institution of private property- that is, the judicial fiction of ‘private’ ownership and control of the factors of production. The second one is the ‘free choice’ in consumption and the institutional separation and operational autonomies of the economy and state. State interventions appear as external intrusions into the activities of free economic agents. Finally, within liberal ideology; there is the closely related institutional separation of civil society and the state. The city can bee seen as the product of changing economic organizations, reflecting the social relationships. Cities are

clearly regarded as engines of economic growth, key centres of economic, political and social innovation (ibid: 465).

With the free market economy and minimizing of state, the city as the product of economic organization changed its structure. Change has been more complex, with technology bringing a greater range of products for mass consumption, new means of transport freeing from fixed locations, and high levels of mobility generating large areas of low-density suburban development. In this process, city has become specialized and segregated. The decentralization of the city, together with the increased personal mobility has increased the range of opportunities of employment, shopping, recreation and socializing. Therefore, liberal city can be defined as the city in which all inhabitants are entitled to basic civil liberties, social services and political rights (Berner and Theodore: 2002).

Today, four fundamental processes or trends can be identified that are transforming the contemporary world and shaping the new. These are like that ;the rapid urbanization of the world's population; the globalization of economic, social, cultural and political activities; the intensification and globalization of an 'environmental crisis'; and the changing relationship of the state to civil society (Burgess; Carmona; Kolstee:1997).

In this period, neo-liberalism has become the dominant development paradigm. Jessop (2002: 467) explains that "neo-liberalism promotes market-led economic and social restructuring. In the public sector, this involves privatization, liberalization; it promotes free competition, reduces role of law and state, and promotes market proxies in residual sector, internalization (free inward and outward flows) and it increases consumer choice".

Neoliberalism has put the question of relationship between cities, the state and the market. Neoliberalism restructure urban housing markets via creation of new opportunities of speculative investment in central-city' real estate markets; it restructures territorial development in terms of creation of free trade zones, enterprise zones and other spaces within urban regions; it transforms the built environment and urban form via creation of new privatized spaces of elite consumption, construction of large-scale mega projects intended to attract corporate

investment, creation of gated communities, urban enclaves, and other 'purified' spaces of social reproduction; and adoption of the principle of 'highest and best use' as the basis for land-use planning. Briefly, neo-liberalism represents the city with mobilization of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment and rejuvenation (Brener and Theodore; 2002).

Within the neo-liberal thought; cities become the key centres of economic, political, and social innovation, and key actors in promoting and consolidating international competitiveness. With the transition to a post-industrial era, the rise of the knowledge-driven economy, and the importance of the information society, cities are seen as even more important drivers for innovation and competitiveness than before (Jessop: 2002: 467-468).

Neo-liberal programs have been directly 'in teriorized' into urban policy regimes, as newly formed territorial alliances attempt to rule local economies through a treatment of deregulation, privatization, and liberalization. In this context, cities have become increasingly important geographical targets and institutional laboratories for neoliberal policies in terms of place-marketing, enterprise, urban development corporations, public-private partnerships, new strategies of social control, policing and surveillance (Brener and Theodore; 2002).

The overall goal of neoliberal urban policy is to mobilize city space as an arena both for market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices. Neoliberal planning policies to improve urban productivity and efficiency include; the development or 'enablement' of markets and privatization; deregulation or reform or regulatory regimes; decentralization and increased popular participation; and institutional and management capacity-building on a city wide. The decentralization of urban management powers from the central to local government level and the participation of popular and community-based groups in project design are seen as vital for increasing efficiency. City-wide programmes run by decentralized and financially strengthened local governments in partnership with NGOs and the private sector are being proposed. At this point, emphasis is being given to institutional-building and the development of urban management skills by training and technical assistance (Burgess, Carmona, Kolstee; 2002).

Neoliberalism is more related to the globalization process because, globalization process were undoubtedly strengthened in the eighties by the global shift towards market forces and the accompanying deregulation and liberalization of flows of capital, technology and services. Globalization is usually associated with the growing importance of multinational or trans-national corporations operating in more than one country (Negus; 1992). It is also associated with the development of a broader global culture (Featherstone; 1990).

Globalization has had a numbers of effects upon urban social geography. It has led to the emergence of so-called global cities (Sassen; 1991). New York, London and Tokyo are key players in the new concentrated world financial system. Sassen argues that one of the main features of global cities is social polarization, growing social inequalities. This inequality stems from financial services. The other changing pattern of city with globalization is growing importance of knowledge in contemporary economies. New communications systems have allowed the exchange of ever more complex information over greater distances.

Globalization processes presents welcome opportunities for more power self-determination and the expansion of democracy, participation and personal and group freedoms. The very nature of globalization processes, particularly the liberalization and creation of global markets makes the economic viability of small states and communities possible (Burgess, Carmona, Kolstee; 2002).

Within the global world, nationalism cannot identify the culture of societies. This leads to new identification or definition for contemporary societies. This can be identified as postmodernism. Because, a key feature of post-modern thinking is recognition of the diversity of different groups in society. Postmodernist interpretations of the city are the increasing importance of sign and image of everyday life. Baudrillard (1988) argued that post-modern culture is based on images or copies of the real world (simulacra). Another feature of post-modern culture is that advertising and mass media produces signs that have their own internal meanings without any relation with reality. They, instead, produce a hyper reality. Cities illustrate these trends, thus hyperspace clearly. The most extreme and obvious example for it, is Disneyland. Because the theme parks of Disneyland,

present a comfortable, sanitized, view of history, traditional family values, free enterprise, violence, exploitation etc. (Warren: 1996, 545- 567).

The other element in post-modern theorizing about cities is the consumption. One of the obvious manifestations of the increased role of consumption in cities is the increased amount of space devoted to shopping. The internal architecture of these new spaces of consumption is carefully constructed to encourage people to spend their money (Goss: 1993).

Harvey (1989a) and Jameson (1991) both argue that postmodernism is the logical cultural partner to the regime of flexible accumulation. Within this flexible accumulation, the city has become decentred, not only spatially and structurally, but also socially and conceptually.

Building on simulations of traditional precepts of liberal democracy, neoliberalism has forged a new synthesis or hybrid that effectively rationalizes, celebrates and promotes the globalization process and the increasing globalization of industrial production, commercial trade, financial integration, and information flow.

Neoliberalism has brought a new global class of economic and political entrepreneurs who operate to foster the conditions that facilitate the freedoms of global capitalism, increasing privatization of the public sphere, deregulation in every economic sector, attacks on the welfare state and labour unions, and other efforts to reshape established political authorities to control the globalization (Soja:1989).

Neoliberalism, post-modern or otherwise, has become a dominant force in the new global national politics. Localization is the basic politics of neoliberalism as well as for globalization. In this theme, large cities around the world are the terrain where a multiplicity of globalization processes assumes concrete, localized forms. The large city of today has emerged as a strategic site for a whole range of new types of operations- political, cultural and economic (Sassen: 1994). This also means that the loss of power at the national level produces the possibility for new forms of power and politics at the sub national level (Jessop: 1999). Cities regain strategic importance because they are favoured sites for economic activity within global economy. Cities are preferred for the production of finance and advanced corporate services and global markets. Therefore, trans-national servicing networks of

international business centres constitute new space of centrality in a global world (Sassen: 2000).

Harvey (1989b) explains this city form as the 'entrepreneurial city'. It means that increased inter-urban competition across a number of dimensions. Inter-urban competition has opened spaces within which geographical mobility is flexible. In addition, 'business climate' has pushed urban governments to all kinds of measures in order to attract economic development. Urban governments, in this process, have been forced into innovation and investment to make their cities more attractive as consumer and cultural centres. These also affected the life-style, cultural forms, products, etc. All of them promoted the flexible accumulation.

Cities in this process become the major space to speed up this flexible accumulation. That is why, Harvey (1985: 30-35) explain the city in the capitalist formation. For him, today's urban process is the urbanization of capital. Both postmodernist thinking and globalization process as being integrated to neoliberal politics made this process obvious. Capital with this improvement can be evaluated as increased value with communication, and information technologies. This improvement also led to the rising significance of cultural products industries in the cities.

These locational cultural products industries, especially many cultural products sectors are located often within metropolitan areas, such as Hollywood, Manhattan, Paris, London etc. (Scott: 2001). As spatial as limitations lose its meaning, capital starts to look for new areas to it. Within more cosmopolitan and segregated global process, some cities gains more importance as being attractive for capital. Friedmann (1986) explains this trend about cities via the term of 'globality' for him, this cities are at the top within geographical and economical hierarchy and they functioned in a global control system (Aslanođlu: 1998). "Apart from these qualifications, it is important that city has major determinant role in economy. In addition to the economic role of city in o global process, space starts to be changed in terms of partiality. Secondly, computer technology is applied to these spaces. In terms of these improvements and applications, architecture and also urban planning are emerged as the part of market "(Zukin: 1988, 436).

The integration of cities to the global economy cause some differences and changes within the structure of cities. For example, the cities that have enough infrastructures to attract capital gain hierarchical power among others. They also pull immigrants both from inside and outside. These global cities faced with spatial and social class polarization and cleavages. This problem is comes from also postmodernist cultural differentiation (Friedman; 1986). Scott (2001) explains that in many cities, such as New York, Los Angeles, Paris, or London, high proportions of the low-wage, low-skill group consist of illegal immigrants from developing countries, whose political marginality reinforces their economic subordination.

Accordingly, the locations of cities are shaped in terms of economical power. It is obvious with globalization that some cities become partialized with sub-urban within city. Therefore, today's city become more partialized and organized according to the others. Social and spatial structure of city is organized in terms of capital accumulation in a global economy. That is, city becomes determinant power to the flexible accumulation. That is why, neoliberal politics and planning gains this increased importance in such process. Because of the destruction of spatial limitations, ideological determinacy and changing economic structure, also with cultural differentiation, make neoliberalism powerful ideology within global world. Neoliberal politics give way to the coalitions among urban and regional governments and private sectors may gain a key role as strategic partners of business in this changed context, thus, in a market-driven globalizing world. With the rise of knowledge-driven economy, and the increasing importance of the information society, cities are seen important drivers for competitiveness. That is why, neoliberalism criticize Welfare state for providing monopoly services. Welfare states should be firmly discouraged. Instead, arrangements should be instituted to encourage family, neighbourhood, informal, or market-based and market-sustaining solutions to the problems of social reproduction. In this politics, cities should develop their stacks of indigenous "human capital" and their local labour markets in order to promote local well-being as well as international competitiveness. With subsidiary and solidarity across different scales of economic, political and social organization, the partnership between the public and private sectors and between government and civil society become the important regulations to work with market forces. Jessop (2002: 470) explains, "if getting international institutional architecture and

international regimes right is the key attempts to stabilize neoliberalism, intervention at the urban scale is equally essential, because this is where neoliberalism has its most significant economic, political, and social impacts on everyday life”.

3.4.1. Liberalism and Neoliberalism in Turkish Urbanization Process

Turkey experiences some similar experience in its historical periods. After Kemalist, single-party period, Turkey started to be faced with changing cultural, economic and political structures. Globalization process affects the Turkey spatial and social structure. Therefore, in this part of chapter, Turkish urbanization process tried to be analyzed in terms of neoliberalism.

Turkey attitude towards integration to the new global economy appears its politics as liberal position at foreign trade, development with relation to exterior sources, and also import-substitution industrialization strategies. In 1951, with the period of Democratic Party, this tendency became concrete. Democratic Party intervened to the agricultural because agriculture has been evaluated as the one sector by which structural transformation of national capital can be realized. This intervention causes the increase capital and labour in agriculture, and contradictions. Within relations, lead to root changes both in urban and rural areas.

The striking results of this change according to the capital accumulation system can be seen as urbanization of processes that labour reproduction of capital (Altınçekiç and Göksu; 1995). Especially, this process can be seen clearly with the development of squatter areas.

The approach towards the squatter phenomena by the public and the solutions envisaged by the related authorities has displayed several changes in different stages. The politics and solutions concerning the squatting problem, which of course is one of the major issues of developing countries, can be summarized under four headings. In large cities in the early stages the first solutions were envisaged as eradication of squatter settlements resulting in an exodus, back to rural areas.

In the second stage the general trend was to “overlook the problem”, and “let them exist”, as they are. This approach has delayed the establishment of services and infrastructure in squatter areas because it was argued that acceptance of the

squatting process would upset the urban structure and order. Yet the increasing number of squatters and political pressure exerted by this group led the authorities to seek some solutions. Thus in the third stage a series of prevention policies were brought on to the agenda and social housing areas, cheap site credit provision schemes were initiated.

Presently a fourth kind of approach is being displayed, that of implementation of pilot projects which aim at renewal of squatter areas in order to integrate them with the proper urban fabric. These kinds of solution involve establishment of partnerships with the local authorities and the private sector, and creation of new institutions to deal with the housing problem of low income groups.

Within the import-substitution industrialization strategy, state minimizing the investment to the urban. Therefore, urbanization process has been left to the local civil initiatives. In a limited interference of state, squatters become the solution for housing of urban poverty, and informal sector for unemployment. Democratic Party has been seen squatter as, contributor to the economic structure, because their labour power has important role for reproduction in general economy. Democratic Party give more emphasize on market economy, therefore, its city image is totally shaped by capitalist relations. In this period, housing problem appears as the result of urbanization movements. However, built houses were far away from social housing. These are either speculative luxury spaces or squatters. Kılıç (1998) explains the Democratic Party city features; public improvements in this period can be seen as great buildings and wide roads. These improvements based on individual-interest, internal political balance. Therefore, all improvements of Democratic Party have been heavily depended on leaving a margin to the urban interest groups.

On the other hand; urban architecture and spatial planning of this period was organized in terms of economical structure and its business climate. Housing types, fabrics, hotels, banks or offices were all constructed according to the needs of expanding business capacity. As a result of rapid urbanization process, the differences between urban and rural moved to the cities, especially the differentiation between squatter areas and urban rich areas become obvious as well as urban-rural (Keleş: 1978). With Democratic Party, there was an effort to integrate

squatter to the city because of its economic contribution to the city economy. On the other hand, the social structure of the city cannot integrate the squatters. This led squatters to the new trends and expectations that they started to shore urban accumulation via legislation, title deed, and planning (Şenyapılı: 1981).

Underdeveloped countries experience urbanization process with formal-informal sector. In this perspective, on the one hand, the city lives traditional aspects; on the other hand, modern relationships continue. If we look at the Turkey process, it is obvious that in the 1960s, this segregation became a clear political aspect. Due to developments in the political arena (military intervention of many, 1960 and rise of leftist movement in politics, urbanization experience was started to be evaluated and criticized in a more socialist perspective. As Tekeli (1998) explains, urbanization loses its speed, which can be explained by migration to other countries and small production activities in rural areas. In such a period, Turkey has faced with the problems of urbanization. Especially, development of metropolis, air pollution and suburbanization, alienation of immigrants and housing problems were some of them.

In the late 1970s, Turkey faced with a general crisis, and cities at the centre of this crisis. On the one hand, the import-substitution industrialization, on the other hand, unstable political movements (left-right) led cities to big chaos. In the 1980s, there were two interferences to the cities for solving this chaos. One of them is the process of shifting away from import-substitution towards export-oriented industrialization strategies. The second one is that on September 12, 1980, there was a military intervention. These have two impacts on urbanization of Turkey: While the political movements have been stopped, the period by which urbanization of capital started (Şengül: 2001).

After the 1980s, Turkey integrated more with the world market and it turned into one actor of globalization. Within this process, Turkish urbanization comes into a new era in the global tendencies. In metropolitan areas, in relation to international networks, some cities took new responsibilities towards the external market (Barbaros: 1997, 33-43).

The shifting away from import substitution towards export-oriented industrialization strategies shape the relationship between the first cycle and second cycle of capital accumulation process that are of control importance for urbanization dynamics. Giving

up industrial investment, public and private sector increased their interests towards the second cycle. That is why; metropolitan areas and big cities become the main object for public and private sector investments.

According to Şengül (2001) the centre of big cities and their sources has been transformed into investment areas and urban infrastructure become important municipalities in 1980s. In additionally, being at centre of capital accumulation, cities can be evaluated by private sector as the investment space. Therefore, city has been centralized as strategic goods. This evaluation and its application can be seen obviously as shopping malls, five-stars-hotels and the position of business centres in big cities.

Together with expanding of city as disordered, shopping malls, business centres and the plazas become the definitive component of city centres. That is why; city centres and its hinterlands shelter hypermarket islands such as Migros and Carrefour. Together with urbanization of capital, class relations and their reflections on space become different. This process covers not only labour class but also middle class in the city (Güvenç and Işık: 1996). Şengül (2001) explains this differentiation with the example of new housing areas that are the spaces of upper and middle classes. These houses can be evaluated gated buildings because they create a living space of their own isolated from other groups with security, shopping mall, sports and entertainment facilities.

Rapid urbanization and changing structure cannot find itself a space in a modernization project. Therefore, society produces spontaneous solutions like squatter and informal sector in the cities. This causes a new politics to struggle with these spontaneous problems. However, these solutions were evaluated within populist strategies in 1960s and 1970s (Tekeli: 2000). Explains that these populist political strategies cause the setting of emerging urban citizens and also disorganized city structure become major problem. "Decentralization within the city was the major concept of urbanization process during 1980s. Public and private sector increase their investment to cities and their infrastructure. Therefore, their service system started to be work as campus within the city spaces. The other improvement within city is increasing private car ownership on the other hand; the public and private institutions carry their workers to the work office via services.

These are all results of decentralization process. That is why in this process, urban become a whole consist of integrated urban parts not integrated one to one buildings” (Tekeli: 2000, 83).

Additionally, urbanization process is continuing in the period of decentralization. In populist political strategies, the ordered urban design and planning could not be achieved. In fact, globalization of world and its effects on urban was the other source for growing of city. The efforts for integrating to the global economy, cause changes within urban structure, for example, there was growing great buildings, shopping malls, business centres and etc. Although, the cities have gained such improvements and telecommunications system, they could not sustain ordered metropolitan areas. Increasing initiatives of municipalities, and their control on cities, transformed the city structure into more capital rationality. That is why; cities become the powerful spaces for urban accumulation for capital.

Capital centred urbanization process leads to profit centred urban service system among the municipalities. Therefore, urban service system gives up the social base development in favour of poverty (Güler: 1991). In such period, urban entrepreneurship was supported. Motherland Party (MP) gained its power, within this perspective during the MP government. Urban investment increased via private sector intervention.

Middle and upper classes as actors of changed urban structure in 1980s defined the spaces for themselves. They created new consumption activities and housing structure for their life styles. As well as middle classes, especially squatters changed their position within the cities. In fact, squatter areas can be evaluated as potential development areas of urban. In this process, Motherland Party gives more emphasize on these areas with their development potential. In 1985, squatter areas started to be transformed into apartment house. By doing this, squatters were also tried to be integrated into urbanization process in terms of capital cycle (Şengül; 2001).

After 1980s, in the squatter areas there was a different approach about rant mechanism that these areas transformed as a space for public improvements. Becoming apartment is the results of rant in the city (Işık: 1996, 783- 801). After

1980s, instead of squatter, “illegal housing” started to be used. In fact, at the hinterland of metropolis, the squatters were defined as “illegal urbanization”. Ekinci (1998: 191-199) explains the reasons of illegal settlements and their spatial construction like that the areas where such buildings and houses built can reach all facilities and services of city life. Almost all of them have school, health services, shopping malls etc. Because of reaching those services, illegal settlements become attractive for city dwellers. In 1980s, rather than public benefits, individual benefits was privileged. In this process, speculative accumulation process integrated to consumption economy. That is why, financial sources was tried to be increased without production.

During this period, market economy changed the urban space. It can be seen clearly in Ankara. For example, the major differentiation in the city structure is appearance of new city centres that are differentiated from each other what they services. This differentiation occurs especially towards the prestige housing squares of city within the may of city-growth. At the end of 1970s, Ankara gives us three-sub-centred city centre. These are Ulus, Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi Street. These three centres cover different social classes as well as their life-styles. The features are carried by the sub-centres such as, retail trade, personal services and consumption, entertainment based on personal needs. Ulus become the space of low-income workers, civil servants and trades. As an identity, reflects more local qualifications via small restaurants, and cheap hotels. In this process, Kızılay experienced a transformation towards the service area for more consumptive masses via pubs, cafes and restaurants. Unlike the previous areas, Kavaklıdere-Çankaya direction is the centre where upper class lives. This direction emerges Tunalı Hilmi Street as a growing centre for bank branches, cinemas, etc. These centres can be evaluated more attractive place for professional services. At the end of 1980s, Çankaya-Köroğlu Street was added to these centres as a third one (Osman: 1998, 139-155).

Turkey, after 1980s, entered in to the new ‘liberalisation’ era. This economical policies aims to privilege free market economy, privatization of public institutions, integration to the European Union, reforms, and improvements of housing and infrastructure investments. Deregulation of economy and improvements in telecommunication technology effects cities. Cities become the spaces where centralization and decentralization occurs.

“At the end of the 1980s, liberal politics, integration to European Duty Union, the increasing of usage of credit card lead to improving of west style consumption in Turkey. Shopping malls and centres which include both shopping and entertainment placed of the centre of city. During 1990s, shopping malls and centres were settled out of the city in the transportation direction” (Osmaý: 1998, 149-150). Housing areas which moved to the outside of the city with transportation problems and the new needs for space limited the usage of Kızılay. That is why, same business centres moved to these areas. This movement cause spatial and socio-economic depression of Kızılay. In the last period, Balgat-Çetin Emeç has become the centre of business and service centres. This concentration cause the increasing land value in the city (Gökçe: 2003, 236-251).

Starting with 1990s, the increase movements of capital in a global context, and the supports of information technologies changes the urban-region relations, and emerges economic process and institutions moving independent from national context. In the metropolitan areas, expertise of services are increased, entertainment and vacation spaces, with the network of communication and transportation are created. The differentiation between classes become clear and their appearance in the city can be seen as differentiated housing and consumption areas. Political processes gaining their autonomy within cities started to destroy urban centres for creating new spaces.

Additionally, the information and communication technologies with the globalization process appeared clearly within the Turkish cities. Especially, the migration process and the cultural differentiation of urban structure give birth to emerging new definition of urban culture. Urban is the space where various cultures can be seen. To define urban identity within different identities, it should be evaluated not only integration to the urban culture but also with using benefiting from urban opportunities. For doing this, social and spatial services within cities should be prepared and an equal for all city dwellers, groups, and also cultures. If the municipalities cannot supply and sustain urban services for all, the cleavages among social groups will increase. That is why, in Turkey, this cleavages become clear-cut polarization.

Ulu and Karakoç (2004: 59-67) explain the social chaos in Turkey with the insufficient social infrastructure of rapid urban transformation, and also with migration and its problems. From these reasons, today, Turkish cities faced with identity crisis, alienation and spatial difficulties. In a global world, the urban identity is defined in terms of Western countries that have communication network system in a global level. However, together with globalization, unlike the physical limits of urban space, the importance of social character is more emphasized. The economic power and its functions determine the identities within urban spaces. With this trend, there emerge some problems that come from the weakening of urban identity and values. That is why, individuality is privileged. While the importance for personal values within spaces increases, the urban spaces become undefined urban subsidence spaces that have no any identities.

Globalization breaks of the ties from urban past in terms of architecture and culture. Global values spread to urban areas with its styles towards the supports of international economy. Turkey has been experience this process since 1950s with the rising technologies and its implications on great buildings, skyscrapers, shopping malls, etc. Briefly, urban space is faced with the danger of “de-territorialization”. Contradictions come from the unity invitation of globalization that is in fact empowered with these differences.

Within this framework, modernization of transportation networks, development of perceptiveness of decentralised governance, greater participation, promotion of local entrepreneurship, improvements in educational and technological infrastructure as the neoliberal planning and politics are at the paint of the new urban development process. This trend demonstrates the compulsion of the urban regeneration projects. However, in Turkey, it is seen that urban regeneration projects stays at the physical dimension, comprehensive approaches lack and for the reason that it is not supported by general government policies. One of the most important reasons of that can be assumed as the lacking of developing new models of its own that is peculiar to the city itself. Therefore, producing new models for the situations unique to Turkey and developing community based approaches are necessary and critical substances for a whole regeneration.

III.5. Feminism

Conceptions of spatiality have been the explicit object of feminist reflection. It has become clear that the organization and management of space have seriously political, social and cultural impact and in a sense cannot but be of concern to feminists. The ways in which space has been conceived have functioned either to contain women or to obliterate them.

All social activity is situated in time and space. Spatiality situates social life. Spatial configurations, connections between places, are significant only in the context of a specific question or investigation of particular sets of relationships. In this sense, the relationship, between space and domination can be questioned. From this point of view, the subject of this research is the relationship between space and gender, in other words, is the concept of urban in terms of gender.

Feminist geography becomes important analysis for understanding the relationship between gender and space. Feminist geography is the examination of the ways in which socio-economic, political and environmental processes create, reproduce and transform not only the places in which we live, but also the social relations between men and women in these places and how gender relations also have an impact on these processes and their manifestations. In other words, feminist geography is concerned with understanding the interrelations between socially constructed gender relations and socially constructed environments (Little, Peak and Richardson: 1988)

It has always argued that masculinism is dominant in most geographical studies. One of the studies that have been done in this area is Rose's study (1993:160, cited in Yeşildal: 1996, 7);" there is a dominance of masculinism in time geography, humanism, the landscape tradition, and of the studies on spatial division of labour. The masculine point of view affects the geographer's perception of place, space and gender, and therefore, their conceptions reflect this masculine based point of view".

Universal categories of reason and knowledge as well history and power are in fact, reflection of gendered practices marked not only by gender but also by differences within gender. This gendered dualism of mind and body has spatial implications for example, private/public distinction. Irigaray (1992) makes it clear that a re-

conceptualization of the relations between men and women entails the re-conceptualization of the representations of space and time. The production of a (male) world-the construction of an 'artificial' or cultural environment, the production of an intelligible universe, religion, philosophy, the creation of true knowledge and valid practices of and in that universe-is implicated in the systematic and violent erasure of the contributions of women, femininity and the maternal. This erasure is the foundation or ground on which a thoroughly masculine universe is built.

For Wilson (1995), the relationship of women to cities has long preoccupied reformers. However, neither women are seen as a problem of cities, nor cities as a problem for women. With the intensification of the public/private divide in the industrial period, the presence of women on the streets and in public places of entertainment caused enormous anxiety, and was the occasion for any number of moralizing and regulatory discourses. In fact, the fate and the position of women in the city was a special case of a more general alarm and ambivalence, which stretched across the political spectrum.

In the sense of flâneur; public person with the leisure to wander, watch and browse, women are excluded. The flâneur is a man of pleasure, as a man who takes visual oppression of the city, who has emerged in post-modern feminist discourse as the embodiment of the 'male gaze'. He represents men's visual mastery over women. According to this view, the flâneur's freedom to wander at will through the city is essentially a masculine freedom. Thus, the very idea of the flâneur reveals it to be a gendered concept. For Wolff (1985), there could never be a female flâneur; the flâneuse was invisible.

The geographical location is more important to the construction of gendered identities. For example, the public/private dichotomy is employed to construct, control, discipline, exclude and suppress gender and sexual difference. At the same time, the traditional patriarchal and heterosexist power structures are preserved (Spivak: 1988). In this concept, social control strategies and conventional notions of planning and urban policy become important to understand the position of women. Public space is regulated by keeping it relatively free of passion or expressions of sexuality that are not naturalized, normalized.

The institutionalised dividing off of critical public debate and political expression into specialized and increasingly controlled spaces allows for the possibility of disembodied dispassionate rational discourse and formal political decision making under conditions of public order. This has left the private domestic sphere to remain invisible, relatively unregulated. Therefore, spatial construction of women is not for women but for men. For this reason, women can be thought as a subject alien to objective world over them.

Wolff and Wilson (1991) have directed to attention to the question of gender differences and male-domination of public life and urban public places. Without attention to gender there is a tendency to represent the city as a generally public space that is to focus on its street life, leaving out the home life within the tenements; flats, dwellings and backyards in which family life takes place. The domestic sphere, therefore, remains invisible in the representations of the city as a public space. In the same way women are made invisible in public. This invisibility of women in the city can also be related to their fear of urban spaces. Earlier feminist contributions to the literature on women's experiences of public spaces tended to focus on negative aspects, including poor access to public transport, long distances between residential and shopping areas and poor design which can make movement around the city difficult for mothers out with prams or young children as well as contributing to women's fear of assault (Valentine: 1990, 288- 303; Whitzman: 1992: 169-179). However, most recent research has indicated that there is a misinformation about the fear in public space: most women are aware that domestic violence is more common than stranger attacks, but this knowledge has little effect on their fear of crime because they have personal experience of domestic violence (Pain: 1991).

Meanwhile, feminist writers such as Wilson (1991: 7-8) have emphasised that "the city is frequently a place of excitement and opportunity for women, not just a place to be feared. Wilson argues that the city makes possible what is feared and desired: the women presence in the city becomes a problem, an irruption and a symptom of the absence of order, as it is associated with sexuality, a source of ambiguity and disorder. This aspect of the male- female relationship, a perpetual struggle between male order and female disorder, lies at the hearth of urban life. However, their poor access to public space can be questioned. In this perspective, the spatial

arrangement of city can be questioned in the context of improvement of individual liberty or women freedom. If space is socially produced, the analysis of space becomes important with the analysis of capitalism. Because, the discourse of capitalism increases the domination of patriarchal system and from this point of view, in the male dominated environment, the consumption of space becomes more difficult for women.”

Karp, Stone and Yoels (1991: 53) define “the way where urban space restricts women’s mobility as “gendered nature of urban space”. There is a variety of ways in which women’s freedom of movement in urban space is restricted, creating barriers to their mobility in the city”. For Madanipour (1996) a structural constraint is that created by the expansion of suburbs, forcing women to stay away from the centres of activity and reducing their opportunities, especially due to their heavy dependence on public transport. Separation of home from work in the industrialization process and the suburbanization of city life increasingly prevented women from social and geographical mobility.

“The major contribution of women to the quality of urban life, however, has not often been properly appreciated, as it has not been in the form of paid labour, and hence remained “an invisible work” (Karp, Stone, Yoels: 1991, 139).

Women’s work such as the domestic upkeep, the care children and the elderly, maintaining family ties and their overwhelming role in voluntary associations have been seen as “natural” and “unplanned”, as opposed to “real” work with more visible outputs with the increasing integration of women in the economy as paid labour, however, these spatial barriers works against their access to opportunities and jobs (Madanipour: 1996).

Although women are still seen as candidates for low-paid, part-time jobs, their increasing purchasing power and their rising rate of employment have started to affect the way urban space is organized. As the traditional role of women as housewives providing unpaid, domestic labour is being replaced by one in which women work both inside and outside of the home. From fast-food shops to shopping malls, which supports the new, double role of women as paid workers alongside the traditional role of looking after domestic needs of the household, a new landscape is

developing in which women are increasingly assuming new roles and powers (Gottdiener: 1994)

Material and intellectual property in their broadest sense is the extension of the individual. In the city, interaction become important and individuals must adopt functional specializations, whether in production, circulation or consumption. In this perspective, individuality has to be expressed in the context of a mass of other individuals. However, in terms of gender, the city becomes divided. Especially women are excluded from some parts of the city because of the interaction with men. Spatial distance of women, therefore, is understood by thinking the male dominated environment. As effects of human activities, spaces are important indications of social processes. If women are excluded from public space, their social process becomes problematic.

Feminist geography argues that the geographical notions of the space and place enrich the feminist theory. That is, space and place are important factors for analysing women's position in society. They play an important role in the construction of gender identity and gender relations. In other words, space and place maintain the reproduction of gendered relations.

The need for feminist analysis in the explanation of urban development is based on the absence of gender from this analysis. Vaiou (1992) explains this absence because of the binary oppositions like private/public, home life/politics, domestic labour/paid employment, reproduction/production. Men and masculinity are recognised with the culture, rational mind, objectivity and public, while women and feminism with the nature, irrational body and emotions and private. She adds that in geographical analysis, feminists are concentrated on making visible the other side of such oppositions that are associated with women.

According to Spain (1992: 15) "there is a spatial division between women and men and this condition causes the reduction on women's access to knowledge, and this division reinforces women's relatively lower status to men's. She also adds that, "gendered spaces" is used for explaining the separation of women from knowledge used by men to produce and reproduce power and privilege. Spatial arrangements between the sexes are socially created and the space outside the home becomes

the arena in which social relations are produced, while the space inside the home becomes that in which social relations are reproduced. Spain points out that “spatial institutions” like, family in the house, education in the school, labour in the workplace, create barriers for women to acquire knowledge by assigning women and men to different gendered spaces. In other words, masculine spaces contain socially valued knowledge of theology, law, and medicine, while feminine spaces contain devalued knowledge of childcare, cooking and cleaning.

Spatial segregation is one of the mechanisms by which a group with greater waterpower can maintain its advantage over a group with less power. By controlling access to knowledge and resources through the control of space, the dominant group’s ability to retain and reinforce its position is enhanced. Thus, spatial boundaries contribute to the unequal status of women. For women to become more knowledgeable, they must also change places. According to Spain varying degrees of gender segregation characterise social institutions. And spatial segregation reinforces the gender stratification, so the greater the distance between women and sources of valued knowledge, the greater the gender stratification in the society”.

McDowell (1983) argues that urban structure in capitalist societies reflects the construction of space into masculine centres of production and feminine suburbs of reproduction. According to her, housing is one of the most important issues in lives for the majority of the people. The young children, the elderly and women who are still responsible of domestic works, even if they work outside the home, spent a large proportion of their time in the home; but for men home is the resting place. State housing and planning policies depend on both these ideas and the privacy of the nuclear family.

The most important feature of the spatial divisions of the city is the separation of home and work, and this has been a gradual process, which is promoted by capitalist urbanism and associated with the gradual separation of women, especially the middle class women. The theories of urban structure explain this segregation according to general economic relationships of capitalist societies; but generally, the significance of this spatial separation for social relations between women and men is neglected. Although, there are different types of household like single parents,

widows, unmarried single women etc., and women are not seen as a different category and the household is accepted as a nuclear family.

Karp, Stone, Yoels (1991: 39-40) are interested in “the notion of gendered spaces and women’s place in public sphere. According to them, urban life has a stimulating and exciting existence for strangers; besides, there is a serious dilemma for women in terms of safety and sexual harassment. The nature of the relations between strangers in the public arena is defined as a unique feature of urban life”.

Women are heavily dependent upon public transportation, and this condition creates serious limits on where and when women can travel in many large cities. In addition to this, women expose to the possibility of harassment by men in using public transportation, like all uses of public space. Women are seen as sexual objects, and the mass media constantly emphasises that the domestic work is woman’s “natural” work and that woman’s position is intimately connected to physical attractiveness. It is suggested that when a product appears in the commercials the men will not only benefit from the products, but will also attract beautiful, exciting women by using these products. On the other hand, advertisements have given another message to women: if they buy clothes, cosmetics, and all those other wonderful things, they will be irresistibly fascinating objects. Women also made distinctions about the level of danger involved in particular settings. Bars or bar-cafes were felt to be more dangerous than settings such as stores or restaurants. They are also in a conflict in a way that they want to communicate with man they find interesting but have thoughts of whether this man can cause any problem or danger later on. Women’s fear of crime or especially rape plays a very important role in their mobility in urban areas.

Worpole (1992: 65) explains “the proportion of women and men changes substantially during the night. This is time when women may be afraid of going to town centres. A study in Woolwich, for example, showed that 65% of women were afraid of going out at night for fear of attack. There were 36% of who were even afraid during the day for fear of mugging and robbery. Another study, in Edinburgh, showed how women felt dissatisfied with town centre due to dirty and poorly lit streets, inadequate bus services and childcare facilities and a fear of sexual harassment. For Worpole, its conclusion was that these problems would not be

solved by the provision of better policing and security only, but also by a genuine choice of activities, entertainment and places where women can meet in towns and cities at night and provision for children where necessary”.

3.5.1. Turkey and woman’s participation to the urban space

The relationship between women and the city can be explained in the concept of power and politics. In both, advanced industrial and third world countries, women’s participation to public sphere is less than men. Women do not have sufficient capacity to take part in powerful status. Therefore, women have not been given an opportunity to participate in public relations. However, new regulations give some opportunities to women. In Turkey, women’s position was changed in terms of the state’s modernity politics; Kemalist reforms.

The Kemalist reforms have broken the boundaries of the public sphere for women. The major reforms of the New Republic were, Tevhid-i Tedrisat law in 1924, Dressing law in 1925, Civil Code in 1926. With this civil code, the equal rights were given to women about marriage and divorce and custody over children. In the republic period, in the perspective of Westernization with the legal rights, State feminism emerged. In this context, new opportunities in public spheres were given to women (Nizam: 1993).

The Kemalist approach to the question of women seems to offer an invaluable opportunity for explication for it may throw light upon the duality between civilization and nationalism. The main reason for this, according to Göle (1996) comes from the fact that it was the women upon whom the Kemalist movement relied with respect to both the process of modernization and the ideology of nationalism. In a sense it was the women who were the standard-bearers of Kemalist reforms.

Kemalist women’s rights can be thought as the symbolic democratization efforts of the state in answer to the accusations about dictatorship by the Western world. (Tekeli: 1982) However, it does not mean that it is insignificant. On the contrary, so long as women’s rights are related to the exercise of secularism in a Muslim Country, they are loaded with political meaning. Although Kemalism and the reforms made women’s emancipation possible, they did not liberate women in terms of feminist thought. It can be said that it was a transformation from traditional

patriarchy to Western patriarchy. Although same changes happen in the education and law, the condition of women stayed the same (Kandiyoti: 1987).

Kemalist Republican ideology incorporated in its modernist reforms a project of “de-gendering” and “re-gendering”. “New women” became the symbols of the new Turkey as a civilized nation. Within the Kemalist-nationalist framework the equality of men and women was put forward as the equality of the male and female members of the newborn Turkish nation, who shared the same ideals and responsibilities in the nation-building process (Durakbaşa: 2000).

“The transformations in the emancipation of women took place under the strict discretion and monopoly of the Kemalist elites. Women were not allowed to organize or lobby for their own rights. Kemalist felt that the public realm belonged to the modernizing state and neither autonomous woman’s organizations nor other organizations could be tolerated” (Arat: 2000, 111). Gender equality was granted in the public realm and women’s professionalism was supported at the same time as patriarchal norms continued to be practiced and replicated in the private realm. (Durakbaşa: 1998) In this context, we can say that Kemalist’ concern was primarily to mobilize women “for the good of the country” in their project of modernity. For Durakbaşa, *Kemal Atatürk* and the other leaders of the Turkish nationalist struggle and the Turkish Republic made a radical break with Islamic law and tradition that had a direct impact on the area of legislation related to women’s position in society. Hence, the efforts for reform in women’s status culminated in the “state feminism” of the new Turkish Republic, which provided all Turkish women with some equal rights in the area of law, education and political life. In this sense of liberalism, that is; the sense of equality and the rights, by the existence of sufficient conditions, the rational state play a part in making the women’s position better, in other words, maintain the decrease in women’s subordination. Depending on the reforms women start to use public sphere but still with limitations.

Another important thought in Turkey is Islam and Islamist women. During the late 1980s, Islam increased its public profile in Turkish political life. Women who called themselves Kemalist feminists perceived the rising power of Islam as a serious threat to women’s rights and began organizing to curtail it. *Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği* (The Association to Promote Contemporary Life) was the most

important organization involved in addressing this threat. Islamist women were most active in the Welfare Party and as individuals who fought to have women admitted to universities with their Islamic head covers. Saktanber (2002: 18) explain that “the new visibility that Islam has acquired in Turkey is an urban phenomenon. Towards the end of the 1980’s, Islamic way of life could be heard in the very heartland of the urban elite. In the new Islamic way of life, women become the other of the other, that is, not other of the Turkish woman but other of the Islamic women. Covering of women has become the mark of Islam’s new visibility in urban Turkey since the 1980s. Women wearing headscarves tightly framing their faces and covering their necks and bosoms, dressed in long loose overcoats are familiar part of urban scene. It is argued that Islamic movements proclaimed women both the bearers of culture and the repository of traditions and women were placed into the core of the gender discourse. However, at the same time, women were also regarded as the potential source of social *fitna*; disorder and anarchy. Therefore, women are under control of men, that is, they are controlled with patriarchal forms of control in the Islamic ideologies”.

During the transition from Ottoman Empire to Republic Era, entrance to public realm of women was interpreted as a women power out of private realm (Ramazanoğlu: 2004, 804-813). “The increasing veiling after 1980 in public realm is seen as changing nature of veiling via entering the new sphere like job or education has been coded by modernism. These veiled women have started to be identified as ‘Islamist feminists’ “(ibid: 811).

This process began along with the formation of civil society in 1950s. The profile of urban and educated Muslim identity has emerged and it changed its urban context in terms of their ideological perspective.

In Turkey, another important issue for women urbanization process in terms of migration. It is important to explain what brought urbanization to women?

According to Özbay (1979), after 1950s, education and migration played a role for women as a status increasing. The researches which were applied during this period showed that women who were educated and in urban were living in a higher standards rather than for rural women. From his point of view, Erman (1998; 211-

224) explains that migration to urban and urban life is a more expected fact that has brought with together the hope for a more comfortable life. Like Erman, Çiftçi (trans. Özbay: 1995, 146) also mentioned being” urban housewife” as a dream of rural young girls. “This dream is getting rid of heavy works burden of authority of elderly women, and of becoming a housewife of her.

The importance of living in urban areas can be evaluated in terms of the analysis of the urban’ women. What are the winnings of urban life for women? Who is the urban’ woman?

“Urban’ woman” in its identity consist of being public realm, educated and having economical independence, and being personal. In this context, Erman (1998: 211-224) implies that women who migrated to urban can get away from the force, classical, patriarchal family relationship, and then they started to get good relations with their husbands.

The other changing in urban context for rural women is becoming “waged-labour”. According to Ecevit (1996: 117-158) urban women is different from the rural one in terms of becoming waged. Waged-labour is an important factor for Turkish urban people to sustain their life. However, women cannot easily work for waged-works; in fact this range is low. The more importance giving to the urban waged-working, the less participation of women to these areas. From this point of view, Arat (1989: 170) adds that in the big cities, working in all public spheres of women can be seen normally. However, working areas are only limited with branches of house keeping, as a low waged-worker is another problem.

Ecevit (1996: 119) in this process mentions that from 1950s, the evaluations, which are doing on working women, advocated this thesis, “Women do not aim working outside the house in terms of wage, as a first privilege necessity or first aim. If they work, they interpreted this, as it is permanent and necessity. In fact, they only want to work as a mother and housewife. Therefore, the less importance for urban activities of women is explained in terms of, generally, their family roles and the preference depending on their roles in their family in according to patriarchal relationships”.

For İlkaracan (1998: 285), this was also “the reason for decreasing of women entrance to working life by 1950s. According to this thought, rural women who worked as unwaged family worker in agricultural, after they came to urban become housewife”. Köker and Atauz (trans. İlkaracan: 1998, 285-286) explain this problem like that the reason for being apart from the working life of women is the separation of work depending on gender. The determinant roles of “motherhood and wife” do not led women to work outside. In fact, the families set them to get educational activities for helping them to reach other sources, especially to entrance working life. These are the results of heavy economical structure and patriarchal system (Ecevit: 1996, 120; İlkaracan: 1998, 287).

For Tekeli (1995: 15-20) in the 1970s, with the underdevelopment, dependency, and income and in equal opportunity, high differences among classes; the gender inequality appeared as awareness in Turkey. For this discourse, suppressed “worker women” is privileged to “rural women”.

However, working standards and the limitations do not change the women position. In fact, at the level of integration of rural women to urban, these standards give birth to suppress women again. Until 1980s, education and the migration was seen the source for social mobility. After 1980s, economical conditions privileged the tourism and the trade towards out markets. And this period, the money becomes the source of social mobility. For Özbay (1995: 147-148) this also made changes in the thoughts of women.

“They do not complaint about the double burden of working life and they do not privilege being housewife. They have to be worker in 1980s. In 1990 Turkey, migrants and their integration to society were not seen as a problem any more. In this process, women had potential to improve and educate themselves. In fact, economic independence and the being educated was the dominant thought for this period woman” (İlkaracan: 1998, 302). İlkaracan explains that the demands for working and being independence as an economically were the symbol of change depending on social structure.

Rural transformation and urbanization process have changed the structure of rural way of life. The migrants who struggle with integration to society faced with

alienation. In this process, “urban women identity” is argued with the aim of understanding changes of rural women identity. However, the importance of family roles and the patriarchal determinacy is still effective on women life. Their ideologies determine the women’s position in urban area. The roles of women are determined in their concept of life.

From all these points of view, the nature of women’s oppression greatly deals with the women’s access to urban services, women’s changing activity patterns in time and space, and women and men’s different uses, perceptions of the urban environment. Home and work, public and private, domestic and waged labour, and the daily activity patterns of men and women all determine the gender roles, women’s access to public areas, and exclusion of women from urban spaces in terms of politics.

The privatization of family and the legitimating of patriarchal authority in the private sphere for feminists permitted the exclusion of women from society. Therefore, the concept of ‘family women’ is argued among feminists. For Göle (1996) the idea that Islam does not set a barrier against the education of women had already been accepted. Nevertheless, the question of women working following their education was still problematic. According to Islamic beliefs, the principle role of women is to raise children; motherhood. It does not mean that Islam obligate to work but place the motherhood and wifehood roles of women before the ideal of working outside the home. However, contemporary Islamist movement recreates the Muslim identity, erased in the collective memory by modernism. This process, which has accelerated since the 1980s, began along with the formation of civil society, in the 1950s. The profile of urban and educated Muslim identity has emerged. With the urban settings, the extension of the private sphere into the realm of public seems to be a common experience for all ideologies in society.

Briefly, it can be said that “the lives of women and their activity patterns both affect and are affected by the spatial structure and environmental change. The spatiality is also determined and affected by social thoughts. The ideologies determine the women’s position in society. The roles are determined in this context. Women still consume urban spaces less than men. Women spend their spare time, in general, at home. When they go out, their participation to the spaces become limited mostly

with visiting relatives and goes shopping. Travelling, doing sports, visiting friends do not show significant differences between men and women. However, in terms of going to the cinema, theatre and entertainment centres, there is a significant differentiation between men and women; women consume these spaces less than men. There is still an important problem for women's dealing with official works. Women do not take responsibility of economical processes; they are seen still as a man's role. Although women see the city as a safe space, they do not go out at the evening lonely. It should be considered that the nature of women's oppression greatly deals with the women's access to urban services, women's changing activity patterns in time and space, and women and men's different uses and perceptions of the urban environment⁴. Home and work, public and private, domestic and waged labour and the daily activity patterns of men and women all determine the gender roles. The significance of women's oppression in analyses of social and environmental change in urban areas is emphasized in feminist thought.

⁴ These arguments are taken from the pilot study conducted in 2003. It was submitted to Assoc. Prof. Yusuf Ziya Özcan to the lecture of Reserah Methods I. This survey was conducted with 40 respondents as structured- closed- ended questionnaire.

CHAPTER IV

URBAN PERCEPTION OF EXPERTS

With respect to the main problem of the study, interviews examine how the Turkish social thought interpret the urban and how they become differentiated from each other within urbanization process.

All interviewers were asked about the same questions. Questions were structured from the interrelated concepts. These concepts include the urban, urbanization, urban culture, urban identity, urban politics, urban problems and the solutions of them; and also the relationship between the ideologies and the urban.

Although, the study has aimed to reach to the academicians who have different social thought or approaches, researcher could not conduct the study in this way. For this reason, the different approaches were discussed with 10 interviewers, and the opinions of them are introduced in light of conceptual and theoretical discussions.

Looking at it from this perspective, the main results of this study are as follows:

4.1. Urban

Within changing economic, political and cultural values in the world, the definitions of urban and urbanization also changes depending on different views. (Tekeli: 2005, interview) defines urban as “settlement”. These are the spaces where peoples are clustered somehow. Urban is the outcomes of social development and it refers to accumulation, industrialization, concentration of the possibilities in terms of cultural, social development. Keskinok (2005: interview) explains this concept within the dichotomy of rural-urban relationship.

Urban with is population is the space where service sector increased and industry become dense. In the context of density, social relations started to be differentiated from each other (Karaaslan; 2005, interview).

The differentiation with social structures and economic process can be in balance within urban context. The social and economic process create urban (Dündar; 2005, interview).

Urban can also be defined in the perspective of economy. That is why, these areas are evaluated as the areas where production its control and management emerges without agricultural qualifications (Şenyapılı; 2005, interview).

Different from Şenyapılı, Ersoy (2005, interview) argues that the production cannot define urban anymore. This definition was valid for industrial cities. Today, the city privileges consumption rather than production.

Rural-urban dichotomy is the easiest interpretation for analyzing the urbanization process. On the other hand, there are arguments on social and cultural definitions of this process. The new relations and their spatial implications give birth to new concepts to argue. That is why; rural-urban dichotomy is not enough to argue changing process (Rittersberger-Tılıç: 2005, interview). After 1980s with the neoliberal politics, post-modern thinking and globalization process, Turkey and its cities come in to new era. Therefore, urbanization process needs to look for new concepts, creating new definitions to understand it clearly.

As a life style, cities carry more different social groups and their ideological views. Additionally, city is created by social, physical relationship. That is why; this space is the one of the most complex organization of public area. In such a complex area, urban become the transformer while decrease the high level of movements, increase the low level ones. It can also be seen as container of social relations. As transformer and container of social and cultural relations, urban should not be thought without spatial perspective. In fact, society is spatial, if the social relations are sustainable; this is because spatiality supplies them. These two are interrelated concepts (Güvenç: 2005, interview). From all these views it can be said that urban has various definitions. However, these are clustered as economic, demographical and social relations. Depending on these definitions, urban should be examined with its qualifications. In other words, the qualifications that make city itself are useful tools for analyzing urban and seeing the different emphasizes giving to urban.

4.2. What are the qualifications that define urban?

Depending on definitions of urban, its qualifications can also be seen as different perspective. Diversity and population is the basic characteristic of urban areas. The results of this study show that social relations and cultural values are more important factors that define spaces as urban. Güvenç (2005: interview) explains these factors at three; relationship level; daily life, transformation relations of city with its hinterland, and also capitalist network of urban that is the position of city within the international division of labour.

Urban as a system of relationships organizes all forms of relations within the network of control and management. As a being centre, the urban should be thought as control mechanisms towards the social, political and economical relations (Dündar: 2005, interview).

The interactions of human sources create new institutions, organizations, and services. Coordination of all new creations becomes very comprehensive and complex issue. That is why; urban is defined as the controlling, planning and spreading mechanism of this sources and services.

Living together with diversity concentration in daily life dimension is another feature of urban. In a changing context of global world, within this diversity becoming an actor who can integrate to the world is more important. The capacity of individuals determines their position as citizens within these areas. That is why, it is not enough to explain the dynamics of today's social thought with citizens who have limited perspective that were shaped by nation-state. However, in a global context, today urban prefer active citizens rather than previous one. Turkey experiencing globalization and postmodernism needs this type of personality, which has the projects for integration to information society and global world with their capacities. From this point of view, urban should be the space where these individualities form the identities (Tekeli: 2005, interview).

With the post-fordist production, urban areas become the control centre for flexible accumulation cities started to be seen as the attractive investment areas for private sectors. Therefore, the new investments changed the both social and spatial structure of cities. Ersoy (2005: interview) explains that urban areas become the

areas where investments intervene via consumption mechanisms rather than production.

It is very known features of globalization and postmodernism that societies are in the way of consumptive societies. These have serious effects on Turkey urbanization process. This is the one dynamics that determine the destination of changing urban process.

In Turkey, the dynamics of urbanization is not much different from the rest of the World. Turkey also experience global trends although its local values create some originalities within this process.

4.3. The Dynamics of Urbanization of Turkey

Turkey experienced urbanization process with the transformation of rural areas. These changes were the starting dynamics of urbanization process of Turkey (Osman; 2005). One of the results of these changes was migration. The rationalization process, transformation of the land ownership structure leads to migration to the urban areas. Turkey experienced migration process rapidly during 1950s and 1960s.

Similar with Tekeli, Güvenç explains the urbanization process within three periods. These are like that the radical modernization period (1923-1946); the populist modernization period (1946-1970); and the integration period to the global world (after 1980s). All three has the same affects on urbanization process.

In the dichotomy of developed and underdevelopment countries, our urbanization process can be thought as behind the development trend because Turkey entered in to this process although it had not been accomplished the industrialization process. When the politics and economy is evaluated, it can be seen that industrialization was preferred to urbanization (Dündar: 2005, interview).

Because of the determinant role of economy in Turkey, labour market has been the most important dynamics for urbanization of Turkey. With the modernization project of Republic, Turkey organized labour market towards the control and managements of central government. However, during the Democratic Party (1950s) liberal politics

changed the all structure in favour of market economy. From this perspective, urban structure was organized attract the investments.

Şenyapılı (2005: interview) explains the labour market of this period with pyramid; fordist firms (aristocracy), periphery works (small works branches), and informal sector. This differentiation has been applying until 1980s. Especially, the informal sector has many and important affects on urban areas. Their reflections on space were seen as “squatter”. Their integration to system was evaluated with these settlements. In fact, they could reach the services like electricity, road, sanitation, etc.

Until 1960s, the big cities have been facing with these movements. The flexibility of squatter was the most important features that determine their position in labour market. Urban crisis during the “import-substitution” industrialization process could be achieved owing to squatter population. For Şenyapılı, market could be in balance with the integration of this population to the labour market. However, in the social context, this population has been excluded from urban life. The increasing number of these areas and political pressure exerted by this group led the authorities to seek some solutions. In this perspective, social housing areas, cheap site and credit provision schemes were initiated. In 1970s, the approaches towards squatter started to be changed. In fact, renewal of squatter areas in order to integrate them with the proper urban life was the main political planning of this period. With the increase of liberal policies and the affects of globalization process, there were new solutions to these areas. For example, establishment of partnerships with the local governments and the private sector changed the housing structure in favour of market economy.

Şenyapılı explains this process as deconstruction of pyramid. In a globalization period, Turkey started to experience different dynamics both socio-economically and spatially.

Increasing of determination of global dynamics, decreasing the role of nation-state privileged the cities and this process affected the urbanization process dramatically. Dündar (2005: interview) explains that Turkey cannot organize urban areas for this process, the politics and integration efforts are still at the level of state and state policies. That is why; Turkey could not privileged cities for global market.

In 1980s, Turkey changed its economic policies towards “export-oriented” industrialization process. In addition to minimizing of state, globalization leads to spread of production levels to the world. That is why, unemployment started to be a major problem of cities. Depending on stopping internal circulation movements and sectoral organizations, squatter areas disappeared. In fact, these areas become “bad apartments” (Şenyapılı: 2005, interview). Together with this trend, informal sector is growth enormously. According to this growing informal sector, market economy created new networks like criminal sector. On the other hand, squatter areas were transformed into urban revenue.

Globalization process, on the one hand destroy the national borders, on the other hand create new localities in the world within the concept of market economy and its diversified cultures. In this perspective, some countries and their urban structure gains importance as control centres in the capital circle. That is why, urbanization processes differ from each other. When the urbanization of Turkey is considered, it is seen that Turkey has been managing this process creating originalities and spontaneous solutions for integration to the global economy.

4.4. Originality of Turkish Urbanization Process

In terms of global market economy, Turkish cities were faced with rapid urbanization and migration from rural to urban areas. While immigrants tried to integrate to the urban economy and social life, they started create new areas for themselves like squatter and informal-sector.

The rapid urbanization experience can be seen as the most important originality of this process. In addition to this originality, Turkey used the urban as the vehicle of this transformation in more democratic policies. That is why; urbanization is evaluated both as reason and result. Güvenç (2005: interview) explains that urbanization process, at the same time, was worked as mechanism of class creation. It also provided a basement for absorbing class antagonisms. Transformation from rural to urban society was very peaceful in this context. This is the major originality of Turkish urbanization process.

Ersoy (2005: interview) adds that “urbanization process of Turkey is not independent from production type. That is why; Turkish experience was the wildest period of

capitalist production". The necessities of this type of production, and its life style became obvious within cities. In this process, becoming revenue source of urban land with speculative aspect was unavoidable. Of course, the capitalists experienced it differently. For them, urban become the space where constructions of great buildings, housing without open spaces and environmental value concentrated. Unlike the capitalists, the social groups who were deprived of capital accumulation appeared in the areas that were called as informal sector with squatter. This was the results of urbanization of capital, and its circulation within social groups. For Ersoy, this is the originality Turkish urbanization process.

However, it cannot be generalized or originalized to Turkey. This process depends on how capitalist relationship intervene the city. The important point is the position that is created by integration of different production types, and the development of this type within cities. The originality of process will be the same at the level of similar production types. If the urban revenue is the source for capital accumulation, the capitalist relations will force its application in the city. On the contrary, the countries where these relations are out of context, the cities and city areas become more publicized. From this point of view, Turkey experienced this process in terms of big cities, at the level of capitalist relations within the trend of urban accumulation.

It is thought that the urbanization process, at the same time, brings the cultural transformation of society. As Turkey entered into this process very rapid, this cultural transformation could not be happen (Tekeli 2005: interview). In such a rapid urbanization process, Turkish society created itself different types of solutions to do transformation. This creation should be concerned in terms of modernist legitimization. Turkish transformation was planned in the context of modernization. However, since cultural transformation could not be achieved, emergence of different types of integration becomes unavoidable in the city apart from modernist legitimization. Squatter was the best example for this context. They started to organize and shape urban areas for themselves within informal relationship until they integrated to the urban process as urban revenue via their labour power, and cultural features. This is the originality of Turkish urbanization process.

Şenyapılı argues that unlike the cultural transformation, labour market regulation, and the integration of rural values to the urban areas with their flexibility should be seen as the major originality of this urbanization process.

Osmay (2005: interview) serves “*Dolmuş*” (transportation vehicle) as the indicator of this flexible example for informal sector within urban areas. Like squatter, *Dolmuş* should be concerned in terms of spontaneous solutions to the transformation of cultural values. *Dolmuş* was the creation of integration process that could achieve this integration successfully. *Dolmuş* as an informal service was the first of such marginal employment forms to exist in the urban space.

Briefly, the development process of Turkey in terms of urbanization included different originalities comes from the transformation period. Especially, integration of rural values to the urban space appeared as different types of relationship both as socio-economic and spatial. More importantly, labour market was the container and determinant factor for these organizations. In fact, starting from 1960s, the liberal policies become the important actors for changing structure of Turkish urbanization.

1980s changed this structure differently in terms of neoliberal policies in relation with globalization and postmodernism. This process gives more important role the cities for integration to the global economy. These spaces become the areas where investments by private sector concentrated. The appearance of this transformation in the cities, especially in the metropolitan areas, can be seen as the fragmentation of spaces according to the capitalist relationship. Dündar (2005: interview) explains that with globalization Turkish cities started to be fragmented as suburbanization. Increasing value of urban lands cause the transformation of spatial organization.

Decentralization of urban is the policy of globalization process. From this perspective, spatial segregations appeared as the new form of urban structure of Turkey. With neoliberal and populist politics, labour market also changed. In this period, urban areas were faced with new spatial appearances. For example, there emerged new privatized service groups within cities like finance, computer, media, and etc. The reflections of this appearance on space were the creation of the gated communities. These groups not only because of security but also of emphasizing their identity to the space constructed these new, closed, gated sites of city. As well

as spatial segregation, cultural differentiation of society increased dramatically. Urbanization process is speed up this differentiation in terms of the reflections of market circulation. That is why; urbanization process and its originality should be concerned with cultural transformation.

When the cultural perspective is concerned, urban integration and differentiation of social groups in the cities appeared as another feature of that process. This leads to emerging of new arguments on the urban culture and identity of Turkey.

4.5. Urban Culture and Identity of Turkey

Becoming citizenship is the most arguable context. Especially, after 1950s with the migrations, Turkey started to argue who are the citizens and what are the features of citizenship in Turkey.

In Turkey, the concept of citizenship comes from the integration of new comers to the city (Dündar: 2005, interview). If the citizenship is defined as using and benefiting from all opportunities of urban, it again creates different groups dynamics. The cleavages between social groups in city differ from each other their identities and cultures.

From this point of view, the features of the citizenship in Turkey are continuing relationship with rural, integrating to the reproduction within urban areas, and not integrating to the social and cultural relationship enough (Keskinok: 2005, interview).

For Tekeli (2005: interview), Turkey could not experience the transformation of culture. That is why, it is important to define citizenship clearly. This transformation is parallel with the urbanization process. As Turkey entered in to this process rapidly, transformation of culture could not be achieved. Therefore, the citizenship becomes the arguments of urban structure. If the spatial development and the population are considered, it is possible to say that Turkey constructed its citizenship. However, in the global trend, the cultural evaluation of citizenship will not be done. Cultural qualifications include the using urban facilities, living together within the same space, creating the culture of living together. Does Turkey represent qualifications within cities? In the globalization process, is there a need for the concept of citizenship?

The questions come from the rural-urban dichotomy. In this dichotomy, citizenship is defined. However, global society does not contain rural anymore. That is why; there is not any need for urban definition. New period should include the new definition of urban and its citizenship. If the last period definitions are used for describing the citizenship, it is not enough to see and understand global, information society and its cities.

Similar with Tekeli, Şenyapılı (2005: interview) argues this concept in terms of globalization and integration to the world to define what the citizenship is. In the last period, citizenship was defined as consuming and benefiting from urban opportunities. This means the integration process. Today, urbanization becomes the process of integration with global urban networks, reaching and using these networks. That is why, citizenship should be evaluated in terms of this network from this perspective, and it is not possible to integrate to global urban networks as only urban. Therefore, the hinterland becomes the important space for gaining power to this integration. Urban with its hinterland become the urban region in a global world, and can do this integration as on urban region. However, it brings another problem that the control and management of this urban region become problematic function.

Osmay (2005: interview) argues that Turkey could not construct its urban culture. Urbanization process includes the rules. In the urban space, these rules can be done flexible, however, in such a flexible space, citizenship is not created. Somehow, and citizenship can be seen as living in city and doing urban works. If the education and unemployment are considered as the results of becoming citizens, it is not possible to think that Turkey become urbanized with its citizens.

On the other hand, the experts agree with that Turkey has urban culture but it is more comprehensive and complex context. For Erdoğan (2005: interview), this culture is more related to political culture. Urban culture is also in relation with citizenship. This is the way in which individuals or society can perpetuate their lives.

According for Karaaslan (2005: interview), it is possible to see Turkey as urbanized in terms of its citizenship and culture. Choosing a job, voting are urban behaviours. In addition to these, differentiation and specialization are also urban behaviours. In this perspective, most of cities represent these features. On the contrary, urban life

style is more comprehensive concept that it can be achieved in general. With its population, coordination and relations with national and international networks, Turkey becomes the urbanized country.

From different perspective, Güvenç (2005: interview) argues that demographical destination of Turkey provides the qualification of urban society. For him, the control of birth, demographical development, marriage age and number of children are the most important features for becoming modern, capitalist and urban society. According to these features, Turkey started to control these developments. That is why; the standards of becoming urbanized are increased. On the hand, it is not valid improvement for creating urban culture. Urban culture can be seen with material worlds. For example, civil society organizations, publications, participation, voluntaries are the outcomes of urban structure and culture. If the West is look as a reference point Turkey has no enough activities towards this material world. On the contrary, if the 1960s of Turkey is taken as a reference point it is possible to think that Turkey experience this development and can sustain its position in terms of urban culture.

From all these perspectives, it can be said as a result that Turkey has urban culture when it is considered with benefiting from opportunities of urban structure. However, shaping and opportunities of urban culture are different. For example, Istanbul presents more opportunities to the dwellers rather than Ankara. The most important thing for Rittersberger- Tılıç (2005: interview) is not the opportunities city presents but the benefiting from these. In fact, how many dwellers can benefit from the all opportunities of the city they live in? It differs from city to city because of the class relations. In this context, Ankara as the education city includes universities. In addition to this, pub and entertainment culture has been increasing. Especially, Ankara becomes the city where youth culture concentrates and shapes the urban life.

Additionally, within this diversified and fragmented city structure, reflections of social groups with their culture on space become appear clearly, for example, squatter population after integrated to the city life, started to create their culture. This can be defined as subculture. In the urban context, the most representative outcomes of this culture are seen as “arabesque”.

Briefly, all city dwellers somehow define their living areas with their cultural values. On the one hand, arabesque culture and rural features can be seen, on the other hand, the gated communities is increasing trend of urban structure. The cultural diversity of urban structure brings and creates new problems, and antagonisms within these spaces. Especially, in a global world with the increasing importance of market economy, the big cities are faced with new problems.

4.6. The Problems of Turkish Cities

In a long period, Turkish cities and the urbanization process itself has been the source for economic dynamism. Migrations, the increasing population, growing urban market, transition from rural production to urban consumption were the major cycles of Turkish urbanization process. In this process, all urban institutions, structures, roads, housings, sanitation, electricity, public areas and so on has been economic source. For this process, migration was the determinant factor. However, today urban growth is financed not with dynamics that comes from migration but new sources.

In this process, urban society entered into new structure in which citizenship reproduce them. This structure is organized as a open for global economy, that is free market economy (Güvenç: 2005, interview).

The other problem of the urban structures can be evaluated in the view of capital accumulation. On the one hand, the big cities are faced with the disordered capital concentration; on the other hand, small and middle level cities experience this process with the problem of absence and information of capital accumulation. Keskinok (2005: interview) explains that the concentration of capital in the big cities, at the same time, causes uncontrolled urbanization.

Dündar (2005: interview) argues the becoming subsidence of city centres as a problem of urban structure. From this point of view, many functions with housing and it uses moved to the out of city. For example, Bilkent as the creation of new urban structure includes both housings and any spaces where entertainment, shopping and so on are possible. These spaces bring the useless of city centres. The other problem is that cities started to be similar spaces without having identity. These spaces become fragmented, and the spatial segregation increased. Therefore, the

social segregation appeared clearly. Two different social groups experience serious differentiation in terms of economy reflecting on space.

On the other hand, there are poverty areas in the cities. Exclusion of these groups from society, integration problems, and un-reached services to them is the main problems of the spatial segregation. To see these problems, there are some indicators such as education, future expectations, dally life, relationship between men and women. They present the both social and structural problems of cities (Osma: 2005, interview).

Cities have many actors, groups and organizations. Organizations of these groups become the important issue of governments. In addition to this, from transportation to environmental crisis, cities are faced with many structural problems. Urban equipments are not enough, public areas are limited. That is why, cities cannot be organized and controlled orderly. From this perspective, services of municipalities become important. There are many infrastructural problems of cities, and the quality of infrastructure is more related with municipality because the problem of infrastructural service of urbanization is based on political mechanisms. They cause governmental and security problems. Şenyapılı (2005: interview) adds that cities are difficulty in organizing social classes. As they become more segregated areas do not get into any relationship with each other. There are two reasons: one of them is un-organized labour market. Second one is that Turkish economy could not find a balanced place for itself in a global economy. In addition to this, the new concepts emerged by globalization process cannot be applied to Turkey because there are no any organization to transfer these concepts to local level. All others problems to which city struggle today are the outcomes of these two main problem areas. To see the reasons of these problems, first of all, the urban politics should be evaluated.

4.7. Urban Politics

The main politics in Turkey was the breaking points for urbanization problems. Therefore, urbanization politics are related to the political process. These politics has been applied with the populism in Turkey. Additionally, the politics do not include the partnership with academic, scientific, intellectual levels and actors.

In addition, the participation of society to the politics is out of concept. That is why; all politics are in the trend that they are not in favour of city dwellers. Especially, this trend should be differentiated from the mainstream political strategies (Karaaslan: 2005, interview).

Within the market economy structure, cities become the powerful spaces for circulation of capital. In this perspective, urban politics are planned to organize the spaces for accumulation process. That is why; in the social and spatial structure of urban life, there emerged various problems. Of, course, during the development process of Turkey, cities has been the transformer and container of changing structure for development. This has also affected on urban development. However, unplanned development and flexible accumulation process are speed up the deconstruction of urban areas (Güvenç: 2005, interview).

Especially, during the last period, AKP policies depend on the transformation of urban revenue. Urban revenue means that creation of new public investment areas, new structural opportunities, infrastructure supported by the state, and the supporting to the other investments of private sector. Circulation of all is organized by political strategies. In the 1980s, the period of Bedrettin Dalan (the mayor of Istanbul) experienced this process before. With this accumulation and urban revenue strategies leads to emergence more structures without the needs of cities. They become unproductive areas of urban space. In the period of new capitalization, capital increased its interest to urban. That is why; these unproductive structured areas appeared dramatically. From this point of view, urbanization policies emphasized the structural areas than before. As it is mentioned before, there is a need of new central planning based on nation-state order (Keskinok: 2005, interview).

Deregulation is the politics of neoliberalism in a global process. Within a fragmented structure, cities need to be regulated by new policies depending on social needs, participation and organization. For doing this in Turkey, local government's role should be privileged without main political interventions. On the other hand, civil society organizations and social participation in terms of partnership is needed to be improved and supported (Rittersberger- Tılıç: 2005, interview).

From the perspective in terms of city planning, there was a need for main planning system which is sensitive to environment (Karaaslan: 2005, interview). Keskinok (2005: interview) adds that solving the urban problems in Turkey, there is a need for order based on central planning at the national level.

In the urban policies, social justice should be privileged. Rittersberger- Tılıç (2005: interview) explains this social justice as development for all in the city. That is, all policies towards the city organization should include all social groups. For doing this, civil initiatives can be supported. Depending on this support, the growth can be sustained from the local level. Additionally, the new concepts of globalization process should be transformed via organizations to the local. To sustain this transformation, understanding of global economy and the view of democracy become important mechanisms. This also means that the new planning strategies should be improved in terms of city-dwellers needs.

For Güvenç (2005: interview), Turkish government and the municipalities have been providing and applying the basic politics by so far: These basic politics are like that authorizing of municipalities, giving importance to the education system, controlling urbanization as being sensitive to the environment.

According to the results of this study, in the urban politics, there is a need for new planning strategies come from the grassroots, the local. By so far, in Turkey, the urban policies have not been thought consciously. In fact, until 1960s, the governments have been afraid of urbanization. After this process, in 1970s, the importance of process was understood. From this point of view, municipalities become the major actors for controlling the urban areas. This was the un-bureaucratic trend because all policies and programs of municipalities were determined by main political strategies. This trend destructed by Özal giving more emphasize to again the local governments ideology. Today this trend is more related with neoliberal policies. These policies need more private sector intervention to the programs. That is why, Turkish urban experience such on unconscious political strategies.

Within all these trends, in a global, post-modern world, neoliberalism determines the urban structure. From this perspective, it should be evaluated what will be the dynamics of urbanization future.

4.8. Future Dynamics of Turkish Urbanization

All these improvements in the urban areas, the structures of urban areas still are changing. Market economy as the determinant factor of this change both shape and regulate the flexible accumulation within urban areas. The cycle is now not only limited with national borders but also with international urban networks. Today's concept 'global city' is the outcomes of this process. The competition among the cities in the world forced the cities towards the integration to the global economy.

From this point of view, Turkish urbanization process has been changed in the dimension of urbanization of capital. However, as the biggest city of Turkey, İstanbul cannot be totally seen as global city. Of course, İstanbul is the city where international business centres have branches but to become a global city, İstanbul place the centres of this regional circulation (Ersoy: 2005, interview).

In the near future, the feature of urbanization process will give more emphasize on grassroots participation. Human rights, civil society organizations, liberties and differences within cities will be reflected as spatial dynamics. The potential of society and cities should be considered at this point (Osmay; 2005).

The dynamics of future urbanization depends on the processes that governments enter into. It is not independent from the economical development of Turkey. That is why; there will be a need for sustainable economic development. This can be achieved by human sources related to space. The international relationship of Turkey is the determinant factor for future dynamics of urbanization. In a global trend, Turkey started to get into new relationship whit Greece, Bulgaria and Syria. This has important spatial results. In the future, Turkey will experience urbanization within these relations. Globalization happens at two spatial structures; one of them is America with its decentralization, the other one is Europe with its context of ecological sustainability. The structures ant the Turkey' choice will determine its urbanization process (Tekeli; 2005, interview).

On the other hand, one of the dynamics of future urbanization is transformation. That is, squatter areas will become the problematic areas for Turkey. Today, this transformation is experiencing but, in the future these dynamics will become clearer. This transformation will increase the value of squatter areas as urban revenue. Because of becoming apartments, all squatters will try to be destroyed to regulate these areas. Therefore, this usage of urban lands for capital accumulation will be the increased trend of future (Güvenç: 2005, interview).

Rittersberger- Tılıç (2005: interview) sees these dynamics like that the increasing class differentiation, crooked urbanization. The reflection of poverty and wealthy in spaces will be appeared clearly, and will be more differentiated spatial structures. Turkey, after 1985, experienced the forced migration. This process caused the chaotic structure of urban space because these ethnic groups become the marginalized groups with their spatiality. They had the potential of criminal activities. In the future, ethnicity will be important within the cleavages of social groups and spatial structures of them.

Urban regions as the outcome of global trend can control its production in the future if these regions will be organized with regional policies via national, economic orders. Unlike the partnership level, at the same level, these urban regions can use regional and local dynamics within the international relationship (Keskinok: 2005, interview).

There will be more flexible planning system that includes aesthetic sensitivity to environment and daily life problems. Urban politics will cover such projects in the future. On the other hand, there is a trend of returning to the rural. After suburbanization process, Turkey will experience the development of satellites. However, this is not for near future (Karaaslan: 2005, interview).

When the future urbanization process is concerned, there emerges some dynamics. Social differentiation and its spatial reflection are the common answers that experts give. The other dynamic can be seen as the integration of local values to the global world system. International position of cities within the global relationship network gives a way to the cities for integrating their capacities with spatial contribution to the global system.

The trend can be evaluated as similar to today's one. Globalization and capitalist relationship with neoliberal policies will be the determinant actors for controlling mechanisms of urbanization process of Turkey.

The context of this study was the relationship between ideology and urbanization in Turkey. That is why; it includes the development process and the social thoughts of Turkey. Somehow, in the urbanization process, ideologies, in other words, social thoughts have been effective actors. Especially economical basement and intervention of ideologies determine the urban structure and its transformation.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The interpretation and the views of urbanization process cannot be thought as independent from ideology. Space is socially produced, and the society should be open for this perspective (Rittersberger- Tılıç; 2005, interview).

Turkish urbanization process has been organizing by political strategies. Therefore, the ideologies that become hegemonic reflected itself to urban space. In Turkish urbanization process, from Kemalism to Feminism, all ideologies has determinant role for constructing their spatial forms. Especially, during the republican periods, all policies were towards the emerging of new modern space as the representative of new nation. In this perspective, urban is the centre of modernity within the framework of republican ideology. Therefore, representational space and the space of representations become the crucial standpoints of Kemalist ideology to construct itself.

Starting with Kemalist policies, Nationalistic thought has been reflecting itself within urban space, especially with architecture and monumental buildings. In this respect, the symbols, signs, rituals become the major tools for nationalist representation. Space, therefore, is nationalized by a series of monuments and statues. For example, announcement of Ankara as a capital symbolizes national unity, centralization and creation of homogenous structure around an identity. The state ideology reflected itself both on architecture and national space. Space is social produced. From this perspective, the nationalist ideology was still determinant mechanism for Ankara. However, in 10-15 years, Ankara has been experiencing differentiation from existing relations. Consumption is more effective rather than bureaucracy. Today's urbanization cannot be explained with internal dynamics the external dynamics should be in considered.

Additionally, the Islamic reflections within urban spaces can also be seen. Although Islamism gives more emphasize on private sphere, within the rapid urbanization process, it started to use public sphere more than before and it become visible. In this perspective, Islam can be evaluated as an urban religion. Because organizational and institutional development of Islam occurred in the urban centres

via mosque, foundations, sects and religious education institutions. In fact, after 1980s, Turkey experienced the Islamist visibility in urban areas. Political actors and the new meanings attributed to the social sphere were the main reasons for this visibility. That is why; sects, foundations and media has the crucial role for increasing visibility of Islam.

Islamist features within urban areas also appeared with buildings styles and the ornaments of structures. In addition to this feature, for ideologies, the grassroots movements are important containers of thoughts. In 1970s, the squatter areas become the political arena for the left and the right. The population needs have been considered within the populist strategies. These areas had the great potential in the urban politics with their voting potential and urban revenue. Urban space consists of small communities. That is why; urban politics should include grassroots, civil initiatives. Islamist can achieve to reach these communities via education and health system by supports. In addition to these features, Osmay (2005: interview) adds that “Islamist ideology used the rural values within cities. It created its own base within these spaces. They benefit from the urban space, and also changed its form to integrate to the new spatial structures. Construction of mosque with its community is the best example for Islamist reflection of space.”

Şenyapılı (2005: interview) explains this creation of Islamist basement in the urban space with labour market features the social groups that had been excluded from labour market started to be included by Islamist ideology. Charities, giving courses without taking money, and with any other supports, this ideology organized these social groups in favour of political strategies. They served these supports with the discourse of headscarves, Islamist practices and etc. However, in a global trend, “it is not possible construct such an ideological hegemony. On the one hand, labour market is integrated to the world, on the other hand, the some parts of labour market is integrated to the informal relations. That is why; there is a need for new definition of ideology for the trends of globalization”.

In 1980s, the liberal thought gained the increasing visibility in urban space. Its tendency can be evaluated as the increasing mass consumption, privatization, entertainment, and new settlements. Their spatial representation can be defined with “shopping malls”, privatization and the construction of new buildings, housings.

In fact, with the neoliberal policies, urban is started to be defined as the place of marketing, enterprise, and the area of market- oriented economic growth. This tendency has been transforming the urban space radically.

The dominant ideology changed the social and economic structure, of that period. Even, the ideology of the state and the majors of municipalities shape the urban structure. That is why; it is not possible to separate urbanization from ideology. The neoliberal ideology is the determinant mechanism within the urban space of urbanization (Dündar: 2005, interview; Rittersberger- Tılıç: 2005, interview).

For Güvenç (2005, interview), “urban is the transformer of ideologies. Ideology is urban. The social life and the public area emerged within urban space. Ideology is the part of urban life transition from rural to urban society, transition to market economy, capitalist urbanization process. Ideology is the result of urban life. However, existing ideologies ends today. They are not reproduced again. Therefore, it produces itself new public area based on information and technology. These are the out comes of liberalism, and the urban space is shaped by global network system. Therefore, all ideologies are Turkey like Kemalism, Nationalism, Islamism and etc. cannot enough to explain and understand this trend”.

If the urbanization is considered, it is possible to say that hegemonic ideology is transformed. For Ersoy (2005: interview), “the urban ideology of Republican period was clear. Modernization and urbanization process has been thought interrelated. The republican ideology defined the city as ideal type for country. With the migration process during 1960s and 1970s, ideological perspectives were destructed.” From this point of view, it is not possible to see the city as unique part. In fact, after 1980s, with the increasing urban poverty, social fragmentation and differentiation increased dramatically. These differentiation become obstacle to emerging of unique urban ideology in Turkey.

In a fragmented structure, market economy, integration to the global world, populist the policies of globalization can be seen as social thoughts that effect urbanization process after 1990s and today’ agenda.

Finally, conception of spatiality has been explicit object of feminist reflection. Organization and management of space have political and social dimension and

cannot be concern the women. Urban create and reproduces gender relations. From this point of view, women have been excluded from the urban space. Male-domination of public sphere made women invisible in these spaces. Women become limited with the domestic life. Even, the women's work and women's participation to the urban areas are still problematic. Therefore, there is a need for feminist analysis in the explanation of urban development because of the absence of gender from this analysis. As a consequence, it can be said that the lives of women and their activities are affected by spatial structure.

If this process is concerned, the study shows that women spend their spare time, in general, at home. When they go out, their participation to the spaces becomes limited mostly with visiting relatives and shopping. Travelling, doing sports, visiting friends do not show significant relationship between men and women. However, in terms of going to the cinema, theatre and entertainment centres, there is a relationship between them; women consume these spaces less than men.

There is still an important problem for women's dealing with official works. When they become ill, in general their husbands deal with hospital's processes. Women, according to the research's results, do not take responsibility of economical processes; they are seen still as a man's role. Although women see the urban as a safe space, they do not go out at the evening alone because of being afraid. However, this does not mean that all women in the sample group are afraid of going out at the evening alone and they are afraid of the streets"⁵.

As a consequence, existing ideologies in Turkey, from Kemalism, Nationalism, Islamism, Liberalism/Neoliberalism to Feminism, have urban perception. They have some interpretations for urbanization process. However, as the hegemonic social thought any of them has cannot explain the changing structure of urban space today. In republican period, Kemalist ideology was the most determinant mechanism for construction of cities. Cities and urbanization process were controlled and ruled

⁵ These arguments are taken from the pilot study conducted in 2003. It was submitted to Assoc. Prof. Yusuf Ziya Özcan to the lecture of Reserah Methods I. This survey was conducted with 40 respondents as structured- closed- ended questionnaire.

by these ideological strategies. Its affects could be seen both spatial and social. However, with the hegemony of Democratic Party and liberalist thought in 1960s, Turkey experienced different development program. By so far, the populist policies and liberal values have been organized the urban structure. Most importantly, the autonomy of municipalities has been increased.

Today the urban spatial and social structure is organized with more neo-liberal policies. That is why; there cannot be hegemonic well-known ideologies. They are not enough to see differences in Turkey. They should be redefined in terms of global process.

Urban space is open to all ideological practices. In same ways, there can be seen some ideological movements or ideological construction of spaces. If space is a social product, it becomes the arena of different ideologies and thoughts. Therefore, urban spaces in Turkey represent the some grassroots movements in terms of small civil initiatives and organizations. However, these movements are limited with local initiatives, generally.

In a global market economy, there is no space for general, hegemonic social thought for restructuring urbanization and its space. This process only gives way to the civil initiatives and organizations with small local communities. On the other hand, urban space cannot be separated clearly with the values of Turkish social thoughts. This study shows that Turkish social thought has determinant role for constructing itself within urban space.

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APPENDIX
INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What is the urban?
2. What are the qualifications that define urban?
3. What do you think about the dynamics that affects the urbanization process of Turkey?
4. Are there any social thought systems that effects the Turkish urbanization process with their strategies?
5. What is the originality of Turkish urbanization process?
6. What do you think about the urban culture?
7. What do you think about the urban identity?
8. How do you evaluate the Urbanization process of Turkey within the Turkish development periods?
9. What are the problems of urban spaces in Turkey?
10. How can these problems be solved?
11. What do you think about the urban politics in Turkey?
12. What are the priorities of urban politics in Turkey?
13. What do you think about the relationship between the ideology and urban?
14. What do you think about the relationship between the ideologies and urbanization process of Turkey?
15. What do you think about the relationship between the Kemalism and urban?

16. What do you think about the relationship between the Nationalism and urban?
17. What do you think about the relationship between the Islam and urban?
18. What do you think about the relationship between the liberalism and urban?
19. What do you think about the relationship between the neoliberalism and urban?
20. What do you think about the relationship between the Feminism and urban?
21. What do you think about the future dynamics of Turkish urbanization within 10- year-process?