

LOOKING AT THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECT FROM THE
GECEKONDU DWELLERS' PERSPECTIVE: THE CASE OF MAMAK

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ABSTRACT

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The gecekondu settlements emerged as a grassroots solution to the housing problem of migrant population in the lack of effective state intervention. Although most of these settlements gained legal status and title deeds in the following decades, they were still considered to be problem to be solved in due process. Starting from the mid-1980s, as a result of the so-called rehabilitation plans, considerable part of the gecekondu areas underwent a rapid redevelopment process through the market mechanism. The gecekondu owners gave their land to individual small scale developers in return for some portion of flats built in the land plot. However in the 2000s this strategy has changed with the introduction of state-led urban transformation projects. Transformation processes have started to consider the large gecekondu areas rather than the individual land plots as the unit of redevelopment. This brought the market model to a halt as well. It is not any more possible for the gecekondu owners to negotiate with the developers. Instead they have to deal with municipalities. Likewise the share of the gecekondu owners from the emerging rent declined dramatically as well. Such a model meets considerable resistance from the gecekondu owners. They see this process highly unfair and many of them decline to sign the agreement documents with municipal authorities. However there are also segments of gecekondu owners who accept the offer of the public authorities. The main aim of this thesis is to analyse the urban transformation projects with regard to the attitudes of the gecekondu dwellers. The question intended to be answered by the thesis is as to why some of the owner accept the offers while the others decline. While doing this, thesis also raise some further issues beyond the distribution of emerging rents such as the destruction of local communities and their life styles.

Keywords: Urban Transformation Projects, Gecekondu, Mamak, Forms of Capital, Habitus

ÖZ

GECEKONDULULARIN PERSPEKTİFİNDEN KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM PROJELERİNE BAKMAK: MAMAK ÖRNEĞİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Ana Bilim Dalı
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Gecekondu yerleşimleri devletin etkili müdahalesinin eksikliğinde göç eden nüfus tarafından konut problemini halkın kendisinin çözmesiyle ortaya çıkmıştır. İlerleyen yıllarda bu yerleşimlerin çoğu yasal statü kazanmış olmasına rağmen, hala süreç içinde çözülmesi gereken bir sorun olarak düşünülmektedir. 1980'lerin ortasından başlayarak, ıslah planları sayesinde, gecekondu alanlarının önemli bir bölümü piyasa mekanizmalarıyla hızlı bir yeniden inşa süreci geçirmiştir. Gecekondu sahipleri topraklarını bireysel, küçük çaplı müteahhitlere vererek dairelerden belli bir oranda karşılık almışlardır. Fakat 2000'lerde devlet eliyle yapılan kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin sürece müdahil olmaları bu stratejiyi değiştirmiştir. Dönüşüm süreçleri parsel bazından ziyade büyük gecekondu alanlarına yönelmiştir. Bu piyasa modelini de sekteye uğratmıştır. Artık gecekondu sahiplerinin müteahhitlerle anlaşmaya çalışması olası görünmemektedir. Bunun yerine belediyelerle anlaşmaları gerekmektedir. Ayrıca gecekondu sahiplerinin ortaya çıkan ranttan aldıkları pay ciddi bir şekilde azalmıştır. Böyle bir model gecekondu sahipleri tarafından ciddi bir karşı koymayla karşılaşmıştır. Birçoğu bu süreci adaletsiz olarak görmüş; belediye ile anlaşma belgelerini imzalamayı reddetmiştir. Fakat yetkili kuruluşların önerisini kabul eden bir gecekondu kitlesi de bulunmaktadır. Bu tezin ana amacı, gecekonducuların kentsel dönüşüm projelerine karşı olan tutumlarını analiz etmektir. Bu tezle cevaplanması amaçlanan soru neden bazı gecekondu sahiplerinin önerileni kabul ederken bazılarının reddetmesi sorusudur. Tez bu soruya yanıt ararken, ayrıca ortaya çıkan rantın dağıtımının ötesinde yerel toplulukların ve onların hayat tarzlarının tahribatı gibi konulara da değinecektir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kentsel Dönüşüm Projeleri, Gecekondu, Mamak, Sermaye Türleri, Habitus

To my family

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In Turkey “gecekondu¹” settlements first appeared to meet the urgent shelter need of migrated population who seeks better life conditions in big cities beginning from late 1930s. These hopes and expectations hastened consequently the rapid urbanization under the ignorance of state which basically gave priorities to the industrialization process. Besides that, absence of formal social housing policy and populist urban regimes also helped the expansion of gecekondu areas in big cities of Turkey. Although most of the time migrated masses were faced with harsh conditions, they could maintain their everyday lives in a certain extend by creating new survival strategies or by adopting them from the former ones. In the course of time, they also embedded their social and cultural heritages to the newly encountered social space in certain extent. The dialectical relation between the former and the latter social, cultural, economic and spatial structures inevitably led to occurrence of new community characteristics. While they were trying to perpetuate their lives, consciously or unconsciously they were also at the very heart of social, economic and political agendas of ruling classes. They were seen as uncultured masses, land occupiers, industry’s labour force, back-up for political clashes, threat for values of the upper classes’ and etc. However, especially the last decade indicated that authorities and power holders have brand new ideas in their mind about the gecekondu areas. The ongoing rapid urbanization that is fostered by commodification began to pressure on both central and peripheral gecekondu districts day by day via penetrating or surrounding these areas. Actually, till 2000s most of the rentable gecekondu areas that gained legality in cities were transformed by the contractors who gave also a relatively considerable share to the owners of the

¹ Gecekondu is a structure constructed illegally by an individual or group of people on a public or private land. Its meaning is ‘built over-night’ in Turkish. In this study intentionally ‘gecekondu’ is chosen to use due to its peculiarity to Turkish cases instead of similar usages in the literature such as squatter or slum. Although this discussion broadly had been made especially in 1970s and 1980s, it preserves its significance today (Alpar & Yener, 1991; Ayata, 1989; Birsen 1976; Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2002; Karpat, 1976; Kiray, 1970; Şenyapılı, 1981, 1983, 2004; Tahire, 2004; Yasa, 1966). Therefore, features of gecekondu are issued briefly in the third chapter while the project is discussed in the historical context.

gecekondu. This trend inescapably facilitated by market mechanisms led to the increase in the importance of ‘exchange value’ against ‘use value’ in housing issues. Nevertheless, there still remain some areas that would not bring adequate profit to the small scale constructors due to inappropriate locations and insufficient development rights of lands. Large scale urban developers and credit institutions coveted to these areas and sought to cooperate with the state bodies to smoothly deal with the issue and to increase profitability. These intervention processes, both arouse the market appetite and led to complex forms of interest representation among other actors such as local and central state actors, the politically and economically stronger inhabitants of these areas. At the end of the day, these direct and enormous interventions to the residents’ living space began to be legitimized by labelling the project as prestigious, healthier, more liveable, and more attractive than before.

Although this shortly and roughly indicated story of state-led transformation in urban space began at the beginning of the 1990s, especially after the reign of current government party, Justice and Development Party, in 2002 these kinds of practices are expedited by different political interventions that directly targeted the gecekondu areas. The incomplete commodification of these areas motivates actors to produce various types of instruments to capture and present urban land as an exchange tool in the circuits of capital². At this point, urban transformation³ projects

² To find more information about the ‘circuits of capital’ in this regard see Harvey (2007) ‘Limits to Capital’.

³ Although the ‘urban transformation’ has many interrelated and overlapped facets that specify various processes in terms of socio-cultural, economic, administrative and spatial reorganization and restructuring through urban forms and usage in various time periods, the concept of ‘urban transformation project’ is used wholly to identify the all kinds of state-led intervention projects such as urban renewal, urban redevelopment, urban rehabilitation, urban renovation, urban upgrading, urban regeneration, urban clearance in Turkey. There is a serious confusion over these concepts that are frequently tried to be explained in the literature (Doyduk, 2008; Duzcu, 2006; Keleş, 2003; Kocabaş, 2006; Kurtuluş, 2005; Özden, 2008; Uzun, 2003, 2005). Therefore, under these conditions it has to be mentioned that the interventions to the gecekondu areas under the name of urban transformation project in Turkey can be named as ‘urban regeneration’ as a sub category of ‘urban renewal’ especially after 1980s (Dündar, 48). Urban regeneration is a systematized and planned interventionist action that aims to correct the failures of the market in cities via state-led or public-private consensus (Roberts, 2000, 21). Consequently, New Mamak Urban Transformation Project, which is discussed throughout the thesis, epitomizes the urban regeneration projects. However, not

have become one of the most chosen ways of intrusion that replace or displace residents. While authorities legitimize projects by drawing attention to the physical and demographic upgrading targets, it is mostly concluded with the creation of more rentable land to the market and stranded residents.

The vulnerable population, whose livelihood is shaped by the redistributive mechanisms till now, is faced with the radical economic, socio-cultural and spatial changes under the shadow of bargaining processes. In some cases they try to defend their rights under the umbrella of opposing organizations or formations with the assists of politically and economically stronger inhabitants of gecekondur areas against powerful actors such as urban developers, credit institutions, local and central state actors. Moreover, time to time, by various mechanisms and activities, some parties or non-governmental organizations also support the gecekondur residents during their resistance. However, the crucial thing is that some of the residents are willing to involve and planning to get benefits from the projects while some of the population are highly doubtful about the outcomes of the urban transformation because of the incidents that occurred at the previous examples. It is obvious that these diverse perceptions and actions in terms of urban transformation projects include various motives which are mostly underestimated or stayed in the background. This is inevitably resulted with the mostly invisible but perceptible clashes and cleavages among residents.

1.1. The Scope and Aim of the Study

This study examines the underlying mechanisms that shape residents' attitudes towards New Mamak Urban Transformation Project in Derbent Neighbourhood. Under various property structures, gecekondur type of settlement is highly common in Derbent. It is one of the stages of the New Mamak Urban Transformation Project that has been executed to demolish gecekondus under the various names till 2005 in

to confuse readers' mind, 'urban transformation project' phrase is used throughout the thesis whilst the project in Mamak is pointed.

Ankara. Derbent Neighbourhood is located in the eastern part of Ankara (Figure 1.1).

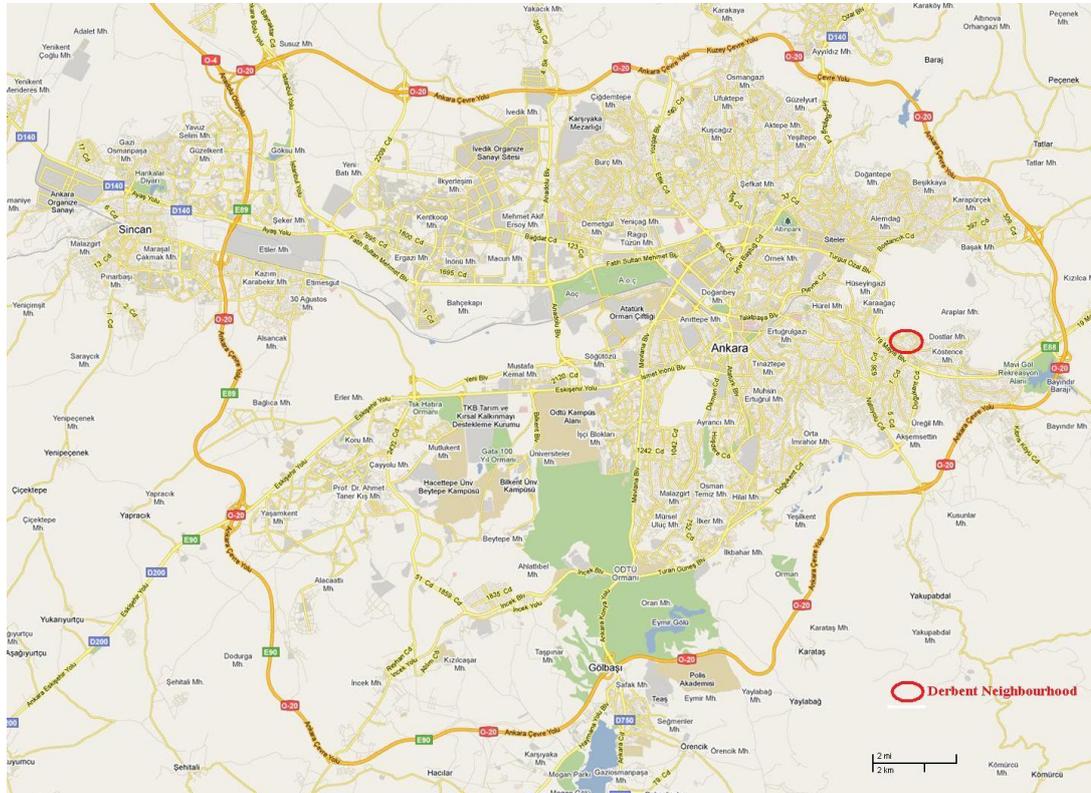


Figure1.1. Location of the Derbent Neighbourhood in Ankara (Source: maps.google.com)

It is worth to study in Derbent since initially no one has studied on Derbent's even on Mamak's transformation process in this extent. Moreover, a random glance to Derbent explains and states explicitly the reason why Derbent was chosen to work on (Figure 1.2). The standing buildings among others' wreckages encourage the researcher to understand the happenings in this area.

Besides that, the residents who had accepted the project conditions mostly have moved into Araplar-Eserkent Mass Housing Area⁴ of Greater Municipality of Ankara till their buildings are constructed (Figure 1.3). This population who used to live in Derbent enormously assists this study to achieve its targets. Therefore, there

⁴ These kinds of areas that are provided to beneficiaries for a limited time are called "transit camp" in literature.

emerges a chance to compare resistance and acceptance attitudes towards the project by considering underlying mechanisms.



Figure 1.2. A view from Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: Personal Archive)



Figure 1.3. A photo taken from the Derbent Neighbourhood that displays Araçlar-Eserkent Mass Housing Area of Greater Municipality of Ankara (Source: Personal Archive)

Under these conditions, the aim of this study is to reveal the gecekondu dwellers' negative and positive attitudes towards the gecekondu transformation projects by considering complex relations among economic, social, cultural, political and spatial variables besides specificity of the right to shelter or property and tenure structure. In gecekondu areas, the residents who have similar property and tenure structure look at the urban transformation projects from different perspectives. Although the main divergence among the gecekondu dwellers' positions emerge due to legal status of lands, other dynamics and variables, which consequently lead to preservation or on the contrary devastation and destruction of the gecekondu neighbourhoods, should be critically examined and evaluated.

Another critical point that is discussed in this thesis is the decision making and policy implementation processes with respect to their outcomes. The relations and positions among market forces, state actors and other organizations become highly significant while taking such an authoritarian and interventionist policy decision. During this process, the manipulation influences the people who are directly subjected to negative and positive consequences of these policies. Therefore, the assertions that are made to have consent of the people by the power holders are also added to the relevant chapter of this study.

To understand the different attitudes of the gecekondu dwellers towards the projects, the basic premises of the intervention should be critically discussed in the historical context by considering different scales. This strictly requires comprehending political, sociological and spatial notions which are best combined and studied with an interdisciplinary understanding. Therefore, this manner is always pursued throughout the whole thesis.

This thesis, at the beginning, has no clear cut hypothesis or ideas which have possibility to hide variables and mechanisms that lie beneath the surface. However, broad assumptions that also shape the survey questions are determined and developed with the contribution of field research's findings. Therefore, preparing strictly definite question sets are not preferred during this study. Especially, the initial interviews were made semi-structurally to be able to add more questions for

not to ignore any relevant issues that have potential to influence the study. To sum up, thesis aims to acquire three basic, complementary questions' answers:

1. Why did/do some people accept urban transformation project in Derbent while others resist?
2. What are the dynamics and variables that differentiate people's acceptance and resistance attitudes towards urban transformation projects in gecekondu areas?
3. What are the political, economic, socio-cultural and spatial effects and consequences of urban transformation project experienced in Derbent according to residents?

These main questions furthered and detailed with many sub-question in close ended and open ended forms. Furthermore, although its premises and facets will be explained in the coming methodology part, at this point it has to be stated that before the preparation of these questions, three visits were made and, random and relatively unstructured interviews were made with the residents who live in Derbent and Eserkent to draw a rough sketch of the issue (Figure 1.4 and 1.5).



Figure 1.4. Aerial Photograph of Derbent District and Araplar-Eserkent Mass Housing Area of Greater Municipality of Ankara Before Urban Transformation Project (Source: Google Earth (prepared by author))



Figure 1.5. Aerial Photograph of Derbent District and Araplar-Eserkent Mass Housing Area of Greater Municipality of Ankara After Urban Transformation Project (Source: Google Earth (prepared by author))

1.2. Research Methodology

In order to answer the questions raised above, it is tried to construct a strong research strategy and methodological structure. Therefore, every step and their basic premises that generate the path is critically evaluated in terms of their appropriateness to this research and briefly explained under this section.

Initially empirical analysis is chosen for this study rather than normative one, since empirical analysis is descriptive in nature and it attempts to describe and to explain the world as it is, rather than as it should be, whereas normative analysis is self-consciously “value” based (Archer et al., 1998, 6). This does not mean that the positivism is embraced. Nevertheless, as it is mentioned above, the desire is to reveal the reasons behind the attitudes in a specific and complex case; therefore, values, biases and other possible obstacles that prevent this study to explain the underlying mechanisms should be put aside while penetrating into such an area.

As a research strategy, retroductive reasoning that is mediator between inductive and deductive ones seems appropriate to targets of this study; since, at first under some basic highly broad pre-assumptions whole variables are tried to be observed, which influence people’s resistance or acceptance attitudes towards the project in the field, without neglecting any of them. “A retroductive strategy involves the construction and application of theoretical models that uncover the real and unobservable mechanisms or structures that are assumed to be causing actual events and experiences” (Reed, 2009, 438). The retroductive research strategy starts with the abstract descriptions of the regularities that are open to change with respect to data collection process in the field. By this way, this study reaches more viable generalizations with more appropriate and comprehensive questions by preserving relations between theory and practice. As Blaikie (2009, 156) mentioned the ultimate goal is to achieve a theory or explanation is responsible for producing an observed regularity. Therefore to determine dynamics and mechanisms that influence the people’s decision in Derbent Neighbourhood, retroductive research strategy is needed. Nevertheless, although the retroductive research strategy provides chance to explain the underlying mechanisms; in order to evaluate the

discourse and assertions of the gecekondü dwellers another complementary research strategy namely the abductive strategy is required. The aim of the abductive strategy is to discover social actors' constructions of reality, their ways of conceptualizing and giving meaning to their social world, their tacit knowledge. Their reality, the way they have constructed and interpreted their activities together, is embedded in their everyday language (Blaikie, 2007, 10). Therefore, abductive strategy provides instruments to see underlying dynamics that are indirectly or implicitly mentioned during the interviews.

In this research, both macrotheory and microtheory are used at the same time not to ignore relations between them. While the former is used to focus on society at large or at least on large proportions of it, the latter is used to understand issues of social life at the level of individuals and small groups (Babbie, 2001, 44). By this way whether it is observable or embedded, the whole dynamics of neighbourhood and individuals are acquired and explained. Moreover, being an inside learner engaging in close relationships with research participants reveal how they conceptualize and understand that part of their social world of interest (Blaikie, 2007, 11). Actually, gaining people's trust is one of the significant points for this study to achieve its targets. Therefore during the field research, appropriate atmosphere should be created for participants to make them comfortable while sharing their views.

Ontologically, the depth realist perspective is embraced while accepting the significance of reasons behind attitudes and perceptions. As Harré (as cited in Blaikie, 2007, 16) mentioned social reality is viewed as a socially constructed world in which social episodes are the products of the cognitive resources that social actors bring to them. Therefore, the aim of a science based on depth realist ontology is to explain observable phenomena with reference to underlying structures and mechanisms (Blaikie, 2007, 16).

Epistemologically, neo-realism satisfies the expectations in this research, because neo-realism just accepts establishing regularities, or constant conjunctions, within phenomena or between events at the beginning of the process; then required is to locate the structures or mechanisms that have produced the pattern or relationship

(Blaikie, 2007, 22). According to Keat and Urry (1975, 5; Blaikie, 2007, 22) in neo-realism, a scientific theory is a description of structures and mechanisms which casually generate observable phenomena, a description which enables this study to explain them.

When it comes to paradigms that are followed throughout the study, critical realism and interpretivism are adopted to understand and evaluate the discourses, attitudes and reactions of people in the field towards the project. To make the intent clear, these paradigms especially the critical realism will be explained a little bit more detailed way.

The events that are observe, indeed, have to be explained by underlying relations that are produced and reproduced among actors, their positions and social structures. Hence the social scientist should look for mechanisms; and not expect the most significant statements in his or her explanations to report sequences of events, let alone regular ones (Bhaskar & Danermark, 2006, 296). Moreover, a constant conjunction must be backed by a theory that provides an explanation of the link between the two events, a theory that provides a conception or picture of the mechanisms or structures at work. These structures and mechanisms are nothing more than the tendencies or powers that things have to act in a particular way in particular circumstances. Therefore, critical realism is ultimately a search for generative (Blaikie, 2007, 147). It is obvious that these structures and mechanisms are exhaustively explained and understood by critical realism that embraces observable and non-observable phenomenon, mechanisms, structures and processes (Ozan, 2001, 12).

Sayer (1992, 5-6) basically emphasizes the basic premises of critical realism as follows:

1. The world exists independently of our knowledge of it.
2. Our knowledge of that world is fallible and theory laden. Concepts of truth and falsity fail to provide a coherent view of the relationship between knowledge and its object.

3. There is necessity in the world; objects – whether natural or social – necessarily have particular causal powers or ways of acting and particular susceptibilities.

4. The world is differentiated and stratified, consisting not only of events, but objects, including structures, which have powers and liabilities capable of generating events. These structures may be present even where, as in the social world and much of the natural world, they do not generate regular patterns of events.

In addition, according to Dobson (cited in Krauss, 2005, 761-2) the critical realist agrees that the knowledge of reality is a result of social conditioning and, thus, cannot be understood independently of the social actors involved in the knowledge derivation process. Besides that, as Bhaskar & Danermark (2006, 295) mentioned that critical realism is not only the ontologically least restrictive perspective, but the epistemologically most heuristically suggestive one. Critical realism is also appropriate for this study's research strategy; since both qualitative and quantitative methodologies are in accordance with this strategy (Healy & Perry, 2000); whilst researching the underlying mechanisms that drive actions and events (Krauss, 2005, 762).

The second paradigm applied to this research is interpretivism. According to interpretivism, the study of social phenomena requires an understanding of the social world that people have constructed and which they reproduce through their continuing activities (Blaikie, 2007, 124). At this point, it has to be noted that the researcher is mostly trapped in double interpretations because the researcher tries to interpret opinions that are already interpreted by the participants. Therefore, social phenomena have to be studied from the 'inside'. The social reality of social relationships is embedded in the concepts of that are used by participants in social contexts (Blaikie, 2007, 132). Under the light of this knowledge, all the assertions encountered during the field research have to be critically evaluated by considering context and making relevant assumptions.

These are the basic paths that guide this study to collect and evaluate data throughout the thesis. As it is mentioned at the beginning, empirical analysis which requires observation and therefore measurement is chosen (Archer et al., 1998, 7).

Initially it has to be stated that assuming a few similar events are evidence of a general pattern leads to overgeneralization and misdirects or impedes inquiry (Babbie, 2001, 20). To overcome this possible obstacle, sufficiently large, representative samples are reached, observed and various possibilities are taken into account.

In this study, it is assumed that quantitative and qualitative data are complementary and both are necessary in attempting to answer the questions of this thesis. While quantitative data makes observation more concrete and makes it easier to aggregate, compare and summarize data, qualitative data comprises richer meaning (Babbie, 2001, 36). As Creswell (2007, 39-40) mentioned qualitative research, which is conducted to explore complex problem or issue, is needed to study a group or population, identify variables that are then measured, or hear silenced voices. Therefore in this study, firstly quantitative ways of data acquiring is used to understand the basic characteristics of the fields. As a result of this, Turkish Statistical Institute's (TSI) database and field research results are employed to increase familiarity with the field. Then, with the contribution of qualitative methods, underlying dynamics and mechanisms that influence resident's opinions become obvious to be explained in detail. To evaluate and get the relations among variables, quantitative and qualitative data are frequently used in relation throughout the thesis. Many illustrative figures and tables are prepared to clarify findings of the study. The detailed information about the qualitative method that is followed during the field research will be mentioned just before the analysis and discussion of the field research findings. By this way, it is aimed to prevent possible disconnectedness and deficiencies in the sections.

Furthermore, to find more information and data, newspapers, internet sources and other publications are scanned. Especially, due to the plenitude of news related to the focused issue, it is planned to add a section that clarifies the situations experienced during the project. Thus, this section provides detailed information whilst preparing the reader to the field research findings of this study. Additionally, to put the case clearly and understandable, plenitude of graphics, maps, photographs and other visual materials are used.

1.3. Research Map and Structure of the Thesis

As it is indicated in the methodology section, this thesis aims to reach some dynamics, underlying mechanisms and relations that assist this study to acquire the knowledge of the gecekondu dwellers' attitudes towards urban transformation projects. Therefore, a well organized research map and thesis structure is highly required to unveil the embedded, overlapped and related processes, actions and reactions.

Firstly, a research map (Figure 1.6) is designed to determine boundaries of the thesis. By this way, it is targeted that the possible wandering off the subject is prevented by following this research map. Mainly it is prepared with respect to Layder's research strategy that is proposed for social research. To see the whole picture in detail, Layder (1993, 8) divides the researched issue into four pieces, namely *context*, *setting*, *situated activity* and *self*. However, this does not mean that there is a clear cut division among these pieces. Although they are interrelated and time to time indistinguishable, this provides study to move from concrete to abstract or vice a versa without losing relations between whole pieces. Layder states features of these stages as follows:

The research focus indicated by the term *self* refers primarily to the individual's relation to her or his social environment and is characterized by the intersection of biographical experience and social involvements. In *situated activity* the research focus shifts away from the individual towards the emergent dynamics of social interaction. *Setting* denotes a research focus on the intermediate forms of social organization (such as schools, hospitals, factories) that provide the immediate arena of social activity. *Context* refers to wider macro social forms that provide the more remote environmental of social activity (such as gender or class relations) (1993, 9).

Among these steps, some of them can be focused more precisely without underestimating the other stages. For instance, in this study, the situated activity, which is the resistance and the acceptance attitudes of people, plays crucial role and constitutes the backbone of the thesis. Yet, only situated activity does not bring any sufficient knowledge without realizing what is experienced within the self and

context. Therefore, economic, socio-cultural, spatial and administrative and political attributes related with the focus of thesis are added to the context. Furthermore, possible variables that influence the people's decisions towards the project are included under the title of self. Moreover, the setting that form a scene for the actors is highly influential during people chooses how to act or to decide. The actors who want to take a part in this process become eventually dependent to the setting. Therefore, to understand the hidden or embedded reasons, besides obvious ones, behind the attitudes, reactions and discourses, every step and their features which are complementary to each other should be critically evaluated and discussed. By this way, it is aimed to see the whole picture without missing any significant point by establishing relations between macro and micro level.

Under these circumstances, as it is followed from the research map of the thesis, there are some issues that have to be critically discussed throughout the thesis. These are basically related with the gecekondur phenomenon and urban transformation processes at the first glance. However, to obtain the knowledge of people's resistance or acceptance attitudes, a strong theoretical framework is required. The initial findings of the field research indicated that the gecekondur dwellers take positions according to their dispositions and their possessed volume of resources when they exposed to such an intervention. Therefore, as it is detailed in the next chapter, Bourdieusian framework and concepts that enable the study to grasp the knowledge of gecekondur dwellers' perspectives to New Mamak Urban Transformation Project are used throughout the thesis.

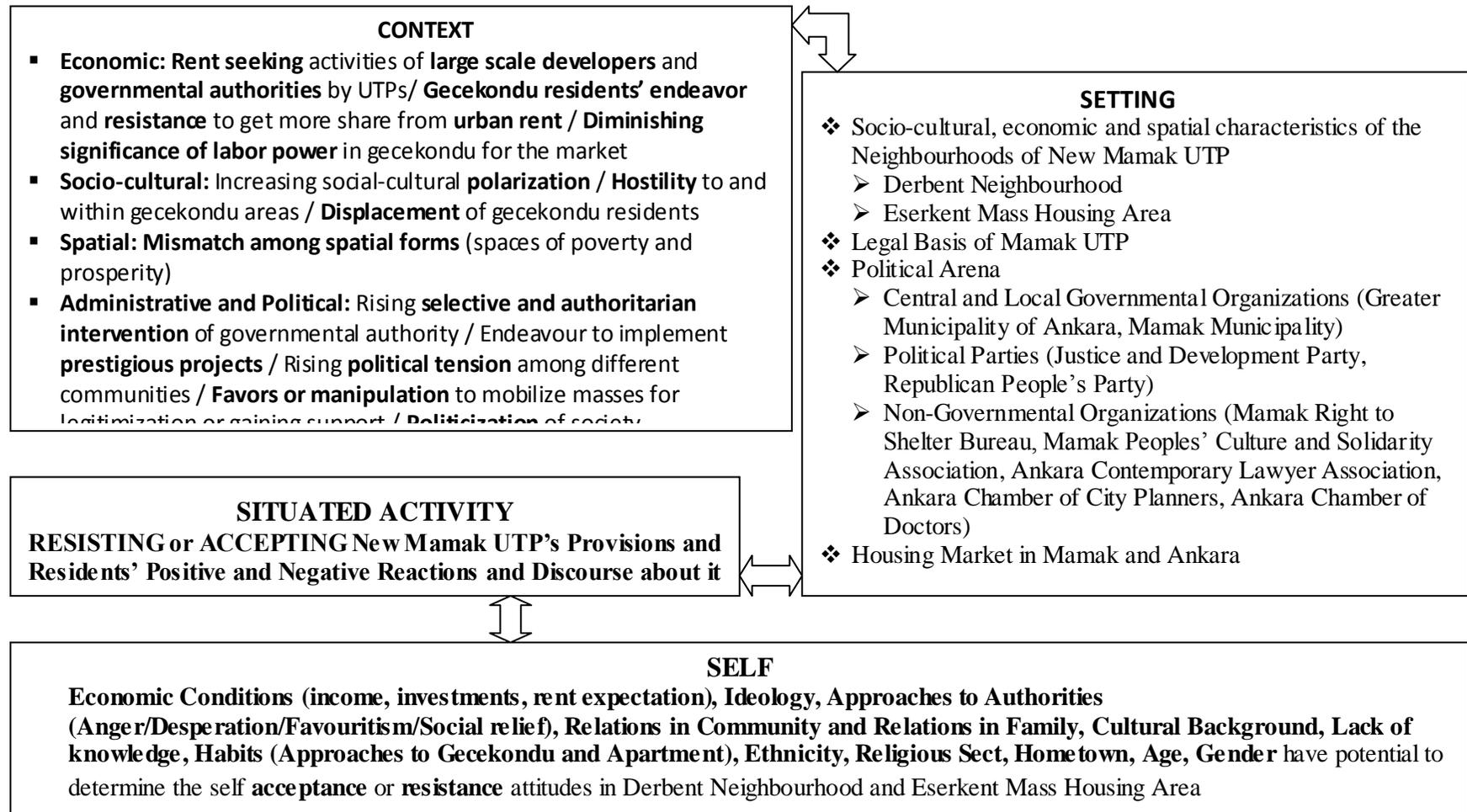


Figure 1.6. Research Map

With the guidance of this research map, thesis roughly comprises three main sections (Figure 1.7, Structure of the Thesis). The introduction part tries to elaborate scope, objectives, methodology and structure of the thesis. The main body is divided into three chapters which are highly interdependent and complementary for each other. Establishing relationship between theory and practice is one of the essential objectives of these main chapters. According to Hillier and Rooksby (2005, 21) Bourdieu signified the misleading dichotomy in academia between theory and practice which encourages that practice is the application of theory. “In such a regard, theory becomes a totalising view from nowhere rather than being a dialectical relationship with practice - a praxis” (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, 21). Under the light of this principle, within the second chapter, Bourdieusian framework and his concepts such as habitus, field and forms of capital are indicated by considering their relations with the focus of this study. Then, the presentation of the project with respect to basic concepts such as gecekondu and urban transformation in the historical context is discussed to prepare reader to the field research chapter by providing sufficient knowledge about the project and its historical background with a comprehensive and cumulative manner. By this way, the whole transformation process is indicated in terms of socio-cultural, economic, spatial administrative and political aspects within macro and micro levels. Then the findings of the field research are discussed by considering Bourdieusian framework that is detailed in the second chapter. By this way, it is planned to establish relations among possible particularistic reasons that are indicated by gecekondu dwellers with the contribution of Bourdieu’s theoretical instruments. Dealing with the practice and theory one within the other in a dialectical manner, both assists and encourages researcher to bring something new to the literature and prevent possible ruptures between theory and practice. With this manner, at least making repetitions and giving irrelevant knowledge are avoided. Moreover, this strategy that is mentioned above seems completely appropriate to this thesis’s methodological assumptions. In the conclusion part, the findings of the study are briefly evaluated. Subsequently, some policies and strategies are proposed to the actors who occupy significant positions throughout the whole process. Finally, further studies that seem adequate and untouched within this context are suggested at the end of the thesis. It

is believed that ultimately, this thesis serves the purpose of explaining the perspectives of gecekondü dwellers across the urban transformation projects without leaving any confusion in the readers mind while facilitating the emergence of more questions for the further studies.

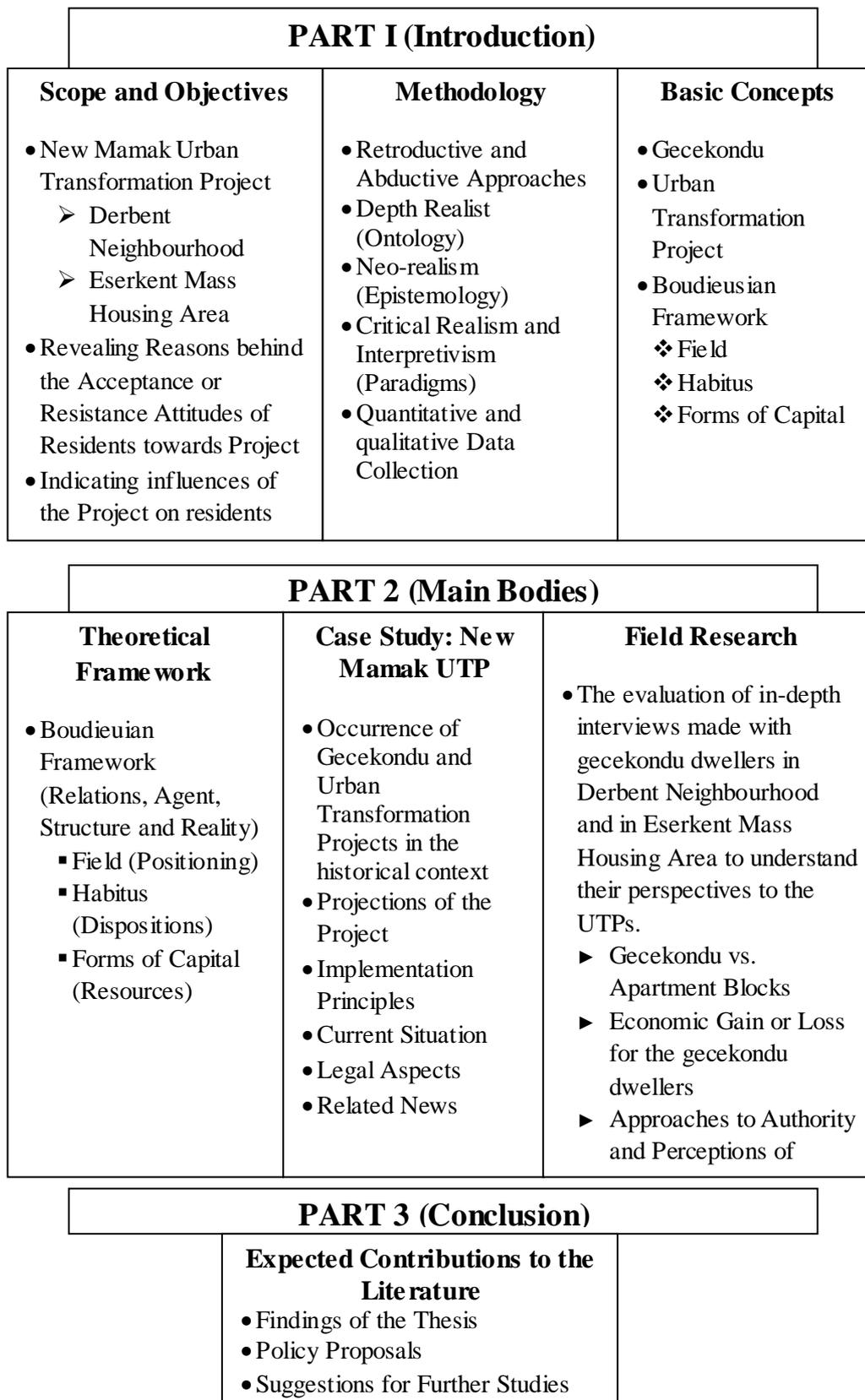


Figure 1.7. Thesis Structure Schema

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

After a brief introduction, goals and appropriate methodology of the thesis that guide the whole study were determined. At this point, it is time to choose some theoretical instruments to understand and explain the gecekondu dwellers' perspectives, positions, and reactions towards the Urban Transformation Projects (UTPs). Under these assumptions, to adequately satisfy the requirements of such a study, the highly significant frameworks, terminologies and notions of Pierre Bourdieu are employed and benefited during the discussion of field research findings. As Calhoun (1993, 67) indicated "we can use Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus to develop an account of breaks that so distinguish social arrangements and cultures that different issues arise and different analytic categories and strategies become appropriate".

Before introducing the related terminology of Bourdieu, his theoretical stance has to be indicated briefly. As Özbilgin and Tatlı (2005, 856) mentioned that Bourdieu's scientific endeavour was constructed on the heritage of the social science field of late 1950s France, which was dominated by the "objective" structuralism of Levi Strauss and the "subjective" existentialism of Sartre. According to Wacquant (2006, 266) Bourdieu contends that the opposition between "structuralist" one that seeks out invisible relational patterns operating behind the backs of agents and "constructivist" one that probes the commonsense perceptions and actions of the individual" is artificial and mutilating. Under these conditions, Bourdieu tried to locate his theory between these two with respect to dialectical relation between them. "Bourdieu chooses the term "structuralist constructivism" which immediately follows with the opposite designation of "constructivist structuralism" to stress the dialectical articulation of the two moments (objectivist and subjectivist) of his theory (as cited in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 11). It should be also stated that the Bourdieusian theoretical instruments are appropriate to this study because by following relational sociology, during his many researches he tried to reveal the motivations behind the human actions without ignoring the structural factors.

Whilst Bourdieu formulated his theoretical framework, he highly benefited from the research that he was conducted in Algeria between 1958 and 1961, during the period of the Algerian War of Liberation. His sociological perspective is deeply rooted in his studies of Algeria (Calhoun & Craig, 2006, 1403). He basically constructed his basic concepts and intellect on this comprehensive study during his observation on Kabylia life⁵. Although his assertions were criticised⁶ in the course of time due to claim of their inappropriateness to the advanced capitalist societies, they brought highly productive instruments to understand at least societies that experienced similar situations as it is observed Kabylia life. Therefore, the concepts that Bourdieu exercised to acquire the knowledge behind the attitudes of people are successfully applied throughout the evaluation of the field research findings of this study.

Before going into detail about the theoretical instruments used in this study, a brief introduction that indicates the relations among them seems highly beneficial under the light of Bourdieusian framework. As a matter of fact, Bourdieu's entire scientific enterprise is based on the belief that the deepest logic of the social world can be grasped, providing only that one plunges into the particularity of an empirical reality, historically located and dated, but in order to build it up ... as an exemplary case in a world of finite possible configurations (Bourdieu and et. al.,

⁵ According to Eickelman (2009, 260-261) "Bourdieu's notion of "traditional" Kabylia society is based on the idea of a homogeneous and unchanging society that leaves little room for ambiguous or atypical individuals". For the Turkish case, Karpat (1976, 118) instead of Kabylia used the term *aşiret* (tribe) or extended family to define the social formation and stated that "the kabylia (*kabile* in original text) ties seemed to have become either synonymous with the extended family or village or did not exist at all since there was not much evidence that the migrants preserved a sense of kabylia affiliation or identity". Therefore, even though the Kabylia organization does not perfectly match with the formations in gecekondou neighbourhoods, in certain extend a homology can be established to use the Bourdieusian theoretical framework in relation to understand the gecekondou residents' perspectives, since the gecekondou areas can be identified as a combination of various homogeneous and relatively unchanging groups that migrated and agglomerated from the rural areas to the big cities mostly according to their cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds. Under these conditions, it can be claimed that these clusters have some commonalities with the Kabylia communities. For more detail about the Kabylia in Bourdieusian framework, see Bourdieu (2000a) 'Making the Economic Habitus: Algerian Workers Revisited', Bourdieu (2003) 'Participant Objectivation' and Bourdieu (2004b) 'Algerian Landing'.

⁶ For detailed criticisms see Calhoun's (1993) 'Habitus, field, and capital: the question of historical specificity' and King's (2000) 'Thinking with Bourdieu against Bourdieu: A 'practical' critique of the habitus' articles.

1991, 628). Thus, Bourdieu embraces the ‘theory in practice’ understanding that signifies the inseparability of theory and practice whilst approaching the social sciences and enables him and his followers to establish relations to reach reality without exaggerating either theory or practice (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 97). Therefore, he gives additional importance to relations among and between agents and structures in order to reach social reality. Bourdieu (1996, 10) indicated at every moment of each society, one has to deal with a set of social positions which is bound by a relation of homology to a set of activities or of goods that are also characterized relationally. Indeed, as Calhoun (1993, 72) mentioned, Bourdieu is centrally concerned with how the various practical projects of different people, the struggles in which they engage, and the relations of power which push and pull them nonetheless reproduce the field of relations of which they are a part. According to Bourdieu (1985, 723-724),

[t]he social world can be represented as a space (with several dimensions) constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe in question, i.e., capable of conferring strength, power within that universe, on their holder. Agents and groups of agents are thus defined by their relative positions within that space.

Therefore, one of the significant processes that occur within the fields of relations is the possible clashes or harmony between agent and structure. Tezcan (2010, 12) mentioned that "in Bourdieusian relational approach, there is relationality between social agents and structural constraints since social agents are influenced via structural constraints while they are also transforming structures". These structural constraints are at the very core of Bourdieu’s notion of habitus. Initially, the basis of concept of habitus is formed with a structural theory of practice that indicates connections among structure and agency in a dialectical relationship between structure and power. According to Bourdieu (2005a, 47),

[e]very agents acts according to his position (that is, according to the capital he or she possesses) and his habitus, related to his personal history. His actions, words, feelings, deeds, works, and so on, stem from the confrontation between dispositions and positions, which are more often than not mutually adjusted, but may be at odds, discrepant, divergent, even in some sense contradictory.

Therefore, he recognises the power of relations as a cycle between agent and structure that shape both, according to their power in a dialectical manner on social arena. While embeddedness plays crucial role on the determination of the power of structure over the agent, the agents' forms of capital's strength reveal the agents' capacity to transform the structure. Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 108) said on this issue as such:

Social agents are not “particles” that are mechanically pushed and pulled about by external forces. According to their volume of capitals, they take position in the field and pursue to preserve or change the conditions for their own sakes.

The volume of capital also determines the distribution of agents on social space. The possible changes in the structure and volume of capital influence the social space of the agents in the course of time. Initially, it has to be signified that social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed (Bourdieu & Nice, 1987, 6). Moreover, according to Bourdieu (1996, 11) human beings are at once biological beings and social agents who are constituted as such in and through their relation to a social space. The notion of social space is important for the study since the social space is the space of similarity. Bourdieu (1989, 17) indicated that:

Social space is so constructed that agents who occupy similar or neighbouring positions are placed in similar conditions and subjected- to similar conditionings, and therefore have every chance of having similar dispositions and interests, and thus of producing practices that are themselves similar.

Therefore, agents who possess similar forms of capital have tendency to come together in physical space. Actually, even though physical space and social space are intimately related, the picture is not always clear to see the direct relation among them: “the power over space that comes from possessing various kinds of capital

takes the form in appropriated physical space of a certain relation between the spatial structure of the distribution of goods and services, private or public” (Bourdieu, 1999, 124). Furthermore, according to Bourdieu (1989, 17) if someone want to launch a political movement or even an association, it is a better chance of bringing together people who are in the same sector of social space. Indeed, social space is an invisible set of relationships which tends to retranslate itself, in a more or less direct manner, into physical space in the form of a definite distributional arrangement of agents and properties (Bourdieu, 1996, 12).

Besides the critical relation between forms of capital and habitus, another relation directly related with both of them has to be established with the notion of field. In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 97). “There is a plurality of fields, thus a plurality of logics, a plurality of commonplace ideas, and a plurality of habitus” (Lingard & Christie, 2003, 324). Besides that, the struggles, alliances, interventions and every positioning are very part of the field. Therefore, the dynamics of the field, according to their severity, have capacity to change the habitus and to determine the validity of capitals. Due to the fact, the power of capitals alter according to field that they are tried to use in by the agents. While one form of capital seems extremely precious for one field, it can be worth nothing in another field. The forms of capital and habitus have also effects on the fields. Therefore, the mutual relation among them has to be focused to understand the social reality without exaggerating just one or two. All in all, in order to understand the whole process of social world, Bourdieu identified different fields where different games are played by the social agents whose positions and chances determined by their possession and volume of different forms of capital (Tezcan, 2010, 13).

These various interdependency and interrelatedness behind the different people’s decisions are also at the very core of this study. Thus, it is obvious that his tremendous findings and explanations provide sufficient support to this study. However, it has to be mentioned that although all his works are significant, in this study mainly his ‘habitus’, ‘field’ and ‘forms of capital’ notions are detailed not to

misguide the reader and not to go beyond the limit and goals of this research. Nevertheless, besides 'habitus', 'field' and 'forms of capital', the supplementary concepts such as symbolic power, social space, game and strategy are also discussed when appropriate. Anyhow, due to interrelatedness it is impossible to distinguish and isolate Bourdieu's concepts one from another. All things considered, having different dispositions and possessing different forms of capitals with respect to field gain importance while gecekondu residents decide their sides against such an influential project on their lives. In the next sections, firstly the notion of habitus, field and then the forms of capital are discussed with respect to Bourdieusian terminology; since as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, 96) mentioned such notions as habitus, field, and capital can be defined, but only within the theoretical system they constitute, not in isolation. Consequently, it is planned that before the field research the theoretical instruments direct links are established with the problematic of this study.

2.1. Habitus

After few interviews in the field, it was observed that the historical backgrounds therefore the dispositions of the gecekondu dwellers influence directly their decisions and determine their positions while accepting or rejecting the project besides their forms of capital. Therefore, habitus is one of the Bourdieu's leading notions used in this study to understand the gecekondu residents' tendencies during their decision making processes.

According to Bourdieu (as cited in Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, 21) habitus is defined as 'a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations'; therefore, habitus can be explained as a sense of one's (and others') place and role in the world of one's lived environment. By this way, Bourdieu attempts to transcend the conscious/unconscious and subjectivist/objectivist binaries by setting out the notion of habitus as socially-constituted dispositions or mental structures on the basis of which people habitually

act (Lingard & Christie, 2003, 320). By the way, it has to be mentioned that Bourdieu (2005a, 46) differentiates habitus from habit by saying that even in traditional societies or in specific sectors of modern societies, habitus is never a mere principle of repetition. Bourdieu detailed his notion of habitus as follows:

The representations of agents vary with their position (and with the interest associated with it) and with their habitus, as a system of schemes of perception and appreciation of practices, cognitive and evaluative structures which are acquired through the lasting experience of a social position. Habitus is both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices. And, in both of these dimensions, its operation expresses the social position in which it was elaborated. Consequently, habitus produces practices and representations which are available for classification, which are objectively differentiated; however, they are immediately perceived as such only by those agents who possess the code, the classificatory schemes necessary to understand their social meaning. Habitus thus implies a "sense of one's place" but also a "sense of the place of others" (Bourdieu, 1989, 19).

Bourdieu signifies the significant transformation cycle between individual and collective while speaking about the habitus. According to him, habitus is a socialized subjectivity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 126). Bourdieu also points out that every habitus has its own set of characteristics, abilities and productions revealed as a result of complex relations. He said (1996, 14-15) "habitus, which are the products of the social conditioning associated with the corresponding condition, make a systematic set of goods and properties, united by an affinity of style, correspond to each class of positions". He also drew attention to these systems of schemes of perception, appreciation and action that have capacity to generate appropriate and endlessly renewed strategies, but within the limits of the structural constraints of which they are the product and which define them (2000b, 138). Actually this constraint highly related with the past experiences. Therefore, Lingard and Christie (2003, 325) said that the strategy is the habitus in action. In Bourdieusian terminology strategies are rather unconscious. As Lamaison (1986, 114) mentioned that "the habitus, the regulated tendency to generate regulated behaviours apart from any reference to rules in societies in which the process of codification is not very advanced, the habitus is the source of most practices". Consequently, Bourdieu (as cited in Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, 21) stated that

habitus is the product of history and it can be changed with more or less difficulty by history. However, Bourdieu (as cited in Lingard & Christie, 2003, 321) also added that dispositions determined and produced by both history and the collective history of family, class, and gender, and thus always has elements of indeterminacy and contingency, instead of simply a smooth incorporation of static social structures. To make it more clear the following quotation seems highly appropriate to understand both the notion of habitus and the influence of it on people's actions, reactions and positions against the issues. Bourdieu said (1996, 17) that:

Habitus are structured structures, generative principles of distinct and distinctive practices –what the workers eats, and especially the way he eats it, the sport he practices and the way he practices it, his political opinions and the way he expresses them are systematically different from the industrial proprietor's corresponding activities / habitus are also structuring structures, different classifying schemes classification principles, different principles of vision and division, different tastes. Habitus make different differences; they implement distinctions between what is good and what is bad, between what is right and what is wrong, between what is distinguished and what is vulgar, and so on, but they are not the same. Thus, for instance, the same behaviour or even the same good can appear distinguished to one person, pretentious to someone else and cheap or showy to yet another.

However, although Bourdieu has recognised the potentially oppressive nature of habitus, writing that 'it would be wrong to underestimate the pressure or oppression, continuous and often unnoticed, of the ordinary order of things' (as cited in Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, 33), he also does not believe that the habitus is a fixed unchangeable structure that continuously produces itself with its very own dynamics. For Bourdieu, even though people do not simply act with free will, freedom can be won; since the habitus can be 'controlled through awakening of consciousness and socio-analysis' (as cited in Lingard & Christie, 2003, 320). Therefore, Bourdieu (2005a, 45) mentioned that the habitus is not a fate, not a destiny, since the model of the circle, the vicious cycle of structure producing habitus which reproduces structure ad infinitum is a product of commentators. By this way, inventions and improvisations in every habitus are observed within the certain limits that the habitus allows. Thus, the habitus is a form of internalized social conditioning that constrains thoughts and directs actions (as cited in Lingard

& Christie, 2003, 320). As it is mentioned earlier the ability to change habitus is highly related with the codes of habitus that are embedded in it. It is obvious that instead of deeply embedded ones, the loose ones bring more openness to the change.

In all the cases where dispositions encounter conditions (including fields) different from those in which they were constructed and assembled, there is a dialectical confrontation between habitus, as structured structure, and objective structures (Bourdieu, 2005a, 46). Similarly, the field research indicated that even though the habitus of gecekondu dwellers influence their attitudes in a certain extent towards the project emerged as an authoritarian intervention on housing issue, habitus manifests itself differently from residents to residents. Due to the fact that the habitus is engaged strategically within the field, rather than determined by the field or practised universally across fields, with the collection of dispositions, which constitute the habitus, being evoked at different times in different fields (Lingard & Christie, 2003, 320-321). Therefore, to understand these changes and reach a satisfactory knowledge the relation between habitus and field has to be established. To shed light on this issue, another related notion 'field' has to be discussed briefly in the next section.

2.2. Field

Field is the relation of forces among bunch of various positioning in a certain issue that influence the whole participants. For instance, the housing issue is at the core of this study. Within the boundaries of this field, the agents have to carry adequate resources to maintain their existence. It should be also noted that the field can be related with housing as it can be related with preserving the animal rights or any other issue. Therefore, on the one hand, various issues can be indicated as the basic source of fields. On the other hand, the source also resides in the actions and reactions of agents who have no other choice than to struggle to maintain or improve their position in the field (Bourdieu, 1990, 193). Under these conditions, the participants and their positions play significant role; because at each moment, it is state of the relations of force between players that defines the structure of the

field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 99). Bourdieu defines the concept of field as such:

A field is a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which the various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies (as cited in Lingard & Christie, 2003, 322).

According to Bourdieu, the positions of occupants, agents or institutions are objectively defined with respect to the distribution of species of power (or capital) and the volume of possession commands access to the specific profit that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 97). Under these conditions, the agents who have various dispositions and volumes of capital enter to the field in order to pursue their rights and interests. This is observed in the form of preservation of the already possessed or transformation to acquire more. Field is the very core of these struggles among agents and institutions. Every field has its own rules and players determined by the dominant ones and determine who is in and who is out. Besides that Lingard and Christie (2003, 324) indicated “fields have their own structures, interests and preferences; their own ‘rules of the game’; their own agents, differentially constituted; their own power struggles. It is in relation to particular fields that the habitus becomes active”. Consequently, every participant tries to dominate the others to impose its rules for its own sake. Especially the legitimacy of these rules gains importance during the power relations. According to Bourdieu (1985, 734), “every field is the site for the explicit struggle over the definition of legitimate principles of division of the field”. Therefore, as Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 17-8) said, a field can be illustrated as a battlefield where conflict and competition prevail among participants vie to establish monopoly over the species of capital effective in and the power to decree the hierarchy and ‘conversion rates’ between all forms of authority in the field of power. However, this should be noted that a field exists if sufficient and required participants participate. The game

analogy that is also used by the Bourdieu seems appropriate to acquire the knowledge of the field in this term. For instance to play cards there should be more than one player; and to gain money while playing cards there should be players who have certain amount of cash or valuable things. The functions of the field are directly bounded to existence of required individuals. Otherwise, the field loses its meaning till some participants begin to show an interest to it again. Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 103) mentioned on this issue that there should be agents who risk their money, their time, sometimes their honour or their life, to pursue the games and to obtain the profits it proposes. Thus, under these conditions, agents show tendency to participate or evade from the struggle according to the habitus and the volume and variety of capitals that is possessed. Thence, as it is mentioned earlier, the strategies of agents depend on their position in the field, that is, in the distribution of the specific capital, and on the perception that they have of the field depending on the point of view they take on the field as a view taken from a point in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 101).

Under these definitions, the family, state, political parties or housing sector are indicated as fields among many others within related and adequate contexts. The intersections among the fields are common; yet this does not ignore the fact that every field includes their own rules. “Bourdieu theorizes society as consisting of a number of fields which overlap each other, but which also have a considerable amount of autonomy, each with their own logics of practice” (Lingard & Christie, 2003, 322). Therefore, the boundaries of the fields intersect one with another under certain relations. For that reason, Lingard and Christie (2003, 322) mentioned that the boundaries of the fields are sometimes blurred rather than distinct. The boundaries of the field begin to dissolve at the point where the effects of the field cease (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 100). Bourdieu added on this issue as such:

When the dominant manage to crush and annul the resistance and the reactions of the dominated, when all movements go exclusively from the top down, the effects of domination are such that the struggle and the dialectic which are constitutive of the field cease. There is history only as long as people revolt, resist, act (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 102).

The notion of field also facilitates the researcher to understand the complex relations via asking further questions. As Bourdieu explained that field does only promote a mode of construction and it encourages us to raise questions rather than ready-made answers (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 110). Moreover, the boundaries of a field and its relations with the other fields cannot be envisaged without empirical investigation due to its various dimensions. Bourdieu indicates the requirements to get benefit from the field(s) as such:

- i. It is vital to analyzing the position of field vis-a-vis the field of power.
- ii. Objective structure of the relations between different social agents and institutions struggling for the legitimate authority should be delineated.
- iii. One must analyze the habitus of agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a determinate type of social and economic condition, and which find in a definite trajectory within the field under consideration a more or less favourable opportunity to become actualized (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 104-105).

Under the light of knowledge about the Bourdieu's field notion, even though just one constant field is not defined for this study due to existence of various interrelated fields and subfields, it is observed that especially the positions are initially taken regarding housing field within the New Mamak UTP by the gecekonddu dwellers. The housing field more or less influences the other fields such as economic, politic, ethnic, religious, community etc. and is influenced by them. It is planned that the field research findings enable us to see their relations more obvious.

2.3. Forms of Capital

The forms of capital terminology is one of the significant instruments that strengthen the hands to grasp the knowledge of agents' attitudes towards certain cases. The capitals are significant since it enables us to understand the major differences that emerge as conflicts in the social space. Till that time, although the relation among forms and volumes of capital and other notions such as habitus, field and social space are pointed out, some detailed explanations are required to prepare

the reader to the evaluation of findings of field research. For this target, after a brief intro about the forms of capital, the main capitals are introduced within this section.

The forms of capital terminology in Bourdieu take its roots from the labour theory of value. “Reference to the Marxian understanding of capital, Bourdieu intends to take quite seriously this version of labour theory of capital, describing the social world as “accumulated history” that transmitted to succeeding generations” (Calhoun, 1993, 67). Bourdieu stated as such:

The universal equivalent, the measure of all equivalences, is nothing other than labor-time (in the widest sense); and the conservation of social energy through all its conversions is verified if, in each case, one takes into account both the labor-time accumulated in the form of capital and the labor-time needed to transform it from one type into another (Bourdieu, 1986, 54).

Whilst explaining the conditions of Algerian workers, Bourdieu (2000a, 18) mentioned the so-called ‘rational’ economic agent⁷ is the product of quite particular historical conditions; therefore, the economic theory fails to historicize economic dispositions that have a social genesis. Under these conditions, the historically constituted dispositions have to be conceived in detail without economic reductionism. Therefore, capital should be regarded not only as having its more economic, connotation, but as also having applicability to resources such status, power, personal contacts and formal and informal forms of knowledge (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, 24). Bourdieu indentifies three types of capital namely economic, social and cultural. Additionally, there is also symbolic capital which is the recognized form of unified other legitimate and powerful capitals. Bourdieu summarizes the characteristics of these capitals as such:

⁷ Altman (2005, 733) stated that economic theory assumes that economic agents are completely self-interested in terms of their underlying motivational structure, especially with regards to maximizing their material well-being. (Altman, M. (2005), The ethical economy and competitive markets: Reconciling altruistic, moralistic, and ethical behaviour with the rational economic agent and competitive markets, *Journal of Economic Psychology*, vol. 26, issue 5, pp. 732-757.)

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

Having certain volume of capitals enables the possessors to adopt themselves to the changing circumstances and strengthen their hands to transform the circumstances. Therefore, forms of capital can be seen as the available weapons and resources that determine the positions of the social agents in the social space (Bourdieu, 1998). However, this does not mean that every capital is valid and valuable under every circumstance. As it is mentioned earlier, there are various fields that require different forms and volumes of capital. According to Bourdieu (as cited in Lingard & Christie, 2003, 324) fields have different forms of capital - economic, social, and cultural - with different hierarchies of values. Also, besides the value and volume of capital, the convertibility of it plays significant role in the fields since every agent tries to get the most out of the possessed capital to strengthen the position. To make it clear, Bourdieu used the card game and token metaphors. Bourdieu stated as follows:

Players can play to increase or to conserve their capital, their number of tokens, in conformity with the tacit rules of the game and the prerequisites of the reproduction of the game and its stakes; but they can also get in to transform, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game. They can, for instance, work to change the relative value of tokens of different colours, the exchange rate between various species of capital, through strategies aimed at discrediting the form of capital upon which the force of their opponents rests (e.g., economic capital) and to valorize the species of capital they preferentially possess (e.g., juridical capital) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 99).

The kinds of capital, like the aces in a game of cards, are powers that define the chances of profit in a given field (in fact, to each field or sub-field there corresponds a particular kind of capital, which is current, as a power or stake, in that game) (Bourdieu, 1985, 724).

Consequently, the volume, form and convertibility of the possessed capital determine the positions of the agents in social space. As Bourdieu (1989, 17) indicated “agents are distributed in the overall social space, in the first dimension, according to the overall volume of capital they possess and, in the second dimension”. Therefore, the tendency to get together among similar agents who have similar forms of capital appears both in social space and in physical space. This also desired or occurred as a need to dominate the space. Bourdieu (1999, 127) mentioned “... capital makes it possible to keep undesirable persons and things at a distance at the same time that it brings closer desirable persons and things (made desirable, among other things, by their richness in capital)”. As a result, one who is willing to enter a place has to increase to meet the forms of capital requirements of this place and has to satisfy the dominant agents’ expectations unless the new comer has sufficient volume and required variety of capital. The insufficient capital is the basic reason that keeps the agent out of the place. Actually, it is the basic process behind the inclusion or exclusion in both social and physical space. These kinds of games are played by the agents in every field again and again. Under these conditions, especially the disadvantaged ones try to preserve and increase in a certain extent the already existing capital to survive. Bourdieu exemplified this issue as such:

Like a club founded on the active exclusion of undesirable people, the fashionable neighbourhood symbolically consecrates its inhabitants by allowing each one to partake of the capital accumulated by the inhabitants as a whole. Likewise, the stigmatized area symbolically degrades its inhabitants, who, in return, symbolically degrade it. Since they don’t have all the cards necessary to participate in the various social games, the only thing they share is their common excommunication (Bourdieu, 1999, 129).

Therefore, at first forms of capital are the sources that enable or disable the players to participate the variety of games. Subsequently, it also determines the success or failure of the player on this game. Under these assumptions, the volume of capital that is possessed via the gecekondu dwellers plays crucial role whilst deciding to accept or reject the project which can be assumed as a game in broad sense. Especially, the gecekondu dwellers attempt to compensate their insufficient volume

of economic and cultural capital with the social capital that is available due to their habitus. To deepen the awareness and diversify the instruments for this study, the main forms of capital are discussed in detail one by one.

2.3.1. Social Capital

Social capital is the one form of capital that provides capability to the possessors to use possible social networks via appropriate connections. Although social capital is issued widely in the literature⁸, Bourdieu diverges from others by the meaning and function that he attached to it. According to Bourdieu, social capital is

[t]he aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the world (1986, 51).

Within this definition, there are certain points that should be evaluated. Firstly, these networks are usually formed and enhanced by the effort of the members on existing structure that is institutionally prepared. Bourdieu (1986, 52) mentioned that “the existence of a network of connection is not a naturally given, or even a social given, constituted once and for all by an initial act of institution”. Therefore, besides active participation to the network, the social capital requires certain investments that establish an environment for the maintenance of social capital. Secondly, mutual recognition is vital during the social capital playing role in the fields. “The reproduction of social capital presupposes an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed” (Bourdieu, 1986, 52). This reproduction process also has to be actualized inside and outside the group’s network. Otherwise, misrecognition

⁸ Besides Bourdieu, the concept of social capital is also discussed by many authors such as Putnam (1993, 1995), Ostrom and Ahn (2003), Coleman (1988) and Woolcock (1998). Bourdieu basically distinguishes from the others due to the fact that he uses it as an instrument to understand the attitudes of the agents without exaggerating its position among other forms of capital.

among both the group members and others lead to diminishing returns in social capital exchanges.

As it is seen in every forms of capital, the existence and volume of them are directly related with the other forms of capital. Thence, it is impossible to assessing appropriately the possessed economic, cultural and symbolic capitals in the absence of required social capital or vice versa. This is indicated by Bourdieu in terms of social capital as such

[a]lthough it (social capital) is relatively irreducible to the economic and cultural capital possessed by a given agent, or even by the whole set of agents to whom he is connected, social capital is never completely independent of it because the exchanges instituting mutual acknowledgment presuppose the re-acknowledgment of a minimum of objective homogeneity, and because it exerts a multiplier effect on the capital he possesses in his own right (1986, 51).

Besides the agents, the social capital is vital for the groups. Especially, the homogeneity for enhancing the power of social capital is needed in every group. The more number of similar members in various fields means the more channels to enlarge the network. Therefore, every group tries to reach an institutionalized form to gain more control over the social capital. Moreover, Bourdieu (1986, 53) stated that the basis of the existence of the group in the hands of a single agent or a small group of agents and to mandate this plenipotentiary, charged with a full power to act and speak to represent the group, to speak and act in its name and so, with the aid of this collectively owned capital, to exercise a power incommensurate with the agent's personal contribution. Therefore, the social capital usually held by a single or small group of agents who ensure its conservation and further accumulation. It signifies the being noble among others. These are the people who may speak on behalf of the group, represent the whole group, and exercise authority in the name of the whole group (Bourdieu, 1986, 53). However, as a result of distrust and severe clashes within the network, the social capital of group diminishes. Actually, this process frequently occurs due to conflict of interest as it is realized in New Mamak UTP. At this point it is beneficial to indicate political capital as a sub category of social capital. According to Bourdieu (1991, 640) it is another kind of capital that is

the source of the observable differences in patterns of consumption and life-styles and that guarantees to its holders a form of private appropriation of goods and public services (residences, cars, hospitals, schools, and etc.). As a result, the different features of possessed political capital are one of the basic sources that separates gecekondu residents when they exposed to the project.

2.3.2. Cultural Capital

Cultural capital basically refers to knowledge and skills acquired either by formal or informal ways. “Cultural capital often relates to prestige status and includes resources such as articulateness, aesthetic preferences and cultural awareness” (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, 24). According to Bourdieu (1986, 48-49) “cultural capital can be acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously”. Among other forms of capital, Bourdieu gives great importance to cultural capital and make many researches on this issue. He said that

Agents do not all possess to the same degree the instruments, especially the cultural capital, necessary to produce what is called a personal opinion, in the twofold sense of autonomous and conforming to the particularity of the interests attached to a particular position (Bourdieu, 2004a, 40).

Bourdieu indicated that cultural capital can be observed in three different states namely the embodied, objectified and institutionalised form. The first one is the embodied state that enables agents to consume cultural goods by understanding their meaning, unlike material goods (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, 24). As Tezcan (2010, 22) mentioned most of the time the internalization of this kind of capital realized unconsciously under the strong family effect. Secondly, cultural capital exists in an *objectified* state, “in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.” (Bourdieu, 1986, 47). In this state of cultural capital, the significant thing is the capacity to use these kinds of

cultural goods. Finally, *institutionalized* state is the guaranteed form of cultural capital via educational qualifications and credentials. The documents, titles, degrees given by education system determine the volume of institutionalized cultural capital.

As it is required for other forms of capital, the cultural capital needs efforts and investments. On the one hand, it has to be mentioned that this form of capital is more related with the self-improvement dynamics; although biological and familial factors play roles. On the other hand, the assistance of the economic capital is obvious during the acquisition of cultural capital. Bourdieu stated that:

It can immediately be seen that the link between economic and cultural capital is established through the mediation of the time needed for acquisition. Differences in the cultural capital possessed by the family imply differences first in the age at which the work of transmission and accumulation begins-the limiting case being full use of the time biologically available, with the maximum free time being harnessed to maximum cultural capital – and then in the capacity, thus defined, to satisfy the specifically cultural demands of a prolonged process of acquisition (Bourdieu, 1986, 49).

The transformation potential of forms of capital especially plays significant role when the agents face different conditions in the fields. These processes are discussed in detail under the economic capital topic.

2.3.3. Economic Capital

The economic capital refers to the material wealth and concomitant power (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, 24). The exchange value of all sellable things that occurs as a result of the transactions is the source of this capital. Due to its obvious meaning, Bourdieu did not issue this form of capital in detail. However, he focused its transformative power due to its relatively more validity among other forms of capitals especially in this era. Bourdieu (1986, 54) discussed this issue as follows:

The real logic of the functioning of capital, the conversions from one type to another, and the law of conservation which governs them cannot be understood unless two opposing but equally partial views are superseded: on the one hand, economism, which, on the grounds that every type of

capital is reducible in the last analysis to economic capital, ignores what makes the specific efficacy of the other types of capital, and on the other hand, semiologism (nowadays represented by structuralism, symbolic interactionism, or ethnomethodology), which reduces social exchanges to phenomena of communication and ignores the brutal fact of universal reducibility to economics.

Beyond this discussion, although the transformation process is challenging, agents frequently apply this way to preserve or to strengthen their positions in different fields. “The convertibility of the different types of capital is the basis of the strategies aimed at ensuring the reproduction of capital by means of the conversions least costly in terms of conversion work and of the losses inherent in the conversion itself” (Bourdieu, 1986, 54). For instance, whilst economic capital gives agents chance to increase their cultural capital, no one be sure about that cultural capital facilitates to acquire more economic capital; because the transformation dynamics are also bounded to other forms of capital, habitus and the rules and other agents of different fields. As Bourdieu (1986, 55) mentioned this inevitably leads to a high degree of uncertainty into all transactions between holders of different types of capital due to the (apparent) incommensurability.

Moreover, while discussing economic capital, its relation with the housing issue with respect to Bourdieusian framework has to be introduced at this point. Bourdieu mentioned that being an owner of a house satisfies economic needs besides biological and social ones. He stated (2005b, 21) this as such:

A purchase of a house, being connected with the family as household, and with its permanence over time, which it presupposes and also aims to guarantee, is both an economic investment –or at least a form of accumulation of capital as an element of a lasting, transmissible patrimony- and a social one, in so far as it contains within it a wager on the future or, more exactly, a biological and social reproduction project.

Therefore, treating the house as a mere capital good is just the reductionism that ignores the other functions of it. Even though, a house implies nothing but the investment instrument for some groups, it preserves its vital position as social and biological needs for the majority of the society. The crucial thing at this point is the

endeavours of dominant class to increase the economic notions on housing issue for their own sake. And just few among dominated ones have showed reactions and resist against this transformation. Under these conditions, when the housing issue is situated at the very core of economics, the agents who possess insufficient volume of economic capital and have no chance to convert other forms of capital to adequate weapon are always on a hiding to nothing. Bourdieu also signifies the relation between state and housing market that just provides benefits to certain groups in society. Bourdieu mentioned as follows:

There are, no doubt, few markets that are not only so controlled as the housing market is by the state, but indeed so truly constructed by the state, particularly through the financial assistance given to private individuals, which varies in quantity and in the forms in which it is granted, favouring particular social categories and, consequently, particular fractions of builders to different degrees (Bourdieu, 2005b, 90).

The facilitator role of the state that mainly assists contractors instead of needy social categories leads to challenging conditions for the economically vulnerable agents in the housing field. Further discussion about this issue is made under the symbolic capital topic.

2.3.4. Symbolic Capital

Bourdieu indicates that “the symbolic capital incorporates the other three forms of capital as it represents the form that the various species of capital when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate” (as cited in Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, 24). Therefore, the volume of symbolic capital is determined by the volume of other forms of capital. Bourdieu (1989, 23) sees the symbolic capital as a credit that provide sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition to the agent. This form of capital enables agent to bring others together and mobilize them. In the struggle to impose the legitimate view of the social world ... agents yield a power proportionate to their symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1985, 731).

Another issue that has to be mentioned related to symbolic capital is the symbolic power. Symbolic power takes its roots from the symbolic capital and the impact of it also determined by the volume of symbolic capital. Also, symbolic efficacy depends on the degree to which the vision proposed is founded in reality (Bourdieu, 1989, 23). Bourdieu gives great importance to symbolic power and states as such whilst discussing the possibility of transformation of symbolic power to a power of constitution:

A power to preserve or to transform objective principles of union and separation, of marriage and divorce, of association and dissociation, which are at work in the social world; the power to conserve or to transform current classifications in matters of gender, nation, region, age, and social status, and this through the words used to designate or to describe individuals, groups or institutions. To change the world, one has to change the ways of world-making, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced (Bourdieu, 1989, 22-23).

As it is mentioned, this also points out the symbolic production and reproduction. Bourdieu explains these functions by relating them to the interests of the ruling class. He (1979, 79) stated these as such:

Unlike myth, a collective product collectively appropriated and consumed, ideologies serve particular interests which they tend to present as universal interests, common to the whole group". The dominant culture contributes to the real integration of the dominant class (by ensuring immediate communication among all its members and distinguishing them from the other classes); to the fictitious integration of the society as a whole, and hence to the demobilization (false consciousness) of the dominated classes; and to the legitimation of the established order by the establishment of distinctions (hierarchies) and the legitimation of these distinctions.

Under these circumstances, the symbolic systems fulfil their political function as instruments of dominant classes. The dominated classes consciously or not feel these oppression processes as symbolic violence. Even though the effect of symbolic violence is not mostly directly observable as it is experienced in physical violence, it has deeper and massive influences on especially dominated classes. It is resulted in the creation or continuation of legitimized exploitation systems. The established patterns of power and privilege that go hand in hand with the politics

and create hierarchies are mostly masked by the social order which is embodied as symbolic violence in social world (Wacquant, 2006, 263). At this point Bourdieu (1979, 80) underlies Max Weber's one of the famous phrase 'domestication of the dominated' to explain this process. However, it has to be mentioned that although dominating position is advantageous for the processes, the positions change in the course of time with respect to classes' volume of capitals and conditions of the fields. Therefore, many symbolic struggles are also take place among different classes and class fractions to hold the dominator position at least for a certain time. Holding or having positions to influence the state power, thus, come into prominence under these conditions. Bourdieu (2005b, 92) stated that:

The struggles to transform or conserve legitimate representations which, once invested with the symbolic and practical efficacy of official regulations, are capable of genuinely commanding practices provide one of the basic dimensions of the political struggles for power over the instruments of state power, that is to say, generalizing Max Weber's formula, for the monopoly of legitimate physical and symbolic violence.

Under the shed light of this knowledge, the symbolic capital especially comes into prominence while some agents attempt to manipulate to lead the others by their consent. In the case of this study, on the one hand some important figures such as mayor of Ankara, mayor of Mamak, Headman of Araplar Neighbourhood and some others who expect political and economic benefit from the project use their symbolic capital to convince gecekondu dwellers to sign the project contract. On the other hand, Headman of Derbent Neighbourhood, neighbourhood representatives of the Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau, representatives of Mamak People Culture and Solidarity Association, some other organizations and political actors use their symbolic capital to empower gecekondu dwellers against the project. Therefore, symbolic capital directly influences the gecekondu dwellers perceptions towards the project.

CHAPTER III

CASE STUDY: NEW MAMAK URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECT

This chapter basically consists of two main parts. The first part indicates the background of the New Mamak Urban Transformation Project in a historical context with respect to socio-cultural, economic and spatial transformations that have been experienced up until today. This transformation process discussion is started from the declaration of Ankara as a capital city and ended with the initiation of New Mamak Urban Transformation Project. In the meantime, migration, gecekondu phenomenon, state policies on housing, market-led and state-led transformation issues are examined in a relation by considering this study's focused area, Ankara and especially Mamak district. Besides these critical issues, the higher scale plan decisions on Ankara are also chronologically included and evaluated within this part not to ignore spatial development (Figure 3.1). By this way, it is targeted to enable the reader to see the whole formations and dynamics that set ground for the New Mamak UTP. Moreover, it is obvious that this historical context facilitate to acquire better understanding about the various perspectives of gecekondu dwellers towards New Mamak UTP.

The second part of this chapter is focused on the representation of New Mamak UTP and its implementation, progress and prospects. Firstly, the features of this project are introduced especially in detail to understand the dynamics of transformation. Besides implementation principles of the project, current situation in the project is pointed out. As a highly significant issue, the legal aspects of urban transformation projects are also indicated whilst the complex legal processes of New Mamak UTP is issued. This second part is finalized with a section, which evaluates the news in media about New Mamak UTP and related issues such as serious incidents, comments and other prestigious projects, aims to facilitate the transition to field research chapter. This chapter can be considered as a supplementary of field research chapter. However, it should be known that the absence of this chapter make it impossible to understand the field research findings

that reveal what lies beneath the accepting and resisting attitudes of residents towards urban transformation projects in Derbent Neighbourhood and Eserkent.

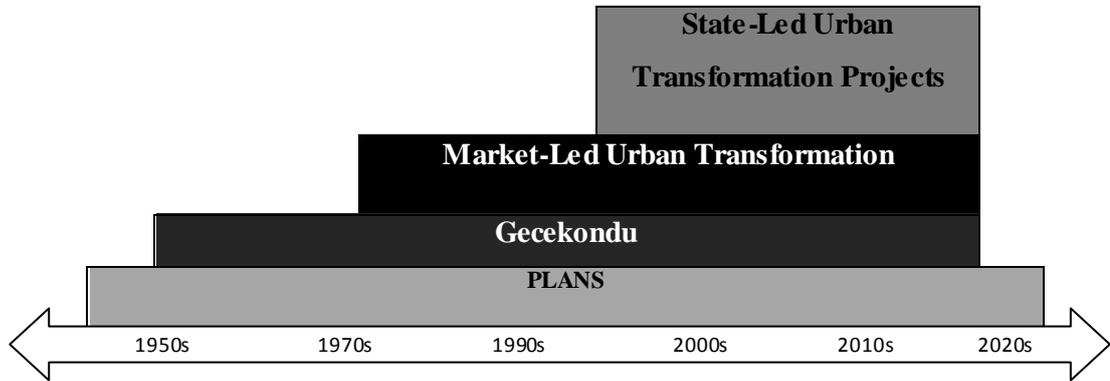


Figure 3.1. Timeline to Illustrate Basic Processes

3.1. Evaluation of New Mamak UTP in the Historical Context

Within this section, it is planned to indicate and shortly to evaluate the background of the New Mamak UTP with respect to socio-cultural, economic and spatial changes by considering macro level dynamics. For this goal, while the demographically experienced changes in gecekondu areas are explained, the master plans on Ankara will be analysed to observe the spatial transformations in the planning context. Moreover, due to the absence of previous specified demographic data about New Mamak UTP neighbourhoods, general characteristics of gecekondu in Ankara and the found records of Mamak District are used in general⁹. Although it can be claimed that the project area covers a huge but certain space on Mamak District, it is an undeniable truth that project area consists almost whole historical characteristics of the district in terms of social, cultural and economic aspects. Under these conditions, it is beneficial to initiate the timeline from the point when

⁹ Mamak became municipality with the Act No. 3030 in 1983. Therefore, it is difficult to find specific previous data that belongs to this area.

Ankara began to gain importance. By this way the transformation is tried to be illustrated via following general to specific pattern.

The declaration of Ankara as the capital city of newly born Republic of Turkey in 1923 led to increase the attention on Ankara as a city in terms of various aspects. ‘Following its elevation to the status of capital, Ankara became a magnet to migrants, attracting population from Turkey’s rural areas, and migration from Anatolia to Ankara began in earnest’ (Uzun, 2005, 183-184). This inevitably brought wide range transformations to Ankara in terms of economic, socio-cultural and spatial variables in the course of time. To control this process, plans were tried to be introduced by the authorities. The first plan of Ankara Lörcher Plan prepared in 1923 by envisaging dense and compact city form while not proposing any policy concerning how the city will grow (Günay, 2005, 67-69). Within this period, some policies¹⁰ were tried to be implemented to deal with the civil servants’ housing problem (Keleş, 503, 2004). It has to be mentioned that in the early years of the republic during the inter-war period, the emphasis on nationalist and economic development had centred upon the village (Drakakis-Smith, 1976, 225). Therefore, the migration waves could be controlled under these policies to the growing newly emerged cities.

During 1920s in Mamak region, gardens in Kayaş region and green areas next to Hatip Çayı (Stream) were just considered for the picnic areas by the inhabitants of Ankara (Gültekin and Onsekiz, 2005, 139). There were very limited numbers of buildings in plantation lands and gardens in these areas. However, it is mentioned that during the field research, Araplar Neighbourhood is used to be a village that was settled before the declaration of Republic.

In 1930s, to attain healthy urbanization, the Jansen Plan was adopted for Ankara. However, in the course of time, this plan exposed to the pressure of land speculation and could not meet housing needs of the people (Karaburun, 2009, 53), especially

¹⁰ With the law (Law no. 586) in 1925, the civil servants began to receive advance payments for the establishment of housing cooperatives. With the law (Law no. 1352) in 1928, construction of houses for the civil servant was targeted. The law (Law no. 1452) in 1929 gave housing allowances to the civil servants (Keleş, 2004, 503).

for the low income new comers. Another significant point is that both plans underestimated the population increase and lacked to develop new areas which led to unplanned expansion (Yaşar, 2010, 95). This also hastened via the migration of people, who barely find ways to survive in rural areas, to not only inner city but also to peripheral areas of Ankara depending on availability of lands and their informal relations. Whilst the migration was taking place in big cities, the former inhabitants of the city who established families with old middle-class values regarded the migration as a peasant invasion and began to complain about the disappearance of city manners and of privacy (Karpat, 1976, 62). Besides this migrated poor people's unfamiliar behaviours, their unplanned and insufficient dwellings were also seemed as a threat for the middle class (Şengül, 2001, 78). This tendency that led to emergence of hostility against the gecekondu residents has been maintained for years. Moreover, as Şenyapılı (1981, 8-9) stated that the former inhabitants of the cities had made several attempts to get rid of 'ugly' gecekondu until the migrated population had reached majority in the whole population. Besides the increasing gecekondu population, the new migration flows created a need for settlement areas in the cities. According to Uzun (2005, 184) as the old housing stock next to the city centre filled up, the new arrivals moved into the farmlands which were weather held under absentee landlordism or weakly controlled by state. Due to closeness to the already decentralized factories, the migrated mostly unskilled labour force chose these places for settlement (Uzun, 2005, 184). The gecekondu of Mamak became visible under these conditions in 50s (Günay, 2005, 79). In this period, especially the gecekondu neighbourhoods of Mamak were established along the railway to the East (Duyar-Kienast, 2005, 104). According to Gökçe (1971, 50) the first settlements were observed after 1945 in Derbent Neighbourhood and around it. The migrated pioneers mostly from the rural areas of East part of the Turkey began to construct one storey structures with bricks that are typical in rural areas within large gardens in Mamak district just for satisfying their housing needs. All these gecekondu in Ankara are well-established and represent substantial additions to the urban fabric (Drakakis-Smith, 1976, 225). These lands are either occupied or purchased on the informal market (Duyar-Kienast, 2005, 131). Moreover, the limited options that were enjoyed by the migrated population led to occurrence of

ethnic, religious and cultural diversity in gecekondu neighbourhoods. Migrated Alevi and Sünni, Kurdish and Turkish families can become neighbours whilst trying to find an appropriate place to stay (Erman, 2005, 320).

In 1950, although 80 percent of the Turkish population lived in rural areas, the employment situation was further worsened by the flood of Marshall Aid tractors during the 1950s, which rapidly increased the amount of surplus labour in the countryside (Drakakis-Smith, 1976, 225). With the introduced 40.000 tractors, one million farmers had been dislocated and regardless of their intimate family ties they began to migrate from the mountainous, poor, and less developed sections in the east and northeast toward the more developed, industrializing, fertile areas in the west (Karpat, 1976, 56-57). Şenyapılı (1978, 18-19) stated that in case the feudal mode of production had been maintained and the agricultural technology had not been developed, there would not be mass migration waves. Moreover, Yasa (1966) indicated that besides the technological developments, lack of land, unproductive soil, land ownership status and social causes such as weakening of the patriarchal family, vendetta (*kan davası*) and insufficient public services plays significant role in the rural areas before people had decided to migrate to urban areas. As a result, the big cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir began to felt the pressure and problems of unplanned and uncontrolled migration. Even though series of laws¹¹ were enacted by the state to solve the gecekondu problem after the World War II (Keleş, 2004, 573), the rapid urban growth parallel to the industrialization made it difficult to provide adequate housing stock to meet the housing demand of migrated population under the absence of sufficient infrastructure and urban service investments by neither central government nor local authorities (Uzun, 2005, 184). By the way, whilst this migrated poor people were solving their housing problems with constructing gecekondu, they also created an informal sector to solve

¹¹ The Law no. 5218 (dated 1948) targeted to rehabilitate the existing gecekondu and aimed to provide lands to people who intend to rebuild gecekondu within the boundaries of Ankara Municipality. With the Law no. 5228 (dated 1948), proper credits were given to people who needs money to build a house. The Law no. 5431 (dated 1949) fell short of the goals that tried to prevent the construction of gecekondu and tried to demolish the existing ones. With the Law no. 6188 (dated 1953), the land provision was made to families who needs land to build house. The Law no. 7367 (dated 1959) transferred lands to municipality to prevent the construction of gecekondu (Keleş, 2004, 573-574).

unemployment problem (Şengül, 2001, 77). In these limited income generating activities, the workers who have no social and/or job security were time to time forced to work under harsh conditions.

In 1957 to manage the growth of Ankara, Yücel-Uybadin Plan (Figure 3.2) was accepted and this was the first time that the current gecekondu previous location within New Mamak UTP began to be observed in a master plan. According to Günay (2005, 81) with this plan the existing gecekondu areas in Mamak and Kayaş designed as developed areas which constituted the basic premises of improvement plan understanding in 80s. This plan also purposes a green belt that preserves Hatip Çayı (stream) between the railroad and Samsun Road. Although Yücel-Uybadin Plan opened up new urban development areas and produces decisions for industrial sites, it pursued the same urban development direction (north-south axis) and it could not provide solutions for especially gecekondu areas (Şahin, 2007, 72). According to official sources (as cited in Yasa, 1966, 52) in 1962 the number of gecekondu in Ankara had exceeded 80000 units in which approximately 450000 people had resided. While the spatial problems were not being solved, the economic system began to absorb labour of these huge number of gecekondu residents. According to Karpat (1976, 100) gecekondu people were “appeared to be unskilled, poverty-stricken, and unorganized labourers and hence willing to work long hours and to take jobs that the skilled and organized labour would not ordinarily accepted”. On this very same issue, Şenyapılı (1978, 23) stated that the migrated population had created regulatory mechanism for the maintenance of the system. In this exploitation model, these masses were inevitably obliged to serve the need of capitalists whilst both producing and consuming. Especially, between 1960 and 1970 the gecekondu population that found relatively regular employment opportunities began to gain functions as a consumer to enable the integration in the cities (Şenyapılı, 1981, 47). Although as Duyar-Kienast mentioned (2005, 113) Mamak’s gecekondu areas is not homogenous with regard to income levels; especially the low-paid and insecure jobs were supplied to this growing mass that needs jobs to survive. Therefore, this population became ready to use force for the newly opened industries and existing ones where could be far away from Mamak

due to inadequate transformation channels. Besides that the railroad provided job opportunities to people. It is observed from the field research that many people used to work in various positions in Turkish State Railways beginning in 60s and 70s. Moreover, besides the low skilled labour force, there were also people who appointed to Mamak District as public servant and settled there by constructing gecekondu.

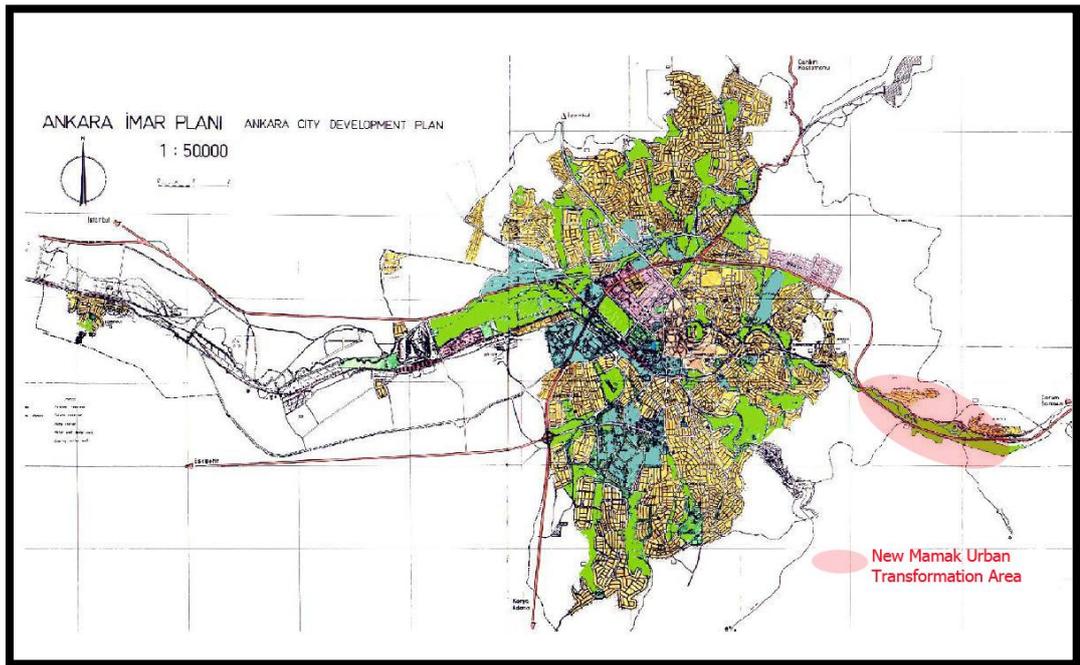


Figure 3.2. Yücel-Uybadın Plan (1957) (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara Development and City Planning Department, (2006) 2023 Plan Report)

The social and cultural formation was tried to be preserved as it was experienced in the rural area to ease the adaptation process by the migrated population. Especially, “the new comers formed a new community that maintained temporarily at least some of the village culture and, thus, facilitated the migrants’ gradual integration into the city to without a sudden break with the past” (Karpat, 1976, 87). Furthermore, the migrated people had designed their places as they used to live in their villages and had not given up their everyday practices and rituals in cities. According to Yasa (1966, 55) the conventional practices experienced in the village are dominant whilst the objects and furniture are placed in the gecekondu.

The steep topography allows people to use the roofs of their houses as terraces, e.g. in order to dry vegetables for the winter. The sub terrain is mostly used for storage. In the corners of gardens, there are shadowy places to rest. A lot of housework, like cooking, washing and drying, is carried out in open spaces, which are extended to the streets. Streets house other communal activities, like wedding ceremonies. In most cases, the gardens are marked with low stone walls. In some cases poplar trees are planted in order to mark the boundaries of the plot. (Duyar-Kienast, 2005, 115)

Especially in the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, the community life formed with respect to identities such as ethnic, religious and same village origin (hometown). These kinds of agglomerations provided security in every aspect for the migrated groups. Although various and opposite groups appeared in the same neighbourhood, the migrated populations succeeded to live together. Although in everyday life, cultural, religious and political differences between *Sünni* and *Alevi*, Turkish and Kurdish families were obvious and the dissensions inwardly or obviously continued among them, these differences did not lead to serious clashes or violence; on the contrary, it inevitably caused conciliation and tendency to get along with together among neighbours; due to sharing same space and being in need of other (Erman, 2005).

At the beginning of 1970s, the population proportion living in urban centres had still only reached one-third of the whole population of Turkey. However, the housing problem as a consequence of migration led to occurrence of unhealthy urbanization in big cities due to absence of sufficient state policies. As Şenyapılı (as cited in Duyar-Kienast, 2005, 41) mentioned that in this period the *gecekondu* residents gained legitimacy and official recognition with the Law no. 775¹² of 1966 due to their contributions to the economy by expanding market capacity without any burden on the state. Parallel to this legalization process, the Condominium Law that had been enacted in 1965 made it possible to own an apartment in an apartment house in proportion to the share in land especially in 1970s (Uzun, 2005, 184). With the legalization of *gecekondus*, valuable property rights that had been transferred to

¹² Gecekondu Law No. 775 is the initial acceptance of the *gecekondu* phenomenon by the governments.

lower income gecekondu dwellers played crucial role on the overall redistribution of income (Akpınar, 2008, 45). Şenyapılı (1981, 48) mentioned that especially between 1970 and 1980 financially capable gecekondu owners chose to transform their gecekondu to multi storey apartment house on their own; otherwise, they preferred to sell the land or waited contractors to get share from the urban rent. This was resulted with the rise of individual contractors and small entrepreneurs who became a part of construction process called ‘building-selling’.

1970 Land Use Map of Ankara indicated that boundaries of planned area of Yücel-Uybadin Plan were exceeded mostly by gecekondu settlements (Figure 3.3). The core of the city reached to its topographic basin and its periphery was surrounded by the gecekondus (Günay, 2005, 94). The number of gecekondus also began to increase in Mamak in that period when (according to 1970 Land Use Plan) maximum 150 persons lived per hectare within the Derbent and other current project neighbourhoods. The reason behind it is the continuous migration of people from the rural areas. It is known that increasing number of households in a family resulted with the construction of additional storey or room to the existing gecekondu. However, the increase in population resulted with the occurrence of insufficient public services which had been already limited. The research that was held in 1971 by Gökçe (50) indicated that to satisfy the needs of gecekondu residents, one elementary school, one health centre, and three mosques and as a commercial entity cafe, grocery, butcher, greengrocery, bakery, barber, tailor and cinema were located in Köstence District that comprises Araplar, Derbent, Boğaziçi, Kayaş, Yeşilbayır, Karabayır and Tepecik Neighbourhoods; however, gecekondu dwellers had stated that the elementary school was insufficient and they severely need junior high school and school of art for their district.

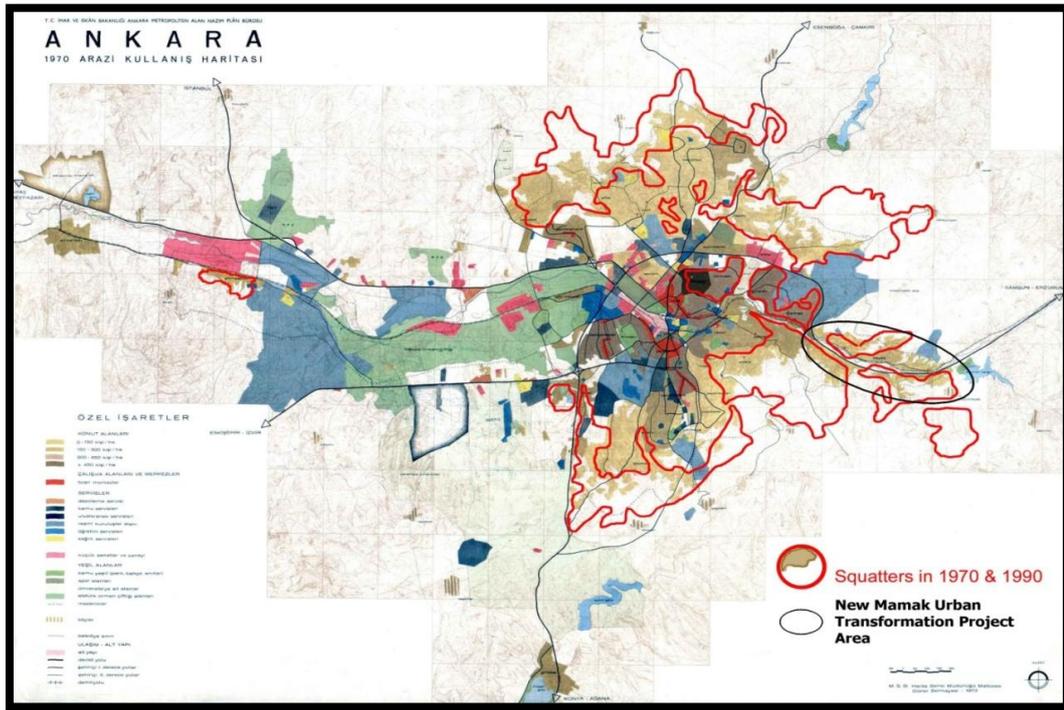


Figure 3.3. 1970 Land Use of the Urban Macro Form of Ankara (Source: 1990 Plan Report and Günay, B. (2006) prepared by Yaşar, C. G.)

Whilst Mamak preserves its peripheral position during 70s due to the informal networks among relatives or townsmen (*hemşerilik*) relations people chose to settle this areas instead of centre of the city. Although the solidarity among migrated populations was weakened due to newly encountered economic and social life (Gökçe, 1971, 14), these ties preserved its significance to survive in the city life. At the end of the migrations to the peripheries of big cities from rural areas, the migrated people spatially come together according to their religious sect, hometown and language in order to preserve their ethnic and religious characteristics (Erman, 2005, 319). Therefore, reaching adequate number of population led to the formation of semi-closed communities in gecekondu areas. However, this did not cause severe tensions among the residents, although in Mamak, like many other gecekondu areas of Turkey's big cities, both revolutionary and fascist groups were active (Duyar-Kienast, 2005, 123). In certain levels, there occurs collaboration among the ethnically or religiously diverse but spatially close neighbours in case especially the families need help and live in poverty (Erman, 2005, 324). Under these conditions, the residents accept the *different* or *other* one in certain extent to live in the same

neighbourhood. According to Erman (2005, 324) the neighbourhood relations are especially significant for the women who spent most of their time in the neighbourhood and need to collaborate with other neighbour women due to poverty in gecekondu areas; therefore, they cannot easily sacrifice their neighbourhoods.

As said by Şenyapılı (as cited in Ersoy, 1985, 90) having a secure job and dwelling is more influential than the time passed in the cities during the urbanization process in terms of perceptions and behaviours. Therefore, some gecekondu dwellers who kept pace of urbanization left the gecekondu areas and moved into apartment houses. However, according to Bilir (2004, 102) these people stuck between the rural and urban life due to their previous culture and newly encountered and imposed urban values. By the way, it has to be mentioned that the second generation of gecekondu began to take place in socio-economic and politic life. Although the new generation had more capacity to penetrate urban life, they certainly experienced the same tensions as their parents. And they reflected this tension into political life as a radical movement. The demand of radical changes beyond the social justice was welcomed by many young gecekondu dwellers that deeply experienced the social inequality (Şengül, 2001, 85). Whilst these people were supporting leftist revolutionary ideology, they faced the rightist nationalist people who are also mostly gecekondu dwellers. The ideological polarization between these two groups created severe conflicts and clashes time to time in the society. “In this atmosphere, rescued districts and neighbourhoods (*kurtarılmış bölgeler/mahalleler*) were appeared and the gecekondu dwellers were divided as rightist and leftist” (Erman, 2004, 7).

It has to be mentioned at this point that “probably no other activity is as instrumental as political action in achieving the gecekondu people’s (*squatters*’ in original text) urban and national integration” (Karpat, 1976, 196). Actually, as Karpat (1976, 200) mentioned that being a part of political action provides the gecekondu dwellers additional opportunities to establish communication channels to the other members of the national political community. Similarly, Şenyapılı (1978, 35) stated that migrated populations have tendency to support the parties in power due to achieve full integration with the system. Nevertheless, different ideologies

find acceptance in the gecekondu neighbourhoods. Basically, these ideological polarizations between revolutionary and fascist groups in gecekondu areas depending on both macro political agenda and individual perceptions were suppressed after the military coup in 1980. The harsh actions and serious movements replaced with limited and passive reactions mostly revealed at the time of elections that had just indicated the previous leftist and rightist cleavages from 80s to today (Figure 3.4)¹³. However, this just brought pseudo-peace to the gecekondu areas after severe polarizations and clashes were experienced. Whilst the coup tried to eliminate the fascist and especially revolutionary parties, it facilitated the implementation of new-right ideology that basically enables the rise of particular groups instead of class based movements. According to Harvey (1993, 45) “this shift from universalism to targeting of particular groups inevitably created tensions between groups and helped fragment rather than consolidate any broader sense of a progressive class alliance”. Even though, the ethnic or religious identities of gecekondu residents had not been explicitly stated before 1980s, from then on the conditions began to change on the opposite side (Erman, 2005, 319). For instance as Erman (2005, 320) mentioned discomfort against favourable Sünni Islam politics of the state after 1980s can be indicated as one of the most significant reason behind the organization of Alevi community. Moreover, the reign of New-right politics divided and ruled in the social sphere those who should have common interest in the economic sphere (Harvey, 1985, 268). Therefore, most of the gecekondu dwellers, as a working class member, could not even conceive of their interests in class terms under these highly fragmented social conditions. Nevertheless, whilst both political and economic conditions were deeply transforming societal structures of gecekondu areas, rituals and habits of gecekondu residents preserved in a certain extent and a kind of solidarity among community during the ceremonies such as weddings and funerals left behind.

¹³ Provincial General Council Members Election Results, Mamak Mayoral Election Results and Mayor of Great Municipality of Ankara Election Results in Mamak between 1989 and 2009 indicate highly close results. Therefore, the other two results' graphics are not deemed necessary.

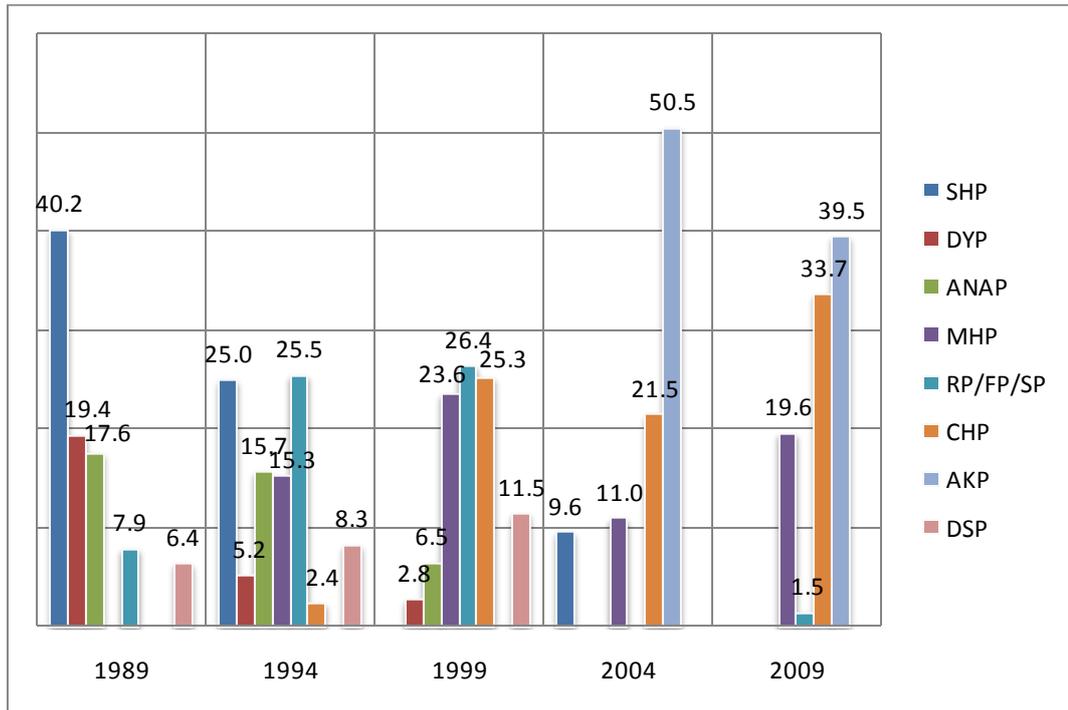


Figure 3.4. Provincial General Council Members Election Results in Mamak (1989-2009)¹⁴
(Source: TSI (Turkish Statistical Institute Database))

In 1982, 1990 Master Plan of Ankara became effective (Figure 3.5). According to Altaban (1986, 137; Şahin, 2007, 83), this plan was based on three main policies: to control increasing densities of existing urban macro form, to develop city in western corridors, to foster the role of public in directing urban development and to create public land stock for this purpose. This plan also prepared with presence of the Gecekondu Law No. 775 which enabled authority to rehabilitate, clear and prevent gecekondu settlement by giving expropriation and purchasing power in required situations. However, legislations that set penalties for further construction while legalizing existing gecekondu settlements did not prevent the development of new gecekondu (Uzun, 2005, 185). In this period the “gecekondu problem” tried to be solved with the hands of small scale contractors and individual investments that consequently transformed the gecekondu lands into objects of speculation (Duyar-Kienast, 2005, 46). Especially, the Improvement Plans played significant role

¹⁴ SHP (Social Democratic People’s Party), DYP (Right Way Party), ANAP (Motherland Party), MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), RP (Welfare Party), FP (Virtue Party), SP (Felicity Party), CHP (Republican People’s Party), AKP (Justice and Development Party), DSP (Democratic Left Party).

during this process. With these plans it is aimed that the occupied state lands are legalised and regularised by the local governments to integrate existing gecekondu districts to regular urban areas. Consequently, the gecekondu began to be replaced with the relatively high rising apartment houses. This process brought substantial profits for the gecekondu owners. Mainly the central gecekondu districts turned to highly attractive places for the investors. The rising rate of profit also satisfied the gecekondu owners who began to get certain share from the urban rent. The improvement plans and amnesty laws which facilitated the construction of additional floors, increased the rate of buying and selling of gecekondus, and enabled the sale of gecekondus to builders led to transformation of gecekondu settlements from being temporary shelters into an investment tool (Uzun, 2005, 185).

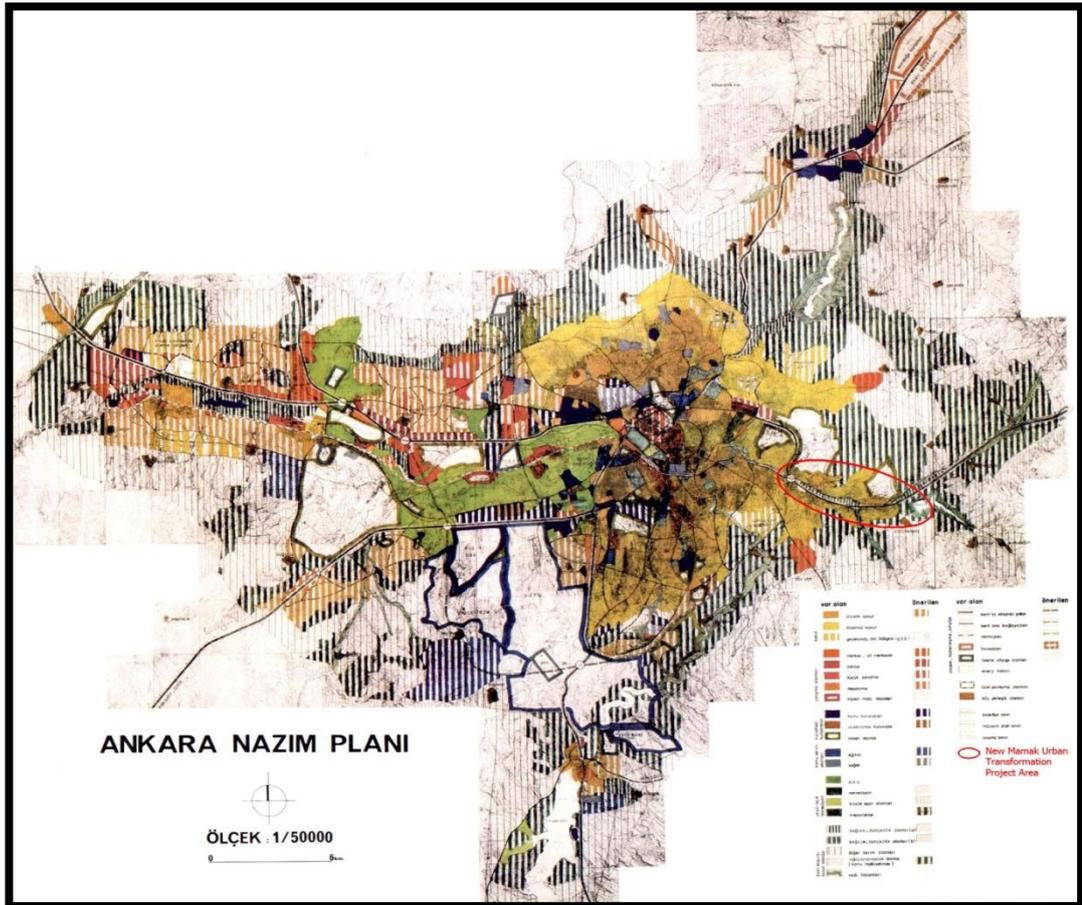


Figure 3.5. 1990 Ankara Master Plan (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara Development and City Planning Department, (2006) 2023 Plan Report)

However, as a result of Law No. 775, to stop the enlargement of gecekondu areas, several locations at the periphery of core were proposed as ‘gecekondu prevention areas’. Yet, although some implementations were made in the clearance and prevention of gecekondus, policies could not be improved to the whole areas (Günay, 2005, 99). For instance, it can be observed that a gecekondu prevention region was proposed at Tuzluçayır in Mamak and Güneşevler district in Keçiören which had not been constructed for years; although at the moment, besides Eserkent, Tuzluçayır and Güneşevler are also offered to people who accept the urban transformation project and want to stay in mass housing areas. Moreover, this plan indicated that Mamak and present project area used to involve mostly regular and irregular settlements which were also partially constituted the residential structure of Derbent at this time. Similarly, gecekondu prevention areas that had been planned to stop irregular settlement were not created for this region. Additionally, plan envisaged viticulture and horticulture fields for areas next to Hatip Çayı between railroad and Samsun Road.

In 1980s, it can be asserted that more than half of the population of Ankara was formed by the people who were born in other cities (Ersoy, 1985, 3). Under this condition, whilst more than 75% of the urban population lived gecekondus in Ankara in 1980, the percentage of the population living in these areas decreased to 60% by 1990 (Uzun, 2005, 186). Under these conditions, while the total urban population increased 371904 to 400733 between 1985 and 1990 in Mamak, the proportion of gecekondu population decreased % 54.7 to % 29.5 (Büyükgöçmen-Sat, 1997). This basically stemmed from the building amnesties and improvement plans that provided legality and transformation or redevelopment capacity to gecekondu areas during 1980s. However, legalization or improvement plans would not become sufficient to transform the areas as it is seen in the New Mamak UTP neighbourhoods due to steep topographic conditions, master plan decisions and lack of state interest. Therefore, residents of gecekondus were not under the pressure of land-speculation nor have they experienced any transformation process after the approval of Improvement Plans in some gecekondu districts (Duyar-Kienast, 2005,

115). Nevertheless, due to the shift from Fordist to post-Fordist mode of production, and shift from supply side to demand side policies, majority of gecekondu dwellers were faced with serious problems such as decline in real wages and unemployment especially from the beginning of 1980s. Brenner & Theodore (2002, 350) explains this process as such:

Faced with the declining profitability of traditional mass-production industries and the crisis of Keynesian welfare policies, national and local states throughout the older industrialized world began, if hesitantly at first, to dismantle the basic institutional components of the post-war settlement and to mobilize a range of policies intended to extend market discipline, competition, and commodification throughout all sectors of society. In this context, neoliberal doctrines were deployed to justify, among other projects, the deregulation of state control over major industries, assaults on organized labour, the reduction of corporate taxes, the shrinking and/or privatization of public services, the dismantling of welfare programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, the intensification of interlocality competition, and the criminalization of the urban poor.

In short, from the beginning of 1980s the hegemony of the capital on urbanization suppressed the urbanization of labour power with the contribution of new political arrangements and economic restructuring (Şengül, 2001, 87).

While the 1990 Ankara Master Plan was in effect, the multi storey buildings which were unlicensed began to rise among gecekondu in Derbent. This pattern can be seen clearly from the map (Figure 3.6) that signified the residential areas according to construction process in Ankara. This indicates that the 1990 Master Plan could not achieve to control gecekondu areas which were began to transform with ‘demolish and build’ or ‘adding new storey to existing one’ process in a various momentum with respect to rent expectation and its differentiation. It is an undeniable truth that beyond the 1990 Plan, the populist policies that were pursued by the governments also facilitated this process year by year. Besides that, especially after 1980s, the increasing demands to the urban land market via large

construction firms instead of small-scale firms or builder-sellers led to replacement of comprehensive planning with project-based local plans (Uzun, 2005, 185). Actually, at the middle of the 1990s Şenyapılı described four main channels for the integration process of gecekondu development into housing market:

The first of them, individual attempts of larger construction firms to build apartment houses on some attractive plots in the inner-city gecekondu areas, almost stop. Instead, they invested in larger construction cooperatives or mass housing projects. Another channel for land development was subdivision by shared title. In this way, illegal ways of appropriating land in gecekondu developments were registered and formalised to some extent. Although the subdivision of land and construction of houses were illegal, purchases approved by a notary gave some kind of security. The third channel that was especially applied in older settlements was the transformation of gecekondu through the build-and-sell method. Lastly, in neighbourhoods, which were not attractive for contractors, family members built an apartment house for their own use. In this case they were involved in the construction process while craftsmen were only hired for limited purposes, for example, for the construction of the foundation and the roof. (as cited in Duyar-Kienast , 2005, 108).

Under these conditions, although the projection of Ankara Master Plan was planned to last till 1990, a structural plan (Figure 3.7) for 2015 was prepared in 1986. Yet, 2015 Plan did not display diverged principles from the 'Ankara 1990 Plan. Although it was not implemented, it purposed development towards north, northeast and south of the city besides west by emphasizing decentralization (Great Municipality of Ankara, 2006, 51). In this plan, Derbent and other neighbourhoods next to it indicated as residential areas as it was in previous plans; yet the areas indicated in 1990 Master Plan for forestation became green belts around the gecekondus to prevent the dispersion of the city. By the way it has to be mentioned that another plan 'Ankara 2025' was proposed but not accepted in 1998. While these plans were being introduced, the population of Mamak became 412771 in 2000 and the excessive housing accrued in low rates. When the 2000 Building

Census and 2000 Population Census are considered, the number of existing flat exceeds the housing need in Mamak district (Yaşar, 2009, 59). Furthermore, due to non-transformation of gecekondu areas, the density remained very low when compared to other regions of Ankara. Within this period, the number of gecekondus was not increased. Moreover, the second generation who achieve to find secure jobs or financial support from his/her family, began to move into apartments at reasonable prices. This basically stemmed from the insufficient state investments into the neighbourhood. According to Building Census 2000 data, among 2141 buildings just ten buildings had been constructed by the public authorities. Among these ten buildings, whilst four of them served for religious usage and three of them provided for educational and cultural usages, the other remaining three are not specified. Although absence of the adequate facilities put people in difficult situations, the strong community relations and dispositions predominantly enable them to stay in these gecekondu neighbourhoods. Therefore, some people especially the first generation, intentionally or not, chose to stay in these gecekondu areas as it is experienced in Derbent Neighbourhood.

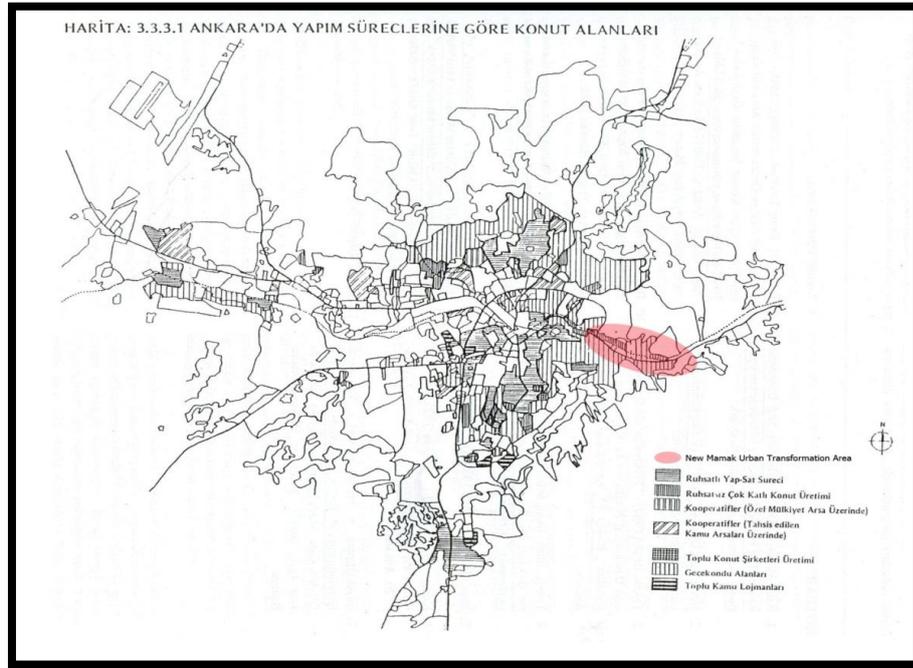


Figure 3.6. Residential Areas According to Construction Process (Source: Altaban, Ö., and et al. (1985), 2015 Ankara'sı için makroform önerisi, 1985'ten 2015'e Ankara, 2015 Ankara Structure Plan report)

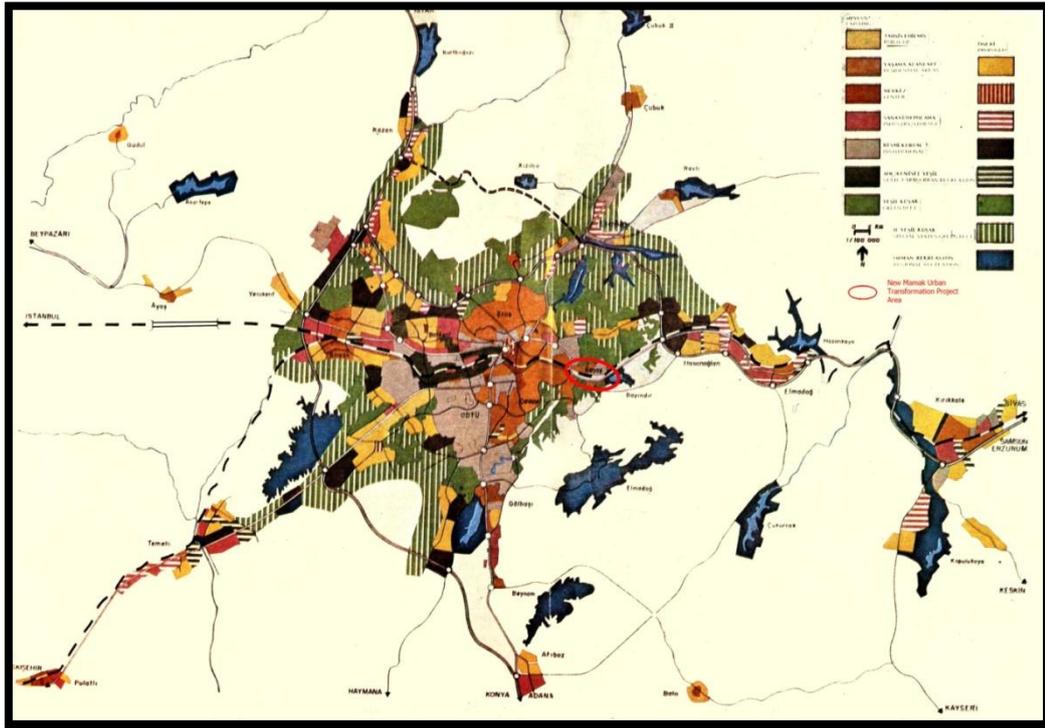


Figure 3.7. Ankara 2015 Structure Plan (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara Development and City Planning Department, (2006) 2023 Plan Report)

In 2004, metropolitan municipalities become responsible to prepare and approve 1/25000 scale plans in two years time from the effective date of this law by Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216. To accomplish this duty, 2023 Plan (Figure 3.8) which is in effect today was approved in 2007. According to the plan report, the goals of this plan are preserving natural, environmental, historical and cultural heritage by pursuing ways of sustainable development, offering a high quality to citizens in all fields of urban life, developing a participatory approach, decreasing the social exclusion and economic inequalities, making Ankara the centre of science, culture, services and preparing Ankara as a global city to the centenary of republic (Greater Municipality of Ankara, 2006, 13). All these flashy phrases seem highly optimistic. According to Yaşar (2010, 88-91) the plan exaggerated the population estimation and opened up new settlement areas which are mostly at south-west part where housing reserve is excessive for upper classes while the eastern part, where mostly lower classes live, suffers from the absence of authorized housing and developed land. This inevitably leads to deepened spatial

and economic disparities among classes which are certainly not mentioned among the goals of plan. Moreover, although the plan report highly emphasized the participatory mechanisms, Greater Municipality of Ankara did not take any contribution of universities and chambers during the preparation process of this plan (Karaburun, 2009, 78).

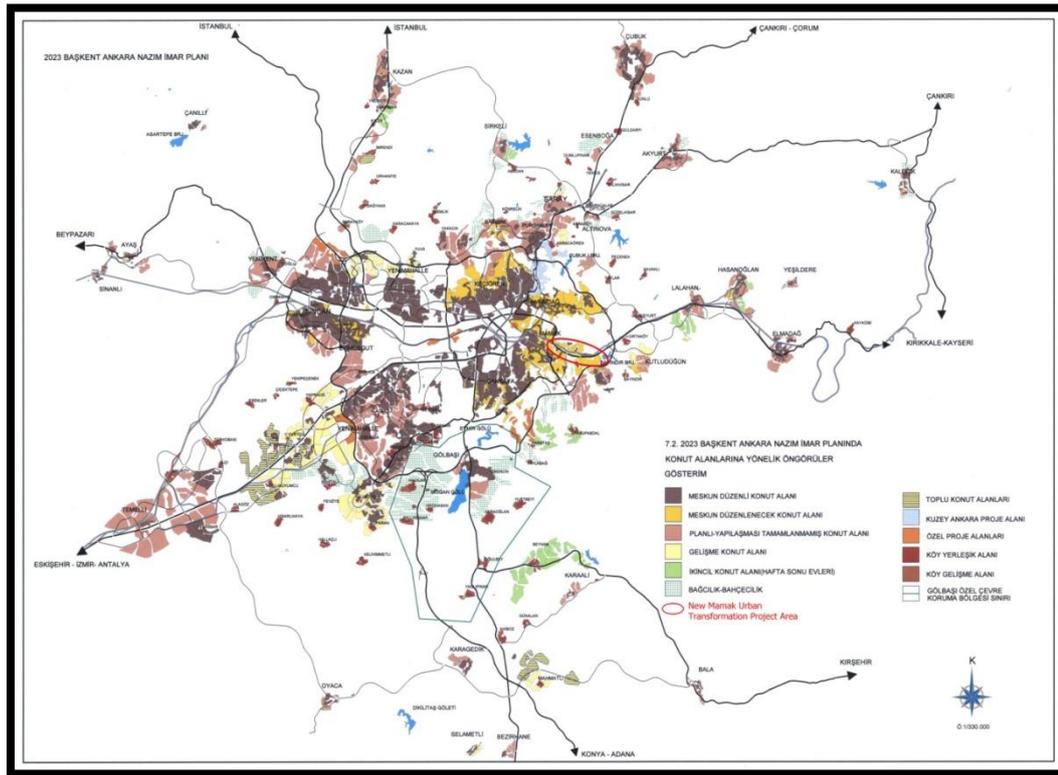


Figure 3.8. Proposal for Residential Areas in 2023 Master Plan (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara Development and City Planning Department, (2006) 2023 Plan Report)

The most significant characteristic of 2023 Plan for this study is being the first plan that directly introduces urban transformation projects in Ankara by development through large projects. Before going into this plan's detail, it is beneficial to shortly indicate the basic premises of urban transformation projects. Brenner and Theodore (2002, 368) mentioned that with the introduction of neoliberal programs that mainly brings deregulation, privatization and liberalization, the cities have become increasingly important geographical targets and institutional laboratories for a variety of neoliberal policy. The cities in Turkey experienced the very same

invasion. Under these conditions, urban transformation projects that have been implemented in different forms all around the world became a powerful instrument with the contribution of local and regional state apparatus. In contrast to discourses of market-led and entrepreneurial activity, the urban transformation (development in the original text) projects are decidedly and almost without exception introduced and often financed by the state (Swyngedouw, et. al., 2002, 556). Mainly the reason of this situation is that the states began to see the construction sector that has direct relation with various sectors as a significant stabilizer for both national and international economies. Therefore, whilst state absorbs risks and costs of land development for the benefit of capitalists, municipalities also justify such interventions by strategically stigmatizing those properties that are targeted for demolition and redevelopment (Weber, 2002, 520). Brenner and Theodore (2002, 362) indicated that the whole process that gained another form under the neoliberal policies is very intrinsic to capitalism's creation and destruction cycle¹⁵ as two dialectically intertwined but analytically distinct moments (Table 3.1). Similarly, Harvey (2008, 33) stated as follows:

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

¹⁵ Creative destruction is a term that basically refers to the destruction of old one and creation of new one with respect to accumulation and annihilation of wealth under capitalism. Although this process is firstly described by Marx, the tem became famous with the contribution of Joseph Schumpeter.

Table 3.1 Creative Destruction Moments with respect to Mechanisms of Neoliberalism¹⁶

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
<i>Restructuring urban housing markets</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Razing public housing and other forms of low rent accommodation • Elimination of rent controls and project based construction subsidies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of new opportunities for speculative investment in central-city real estate markets • Emergency shelters become “warehouses” for the homeless • Introduction of market rents and tenant-based vouchers in low-rent niches of urban housing markets
<i>Transformations of the built environment and urban form</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elimination and/or intensified surveillance of urban public spaces • Destruction of traditional working-class neighborhoods in order to make way for speculative redevelopment • Retreat from community oriented planning initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of new privatized spaces of elite/corporate consumption • Construction of large-scale megaprojects intended to attract corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns • Creation of gated communities, urban enclaves, and other “purified” spaces of social reproduction • “Rolling forward” of the gentrification frontier and the intensification of sociospatial polarization • Adoption of the principle of “highest and best use” as the basis for major land-use planning decisions
<i>Re-representing the city</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Postwar image of the industrial, working-class city is recast through a (re-)emphasis on urban disorder, “dangerous classes,” and economic decline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilization of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation within major metropolitan areas

Source: Brenner and Theodore (2002, 370-372).

Actually, “these projects are the material expression of a developmental logic that views megaprojects and place-marketing as means for generating future growth and for waging a competitive struggle to attract investment capital” (Swyngedouw, et.

¹⁶ The original table in the Brenner and Theodore’s text is shortened due to prevent a possible focus shift.

al., 2002, 551). These projects can be appeared to create business districts, hyper-towers, gentrified neighbourhoods, luxury hotels, marinas and new consumption places. Moreover, as it is observed in the transformation project in Mamak, such large land areas where relatively vulnerable groups in the society live became attractive for the initiators of these neo-liberal policies. According to Harvey (2008, 34) this is

[a] process of displacement and what I call “accumulation by dispossession” also lies at the core of the urban process under capitalism. It is the mirror image of capital absorption through urban redevelopment and is giving rise to all manner of conflicts over the capture of high value land from low income populations that may have lived there for many years.

Consequently, the urban transformation projects that were driven under the 2023 Plan decisions should be evaluated within this context.

Under these conditions, 2023 Plan proposes developing strategic sub-centres integrated with the central business district and using sub-centre developments in gecekondu areas as a driving force for urban transformation process (Karaburun, 2009, 76). According to plan report, for the socio-spatially undesired gecekondu that are in considerable amount, alternative transformation and renewal models should be enhanced beyond the improvement plan mentality. These transformation and renewal projects should give importance to use value of space and satisfy the housing needs within the previous livelihood of the residents in case it is possible. These processes should be dealt as socio-economic and spatial micro-development project by the contribution of whole parties. It has to be mentioned at this point that at the moment there are 45 UTPs are being implemented by Great Municipality of Ankara (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2. Current Urban Transformation Projects in Ankara

Project No	Municipality	Project Name	Neighbourhood-Village, Parcel	Area (Ha)
1	<u>Keçiören</u>	<u>Kuzey Ankara</u>	Şenyuva	11
2	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Çaldağ</u>	Dikmen	320
3	<u>Mamak</u>	<u>Yeni Mamak (New Mamak UTP)</u>	<u>Kayaş, Araplar, Derbent</u>	940
4	<u>Mamak, Çankaya</u>	<u>50. Yıl</u>	Siyasal	116
5	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Lodumlu (Kamu)</u>	Lodumlu	600
6	<u>Çankaya, Mamak</u>	<u>İmrahor Vadisi</u>	Mühye-İmrahor	3560
7	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Mühye Güneypark</u>	Tr.820.902.903	177
8	<u>Çankaya, Gölbaşı</u>	<u>Yakubabdal, Karataş, Yaylabağ</u>	Yakupabdal, Karataş	3600
9	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Dikmen Vadisi 3</u>	Dikmen	29
10	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Dikmen Vadisi 4.5</u>	Dikmen	177
11	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Nasreddin Hoca</u>	9014/1	7.3
12	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Güzeltepe</u>	Mühye	60
13	<u>Altındağ, Y. Mahalle</u>	<u>Merkezi İş Alanı (Central Business District)</u>	İskitler	130
14	<u>Keçiören</u>	<u>Aliminyumcular</u>	Ovacık	80
15	<u>Y.Mahalle, Keçiören</u>	<u>Kasalar</u>	Kasalar	230
16	<u>Etimesgut</u>	<u>Göksu</u>	Susuz	550
17	<u>Mamak</u>	<u>Doğukent</u>	Kusunlar	758
18	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Şirindere</u>	Karakusunlar	13.7
19	<u>Altındağ</u>	<u>İsmetpaşa</u>	Ulus	13
20	<u>Gölbaşı</u>	<u>İncek, Taşpınar, Kızılcaşar</u>	K.şar.T.Pmar, İncek	2235
21	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>TOBB Lodumlu</u>	5502/1	14.3
22	<u>Yenimahalle</u>	<u>TOBB Söğütözü</u>	7638.9958.2096/20	43.7
23	<u>Altındağ</u>	<u>Atıfbey-Hıdırlıktepe</u>	Ulus	116
24	<u>Yenimahalle</u>	<u>BHA-Hipodrum</u>	Fen İşleri	20
25	<u>Karaali</u>	<u>Beynam</u>	Beynam	633.2
26	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Çankaya Ahlatlıbel (Anayasa Mhk.)</u>	Yalıncağ	6.3
27	<u>Keçiören</u>	<u>Yükseltepe -Taşlıtepe</u>	Yükseltepe	108.0
28	<u>Yenimahalle</u>	<u>Saklıkent</u>	Karacakaya, Susuz	125
29	<u>Gölbaşı</u>	<u>Mevlana Kapı</u>	Karaoğlan	300
30	<u>Altındağ</u>	<u>Şükriye Mah.</u>	Ulucanlar	19.7
31	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Tanyeli Kavşağı</u>	Konya Yolu	9.6
32	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Semazen KDGPA</u>	Karakusunlar	6.4
33	<u>Gölbaşı</u>	<u>Güneykent</u>	Tulu mtaş	3000
34	<u>Ankara</u>	<u>TCDD Güzergahı</u>	Sincan-Mamak	5935
35	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Dikmen Vadisi I.II</u>	Dikmen	259
36	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Anadolu Bulvarı</u>	Esk.Yolu (ODTÜ)	5
37	<u>Keçiören</u>	<u>Kuzey Ankara girişi</u>	Keçiören etabı	11
38	<u>Altındağ</u>	<u>Ulus TKM Yenileme A.(5366)</u>	Ulus	210
39	<u>Çankaya</u>	<u>Çukuranbar</u>	Balgat	235
40	<u>Gölbaşı</u>	<u>Bilkent</u>	Karagedik	1669
41	<u>Yenimahalle</u>	<u>Temakent</u>	Ballıkuyumcu	2860
42	<u>Yenimahalle</u>	<u>İstanbul yolu</u>	Susuz	365
43	<u>Yenimahalle</u>	<u>Tilkiler Çiftliği</u>	Macun	25.63
44	<u>Yenimahalle</u>	<u>Batıkent</u>	Kent merkezi	107.9
45	<u>Sincan</u>	<u>Fatih</u>	Ayaş yolu	220

Source: Great Municipality of Ankara web-site

2023 Plan report stated that the eastern part of the city where the New Mamak UTP located in is the most unequal region among others in terms of socio-economic indicators. Additionally, it is mentioned that Mamak where gecekondu settlement is dense and has serious problems related to unauthorized and insufficient housing, alternative transformation and renewal interventions should be directed by public authorities. Therefore, plan proposed immediate intervention to develop this area by putting aside the improvement plans that have not brought any solution to unevenly developed gecekondu areas (Greater Municipality of Ankara, 2006, 622-630). To prove this statement, ‘analysis of population, dwelling and approved plan’ is pointed out to indicate the density difference between current situation and consequence of improvement plans (Table 3.3). At this point it has to be stated that the improvement plans of New Mamak UTP neighbourhoods were accepted between 1984 and 1996, and they had been in effect till the UTP took effect. The reasons why the improvement plans for Mamak could not get realized according to the municipality authorities and the real-estate agents are the same; the partial type of property relations and the inefficiency of development rights for the constructors on a rugged topography (Tuçaltan, 2008, 61). Therefore, the Plan proposed transformation while organizing all unorganized and undeveloped residential areas which comprise the almost whole residential pattern of New Mamak UTP.

The urban transformation areas are labelled with ‘KD’ within this plan as it is same for New Mamak UTP. The boundaries of project are also indicated with the green dashed lines (Figure 3.9). Its region is labelled as special planning zone which requires special model creation processes and sensitive urban design practices while dealing with these kinds of areas (Greater Municipality of Ankara, 2006, 710). Furthermore, the plan envisaged within the project area parks and highly limited urban working area and recreation area surrounding Hatip Çayı addition to residential areas in the absence of specified any public service areas.

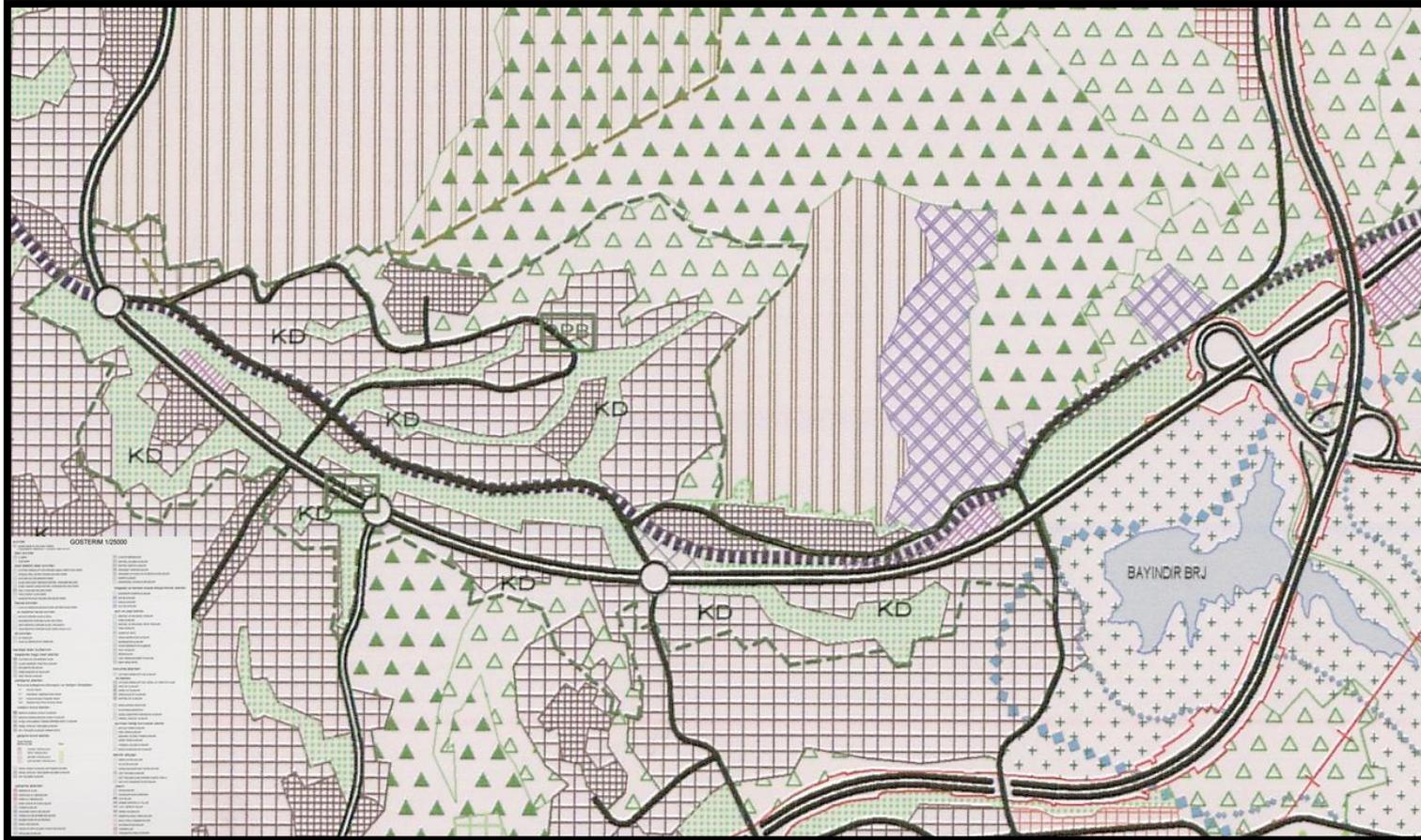


Figure 3.9. New Mamak UTP Area in 2023 Master Plan (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara Development and City Planning Department, 2023 Plan Report, 2006)

Table 3.3. Analysis of Population, Dwelling and Approved Plan in New Mamak UTP Neighbourhoods (Data of Fahri Korutürk Neighbourhood is not mentioned in report) Source: Great Municipality of Ankara Development and City Planning Department, 2023 Plan Report, 2006, p. 631.

Neighbourhood				Built-up Area			Empty Field					Gecekondu						Total Area Population	Difference
Name	Area (ha)	Population	Household Size	Area (ha)	Population	Density (Ha/Person)	Unplanned	Planned and Developed				Number of Unit	Population	Area (ha)	Density (current)	Density (improvement plan)	Population (improvement plan)		
							Area (ha)	Non Residential Area (ha)	Residential Area	Density (Ha/Person)	Population								
Derbent	162	11245	4,05	9	2945	335	0	51	0	0	0	2050	8299	103	81	335	34314	37260	26015
Araplar	526	2612	4,11	2	554	346	0	499	0	0	0	501	2058	25	82	246	8671	9225	6613
Dostlar	122	11250	4,27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2634	11250	122	92	340	41536	41536	30285
Kayaş	285	4702	3,9	12	3141	257	0	253	0	0	0	400	1561	20	78	257	5150	8291	3589
Köstence	62	5769	4,3	2	636	303	0	0	0	0	0	1194	5133	60	86	303	18083	18719	12950
Tepecik	221	6946	3,94	3	791	247	0	148	0	0	0	1561	6155	70	88	247	17357	18148	11202
Üreğil	315	2283	4,2	0	0	0	0	298	0	0	0	338	1419	17	84	163	2747	2747	464
Dutluk	47	5660	4,09	8	2460	296	0	0	0	0	0	782	3201	39	82	296	11586	14046	8386
Şirintepe	44	5579	3,99	3	937	302	0	0	0	0	0	1162	4641	41	114	302	11294	13231	7652
Misket	60	6142	3,91	5	1147	221	0	0	0	0	0	1278	4994	55	91	221	12125	13272	7131
K. Kayaş	123	8713	4,22	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	2063	8713	113	77	250	28366	28366	19653
Şahap G.	272	10171	4,57	2	473	236	0	134	0	0	0	2121	9698	136	71	236	32076	32549	22378
Yeşilbayır	236	12665	4,34	0	0	0	0	90	0	0	0	2917	12665	146	87	236	34464	34464	21799

It is expected that the features between New Mamak UTP and this plan are cohesive since both were planned at the same time and prepared by the same authority; however in terms of population estimation, there is an obvious controversy between the plan and project. The population of eastern planning region was 426.000 in 2000 and it is planned as 900.000 for 2023. In 2010, the population is approximately 550.000 for the centre of Mamak (Figure 3.10). Nevertheless, just with the New Mamak UTP, there will be additional at least 150.000 residents in eastern region. Besides this project there are six more UTPs¹⁷ and other so called prestigious projects¹⁸ in Mamak. Therefore, whether this population estimation is wrong or it is not expected that this amount of people will come to this region. Moreover, UTP excludes some gecekondu areas lying next to its boundaries without any explanation. This brings questions to mind that the boundaries were drawn according to which planning principle. Therefore, this may both create transformation pressure on these gecekondu and give harm to the legitimacy of the project in the eye of people due to unequal treatment.

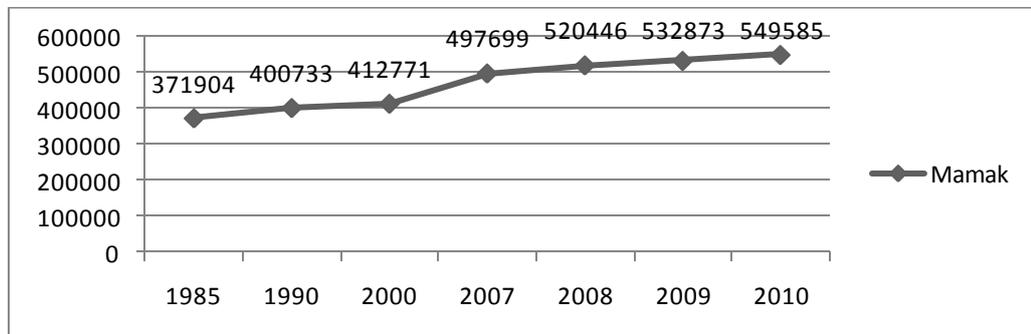


Figure 3.10. Census of Population for Mamak Centre (1985-2010) (Source: TSI)

Under these conditions, after the urban transformation project had been declared in 2005, construction prohibition and gecekondu demolitions were initiated. This inevitably led to moving tendency among relatively wealthy owners, tenants and

¹⁷ These are namely '50. Yıl UTP', 'Durali Alıç UTP', 'Ege UTP', 'Hüseyin Gazi UTP', 'Kazım Orbay UTP', 'Yatık Musluk UTP (Altnevler)'.

¹⁸ These are namely 'Ship Trade Centre', 'Gülveren Trade Centre', 'Şafaktepe Residence and Trade Centre', 'Wedding Hall and Congress Centre' and '41 storey trade centre'. The details about these projects are indicated following sections.

employed second generation from the area. Eventually, they were replaced with underclass and low paid tenants in the course of time. However, residents who do not want to give up their habits and rituals, decided to wait or resist against the authority. Present socio-cultural and economic conditions of the project area are indicated within the field research section in detail.

3.2. Projections of New Mamak Urban Transformation Project

The New Mamak UTP that is launched as the largest urban transformation project in Turkey concerns fourteen neighbourhoods and thirteen project stages where lie next or near Samsun Road (Figure 3.11 and Figure 3.12). These neighbourhoods include one storey gecekondus, few multi storey apartments, small and medium sized enterprises and basic public service buildings such as schools and mosques. Although the demographic characteristics of this region will be elaborated while Derbent Neighbourhood is being examined, at this point it has to be mentioned that mostly lower and lower middle classes live in these neighbourhoods. These people had migrated and settled to the region from especially eastern part of the Turkey since 1950s. They mainly have earned and still earning their lives mostly via irregular and informal works. Just few residents have broken the vicious circle of poverty in these neighbourhoods.

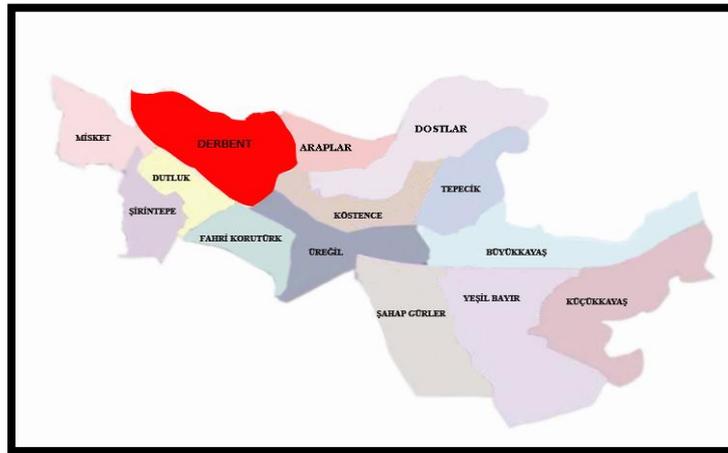


Figure 3.11. Boundaries of New Mamak UTP Neighbourhoods (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara New Mamak UTP Coordination Centre)

Under these conditions, it is stated by the Greater Municipality of Ankara that within this project, approximately 14.000 gecekondü that cause undesired image and close to collapse due to subsidence of ground will be demolished and 50.000 houses will be constructed over approximately 950 hectare land. While %50 of gecekondü residents have title deed, almost %25 has tapu-tahsis¹⁹ document and the rest has no legal document (Figure 3.13). Although this area mostly belongs to persons, Great Municipality of Ankara, Mamak Municipality, Treasury and State Railways also have significant share (Figure 3.14). Officers also stated that there are approximately 20.000 right holders within project boundaries. This basically stems from the co-ownership on lands.

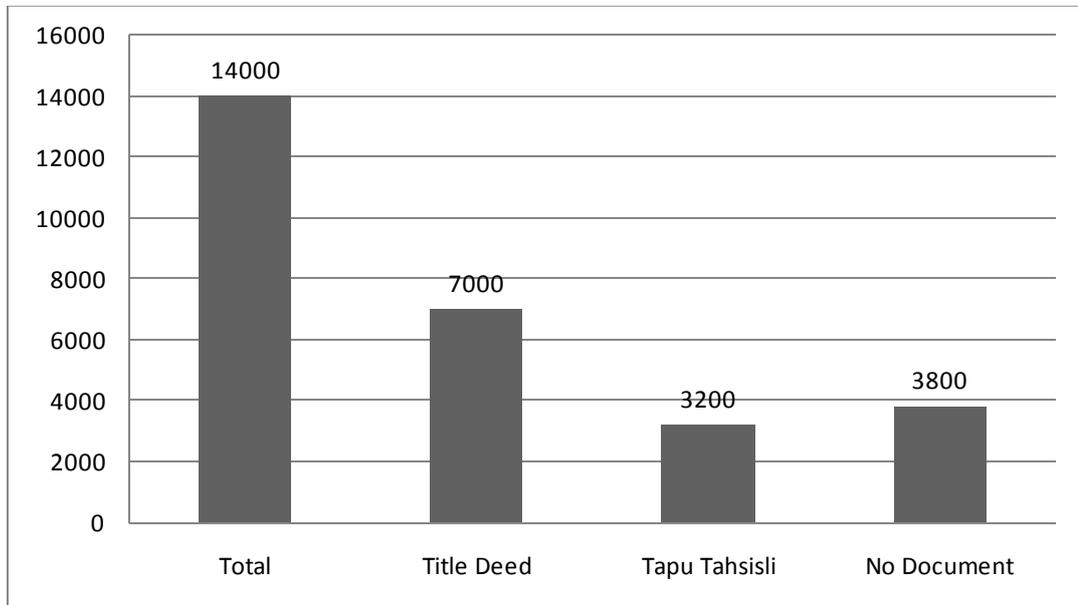


Figure 3.13. Tenure-Ownership Status Distribution in New Mamak UTP (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara New Mamak UTP Coordination Centre)

¹⁹ “According to the zoning law, a tapu tahsis document guarantees a future de jure property right, either to the property that they ‘own’ occupy’ or to another dwelling built elsewhere. If a gecekondü area receives a formal plan, then the tapu tahsis documents may be turned into formal tapus (deeds)”. (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010, 1497).

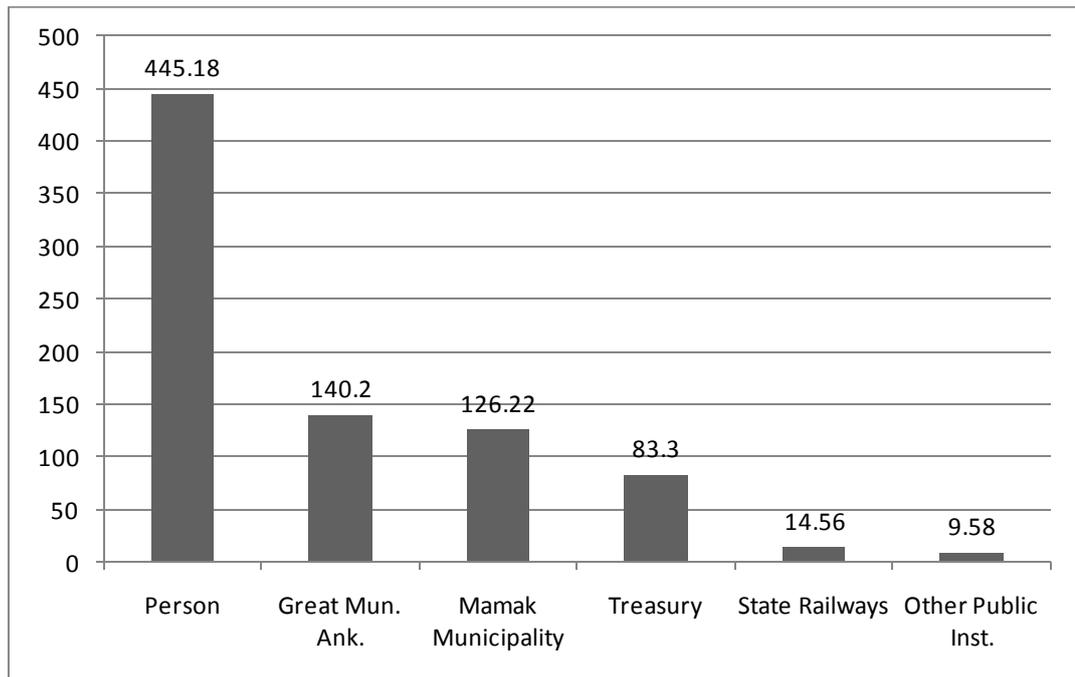


Figure 3.14. Distribution of Land Ownership (ha) in New Mamak UTP (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara New Mamak UTP Coordination Centre)

As a result of project, population over 200000 is envisaged for this region by the authority. The areas next to the Samsun Road will be commercial centres which are expected to bring economic boom to the region. In total, there will be 500 commercial centres, sports complexes, library, health clinic, and care homes, parks for children and adults, green areas, security services, recreation areas, university and education campuses and state hospital at least with 400 beds within the project area besides the houses and previously existing public buildings. It is also stated by the officials that the high slope and geologically inconvenient lands were planned as parks and recreation areas where spread %60 of the project (Figure 3.15 and Figure 3.16). However it has to be mentioned that due to limited constructible area, the apartments' storey number exceeds twenty. Furthermore, officials mentioned that Derbent Neighbourhood was chosen as a first stage due to appropriateness to construction and closeness to Samsun Road.

The authority's arguments behind the project can be summarized as eliminating the visual pollution, clearing unplanned areas, enhancing quality of environment, reaching better, healthier and higher life conditions. It is claimed that the project

will bring planned urbanization appropriate to 21st century to the region. Moreover, the authority also pointed out the insufficiency of improvement plans to transform this region where lower rents became chronic in. It is claimed that municipality targeted to make people owner of a house by solving occupiers' ownership problems and providing rights to people who have not benefited from the tapu-tahsis rights. All these assertions on both built environment and socio-economic conditions are raised to legitimize this enormous project which directly concerns approximately 50.000 people's lives.

Project is mainly undertaken and financed by Great Municipality of Ankara; yet Mamak Municipality played essential role during the project preparation. Great Municipality of Ankara expects 1 billion Turkish Lira revenues from the project at last according to pre-report prepared by 'Öncü Urban Transformation Company'. Thirty percent of the total houses will be given to Great Municipality and the remaining portion will be taken by the contractor company. Although most of the UTPs in Turkey are undertaken by TOKİ (Housing Development Administration of Turkey), especially where the rents are low, for New Mamak UTP a partnership between municipalities and TOKİ has not been issued. The reason behind this situation is explained by the person, who is in charge, as insufficient capacity and poor quality buildings of TOKİ. Even though this assertion seems highly convenient when the residential areas built for the lower classes and TOKİ's failure to complete the task on time are considered, it should be noted that the municipality wants to hold the rent distribution position within this project. Besides the insufficiency of TOKİ, this can be pointed as another reason that justifies the exclusion of TOKİ from this project.



Figure 3.15. Pre Urban Design of Project on location of New Mamak UTP (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara New Mamak UTP Coordination Centre)

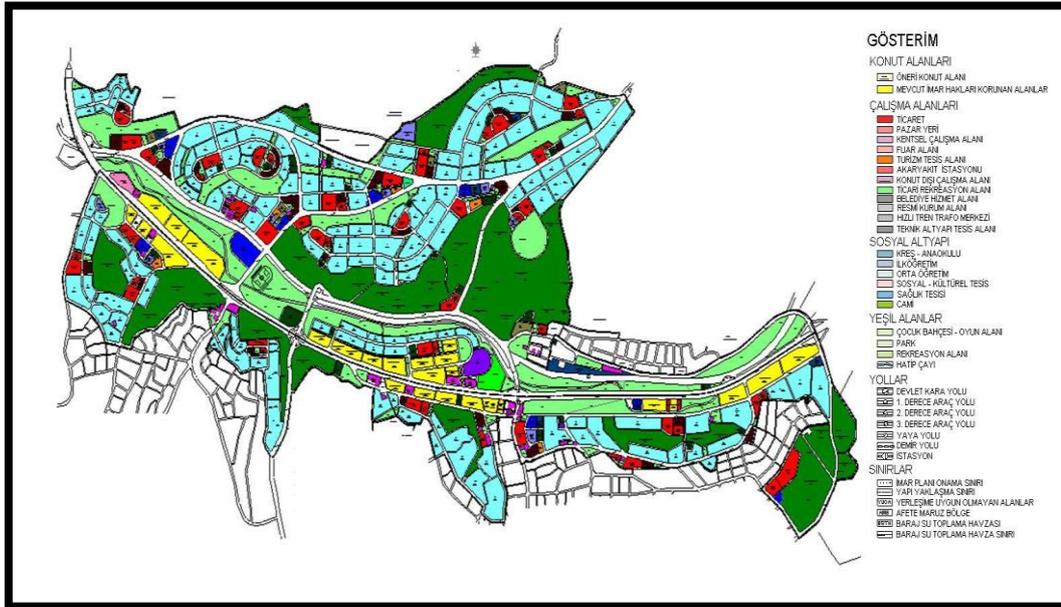


Figure 3.16. Approved Development Plan of New Mamak UTP (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara New Mamak UTP Coordination Centre)

Within this project, the beneficiaries, who have title deed or tapu-tahsis document, have chance to prefer whether to receive rent aid or to stay at Eserkent, Tuzluçayır and Güneşevler Mass Housing Areas without paying any rent until they get their pledged houses in case there is vacant house available. Among these mass housing areas under the authority of Great Municipality of Ankara Eserkent (Figure 3.17

and Figure 3.18) is the most preferred one by residents from both New Mamak UTP and other UTPs such as Dikmen, Northern Ankara due to the centrally heating system via natural gas which is absent in other areas.



Figure 3.17. High rise apartment blocks of Eserkent Mass Housing Area behind the gecekondu (Source: Personal Archive)



Figure 3.18. A view from Eserkent Mass Housing Area (Source: Personal Archive)

At this point it is essential to go in detail about Eserkent Mass Housing Area where is located in the boundaries of Araplar Neighbourhood. Firstly, it has to be mentioned that this complex was not built for the sake of UTP beneficiaries. In 2003, TOKİ and Great Municipality of Ankara partnership finished Eserkent buildings that involves 1200 rental residential unit for low income, homeless, and widow and orphans at the cost of symbolic 1 TL in return. Within 65 thousands square meter area, there are 20 blocks that comprise 1 room and 1 hall and 2 rooms and 1 hall houses and one social facility. At first, 11 thousand applications had been made to this social facility that has supermarket, restaurant, barber shop, fitness centre, sports courts, ping-pong and pool tables, meeting rooms, a library and recreation areas in it. Besides that it is mentioned that there is 24 hour health and social services staff ("Dargelirliler için 1," 2003). When the project had begun, the aim of Eserkent Mass Housing Area was transformed and chosen as a residential area for UTP beneficiaries from all around Ankara. In the course of time this complex became a long lasting living area for people due to uncompleted UTPs. There are people who have lived for six or seven years in this isolated area²⁰. Under these conditions to satisfy the basic needs of these residents, direct public bus services, an elementary school and a family life centre opened in Eserkent in 2010. The family centre is launched as the seventh largest one in Ankara. Within this family centre, which was built on 200 square meters, there are children's clubs, youth centres, and club houses to serve the disabled and elderly. In Children's Clubs, children between 7-14 ages benefit from activities such as the coin-operated toys, computers and free internet services, movie theatre, English, chess, painting, wrestling and gymnastic courses. In Youth Center part, young people between 14-25 ages can benefit from table tennis, table football, billiards, fitness, computers, unlimited internet access, cinema hall and they can also participate English, chess, wrestling, painting and gymnastic courses. In the elderly Club House, elderly people can spent their time with internet, listening music, painting and various social activities. Elderly people can chat, make shows and

²⁰ The opinions of Eserkent residents about this mass housing area are mentioned within the field research part of this thesis.

watch movie in this part. The disabled people can make various social, enjoyable activities that are appropriate for their mental and physical problems under the control of experts ("Ankara'ya yeni bir," 2010). At the moment, according to the headman of Araplar Neighbourhood, approximately 5000 people are living in Eserkent Mass Housing Area of Great Municipality of Ankara. Within this population almost 500 families moved into this area from Derbent and Araplar Neighbourhood. The rest of them are from Dikmen fourth and fifth UTP stages and Northern Ankara UTP Neighbourhoods. The outcomes of this complexity will be indicated and evaluated during the field research section.

3.3. Implementation Principles of Project

In this part, the implementation principles that define agreement conditions between municipality and beneficiaries are covered to understand people's attitudes towards the project. Although the project had been changed several times due to court decisions since it was initialized in 2005, the recent principles of project are indicated in this part. The changes and legal process are explained in the following part.

The decision²¹ taken by Great Municipality of Ankara in 2008 on New Mamak UTP regulates the implementation principles with respect to approved 1/1000 development plan. According to implementation principles house contract will be held with everyone who has structure on his/her titled immovable without considering land size within project area. However, authority will not make any agreement for the lands that are under 100 m² developed lands and 167 m² undeveloped lands. Nevertheless, small share owners can joint their lands to get house. On the one hand, the beneficiaries who has title deed on developed land have to disclaim from their 200 m² land for 80 m² house, 250 m² land for 100 m² house and 300 m² land for 120 m² house without any debt. On the other hand the beneficiaries who has title deed on undeveloped land should have 333,30 m² land

²¹ Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 1811.

for 80 m² house, 416,60 m² land for 100 m² house and 500 m² land for 120 m² house. Moreover, within project area the owners of immovable that has side to Samsun Road and the owners of title deeds whose land were registered as commercial land in former plan able to take 40 m² workplace equivalent to their 200 m² developed land and 333,30 m² undeveloped land. The beneficiaries who demands to benefit from these provisions able to become indebted for their lacking land by paying 120 TL/m² for developed land and 72 TL/m² for undeveloped land within 48 months with equal instalments. Alternatively, title holders able to sell their developed lands for 200 TL/m² and undeveloped ones for 120 TL/m² to the municipality. These quittances are paid in advance to the beneficiary. Another sentence stated that after that assembly decision, any title deed share that leads to increase number of given residence will not be issued within agreements. Additionally, the developed lands owners who want to sign a contract to obtain larger residence should have at least %51 of the difference between two residents' land equivalent²². Otherwise, for the exceeding land, there will not be a contract for additional residence and this land is bought by municipality by paying in advance. A beneficiary who once deals with municipality cannot make any other agreement for more houses with his/her bought or inherited land after initial agreement. These lands will be added to the initial contract and bought by municipality. The beneficiaries who agreed with municipality to take more than one residence and become indebted have to perform his/her contractual liability within first month after the conciliation commission agreed on the debt. People who fulfil their obligations will get residences within project area by drawing lots. One of the most significant and controversial article in this document is about the validity of contract between parties. The municipality has right to terminate the contract unilaterally in case of the beneficiaries do not meet their liabilities. The equivalents of structures or buildings determined by Appraisal Commission depending on the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement issued unit prices will be given to owner in advance or taken for his/her debt by municipality. The people who signed the contract should

²² For example while 226 m² developed land owner has chance to buy 100 m² house, 224 m² developed land become insufficient for it.

transfer his/her rights on title deed to Great Municipality of Ankara and left to the municipality without any tax debt on electricity, water, natural gas and real estate. The gecekondü owners who have tapu-tahsis document depending on the Building Amnesty Law no. 2981²³ will be provided 80 m² house for their 320 m² land and 100 m² house for their 400 m² land without any debt. The payment of lacking land of beneficiaries who has tapu-tahsis document and whose land are smaller than 400 m² will be calculated depending on the 80 m² residence's construction cost 482 TL/m². The %10 equivalence of gecekondü debris that is determined by Appraisal Commission will be subtracted from the remaining debt and this debt will be paid to the municipality with equal instalments in 72 months after one month from the contract date. Similarly, the people who are indebt within the scope of Law no. 2981 will pay 30 TL/m² to the municipality with equal instalments in 72 months. Furthermore, these tapu tahsis holders can give up their rights by selling both their building's debris to the equivalent of its %10 and their land to the equivalent of 30 TL/m² to the municipality. When it comes to the gecekondü people who could not benefit from the building amnesties, Housing Development Administration (Toplu Konut İdaresi-TOKİ), Great Municipality of Ankara or Mamak Municipality will allocate residences outside the project area to these people. However, they should certify their real estate tax records that were present before the announcement of "Hatip Çaylı, Samsun Yolu Kentsel Gelişim ve Dönüşüm Projesi" in 2005. Besides that %10 of their debris cost will be subtracted from the remaining debt which will be paid according to the related authorities' decision. It is mentioned that the beneficiaries who agreed to sign the contract with municipality can choose whether to take 250 TL rent aid which is adjusted by municipal board every year or demand to be transferred to the municipality's mass housing areas. The debris of the buildings will be given to the owners in case they demand it. Moreover, barter is possible between the beneficiaries land within the project area and municipality's land outside the project area under the acceptance of municipal board. Another article stated that the expropriation decision²⁴ of Great Municipality of Ankara will

²³ This building amnesty law that formalizes the illegal settlements became effective in 1984.

²⁴ Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 1349 on 14.05.2008

not be implemented from this decision taking effect in New Mamak Urban Transformation Project for the immovable that are sold or exchanged within project area because of causing possible ownership problems. However, the lands and facilities will be expropriated according to law²⁵ unless the owners of them accept to deal with the municipality within given time.

These are the basic principles that regulate the agreement conditions between municipality and residents. With these provisions the municipality tried to keep the providing houses at minimum level. Moreover, the price differences in favour of beneficiaries in exchange, rent aid, long term payments and debris cost are introduced to hasten the process.

3.4. Current Situation in the Project

The New Mamak UTP still maintains its importance; although new, larger and conspicuous UTPs are introduced. As it is mentioned before at the moment there are 45 UTPs are being implemented by Great Municipality of Ankara. However, none of them, except New Mamak UTP, directly influences large number of people whose life conditions are reshaped in terms of social, economical, cultural and spatial aspects by a state intervention.

The acquired numbers in projects on 25 October 2010 are indicated that although municipality attained seventy percent of total project area, the number of gecekondü owner who accepted the circumstances is almost twenty five percent of total number (Table 3.4). The number of demolished gecekondü is lower than the agreement number due to lack of available and appropriate houses in Eserkent Mass Housing Area. These people's houses marked with cross to make them visible till the demolishment day (Figure 3.19).

²⁵ Expropriation Law no. 4650 that amending Law no. 2942



Figure 3.19. A gecekondü that will be demolished in close future (Source: Personal Archive)

Table 3.4. The acquired numbers within the project at the date of 25 October 2010

Total Project Area	950 Ha
Total Title Deed Registered Project Area	733 Ha
Agreed Area in return House Equivalent	634 Ha
Total Public Assets in Project Area	301.60 Ha
Total Private Assets in Project Area	431.40 Ha
Area of Immovable Involving Construction Servitude²⁶	4.91 Ha
Total Agreed Area of Persons	111.80 Ha
Number of Agreed Person	4404 Persons
Total Not Agreed Area	319.60 Ha
Expropriation Lawsuit Issued Area	None
Number of House and Workplace will be Distributed	
Workplace (40 m2)	240 Unit
80 m2	725 Unit
100 m2	3693 Unit
120 m2	1002 Unit
TOTAL	5660 Unit
Number of Gecekondu in Project Area	13750 Unit
Agreed Number of Gecekondu	3441 Unit
Number of Demolished Gecekondu	1675 Unit
Total Payment Made by Municipality	59,840,439.-TL
Rent Payment Made by Municipality	5,324,580.-TL
Equivalent Received by Municipality	31,486,835.-TL
Number of Allocated Mass Housing	521 Unit
Accrued Payment (Rent Payment Included)	49,358,368.-TL

Source: Great Municipality of Ankara New Mamak UTP Coordination Centre

²⁶ (According to Turkish Condominium Law no. 634, third article, construction servitude is a kind of servitude that is linked to the share in the land, which is transformed ex-officio into a condominium ownership according to the conditions stated in this Law, and on the basis of an occupancy permit that would be issued for the whole building. This process can be carried out upon request of the owner of the land or of any one of the shared owner that hold a construction servitude).

Another issue that has to be emphasised is the envisaged number of given houses. According to municipality's calculation, 5660 unit houses will be provided to gecekondü owners in total. This means that approximately %30 of the gecekondü residents can get a house within this project. Although according to latest inquiry, there are some efforts to increase this number, to provide more houses to people, this inevitably leads to increase the density in the project area. The responsible ones from the municipality mentioned that the number of constructed houses should approach to 70000 to meet both demands and expenses within the project. This means that whether apartment's storey number will be increased or the project plan will be distorted and new apartments will be added to the project plan. Yet, due to limited constructible area increases in numbers of storeys seem more possible.

The first stage of the project was started on 15th of March just before the local government election that was held on 2009 in Üreğil District. Due to the construction beginning in Derbent, upper level politicians such as State Minister and also Deputy Prime Minister Cemil Çiçek, Great Municipality Mayor Melih Gökçek, Mamak Municipality Mayor Gazi Şahin, JDP (Justice and Development Party) Ankara deputy Salih Kapusuz, Zeynep Dağı and JDP's Mamak Municipality candidate for the local government election Mesut Akgül and many bureaucrats and people participated to the ceremony. In first stage of the project there would be 4 blocks, total 260 houses, each one comprises 3 rooms and 1 hall within 100 m² net area. Besides that car lots, a volleyball court, basketball court, children's play areas are also included to the first stage (Figure 3.20). Although these buildings are almost finished and municipality claims that these houses are distributed to the beneficiaries in Derbent District, the beneficiaries almost have no consistent ideas between each other. However, municipality believes that the rising buildings encourage people to accept the agreement. Conversely, Headman of Derbent Neighbourhood Nazım Karahan said that these buildings within the urban transformation project were officially unauthorized and rising on the water course that has potential for floods and disaster to the gecekondü residents and buildings around it. He stated that he made a petition on these controversial issues to the Mamak Municipality (Uludağ, 2009, October 9).



Figure 3.20. First Stage Constructions in Derbent (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara New Mamak UTP Coordination Centre)

Another controversial issue is the expenses that increasingly rise day by day to fulfil agreement requirements such as ‘rent aid’, ‘debris and land equivalents’ and ‘natural gas expenses in Eserkent’. The monthly rent aid was increased to 275 TL for 2010 and according to the related officer from Great Municipality of Ankara, 1500 families are getting rent aid. This number is higher than the people’s number who chose to live in Eserkent Mass Housing Area due to large number of households and insufficient 2 rooms and 1 hall houses. Moreover, every year various but significant amount of money is allocated for the natural gas expenses of Eserkent (Table 3). Additionally, some people who agreed with municipality claimed that they could not get their money equivalent of land or debris. Therefore, these all indicate that the municipality can face a financial distress in this project in case of absence of adequate financial resources.

Table 3.5. Expenses and Budget Allocated Money for Natural Gas in Eserkent Mass Housing Area

Year	Expenses	Budget Allocated Money
2006	220.000 TL	70.000 TL
2007	690.000 TL	80.000 TL
2008	810.000 TL	990.000 TL
2009	120.000 TL	946.000 TL
2010	300.000 TL	1.200.000 TL

Source: Great Municipality of Ankara Estate and Condemnation Department

On the other hand, authorized officer from Mamak Municipality mentioned that Great Municipality of Ankara lost its initiator position in project in the course of time even if the required expenses are met by them. Therefore, Mamak Municipality began to take more responsibility to find alternative financial sources to implement project. Under this condition, Mamak Municipality has being tried to acquire subsidy from international organizations to carry out the project during the time of this research. This financial shortage both aggravates the implementation of project and force municipality to make concessions to large scale developers or international organizations by giving them more construction rights to make more attractive the project.

At this point, besides the significant disagreement among parties on project's basic premises, it seems that financial issues lead to critical controversies during the implementation of project. Long lasting project will be both discredited by agreed parties and increasingly resisted by opposing parties. This will inevitably reveal the social and political polarizations.

3.5. Legal Aspects of Urban Transformation Projects in Turkey and in Mamak

In this section, firstly the legal statute of the urban transformation projects in Turkey will be indicated; then the legal process that was experienced in Mamak will be covered under the light of municipalities and courts decisions.

The first urban transformation project (UTP) that resembles its contemporary kinds can be indicated as Dikmen and Portakal Çiçeği Valley Projects initiated in 1989. Although before this project many laws²⁷ that can be indicated as legal basis of UTPs were enacted, this implementation was seen as just a rare initiative of Great Municipality of Ankara and private sector partnership due to absence of clear cut definitions in laws. More than a decade later, with the reign of Justice and

²⁷ Municipal Law no. 307 in 1963, Condominium Law no. 634 in 1965, Gecekondu Law no. 775 in 1966, Land Office Law no. 1164 in 1969, amendments on Development Law no. 6785 in 1972, Law no. 2863 concerning the urban renewal, conservation, renovation, rehabilitation activities and works for cultural and natural heritage in 1983, Expropriation Law no. 2942 in 1983, Law no. 2981 Procedures for the buildings against the Reconstruction and Shanty Law and the law amending an article of law no. 6785 Reconstruction Law in 1984, Mass Housing Law no. 2985 in 1984, Municipal Law no 3030 in 1984, Development Law no. 3194 in 1985, five development amnesties targeted mainly gecekondu areas (Laws no. 2805, 2981, 3290, 3366, 3414) between 1983 and 1988 (Ataöv & Osmay, 66).

Development Party that came to power in 2002, whole urban transformation process hastened and new legal steps were taken. Firstly in 2003, new functions²⁸ were added to Housing and Development Law²⁹. One year later, a special law³⁰ was enacted in TGNA (Turkish Grand National Assembly) to transform Northern Ankara Entrance region in order to beautify the view and physical environment under the claim of providing better living conditions to gecekondu people. Moreover, in 2004 broader authority³¹ was given to Housing Development Administration of Turkey (Türkiye Toplu Konut İdaresi-TOKİ) in urban transformation processes³². Another endeavour was introducing a direct article concerning urban transformation to the municipality and metropolitan municipality law. Under the title of ‘urbanization and development areas’ by article 73th, the scope and legal base of urban transformation was introduced in Law no. 5215 Municipal Law which was vetoed by president. However, Metropolitan Municipality Law³³ which was prepared at the very same time took effect and gave reference³⁴ to the Municipal Law that was not in force. The next municipal law³⁵ again involved the article concerning the urban transformation. Although this municipal law was annulled by Constitutional Court decision in 2005, the 73th

²⁸ Among many new functions the most important one that is related to our issue is ‘granting individual and mass housing credits; granting credits for projects intended for improvement of rural architecture, transformation of gecekondu areas, preservation and restoration of historical and regional architecture; and making interest subsidies for all such credits, where deemed necessary’ (“A new approach,”).

²⁹ Law no. 4966 amended the Housing Development Administration Law no. 2985.

³⁰ Law no. 5104 Northern Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project Law

³¹ TOKİ is authorized to develop renovation of gecekondu areas for eliminating or regaining via rehabilitation to make construction implementations and to perform financial regulations. Also, in this framework, TOKİ is authorized to determine the construction prices under the realized construction costs, considering the income status of gecekondu areas regions' residents, current construction costs, natural disasters and current economic status of the provinces in which implementation is made (“A new approach,”).

³² Law no. 5162 amends the Mass Housing Law

³³ Law no. 5216 Metropolitan Municipality Law

³⁴ The 7th article’s subparagraph (e) of Metropolitan Municipality Law addresses the 73th article of law no. 5215 Municipal Law by saying ‘to act with the powers conferred upon by Articles 69 and 73 of the Municipal Law’.

³⁵ Law no. 5272 Municipal Law (The 73th article regulates urban transformation)

article³⁶ preserved its position in the following law³⁷ that is still effective today. Moreover, with the law³⁸ that was enacted in 2004 urban transformation could be implemented in urban conservation sites. Within the same year, all the duties and the authority of the Urban Land Office have been transferred to TOKİ by another law³⁹. Besides that, the scope, legal basis and authorities were reshaped in terms of urban renewal in historical urban sites with the law⁴⁰ that was become effective in 2005. Furthermore, a draft law about transformation areas was presented to Grand National Assembly in 2006; however it has not been concluded yet⁴¹. Finally in 2010, the 73th article in Municipal Law amended with a new law⁴² and the previously stated authorities and scope were broadened to overcome obstacles that

³⁶ The municipality may adopt urbanization and development projects in order to re-construct and restore the ruined parts of the city; to create housing areas, industrial and commercial zones, technology parks and social facilities; to take measures against the earthquake risk or to protect the historical and cultural structure of the city.

The areas to be subject to urbanization and development projects shall be announced under the decision of the absolute majority of the entire members of the Municipal Council.

One forth (1/4) of the relevant levies and charges shall be collected for the buildings which are to be demolished and re-constructed within the frame of urbanization and development project.

For announcement of a place within the scope of urbanization and development project; this place should be located within the boundaries of that municipality and contiguous area, and the area of the land should be at least fifty-thousand square meters.

In evacuation, demolition and expropriation of the buildings subject to urbanization and development project, it is recommended to reach to an agreement with the owners. The actions to be filed by the owners of the property within the scope of urbanization and development project shall be dealt in priority by the courts and decision shall be given without delay.

³⁷ Law no. 5393 Municipal Law (The 73th article regulates urban transformation)

³⁸ Law no. 5226 amended the law no. 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage

³⁹ Law no. 5273 amended Land Office Law and Mass Housing Law and abolished General Directorate of Land Office

⁴⁰ Law no. 5366 Preservation by Renovation and Utilisation by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties

⁴¹ Before this draft 'Draft Law for Urban Transformation' in 2004, 'Draft Law of Development' in 2004, 'Draft Law for Planning and Development' in 2005 and 'Draft Law of Urban Transformation and Development' in 2005 was proposed to parliament but not enacted. After 2006, this draft came to parliament agenda time to time (2009 and 2010) in various forms however due to the given power to bodies and its extended scope; it was faced with serious debates (Madran, 2010). Therefore it has not still been passed from the parliament during the time of this research.

⁴² Law no. 5998 concerning the amendment of Municipal Law

are faced with during the urban transformation projects. Due to its possible effects on this study's case, futures of this law which was added recently to the urban transformation legal ground, seems necessary to examine at this point. In the new form of this law, it is mentioned that the UTP decision is taken by municipal assembly and its scope should be within the borders of municipalities. One of the crucial sentences is that the public lands such as military zones, public schools, hospitals which are in use or not by the decision of Council of Minister can be declared as an UTP area. Due to this sentence, the law preparation period watched out by military that wants to be taken into consideration while the UTP decision is taken within military zones ("Kentsel dönüşüm yasası'na," 2010). However, the government in power just introduced the Council of Ministers to decision making process. By this way, the public lands can rapidly open up to the market. Moreover, the declaration of UTP is under the authority of municipal assembly's discretion without considering whether the area has building on it or not, whether it is zoned or not. This provides broader areas with less legal restrictions to municipalities. Only criterion is the size of transformation area which is supposed to be between 5000 and 50000 square meters but the range between these values are also depended to the municipal assembly decision. Another controversial issue is that within metropolitan boundaries whole authority is given to the great municipalities. Without acceptance of the great municipalities, district municipalities cannot give decision and implement any UTP. Therefore, the district municipalities become directly bounded to the great municipalities. It causes serious problems especially among municipalities whose parties are in disputes. The authority of development plan preparation and approval at all scales of planning including the preparation of 1/1000 scale development plan related to UTP is given to greater municipalities. To hasten the urban transformation process it is stated that the consent is a principal among parties during evacuation, demolition and expropriation process. Additionally, it is mentioned that the cases related to UTP are issued and decided primarily in the courts because the projects can be protracted by years of litigation. Another controversial issue related to conditions of the beneficiaries who have legal documents on land in gecekondü areas is tried to be overcome by this law. It is stated that the beneficiaries get their allowances within Project boundaries. On the

other hand, people who have no legal document in gecekondu areas take payments according to value of their debris and trees. However, these payments also can be counted as down payment to provide houses outside the Project area if the municipality has power to supply houses to these people; otherwise under the same conditions TOKİ can also provide houses to these people. Although it ensures that direct displacement or exclusion will not be experienced for beneficiaries, the other people such as tenants and residents who perceived as occupiers will not find any chance to reside in their neighbourhood. One of the most important sentences in this article is about the people who resist signing agreement with the authority. According to article these people's land is excluded from the project area without any right loss; however, this makes them to financially participate to the infrastructure costs with respect to their total constructible area. Otherwise, their building licence and building using permission are not given and electricity, water, and natural gas are not provided. As it is very well known that the infrastructure costs are very high that is why the states mostly undertake this service. It is really hard to think that people who live in gecekondu afford to pay this share on their account. Therefore, inevitably law makers forced to sign the contract with authority under this statement. Lastly the power that is given to municipality to determine the costs of real properties within UTP areas has to be mentioned. By this power, the municipalities can lower the real prices not to pay too much money to the beneficiaries; on the other hand, it can lead to nepotism during the payments that are specified by street level officers in municipalities.

When it comes to the process that has been experienced in Mamak, the first step was taken in 2005 by Great Municipality of Ankara with the promulgation of 'Hatip Çayı-Samsun Yolu Koridoru Kentsel Gelişim Ve Dönüşüm Projesi'⁴³ which grounded to the 73th article of law no. 5272 Municipal Law. Although the rehabilitation of Hatip Çayı which has posed a threat to the environment and residents for years came to agenda at the beginning of 2000s, the initial intervention was made in 2005 under the name of urban transformation project beyond the

⁴³ Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 222

boundaries of Hatip Çayı. After that, the revision plan decision⁴⁴ of Great Municipality of Ankara's Assembly on 1/5000 scaled master development plan regarding 'New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project' was taken. While these decisions were taken, many cases were opened against them to prevent the implementations. Towards the end of 2005, one of the suit resulted and 10th Administrative Court of Ankara annulled the decision⁴⁵ of Great Municipality of Ankara concerning 'Hatip Çayı Samsun Yolu Koridoru Kentsel Gelişim Ve Dönüşüm Projesi' due to annulment of law no. 5272 'Municipal Law' which constituted the legal base of this project. Approximately two years later, Assembly of Mamak Municipality accepted the 'New Mamak Urban Transformation Project'⁴⁶ and Great Municipality of Ankara approved this decision⁴⁷. However, in 2008, 1th Administrative Court of Ankara annulled the decision⁴⁸ of Great Municipality of Ankara concerning 'the revision plan on 1/5000 scaled master development plan of New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project'. One month later Great Municipality of Ankara accepted the new form of 1/5000 scaled master development plan of New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project⁴⁹. By the way, Mamak Municipality promulgated a new urban transformation project and Great Municipality of Ankara accepted this decision⁵⁰ in 2008 for Mamak. On the other hand, in 2008 another court decision⁵¹ was taken by Ankara District Administrative Court that decided to stay of execution of the project which was announced in 2007. After several court annulment and stay of execution decision, Great Municipality of Ankara accepted 'New Mamak Urban

⁴⁴ Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 2409

⁴⁵ Annulment of Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 222

⁴⁶ Mamak Municipality Assembly decision no. 641

⁴⁷ Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 2555 and additional decision no. 1271

⁴⁸ Annulment of Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 2409

⁴⁹ Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 1090

⁵⁰ Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 1271

⁵¹ Annulment of Mamak Municipality Assembly decision no. 641 and Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 2555 and additional decision no. 1271

Transformation Project' by making changes in the implementation principles⁵². This decision has some significant sentences that differ from the former principles. By this decision, firstly, commerce spaces that are produced within the project are provided to the tradesmen who have title deed on their workplace. Secondly, everyone who fulfils the requirements gets house within project area by lottery. Thirdly, the people who have tapu-tahsis document can get not only 100 square metre house for their 400 square metre land but also 80 square metre house for their 320 square metre land. Lastly and most significantly, the expropriation decision of Great Municipality of Ankara will not be implemented from this decision taking effect in New Mamak Urban Transformation Project for the immovable that are sold or exchanged within project area because of causing possible ownership problems. Moreover, lands of individuals who won cases against municipality were returned to their former usage and excluded from the project area. Although it seems that the residents obtained some advantages, alterations initially targeted to facilitate the process and the basic premises were not changed. Then, in 2009, 6th Administrative Court of Ankara annulled the decision⁵³ of Great Municipality of Ankara concerning 'the revision plan about 1/5000 scaled master development plan of New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project'. By the way, to hasten the project Assembly of Great Municipality of Ankara gave authority to related department to sign a protocol with TOKİ to construct and sell houses at Kusunlar to people who have no legal document within urban transformation area. Finally, 1th Administrative Court of Ankara annulled the decision⁵⁴ of Great Municipality of Ankara concerning 'implementation principles of New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project'. Although as it is seen, courts gave several annulment and stay of execution decisions on the same project's different forms, the Great Municipality of Ankara is still maintaining the process by excluding the issued lands from the project area. As it is mentioned above the new

⁵² Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 1811.

⁵³ Annulment of Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 1090

⁵⁴ Annulment of Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 1811

form of 73th article of Municipal Law strengthened the authorities' hand on this issue.

Within this complex continuum, other significant documents are the Great Municipality of Ankara's defence and the expert reports that were presented at the instance of courts. The defence of municipality basically depends on some points that were also mentioned while taking urban transformation decision in municipal assembly. In this written document⁵⁵ it is stated that the area where is announced within the project is Ankara's one of the oldest settlement which could not complete its healthy development despite its improvement plan. They targeted to make people owner of a residence by solving occupiers' ownership problems and providing rights to people who have not benefited from the tapu tahsis rights. It is also claimed that the project will bring to region planned urbanization appropriate to 21st century, huge green and recreational areas (%60 of project). By this way unplanned urbanization which causes vision pollution will be prevented and healthier, peaceful places will be created. In addition, provision of full infrastructural services and creation of welfare with the commercial structures within project are emphasised among the goals of project. The defence of municipality in court grounded to these claims; however, they also indicated some other reasons to avoid from the negative decision of court. These are the money equivalents of the gecekondus paid to the owners and rent aid provided some of the residents who did not prefer to move into Eserkent. Furthermore, gecekondus are accused in the court as being ugly, being harmful to the environment and tarnishing the city image. It is also pointed out that the public interest and service requirements were pursued under the rule of law. As it is seen, the municipality tried to legitimize its intervention by indicating these assertions.

On the other hand, according to the expert reports, the municipalities' decisions were annulled or stayed of execution because of violation of owners' rights, absence of public interest, absence of city planning techniques, absence of required analyses and inappropriate implementation of the essence of 73th article in

⁵⁵ Great Municipality of Ankara Assembly decision no. 1811.

Municipal Law. The experts also indicated that the urban pattern within boundaries of project is not totally obsolete and there is usage of high storey blocks besides gecekondus. Furthermore, some points seem remarkable in expert's report⁵⁶. Firstly, it is stated that urban transformation projects are regulated by an inadequate law in terms of urban planning techniques and principles. Attention drawn to the possible shortcomings in absence of comprehensive urban transformation law which is still in draft stage. Secondly, it is mentioned that the public interest should be considered as a basic principle in these projects; otherwise they just turn to rent project with partial planning. Thirdly, the areas which stay next to the Samsun Road and south part of it completed their transformation. A development plan changes in these areas can lead to enormous problems in terms of gained rights. Fourthly, without any research and analysis such a huge project cannot be implemented in an area involving lands that have potential to transform. Fifthly, being highly dense, causing visual pollution, creating undesired city entrance image and developing with classical improvement development plan cannot be the reasons to promulgate an urban transformation project. Sixthly, the determination of project's boundaries should be based on the scientific criteria which are stated detailed reports. Lastly, the balance among individual interest, public and society interest should be achieved in urban transformation projects. Due to these reasons, courts annulled or stayed of execution of Great Municipality of Ankara's decisions and urban transformation project in Mamak lost its legal ground several times.

The whole legal processes that have been issued at national and local level can be seen jointly from the chronologically prepared table (Table 3.6). By this way, the legal and administrative steps are followed without an additional effort under the shed light of former and latter legal regulations and legal instances in Turkey especially by considering the New Mamak UTP.

⁵⁶ This report is the base for the 1th Administrative Court of Ankara annulled decision no. 2409 of Great Municipality of Ankara concerning 'the revision plan about 1/5000 scaled master development plan of New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project'

Table 3.6. The chronological legal regulations and processes of UTPs in general and in New Mamak UTP

DATE	EVENT
1989	Dikmen and Portakal Çiçeđi Valley Projects were started
06.08.2003	Law no. 4966 amended the Housing Development Administration Law no. 2985
12.03.2004	Law no. 5104 Northern Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project Law was enacted
05.05.2004	Law no. 5162 amended the Housing Development Law
09.07.2004	Grand National Assembly of Turkey passed law no. 5215 Municipality Law
23.07.2004	Law no. 5216 Metropolitan Municipality Law took effect
27.07.2004	Law no. 5226 was enacted and amended the law 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage
15.12.2004	Law no. 5273 concerning the abolishment of the General Directorate of Land Office took effect
24.12.2004	Law no. 5272 ‘Municipal Law’ took effect (The 73 th article regulates urban transformation)
14.01.2005	‘‘Hatip Çayı Samsun Yolu Koridoru Kentsel Gelişim Ve Dönüşüm Projesi’’ was promulgated by Great Municipality of Ankara with decision no. 222 (This decision grounded the 73 th article of law no. 5272 Municipality Law)
18.01.2005	Law no. 5272 ‘Municipal Law’ was annulled by Constitutional Court
05.07.2005	Law no. 5366 ‘Preservation by Renovation and Utilisation by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties’ was enacted
13.07.2005	Law no. 5393 ‘Municipal Law’ took effect (The 73 th article regulates urban transformation)
14.09.2005	The revision plan decision of Great Municipality of Ankara’s Assembly about 1/5000 scaled master development plan regarding ‘New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project’ was taken with decision no. 2409.
30.11.2005	10 th Administrative Court of Ankara annulled decision no. 222 of Great Municipality of Ankara concerning ‘Hatip Çayı Samsun Yolu Koridoru Kentsel Gelişim Ve Dönüşüm Projesi’ due to annulment of law no. 5272 ‘Municipal Law’
22.06.2006	The draft law about transformation areas was presented to grand national assembly
07.10.2007	Assembly of Mamak Municipality accepted ‘New Mamak Urban Transformation Project’ with decision no. 641
15.10.2007	Great Municipality of Ankara approved Mamak Municipality’s decision (no. 641) with decision no. 2555 and additional decision no. 1271
27.03.2008	1 th Administrative Court of Ankara annulled decision no. 2409 of Great Municipality of Ankara concerning ‘the revision plan about 1/5000 scaled master development plan of New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project’
16.04.2008	1/5000 scaled master development plan of New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project was accepted by Great Municipality of Ankara with decision no. 1090
12.05.2008	Great Municipality of Ankara accepted the urban transformation decision of Mamak Municipality with decision no. 1271
04.06.2008	Ankara District Administrative Court decided to stay of execution of the project with decision no. 2410 by referring taken decisions no. 641 by Mamak Municipality and no. 2555 and no. 1271 by Great Municipality of Ankara
14.07.2008	Great Municipality of Ankara accepted ‘New Mamak Urban Transformation Project’ by making changes with decision no. 1824 and implementation principles were reshaped with decision no. 1811
14.10.2009	6 th Administrative Court of Ankara annulled decision no. 1090 of Great Municipality of Ankara concerning ‘the revision plan about 1/5000 scaled master development plan of New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project’
18.01.2010	Assembly of Great Municipality of Ankara gave authority to related department to sign a protocol with TOKİ to construct and sell houses at Kusunlar to people who have no legal document within urban transformation area.
19.02.2010	1 th Administrative Court of Ankara annulled decision no. 1811 of Great Municipality of Ankara concerning ‘implementation principles of New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project’
24.06.2010	Law no. 5998 concerning the amendment of 73 th article of law no 5393 ‘Municipal Law’ was enacted

3.6. Related News on New Mamak Urban Transformation Project

The New Mamak UTP news that was issued in media points out both the significant instances that shaped residents minds and the degree of public attention on the project. During this research, the news has been searched and updated weekly from internet and other magazines according to their relevancy. As a result, cohesion is tried to be constituted among these news with respect to chronological order.

After the Project was initiated in 2005, the first encountered news reported in 2007 under the headline ‘Urban Transformation Full Throttle in Mamak’ ("Mamak'ta kentsel dönüşüm," 2007). The former Mamak Mayor Gazi Şahin stated that they had shattered the gecekondus demolition record within municipalities of Ankara by decreasing number of gecekondus from 110000 to 69000. He said that in Mamak they had had 19 urban transformation projects and they had planned 300000 residences within these projects. He mentioned that Mamak Urban Transformation Project that was the biggest one in Turkey would be completed 9 years later and implemented by Mamak Municipality and Great Municipality of Ankara together with the support of central government. Moreover he drew attention to the opposing parties that were trying to prevent the project; yet according to him no one interfere with the people who had waited to move into apartment from gecekondus for years. One year later, Mayor’s worries came true and people in Mamak who are anxious about the displacement within the urban transformation project began their legal struggle by opening right to shelter bureau as people did in Dikmen. Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau came into action on 9th of March 2008 with contribution of neighbourhood representatives of Mamak, lawyers who pursue legal actions in that region and an important figure Tarık Çalışkan from Dikmen Right to Shelter Bureau (“Mamaklılar da Kentsel Dönüşüme Karşı Barınma Bürosu Açtılar,” 2008). Besides that, an opposing figure, Dostlar Neighbourhood former headman’s statements about the project took place in Evrensel (Atay, 2008, April 16). He stated that the project turned to a demolition project of Mamak. He mentioned that the authorities were implementing the project without asking their opinion. They had felt totally excluded from the process. He added that although they wanted to live in better places, they were against the unfair agreements. People were curious about the

unstated delivery time, location and quality of houses. As a result, residents of Mamak and various associations⁵⁷ protested the urban transformation project which was called 'depredation plan' on June 23 in Ankara. People stated that they would not sign the contracts. Approximately 100 people and the representatives of neighbourhoods also supported this protest ("Kentsel dönüşüm İstemiyoruz," 2008). These reactions and remonstrance drew attention of different parts of the society. For instance, city planners and neighbourhood representatives from different cities came together with the people of urban transformation neighbourhoods in Ankara within an activity that was held by Chamber of City Planners. The UTPs that were implemented in Dikmen Valley, Northern Ankara Entrance and Mamak were visited by the group. The neighbourhood representatives who came from İstanbul UTP neighbourhoods such as Başbüyük, Gülsuyu and Ayazma shared their experiences with people. Head of City Planners Chamber, Tarık Şengül stated that labourer should struggle altogether without believing artificial divisions against the process that targeted not only gecekondü people but also whole labourers in cities ("Şehirciler Ankara'da mahallelilerle," 2008). These supports encouraged people to take legal action against the responsible parties. According to the news ("Gökçek ve Şahin," 2008) the members of Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau had filed a criminal report about Great Municipality of Ankara Mayor Melih Gökçek and Mamak Mayor Gazi Şahin who continued to get signing agreements done with gecekondü owners within New Mamak UTP despite the administrative courts' stay of execution and annulment decisions. The Bureau authority Lawyer Çiğdem Tan mentioned that the 1st, 4th and 10th Ankara Administrative Courts had stay of execution and annulment decisions about New Mamak UTP. She claimed that by acting against the court decisions both mayors committed the abuse of their office. Moreover, she indicated that gecekondü residents who have not sign the agreement were threatened to cut off water as an intimidation. Approximately three weeks later, similar news yet from another opposing party took place in Birgün

⁵⁷ Contemporary Lawyer's Association, Mamak People's Culture and Solidarity Association, Araçlar Çevre ve Güzelleştirme Association, İdilcan Kültür Merkezi, Aka-Der, Boğaziçi-Dutluk-Tepecik-Dostlar-Üreğil-Köstence People Commissions Against the Demolition were participated and TMMOB supported the movement.

("Mahkemeye takılan proje," 2008, August 26). Kürşat Öztürk from Mamak Peoples' Culture and Solidarity Association mentioned that people in Mamak would not sign the contracts and annul the new rent project as it was experienced last time with their decisive and organized struggle. He also stated that it was obvious that some people wanted to exclude them from the residents who stay there for years to built luxury buildings, aqua parks, business and entertainment centres and houses with swimming pools in its gardens. Öztürk said that the municipality deceived people by pledging house to everyone. Moreover, according to him, the place and delivery time of houses was not explicit therefore inviting people to sign the contract was inconsistent with justice.

On the other hand, through the end of 2008, consecutively news had been made about environmental disorders that occurred as a result of UTP. It is stated in Birgün (Zorcan, 2008, September 15) that the debris of the demolished houses was being left within urban transformation project in Mamak. While rats moved around in the streets where the sewer pipes were broken, kids were playing games among debris. The residents are worried about the absence of street sewer system covers and possibility of drinking water and sewage flow mixing. Besides that people believes that the municipality tries to intimidate them to leave their houses by creating uninhabited areas, unfixed infrastructure and uncollected garbage. A petition which indicates the threats that people are faced with was submitted by Mamak People's Culture and Solidarity Association to Ministry of Environment and Forestry. Especially the neighbourhoods' situation similar to battle field or earthquake zone is stated in the petition. Environmental engineers drew attention to visual pollution, falling and injury besides the epidemic diseases due to debris and broken sewer systems that are not immediately lifted and fixed.

On 17 September 2008, Ankara Chamber of Doctors invited by Mamak Peoples' Culture and Solidarity Association to observe closely New Mamak UTP district. People Health Commission of Chamber prepared a report on Derbent Neighbourhood where the first demolitions took place. They indicated several crucial points with respect to this inspection. According to report, the residents who resist against the project live among wreckages which lead to serious problems such

as accidents, injuries and illnesses. Moreover, destructions can cause damage on buildings very next to the demolished ones which brings economic burden to the people who resist signing the contract. By this investigation it is found that garbage is not regularly collected by municipality. Therefore, this uncollected garbage and wreckage poses a threat for both whole residents and environment in Derbent. Beyond these negative physical effects, people also suffer from the anxiety which threatens psychology of the residents. Finally, it is stated that these kinds of interventions should have more cohesive objectives which are desired for health instead of clashes and exclusions.⁵⁸

Another report drew attention to the destruction of both environment and social life (Evrensel, 27 October 2008). According to this news, residents in Mamak were excluded from their neighbourhoods while they were borrowing large amounts of money. It is mentioned that Mamak UTP is a good example of 'rental transformation' instead of 'urban transformation'. People in Mamak interpret that the ongoing process creates residences, shopping and trade centres by demolishing their dreams and memories. They are decisive not to give vote to responsible politicians and not to sign the contracts. They are also complaining about the debris, insufficient public transportation, uncollected garbage, power cuts, broken sewage pipes, unfixed street lights and strangers who come to collect stuff from wreckages. One resident claimed that her neighbour was committed suicide due to depression that was revealed after whole day electric cuts.

After all these complaints, Great Municipality of Ankara investigated the field yet they were unable to detect any negative situation in Mamak where people live among uncollected garbage, piles of rubble and broken sewage pipes under the risk of epidemic diseases. One of the spokesmen of Mamak Peoples' Culture and Solidarity Association, Kürşat Öztürk stated that the difference between the situation in Derbent Neighbourhood and the responses of municipal authorities was unbelievable. He noted that although every place is full of debris, dust and smoke, officials were insisted that the situation was normal. He added that public bread

⁵⁸ These reports can be found in Bulletin of Mamak People's Culture and Solidarity Association.

buffets and groceries were closed because of the conditions. He also drew attention to the report of Ankara Chamber of Doctors that indicated the unhealthy environmental conditions in Derbent (Zorcan, 2009, January 31).

Striking news came on 13 January 2009 in Birgün (Zorcan). According to the news, one more grievance was experienced in Mamak within UTP. Nane Kankal signed contract with municipality without informing her husband who showed serious negative reaction to this decision. Then she moved into Eserkent with her two children. Yusuf Kankal⁵⁹ who was treated for lung cancer obliged to wait desperately in the home without electricity and water that were cut by municipality. He said that New Mamak UTP was responsible for dispersion of his family. He added that the title deed was on his wife who had been sick and tired of demolitions, moving neighbours, unfixed sewage system and debris in the streets and consequently she had thought that they had had a decent life when she accepted the contract. He mentioned that he did not want to move anywhere else and he had no money to pay like many others the debt that emerged from the contract. He lastly indicated his decisiveness not to move from his house. Kürşat Öztürk stated that Yusuf Kankal experiences were common among many families in UTP neighbourhoods. He indicated the administrative court's stay of execution decision on project and he said that people suffered due to 'sake of rent'.

As the 2009 Local Government Elections were approaching, the news began to focus on the election pledges and actions to get higher vote on New Mamak UTP. CHP's (Republican People's Party) Mamak Mayoral Candidate Veli Gündüz said "Our basic duty is to give people right to shelter as they deserve in Mamak". He mentioned that the urban transformation turned to social disaster while causing more problems instead of solutions. He indicated the negative conditions of tradesman who mostly lost their jobs throughout this project. He claimed that their project would firstly provide trade centres to the existing tradesman in that region. He also mentioned that the demolitions had to be done after everyone agreed on the

⁵⁹ Within the field research an interview was made with Yusuf Kankal to learn what he was experienced in detail. These will be specified in field research part.

project. Veli Gündüz drew attention to both ecologically and economically undesired consequences of the project that directly affects people's life. He said that when they came to office, they would not displace anyone including the people who had not any document by providing homes within their existing neighbourhood ("Kentsel dönüşüm sosyal," 2009). Then, on first of March, under the leadership of Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau, Mamak people who had struggled with urban transformation project for two years held a meeting that Great Municipality of Ankara Mayor Melih Gökçek and one of candidate to mayoralty Murat Karayağın were invited to. While Melih Gökçek had not attended to the meeting, Murat Karayağın and Mamak mayoralty candidate Veli Şahin Gündüz had made a speech in front of thousands of people (Figure 3.21). Lots of people had joined the meeting and had showed their support to Karayağın who drew attention to many peoples' loss of rights in transformation project (Figure 3.22). He also mentioned that the project is against people by referring 'absence of public interest' decisions of courts. He said that the brand new project will be prepared with people who have right to state their preferences Besides that representative of Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau Candaş Türkyılmaz, lawyer Murat Salkalp, neighbourhood and tradesman representatives and city planner Serdar Karaduman indicated their opinions and give support to people. Moreover 'Right to Shelter Oath' was taken enthusiastically by thousands of people who declared to conserve their resisting position ("Mamak'ta binler Gökçek'e," 2009).



Figure 3.21. A view while Karayalçın Making Speech Meeting against New Mamak UTP (Source: sendika.org)



Figure 3.22. A view from the Meeting against New Mamak UTP (Source: sendika.org)

Ten days later on 11 March 2009, Cihan News Agency announced ‘The First Excavation Will Start on Sunday in Mamak UTP’ ("Mamak kentsel dönüşüm," 2009). Besides the information about the whole project and first stage, the

statements of the Mayor of Great Municipality of Ankara Melih Gökçek are significant. He stated that if Gods grants the end of the project, the value of Mamak would increase more and more. He wanted to trust them as many people did in Northern Ankara, Dikmen Valley 1-2-3 stages and Güneypark Urban Transformation projects. He added that with the permission of Allah they were not able to make people sad. He said that:

We want your blessing, not your curse; we will bring you decent homes”. He also targeted CHP (Republican People’s Party) and some chambers by claiming their opposing position to the project. This first construction groundwork publicized in Great Municipality of Ankara Bulletin from the first page, under the headline “Super Project in Urban Transformation-The Construction Began in Mamak” (18-24 March 2009, no. 220) (Figure 3.23).



Figure 3.23. A Headline from Great Municipality of Ankara Bulletin (Super Project in Urban Transformation - The Construction Began in Mamak) (Source: Great Municipality of Ankara Bulletin, 18-24 March 2009, number 220)

Moreover, before the elections, Justice and Development Party announced and distributed brochures that present their pledges about New Mamak UTP. The headline of this brochure is “We started the New Mamak Urban Transformation

Project, We Will Finish, Trust us”. Among 15 articles the most important ones are as follows:

1. New Mamak Urban Transformation Project is the greatest and the most modern project in Turkey.
2. Approximately %50 of the lands within the scope of this project are building prohibited that are not appropriate for construction. Finding a solution is impossible for this area except urban transformation that provides 10.000 residences for people.
3. Constructed residences will be delivered to the beneficiaries within 24 months.
4. The residences given to the beneficiaries are luxury residences.
5. The business sites that will be constructed within this project will be primarily given to the previously owners of business sites within this project.
6. The residences will be given from the constructed buildings that are closest to beneficiaries’ land or gecekondü except the basement.
7. No one will be aggrieved even in the absence of title deed or tapu-tahsis document. Residents will be provided to everyone.
8. Do not give credence that interrupts the process. Do not give votes and credence to lies, deception and confusion.
9. Please do not believe the understandings and parties that do not consider least bit the people and make extravagant promises to just being opposition and touting for votes.
10. The Justice and Development Party that comes these days with the appreciation of the people will be accomplished this project with your trust. Continue to trust us.

The photographs of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Great Municipality of Ankara mayoralty candidate Melih Gökçek and Mamak mayoralty candidate Mesut Akgül are also added to this election brochure. It indicates that to get vote from the New Mamak UTP’s Neighbourhoods, leading and impressive figures, for large number of people who live in Mamak, took part to praise a barely progressed

project. Moreover, by this pledges the confidence of residents were tried to be gained not only by praising the project but also by cursing the opponents.

According to the results of this local election, the candidates of Justice and Development Party acquired both Ankara and Mamak mayoralty. The rates of votes taken by the parties are almost equal within electoral districts of Ankara, Mamak and Derbent (Figure 3.24). Nevertheless, in Araplar Neighbourhood, the domination of Justice and Development Party (JDP) is obvious. In the field research, it is stated by the participants that the reason behind the high vote rates of JDP in Araplar is the conservative characteristics of the residents. It has to be also mentioned that due to UTPs approximately 2000 people had begun to live in Eserkent Mass Housing Area which is located within the boundaries of Araplar Neighbourhood before the elections. Even though, the adequate data that indicate the previous vote distributions of Derbent and Araplar are absent due to insufficient databases of TSI and Supreme Election Board, it can be derived from the results of the election that while the residents in Derbent did not show any significant reaction against Melih Gökçek by reason of New Mamak UTP or any other policy, the residents in Eserkent proved their loyalty to the JDP. On the other hand, especially, Melih Gökçek who was elected for the Great Municipality Mayoralty for the fourth time found chance to pursue UTPs all around Ankara. Moreover, it is mentioned by many people in Mamak that vote for same party at the both municipal and great municipal level brings unity and hastened the UTP process in various aspects.

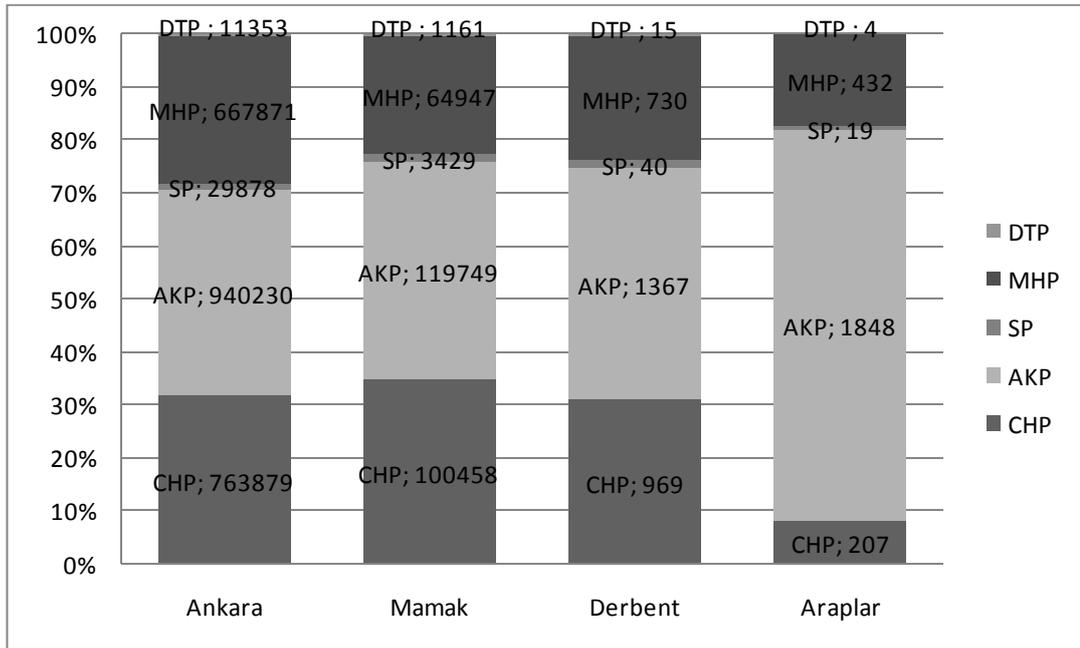


Figure 3.24. Results of the Election of Mayor of Ankara 2009 (Ankara-Mamak-Derbent-Araplar)⁶⁰ (Source: TSI)

At these days, according to news that was issued by Birgün (Zorcan, 2009, March 17) the people who struggle to survive among wreck buildings and broken sewerage system in accordance with the urban transformation project, were compel to pay cut off water's bills. One of residents Cahit Bozkurt was faced with the 400 TL water bill although the water has been cut off for a long time. He stated that they had no chance to afford the payments of urban transformation project's expenses therefore they did not sign the contract and they were insisting on resistance but municipality was trying to demolish the houses as soon as possible. Kürşat Öztürk said that people were faced with water and electricity cuts, broken water and sewerage pipes, wrecks and unexplained bills for intimidation. He also stated that many families are suffered for the sake of rent and they were forced to leave centre of the city to live in slum at the periphery.

The court decisions also took place in newspapers. On 15 August 2009, both Evrensel (Akçay, 2009, August 15) and Birgün ("Mamak halkı kazandı," 2009)

⁶⁰ DTP (Democratic Society Party), MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), SP (Felicity Party), AKP (Justice and Development Party), CHP (Republican People's Party)

made news about the ‘stay of execution’ decision of Ankara 6th Administrative Court on project plan due to ‘being against law’, ‘causing irreversible losses’ and ‘being against planning techniques and public interest’. Derbent Neighbourhood Headman Nazım Karahan and the representatives of Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau Candaş Türkyılmaz gave comments on the process. Türkyılmaz mentioned that the demolitions, constructions and operations were continuing despite the court stay of execution decision. Moreover he stated that they wanted to make a project that includes everyone with the contribution of related experts and Bureau without any right loss of residents.

By the way, the prestigious projects’ news besides New Mamak UTP began to take place among other news. According to Loftman and Brendan (as cited in Keleş, 2003, 3) a prestige project can be defined

[a]s a pioneering or innovative, high-profile, large-scale, self-contained development which is primarily justified in terms of its ability to attract inward investment, create and promote new urban images, and act as the hub of radiating renaissance-facilitating increases in land values and development activities to adjacent areas.

The Mayor of Mamak Municipality Mesut Akgül who aims to recreate Mamak as an attraction centre mentioned that the preparation related to the Gökçeyurt (Nenek), Lalahan and Ortaköy industry districts had been completed. To form an economic attraction centre Nenek Organised Industrial Zone, Marble Site and Lalahan Industrial Zone would be constructed to Mamak (“Mamak ekonomisi büyüyecek,” 2010). Moreover, it was announced from the Mamak Municipality web-site (“Mamak’ta İş merkezleri,” 2010) that Municipality both implemented urban transformation projects and facilitated the construction of trade centres. Ship Trade Centre, Gülveren Trade Centre, Şafaktepe Residence and Trade Centre, Wedding Hall and Congress Centre and 41 storey trade centre were planned to be constructed (Figure 3.25). Mamak Mayor Mesut Akgül stated that when their urban and social transformation projects were accomplished, Mamak would gain a new appearance. He said “Mamak needs attractive projects”. Moreover he mentioned that due to limited capacity of municipality, they also encouraged the private sector

investments to the region. Under these assertions, it can best be seen that within the framework of such projects, agencies of urban regeneration and city administrations have attempted to restructure the urban fabric of their cities, and diversify their local economies, weather to meet the new demands of the capital (Keleş, 2003, 3) or to encourage them to invest. Mayor of Mamak finally said that they were working on clearance of gecekondus and construction of recreation and sport complexes, shopping centres to reach a modern vision in the district.



Figure 3.25. The ‘Attractive Projects’ in Mamak (Res pectively: 1) Şafaktepe Residence-Trade Centre 2) Ship Trade Centre 3) Wedding Hall and Congress Centre 4) Gülveren Trade Centre) (Source: Mamak Municipality web-site)

Among these projects the most significant one was the construction of biggest shopping centre of Turkey in Mamak. The biggest shopping centre of Turkey which would create an attraction centre was laid the foundation with the contribution of Minister of Finance Mehmet Şimşek in Mamak. The project comprises a

commercial centre with 41 storey, 5 residences with 38 storey and the Turkey's biggest shopping centre (Figure 3.26). It was planned to complete shopping centre in 2011, other buildings in 2012 ("Türkiye'nin En Büyük AVM'si Mamak'ta," 2010). According to this news, the mayor of Mamak, Mesut Akgül, mentioned that in the short run, development was impossible unless Mamak was transformed to attraction centre. Then in several months two large real estate investments' construction was started with a joint ceremony by Maya Group and Nata Holding. Besides these private companies' managers, high level politicians participated to the ceremony. Nata'nın Shopping Center Project and the Project of the Mayan Anatolium Ankara is two adjacent investment that totally costs 300 million dollar, in 450 thousand square meters total construction area and 160 thousand square meters leasable area creates a giant "Shopping Valley" in the region. Also it is stated that with this project additional employment would be provided for 5 thousand people in Ankara province. According to statements this number of people cannot be employed even if a fabric is opened. It is expected that when the whole complex is opened, it would attract more than 10 million visitors from Ankara and the cities that surrounds Ankara because of the convenient transportation possibilities of Ankara Peripheral Road and Turan Güneş Boulevard. There would be strong main tenants IKEA Furniture and Home Accessories Store, Leroy Merlin Building Market and Decorating Store, Tesco Hypermarket and Electronic Store are expected for a long time in Ankara. In addition, nearly 200 stores with international and national brands would offer customers a wide range of shopping. And with the different food and beverage divisions, bazaar and open bazaar, cinema, amusement park, bowling hall, conference halls and theatres more than shopping would be presented to the customers. Moreover, in this news the achievements and the international partnerships of these companies are mentioned to indicate the greatness of this project ("Mamak Çekim Merkezi Oluyor," 2010). This event was also issued in broader platforms. On 14 December 2010, widely known news portal ntvmsnbc made news about Nata Vega Shopping Centre ("Ankaralıları heyecanlandıran avm," 2010). Nata Group Real Estate Project Developer Expert Gül Şenol gave the details about this project. She said that Ankara was constantly growing through the west and there was no place so close to the centre therefore the

intersection district of Çankaya and Mamak was chosen that was close to centre, available for development and investment (Figure 3.27). Also Şenol mentioned that Mamak was identified with the dumb perception which could be overcome by a very large investment such as the contribution of IKEA. According to her, the target is society of Central Asia. One of the concepts is a restaurant within a 360 degree aquarium. The aquarium will be the Turkey's largest one, the second largest in Europe. Although it is indecisive, it is working on a skiing runway for exactly 365 days. Negotiations are in progress with companies abroad for finalization of it. It is claimed that this shopping centre will be shopping centre of both Central Asia and the Middle East too. She added that although Ankara is in the first place in terms of per capita size of shopping centre in Turkey, Ankara is still below the European average and people in Ankara perceived the shopping centre as a social activity.



Figure 3.26. Illustration of 41 Storey Trade Centre (Source: Mamak Municipality web-site)



Figure 3.27. Location of 41 Storey Trade Centre (Source: www.ntvmsnbc.com)

As it was mentioned before, Great Municipality of Ankara is trying to transfer the implementation burden of project to the Mamak Municipality that eventually began to take more responsibility to hasten the process. Under these conditions, Mamak Mayor Akgül informed beneficiaries on 5 August 2010 ("Başkan Akgül, Yeni," 2010). Akgül organized an information meeting that was held in Eserkent Mass Housing Area (Figure 3.28). While he was answering the questions of the people, he wanted from people not to pay attention to the misleading information. He also mentioned that there was a decision of municipal council that the new houses would be given to the people from the closest block to the previous land or gecekodu. The residents showed great interest to the meeting. Mesut Akgül noted that Derbent and Araplar Neighbourhoods were priority project areas. He said that almost 4 blocks was built and 3 new blocks' excavation works were being continued. According to his speech, 63 people who have no legal document on their land would be provided two rooms and one hall houses from Kusunlar by TOKİ (Housing Development Administration of Turkey). The debris of these people would be accepted as a down payment cost. For the beneficiaries, the houses would be delivered between 18-24 months after whole agreements completed depending on the elimination of property problems.



Figure 3.28. A view from Mamak Municipality Information Meeting at Eserkent (Source: Mamak Municipality web-site)

One day later on the evening of August 6, after Mamak Municipality had undertaken the persuasion responsibility in New Mamak UTP, Mesut Akgül made another presentation for the people who resisting against the project in Derbent ("Mamak belediyesi ikna," 2010). According to this news, hundreds of people came to this meeting. Residents who participated to the presentation put ‘renters’ in an awkward position by asking questions. It is stated that while there was limited contribution to meeting in Eserkent Mass Housing Area, approximately 700 people who was mobilized by Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau came to the meeting in Derbent Neighbourhood and municipality was frustrated due to decisive attitude of people who resist the project. Under the questions of people Mayor Akgül said “You make me sweat, I shall take off my jacket”. Then some people said “if you are that much democratic, why had not you come before planning the project”. These words applauded by crowd. Besides the municipality officers, residents spoke and emphasized their opinions and wishes. Candaş Türkyılmaz from Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau stated that some of their warnings and wishes were taken into consideration by municipality. Thus, municipality took steps backwards against resistance stance. Although tension increased time to time during the meeting between municipality officers and people, it was completed without severe incident (Figure 3.29).



Figure 3.29. Views from Mamak Municipality Presentation in Derbent Neighbourhood
(Source: sendika.org web-site)

The last news that is beneficial to indicate under this title is highly significant for the position of opposing residents in Mamak although it is related with Dikmen Valley UTP. According to this news ("Dikmen vadisi son," 2010) the people, who resist signing the contract of Great Municipality of Ankara and sue it, get construction rights on different developed land parcel; yet related legislation indicated that after expropriation, this right holders have to participate the common infrastructural expenses with respect to their remaining land size. According to Gökçek, the problems in projects were experienced due to people's scam that tries to gain unfair benefit from the value increase. He added that the people who had signed the contract with municipality became aggrieved due to some people's legal actions against the project.

These are the prominent news that can be followed or found by public. In terms of transformations, emphasises, opposing and supporting forces, key figures and sources, these news provides significant data to understand the process. Firstly, it has to be mentioned that there are limited figures and media channels that became part of this project while supporting or resisting it. Birgün and Evrensel are the newspapers that give place to opposing news about New Mamak UTP at most. Within the opposing side, Kürşat Öztürk from Mamak People's Culture and Solidarity Association and Candaş Türkyılmaz from Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau are the leading figures. Although they are both against the project, they diverged because of their ideological cleavages⁶¹. Time to time other opposing parties such as Chamber of City Planners, Contemporary Lawyer's Association, Ankara Chamber of Doctors and some chambers from TMMOB (The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects) participated and supported the residents who resisting signing the contract. On the other hand, in the shadow of Melih Gökçek, Mamak Mayors tries to make some manoeuvres to reach a solution and gain political support to sustain the project. Their emphases on the prestigious projects and claims on making Mamak an attraction centre were pointed out again

⁶¹ This tension is experienced in many UTP areas between ÖDP (Freedom and Solidarity Party) and Halkevleri (People's Houses) as it is in New Mamak UTP. They mobilized separately against authority. The reason of the conflicts is discussed within the field research part.

and again within their speeches. These news are indicated in this part to understand prominent instances that influence the attitudes of people towards the project. The detailed opinions of the parties, mostly the residents, will be directly presented in the field research chapter.

CHAPTER IV

FIELD RESEARCH: DERBENT NEIGHBOURHOOD AND ESERKENT MASS HOUSING AREA

4.1. Methodology of the Field Research

In this part of the thesis, the findings of the field research that was held in Derbent Neighbourhood and Eserkent Mass Housing Area between April and November 2010 are issued. However, initially some information about the qualitative method followed during the field research should be indicated. Although the combination of quantitative and qualitative data and the balance between them are considered throughout the thesis; the basic premises of this study are based on the qualitative data acquired at the end of the field research. Therefore, besides the quantitative data obtained from the several sources, the data collection is fostered and detailed by plenitude interviews. According to Crang and Cook (1995, 35) as a means of gleaning information from conversations within various research communities, interviews can range from the highly structured (akin to questionnaire survey in which the researcher asks pre-determined questions in a specific order), through the semi-structured (where the researcher and participant(s) set some broad parameters to a discussion), to the relatively unstructured (akin to a friendly conversation with no pre-determined focus). Among these interviewing formats, semi-structured and relatively unstructured in-depth interviews were chosen, because limiting questionnaire with predetermined, strict questions has potential to prevent the researcher to find some embedded mechanisms that are expected to uncover. As Creswell (2007, 133) suggested refining the interview questions and the procedures further through pilot testing seems extremely significant. Therefore, while preparing semi-structured question set of the study, the field were visited and random interviews were made several times. Nevertheless, even though throughout the research random sampling was mostly chosen, time to time snowball method, which “yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest” (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981, 141), was preferred due to the sensitivity of the some issues such

as gender, ethnic background and religious sect. According to Biernacki and Waldorf (1981, 141) “the method is well suited for a number of research purposes and is particularly applicable when the focus of study is on a sensitive issues, possibly concerning a relatively private matter, and thus requires the knowledge of insiders to locate people for study”.

Under the light of these knowledge and targets, with one to one and group interviews, detailed information was attained from the people who live in Derbent and Araplar-Eserkent Mass Housing Area of Greater Municipality of Ankara. Consequently, interviews were made with 66 residents and 5 tradesmen from Derbent Neighbourhood, 30 residents from Eserkent Mass Housing Area. Besides these, one police officer, one municipal police, one bulldozer operator who are in duty in Derbent Neighbourhood and officers in charge from Great Municipality of Ankara and Mamak Municipality, one of neighbourhood representative of Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau and one of the founding members of Mamak People Culture and Solidarity Association, related lawyer from Ankara Contemporary Lawyer Association, headmen of Derbent and Araplar neighbourhood, hodja of Derbent Mosque, three teachers from Derbent Primary School/Üreğil Anatolian Girls’ Vocational School/Greater Municipality ANFA Primary School politically and one real estate agent in Derbent Neighbourhood are the other actors whom the interviews were made with to take their opinions about the New Mamak UTP. In total, whilst conducting 75 interviews, 116 individuals shared their ideas about the issue. It has to be mentioned at this point that at the beginning of every interview the interviewees were fully informed about the research. Every interview was recorded and transcribed⁶². However, few interviewees’ preferred to not to be recorded; even though, the targets of the research were clearly indicated. Furthermore, to make them comfortable, none of the interviewees’ names and surnames was neither asked nor recorded. Therefore, although the whole information obtained about the interviewees during the field research was indicated in the footnotes within the field research part, any of the interviewees’ names and

⁶² Although the transcriptions are available in Turkish, they are not included to the thesis to maintain the confidentiality of the interviewees.

surnames was not mentioned both in the transcriptions and during the field research discussion parts of this thesis. By the way, the general knowledge about Derbent Neighbourhood is presented within the related context in detail throughout the field research chapter.

Under the light of these principles, the raw data held as an output of the interviews are indicated and discussed with the guidance of theoretical instruments issued in previous part. Especially, with the contributions of relational sociology of Bourdieu that point out the interdependency and co-dependency among habitus, fields and different forms of capital in such a social phenomenon the significant dynamics and mechanisms that change gecekondü residents' perspectives towards urban transformation project can best be identified. For that reason, the whole set of social positions and activities which are the reflection of relations that lean on the various variables in the social world are discussed critically during the following paragraphs. Under these conditions, without ignoring any relations within the framework of this study, a certain level of abstraction is needed to take attention to the more significant dynamics. It has to be mentioned that reducing the attitudes of the interviewees into one or two variables is not targeted under the following topics; however, these are the points that most of the interviews initially and intensely mentioned during the field research. Therefore, the part that the field research findings are evaluated in is divided into three sub category to attain contingency between theory and practice with considering the every habitus, every field and every forms of capital in relation. By this way, it is aimed to observe the theory in action to find the basic premises of the resistance and acceptance attitudes of the gecekondü residents towards the New Mamak Urban Transformation Project.

4.2. Gecekondü vs. Apartment Blocks

Under this topic, socio-cultural and socio-spatial differences between gecekondü and apartment blocks are indicated and discussed from the perspectives of gecekondü dwellers in Derbent Neighbourhood and Eserkent Mass Housing Area by considering the effects of the urban transformation project. The field research

pointed out that the perceptions about the gecekondur and apartment blocks that mostly stem from the past experiences, social relations, life styles and environmental conditions are highly contradictory and directly influence the residents' attitudes towards the project as significant variables. Moreover, the life conditions created by the authority both in Derbent and in Eserkent plays crucial role on the residents' decisions making process. During this section of the thesis, to grasp the social dynamics driving gecekondur dwellers' perceptions about gecekondur and apartment blocks, especially the notion of habitus, social and physical space, social and economic capital come into prominence among other theoretical instruments. Although other concepts are used when appropriate, this section clearly points out how habitus, social space, social and economic capital influence the gecekondur dwellers' attitudes in a certain field. Under these goals, from the gecekondur dwellers' perspectives, firstly the socio-cultural differences, then the socio-spatial ones between gecekondur and apartment blocks are presented and discussed regarding theoretical instruments.

4.2.1. Socio-cultural Differences

During the field research, many interviewees drew attention to the socio-cultural differences between gecekondur and apartment blocks as reasons behind either acceptance or denial of the project. It is observed that this is basically related with dispositions and social capital of the gecekondur dwellers besides other variables because interviewees frequently mentioned their positive or negative views about the project via giving reference to their past experiences and social relations with their neighbours. Therefore, this enables the study to explain the reasons behind the scene whilst the perspectives of the gecekondur dwellers diverged one from another. From this point, this critique issue that has certain effects on the gecekondur dwellers' perspectives towards the project has to be discussed in detail under the light of interviewees' assertions and comments.

At some stage in the interviews, perceptions of the interviewee about the life in Eserkent Mass Housing Area or any other apartment building are asked to answer

by comparing the life conditions in Derbent Neighbourhood. An interviewee E1⁶³ who accepted the project requirements and moved into Eserkent mentioned “the mass housing area is a chance as a training period for the people who come from gecekondu before they move into their permanent houses”. He said that the gecekondu people become get used to live together and learn not to disturb his or her neighbours. K20⁶⁴ stated that although gecekondu had been better in terms of natural environment and largeness, she believes that the time of gecekondu was over vis-a-vis apartment houses. However, many other residents who spent most of their lives in gecekondu were highly distressed due to apartment life. E79⁶⁵ mentioned that they could not get used to live in apartment even if ten years pass. This is basically stems from strong neighbour relations. The solidarity and strength of social relations in gecekondu neighbourhoods play significant role on the perspectives of the gecekondu dwellers whether they accept or reject the project. E1 stated that the neighbour relations are absent in apartment unlike gecekondu although the life standards are higher than gecekondu. According to his assertion, people talk with each other in the park and mosque; yet, the relations are cut off in the apartment. Whilst E4⁶⁶ was comparing gecekondu with apartment, he said that although his children had no complaint, his wife did not like the apartment due to lack of neighbours’ relations. He added as follows:

⁶³ E1: He is 53 years old. He is from Ankara-Bala. He and his family moved into Mamak at the end of 1960s. His gecekondu used to be on registered and developed land takes 116 m² in Araplar Neighbourhood. He will take 20000 TL from municipality. He is graduated from university. He is retired now. He is residing with his wife in Eserkent Mass Housing Area.

⁶⁴ K20: She is 53 years old. She is from Kırıkale. She had resided in gecekondu at Derbent for 35 years. They used to have tapu-tahsis document for 170 m² land at Derbent. They accepted the project and began to live in Eserkent in a one room and one hall house. His husband is retired. His son is working. The number of household is three. They are 28000 TL in debt due to project.

⁶⁵ E79: He is 32 years old. He is from Kırşehir. He came to Eserkent from Hasköy within the Northern Ankara UTP. It is his seventh year in Eserkent. They used to have tapu-tahsis document for their gecekondu. The number of household is five. They are residing in two rooms and one hall house. He is unemployed.

⁶⁶ E4: He is 50 years old. He is from Yozgat. He had stayed for 20 years in Derbent Neighbourhood. It has been two years since he signed the project contract. Number of household is five. He gave his gecekondu and its 356 m² land which is registered under the name of ‘tapu-tahsis’ document. Now he is living in Türközü as a tenant by paying 400 TL per month. He is 275 TL subsidized by municipality. He is 27000 TL in debt to the municipality. He is a service driver. He is graduated from junior high-school.

Of course, apartment is more comfortable; yet neighbour relations do not exist. No one is aware of another. It is unrecognizable who is going in or out. Thence, apartment is not that much good. The relations were different. Everyone knows each other... We have both townsman and relatives in our neighbourhood. We behave very cosy.

In terms of neighbour relations in Eserkent K1⁶⁷ said that:

We do not get in contact with everyone (in apartment). There are three specific neighbours whom I get along well with... (In gecekondü) everyone was a part of a family. My door would be open. I can consign my kid to neighbours and I would go anywhere. Nevertheless, I have not got that chance here where is very different. I am here for two years; yet I do not exactly know who lives in my apartment. They are sitting here but I do not know their house numbers. But gecekondü is not like that. I used to know everyone such as their names even their kids in my gecekondü neighbourhood as well as I know my name.

However, unlike K1, K20 stated that although they had been bored when they first came, then they became get used to the conditions and began to establish good relations with their neighbours in Eserkent. However, for many interviewees, the relations in the apartment blocks cannot be substituted with the gecekondü. For instance, E23⁶⁸ stated that the friendship among residents had been superb in gecekondü neighbourhood unlike apartments. He added that there was a serious differentiation between gecekondü and apartment residents as it is seen between rich and poor. On the very same issue, K1 indicated her views as such:

Gecekondü was excellent. There are people here from everywhere. There is a lot coming from Dikmen and Karacaören (Northern Ankara UTP Neighbourhood). How great my gecekondü was. Sometimes I do regret. Time to time, I wish I could not agree to give my gecekondü... I wish this is not the case. Gecekondü was more beautiful and more peaceful than

⁶⁷ K1: She is 28 years old. She is from Kars. She had moved into Eserkent from Derbent and she has been living there for two years with her husband and two children in a house with one hall and one room (kitchen is included to hall). They exchange their 95 m² gecekondü on registered and developed land with municipality and became in debt for paying off 4000 TL. She is not working. Her husband's profession is repairer; yet due to unemployment he works as a taxi driver. She benefits from the social relief of municipality.

⁶⁸ E23: He is 18 years old. He is from Kırıkkale. His grandfather came to Derbent in 1920s. He had lived in gecekondü for 13 years. They accepted the project and began to take rent aid. They have been living in apartment in Keçiören for 5 years. He is a high school student. The number of household is five and including his father who is public servant three of them is working.

here... Just the garden of the gecekondü is enough... I had known here before we moved into but we had not gone inside... When I first came here, I became depressed. After two years I become get used to... We suffocate in the houses and we immediately move out... There are plenty of residents who do not give their gecekondus in Derbent. It is said 'they won', but I do not know what is going to happen.

Another interviewee E62⁶⁹ mentioned his views about the life in Eserkent as follows:

I came here for one year; yet this is our fifth year... You have to give a headline to your study as such 'I visited the Belene Camp⁷⁰ in Mamak'. We are in a camp. Everything we have is taken. We are prisoner and here is the open prison. We are deprived of everything. There is no social life... They cannot satisfy our social needs just giving natural gas free... Here is very crowded. We are living like sardines... There is just one market and the prices are very high. We all have low income. We cannot cover the costs. We are already paying money at least 250-300 TL per month within the UTPs. What can we do with remaining 500 TL... We live freely in gecekondü. You are a free person in gecekondü. Apartment is not like it. You can just contact with your relatives in apartment.

After his assertions, it was asked to E62 that how he feels about his decision to accept the project. He showed his regret and said "I would not give my gecekondü if I knew then what I know now". The 'camp' and 'prison' metaphors that used by E62 was interestingly also expressed some other interviewees. For instance, E86 compared Eserkent with the asylum camp where various refugees, criminals and debtors from various nations come together to find shelter in. Especially, due to the size of households (Figure 4.1) and the shortage of larger houses in Eserkent led to occurrence of these kinds of crowded spaces both inside and outside the houses. Moreover, when the distribution of households according to number of rooms in the housing unit (Figure 4.2) in Derbent Neighbourhood is pointed out, it is clear that most of the residents are not used to live in highly small houses.

⁶⁹ E62: He is 60 years old. He is from Ankara. He came to Eserkent as a result of UTP in Northern Ankara. He has been living there for 5 years.

⁷⁰ Belene Camp was used basically for assimilation of the people who resisted against the policies of Communist Bulgaria. People were forced to work hard under difficult conditions.

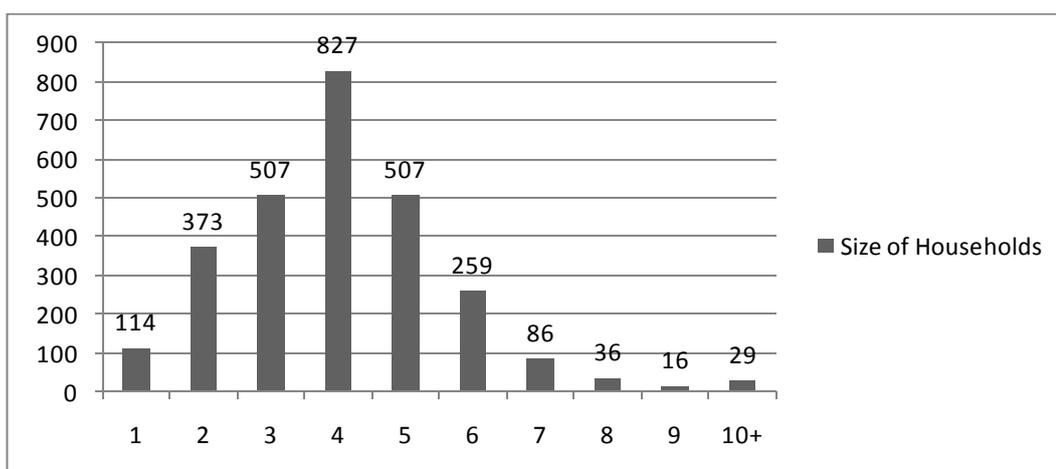


Figure 4.1. Size of Households in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Census of Population 2000)

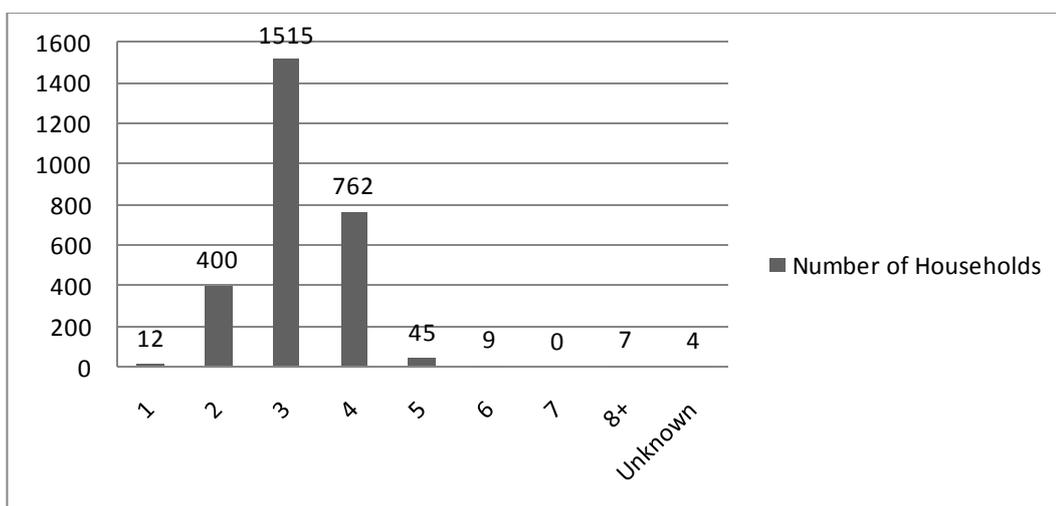


Figure 4.2. Distribution of Households according to Number of Rooms in the Housing Unit in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Census of Population 2000)

E18⁷¹ mentioned that he did not want to live in apartment and added as such:

No one can disturb us in gecekondü but in apartment neighbours begin to complain in every little noise. Excuse me, but if someone farts in apartment, everyone can hear it. Gecekondü is more comfortable. You can make picnic, barbeque or grow fruits and vegetables just in front of your gecekondü in your garden. You cannot make the same thing in apartment...

⁷¹ E18: He is 46 years old. He is from Kars. He came to Ankara in 1994. He resided in Köstence and Araplar Neighbourhood as a tenant. Then he moved into Derbent. Number of household is five. He has 200 m² registered and developed land. He is working Çankaya Municipality's garbage corporation.

You cannot even know who enter or go out in the apartment. Neighbours cannot recognize one another.

E62 said that they could sit in front of their gecekonu, make tea, make noise or play music without disturbing someone; yet in apartment they have to obey the rules. E61⁷² stated that due to insufficient isolation in apartment every voice made by neighbours can be heard directly. E32⁷³ who have experienced the life in both gecekonu and apartment preferred to live in gecekonu and stated that people can freely act in gecekonu; yet it is hard to live in apartment. He added that gecekonu residents already have a garden which provides many opportunities such as making picnic and barbeque, drinking tea in front of their gecekonu. He said “although we have a barbeque in our balcony, it does not work”. Similarly, E69⁷⁴ stated that they used to make picnic freely in their balcony or garden in the gecekonu; however, they are immediately warned in the apartment when they make some noise.

Especially, the gecekonu dwellers who spent most of their times in gecekonu neighbourhoods with his/her close relatives, friends or neighbours react against the urban transformation project. E14⁷⁵ who spent most of his life in Derbent stated his feeling as follows:

I am 45 years old. I am here for 45 years. I was born here and I grew up here... I know every house and their residents one by one... I do not give up even if they give me a villa... The friendship is highly different in here... I have many memories in these streets. I do not

⁷² E61: He is 52 years old. He is from Yozgat. He had lived in Derbent before he moved into Eserkent two years ago. He is retired.

⁷³ E32: He is 36 years old. He is from Ankara. He had come to Ankara when he was six from Elmadağ. He had lived in gecekonu for 25 years. Now he is living in apartment in Yeşilbayır. They have still two gecekonu rented. He is a television repairer. He is a tenant in his workplace in Derbent.

⁷⁴ E69: He is 17 years old. He is from Kırıkkale. He had lived in gecekonu for 15 years. His family moved into Eserkent two years ago. They are residing in two rooms and one hall houses in Eserkent. They became 25000 TL in debt due to project.

⁷⁵ E14: He is 45 years old. He is from Kars. He has been living in Derbent for 41 years. Till 1977, they lived in a gecekonu where is located in Derbent 2nd street. Then they moved into another gecekonu and built its second floor in 1985. Now he is living in an apartment but he runs a market in Derbent and his family's house is still there. He severely rejects the project.

exchange anything with this street. I want house on the very same place of my previous house. I want to live this neighbourhood until I die... We can buy the best house in cash at any where we want in Ankara today... You cannot buy everything with the money. When I enter to this street, I remember my loves, friendships, neighbours, childhood. I do not exchange these with something... But these guys do not know how these feelings are... Let my neighbourhood live. The ministers will be stay here, and they will send us far away. We do not want more than we deserve but we just want houses at the exact place of our gecekondü. Time to time I visit my father's gecekondü. When I go there, I returned to my childhood, to 40 years ago... There are people here who stay at the top of the hill in hard conditions; yet they are not exchange their gecekondü to three houses. These people grow up here.

E28⁷⁶ mentioned that living in gecekondü resembles to village life. He asserted that he cannot leave there, even if they forced him to do so. In the same way, K16⁷⁷ stated that she could not suffer from the caprice of the residents in apartment; thus she has not even think to live there. She told “Although my father has apartment house, I did not want to move into there. I love my gecekondü”. Moreover, K6⁷⁸ said that her gecekondü and its garden provide them many opportunities which made it better than the pledged house of municipality. She said “Our neighbourhood used to be beautiful. We have every vehicle for transportation right front of us. We do not pay anything for fruits that are grown in our garden. We experienced the village life here”. She certainly does not want to move into Eserkent which seems as death for her. Another interviewee E61 from Eserkent actually justified her worries by saying “many people come here with hopes, yet some of them died by falling down from the balcony, some of them died in their beds... People get bored and get down in here”.

⁷⁶ E28: He is 61 years old. He is from Kars. He bought his gecekondü in 1985. He has six children. He is living with his wife and three children. He had worked in Germany. He is retired now.

⁷⁷ K6: She is 55 years old. She is from İstanbul. She has been living in Derbent for 20 years. She is a tenant and living with many dogs and cats in her gecekondü; although she has a apartment house at Etlik. She is a retired teacher.

⁷⁸ K6: She is 62 years old. She is from Çorum. Before moving to Derbent 20 years ago, they had lived in Tepecik Neighbourhood. She is living with her husband in two storey gecekondü on 375 m² land which is close to Hatip Çayı (stream). They have tapu-tahsis document. Their only income is her husband's retirement pension.

Interviewee E9⁷⁹ mentioned that everyone had relatives in this region according to their hometown. He also added that they were trying to assist the neighbours and relatives who are in a difficult situation. Therefore, the close relations among neighbours and relatives are highly influential on the gecekondu dwellers' acceptance or resistance decisions. Another instance that can be indicated as a good example to this issue is the events that Yusuf Kankal (E65)⁸⁰ was experienced as a result of the project⁸¹. According to his assertions, his wife accepted the contract even without informing him because their close relatives had left the area. Although he resist against his wife's decision and municipality, he could not save his gecekondu and eventually after his gecekondu had been demolished, he inevitably turned to his wife's temporary house in Eserkent. He said that he had fallen apart from his wife and seriously had thought the divorce from his wife.

E8⁸² said "Here, everyone knows each other. We can directly differentiate the strangers at first glance; yet this cannot be the case for apartment. Whilst we celebrate our weddings, the street is not enough for the crowd." He also added "In apartments, even spatially very close neighbours do not congratulate another's wedding. It is that much simple." K12⁸³ who was ready to accept the project in case

⁷⁹ E9: He is 61 years old. He is from Ardahan. He and his family came to Derbent Neighbourhood in 1965. His gecekondu which has four rooms is on registered and developed land. Number of household is two and one of them has income. He is graduated from primary school and retired from catering company.

⁸⁰ E65: He is 56 years old. He is from Nevşehir. He had stayed in gecekondu since he was born. They first resided in Ulus. Then after he had retired, he bought a two storey gecekondu on a 300 m² registered and developed land in Derbent. This land was registered under the name of his wife who signed the contract without informing him. They took 6000 TL and moved into Eserkent. (This interviewee's name is mentioned because his story had been already publicised in the newspapers. Also, his consent was taken into consideration).

⁸¹ This case was also reflected in the press. Details can be found in the section of this thesis that includes related news about the project.

⁸² E8: He is 59 years old. He is from Sinop. He and his family came to Gülvören Neighbourhood in 1968 and then moved into Derbent Neighbourhood in 1976. His gecekondu which has five rooms is on registered and developed land. Number of household is four and one of them has income. He is graduated from junior high school and retired from a patisserie.

⁸³ K12: She is 38 years old. She is from Kırıkkale. She has been living in Derbent for 22 years old. After they had lived as tenant, they built their gecekondu on her father-in-law's land, therefore they have no right within the project. Number of household is six. Her husband gets minimum wage. She has worked time to time to increase their revenue.

getting adequate share from the project was wholly against to living in apartment because she experienced some instances while she was working in apartments as a cleaner. She said “In apartment, everyone is stranger. There is every kind of people who can potentially disturb others. We know each other in this neighbourhood.” She indicated that she chose to live in gecekondur instead of moving to apartment. Likewise, E86⁸⁴ who is a one of the neighbour representatives of Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau stated that although their neighbourhood was very comfortable and they were accustomed to live freely, not to lose economically everything they had tried negotiating with the municipality. As it is seen most of the gecekondur residents are not willing to leave their neighbourhood where they spend most of their lives. However, possible economical gains or losses influence their positions towards the UTP.

Derbent Headman (E27)⁸⁵ indicated as such whilst evaluating the conditions between Derbent and Eserkent:

We were like villagers from the same village with all other neighbours regardless of their original born place. All of them educated in the same school like close relatives. However, now in Eserkent there are various people who come from all around Ankara. How these people can get along with others... There are always fights over there. Someone fell down from the balcony. Someone caught his wife in the elevator with another man. However, here everyone knows each other.

On this very same issue, many interviewees in Eserkent accepted the chaotic conditions that experienced previously. Especially as a result of the state intervention that targeted mostly the poor gecekondur neighbourhoods, many people in poverty move into Eserkent with their chronic problems. Many residents in Eserkent mentioned that these people who came among them from other UTP areas

⁸⁴ E86: He is 54 years old. He is from Tunceli. He has been living in Tepecik Neighbourhood since he was born. Number of household is four. He introduced themselves as the founders of the Tepecik Neighbourhood. He is one of the neighbourhood representatives of Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau. He is a construction foreman. He took part as a left wing activist in 70s and imprisoned for 8 years due to political activities.

⁸⁵ E27: He is 52 years old. He is from Kars. This is his third term as a headman. He is living in Derbent but also he bought house at Çankaya two years ago. He is decisively against the project.

led to occurrence of many problems. These people who lived throughout their life with close friends or relatives in a semi closed systems suddenly faced various unknown group of people and forced to live with them in a certain area. This inevitably causes clashes among many neighbours. E62 stated as such:

People in this area are morally deprived. Various types of crimes are committed here. Drinking, taking drugs, whoring began to spread among kids. We are feeling ashamed. There is 13 years old girl who was engaged in here... All mothers accompany their kids until they enter the school. Parents are in fear due to some of these teens' behaviours... We cannot call the police because they can give harm to us or our family... They beat the security.

Additionally, K23⁸⁶ stated that hurly burly was highly common in Eserkent's buildings which could not be called apartment due to residents who come from gecekondü. She added that Eserkent was utterly different place where chaos ruled everything. K22⁸⁷ mentioned that the fights could occur for no apparent reasons.

On the other hand, some interviewees mentioned that breaking people's connections from their livelihood and bringing them to different place among different people inevitably led to certain tensions among residents both in the Eserkent and in Araplar Neighbourhood. Many former inhabitants of the region expressed their complaints about the people in Eserkent. With the establishment of Eserkent at the beginning of 2000s, population of Araplar Neighbourhood began to increase drastically (Figure 4.3)⁸⁸. Many gecekondü residents who had accepted the UTPs at their region transferred to Araplar Neighbourhood without considering their socio-cultural or economical differences from the existing inhabitants. The former ones began to share their living space with these people whom they welcomed certainly

⁸⁶ K23: She is 63 years old. She is from Bolu. She came to Eserkent from Baraj Neighbourhood within the Northern Ankara UTP. They built their gecekondü in 1975. She is living in one hall one room house on her own.

⁸⁷ K22: She is 65 years old. She is from Kars. She came to Eserkent from Dikmen. She had lived in gecekondü for 30 years. They are 30000 TL in debt due to project. They did not pay instalments due to administrative court's stay of execution decision about Dikmen UTP. The number of household is three. They are living in a one room one hall house.

⁸⁸ A decrease in the population of Araplar Neighbourhood observed during the recent years due to urban transformation project.

not well. Under these conditions, the former inhabitants were disturbed by these new comers' actions that were alien to the region. For instance, E52⁸⁹ stated that after people had been transferred to Eserkent from various sides of Ankara, there occurred robbery which had not experienced before in their neighbourhood. He added that many fights had broken out due to clashes among teenagers. He criticised and blamed the municipality due to social disorders that they were face with. However, most of the residents mentioned that after project beneficiaries, who had come from Çin Çin⁹⁰ within another UTP, had transferred to their own houses, life in Eserkent turned to normal at least in terms of security.

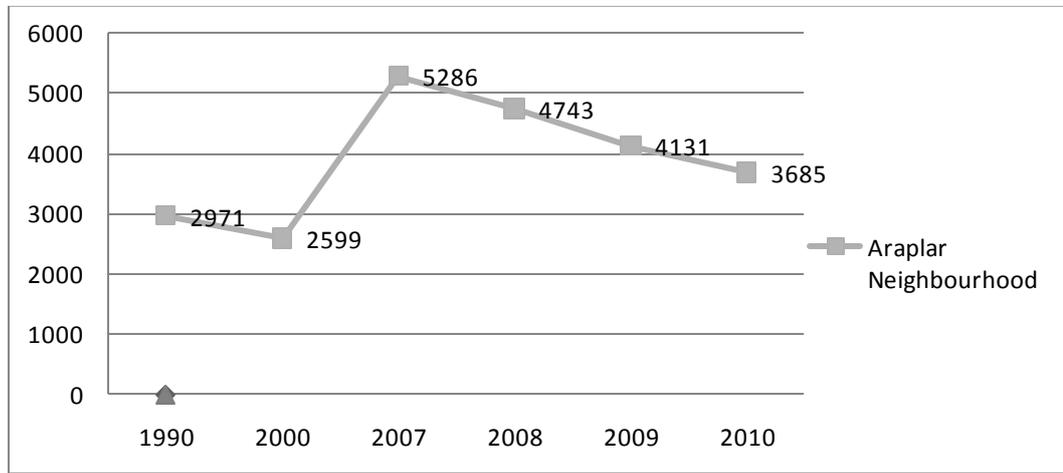


Figure 4.3. Number of Population Distribution in Araplar Neighbourhood (1990-2009) (Source: TSI)

When the residents' distribution according to age groups is considered in Derbent Neighbourhood (Figure 4.4), the young interviewees' opinions gain importance among others in terms of their perspectives to gecekodu. E10⁹¹ is a teen who is

⁸⁹ E52: He is 25 years old. He has been living in Dostlar Neighbourhood since he was born. They are living in a four room gecekodu. The number of household is five. He is against the project.

⁹⁰ Çin Çin is a district where is considered as the most dangerous and insecure neighbourhood of Ankara.

⁹¹ E10: He is 13 years old. He is from Kars. He is going to junior high-school. He and his family moved into Derbent 3 years ago from their hometown. Number of household is four and just his dad works in marketplace. They are tenant in a gecekodu with three rooms. They have 'green card' (it

very pleased to living in gecekondü. He said “this is the best place. All our friends and relatives are here.” E11⁹² said that his friends whose families signed the demolition contract are not happy to move into the apartments. It is observed that especially among residents at these ages desire to stay at the gecekondü due to unconstrained playgrounds and strong relative and townsman bonds. They feel freer in gecekondü areas than apartment blocks. On the other hand, although high school teens indicated similar opinions about the gecekondü and apartment lives, they complained about the insufficient service facilities that they could spend their free time. For instance, K18⁹³ mentioned she was too bored because there was no place that she and her friends could wander in Derbent. On the other hand, E24⁹⁴ stated that although the service facilities were restricted in gecekondü neighbourhoods and he could not find enough time to spend with his friends from his neighbourhood due to his and their works, he desired to live in gecekondü because he feels free there. Likewise, K18 said that she preferred to live in gecekondü instead of apartment because according to her, everything is restricted in apartment such as listening loud music. She added that she just feels secure within her neighbourhood. However, another teenager K14⁹⁵ stated that due to desolation, they began to experience insecurity in their neighbourhood where had been much better before the project.

provides free access to needy people, whose earnings are less than minimum level of income, benefit from medical care at the state and some university hospitals and freed from medical drug expenses) and get social relief from the municipality.

⁹² E11: He is 14 years old. He is from Erzurum. He is going to junior high-school. He and his family moved into Derbent 4 years ago from their hometown. Number of household is seven and just his dad works as lumberman. They are tenant in a gecekondü with three rooms. They have ‘green card’ and get social relief from the municipality.

⁹³ K18: She is 16 years old. She is from Kırşehir. Her family came to Derbent from Boğaziçi. Number of household is four. His father is a ceramic worker in the constructions.

⁹⁴ E24: He is 18 years old. He is from Ankara. He and his father were born in Derbent. His father is 46 years old. He is the third generation. He is graduated from high school. They sold their gecekondü. They will move into apartment in Misket Neighbourhood. The number of household is four. He is the only person working in his family. He is a cashier in a restaurant. His father is a plumber but he cannot work due to his illness.

⁹⁵ K14: She is 17 years old. She is from Erzurum. She is a high school student. She is the third generation. Her grandparents built their gecekondü 47 years ago in Derbent. Her parents moved into another gecekondü after marriage. Her father is retired public servant. They have tapu-tahsis document for 300 m2 land. The number of household is seven. Her brother and his wife are living with them. She is daughter of K13.

E23 shared similar views with her and indicated that although he really liked to live in gecekondu neighbourhood, a child could not be raised such a place due to social problems that influence the whole behaviours of children. K19 who is a teacher at Üreğil Anatolian Girls' Vocational School stated that neither she nor other teachers had even considered residing in project neighbourhoods due to social problems. She added that she did not want to raise her little child in these neighbourhoods.

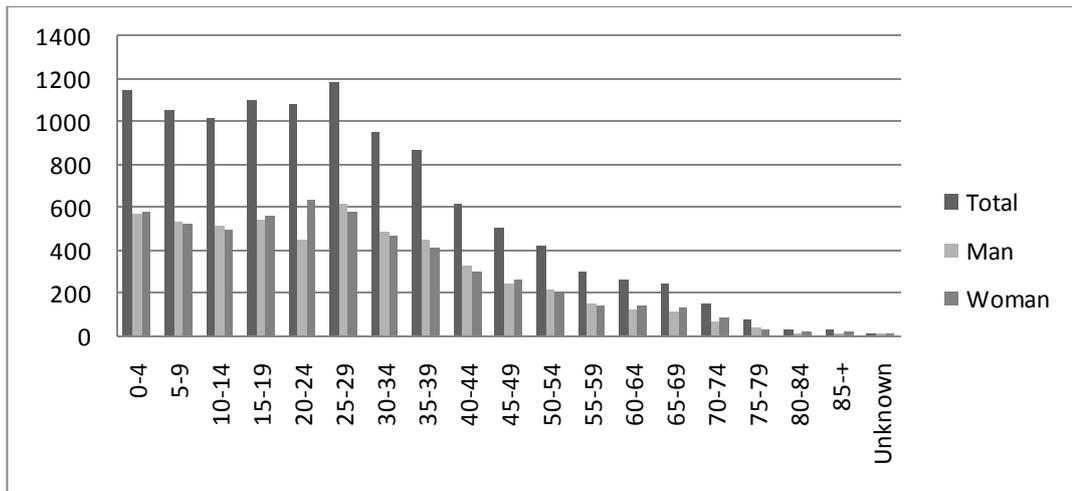


Figure 4.4. Distribution according to Age Groups in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Census of Population 2000)

Some interviewees mentioned that the effect of traumatic conditions due to moving from gecekondu to apartment could be decreased if close neighbours were transferred altogether one from another. It was seen during the field research that people want to live in their neighbourhood where they spent their whole life and people want to live with their neighbours who play significant role during the emergence of the community and solidarity within it. E69 drew attention to the conditions of people who accepted and left the area. He asserted that although many of his relatives signed the contract and left the area, they could not separated or disconnected from Mamak and began to come together with other relatives again in Mamak. On the other hand, E20⁹⁶ stated by pointing the market-led transformed apartments close to Derbent that gecekondu residents had gave their rights to

⁹⁶ E20: He is 54 years old. He is from Çankırı. His gecekondu is in Dostlar Neighbourhood. He has been working as a transporter for 20 years. He rent a place in Derbent to do his job.

contractor and they got at least one houses at the very same place of their gecekondus; therefore they maintain to live together with the people who deeply get used to one another. Another interviewee E32 who had been experienced this transformation mentioned as such:

Moving among residents who have already resided in apartment for a while creates serious problems. It is hard to live in an apartment whose order is established. However, in our case contractors build the apartment and all our neighbours came directly from gecekondu. Therefore, we become get used to altogether.

Besides the broken relations, demolishment and decreasing number of population (Figure 4.5) influenced negatively the living conditions in UTP neighbourhoods in various aspects. One of them is the socio-economic life of the residents within these regions turned to misery. E28 indicated that they were not opposed to state but they were really in difficult condition. He added that no grocery, butcher and market remained in the region. Many residents go to Mamak centre to provide their basic needs. It also takes too much time. On the very same issue, K5⁹⁷ mentioned her views as follows:

Living among these wreckages are too hard. For just one bread or something, we are going to everywhere with the service vehicles. When our guests come, we are wretched. We become obliged to go to Mamak centre everyday to provide our basic needs. We are exhausted due to come and go. We are in a difficult condition. Guests can come suddenly. We have to make storage of foods yet we have not enough money to buy more than we need every time. Especially for winter, the conditions become worse. The other day, a guest came. I came here to buy bread; but the grocery was closed. Therefore, I went to Mamak to buy it. When I turned home, my guest was bored to death. It is very hard to live here.

⁹⁷ K5: She is 40 years old. She is from Ardahan. She has been living in Derbent for 20 years. They are sitting in a gecekondu that has 4 rooms at the top of the hill. The gecekondu's owner is her father in law who had lived in Derbent for 50 years. Household number is seven. Her two children have constant illness. Her husband is not working. Their only income is her father in law's retirement pension 900 TL. She is against the project.

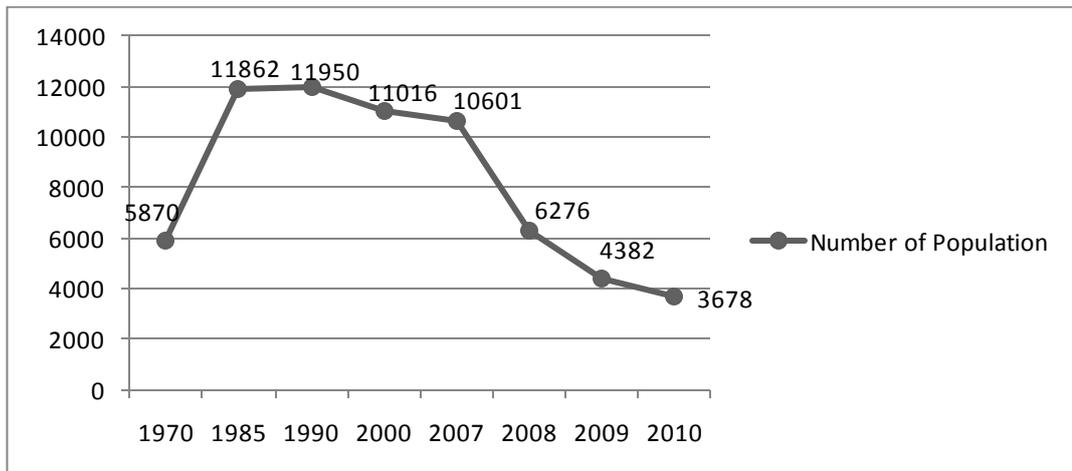


Figure 4.5. Number of Population Distribution in Derbent Neighbourhood (1970-2009) (Source: TSI)

The relations among residents are also negatively influenced from the project. Firstly, most of the tenants forced to leave their houses. While some of them found another gecekondü in their neighbourhood and had chance to postpone the exclusion that will be experienced eventually under these conditions from the area, some others moved into areas where the rent payments, services and facilities are reasonable. Some residents indicated that as a result of demolitions, everyone most probably would move into different areas to keep their cost of living down and they would fall apart, although they had become like a family in the course of time. For instance E20 said by indicating his friend “we spent most of our time together; yet, in case the demolition of this building, he will move into Sincan, other one move into somewhere and so on. Solidarity is too strong here like a family”. E41⁹⁸ said that although there had been strong solidarity, interaction and relation with every neighbour after the project all the neighbour relations broke up due to decreasing number of population. K13⁹⁹ pointed that the relations began to worsened ten years

⁹⁸ E41: He is 52 years old. He is from Yozgat. He has been living in Derbent for 50 years. He is second generation that begins to live in gecekondü. The number of household is three. He has a child who is going to junior high-school. He has no legal document on land that they live. He is retired shoemaker. Their only income is his retirement pension.

⁹⁹ K13: She is 48 years old. She is from Erzurum. She has been living in Derbent for 47 years. Her parents are the first generation. After she had married, she moved into another gecekondü. They have tapu-tahsis document for 300 m² land. Her husband is retired public servant. The number of household is seven. She is mother of K14. They did not accept the project.

ago. According to her the people she closely knew left the area to whether their children or tenants and consequently the number of strangers in her neighbourhood began to increase.

Furthermore, E41 said that due to desolation they were in fear. He stated “Even if someone commits a murder, no one becomes aware of it under these conditions. There are people who come here to drink alcohol and make love. There is no neighbour remaining. We are just living alone”. E81¹⁰⁰ stated that although he is a man, he is in fear while trying to reach his home after sun goes down. Similarly, K6 mentioned that they were living in fear due to loneliness after her neighbours had moved into. She continued as such:

Most of the residents who have children left here due to insecurity. For instance, my neighbour said ‘I will accept the project, I have to’ because he has a teenager daughter. No one remained here. I cannot go anywhere. My husband went to village, so I called my son to come here.

According to the national address database of General Directorate of Population and Citizenship Affairs bound to Ministry of Interior the number of dwelling is 3165 for Derbent Neighbourhood in 2010, whilst the number of population, according to the Turkish Statistical Institute database, is 3678 for the same year. When this number is divided into average household number which is four for the Derbent Neighbourhood, 919.5 is found as a total resided dwelling. Therefore, this calculation indicates that there are more than 2000 vacant dwellings. Under these conditions, although some of these dwellings can be demolished within the project, normally the remaining ones create desolation for the dwellers that are decisive to reside in their gecekondu neighbourhood. As it is mentioned also by the interviewees, this brings serious problems to the residents of the neighbourhoods. Consequently, the demolitions destruct not only the gecekondus but also the social relations and living space that mean a lot to gecekondu dwellers.

¹⁰⁰ E81: He is 44 years old. He is from Ağrı. He has been living in Derbent for 20 years. They chose Derbent due to closeness to his mother-in-law who is residing in Kayaş.

4.2.2. Socio-spatial Differences

During the field research, it is seen that many interviewees whether for or against the project have certain problems due to socio-spatial conditions both in their gecekondü neighbourhood and newly moved into apartment blocks. Many interviewees indicated these problems as the reasons why they have negative or positive attitudes towards the project. As it is observed during the socio-cultural differences evaluation, the habitus and the possessed forms of capitals played significant role whilst the gecekondü dwellers' evaluated the socio-spatial conditions and differences between gecekondü and apartment houses. Moreover, it should be mentioned that the implementations of the authority directly contributed to formation of negative and positive opinions among the dwellers.

Interviewee E7¹⁰¹ told that many people had moved into Eserkent due to free natural gas for heating; yet, they stuck to those highly small houses. He sees no difference between the houses in Eserkent and jail or chicken coop. E4 explained why he chose to be a tenant instead of moving to Eserkent via pointing their number of population. He said that:

When we accepted the project, our household number had been six. My dad passed away five months ago. We could not handle in houses with just two rooms even three rooms. Somehow, we consented to stay in larger ones not to pay rent; yet, they said that there is queue to reside in these houses... As a head of the family, as a father, as a husband I just want to comfort my family. We had been thinking to move into apartment for years.

K7 mentioned that municipality offered them one hall and one room houses from Eserkent because their number of population was two; however, she indicated that due to their three children and their kids who frequently visit them they have no chance to fit into there. Moreover, many interviewees who moved into Eserkent said that they had had to either throw away their stuff or remove them to storage.

¹⁰¹ E7: He is 57 years old. He is from Erzurum. He and his family came to Derbent Neighbourhood in 1991. His gecekondü which is two storeys and has six rooms is on registered and developed land. Number of household is eight and two of them have income. He is graduated from high school and retired from the private cleaning company.

Beyond that, many families could not get adequately large houses that are required to hold the whole family members together. E61 who began to live in Eserkent two years ago stated his views on this issue as such:

Here is like a detention camp... Many families separated and fell apart. For instance, my son and his wife were live with us in gecekondü which appropriate for the whole family. After this process had begun, I desired to move into bigger houses in Eserkent; yet, they gave these houses to people who bribed them. Although my population number is seven, they did not give me bigger house. I moved into smaller one, and my son rented a house apart from us. Thanks to God (sarcastically) they created separated families. We are waiting in suspense.

E61 indicated that his wife had fried fish and it stank for couple of days in their hall where they spent all their life in it at home. E33¹⁰² was certainly against living in Eserkent and resembled these houses to the prefabricated shelters that are provided to the earthquake victims. Besides men, women also complained about the insufficiencies of the houses in Eserkent. K1 mentioned that they had problems due to smallness of the lodging houses. She indicated that they could barely live in there with four populations. “The kitchen is included to the hall and one bad barely fit to bedroom... The balcony is too small to hang out the laundry” said K1. The inappropriateness of providing houses having one hall and one room to the large families are frequently declared by the interviewees. It is also mentioned that there are houses which has one hall and two rooms provided to large families in Eserkent; yet during field research it is mostly stated that the families whose population is five or six stay in one hall and one room houses due to scarcity of and excess demand to these one hall and two rooms larger houses. K1 said that many of the residents who resist against the project did not give their gecekondü to authority because their population number is highly enough to fit into these small houses. They have to fall apart to move into Eserkent.

¹⁰² E33: He is 77 years old. He is from Ankara. He has been living in gecekondü since 1966. K7 is his wife. They got another gecekondü in Boğaziçi. It is rented and they took 200 TL per month in return. He is retired from Turkish State Railways. His children are residing different parts of Ankara.

Whilst evaluating the conditions in apartment, E8 said “compulsorily, we will live in there (Eserkent) like a corpse. We have to, although it is better to get underground. No one wants to live there”. Likewise, E9 indicated the comfortable and freer living conditions of the gecekondus as sufficient reasons not to move into apartment blocks.

Besides smallness, some interviewees indicated that especially one hall and one room houses provided in Eserkent are inappropriate to their culture. E20 pointed his views on Eserkent as such:

The houses are very small. It is hard to live for four persons in one room. There are just one room kitchen, one bedroom and one bathroom. There is no other room. You will come to visit me and sit on the room while my wife is cooking. And you will watch her. It is impossible.

K1 also said that her daughter had become sick from after they had come to Eserkent due to dirtiness of the apartment. Now she suffers from pulmonary cyst and has been treated for one and a half year. When it is asked the reason of dirtiness, she said

60 houses are together. My daughter became sick here due to germs. Many people uses the elevator, many of them push the buttons. Kid touches and put her hand to her mouth. Although I am clean at home, the inside of the apartment is more significant. In short, there are health problems here.

Moreover, she said that she was worried about her kids’ security whilst they were playing in the balcony or apartment wells; because they are sitting at the tenth floor. As it is understood from this assertion people especially woman can be faced with serious conditions in terms of their kids.

Another problem that gecekondus residents questioned about the Eserkent and also the apartment life is the high rising building structures. E26 stated that he like many others did not want to live in 15 storey apartment buildings. E25¹⁰³ supported him

¹⁰³ E25: He is 64 years old. He is from Konya. He and his family came to Derbent in 1966. He has three gecekondus on the same land. After they had built the first one in 1966, the second and the third ones were built in 1970 for his children. He is retired. He is living with his wife.

and said even if he accepted the project; he would want to move into a detached house with a huge garden instead of apartment. It is seen during the field research that the gecekondü residents who get used to live at most two storey buildings can face harsh conditions in apartments due to height. Especially aged residents in gecekondü have worries about how to reach upper storeys in case any electricity cut or elevator breakdown. These mostly downplayed changes can influence people's lives that are spent under totally different conditions.

On the other hand, it is seen during the field research that many gecekondü buildings have better structural and environmental conditions than both apartment houses and luxury villas. Besides, there are also apartment buildings that were planned to be demolished within the project (Figure 4.6). Some interviews were also made with these apartment's residents. They mentioned that they are not willing to become a part of this project. One of them E16¹⁰⁴ stated that although the residents' intents were negative to the project in apartments, their situation was highly bounded to the solidarity among them. The cracks among them would surely and inevitably increase the possible pressure on the resisting residents. He added "if one resident accepts the project in apartment, easily and quickly the others will follow him/her". On this very same issue, E82 mentioned that the gecekondü residents have to accept the project because gecekondü is not the final point that they can reach. However, according to him, in terms of spatial conditions there is nothing beyond the apartment house. Therefore, besides opposing gecekondü residents, the people who reside already in apartment houses constitute serious opposing forces against the project due to their already acquired rights and life conditions.

¹⁰⁴ E16: He is 46 years old. He is from Manisa. He has been living in Derbent for 22 years. He also lived at Dutluk and Boğaziçi in the project area. He is living in a apartment house in the project area. He also has a gecekondü on 256 m² land at Boğaziçi. He is a teacher. He wants to live at a place such as Sihhiye close to city centre.



Figure 4.6. Views of Apartments in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: Personal Archive)

As it is indicated at the beginning, the implementations of the authority have certain effects on the gecekondu dwellers' negative views. The environmental conditions that municipality created during demolitions in Derbent Neighbourhood were mostly criticized by the gecekondu residents. Due to demolitions, the neighbourhood turned to battlefield and residents began to live among wreckages (Figure 4.7). Even though, this issue as it is indicated above frequently discussed in some newspapers, no solution was introduced to solve this problem by authority. The gecekondu debris was not razed and residents who want to stay in their gecekondu were forced live under these unhealthy and insecure environmental conditions. These conditions were variously evaluated by the interviewees. For instance, E4 who accepted the project said "There is no much problem. During the initial demolitions, there occurred rats coming from sewage system. In addition, they do not raze the debris of gecekondu. There is a problem due to this. But apart from that there is no any problem. Garbage is regularly collected".



Figure 4.7. Views of the gecekondu among wreckages in Der bent Neighbourhood (Source: Personal Archive)

Another interviewee K12 preferred the demolition of vacant gecekondus ones because according to her, vagabonds or homeless people could choose these houses to settle. She said that demolition was better; otherwise they could not live in their neighbourhood due to security. However, many residents were very angry about the conditions that they live in when they compare it to the past of their neighbourhood. K5 mentioned that although their neighbourhood was very clean and in peace in the past, then they began to live among garbage and with the rats after the project. Also, she told that due to strangers such as scrap dealers, burglars, drunks, vagabonds, they could not spend time just in front of their homes. Also, some residents mentioned that they could not walk around after sun goes down due to broken and not repaired street lamps. It was stated that at once the telephone wires were cut weeklong. E72 who is a municipal police mentioned that they received complaint calls about scrap dealers. He added that although they were trying to prevent such undesired conditions, the presence of scrap dealers were normal in these semi demolished neighbourhoods. On the other hand, a police officer (E54) who is on duty at the project region during the last 20 years mentioned that the crime rates are really low in there because of familiarity of residents. He said “everyone knows others in here. Under any case, we respond promptly.” Another police officer (E55) stated that some people were exaggerating the conditions or telling lies about the situations. Although there is no proof such as crime records to verify the claims of both residents and officers, the unrest is obvious among society. Moreover, residents began to question the intent of authority behind this irresponsibly created ruinous area. E65 stated that the authority tried to intimidate residents to accept the project via not preventing theft and not cleaning the neighbourhoods from debris. In the same way, interviewee E8 drew attention to the municipality’s gecekondus demolitions that ended up with the occurrence of barely liveable places. He mentioned that they are desperate against various insects and no one including the headman of the neighbourhood can do anything due to ignorance of municipality. He said “bibbers and drunks come here and make noise. We call police, and then they run away.” Families worry about their children due to desolation of the neighbourhood. This can be indicated as another reason why people have tendency to sign the contract and leave their gecekondus, since many residents who resisting

signing the contract are living among undesired environmental and social conditions. Therefore, it cannot be ignored that due to these conditions, residents are forced to accept the project that includes no exact time and place for the pledged houses. By this way, the municipality holds high autonomy against the residents during the process.

E9 mentioned that their location is highly appropriate to access to the city centre such as Ulus via public transportation; yet he had concerns in case they are forced to move into middle of nowhere. E33 said that he had three ways very close to his gecekondü to reach everywhere by various vehicles (Figure 4.8). E14 indicated his views as follows:

It takes 10 minutes to Kızılay and Ulus. There is a direct vehicle to Batıkent, Ostim, Demet, Etlik, Sincan. You can go everywhere in Ankara and city centre from here. If you have patient, you are immediately there... We are not a peripheral neighbourhood. We are at the centre of Ankara. The municipality and district governor's building are so close here. The city is becoming closer to us but they are pushing us back. Are we second or third class; it appears as such. We are third class. While the city is becoming closer, they are forcing us to stay far from it.

E32 indicated that his uncle who used to work in Kızılay had preferred to reside in Derbent due to direct and easy transportation opportunities. However, according to him, they had been forced to leave the area due to fear of desolation and insecurity. Headman of Derbent drew attention to availability of the hospitals in terms of closeness to their neighbourhood. He indicated that living in other districts of Ankara such as Keçiören, Eryaman, Batıkent and Sincan could not provide such an opportunity to its inhabitants. Many interviewees have similar comments on the issue of accessibility of the area. The various ways to reach city centres such as train, public buses and dolmuş¹⁰⁵ provide cheap and easy ways especially for low paid workers.

¹⁰⁵ Dolmuş is a public transportation vehicle run privately and resembles physically to minibus.

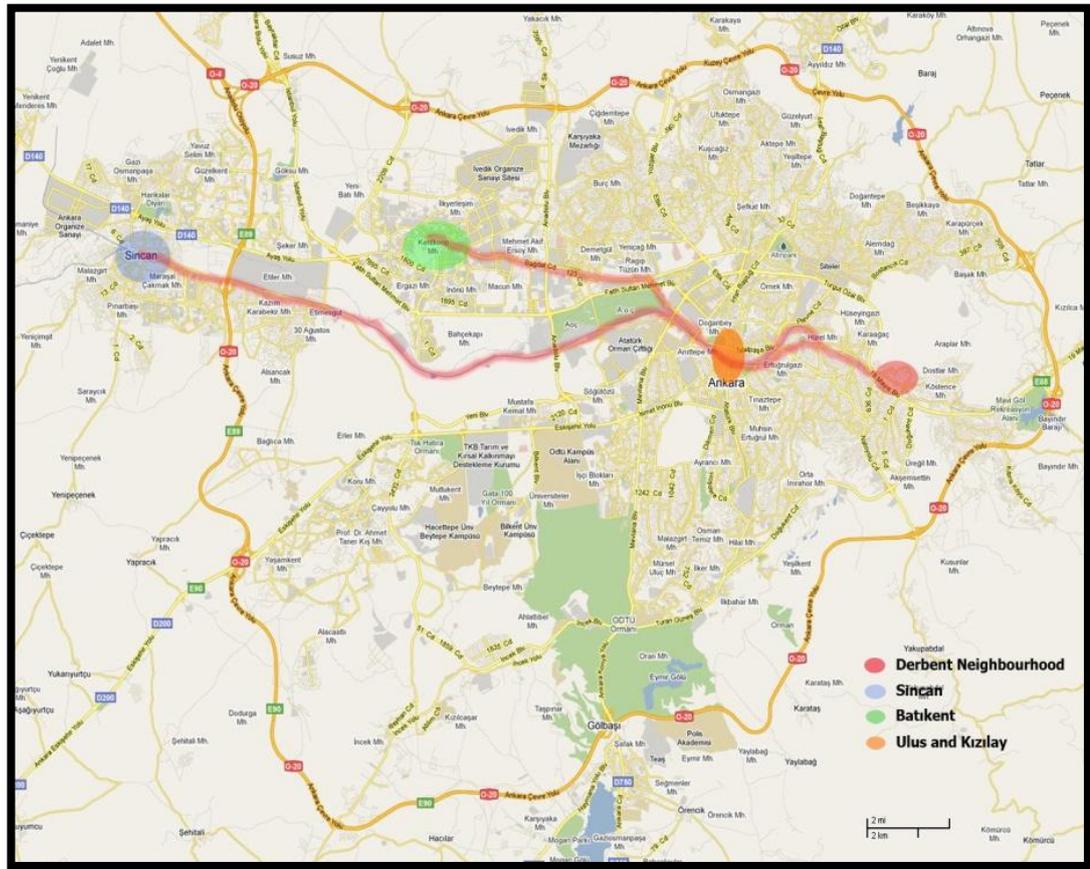


Figure 4.8. Transportation Channels' Route of Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: maps.google.com, prepared by the author)

On the other hand, the authority creates unliveable places for the gecekondu residents who resist the project whilst providing many opportunities to the people who sign the project contract and move into Eserkent. K1 said about the service facilities in Eserkent mass Housing Area that:

There are computer courses. Gymnastic course was newly opened. Market has been opened for two months. The public bus had not come here; yet we, Mamak people, struggled and collected signs. Now public buses come in site. There was nothing here. We were going to city centre to satisfy our needs. But now market was opened, park was reconstructed. It becomes better day by day.

E1 claimed that they have many opportunities in that area unlike gecekondu such as family life centre. K26 who is a teacher at Great Municipality of Ankara ANFA Elementary School in Eserkent also mentioned that due to brand new school,

students found more chance to get better education. Some women are also satisfied with the security service that is provided by Great Municipality of Ankara. They said that there occurs limited numbers of severe incidents which was just among teenagers. On the other hand, when it is asked to woman how they spent their spare time in Eserkent, it is seen that they mostly go out and sit on meadows in summer time or they come together in one's house in cold weathers. Nonetheless, it has to be mentioned that although there is a large park in front of their apartment blocks; they mostly chose very close places to their apartments; because park is mostly dominated by men. Therefore, women can become visible mostly close areas to their houses. On the other hand, they mentioned that instead of shopping malls time to time they go to Ulus for shopping and prefer to go zoo and green areas for picnic with their family. Moreover, there are limited numbers of working women who are mostly employed in service sector such as cleaning and medical.

About the life conditions in Eserkent, E1 stated that if someone tells that he or she is not pleased to be in Eserkent Mass Housing Area where resembles to 'heaven', weather s/he ideologically opposed or expects more economic share from the project. K1 is very pleased due to heating system that works with natural gas. She said "we are very comfortable in the winter. It heats superb." Likewise, K20 stated that some problems were not bothering them because heating system was working and we are living neatly and cleanly. K14 stated that many of the gecekondus residents had accepted the project to live the apartment life because it was a real problem to deal with stove and coal in gecekondus. Similarly, E71¹⁰⁶ who moved into Eserkent via accepting the project principles said that he was very pleased to living in Eserkent. He indicated his positive attitudes about the conditions as such:

We are very happy here. Heaters are working. May god be pleased with them (municipality). They are not taking money for heaters. Our houses are also good. We are in peace. Thank god... Municipality cares about us. (While he was pointing the gecekondus at the down of the Eserkent

¹⁰⁶ E71: He is 60 years old. He is from Çankırı. He had lived in gecekondus until he moved into Eserkent two years ago. He came to Derbent from Ufuk Tepe in 1994 due to his children's education. He used to have tapu-tahsis document and his gecekondus used to be at the top of the hill on 334 m² land under the construction prohibition. Now he is residing with his wife in Eserkent. His children earn their livings. He is retired.

buildings, he added) There cannot be life among these garbage piles. We bored and almost died in gecekondü through 60 years. We suffered a lot from stove, coal, mess... My hands have just healed. I have felt my hands for two years.

K5 indicated her feelings when it was asked her preference in terms of gecekondü and apartment as follows:

I off course want to live in apartment sparkling life, sparkling place. It is too hard here... There is no positivity of gecekondü. In every week, cleaning stove, moving its pail, chopping wood, taking coal are whole mess. Off course apartment is cleaner. We are heating water to take shower. Apartment is clean and hot. We became older in this mess. Cleaning door, cleaning chimney, painting and repairing cannot be completed in gecekondü. It made us old.

The advantages of natural gas and its effects are stated frequently by people whether they are for or against the project. Gecekondü people are faced with harsh conditions especially in cold weathers to heat their homes. Conventional systems that require coal and wood can be highly challenging while preparing, cleaning and using it. It is seen via the numbers that the residents in Derbent Neighbourhood mostly use coal and then wood (Figure 4.9). For instance, E26¹⁰⁷ who is against the project was moved into apartment due to troubles that his wife experienced in gecekondü. Similarly, E23 mentioned that he had wanted to move into apartment to get rid of the problems of stove which caused huge burden for his mother who has serious lumbar pain. Therefore, this relief can be understood under these conditions.

¹⁰⁷ E26: He is 56 years old. He is from Sivas. He came to Derbent in 1962. Before they moved into Derbent, he had resided at NATO Road and Üreğil Neighbourhood. He is living with his wife. He has both an apartment house at Tuzluçayır Neighbourhood and gecekondü in Derbent. He is retired but still working as an international truck driver.

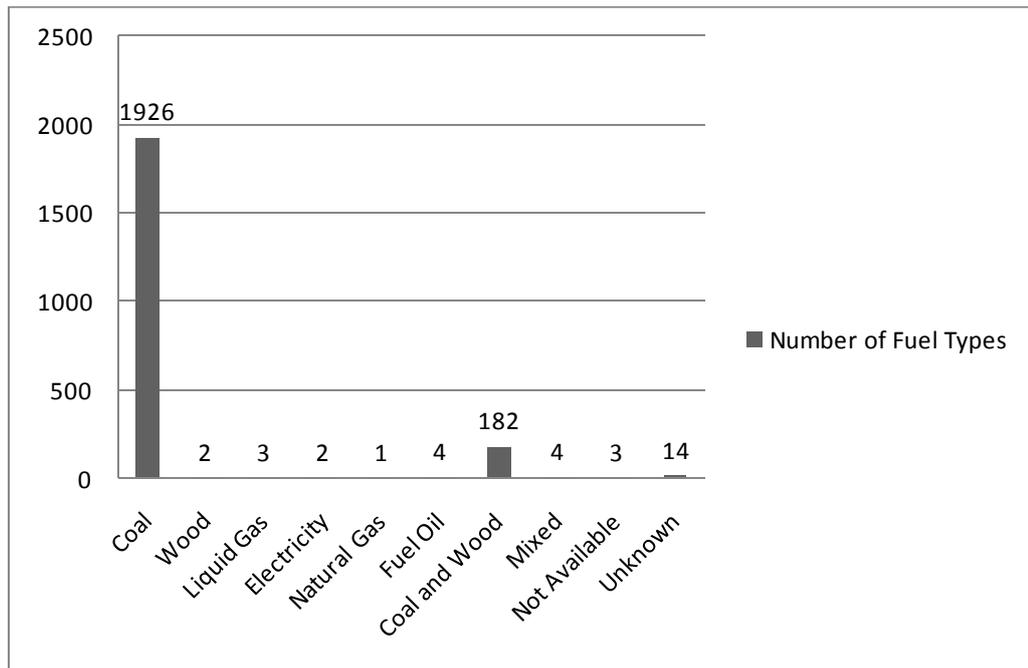


Figure 4.9. Fuel Type Using for Heating in the Building in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI 2000 Building Census)

As it is seen, on the one hand, most of the residents in Derbent were directing serious accusations to the Great Municipality of Ankara Mayor Melih Gökçek due to creation of unliveable neighbourhood. On the other hand, many of others in Eserkent Mass Housing Area are very pleased due to services that are provided by the municipality.

4.3. Economic Gain or Loss for the Gecekondu Dwellers

One of the controversial issues that aroused with the initiation of the project was the economic advantages and disadvantages of the project on the gecekondu residents. Although all gecekondu residents are assumed having similar economic capitals by many people, due to differences in their incomes, property/tenure structures, physical conditions of the structure and alike, gecekondu residents' tendencies differ one from another. Thus, besides the effects of social, cultural, symbolic capitals and habitus, weakness or strength of economic capital of gecekondu residents has to be indicated as one of the most influential determinant that shapes

the perspectives of residents towards the project. Even if the economic capital of the residents cannot be indicated as the unique variable that points out the people motivations while accepting or rejecting the project, it is an undeniable truth that it has a certain transformation capacity on other forms of capitals especially under such an issue. As it is mentioned before, housing issue is at the very core of economic transactions and investments. Therefore, inevitably resident's economical incentives and evaluations are become highly significant within this project.

Under these conditions, it is observed during the field research that some interviewees on the one hand mentioned that many of gecekondü residents resist to the project due to their economical expectations are not satisfied with the quantity or conditions of houses that are suggested within the project principles. On the other hand, some interviewees indicated that people are highly pleased due to the economic advantages of the project. The intents of the gecekondü owners were labelled as either 'greediness' or 'pursuing deserved rights' by others. Therefore, with the initiation of the project another severe cleavage that should be critically evaluated emerged in the gecekondü residents.

Before going into further details, it is beneficial to point out some basic economic features of residents in Derbent Neighbourhood in order to acquire general knowledge about their assertions' economical background. The data about the labour force in Derbent (Figure 4.10) indicates that majority of population not in labour force. This basically stems from the high number of retired men, house wife and young population in the area. Therefore, it can be inferred that one waged has to compensate other two's expenses besides his/her personal expenses. When the residents' positions at work (Figure 4.11) and occupation distributions (Figure 4.12) are considered, these people are low paid workers. Moreover, the field research pointed out that most of the working gecekondü dwellers are blue collar workers who get limited income daily or monthly.

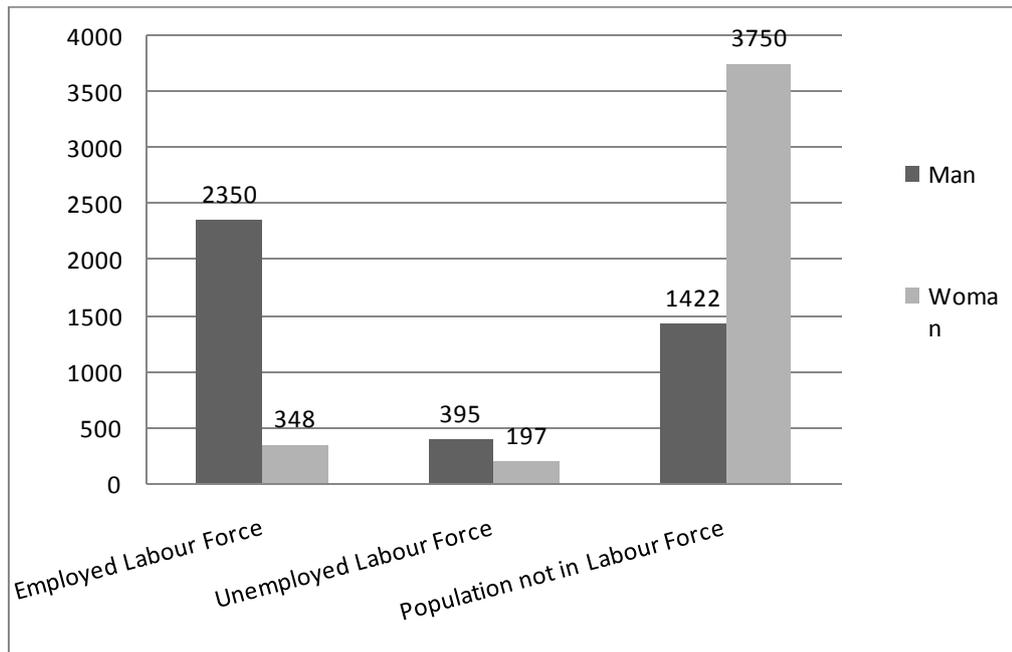


Figure 4.10. Labour Force in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Census of Population 2000)

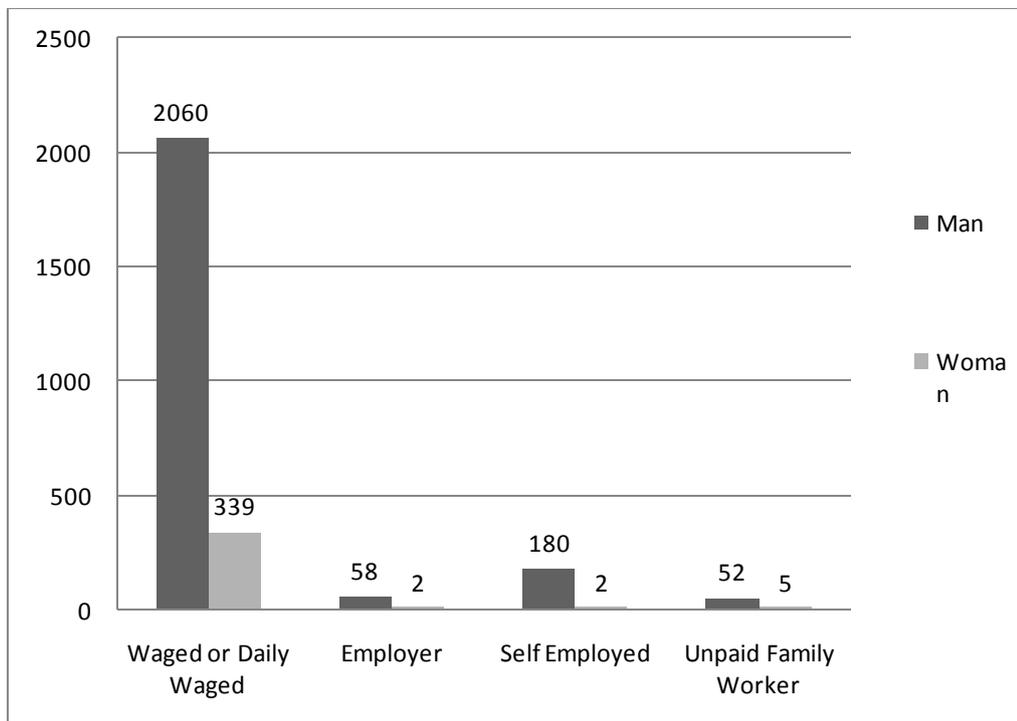


Figure 4.11. Residents' Positions at Work in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Census of Population 2000)

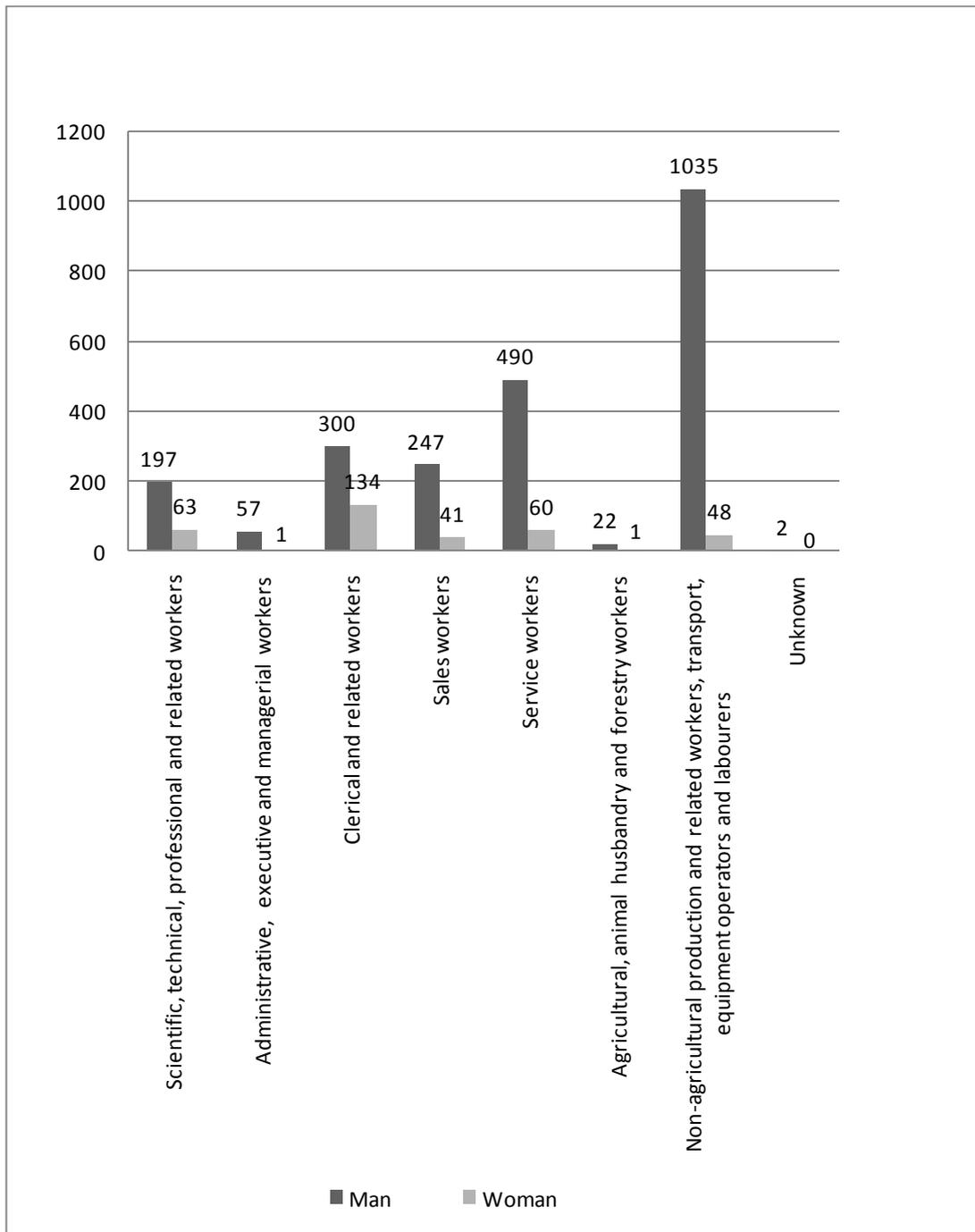


Figure 4.12. Residents' Occupation Distribution in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Census of Population 2000)

Therefore, as many interviewees indicated that Derbent Neighbourhood is a place where low income owner population reside in. However, it should be noted that there are also economically relatively powerful residents who acquired certain

wealth whether by selling their lands at their hometowns or with the assistance of their wealthier children.

Under these conditions, whilst some interviewees were responding positively, some of them criticises the heavy burdens of the projects. Most of the interviewees claimed that the equivalents that are offered to compensate the gecekondu owners' land, structure, extension and tree losses played significant role while people choosing their sides. According to the data that were given by municipality, it can be mentioned that most of the gecekondu owners take between 10000 TL and 75000 TL equivalents in return for their assets¹⁰⁸ (Figure 4.13). Consequently, some residents who had found municipality's compensation insufficient appealed to legal experts to determine their land and debris equivalent. E58¹⁰⁹ mentioned that in the leadership of him, totally 46 neighbours called a legal expert in from administrative court in 2007. K7¹¹⁰ stated that they had given money to expert to find out their gecekondu's real equivalent. According to her assertion, municipality offered them 35000 TL, whilst expert was assessing 85000 TL. Similarly, E33 who was not satisfied by the municipality's equivalents asserted that he would not move anywhere if he did not buy another house with the offered money. He added that in case the municipality paid his money in advance, he could leave his gecekondu.

¹⁰⁸ The total equivalent of each parcel consists of land, structure, extension and tree equivalents. It can be seen that one person posses more than one parcel in Derbent Neighbourhood. The total equivalent is 107,589,819.13 TL in Derbent Neighbourhood.

¹⁰⁹ E58: He is 59 years old. He is from Tokat. He came to Ankara in 1971. He has been living in Derbent for 26 years. He is living with his wife in one storey gecekondu that is close to Hatip Çayı (stream) on 300 m² registered and developed land. He worked in Mechanical and Chemical Industry, Ankara Municipality and he is retired from Yenimahalle Municipality. While he was working, he used to be very active in labour unions.

¹¹⁰ K7: She is 65 years old. She is from Ankara. They came to Derbent 24 years ago from Boğaziçi. E33 is her husband. She is living with him in one storey gecekondu that is close to Hatip Çayı (stream) on 196 m² registered and developed land. Her husband is retired from 'Turkish State Railway'. She is against the project.

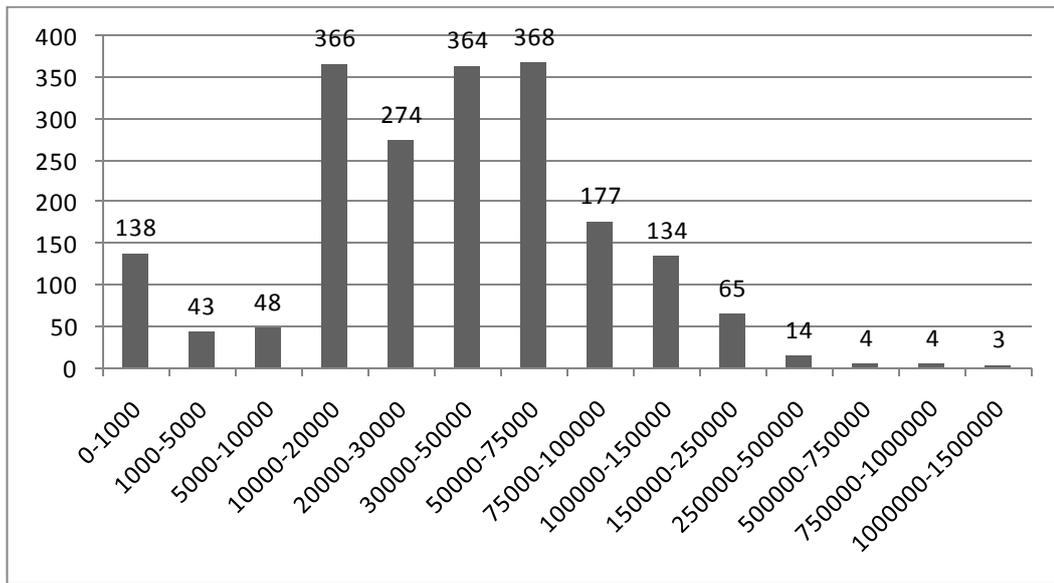


Figure 4.13. Distribution of Equivalents in Derbent Neighbourhood according to Number of Parcel (y= Number of Parcel, x= TL) (Source: Raw data is taken from New Mamak Urban Transformation Project Coordination Centre of Great Municipality of Ankara and graphic prepared by the author)

Besides the complaints about the insufficient compensations, many residents indicated that they had no economical power to overcome the burdens of the project. K5 indicated that they number of population were seven and their only income was 900 TL per month. Under these conditions, she reproached the state and rightfully asked how to meet the economic requirements of the project every month. E8 said that he would be in debt for paying off 9000 TL in case accepting the project agreement. Moreover, his daughter who used to be a tenant in Derbent Neighbourhood moved into Sincan because her landlord signed the project contract. Whilst she was paying 100 TL rent per month for the gecekondu in Derbent, now she is paying 280 TL including porter's wage. K4 similarly said that in apartment residents give pots of money; but no need to spend money in there. She told one instance as follows:

My uncle left from here. Then he felt regret. He moved into apartment but he was taking rent subsidy. He had sat there for seven or eight months. Then he did not deal with the 350-400 TL rent payment per month and he bought a house via credit. Now he is in debt. His house used to be beautiful but he moved into.

On the other hand, there were interviewees who found the project implementation principles economically highly appropriate especially for the residents who possess no legal document for their lands. For instance, E71 stated that the municipality provided houses in Kusunlar for the people who have no legal document to put in a claim for their settled land. According to him, these people will be an owner of a house by just paying 400 TL per month. He sees this policy for the benefit for all. However, some interviews indicated that this cannot be the case for all residents. For instance, E41 who has no legal document mentioned his views as such:

I am retired. I will be in debt to buy the provided house from Kusunlar. The municipality is trying to intimidate by saying not to provide these houses. They are not giving house for free... They want 8000 TL payment cash in advance. I will give my retirement pension to its payments through 15 years. I cannot pay its expenses such as heating system, electricity, water whilst paying house payments. I do not know, whether we will be death or alive till this time. My child is going to school. His expenses will become higher day by day. No one employs retired ones. I am 52 years old, how many years can I continue to work... If I somehow do not pay the instalments, they will take the home. I am sitting here without paying anything. Also, they are just paying 800 TL to my gecekondu's debris equivalent. It is a real pity... Also Kusunlar is in middle of nowhere. The public transportation is highly limited. I do not know how my son come and go to school from there. Here (Derbent) is highly available for transportation. They broke our serenity.

Although it seems that municipality provides houses as a relief to the residents who have no legal document on their land; due to heavy economical burden for low income residents and the accessibility problem of the new houses, it turns to deep sorrow instead of support. For instance, E28 said that he had to be rich and had a car to live there. He added sarcastically "if I were a rich man, why I would choose to go there". On this issue Headman of Derbent suggested a solution to solve this problem in certain extent. He said that the municipality could provide houses to people who had no legal document within their very same neighbourhood within the project boundaries via paying their debts. Even if this does not offer a remedy to these people's economical concerns, it can relieve people who feel the anxiety of exclusion from their livelihood. Otherwise, these people will be face with harsh conditions in their living spaces after moving.

According to interviewees' assertions, there are people who had economic troubles due to the project. Some interviewees said that they had forgone their legally owned houses and become in debt. For instance one of them stated that she had to reduce expenses and began to take social relief from municipality due to economic troubles. However, she was still defending the project and authority that put her in a difficult position. Just for the housing except other expenses, E4 pays 400 TL for rent and 382 TL for pledged house's debt payments to the municipality per month. E4 stated that the 'rent subsidy' of municipality assisted him to pay his rent. Like many of others, he was appreciated to this relief. Nonetheless, E14 stated that there were residents who turned back to gecekondü because they did not defray the costs of being tenant. Likewise, K4 who is a tenant in Derbent said that the rent payments were higher at the newly moved into areas and the rent subsidy was not sufficient to compensate the rent expenses; therefore the people who accepted the project became regretful and began to turn back. She also made a striking comment that it is said to the people who were in difficult position due to excessive rent payments that they rebuild their gecekondü to stay at their previous location. Although a newly built gecekondü was not observed during the field research, some residents who signed the project contract whether tried to find appropriate houses in Eserkent Mass Housing Area or turned back to stay another affordable gecekondü in their previous neighbourhood due to their economic conditions. K5 said on this very same issue that the people who move into Eserkent was in comfort but others who became tenant had to deal with very harsh conditions. She mentioned that even if the population is high, the acceptors should move into Eserkent, otherwise paying rent is too difficult to defray the costs. Therefore, it can be said that the rent subsidy provided by the municipality is just sufficient to reside as a tenant in another gecekondü. Furthermore, some residents especially resisting ones see the 'rent subsidy' as alms. They said that they were not poor to take charity from the municipality under the name of 'rent subsidy'. They mentioned that it should be called as 'rent equivalent' and this should not be indicated as a relief by the municipality.

Most of the opposing residents believe that under the project principles municipality deceives them to get their assets from their hands in return for almost nothing when it is compared to contractors' conditions. The equivalent differences between contractor-led transformation very next to Mamak UTP region and current state-led transformation projects encourages these residents and it is frequently indicated as a reason to oppose to the project. However, it has to be mentioned at this point that, the authority in New Mamak UTP Coordination Centre claimed that the improvement plans had been completed in 1996 and the construction prohibition took effect in 2007 for the whole project area; however, as he indicated except construction of few apartments, nothing has been experienced for the sake spatial transformation. He added that the contractors were not interested with this region due to lower level rents. Also there are other claims that the residents who had had tendency to give their gecekondus to the contractor did not satisfy with the offered share by contractors. E20 said that although some contractors had been interested in this district, the gecekondus owners found offers insufficient and did not accept the %35 share instead of %50. Against these two contradictory assertions that came from residents and authority, it is asked to the interviewees that what the reasons behind not dealing with the contractors were. For instance E14 stated his ideas as follows:

People (who want to give their houses to contractor) were faced with Gökçek obstacle. There are many issues that should be dealt with the municipality during this construction process. They did not let contractors make buildings via not giving licence. Otherwise, people were ready to give their gecekondus to contractor for bigger shares. My father has a house on 370 m² land. In those days, they gave us two houses but my father did not accept. Then we dealt with contractor for three houses. However, this time, municipality did not let him and avoided from giving the necessary licences. Under these conditions the contractors could not enter to this area. They did not want the contractors here. This is the project. This is the trick in their mind. They are waiting till people give up. In fact, most of them gave up and went by cursing them.

Some interviewees drew attention to the diminishing urban rents within this project. They believe that with the UTP their equivalents are decreased when it is compared in case dealing directly with contractors. For instance, some owners said that while

constructors were presenting them two houses, the project is offering just one and making them in debt. K6 stated that the municipality immediately declared the project and restrained contractors from building apartments to the area after some contractors tended to enter to this region. She pointed the apartments that were constructed in Derbent to support her assertion. On the other hand, E33 indicated that the cost of lands very next to UTP area were almost three times higher than what was given to their lands' as an equivalent by municipality. This assertion was also confirmed by one and only real estate agent (E59) in Derbent as such:

When the land prices per square metre within the project area and very next or close areas to UTP boundaries are compared, the prices should be 600 TL instead of municipality's price 200 TL. But there is nothing to do because municipality has already had more than half of the project land.

These accusations and reproaches that came from the residents on the issue of rent are indicated as the basic reason behind the resisting attitude of people against the project. Because especially some people continuously questions the intent of the authority, and whether it will be or not they believe that their lands will gain more value by this intervention; therefore they are not only defending their living area but also they try to increase their economical gain as much as possible. However, municipal servants asserted that they tried to produce rent just for the sake of gecekondü dwellers in this region. Servants also drew attention to the infertility of the region in terms of rents and criticize the gecekondü owners' emphasises on the diminishing land rent return within the project. One important figure from the Great Municipality of Ankara indicated said as such on this issue:

This project is a huge chance for Mamak. We are providing them rent in a place where come to no good up until now. Although we have half of the whole area, we are giving house to everyone... People are saying 'I can get two houses if I gave my land to contractor'. Ok, we are giving them maybe just one house but we have to compare their reel values. Instead of two houses each one costs 50000 TL, our one house's price will be 120000 TL. We are increasing the quality and the people's life quality. Contractor's apartments are both poor in terms of infrastructure and among gecekondus which create pollution when they are compared to our newly created city. We have to consider the reel value of the houses.

These assertions are also shared especially by some of the residents who accepted the project. K1 said that she saw the project of the pledges houses and became very pleased due to luxury of it. E1 who accepted and moved into Eserkent said “at the end of the project, I will be owner of a house by taking additional 20000 TL without any debt and trouble. We are not paying any money for house rent and heating. We are just receiving bills for electricity, water and natural gas that we use for cooking and hot water”. E71 who stayed in Eserkent is also highly pleased to the project conditions. He said that he would be owner of a house as paying rent per month without any heater expense. Another acceptor resident E37¹¹¹ stated that although contractors had offered him four houses, he signed the contract with municipality in order to take three houses and additional 31000 TL because he believed that ‘building and selling’ houses constructed by the private constructors are unplanned and environmentally insufficient. He mentioned as such:

If I accepted the ‘building and selling’, one house’s price would be 80000 TL. However, I can sell one hose at a price of 150000 TL or 200000 TL at least. We saw it in the meeting. Certainly, it (the project) will be good. The quality will be high and the conditions will be better.

E80 also indicated that although he had paid almost 35000 TL to the municipality, he believes that when he takes the pledged house, he can sell it at 200000 TL. He told that if he can compensate the obligatory payments such as heating, environmental monitoring, security, janitor at the beginning, then he wants to sell his house immediately. Moreover, E43¹¹² who is the Headman of Araplar Neighbourhood was also very satisfied from the project instead of contractor-led

¹¹¹ E37: He is 66 years old. He is from Çorum. He came to Ankara in 1964. He firstly had built a gecekonu at Yukarı Ayrancı (a district in Ankara) in 1965. Then he moved into Derbent and built his second gecekonu at the top of the hill. Finally he built his current tow storey gecekonu on relatively less steep area at Derbent in 1974. His land is 619 m², developed and registered. He accepted the project. He has an apartment house out of the area and he will move into there. He used to works as an electrician; yet via clientelist relations he had began to work in municipality and he retired from there. His wife passed away. He is living with his children. The number of household is six. He has monthly income of 1000 TL.

¹¹² E43: He is 58 years old. He is from Ankara. He is an inhabitant of Araplar Neighbourhood. It is his first election period as a headman. He used to work as a public servant before he was retired. He is a real drumbeater of the project. He accepted project and gave his gecekonu. Now they are living in Eserkent in two rooms and one hall house. The number of household is six.

transformation because of the opportunities provided to the residents. He said that no contractor has given any debris equivalent or rent aid to the land owners. He believes that under these conditions even if the beneficiaries could not get their pledged houses within five years, they would be still in benefit. Furthermore, some interviewees see that the region has really promising future in terms of development. E28 said that the project area would be turned to Çankaya which is the central metropolitan district of Ankara. E52 also shared the same view and mentioned that in the close future due to convenience to main arterial roads their region would be like Çankaya. This issue and its possibility were asked to the responsible servant in municipality. He answered as such:

There remains no such a huge area that closes to city centre. Huge areas within the project area next to Samsun Road are highly available for especially big shopping malls which are very popular in Ankara. Therefore, investors have eye on these lands... This region is a place that the people who live in Çankaya can arrive easily from behind of their district via roads.

Although these capital flow may not be observable in the short run but it is highly expectable in the long run. On the other hand, it seems that the current investments and intensions to attract investments by authority in Mamak will probably create more questions in gecekondü residents' minds. Raise in the rate of rents inevitably increase the expectations and it influences gecekondü owners' attitude towards the project negatively.

Another critical issue is the legal document that the residents have on their gecekondü. Besides the rent expectation, the ownership status of the gecekondü plays crucial role whilst people determine their attitudes towards the project. Due to the varied ownership status in Derbent Neighbourhood (Figure 4.14), these tendencies can easily be observed during the field research. Most of the owners who has title deed expect more share than the municipality suggested. They also make comparison very close areas that resemble to their neighbourhood in Mamak and desire to get the similar urban rent from this transformation. However, the municipality tries to avoid from possible deficit that can occur at the end of the

project. The responsible one from Ankara Municipality said that they would be okay if they managed to eke out project without paying any extra money. Therefore, especially the residents who have title deed do not satisfy from the project.

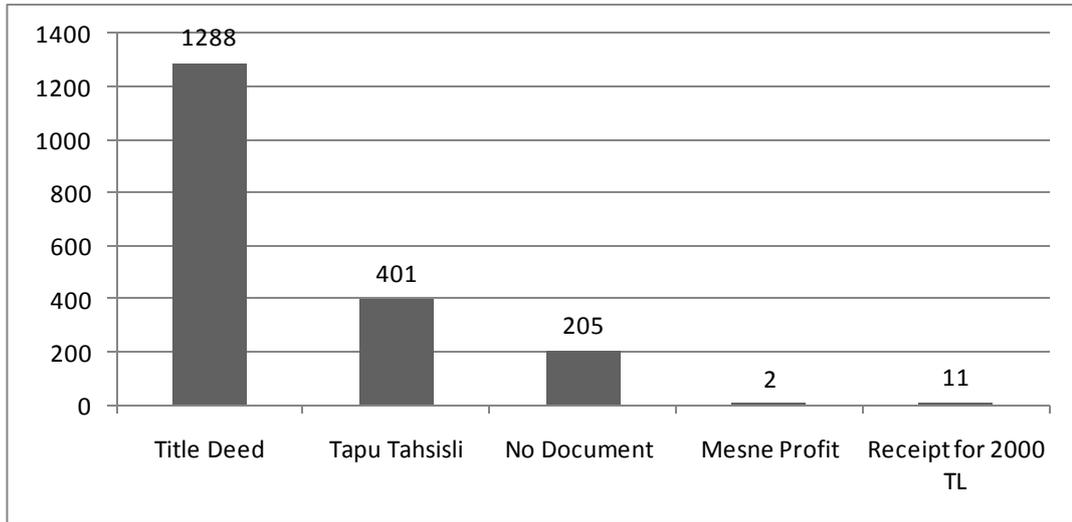


Figure 4.14. Ownership Status in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: New Mamak Urban Transformation Project Coordination Centre of Great Municipality of Ankara)

Moreover, a simple calculation indicated that having a title deed is not sufficient factor for most of the owners to get adequate share. Especially, even though title deed holders have certain rights that strengthen their hands against the authority, economic burdens of the project are also seems heavy. To make a prediction, a graphic (Figure 4.15) is prepared to estimate the title-deed owners' possible house equivalents in Derbent Neighbourhood by assuming that everyone who has land up to 300 m² gets one house by ignoring possible debt and everyone whose land size between 300 m² and 500 m² gets two houses and everyone whose land size is larger than 500 m² gets one house for his/her additional 200 m². Under these assumptions approximately half of the owners who have title-deed became in debt to get just one house in case of insufficient debris equivalents. The rectangle in the graph points out the number of parcels' sizes which are inadequate to meet the minimum

required land equivalent to take one house. Although such a ‘ceteris paribus’¹¹³ assumption can barely experienced in real world, it provides chance to make projections and predictions within such an inquiry. All in all, in contrast to owners who have tapu-tahsis, title deed holders seem legally more powerful and most of them are highly disadvantageous in terms of economic returns when they are compared with other gecekondü owners who have got remarkable share from the urban rent by market-led interventions.

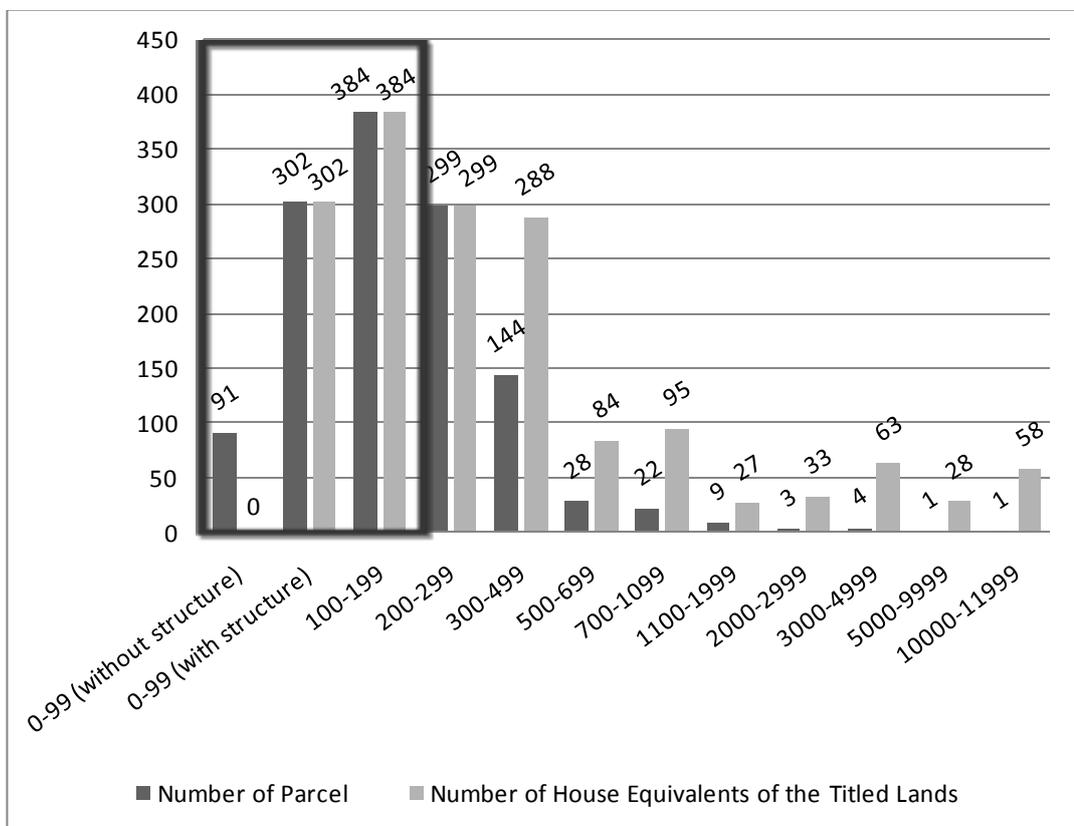


Figure 4.15. House Equivalents of Titled and Developed Lands according to size (m²) in Derbent Neighbourhood¹¹⁴ (Source: Prepared by author according to records of Great Municipality of Ankara New Mamak UTP Coordination Centre)

¹¹³ Ceteris paribus means all other things being equal or held constant; therefore to make an assumption, other factors are ruled out in this case.

¹¹⁴ According to this calculation the total number of titled parcels equals to 1288 and the total number of required houses equals to 1661.

On the other hand, absence of title-deed or having a gecekondü on construction restricted zone weakens the residents' resistance. E7 stated that the people who have tapu-tahsis document immediately accepted the conditions of the project. E71's case is good instance to support this statement. He mentioned that he used to have tapu-tahsis document which means nothing for the constructors to build apartments. Therefore, gecekondü owners who are aware of their legal situations that prevent them to take share from the urban rent tend to accept the project. Otherwise, most probably they cannot get anything under the market conditions. Similarly, E9 mentioned that the residents who have no document are inclined to participate to the project. E41 said that if he had an indemnity as title deed, he would not even think to leave his gecekondü. These views pointed out that the legally powerless residents in terms of their property/tenure structure have tendency to accept the project as it is due to whether gain legality or strengthen their legal positions for further economic gains. Similarly, the study that Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010) conducted in two gecekondü neighbourhood indicated that the most determinant of the form and strength of resistance are the existing property/tenure structures in these areas. It is obvious that the suggested certain amount of money to the legally and economically vulnerable residents can break the resistance of them. Moreover, they can assume that the tree and debris equivalents as a relief or favour that is provided by municipality. Nevertheless, it is seen in the field research besides the property/tenure structure, there are other variables that have effects on the resistance and acceptance attitudes.

The physical conditions of the building and the location of it plays crucial role while owners decide to participate or reject the project. These two significant variables that are directly related with the economic capital indicate the economic vulnerability or strength of the residents. Mostly, it is seen during the research that the residents who live under harsh conditions in terms of their gecekondüs' location and physical conditions have tendency to accept the project. They are sure about that they become better off when they leave the gecekondü. E8 stated that the people agreed to sign the project contract due to their gecekondüs' undesired physical conditions. According to the numbers that are taken from the 2000

Building Census, many structure needed basic alteration and repair (Figure 4.16). Furthermore, the structural system and material of buildings are not that much strong to bear for years (Figure 4.17) when most of the buildings construction years are considered (Figure 4.18).

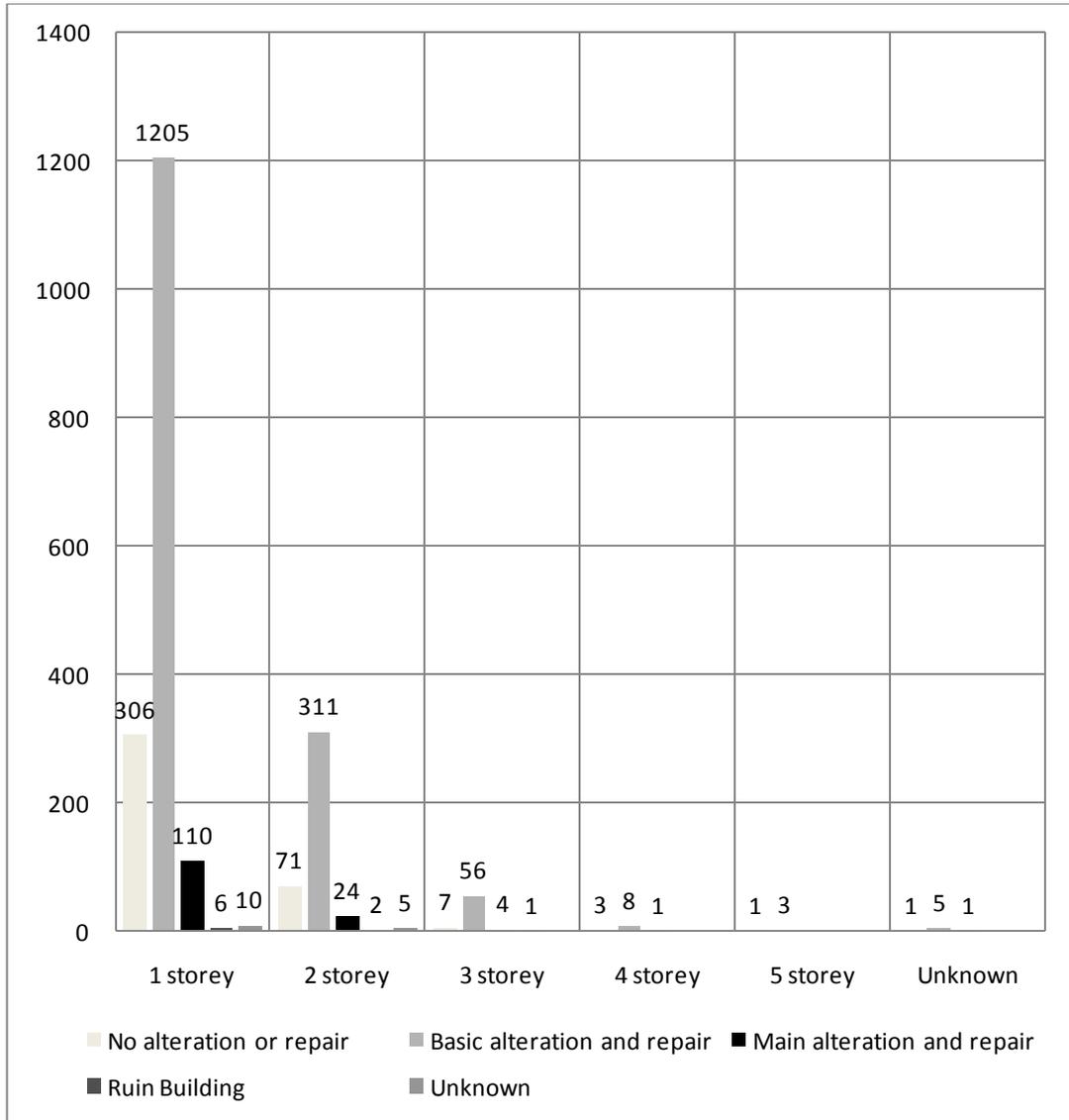


Figure 4.16. The Physical Case of Buildings in Der bent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Building Census 2000)

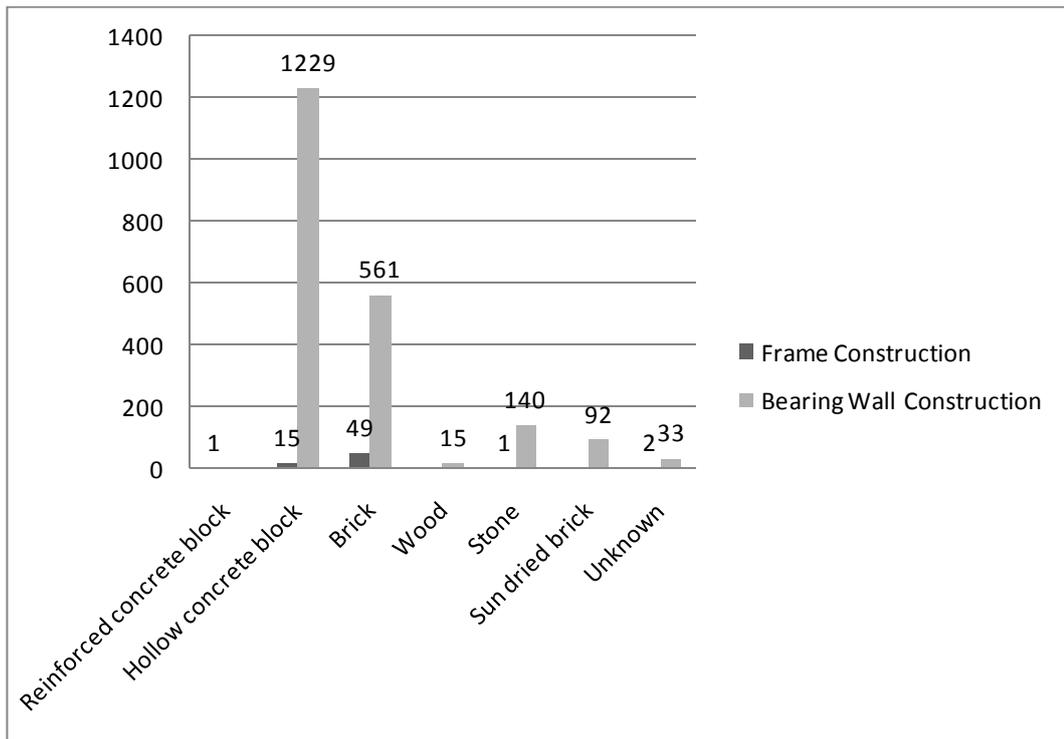


Figure 4.17. The Structural Systems and Materials of Buildings in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Building Census 2000)

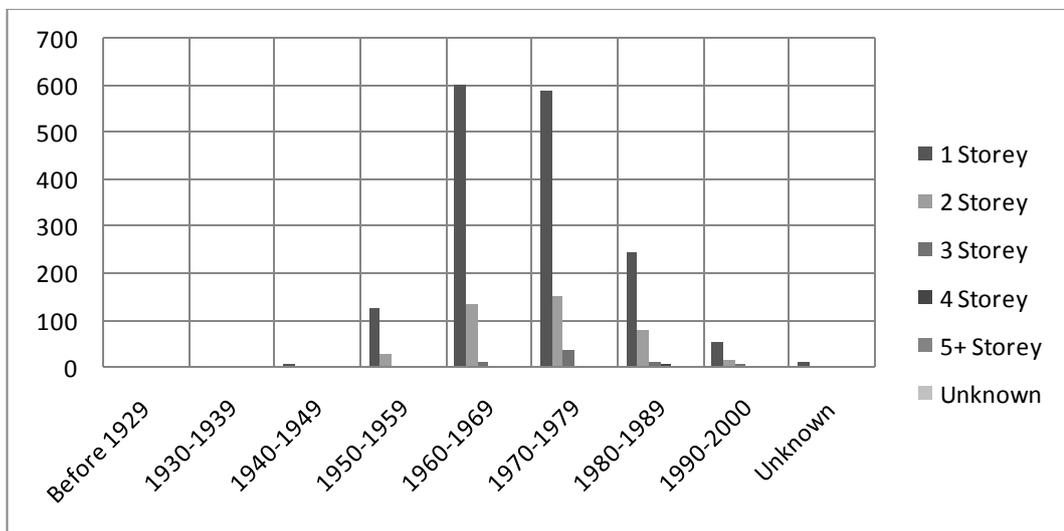


Figure 4.18. The Number of Buildings according to Storey Numbers in Years in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Building Census 2000)

It is also observed during the field research that some gecekondus are really close to collapse under the absence of adequate maintenance and repair. On this very same issue, E41 mentioned that the residents whose gecekondus are located at the top of

the hill and have accessibility problems due to topographic conditions have tendency to accept the project. E28 said that some people willingly accepted the project because their houses located at the top of the hill are made of mud. He added that it is very hard to reach there, via car or donkey. As it can be understood from the interviewees' assertions, some gecekondu residents live under harsh conditions that create tendency to accept the project. However, there are also buildings look like luxury houses within the boundaries of project. Rightfully the owners of these houses do not want to participate to the project. Furthermore, some interviewees mentioned that although they had paid more money while buying their land or gecekondu that are more accessible, others paid almost nothing to take gecekondus located at the top of the hill. Same treatment without considering the location of the gecekondus, alter owners' views negatively against the project. Under these conditions, accessibility and physical conditions of the gecekondu constitute highly significant variables that change owners' minds whilst resisting or accepting the project. Furthermore, it leads to another controversy among residents. Some residents questioned the equity of the project principles. For instance, E28 said that the municipality treated equally to the gecekondus without considering their location and physical conditions. He mentioned that the gecekondu owner resided at the top of hill and the other owner at the very close location to facilities got the same rights within the project principles.

Nevertheless, it has to be mentioned that the physical conditions or the location of the gecekondu does not matter for the tenants who have relatively limited income and rookie in the region. For instance, K4¹¹⁵ who moved into gecekondu as a tenant three years ago and settled at the top of the hill mentioned that although the stepper and high number of steps made it difficult to reach there, living in gecekondu is not hard. She added that gecekondu is a good thing. Many other gecekondu dwellers' assertions like her can be explained by several variables. Firstly, she has just come to a big city and this place as many others mentioned that looks like their

¹¹⁵ K4: She is 22 years old. She is from Kırkkale. She and her husband moved into Derbent directly from Kırkkale three years ago. They are living at gecekondu with her husband and child. They are tenants. His husband works wherever he finds. He is self employed.

hometown, their village. Therefore, she has not faced difficult conditions that differ from what she had experienced before. Actually, this place, this gecekondur environment is suitable for both her habitus. Secondly, due to limited time she passed in gecekondur, she did not feel the possible undesired conditions of gecekondur such as repairs and maintenance activities. Finally, she seemed aware of their economic conditions that are not appropriate at any place out of there. She said that the wrecked conditions of the neighbourhood did not negatively influence them because they are ready to live at every place where house and income are available. Therefore, this place is also appropriate for her in terms of economic capital that she possesses.

Besides location and physical conditions of gecekondus, the total field area is also indicated as a significant variable while owners give their decisions about the project. The data (Figure 4.19) indicates that most of the owners have total field area between 100 m² and 400 m². Under these conditions, especially while owners of the bigger lands expect more than what is offered, the small land owners mostly see the project as a chance to obtain some economical gain from almost nothing. For instance E17¹¹⁶ asserted that his father-in-law signed the contract and began to benefit from the rent aid in exchange for one of his gecekondur which is on small area and cannot be rented to the tenants. However, he indicated that his father-in-law did not give his other gecekondur to municipality because it is on a bigger land with many trees and the gecekondur in it is in a better condition. As it is seen in this case, very same persons' approaches to the project can alter after a simple calculation due to possible economic gain or loss. However, although the land size is important, it is an undeniable truth that it does not make so much difference in the case of absence of sufficient economic capital to meet the project's burdens.

¹¹⁶ E17: He is 64 years old. He is from Ankara. He had come to Derbent after married and he has been there for 23 years. He is a tradesman. He is living with his wife. He have apartment house. They reside in gecekondur in summertime and they move into apartment in winter.

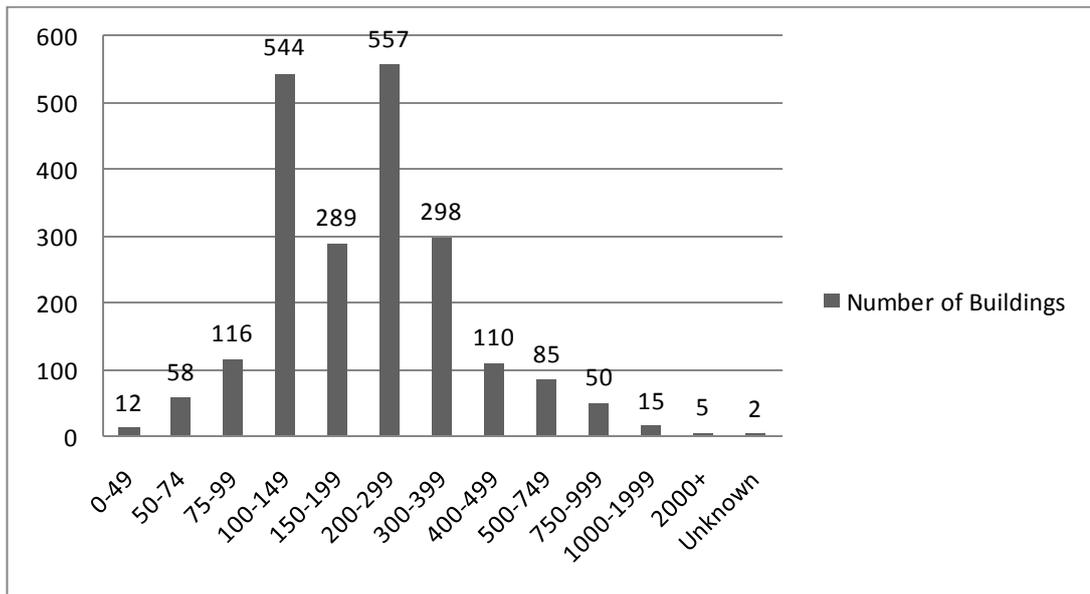


Figure 4.19. Distribution of Total Field Area (m²) of Buildings in Derbent Neighbourhood
(Source: TSI Building Census 2000)

It is also drawn attention during the field research by many that having another house out of the project area leads different patterns among residents. Before going its further details, it has to be mentioned that, it is assumed that having another house is an indicator of possession of certain economic capital. Moreover, the field research cogently supported this assumption. Firstly, residents who have another house out of the project area can accept the project to take rent aid because rent aid according to conditions of the gecekondü may exceed the rent payments that is taken from the tenants. Therefore, many gecekondü owners can choose to accept the project and get regularly paid ‘rent subsidy’ instead of dealing with tenants. When the number of tenants (Figure 4.20)¹¹⁷ in the neighbourhood is considered, such a tendency explains the high number of demolitions in Derbent Neighbourhood.

¹¹⁷ Due to absence of current available data, the data of Census of Population held in 2000 is used. Under this condition, it has to be mentioned that the numbers can show alteration in the course of time; yet according to the findings within the field research, the number of tenants also seems increase up to today due to several reasons that are indicated within this study. Therefore, at least to have a general understanding, these numbers preserve their reliability.

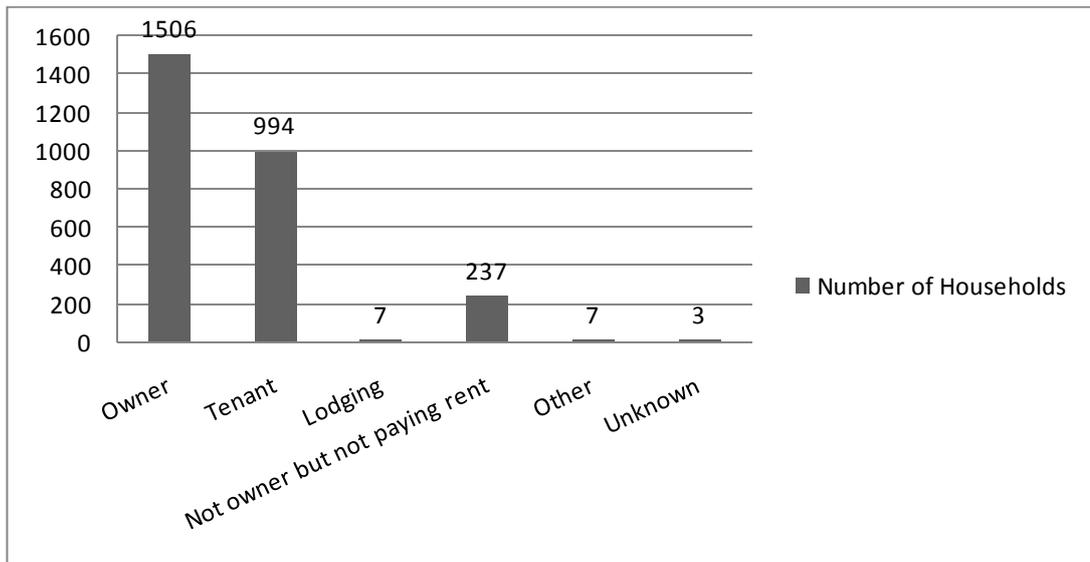


Figure 4.20. Number of Households according to Ownership Status of Housing Unit (Source: TSI Census of Population 2000)

E85 from Ankara Contemporary Lawyers Association leaned the high number of acceptance rate in Derbent Neighbourhood on the high number of tenants. Moreover, this tendency obviously observed while making interviews. For instance, E16 stated that he was ready to give his gecekondü to municipality because while he was taking 180 TL rent payment from his tenant under these conditions, he could take 270 TL rent subsidy from the municipality if he signed the contract. K15 said as such on this issue:

We gave our second gecekondü to the municipality after our son had moved into. At first we tried to rent it, but the tenant did not pay the rent. They also used electricity illegally and did not pay the water and electricity expenses. Then we decided to give it to municipality immediately.

E32 stated that some gecekondü owners who did not reside in this area and rented their gecekondü to tenant prefer to take 270 TL every month regularly from the bank by signing the UTP contract rather than waiting 150 TL rent. Similarly, E56 stated that gecekondü owners who have additional house accepted the project to take rent aid. Secondly, having another house out of the area give chance these people to leave the neighbourhood where looks like a battle field. Due to not razed debris, diminishing socio-economic services, fear of desolation and many other

negative side effects of the project on the neighbourhood harm the opposing forces solidarity and creates tendency to escape from the area. Especially due to scrap dealers who are trying to benefit from the wreckages, there occur many strangers in the neighbourhood. Therefore, most of the interviewed residents claimed that these strangers pose a certain threat for their assets. E56 stated that besides the absence of social life after possible electricity and water cuts, there would not be any chance to live in there. Under these conditions, having another house mostly a condo positively influence people to accept the project. However, besides these negative effects of another house, it can time to time strengthen resistant gecekondü owners' hands because they can move into outside of the area without selling it or accepting the conditions of the authority. These group of people mostly prefer whether to rent it or to live in it for limited times. Nevertheless, in terms of owners this brings both diminishing returns in rent payments and security problems such as burglary. For instance, E26 stated that his tenant had moved into due to insecurity and desolation. However, it has to be mentioned that the area is becoming preferable for underclass or new comers to the city due to low house rents. K25 (Hodja of Derbent Mosque) mentioned that after the demolitions, the people who have limited income began to move into the remaining rentable houses in the neighbourhood due to houses' low monthly payments. E53 who is a teacher at Derbent Elementary School stated that while the relatively wealthier residents were moving and leaving the neighbourhood, the remaining residents were the poor ones who could not afford the required payments within the project or outside the area. Moreover, real estate agent (E59)¹¹⁸ supported this finding and mentioned that after the project had begun to be implemented, the number of tenants in the region began to increase while the owners were leaving the neighbourhood. This process inevitably concluded with alienation of former residents to the neighbourhood. Many residents especially women who spend most of their time at the close area of their gecekondü stated the

¹¹⁸ E59: He is one and the only real estate agent in the region. He began to work in this sector two years ago. He is an inhabitant of Araplar Neighbourhood. He also accepted the project and gave his gecekondü to municipality. Now he is residing in apartment.

changes in population. For instance, K15¹¹⁹ mentioned that as a result of the project her neighbours as well as neighbourhood began to change.

Accepting the project to get house also leads to clashes and separations in the families. Many families were faced with the same problem when they accepted the project; because in the past many owners built additional houses parallel to their growing population on their land without any legal registration process. Therefore, on the one hand, some of residents mostly the relatives of the owners forced to leave the neighbourhood under the project conditions. On the other hand, these lead to clashes between heirs. E1 mentioned that the reason behind why people did not accept the project conditions is the conflicts among heirs who are high in number. He said they expected more share from the distribution as a result of signing the contract. K12 stated that they built their gecekondü on her father-in-law's land. She asserted that in case he accepts the project, they inevitably move into most probably another gecekondü as a tenant due to their limited income and large family. K11¹²⁰ also stated that they had tendency to accept the project; yet in such a case her son would move into another house as a tenant due to smallness of the houses in Eserkent. Similarly another interviewee E41 who is living in Derbent without any legal document on his land indicated what he experienced as such:

This land used to belong to my father and some shareholders. I built my gecekondü on his land. The municipality did not split the land due to tapu-tahsis document... If municipality gives me such a right, I can accept the project and I could buy land while becoming a beneficiary... My mother and my brother gave their land to the municipality within the project; therefore, I remained uncovered. Now they are living in Eserkent; we stayed here alone. Our future seems dark.

¹¹⁹ K15: She is 72 years old. She is from Çankırı. He has been living in Derbent for 1967. They have two storeys, four room gecekondü. They gave one of their gecekondü to municipality within the project. Also, their intent is to give the current gecekondü that they are living in. Her two children are residing at various sides of Ankara. The number of household is two. She is living with her husband. He is retired but working as a transporter at Siteleler.

¹²⁰ K11: She is 72 years old. She is from Çankırı. Before she came to Derbent 35 years ago, she had lived in Gü lveren Neighbourhood. They have two storey gecekondü on 240 m² registered and developed land in Derbent. Her husband is retired. Her son and his family are residing with them. The number of household is six.

On the very same issue, E33 stated that one of their neighbours had signed the contract without informing his two sons who had resided in the same two storey gecekondü. Eventually, they had become obliged to move into apartment as tenants. For the sake of economic benefit acquired from the project people can venture the separation of their family. Besides these clashes and separations within the families, it is claimed that especially aged gecekondü owners' young heirs or relatives have tendency to participate the project. This is basically stems from the approaches of people who see a commodifiable asset and/or unliveable place while looking at the gecekondü. For instance, E33 said that one of his son chose to live apartment as a tenant by paying 400 TL rent expense per month, instead of residing their already existing available gecekondü. Headman of Derbent asserted that the heirs immediately want to give the gecekondü to get small amount of money that is given as a debris equivalent. For instance, one aged interviewee mentioned that his son took the initiative and eventually they signed the contract, although he did not want to move into Eserkent houses due to smallness of them.

The tradesmen's conditions are another serious problem that occurred during the UTP process. These tradesmen who are mostly tenants lost their source of income because whether their workplace owner accepted the project or with the decreasing population in the area, the demand was diminished and they were inevitably forced to close their shops. Approximately 150 commercial entities used to be active in various services in Derbent district. However, their numbers increasingly decreased after the project began. For instance E14 who is still running a shop in Derbent said that until this project was initiated, his income had been 1700 TL per month. Now, he is getting 500 TL per month. However, he indicated that his resistance will also last from now on. Similarly, E32 who is a television repairer was forced to leave his workplace because his landlord signed the contract without informing him and his two other tradesman friends. He indicated his views on this issue as such:

Here is gecekondü area. People know nothing. They are not aware of the conditions. For instance, there used to be three stores over there. Each of us almost give 300 TL rent per month. Also, there was a house right behind it. He could get 1100 TL per month; yet our landlord preferred to sign UTP contract to get 25000 TL debris equivalents from the municipality. Two years have passed. She could get the same money

without accepting the project in this time period. Maybe this project will take ten years. She missed the opportunity. She is stupid... She did not even inform us about the demolition. We understood it when the municipal servants came and crossed the building with red lines... Now she is living in Eserkent in one hall one room house... She regrets to give her building now.

Besides these negative effects on tradesmen, the absence of tradesmen also inevitably influenced the residents negatively. The residents begin to face troubles to find their basic needs that can be easily provided by tradesmen within their neighbourhood. However, just one tradesman indicated his pleasure due to implementation of the project. The real estate agent stated that he highly benefited from the UTP while selling and buying lands within the project area. He said “I am not a supporter of Melih Gökçek; yet I gave my vote to him for the maintenance of the project”.

Consequently, the gecekondur residents who find chance to increase possessed forms of capital especially the economic one have tendency to accept the project conditions. It is observed during the field research that besides habitus and social capital, economic capital is a highly significant factor that shapes the perspectives of the gecekondur dwellers.

4.4. Approaches to the Authority and Perceptions of ‘Others’

The field research indicated that another source that changes the gecekondur dwellers’ perspectives to the project is the various approaches to the authority. Moreover, there is a tendency among gecekondur dwellers to stigmatize the positioning of opposite sides. Mainly, the acceptance and resistance attitudes to the project in the field are attributed to the people’s perceptions to the authority. It is observed that whilst some residents critically evaluate the policies of authority, some others smoothly accept the project. Although these cannot be reduced just obedience and upheaval dispositions of the gecekondur residents, the residents’ background plays significant role besides their possessed forms of capital whilst they are deciding their positioning in this field. In addition, both the rumours that

arose during the implementation of municipality such as bribery and favouritism, and activities of the opposing organizations influence the perspectives of the gecekondü dwellers towards the urban transformation project. Consequently, this authoritarian intervention of the municipality leads to rise of serious clashes and conflicts that have been already embedded in the society due to economic, ethnic background, religious sect and hometown differences. It is observed that most of the gecekondü residents accuse ‘others’ who are not like them due to chaotic conditions actually created by the authority. The previous biases, hostilities, angers shape their perceptions of ‘others’ while identifying the counter positions to the project. Under these conditions, gecekondü dwellers’ habitus and forms of capitals became significant variables that determine the antagonisms among these people.

In this respect, the one reason that creates cleavages among residents and pits some residents against others is the level of trust to the municipality. For instance, most of the residents who accepted the project claimed that their pledged houses would be in their previous gecekondüs’ almost exact place while the resisting residents strongly challenged and had doubts on these assertions. For instance, as an acceptor E1 said that:

Our new homes will be in this district. This is written in our contract; yet it may not be at the exact place of our demolished gecekondü due to the project plan. However, it will be the closest one. The people who claim that they will be sent far away from their neighbourhood at the end of the project are just making manipulation because they could not take advantage of the project. They did not fulfil any requirement such as tax and title registration to avoid from the economic burdens. Nevertheless, now they want equal conditions as we have. There are no tricks or deceptions of municipality.

He also questions the honesty of the resisting people who do not deserve yet demanding more share according to project implementation principles. Nevertheless, rightfully many dwellers have questions in their mind about the unspecified time and place of the pledged houses within the project. Besides every opposing ones, some acceptors criticises this policy of the authority. E8 mentioned that due to highly huge project area, the pledged houses within the boundaries of the project can be far away from their current place of their gecekondüs. Moreover,

there are assertions among residents that the pledged houses would be given from the stream bed which is geologically unavailable instead of their current place. K1 who accepted the project and moved into Eserkent said that:

Nothing is certain. I am here for two years and we do not know where and when our houses will be built... There is a construction, but I do not know. Everyone says something. They do not well inform in UTP Coordination Centre. There are workers in the construction but they do not know anything either.

E8 said that the people who did not accepted the project had not felt under pressure because the municipality had no force to do something. He added that the municipality had told to the acceptors who complain about the project “you came to us to demolish your gecekondus, we did not demand it”. E5¹²¹ rejects the project and expresses his anger by saying “Why I get my gecekondu demolished! Take it, after giving my equity! Or show me the place (of pledged buildings)! Declare the delivery time! Where is it, what did they do! There is nothing for three years.” K5 indicated her feelings as follows:

This is my father in law’s house. If we give it, we will wretched. They are saying that it will not be completed in two, three years. There is meeting everyday in the garden of school. Everyone says something. We do not know who to believe. Someone says it takes three years, someone says it takes 4 years. Someone says construction can begin in case everyone accepts the project. Everyone says something. We are confused. We do not know which one is reliable.

However, many residents, who whether accept the project or not, do not believe that the project can be accomplished in the short run. E8 believes that this project cannot be completed under these conditions by this authority. Whilst he questioned the intent of authority, he said “if the municipality wants to complete this project, they can accomplish it in a week”. He also claimed that duplex houses would be built at the place of their gecekondus for rich people. K6 said that although they were living

¹²¹ E5: He is 57 years old. He is from Kırıkkale. Before being retired, he used to be a welder. He has both title deed and tapu-tahsis document on 220 m² land. Number of household is three and they have no income except his retirement pension. He is against the implementation of the project. Participating to the project make him to pay 25000 TL.

there, their lands had been already sold to wealthy and powerful ones such as deputies. E65 showed his desperation and stated that they could not able to cope with wealthy ones who know every rules and regulations.

E9 added that the municipality acted like exploiter and grafter. On the very same issue Headman of Derbent stated “the municipality chose Derbent for intervention while right across the neighbourhoods are transformed via contractors because they are planning to take places for their own from Derbent where is better and available than others”. E4 said that due to occurrence of significant rents during this project, when the lands were developed, municipality benefited from this process in various amounts by reductions and expropriations. He added that the powerful actors who are at the head of assembly get these shares. Many owners of gecekondus expressed that they did not work or build these gecekondus till now to make municipality or some others wealthier. During the field research it is seen that, with this authoritarian intervention, many residents believe that their lands will be distributed to powerful and wealthier ones and they will be replaced.

One real estate agent also asserted serious claims about this instance as such:

Great Municipality of Ankara and Melih Gökçek have tremendous rent in this area... He had bought huge amount of land via his six front companies before the project was declared. They are always doing the same thing. I am the best witness of this process. Before the project was initiated, they bought lands by paying 30 TL per square metre from Üreğil Neighbourhood. They are still buying lands at minimum prices.

Moreover, many residents opposing to the project mentioned that they did not trust to the statements of the municipality due to failure of the other projects such as Dikmen Valley and Northern Ankara UTP. While E33 indicated the disappointments that one of his townsmen experienced in Northern Ankara, E65 drew attention to the Dikmen Valley Project which has not been completed for years. The problems experienced within these projects are followed and searched by other gecekondus residents who feel the pressure of UTPs. At this point, the opposing organizations' activities that bring gecekondus residents together from

various UTP areas also assist to increase awareness among gecekondu residents against the projects. For instance, Right to Shelter Bureaus which are established at many gecekondu transformation areas publishes 'Right to Shelter' bulletin to inform people about the ongoing processes and similar cases from Ankara, Turkey and all around the world. However, the increasing awareness among people that they try to accomplish mostly labelled just as an ideological meaningless opposition.

On the other hand, there is a serious assertion about the favouritism and bribery cases within the project. E7 stated that the residents who have pull with the municipal civil servants or bribe them become advantageous to get more money than the gecekondu's real worth and their equivalents are immediately given to them by the municipality. E8 also drew attention the corruption during establishment of the contract and said "the person who has 100 m² land can acquire more money than the person who has 150 m² land under the same property structures". Another controversial issue indicated by most of the residents is the acquired undeserved benefit of municipal servants from the debris of the buildings. It was claimed that some municipal servants who were in charge during the demolitions cooperated with scrap dealers to get benefit. E20 stated his views as such:

They make good money in this job... Upper level servants do not know anything. Just bulldozer operator and charged servant in the field know everything. By indicating their status and power, they say that owners cannot take anything from the debris. Then they agree with some scrap dealers. One of them gets wood stuff while another one gets iron. Normally, to demolish a building at most takes one or two hours; yet, mostly they strive one and a half day to dig these stuffs out... Some residents did not give their gecekondu due to this corruption... And some others who can challenge the authority of municipal servants did not give their debris to them.

During the field research, it was seen that due to their symbolic capital, the Derbent Headman and his family have certain power on many gecekondu residents who are opposed to the project. A striking comment came from E14 on this issue as follows:

My relative is the headman of Derbent. They (municipality) made special offer two or three times to headman, headman's brother and my father. They tried to make a deal with us and offered primacy and priority to choose the place. If we go, this neighbourhood collapses and the solidarity is broken. Everyone knows this... Both Gökçek and Mesut Akgül made special offer. We do not want special offer. We just want our rights, our neighbourhood.

Similarly, E86 asserted that some people who has been working for Melih Gökçek had offered bribe to the headman of Derbent Neighbourhood and then threatened him when he did not accept it. These claims were directly asked to headman of Derbent. He answered that some people had called his house and threatened him not to lead the opposing group. The person on the other side of the telephone made a death threat and concluded the speech.

These claims were asked to the related servant in municipality. Although he denied the accusation about the headman of Derbent Neighbourhood, he said that after he had heard the bribery rumours, he immediately fired these servants. However, it is stated by many people that these servants already feather their own nest before they were suspended. These instances get negative reactions especially from opposing residents who already question the aims of municipality.

Other critical issue that alters the perspectives of gecekondu dwellers towards the project according to the interviewees is the ideological differences. The ideologically counter groups persist to blame other side due to their decisions. The very resembling assertions came from both parties. For instance, it is mentioned by the authority side that those who are resisting do not know what they want. According to their view, these people are just trying to get more shares from the produced rent. The related person from municipality said "these people who resist are under the control of some person or organization. Headman of Derbent influences the people. On the other side, Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau completely has political aims. They are speaking nonsense". Besides, it was claimed that mainly the leftist and rightist ideologies that also go hand in hand with the ethnic background and religious sect determine the attitudes of gecekondu dwellers besides the economic and socio-cultural variables. Under these conditions, several

accusations and clashes arose among the gecekondu dwellers. Everyone began to search someone to blame or accuse. Therefore, the opposite party that comprises different life style, ideology or belief was stigmatized due to initiation or failures of the project. For instance, K7 expressed her anger to the people who accepted the project although municipality did not force them to do so. Also, Headman of Derbent accused the people who accepted the project and pointed them as the basic reason of demolitions in their neighbourhood. Similarly, E86 mentioned that demolitions were rapidly realized at the places where mostly rightist people resided in. He added that although in their neighbourhood there had been some rightist residents who wanted to accept the project, they squelched them to preserve the unity in the neighbourhood. E8 stated that the people who had initially signed the contract and caused to the demolition of neighbourhood were the supporter of Justice and Development Party. According to him, these people obtained higher amounts of money than they deserved. Similarly, E14 indicated that the residents who have pull with several of the board members of JDP's province organization can both acquire bigger houses in Eserkent Mass Housing area and receive more money than they deserve according to their gecekondu's equivalent. There are serious assertions that JDP followers protect and support each others during the implementation of this project. Furthermore, E14 said that:

Here (Derbent) was the place of brave men. There was no place to the rightist people. But after the reign of JDP, people were brainwashed... Always the leftist headmen win the elections. The rightist one just takes few votes from his limited supporters. However, pasta, oil and flour (social relief stuffs) changed everything. But fortunately, we vast majority are here. We do not leave the neighbourhood.

E65 agreed with E14 and said that the destiny of the country was determined by the pasta. According to him, who gives pasta, gets the votes and becomes in power. Headman of Derbent Neighbourhood mentioned that the bread, coal and food aids were mostly given to the supporters of JDP. Although at first it was not aimed to establish a correlation between social relief beneficiaries and their tendencies to resist or accept the project, it is striking that some interviewees mentioned that the

people who benefit from social relief have tendency to accept the project. For instance E33 stated that most of the residents who get social benefit signed the project contract and left the neighbourhood. Similarly K9¹²² stated that whilst there were many residents who got social relief in their neighbourhood previously, after the project just one or two of them remained there. E86 who tried to organize residents against the project asserted that although they work really hard to mobilize the residents to show their opposing reactions in Derbent, they could not achieve to resist altogether because people had been afraid of losing social relief stuff that is provided by the municipality. Therefore, although any information about the amounts, numbers, kinds of distributed social relief in neighbourhood scale could not be achieved due to municipality's insufficient database, according to residents' assertions there occurs a positive correlation between getting social relief and signing the project contract. On the one hand, this can be explained by economical vulnerability of these dependent residents who expect some money from the project and not willing to take any risk to lose the social relief support while resisting the project. This explanation also supports another claim that is asserted previously in this chapter that the economically more powerful residents have more chance to resist the project. On the other hand, it is observed during the field research that people who get social relief have tendency to accept the suggestions or commands of the authority more willingly than others beyond the direct economical gains. Besides many other variables, by social relief practices 'takers' (who benefit from social relief) become highly dependent to the 'giver' (mostly authority, in this case municipality). This inevitably leads to obedience of the most of the takers to the giver. Among all opposing gecekondu owners just few¹²³ of them were taking social relief stuff in Derbent, however, there were many social relief beneficiary residents in Eserkent. Although due to insufficient database there is no certain evidence that the municipality gives up or decrease the social relief provision to the opposing

¹²² K9: She is 55 years old. She is from Yozgat. She has been living in Ankara for 27 years. The household number is five. They are living in a four room gecekondu on 337 m2 land in Derbent. They hold tapu-tahsis document. Just her son is working and getting 700 TL per month. And they are in debt.

¹²³ K12 is the only interviewee who cursed the municipality due to project and thankful to municipality due to social relief practices in Derbent.

residents; according to interviewees, the takers, most of them are the followers of the JDP, unavoidably feel grateful and responsible to accept or welcome every policy that comes from authority.

Some interviewees stated that lack of knowledge and education induced many owners to accept the project. E5 said “The acceptors were cheated. The people who see the money accepted the project. Also, there is something as scam or deception.” When it is asked to make his comments in detail, he said

I do not know how they do this. The people who see chickenfeed assumed that the municipality will complete the project immediately. Nothing is obvious. We do not know what is going to happen. They are saying that law will be enacted for expropriation... This is what we heart. Because you never know that Evil Melih Gökçek will do.

These and many such negative perceptions about Melih Gökçek continuously are stated by especially opposing interviewees. They believe that Melih Gökçek deceive the people who accept the project. For instance E14 sarcastically and angrily said as follows:

Gökçek *Efendi*¹²⁴ acted freely. A while ago, building contractors tried to enter this region; yet, Gökçek *Efendi* did not let them... As a matter of fact, he planned a mass housing project in his mind for the sake of rent. According to me, people who did not join the project were aware of the value of their assets and did not want to bring rent to Gökçek however uncultured and clumsy ones gave their homes... There is tension among leftists, rightists and fundamentalists. These people who accepted the project are close to politics of Gökçek... The followers of Justice and Development Party welcomed the project... The leftists do not already give their gecekondus. The residents who know the value of their assets do not accept the project weather the person is leftist of rightist. This is the case. Chaos prevails here... The opposing people are not giving their homes and they won't give till the end. In case state says 'we demolish here', there is nothing to do. This is not urban transformation, this is rental transformation.

Due to these and many other accusations and negative perceptions mentioned throughout the field research against the Melih Gökçek, the last election results of

¹²⁴ Efendi means master in English. However, this word is used sarcastically by the interviewee to indicate how Melih Gökçek acts independent from the rules and regulations.

the Mayor of Ankara in 2009 (Graphic MKL) are analysed to see the impact of these negative reactions on the gecekondu dwellers' voting behaviour. However, the election results indicated that the urban transformation project which is criticised by many gecekondu residents did not create negative voting behaviours against Melih Gökçek in a wider extent when upper scale results are considered. On the contrary, Melih Gökçek got relatively very high votes in Araplar Neighbourhood where would be demolished after Derbent Neighbourhood. It should be noted that although the previous elections results are required to make more concrete inferences about the impact of UTP on votes, the elections data on the neighbourhood scale cannot be reached both in Turkish Statistical Institute and Supreme Election Board. However, under the light of this data set and comments of the interviewees, it can be claimed that the UTP did not drastically influence the gecekondu residents' voting behaviour.

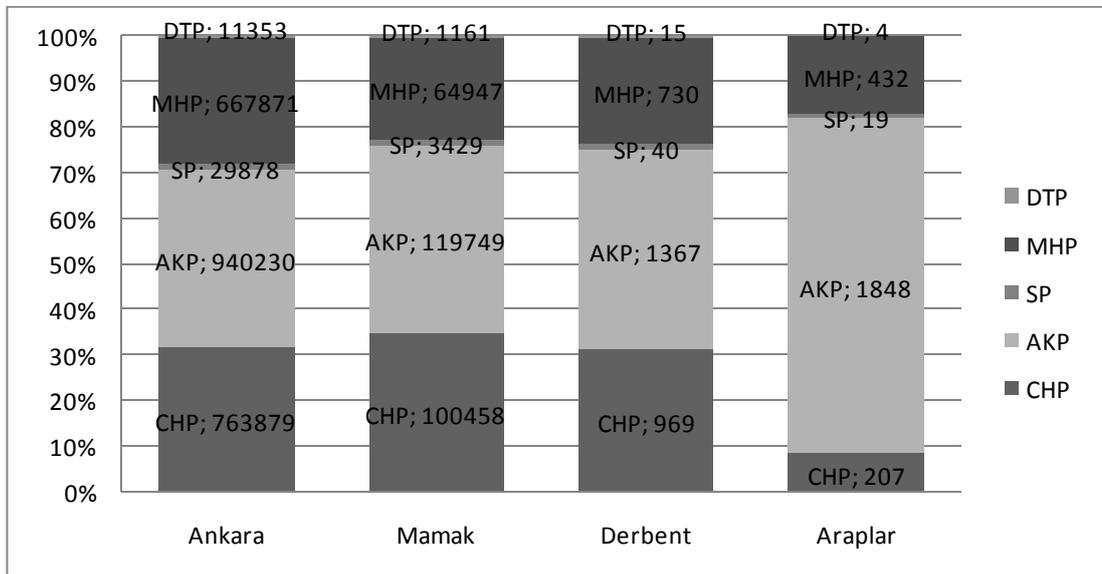


Figure 4.21. Results of the Election of Mayor of Ankara 2009 (Ankara-Mamak-Derbent-Araplar)¹²⁵ (Source: TSI)

¹²⁵ DTP (Democratic Society Party), MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), SP (Felicity Party), A KP (Justice and Development Party), CHP (Republican People's Party)

In addition, although most of acceptor of the project did not directly mention their political view, they indicated their obedience, loyalty and support to the authority. K20 stated that the government had said them to leave their gecekondus and they did so without questioning anything because they were acting full obedience to government. K7 said that although they fairly wanted their share, they were not such people who resisted against the state. Moreover, on the one hand, people mostly who accepted the project, while showing their loyalty to authority, claimed that the constructions were not begun and project could not be implemented due to resistance and lawsuits of residents who neither fulfil the previous legal procedures nor accept the project conditions. For instance, K22 stated that the project in Dikmen could not be implemented due to opposing people who denied leaving their gecekondus. On the other hand, time to time municipality also points the opposing forces as the only obstacle for the implementation of the project. Therefore, especially the people who signed the contract have tendency to develop negative attitudes towards people who deny the project. This leads to obvious hostility in a certain extent. The 'other' becomes visible during this process and people begin to search 'others' to accuse for the undesired conditions. For instance, E69 an acceptor angrily asserted that while they were moving to Eserkent from Derbent, one of their neighbours fought with them by questioning their acceptance decision. E4's one of closest neighbour did not accept the UTP and chose to stay in gecekondu. E4 commented on this issue as follows:

We had been stayed together for 20 years. We were so close, always together. Then I decided to go and they stayed there. I asked 'why'. They did not say anything. This is because they have impact on each other. The people who are against the project do not know the reason. Our people behave just like sheep. They are very same with the sheep. All of them follow the other without questioning. They are taking legal action and as such. Let the guys (authority) do something. These people (against the project) are just opposing to everything. If it is so, you do something. But they do not. They are just tripping up the enablers.

Moreover, Headman of Araplar Neighbourhood insulted the opposing residents and said that the UTP was a very good thing to people who have a head on their

shoulders. He added that the opposing residents wholly supporter of RPP rose to the bait and resisting just ideologically.

E4 identifies himself as rightist and criticizes the policies of Republican People's Party (RPP). He mentioned his views as follows:

I respect everyone whether s/he supports rightist or communist party. This is normal. However, these guys (Republican People's Party administration) call people together and claimed that if they would win the mayoralty election as RPP, they would terminate the project. After that they would develop the land and distributed to people whose gecekondus had been demolished during this process. It means that they rebuilt the houses, make the land developed and everyone would have a chance to deal with the contractors... Even kids do not believe this. We also saw them while they were in power. They used to have power and they got the mayoralty office. Why did not they do anything that they are pledging now? Why did not you develop the lands? If they do so, people would applaud them. On the other side, Gökçek (Great Municipality of Ankara Mayor) does something. Whilst he is doing things, he personally benefits from this rent and makes a lot of money; yet at least he is doing something. He builds roads, covers roads with asphalt and makes projects. Isn't he personally benefiting, he certainly is. However, what did the others do? I am rightist but if a leftist person does this, I congratulate him or her. Anyone neither supported nor assisted to these people. But this guy (Melih Gökçek) whether it is for own sake or not does something. Others are doing the same. This guy is at least doing something. Personally, I do not like Melih Gökçek, but at least he is doing something. He can abuse as long as he works.

On the other hand, there are also some residents who are pleased via the policies of Melih Gökçek except the UTP in their neighbourhood. K16 who is a tenant in Derbent said that Melih Gökçek is the one who put Ankara in order; yet, she blamed him due to that demolition project because she believes that the gecekondu residents could not meet the financial requirements of the project. Another interviewee E81 who is a strict follower of Melih Gökçek also criticises him in terms of the project as such:

Municipality is pure idiot. They are just demolishing but nothing constructed. I appreciated Melih Gökçek and I will always support him as long as he lives. However, the implementation that they make here is total stupidity. I am residing in apartment and I will not give my house before I see something concrete, something tangible.

However, E65 who unwillingly accepted the project mentioned that he would be against the project even if it was introduced by RPP. He added that Melih Gökçek had initiated the UTP there whilst someone from RPP was doing the same thing at another place. He indicated that there were no differences among parties in terms of mercilessness of their projects.

On the other hand, some interviewees who are whether against or for the project claimed that the people on the opposite side have similar certain features in terms of their hometown, ethnicity and religious sect. Although gecekondu residents do not hesitate to mention their hometown, due to unwillingness of the interviewees it is hard to reach their some personal information such as ethnic background and religious affiliation. However, it is seen that with the intently prepared questions the clashes that stem from these characteristics became apparent via the opinions of the interviewees during the field research. Before going into details, to give a general understanding of the birthplace distribution of residents in Derbent Neighbourhood the statistics acquired from Turkish Statistical Institute can be indicated (Figure 4.22). Even though, the second and third generations that are born in Ankara form the majority of the population and cannot be distributed according to their hometowns, at least their parents' birthplace can be seen from this graphic and some inferences can be made under these basic knowledge. Especially this data is significant because it points out the leading cities that facilitate the formation of various communities in gecekondu neighbourhoods. As it is seen from the graph, Çankırı, Çorum, Kars, Kırşehir, Yozgat, Kırıkkale and Ardahan are the dominant birthplaces among others. Therefore, it is highly possible to expect some mobilization patterns that are develop from these shared characteristics. Although the influence of these characteristics such as ethnic background, religious sect and hometown are evaluated later on, it is obvious that many interviews believe these features prominent effect on the resistance and acceptance attitudes.

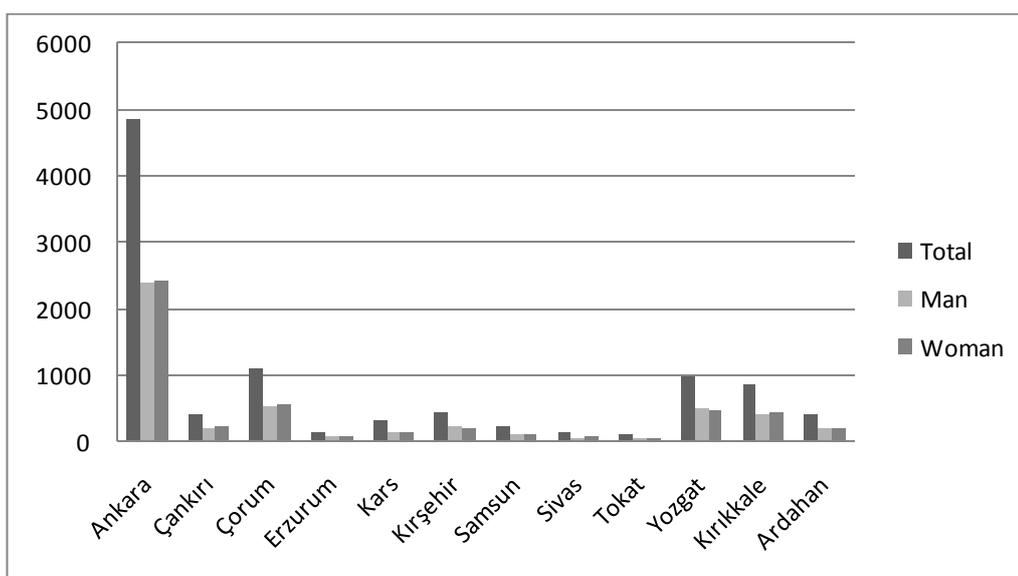


Figure 4.22. Birthplace of Individuals in Derbent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Census of Population 2000)

For instance, the interview with E14 is a good example for this instance. During the interview he expresses his ideas on this issue as follows:

The people who broke the resistance are from Yozgat. The people who introduced themselves as leftist suddenly turned to supporter of JDP. The suggestion seemed appropriate to them; therefore, they left the neighbourhood... The people who gave their gecekondus on this hillside are completely from Kirikkale and Yozgat. This is the reality. Nonetheless, on the other hillside, there are people who did not accept the project from Kars. The 40% of population is from Kars in Derbent. (Several questions later) Ethnically we are all Kurdish people. I am Kurdish but I am not a Kurdish Nationalist. If I were, I would be in the mountains... They are making discrimination. (He pointed the left side of his shop) All these gecekondus' owners (who do not accept the project) are from Yozgat. They are four brothers. They are Turkish Nationalist, rightist and supporter of JDP. But they are not giving their houses. Voila, are they also Kurdish.

On the other hand, E71 who accepted the project and began to live in Eserkent claimed as such:

The people who are whether Alevi or from Kars¹²⁶ did not accept the project. The opposing parties do not give their houses. For instance my neighbour who is from Kars did not give his house. They were waiting for

¹²⁶ It has to be mentioned at this point that the residents from Kars are ethnically Kurdish.

the referendum. Now they are waiting the elections. They believe that an Alevi will be in power... Due to we are rightist, due to we are Muslim, their ideas are against us. Although we were neighbours, we did not have further relations. We were opposite for them and they were opposite for us. We are people who go to mosque and recite Quran. They are not like us. They have no religious knowledge. They just know fight. All have seven or eight children who are trouble for society. They have no job. They have many kids to take the control of country. Each of them has at least nine kids... These opposing parties do not want the development of the country. They are creating tension by obstacles such as suing. If one wants to make something for the sake of god for this country, they form immediately a group against it. They are that much cruel. They are thinking their self-interest instead of country. They (JDP government) are doing something. If you (opposing side) do something, these people can also support you. They are just vilifying the one who is in power... Although municipality provides many opportunities, they are not accepting the requirements. Here is good. The people who are rightist had already come here. Although there are others among us, their number is limited; therefore they cannot raise their opposing voice. 80% of the population is rightist.

E86 stated that when they began to resist to the project, they had been stigmatized as terrorists due to their Kurd and Alevi identity by some people who support the project. He asserted that one religiously powerful figure (Sikh) had called everyone in the Derbent neighbourhood and gave advises them to accept the project and warned them not to act with the opposing residents who were called as terrorists by Sikh. On the other hand, he added that although the residents from Çorum, Kırşehir, Kırıkkale were signed the project contract and gave their gecekondus to authority, the residents from Kars could not be deceived; thus they refused to give their gecekondus to municipality. K12 who is against the project drew attention to the majority of ethnically Kurdish residents who resist signing the project contract. She said sarcastically but without any antagonism that they were carrying on living among Kurdish people. She stated that:

The upper side of the region is full of Kurdish people. They have large families and residing more than one household on the same land. Therefore, municipality just offers one house to three or four families. Thus, they did not accept the project to take their rights. We have no problem with them. They are all good people.

To check the reliability of these assertions about the social polarization in terms of hometown, ethnic background and religious esct, some questions were also directed to the public servants who have no or obvious relation with the project. For instance, the hometowns of students are asked to K26 who is a teacher in Eserkent. She said that students of the school were mostly from Çorum, Çankırı, Yozgat and Kırıkkale. She added that there was limited number of students from Kars. On the other hand, E53 who is a teacher at Derbent Elementary School stated that most of their students were from Kars, Ardahan and Yozgat. Under the light of these relatively objective comments, it is obvious that the same village origin plays role as a basis for the collective action. Besides that, to see whether there is a cleavage based on religious sect among gecekodu residents towards the project, some questions were asked to the Hodja of Derbent Mosque (K25). It is assumed that the decreasing number of people in the Derbent Mosque reveals the decreasing number of Sunni residents in Derbent since it is known that the Sunni Muslims are more likely to go to the mosque. The Hodja indicated that the number of people who come to mosque was declined; yet she added that the whole population was declined as well in the neighbourhood. She believes that the accepting or resisting dynamics are related with the economical conditions instead of religious sect differences in Derbent. On this very same issue, the bulldozer operator of Great Municipality of Ankara (E56) mentioned that whilst some residents were ideologically against the project, some of them resisted due to economical reasons. He also said that there were people who had accepted the project from every social group. Besides these views, some residents who did not accept the project due to their economical conditions also stated that these all have nothing with the relations that are mentioned just above. For instance E41 mentioned that the acceptance or resistance attitude does not show any parallelism with ethnic background or religious affiliation. According to him, this is just related with suiting these residents' books or not, beyond the ideological and cultural differences. Similarly, E33 stated that the clashes between parties have nothing to do with the ethnic or religious differences but it was directly related with the distribution of produced rent. E59 who is an inhabitant of the Araplar Neighbourhood mentioned that there

was no relation between being Kurd and resisting the project. He added that among these opposing people there were his close relatives who are absolutely not Kurd.

E23 stated that his townsmen, the residents from Kırıkkale, had accepted the project while residents from Kars resisting. Similarly, E69 indicated that besides Kurd residents, some others whose brains had been washed by leftist organizations did not give their gecekondu to the municipality. On the other side, E34¹²⁷ mentioned that the people who signed the contract are from Çankırı, Çorum and Yozgat.

Although it cannot be generalized that the whole opposing residents are ethnically Kurdish, religiously Alevi, from Kars or leftist, it is obvious that these groups have more resisting capacity that mostly stems from their historical experiences and dispositions. As it is seen from the interviews, people have capacity to act collaboratively due to their ideological, ethnic and religious sect commonalities. Even though these cannot be indispensable from gecekondu dwellers' economic and social conditions, the election results can be useful to make projections for the possible clashes and conflicts in UTP neighbourhoods. Under these conditions, the results of Provincial General Council Members Election Results (2009) (Figure 4.23)¹²⁸ and Constitutional Amendment Referendum 2010 (Figure 4.24) are beneficial to be pointed out to see gecekondu residents' political behaviour. Even if local election results directly presents the voting distribution among leading parties, the constitutional amendment provides another data set, since the antagonisms among parties had turned the referendum period into general elections. As it is indicated by the public opinion research companies, at least 80 percentages of the voters had had no idea about the content of the constitutional amendment (Vural, 2010). Therefore, it can be claimed that partisan politics determined most of the voters' voting behaviour. Whilst supporter of Justice and Development Party that

¹²⁷ E34: He is 16 years old. He is from Ardahan. He was born in Derbent. He is the third generation. He is a high school student. The number of household is seven. His father is retired and his two brothers are working. They have tapu-tahsis document. They are living in a three room gecekondu on 483 m² land.

¹²⁸ The rectangular indicates the New Mamak Urban Transformation Neighbourhoods. The spots point the Derbent and Araplar Neighbourhood where the demolitions had partially realized. The Constitutional Amendment Referendum results of Turkey, Ankara, Mamak and Mamak's other neighbourhoods are also included to make comparison.

prepared the amendment said ‘Yes’ to the changes, supporters of Republican People’s Party and Nationalist Movement Party said ‘No’. Besides them, Peace and Democracy Party¹²⁹ that is purported as the representative of Kurdish people called for boycott the referendum. By the way, it has to be mentioned that the voters who boycotted the referendum cannot be differentiated from other voters who did not vote due to various reasons that has no relation with the boycott. Moreover, whilst the local election 2009 data was analysed, it is observed that the Democratic Society Party had just got 0.48 percent of the whole votes in Mamak. Nevertheless, it is stated by the interviewees that most of the Kurdish population in Mamak supports Republican People’s Party. On account of this reason, Democratic Society Party’s votes stayed at low levels. Under these conditions, the results of the local election and referendum can be evaluated to see the validity of ‘political polarizations’ assertions in the neighbourhoods. As it is seen from the graphics, the voting behaviour of electors in Derbent Neighbourhood is parallel to the election and referendum results of Turkey, Ankara and Mamak. However, the votes in other New Mamak UTP neighbourhoods are not equally distributed as it is seen in Derbent. As a result, it is envisaged that with respect to political opinions whilst some neighbourhoods’ residents tends to accept the project, there is a potential to witness serious conflicts between the residents and the municipality in other neighbourhoods. For instance, there is serious political opposition to the ruling party in some neighbourhoods such as Fahri Korutürk, Şirintepe and Tepecik. Moreover, these inferences were also verified by some the interviewees. For instance, the neighbourhood representative of Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau said that although they were politically strong in some neighbourhoods, some of their rightist neighbours, as it was realized in Araplar Neighbourhood, decreased the opposing forces’ resistance capacity against the municipality. Under these conditions, whilst the authority finds more chance to legitimize its intervention and reach consent with little effort in some neighbourhoods, some others show more resistance against the project. Therefore, according to this assumption and elections

¹²⁹ Peace and Democracy Party was established after the closure of Democratic Society Party as a successor.

results, the project can reach a certain level in every neighbourhoods in terms of demolitions; yet, it is not enough for the progress and completion of the project, since all neighbourhoods have more or less heterogeneous features in terms of voting behaviours. Similarly, one of the founding members of Mamak People Culture and Solidarity Association mentioned that due to leftist and rightist ideological cleavages, they had been facing with serious difficulties to mobilize masses against the municipality; although the project explicitly encroached on the gecekondu residents' property.

It should be also noted that as it is seen from the election results, these kinds of authoritarian interventions do not distinguish any neighbourhood residents as opponents or proponents of the ruling party. This intervention obviously targeted the whole gecekondu residents' living spaces, not just opposing people's ones.

As it is mentioned again and again during the whole study, just one variable as political behaviour cannot be indicated as the only variable that differentiates the gecekondu residents' attitudes towards the project. Nevertheless, it is an undeniable truth that besides economic and socio-cultural ones, ideological differences influence the level of consent of gecekondu residents.

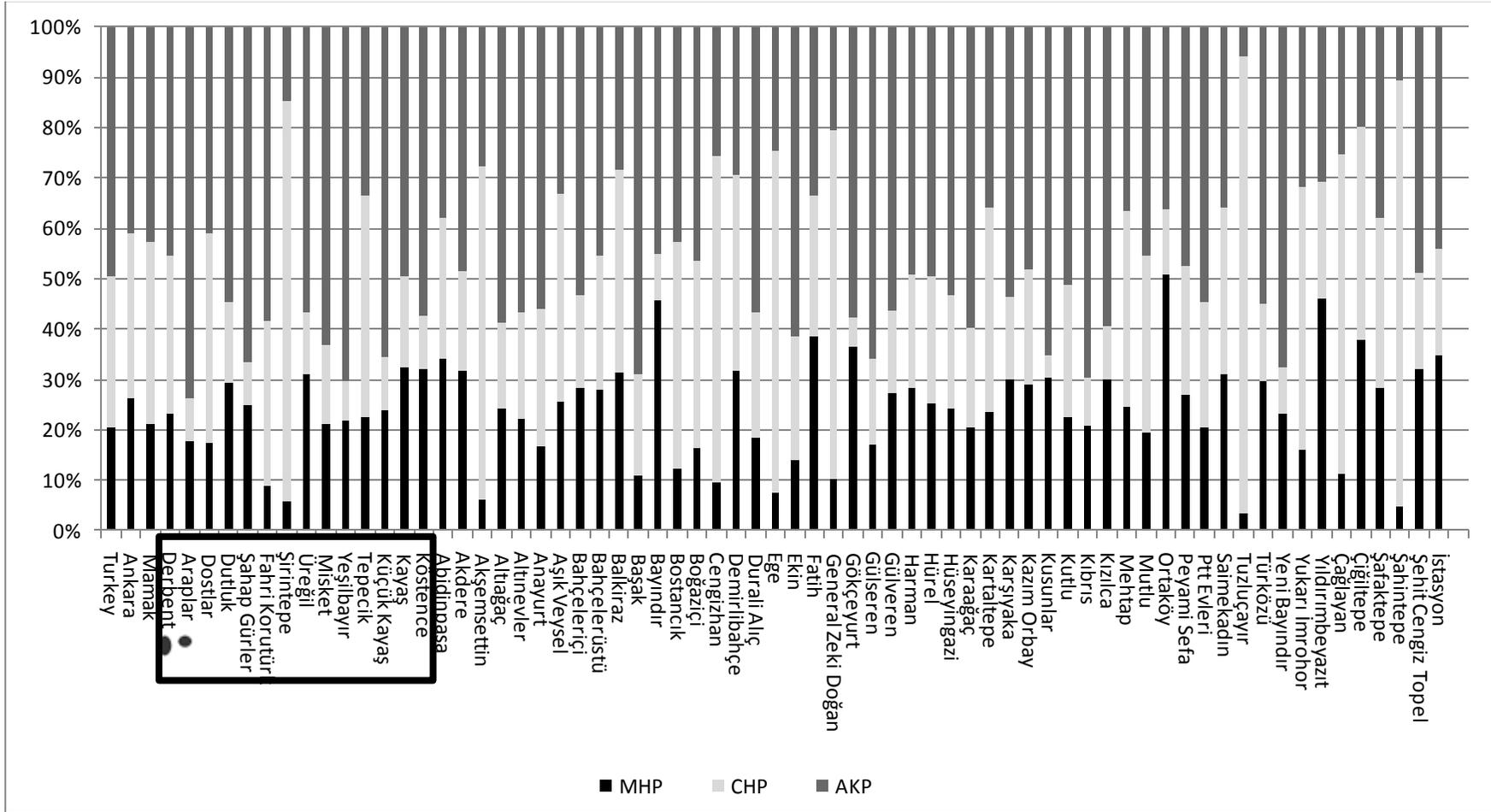


Figure 4.23. Provincial General Council Members Election Results (2009) (Turkey/Ankara/ Mamak and Mamak Neighbourhoods) –MHP: Nationalist Movement Party), AKP: Justice and Development Party, CHP: Republican People's Party- (Source: TSI).

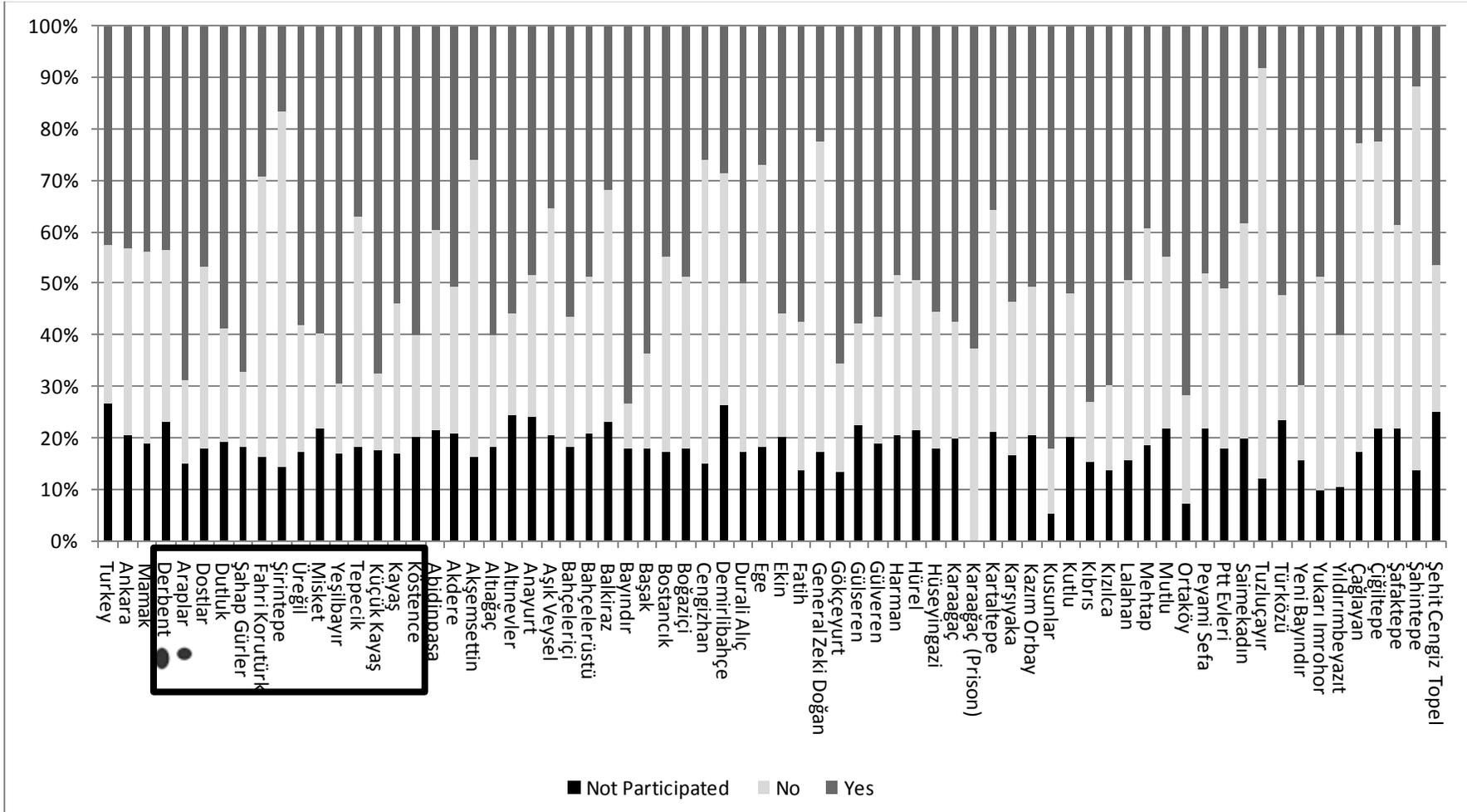


Figure 4.24. Results of Constitutional Amendment Referandum 2010 (Turkey/Ankara/ Mamak and Mamak Neighbourhoods) (Source: TSI)

Some interviewees also claimed that accepting or rejecting the project depends on residents' certain features such as ideology, ethnicity, religious sect or hometown differences which can be spatially observed in the neighbourhood after the demolitions had been realized. As a proof, they pointed out that whilst some part of the neighbourhood that was resided by certain group of people had been totally demolished; many buildings still remain standing in some other parts of the neighbourhood. It is widely known that the immigrants who share certain features such as ethnicity, religious sect and hometown had come together spatially and form clusters to maintain their lives in gecekondu neighbourhoods; since they had been aware of that the only way to survive is acting together against common threats. Therefore, distributions of the votes according to ballot boxes, besides the recent photographs of Derbent Neighbourhood, provide evidences about the existence or absence of collectively taking positions. At first, the results of local elections and Constitutional Amendment Referendum are beneficial indicators. It is stated in the law (Law no. 298¹³⁰) that the ballot box voter list is determined in alphabetical order of surnames of voters residing within the same ballot-box zone according to addresses written in Voter Registers and containing voter data including Vote Registers number, name and surname, mother and father name, year of birth and place of birth. Therefore, the neighbours who share same street or building use the same ballot box to vote. The vote distributions with respect to ballot box numbers both in local elections (Figure 4.25) and Constitutional Amendment Referendum (Figure 4.26) pointed out that especially in some neighbourhoods such as Tepecik and Dostlar, there are obvious politically opposing clusters in the neighbourhoods when they are compared with Araplar or K stence. On the other hand, Derbent Neighbourhood that the field research was conducted in except few ballot boxes displays similar voting behaviour patterns. Under these conditions, it can be said that whilst one neighbourhood is wholly dominated by one group, another neighbourhood represents more heterogeneous characteristics in terms of voting behaviours. However, partially demolished images of Derbent Neighbourhood (Figure 4.27 and Figure 4.28) signified that there would be more

¹³⁰ Law No. 298 is about 'Law on Basic Provisions on Elections and Voter Registers'.

demolished areas if the whole JDP supporters intimately promoted the project. As it is seen from the photographs, even though some gecekondú clusters are totally demolished in the Derbent Neighbourhood, there are also gecekondú buildings stand among wreckages or vice versa. Therefore, the political behaviour and cluster formations are not sufficient to clarify the acceptance and resistance attitudes of the residents; although it provides clues about the gecekondú residents' tendencies.

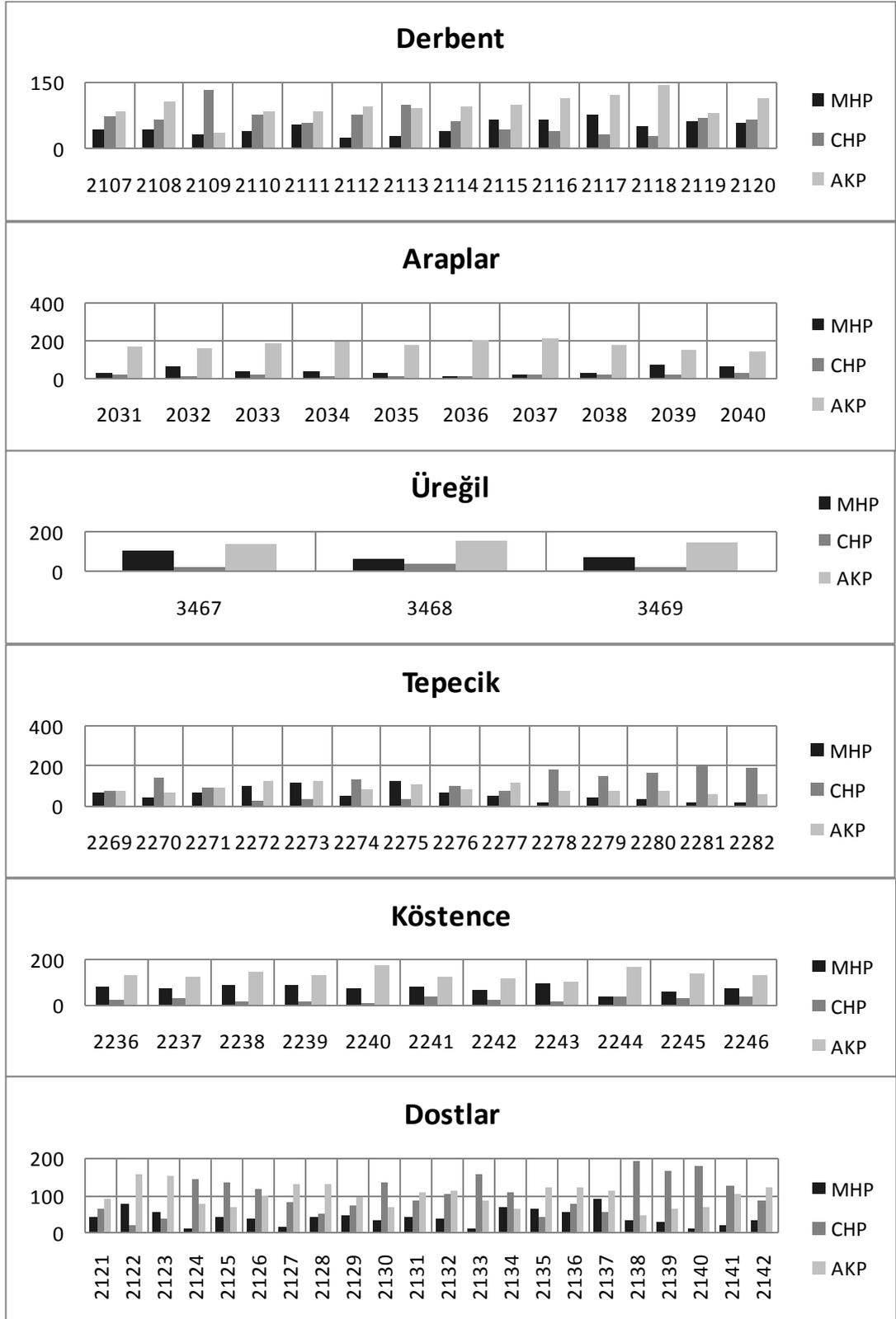


Figure 4.25. Provincial General Council Members Election Results in some New Mamak Urban Transformation Project Neighbourhoods (2009) according to Ballot Box Numbers – DTP: Democratic Society Party, MHP: Nationalist Movement Party, AKP: Justice and Development Party, CHP: Republican People’s Party- (Source: TSI).

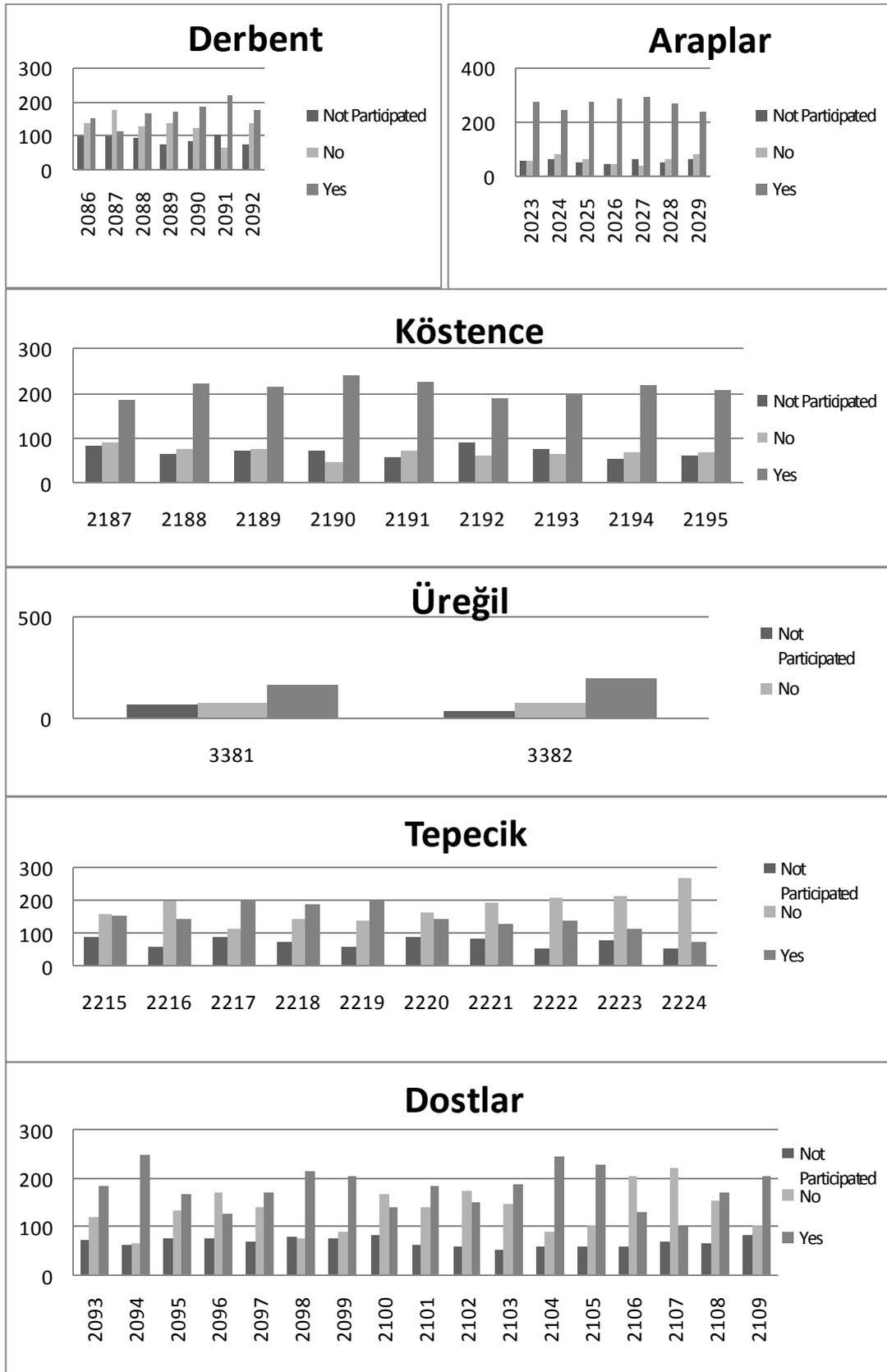


Figure 4.26. Results of Constitutional Amendment Referendum 2010 in some New Mamak UTP's Neighbourhoods according to Ballot Box Numbers (Source: TSI).



Figure 4.27. Derbent Neighbourhood's Aerial Photograph (Demolished and Not Demolished Areas at Northeast) (Source: Google Earth (prepared by author)).



Figure 4.28. Derbent Neighbourhood's Aerial Photograph (Demolished and Not Demolished Areas at Northwest) (Source: Google Earth (prepared by author))

Moreover, some interviewees claimed that municipality began to implement this project in their neighbourhoods due to absence of adequate support to the mayor's party JDP. For instance, E86 indicated that ideology was the basic reason behind the municipality's intervention to their neighbourhood. He based his opinions on the previously received rates of parties' votes. He said "JDP cannot get vote from our neighbourhood. Just RPP and Peace and Democracy Party (PDP) get votes from here". Similarly, E26 asserted that with the demolitions, the municipality tried to assimilate the residents who are the supporter of the left wing parties. However, the Provincial General Council Members Election Results within New Mamak UTP Neighbourhoods (Figure 4.29) indicated that except few neighbourhoods, JDP got the highest vote rate among other parties. Therefore, even though the authoritarian intervention of the state was introduced to neighbourhoods without making any political differentiation, during the field research it is understood from some residents' claims that the opposing people feel discarded due to their ideological cleavages. However, this process is a two sided sword that gives harm to both sides by deepening cleavages among society, because both sides accused other due to undesired conditions.

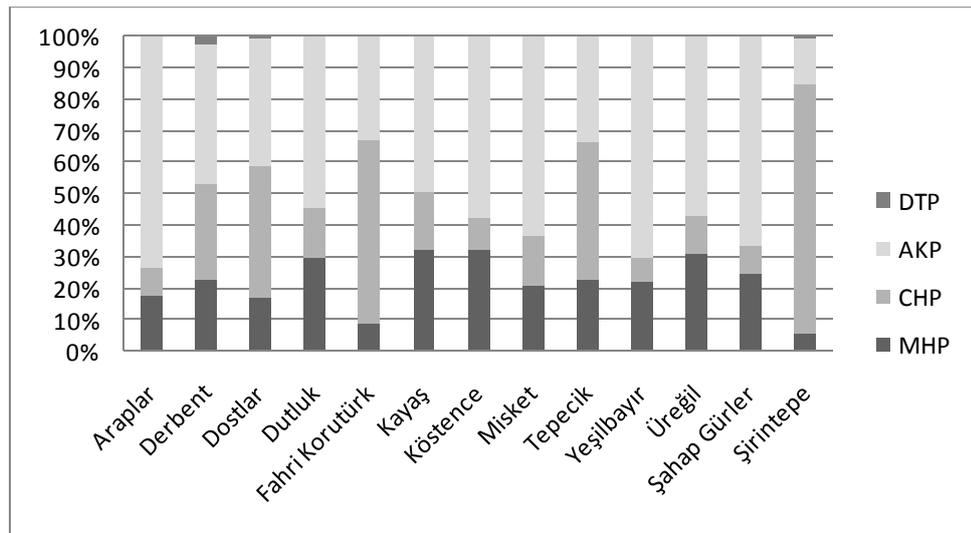


Figure 4.29. Provincial General Council Members Election Results 2009 in New Mamak Urban Transformation Project Neighbourhoods¹³¹ (Source: TSI)

¹³¹ DTP (Democratic Society Party), MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), SP (Felicity Party), AKP (Justice and Development Party), CHP (Republican People's Party)

Another controversial issue is the positions of the opposing organizations in the field. Although the dissidence among these groups are known and indicated during this study; their positions on the eyes of residents were asked to the interviewees. Whilst the social and cultural cleavages in the society became widened by this state intervention, the perceptions about these organizations are varied from person to person. For instance, E71 frankly indicated that leftist groups that had direct relations with the Derbent Headman arranged meeting with a meal and invited them; yet they surely had not participate this meeting due to seeing them as an obstacle for the development of the country. E8 said “the associations against the project informed people for a limited period of time; then they stopped”. He added that they turned to place for gambling. E4 mentioned that there are few ordinary people who lead these organizations. Whilst he was questioning their aims, he added that they were so to say trying to protest Melih Gökçek on their own. He said “who the hell do you think you are to defend my rights... There are people among them whom I know from Derbent, Araplar and Tepecik. All of them are empty words”. The very same assertion was also mentioned by the municipal servants. One municipal assembly member had sued the municipality for the project by declaring his action as social responsibility. This was criticised by the municipal authority also by saying “how can a person who has no right in this project and not experiencing the same conditions that gecekondü people realized defend these people’s rights. Whether lawyer or politician, they do not just for the sake of gecekondü residents.”

Similar assertion was made by E41 for the headman of Derbent Neighbourhood. He said that the headman had also benefit whilst resisting to the project. According to him, headman encouraged and support people to resist getting more share on his own. Correspondingly, Headman of Araplar Neighbourhood (E43) stated that the Headman of Derbent was working for his own sake. He mentioned his views as such:

Derbent Headman has a two or three storeys house. Two families are residing. He wants four houses from the municipality. Can four houses be provided as an equivalent of 250 m² land? It is not logical.

However, Headman of Derbent as a resident in the project area stated that they just want houses within the boundaries of our neighbourhood and they just want to know exact delivery time of the pledged houses. On the other hand, besides these negative connotations and accusations, some people have positive attitudes towards these organizations. They claimed that the existence of these organizations such as ‘Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau’, ‘Mamak People’s Culture and Solidarity Association’ and ‘Contemporary Lawyers Association’ provide opposing gecekondu dwellers to effectual resistance against the project (Figure 4.30). It has to be mentioned that the field research indicated that the Mamak People’s Culture and Solidarity Association and Contemporary Lawyers Association mostly acted together, whilst Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau worked under the People’s House¹³² Organization. On the very same issue, E14 stated that although there was no conflict between these two groups; they interacted with different parts of the society. E86 one of the neighbourhood representatives of Mamak Right to Shelter Bureau mentioned that Mamak People’s Culture and Solidarity Association was not active in their region and they did not make any contribution to the case. He added that due to weakness of the Freedom and Solidarity Party¹³³, Mamak People’s Culture and Solidarity Association could not become a significant organization in the eye of gecekondu residents in Derbent. This issue was asked to a powerful figure from Mamak People’s Culture and Solidarity Association and he said as follows:

Before the local elections (in 2009) we were very active. After the elections people who support RPP diverged from us. Indeed, our focus group was the RPP people who are more sensitive to these issues. Then, People’s House began to support RPP. We have serious clashes that are not political with People’s House. For instance I am a supporter of Freedom and Solidarity Party. They made negative propaganda about us.

¹³² People’s Houses (Halkevleri in Turkish) that is established in 1931 embody the principle of populism and aim to bridge the gap between the intelligentsia (Karpat, 1963). Although its entity was imperilled during the right wing dominated regimes, it achieved to survive and in the course of time, it is turned to a totally opposing political organization against especially the liberal policies tried to be introduced by governments. For more detail visit www.halkevleri.org.tr

¹³³ Freedom and Solidarity Party is a left wing party that signifies itself as the party of labour, liberty, peace, fraternity, justice, sincerity, participation, war opponents, truth, solidarity, obstinacy, equality, women, tolerance and so on. Party aims to seek egalitarian, less-exploited, classless society. For more information visit www.odp.org.tr

There were persons from every ideology among us. People were there. Moreover, you (People's House) are not the only candidate for this country... We were crowded; but Karayağın (who is the candidate of RPP for Great Municipality of Ankara mayoralty) acted with them. Then we began diverge from them. They are working well; but people do not like them. People want to be on the table during the discussions with the authority. Right to Shelter Bureau just provides these conditions to people. Now there remains certain amount of right wing residents who act with us. The majority is in company with the Right to Shelter Bureau.



Figure 4.30. A Slogan (Stake out a Claim to Your Home) on the Wall Written by Opposing Groups (Source: Personal Archive)

During the field research, it was observed that many gecekondu dwellers sunk into despair due to authoritarian implementation of the project. E4 indicated his desperation against the project due to impossibility of objection against the authority that holds the power. E80¹³⁴ stated that at first he had tried to resist the project; yet the authority cut his water and electricity to intimidate him. Therefore, according to him resisting brought nothing due to government's supreme power such as endless number of soldiers and policemen. According to E65, the implementation of the project is a fight between opposing forces and the

¹³⁴ E80: He is 71 years old. He is from Ankara. He came to Eserkent from Hasköy. He had lived in gecekondu for 40 years. He used to have tapu-tahsis document for his gecekondu. It is his fifth year in Eserkent. The number of household is two. He is retired. They are 21000 TL in debt due to project. He has three children who are residing various parts of Ankara.

municipality; however, in this fight he did not give any chance to opposing forces against the municipality. Similarly, many opposing residents share the same idea that they become desperate against the authority time to time. K6 stated that they do not know the For instance E14 like many others said “we took legal action several times against this project; but the municipality altered the name of very same project and began to implement again. We are sick of it.” In this regard, the legal basis of this implementation is asked to the related lawyer from Ankara Contemporary Lawyers Association. He responded as follows:

We sue against the municipality and the projects were annulled three times. But they are not implementing these decisions. Then we also applied to the competent authorities. Now, although there is no validity of the project due to court decision, municipality is still trying to implement the project and insistently continue to sign contract with the residents. We are trying to explain the situation to the people. Indeed, the most important thing is the people’s lack of knowledge... If you do not sign the contract, state have no chance to demolish or take your house. When you resist signing the contract, state has no such a right to demolish your gecekondü to build beautiful apartments or create better places. The lands cannot be expropriated for this sake. The opposite of it means the violation of our laws. Courts always give positive decisions on these issues. We are not facing with serious problems in courts. Now within the new form of law (73th article in Municipal Law) there are no huge changes against the gecekondü residents¹³⁵. The most significant alteration is that they are going to take money from the residents who resist signing the contract under the name of infrastructure and environmental monitoring expenses. Municipality preserves these people’s building; yet taking money from them. Indeed, it is also illegal... They are saying ‘we are state, we can do everything’. There cannot be such power, they are lying. It is not that much easy. We the intellectuals should go and inform people about these processes

As it is indicated by the lawyer, there is serious information pollution directly related with the lack of knowledge among residents. Although the literacy rate (Figure 4.31) and education level (Figure 4.32) indicators seem adequate, residents mostly choose to rely on what they hear from their neighbours or relatives instead of searching and reading. These can be explained in the first instance on the one hand by the absence of sufficient cultural capital which provide person to search

¹³⁵ These changes are discussed under the topic of ‘Legal Aspects of Urban Transformation Projects in Turkey and Urban Transformation Project in Mamak’.

and understand the processes on his or her own, on the other hand by the strength of social capital that is more operative among the gecekondu residents. Under these conditions, lack of sufficient and required knowledge about the project also arises as another source for the desperation against the state.

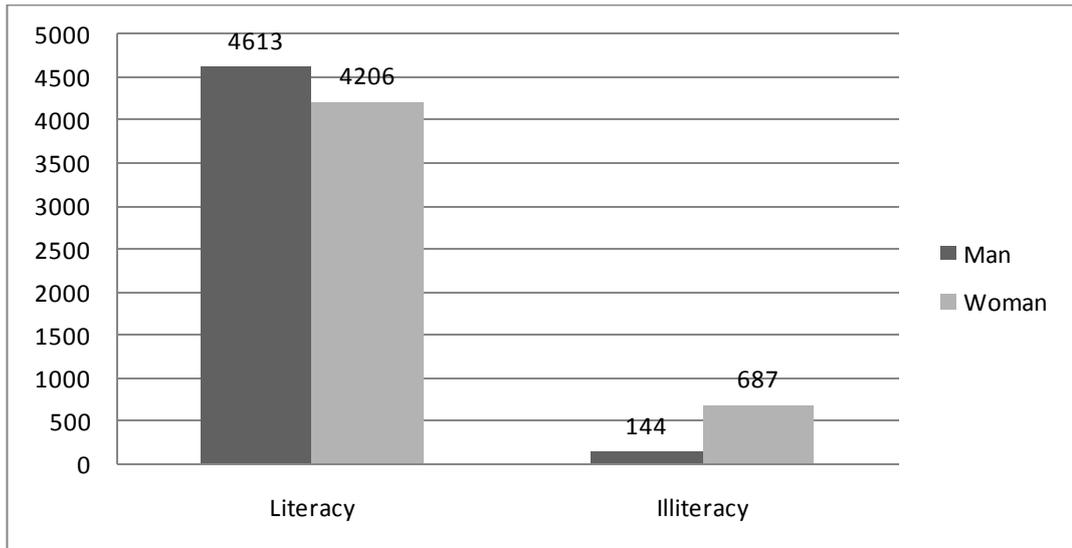


Figure 4.31. Literacy Distribution of Individuals in Der bent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Census of Population 2000)

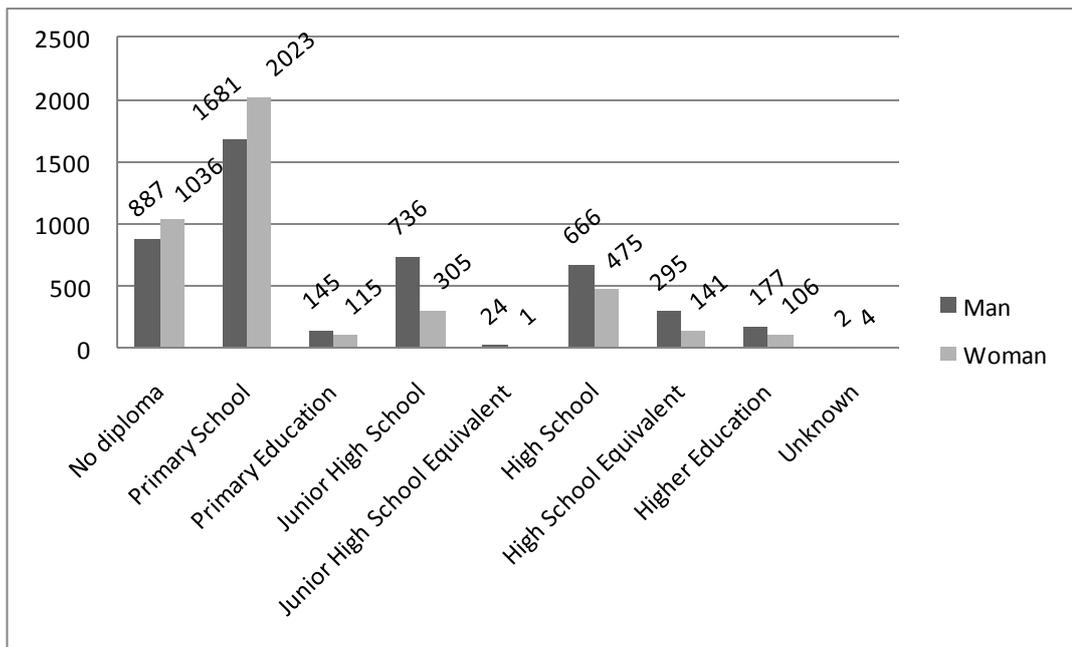


Figure 4.32. Education Levels of Individuals in Der bent Neighbourhood (Source: TSI Census of Population 2000)

This information pollution that stems from the absence of information channels is a big trouble for both parties. For instance, to show the extent of disinformation, two interviewees' assertions can be pointed out at this point. According to E8, Arabs had tried to deal with the municipality to undertake the whole project. On the other hand, E69 stated that the project had been initiated as a wish of one of Arab Sheikh. He added that the apartment blocks in Yoncalik had been sold to this Arab Sheikh. However, during the study, no information about the Arabic entrepreneurs or Sheikh was found. Nevertheless these beliefs among some residents, who accepted or rejected the project, indicated that they were misinformed most probably via hearsay knowledge. These reactions and rumours are highly common among many people who are not directly and effectively informed about the process by authority; nevertheless except few meetings that were held by Mamak Municipality and speeches before elections, no information channels were exercised to reach people. This inevitably leads to occurrence of positively or negatively misleading information for both groups whether they are for or against the project. When this situation and its reasons were asked to the authority in New Mamak UTP Coordination Centre, he complained about this issue and said that the residents were not come there to get knowledge from them. Under these conditions, during the field research while the questions were being asked, residents several times directed questions to the interviewer about the future of the project by assuming that the interviewer is employed by the municipality or any other authority although interviewer fully informed them about the intent of the study at the beginning of the interview.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to reveal the reasons behind the gecekondu dwellers' resistance and acceptance attitudes towards the urban transformation projects within a Bourdieusian framework. In this respect, after a brief introduction that contains scope, objectives, methodology and structure of the thesis, theoretical instruments that enable the study to grasp the knowledge of underlying mechanisms in the gecekondu neighbourhood were determined. The Bourdieu's theoretical framework made this study to explain the specific logic of individuals through habitus and forms of capital of these individuals with regard to various positioning in the fields. Throughout this chapter especially the relationship between theory and practice is tried to be established. Then in the following one, the gecekondu phenomenon and urban transformation projects were discussed in the historical context. Within this chapter, every detail of New Mamak UTP and related instances are indicated and evaluated to enable readers to acquire full knowledge about the project. This chapter is the backbone of the thesis; since the historical and structural conditions that basically determine the habitus and positions of the gecekondu dwellers towards the project were indicated in this chapter. Afterward, the field research findings, core of the study, were discussed regarding direct assertions and comments of the interviewees by considering the Bourdieu's theoretical instruments with the contribution of various quantitative data sets. When the perspectives of the gecekondu dwellers were evaluated, various variables behind the motivations were taken into consideration. At the end, it is observed that all the positions in the field stem from the habitus and the volume of forms of capital. Every strategy that determines the gecekondu dwellers' perspectives towards the urban transformation project takes their basis from these sources and dispositions. Consciously, the field research section is prepared to reflect the conflicts and clashes -some of them had already existed, some of them were facilitated by the project- among gecekondu people. This manner facilitates discussion throughout the thesis to indicate how different volume of capitals and dispositions change the agents' positions in the field.

Actually, the process began with the penetration of economic capital into the gecekondu areas. Due to availability of the lands and vulnerable populations, the gecekondu areas became a target for the investors and contractors. The state also welcomed this process and participated as a big share holder by urban transformation projects, since besides the organic relation between the capitalists and the state, it is well known that the construction sector plays significant role during the stabilization of the economy. Therefore, the gecekondu neighbourhoods that supplied the basic labour force to the market in the past began to be considered as transformation areas and needy places for the social relief practices in the eyes of upper classes. Consequently, the residents who have spent their most of the life in gecekondu neighbourhoods with the same community are forced to move into apartment blocks since their gecekondu are accused as being ugly and being harmful to the environment.

New Mamak Urban Transformation Project is just one of them. As it is indicated besides this project, launched as the Turkey's largest one, various prestigious projects are planning to be implemented in Mamak region. This transformation process is followed closely by the gecekondu residents. These people who are relatively weak in terms of possessed economic capital rightfully want reasonable compensation to leave their life style. They certainly believe that their land rents will increase due to closeness to city centre and availability of transportation. This increase expected in the long run negatively influences some residents' attitudes towards the project, since they witnessed to many gecekondu residents who received remarkable shares from the urban rent. High returns achieved in nearby gecekondu areas developed by improvement plans made the inhabitants of the project neighbourhoods expect at least similar equivalents from the transformation project. However, their rent expectations do not seem to be satisfied. They do not even know where and when the pledged houses will be given to them. Therefore, they do not want to waste their piece of land by getting small amount of money offered by the municipality. Although this situation is valid for most of the residents who have title deed, this is not the case for others who have tapu-tahsis or no legal documents. In case they have sufficient economic resources to fulfil the

requirements of the project, they see the project as a chance to get a house; since, they have no chance to deal with private contractors due to their shaky legal status. Benefitting from receiving rent aid or free services in Eserkent Mass Housing Area also seems highly appropriate for economically weaker section of gecekondu dwellers. Especially the residents who have houses which need maintenance and repair or have no heating system desire to move into apartment houses which seem more liveable for them. Furthermore, physical, functional or locational obsolescence and deterioration of gecekondu are pointed as other reasons behind the gecekondu dwellers' acceptance decisions. The gecekondu owners who have a deteriorated buildings located at the top of the hill, rightfully, tends to accept the project compared to those living in an apartment house or in a comfortable gecekondu. As it is seen, classifying gecekondu residents according to their land size and property ownership structure and providing them certain amount of money as an equivalent to their living space inevitably lead to problems. As a consequence of this, even though most of the gecekondu residents are pleased to live in a gecekondu and have almost no dispositions to maintain their life in an apartment house, they are ready to leave it behind if the municipality offers a reasonable equivalent. However, it should be mentioned that due to this creative destruction process, the dispositions and forms of capitals of the gecekondu residents will radically change, whether they accepted or rejected the project.

On the other hand, upper classes' hostility that emerged at the beginning of the migrations continued towards the gecekondu residents who are seen as a threat for upper classes' values in the cities. Nevertheless, after such an authoritarian intervention that targets the neighbourhoods of these people, the clashes and hostility have raised in the gecekondu neighbourhoods, among gecekondu dwellers. The habituses that are shaped throughout the years and social capital of the dwellers play significant role within these clashes. The disagreements that have been already embedded in the social space became more visible and the opposed sides began to accuse the others for every undesired result of the project. Therefore, as it is faced in the field, some residents claimed that ethnic background or religious affiliation is the basic reason that effects gecekondu residents' decision against the project.

Actually, there is a tendency among some interviewees to identify all resisting residents against the project as Alevi religious sect or Kurdish ethnic background people and all acceptors as Sunni or Turkish residents. Moreover, whilst the Alevi and Kurdish people are seen as leftist and supporters of Republican People's Party, others are assumed as rightist and supporters of Justice and Development Party. It is obvious that the gecekondu residents' political opinions that basically depend on their systematic dispositions and social capital influence the gecekondu dwellers' perspectives. Having the same village origin or religious sect or ethnic background plays significant role in the political attitudes of gecekondu residents. However, the position taken in the field cannot be just reduced to people's ethnic or religious identity. Even though, Kurd and Alevi populations are majority among the opposing side, actually they do not deny the project just because of such affiliations. Indeed, they have several other reasons. Initially, most of the Kurdish families are large in number and their property ownership status is problematic. More than one household resides on the very same land registered on one person. Therefore, accepting the project means that some of their close relatives who are economically vulnerable in general will be excluded from the community because of the project principles that do not provide any other chance to them. Under these conditions, gecekondu owners who also see the municipality's equivalents inadequate begin to use their social capital to get what they believe to deserve. Especially, Alevi and Kurd gecekondu residents who have already had dispositions due to ethnic and religious repressions can easily activate their social capital and become mobilized to resist against the authority. Therefore, they can act collectively due to their habituses. Moreover, the symbolic capital of Derbent Headman and his family who are Kurdish plays significant role not only on other Kurdish people but also on non-Kurdish residents while taking position. However, it does not mean that every Kurd or Alevi resident have the same amount of social or economic capital to maintain the resistance next to others. The field research pointed out that although their number is limited, there are Kurdish gecekondu residents who accepted the project. Similarly, there are many Turkish and Sunni residents decisively deny signing the contract of project due to insufficient equivalents.

The health-threatening environmental conditions that the authority created in Derbent Neighbourhood are significant reasons for gecekondü residents to accept the project. Especially the residents who do not possess sufficient economic capital to leave the neighbourhood are subject to these conditions. These gecekondü owners who reject signing the project contract and tenants live among debris and wreckages because the authority does not remove debris from the neighbourhood. These people are forced to live under unhealthy conditions and without safety in desolate area. Actually, the neighbourhood resembles nothing but the battle field after the intervention. Besides insecurity and social isolation, the gecekondü residents have no chance to meet their basic needs due to absence of adequate services and facilities. Even though, the municipality have not apparently put pressure on the residents to accept the project, the environmental conditions in the neighbourhood create indirect pressure to change their perspectives.

Even though, the effects of gender and age did not explicitly mentioned during the interviewees regarding the acceptance and resistance attitudes towards the project, it was observed that women, on the one hand, prefer gecekondü life due to close relations, on the other hand, they want to move apartment house to be freed from heavy gecekondü chores related to insufficient service facilities within gecekondüs. Most of the men feel comfortable living in a gecekondü area due to its free, independent and familiar environment. Kids and teenagers are happy to live in gecekondü as well yet, teenagers have to spend most of their free time frequently out of their neighbourhoods due to absence of facilities. On the other hand, older people do not want to leave their neighbourhoods in which they have spent most of their lives and have had many memories. However, some very old residents who have sufficient economic capital become obliged to move into apartment due to health problems.

It should be drawn attention to the effects of possessed cultural and social capital besides other variables because the knowledge acquired either by formal or informal ways in the society influences the people's perspectives. The level of trust to authority or other organizations also changes the residents' attitudes towards the project. Many residents who denied the project believe that the municipality have

neither ability nor capacity to complete such a huge project. The failed urban transformation projects plays significant role on these perceptions. The information pollution is another issue that seems influential during the formation of gecekondu residents' opinions about the ongoing process. Especially the rumours about bribery and favouritism negatively influence the attitudes of people who have already doubts in their minds about the project. Moreover, many misleading rumours which can be for or against the project circulate about the implementation among gecekondu residents. However, it is obvious that most of the residents have no idea about even implementation principles of the project. Although few meetings were held by Mamak Municipality, it is observed that they did not become sufficient to inform people effectively; since, even though, at the beginning of every interview the intention of the study was mentioned clearly, many residents demand help or further information about the project. Therefore, desperation, anger and lack of knowledge were frequently faced with during the field research. On the other hand, the opposing organizations which try to inform gecekondu residents about their rights and the ongoing process even though welcomed by most of the opposing people, they are also stigmatised as leftist, ideological organizations, which work for their own interest not for gecekondu people, by most of the project beneficiaries. It should be mentioned that these opposing organizations, which are also opposed to one another, suggest people not to sign the contract to get what they deserve. However, it is obvious that collaboration in a certain extent, efforts to become a part of the upper scale politics and taking concrete steps both increase their political power and change their image positively among gecekondu residents who question their goals. The gecekondu dwellers need to be informed, mobilized and encouraged to act in a harmony. Otherwise, the disputes continue to break the unity among opposing people.

As it is seen tremendous information about the specific logic of individuals were gathered during the field research. This information became highly meaningful under the light of Bourdieusian theoretical framework which provided significant instruments to explain and understand the perspectives of gecekondu dwellers throughout the preparation of this thesis. Bourdieu's perspective made this study to

consider every variable systematically in a relational manner. Even though some variables such as dispositions, economic and social capital seem more dominant or influential than the others especially in the field, the dynamics and motivations cannot be reduced to just few variables, since this kind of reductionism may lead to exclusion of possible significant variables. Additionally, the field research indicated that reductionist approaches that were encountered during the literature review have high potential to mislead the researcher and prevent him/her to see the whole picture; therefore, it is always more fruitful to follow relational manner while focusing on such an issue.

Under the light of information that is obtained from the field, some policies have to be proposed to authority in charge. Initially, it should be noticed that the conditions that gecekondü dwellers live in are the product of insufficient policies and inappropriate regulations of the authorities. For that reason, the forms and main reasons of obsolescence should be identified to adopt feasible strategies. With respect to this, a detailed report that point out the demographic features of the area has to be prepared before taking such serious intervention decision. The authority should be aware of the variables and relations among these variables which determine the perspectives and perceptions of the gecekondü dwellers; since most of the gecekondü areas are not homogeneous in terms of various aspects as it is indicated in this thesis. Then negative and positive consequences of the project have to be evaluated critically in every aspect. In the meantime, the opinions of the residents have to be seriously taken into consideration. These people should be the main beneficiaries of the project instead of contractors or state authorities. The participation mechanisms should be introduced for the satisfaction of the gecekondü dwellers. In case of consent of residents, an appropriate project plan must be prepared and facilitative project principles should be determined. The financial resources have to be prepared, monitored and managed during this process. In the case of the absence of adequate lands to construct houses, appropriate transit houses should be provided to the beneficiaries. The beneficiaries should have chance to know where and when the pledged houses will be delivered. Moreover, people have to be informed about the implementation process. Consequently, the pledged houses

should be delivered as soon as possible. Therefore, preparing a project just considering people's property structure, land size and debris equivalent inevitably leads serious problems as it is experienced in this project. The initiators of the project have to be aware of the gecekondu dwellers' dispositions (*habitus*) and forms of capital in relation whilst such an authoritarian intervention is being introduced in such a complex area. More realistic strategies have to be pursued. There is no doubt that if authorities pay little attention to any of these suggestions above, they do not attempt to initiate such a huge and complex urban transformation project.

Besides that, instead of urban transformation (renewal), urban upgrading which is widely applied all over the world seems more appropriate intervention model to gecekondu areas in Mamak. During the urban upgrading process, the basic services can be improved and the deprived gecekondus can be strengthened by financial aid of the state. The costs that accrue to gecekondu dwellers spread over long period of time for the benefit of gecekondu dwellers by considering their economic conditions. By this way, gecekondu dwellers obtain improved, healthy and secure living environment without being displaced from their livelihood. The policies of authorities should give privilege to 'use value' over 'exchange value' in order to decrease the pressure on both gecekondu residents and other disadvantaged groups in society. Even though it is difficult to limit market economy under capitalist state formation, in the last instance it is a must to prevent further traumas and conflicts in society.

Finally, some suggestions can be made for further studies. Actually, by this study it is attempted to point out the general tendencies and reasons behind gecekondu dwellers' acceptance and resistance attitudes towards the urban transformation project in a relational understanding. Briefly, during the field research, some dynamics and mechanisms that were mentioned above have been disclosed. However, although their significance cannot be underestimated for other fields, the incidence of these dynamics and variables may be limited in some other fields. Moreover, there may be brand new dynamics and mechanisms that play crucial role.

Therefore, other urban transformation areas should be researched in detail before reaching generalizations.

Furthermore, not to exceed the limits and goals of this study, details of some variables and mechanisms are not discussed extensively in this thesis. Therefore, the effects of ethnicity, religious sect and same village origin on gecekondu dwellers' perspectives can be elaborated in a historical context. Moreover, the discussion on network formation in the neighbourhood community could not be made by going into detail during the thesis. Creating some typologies by considering neighbourhood community characteristics can be beneficial to understand the common patterns that are frequently faced with. The evaluation of socio-cultural and spatial changes on the psychology of the gecekondu residents due to projects is another issue that has to be studied on. Furthermore, a discourse analysis of gecekondu dwellers' assertions on urban transformation projects can shed light on the hidden motivations behind their positions. Lastly, a study on variation among gecekondu dwellers' oppositions, different opposing organizations' formation and their different strategies is valuable to see the similarities and dissimilarities with respect to urban social movements and new social movements.

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