From Wheat Fields to Mass Housing: Ankara's Neoliberal Conjuncture

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Abstract

This thesis explores a shift from wheat fields to TOKİ mass housing in Ankara, Turkey and is based on a comparative world-historical perspective (McMichael 1990). Urban and agrarian issues are explored by placing processes of what David Harvey (2003) has referred to as "accumulation by dispossession" at the centre of this shift to capture the contradictions and complexities of neoliberalism in a specific place. I argue that the Turkish state under the Justice and Development Party has determined that accumulation by dispossession should operate as dispossession (upwards redistribution) and repossession (downwards redistribution). A comparison is made between the developmental era, where small producers cultivated wheat for domestic use and self-built housing called *gecekondus* began appearing in large cities with state acceptance, and the neoliberal era, where small producers are encouraged to cultivate crops for exchange and *gecekondus* are no longer acceptable to the market dynamics promoted at home and abroad.

Keywords: TOKİ; Slums; Neoliberalism; Accumulation by Dispossession; Agrarian Change; Housing Question

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List of Abbreviations and Glossary

Acquis Communautaire	That which has been agreed upon by the European Union community
AKP	The Justice and Development Party
ANAP	Motherland Party
AoA	Agreement on Agriculture
ARIP	Agricultural Reform Implementation Project
ASC	Agricultural Sales Cooperative
ASCU	Agricultural Sales Cooperative Union
ATO	Ankara Chamber of Commerce
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy of the European Union
DIS	Direct Income Support
DP	Democratic Party
EEC	The European Economic Community (predecessor to the European Union)
EU	The European Union
FAO	The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GYODER	The Association of Real Estate Investment Companies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPARD	Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance Rural Development Programme
LEADER	Links Between Actions of Rural Development Programme
MÜSİAD	Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association
NFRS	National Farmer Registration System
REIT	Real Estate Investment Trust
TMO	Turkish Grain Board
TOKİ	Housing Development Administration of Turkey
TÜSİAD	Turkish Industry and Business Association
TZDK	Agricultural Supply Organization
TZOB	Turkish Union of Chambers of Agriculture
WB	The World Bank

1. Introduction

While visiting Istanbul in May 2012, I was fortunate enough to attend a screening of director İmre Azem's (2011) recent film, *Ekümenopolis: City Without Limits*. The film should be considered recommended viewing for all visitors and denizens of Istanbul because of its cautionary tale of a neoliberal urbanism that has left Istanbul on the edge of an ecological, social, and economic precipice. Istanbul has undergone a tremendous transformation in order to become a "world city" since the introduction of neoliberal economic restructuring in the 1980s, with urban land at the centre of this transformation. The population of the city has swelled significantly as generations of rural-urban migrants settled in Istanbul in self-built housing called *gecekondu* (literal translation: built overnight) wherever possible. The city has increasingly sprawled north with the completion of the two suspension bridges over the Bosphorus, endangering the forests and water reservoirs that have sustained the city and its people for thousands of years; the proposed third bridge over the Bosphorus is described as a death sentence for the city and its inhabitants for these very reasons. In the fierce competition for global capital, Istanbul has positioned itself as an attractive location for investment, particularly in real estate. Neighbourhoods are being demolished through urban renewal projects at the behest of municipalities and the central government through TOKİ, the Housing Development Administration of the Turkish state, and in their place are highways, gated communities, and shopping centres. As the *gecekondus* make way for these developments, the displaced are offered the chance to purchase subsidized housing on the periphery of the city through TOKİ; thus, increasing spatial segregation as the poor are warehoused on the outskirts in satellite cities.

Part of what is so fascinating and timely about the film is how it overlaps in many ways with the transformation promoted in the World Bank's *World Development Report 2009: Shaping Economic Geography*. The report promotes a transformation following the path of three dimensions of economic geography: higher density through urbanization, shorter distances as people migrate to take advantage of density, and

fewer divisions that impede the advance of world markets. This transformation is said to lead to a great divergence in living standards, with a "billion slum dwellers in the developing world's cities, a billion people in fragile lagging areas within countries, a billion at the bottom of the global hierarchy of nations," and these three billion posing the greatest development challenges (2009, pp. 5). This divergence inevitably creates rural-urban migration, as people are pushed or pulled to the "slums and shantytowns"—"pull migration is better than push," according to the report (2009, pp. 18)—of "leading areas" in search of better lives. The report suggests that states can better serve these bottom three billion by implementing a "set of spatially blind policies" (2009, pp. 200) that include tackling "dysfunctional land markets": "a comprehensive land registry; credible mechanisms for contract enforcement and conflict resolution; flexible zoning laws; and versatile subdivision regulations that help, rather than hinder, the conversion of land for different uses" (2009, pp. 202). Central to the tackling of "dysfunctional land markets" is the issue of formal titles to land, which "are necessary for functioning land and property markets" (2009, pp. 203). The end of this pathway is supposed to be convergence, thanks in part to spatially connective strategies that are necessary to integrate those most impacted by the divergence. The report includes an upbeat reminder that "yesterday's slums are today's world-class cities": London, New York, Paris, Singapore, and Tokyo are emphasized as cities where "slums can, with the benefit of hindsight, be viewed as part of their 'growing pains'" (2009, pp. 68).

The report highlights Istanbul in several of its chapters, although one section is especially worth sharing here:

> Turkey has also transformed itself from a predominantly rural society to a primarily urban one over the past half-century...Driving this increase in density was the rapid growth of Turkey's cities, foremost among them, Istanbul...Much of this growth has been accommodated on the Asian side of the city, home to successive waves of rural immigrants. It is now the origin of a daily tidal wave of commuters who make their way across the Bosporus to work on the European side of the city. Underpinning Turkey's transformation to an urban economy are the spatially blind reforms that accompanied the creation of the modern republic of Turkey...The reforms of the 1920s helped to lay the foundation for Istanbul's rapid expansion, but the city has found itself grappling with congestion. In response, the city has improved its connective infrastructure, with 1973 marking the opening of the eight-lane Bosporus Bridge connecting the European and Asian parts of the city. This was

> followed in 1988, by the completion of the second Bosporus Bridge...Much of Istanbul's rapid growth over the last several decades has occurred through the growth of informal settlements...Such settlements, called *gecekondu*, house a large share of Istanbul's population. Almost half of the city's residents—some 5-6 million people—live in dwellings that are or were *gecekondu*...Istanbul still needs targeted programs to deal with the divisions associated with the continuing existence of poorly serviced and under-integrated informal communities (2009, pp. 225-226).

Istanbul is praised as a prime example of the spatially blind and now spatially connective policies (2009, pp. 212) that the report suggests are the magical formula for economic development in areas of advanced urbanization. A small box in the corner of a page in the overview of the report titled "What this report is not about" alerts readers that the "main aspects not considered...are the *social and environmental effects* of a changing economic geography" (2009, pp. 34). This, of course, is where the film and the report depart from one another; both cover the same transformation, but the film is most concerned with the social and environmental effects of the transformation. The message of *Ekümenopolis* is that putting economic growth and profit ahead of people and nature has left Istanbul in a rather precarious position that may precipitate any number of crises.

This is not the lone startling omission from the report, whose main message is clearly stated in the first sentence of the first page, "Economic growth will be unbalanced, but development can still be inclusive," (2009, pp. 1) and paraphrased repeatedly thereafter. We are told that this message derives from the experience of two centuries of economic development that demonstrates "that spatial disparities in income and production are inevitable" and any attempt to prematurely remedy these disparities will only retard economic development (2009, pp. 6). What is present is a re-packaging of the familiar tropes of neoliberal development prescriptions; what is mysteriously absent is any sense that the report was published and presumably written during a time of global economic crisis. Indeed, it would appear as though the report exists in a kind of vacuum that does not allow the crisis to penetrate. This absence appears to demonstrates a serious lack of careful reflection among the report's authors because, as David Harvey argues, "the report is deeply complicit with the policies that lay at the root of the crisis of 2007-09" (2011, pp. 3).

The very complicity of these (neoliberal) policies in the crisis has led to premature proclamations of the demise of neoliberalism. A special issue of *Development Dialogue* attempted to probe "what lies beyond neoliberalism—or what 'postneoliberalism' might consist of" (Brand and Sekler 2009, pp. 5). Lost in these obituaries is a sense of what the "neo" in neoliberalism denotes: as Jamie Peck argues, it "denotes the repeated (necessity for) renewal and reinvention of a project that could never be fixed as a stable formula, and which has lurched through moments of innovation, overreach, correction, and crisis" (2010, pp. 20). This is not the first crisis of neoliberalism and, despite suggestions to the contrary, this does not appear to be the last. Far from the advice contained in the *World Development Report 2009* being rendered obsolete by the crisis, the report remains instructive largely because of its neoliberal premises.

One of the main premises of the report is that economic growth is important, but inclusion is possible—indeed, necessary. Inclusivity was not emphasized in the "Washington Consensus," but has come to be an important component of the "post-Washington Consensus" that emerged in the late 1990s and came to incorporate the Millennium Development Goals. The actions taken in response to this shift to an emphasis on inclusivity, along with an accompanying emphasis on social responsibility, are indicative of Karl Polanyi's (1944/2001) famous "double movement" that he suggests came to characterize nineteenth century civilization at a time when the notion of a "self-regulating market" predominated. The predominance of a self-regulating market could never occur spontaneously; state intervention was necessary to implement the fiction that land, labour, and money are commodities—fictitious in the sense that commodities are defined "as objects produced for sale on the market," which does not apply to them (1944/2001, pp. 75). This represents nothing less than a radical attempt to run "society as an adjunct to the market," which provides the appearance of "disembeddedness" (1944/2001, pp. 60). In fact, Polanyi is clear that the economy is always "embedded" in social relations; a self-regulating market in any sense could never occur at all without "annihilating the human and natural substance of society" (1944/2001, pp. 3). Any movement to expand the market in a particular direction will be met with a counter-movement to protect society from the expansion of the market mechanism. The current emphases on inclusivity and social responsibility are an attempt to maintain the viability

of neoliberalism as a project by promoting the protection of the most vulnerable from the expansion of the market mechanism, at the same time as facilitating the expansion of that very mechanism.

The concept of embeddedness reminds us that the economy cannot be treated as autonomous from society; however, as Brenner and Theodore point out, neoliberal ideology suggests that "market forces...operate according to immutable laws no matter where they are 'unleashed'" (2002, pp. 351). In contrast to this approach, Brenner and Theodore "emphasize the contextual *embeddedness* of neoliberal restructuring projects" because such projects cannot be separated from the historical contexts in which they have been produced (2002, pp. 351). Market forces were "unleashed" in Turkey beginning in the early 1980s, but, perhaps surprisingly to some commentators, it has been under the direction of the pro-Islam Justice and Development Party (AKP) that such interventions have become more decisive. The adoption of neoliberalism, as I will discuss in the next chapter, has as much to do with international concerns as domestic political concerns. While the simultaneous promotion of spatially blind and spatially connective strategies advocated in the World Bank report are evident in Turkey, the adoption and implementation of such policies are contextually bound. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the former mayor of Istanbul, Turkey is now resolutely working towards transforming Istanbul into a financial capital, while at the same time intervening to create the full operation of a market based on private property and promoting urban renewal to improve competitiveness and economic growth. The plans for all of these have been on the drawing board for some time, but the AKP is the first government to actually energetically implement these plans. Since 2002 when the AKP was first elected to office, Turkey has experienced unprecedented economic growth, with only a brief downturn at the peak of the global economic crisis.

This is the Istanbul captured by *Ekümenopolis*; however, the haste with which the film is eager to portray a city on the edge of the apocalypse leads to a narrow view of neoliberalism in Turkey. It certainly captures neoliberalism as an explosively contradictory process, but it is less successful in illustrating the contours of a vastly complex process. The film is part of a curious coincidence that I want to highlight: research on urban renewal, spatial segregation, and mass housing in Istanbul (Candan and Kolluoğlu 2008; Gündoğdu and Gough 2008; Ünsal and Kuyucu 2010; Aksoy

2012)—which inevitably involves TOKİ—has largely focused on the same projects (such as Sulukule, Tarlabaşi, and Ayazma); commentators may be plucking low hanging fruit easily subject to criticism. To be clear, I stand in agreement with the criticism, but I am hesitant to draw wider conclusions from only the most predatory projects when there are plenty of other projects in Istanbul to research and hundreds of others throughout the country.

Recent urban studies on Turkey have overwhelmingly focused on Istanbul—not without compelling reason considering its historical and current importance. It is crucial to note that despite a lengthy period of rapid rural-urban migration, agriculture remains important within Turkey, but Istanbul is an area of relatively insignificant agricultural production in comparison to other parts of the country. Agrarian issues in these studies on Istanbul receive scant attention and generally only in relation to rural-urban migration, which may be linked to violence in the Southeast and East as the military waged a counter-insurgency campaign against the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) between 1984 and 1999 that killed tens of thousands and displaced millions. Scholars like Çağlar Keyder have separately covered agrarian and urban issues in Turkey, but rarely have they comprehensively covered such issues at the same time in a single work. Ankara, the Turkish capital, is ripe for investigation, not just because it remains under-investigated, but because of the potentially wider window that it provides as a large metropolitan area—around 4.89 million people and counting (Turkish Statistical Institute 2012)—and as a province that is part of the Central Anatolian region, the "bread basket" of Turkey. The tendency to cover urban and agrarian issues separately neglects the potential for a combined analysis to enhance our understanding of both through a longer, comparative historical perspective that can capture the contradictions and complexities of neoliberalism in a specific place—an analysis I pursue by emphasizing processes of "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2003).

The title of this thesis is intended to represent my attempt to detail a shift from wheat fields to mass housing as an extended historical process in Ankara. At the centre of this shift is a contrast between the developmental and neoliberal eras in the intervention of the state on the management of land and agriculture. During the developmental era, small agricultural producers were encouraged to reclaim state lands, often for subsistence production, petty commodity production, or a combination of the

two based on family labour. The cultivation of wheat for domestic consumption was supported as state policy at the same time as state policy promoted industrialization through import-substitution strategies. Millions migrated to the large cities in response to state policy and reclaimed state and private lands wherever they could for use as self-built housing, with tacit or explicit state acceptance for this solution; the state was reluctant to intervene in the formal provision of housing because it would potentially detract from industrialization and undermine its legitimacy. Amidst neoliberal restructuring, the ambiguities of land ownership are no longer acceptable to the capitalist market dynamics promoted at home and abroad; earlier gestures towards titling in areas of self-built housing and urban renewal are now favoured interventions in an attempt to create a fully commodified market for urban land. At the same time, agrarian restructuring amidst Turkish accession to the European Union has witnessed a shift from support for production of wheat for use to support for production of crops like fresh fruits and vegetables for exchange. In an attempt to slow rural-urban migration and provide formal housing, the state is building mass housing for lower and middle income people through TOKİ on state lands in peripheral areas. Instead of allocating TOKİ a significant share of the budget for mass housing projects, potentially valuable state land is transformed into various projects, like gated communities and shopping malls, directed at the affluent in order to fund mass housing projects.

This shift has the appearance of "disembeddedness," but the AKP is working hard to embed a more "inclusive" neoliberalism partly through homeownership and thus, to borrow Marcie J. Patton's phrase, offer the excluded "a stake in the neoliberal order" (2009, pp. 444). The AKP has determined that "inclusion" will occur through the operation of processes of accumulation by dispossession: valuable state land will be transformed into luxury developments through public-private partnerships involving TOKİ, with the administration's share of the profit dedicated to funding mass housing projects for low and middle income people. A recent report from the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe on "self-made cities" argues that a "necessity is to make housing policy an effective mechanism for accumulating asset wealth for the dispossessed through ensuring equal access to the rights to land and resources essential to a decent life" (UNECE 2009, pp. 2). This "necessity" is evident in the operation of accumulation by dispossession under the AKP, which redistributes both

upwards and downwards; however, “inclusion” does not come without complications and contradictions. Social policies surrounding homeownership are, as Waltraud Schelkle points out, “typically commodifying and decommodifying at the same time”: on the one hand, the financial inclusion of those previously excluded from access to mortgages and the accompanying tax benefits appear as decommodifying; on the other hand, homeownership itself is commodifying, partly because it reinforces private ownership (2012, pp. 61). This contradiction was at the centre of the global economic crisis, and we should expect contradictions in Ankara, although none as explosive as the ones already exposed in Istanbul and those laid bare elsewhere by the economic crisis.

1.1. “Incorporated comparison” as a methodology

In 1990, Philip McMichael introduced “incorporated comparison” as an historical comparative method that can overcome some of the gaps and limitations of existing comparative methods. At the time of McMichael’s original intervention, the “theory and practice of ‘developmentalism’” that had come to define the post-Second World War period was under intense scrutiny and with it, the comparative method (1992, pp. 351-352). In subsequent articles (1991; 1992; 2000), McMichael has refined and clarified his methodological intervention and demonstrated the utility of this intervention. Incorporated comparison builds from the strengths of Immanuel Wallerstein’s “world-systems perspective” and Charles Tilly’s “encompassing comparison” and identifies their respective weaknesses, which enables McMichael to transcend the two to provide an original and insightful contribution to the comparative method. The great strength of incorporated comparison is that it emphasizes world-historical processes, but escapes the functionalist trap, where the whole determines its parts.

Formal comparison strives for the same “rigor” apparent in scientific studies, where causal connections are the central objective; in this approach, “society” is “assumed to be a self-evident and discrete social unit, and therefore comparable” (McMichael 1990, pp. 385). According to McMichael, the perspectives of Tilly and Wallerstein are responding to a particular failure of the formal comparative method based on ahistorical assumptions, since “modern social change is not simply the property of individual societies” (1990, pp. 385). For Wallerstein, the “world system is

not merely the *site* of social change, it is more the fundamental *source* of social change" (1990, pp. 390); and for Tilly, "modern social change arises from two distinct, but interconnected, processes of development of the nation-state system on the one hand and the worldwide capitalist system on the other" (1990, pp. 386). McMichael shares many of the concerns that Tilly and Wallerstein address, but identifies a particular shared weakness that can be remedied through incorporated comparison: unexamined assumptions about analytical units express "an unwarranted separation of theory and method" (1992, pp. 352). In other words, both presume a "'whole' that governs its 'parts'" in contrast to McMichael's approach which "progressively *constructs* a whole as a methodological procedure by giving context to historical phenomena" (1990, pp. 386). Tilly does this when he suggest that we begin with "a mental map of the whole system and a theory of its operation" (1990, pp. 388) and Wallerstein does this when he suggests that his "unit of analysis is based on the measurable social reality of interdependent production activities, what may be called an 'effective social division of labor' or, in code language, an 'economy'" (1990, pp. 391). While both make significant contributions to the comparative method, they ultimately succumb to the very formalism they originally intended to overcome.

Transcending the perspectives of his methodological predecessors, McMichael argues that the goal is "not to develop invariant hypotheses via comparison of more or less uniform 'cases,' but to give substance to a historical process (a whole) through comparison of its parts...In short, comparison becomes the substance of the inquiry rather than its framework" (1990, pp. 386). To understand what this means, we can look to the three particular claims of incorporated comparison (2000, pp. 671): the first is that "comparison is 'internal' to historical inquiry, where process-instances are comparable because they are historically connected and mutually conditioning"; the second is that "the composition and context of the units compared...form in relation to one another and in relation to the whole formed through their inter-relationship"; and the third claim is that "comparison can be conducted across space and time, separately or together." This final claim is important in identifying the two forms that incorporated comparison tends to take as a research strategy: the multiple (diachronic) or the singular (synchronic). The former involves "comparison across time of multiple instances of a single historical process," while the latter involves "comparison across space within a single world-

historical conjuncture" (1992, pp. 359-360). McMichael highlights Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* as the primary example of a study employing both forms of incorporated comparison; thus, a combination of the multiple and the singular is complementary instead of mutually exclusive.

In this thesis, I employ the method of incorporated comparison in an attempt to capture some of the complications and contradictions of the process of neoliberalism in Ankara. McMichael stresses that in incorporated comparison, the "goal is to understand how global processes are interpreted, expressed, and realized locally," which in turn, "allows an even more concrete (de-reified) and open-ended understanding of global processes" (1992, pp. 362). I begin the next chapter utilizing the singular form of incorporated comparison under the premise that neoliberalism has not been imposed on Turkey: the adoption of neoliberalism has as much to do with domestic concerns as outside pressure from actors like the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the European Union. In regards to domestic concerns, I highlight what Yildiz Atasoy (2005; 2008; 2009) describes as the "realignment of Turkish capital" since the beginning of the neoliberal era in the early 1980s. I am primarily concerned with the current world-historical conjuncture that I explore through the distinct dimensions of the "housing question" and the "agrarian question." Our conjuncture can be characterized in part by an emphasis on social responsibility and inclusivity, both of which partially shape the distinct dimensions that refresh these enduring questions. I link these questions through the underlying relation of processes of capital accumulation that Marx termed "primitive" or "original," processes that have received renewed scholarly attention, most notably in the work of David Harvey. Among the processes that Harvey singles out are the "commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations," along with the "conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state, etc.) into exclusive private property rights" (2003, pp. 145).

The world-historical processes of this conjuncture, in this instance accumulation by dispossession, are "interpreted, expressed, and realized" in Turkey, but I view Turkey as a differentiated outcome or moment of an historically integrated process, not as a discrete case (McMichael 1990, pp. 392). Harvey argues that neoliberalization is a class project (2005, pp. 16-18) and that accumulation by dispossession has served upwards redistribution (2005, pp. 159). He emphasizes that the "stance of the state" plays a

"crucial role in both backing and promoting these processes" (2003, pp. 145); I argue that the Turkish state under the AKP has determined that accumulation by dispossession should operate as both dispossession and repossession. What I mean by this is that processes of accumulation by dispossession are being harnessed to accomplish socially useful objectives instead of simply serving upwards redistribution. Certainly upwards redistribution is important in this moment, but it is not the singular thrust of accumulation by dispossession, with this instance offering a more "open-ended understanding" of these processes. If neoliberalization is a class project then it must be responsive to criticism and able to neutralize that criticism by incorporating and draining the criticism of its subversive qualities—actions I identify in the current emphasis on inclusivity and social responsibility.

Exploring these processes in Ankara allows me to engage in an analysis that spans urban and agrarian issues, an exploration that I begin in earnest in the third chapter. There is a kind of implicit juxtaposition of state (trans)formation and forms of capitalist restructuring between the developmental era and the neoliberal era—and within the neoliberal era since the AKP took office in 2002—that begins in the third chapter, which allows me to capture an ongoing shift from wheat fields to mass housing. I largely employ the multiple form of incorporated comparison in these chapters to juxtapose these eras and historically specify this shift in Ankara. State lands are central throughout my analysis because of a contrast between the eras in the position of the state on the redistribution and use of these lands. Given that state lands are at the disposal of the state, how the state disposes of such land does not remain fixed, but changes with the domestic priorities and the world-historical processes expressed in the eras. The surface area of Turkey is rather large at approximately 815,000 km² and a significant portion of Turkey is considered state lands; however, it is challenging to get a recent precise figure beyond 207,087 km², which is the size of the land portfolio controlled by the General Directorate of National Property—a unit of the Ministry of Finance that is the main manager of state lands in Turkey—as of the end of 2011 (GDNP 2012, pp. 2). Today, nearly three-quarters of these state lands are classified as forests and a significant portion of the remainder are agricultural.

During the developmental era, the primary position of small agricultural producers was consolidated through land reform, which enabled small producers to

reclaim state lands for agricultural production usually based on family labour. The cultivation of wheat for domestic consumption was encouraged in support of import-substitution industrialization, with rural-urban migration necessary to provide workers for nascent industries. In the absence of available housing, migrants reclaimed land wherever possible, often through the construction of *gecekondus* in the large cities. There is a great deal of diversity between the claims to land: in a majority of cases, squatting occurred on state lands[1], but in many cases squatting occurred on private land or land was privately purchased and illegally subdivided. In separate contributions, Keyder (1999) and Ayşe Buğra (1998), invoke E.P. Thompson's (1963/1991; 1971) concept of a "moral economy" in regards to the access to land for housing in the cities of Turkey during the developmental era. Thompson first introduced the concept in his highly praised work *The Making of the English Working Class* and it was also the specific focus of an often cited article, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century." A moral economy emerges in the food riots of the eighteenth century, where Thompson detects in nearly every "crowd action some legitimizing notion," by which he means "that the men and women in the crowd were informed by the belief that they were defending traditional rights or customs; and, in general, that they were supported by the wider consensus of the community" (1971, pp. 78). These crowds were defending their expectation that the cost of subsistence would not be determined by the market price, but by custom; instead of stealing provisions, the crowds displayed "self discipline" and demonstrated a great deal of organization in collectively setting a fair price for goods like bread (Thompson 1963/1991, pp. 67-70). Buğra describes this as a clash between "the traditional morality of popular consumption and the a-moral stand of the new political economy where the satisfaction of human needs is left to the impersonal forces of the market" (1998, pp. 304). We know from Polanyi (1944/2001, pp. 45-52) that the idea of a self-regulating market, where gain and profit based on exchange prevail, is a radical departure in the history of humanity, since reciprocity and redistribution have long formed the basis of any economic system. To implement the "full operation of a market based on private property" in Turkey during the

[1] More recent figures are difficult to come by and the available figures differ substantially over time: Ayşe Buğra (1998, pp. 309) cites a figure of 87.92 per cent of *gecekondus* in Ankara, 75.84 per cent in Istanbul, and 80.79 per cent in Izmir built on state lands and Ruşen Keleş (1972, pp. 97) cites a figure of 65 per cent average across Turkey.

developmental era—an era when nationalization, not privatization, was emphasized—would, as Keyder (1999, pp. 147) argues, undermine the very legitimacy of the state. Instead, Buğra argues that allowing the construction of *gecekondus* has a "moral legitimacy as a form of need satisfaction complementing deficiencies of formal mechanisms of exchange and redistribution" (1998, pp. 306-307). The ambiguities apparent in the diversity of property claims that emerged through the operation of this moral economy slowly began to breakdown towards the end of the developmental era as titling efforts expanded, but it was not until the AKP took office that definitive measures were taken towards a more complete commodification of land and, with it, earnest action towards formal mechanisms of redistribution.

The third chapter also focuses on the changing relations of food provisioning as Turkey aligns its agricultural policies with the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Union as part of efforts towards membership. These changes undermine production for use and privilege the production of export crops like fresh fruits and vegetables, along with diversification into non-agricultural activities. In order to encourage a shift towards fresh fruits and vegetables—at the same time as abandoning the long held historical emphasis on self-sufficiency in cereals—a dependence on the state for supports that took shape during the developmental era has been replaced with a dependence on agribusiness in the neoliberal era under the AKP. As small producers appear to be losing control over many aspects upstream and downstream of agricultural production, an example of accumulation by dispossession, the Turkish state under the AKP has actively facilitated the participation of small producers in downstream supply chains (Atasoy 2012). At the same time, agricultural lands are subject to competing uses, such as TOKİ's urbanization and housing campaign, a campaign that is the sole focus of the fourth chapter.

The fourth chapter focuses on the three main parts of the urbanization and housing campaign of TOKİ: mass housing projects, urban transformation projects, and revenue-sharing projects. TOKİ's share of the profit from the revenue-sharing projects, which are based on public-private partnerships that usually develop attractive housing for higher income groups, are used to build mass housing projects. Accumulation by dispossession is at work in this instance: the land allocated to TOKİ is released for developers to capture and put to profitable use. However, redistribution is both upwards

and downwards, with TOKİ able to provide subsidized housing for middle and lower income groups. In the example of urban transformation projects, accumulation by dispossession is also evident, but residents with some form of title to their existing home may be able to exchange that title for multiple units in the development that replaces their existing home. It should be noted that this will not necessarily be the outcome of urban transformation projects for all residents because the outcomes of these projects will be vastly uneven. The three main parts of the urbanization and housing campaign are fraught with complications and contradictions that I explore throughout.

1.2. A note on sources

Published documents and newspaper articles are the main primary sources that I used throughout the research process. In cases where primary sources were unavailable in English, I relied on secondary sources, which was particularly the case for my analysis of the developmental era. I also carried out a few interviews through translators while I was in Ankara: with a TOKİ project manager, a local official in Güdül, and a board member of the Güdül TOKİ. The interviews supplemented the published documents and provided some answers to lingering questions that the published documents did not adequately satisfy, particularly some specifics of the projects I focused on and walking me through the general processes of mass housing construction, revenue-sharing, and urban transformation. When I travelled to the headquarters of TOKİ, I explained the questions I wanted to ask and was put in touch with a project manager; however, the project manager could not answer any specific questions about Güdül because she was not even aware that it existed. Specific questions about Güdül were addressed when I travelled there and interviews were arranged through my senior supervisor, Dr. Yildiz Atasoy.

A major stumbling block (and might I add frustration) with researching TOKİ is that the administration can at times appear somewhat inscrutable: TOKİ is not even mentioned directly in the Public Procurement Law (no. 4734) nor is it listed in the Public Financial Management and Control Law (no. 5018) under Special Budget Administrations. TOKİ does not have to release specific data and its oversight falls directly to the prime minister. Financial data is not publicly released on an annual or

otherwise frequent basis; in fact, Emlak Konut GYO, a Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT) owned by TOKİ, is more transparent in this respect because it is publicly traded. We do not know if TOKİ is borrowing money and, if so, who the money is being borrowed from; the tendering process used by the administration can also be rather opaque, which was recently on display in a corruption probe that revealed shady tender practices during Erdoğan Bayraktar's time as president of the administration, who has since moved on to become the environment and urban planning minister (Today's Zaman 2012, November 23). Some financial data can be uncovered through the annual reports released by Emlak Konut, but finding other data through what little is released by TOKİ can be a challenge or even impossible. Without a more extensive release of data it is difficult to gauge what TOKİ's impact on the Turkish economy has been or to refute or substantiate specific claims made about or by the administration.

The project manager thoughtfully answered all of the questions she was able to, but many of my questions remained unanswered. Among those questions concerned the frequency with which homes are confiscated after a resident misses payments, with the project manager directing me to the Legal Department for answers. At the Legal Department, I was handed a copy of TOKİ's *Due Diligence Document*, which I was told would answer all of my questions. This document states that the "rate of non-payment is near to zero in the sales practices realized by the Administration" and that the rate of confiscation for missed payments is "very small (like 1/2.000 [1 out of every 2000] housing units)" (TOKİ 2011c). To put that figure in perspective, TOKİ has built over 500,000 homes, which would mean that only roughly 250 homes have been confiscated due to non-payment. Granted, this is possible, but what makes it questionable is the basic requirement that a set payment schedule necessitates steady work and a regular income, which many of the intended recipients of mass housing may not possess. How many of the intended recipients of mass housing actually remain living in their units is not addressed. Google searches reveal numerous nearly brand new TOKİ units for sale—a number that would likely be higher if more people had the option of legal re-sale; in the place of legal re-sale, an informal market has emerged. If so few homes are being confiscated then the informal market where these homes are being illegally resold is likely large; however, to dig deeper into this informal market would potentially expose people to legal action.

In regards to newspapers, I strategically selected *Hurriyet Daily News* and *Today's Zaman* for two main reasons: first, both are in wide circulation in Turkish and English; second, the two have different perspectives and political alignments. *Hurriyet* is owned by the Doğan Group and is aligned with the centre-left Kemalist secular-nationalism that is typically critical of the AKP. In recent years the Doğan Group has faced significant and potentially crippling fines for tax evasion, which spokespersons for the group have claimed are politically motivated and related to a public feud between the group's chairman and Prime Minister Erdoğan (Hurriyet Daily News 2009, September 8). It is worth noting that this is not the only incident relating to the media: Turkey now has the unflattering distinction as the world leader in the imprisonment of journalists according to Reporters Without Borders (2012, December 19). *Today's Zaman* is owned by Feza Inc. and is widely believed to be aligned with the Fethullah Gülen movement, whose pro-Islam interests often overlap with the AKP. Newspapers provide a good time line of activities and a window into the various public debates that are relevant from the different perspectives and political alignments. Interestingly, I did not detect a meaningful difference in the specific coverage on TOKİ, but I could detect more apparent criticism towards the AKP in general articles from *Hurriyet Daily News*.

The frequency with which I quote from the World Bank's annual *World Development Report* is justified on the basis that what is actually said in these documents is important for the very reason that the World Bank is the "chief arbiter" of development (Goldman quoted in Roy 2010, pp. 36). The neoliberal prescriptions for development contained in these reports provide an insight into the current thinking that exists in an institution with a great deal of global influence. The contents of these reports will not determine a specific path for any country, but it is likely that the prescriptions will be "interpreted, expressed, and realized locally" in some "contextually embedded" way.

2. Old questions in a new century

The social and economic conditions of the late nineteenth century gave rise to two questions that continue to confront humanity in the second decade of the twenty-first century; I am referring to the "housing question" and the "agrarian question," but I do not mean to suggest that these questions remain unchanged since they were first identified by Friedrich Engels and developed further by others. The housing question emerged in a series of articles published by Engels in response to debates in Germany over the shortage of housing available to workers in industrial cities: "What is meant today by housing shortage is the peculiar intensification of the bad housing conditions of the workers as the result of the sudden rush of population to the big towns; a colossal increase in rents, a still further aggravation of overcrowding in the individual houses, and, for some, the impossibility of finding a place to live at all" (Engels 1872). Karl Kautsky partially defined the agrarian question in 1899 by asking "is capital, and in what ways is capital, taking hold of agriculture, revolutionising it, smashing the old forms of production and of poverty and establishing new forms which must succeed it" (quoted in Akram-Lodhi and Kay 2009, pp. 5). We can identify an underlying relation between the two questions in the nineteenth century through processes of capital accumulation that Marx (1976) termed "primitive" or "original"; given that David Harvey (2003) underlines the ongoing nature of these processes and groups them under the concept of "accumulation by dispossession," I argue that the underlying relation between the two questions in the twenty-first century are processes of "accumulation by dispossession. I depart from Harvey's analysis when I suggest that serving upwards redistribution may not be the singular thrust of these processes as their operation in Turkey demonstrates.

Our current historical conjuncture is not the same as the one captured by Engels, Kautsky, and others; thus, it is necessary to discuss the origins of our conjuncture in order to uncover the current dimensions of these questions. The point in establishing the current dimensions of these questions is to demonstrate that Turkey is not an isolated instance; after a broad sweep, I narrow in on Turkey as a "differentiated

[outcome or moment] of an history integrated process" (McMichael 1990, pp. 392) by delving into the "contextual embeddedness" of neoliberal restructuring in Turkey. To accomplish this task, I will briefly cover the rise to prominence of the neoliberal "Washington Consensus" and its eventual re-packaging as the "post-Washington Consensus" after the accumulation of human suffering began to undermine the original, but evidently not its major premises. Next, I will explore the current housing question in relation to a "millennial development" that seeks to combine social responsibility and capital accumulation to transform urbanization. Then I will highlight the current characteristics of the agrarian question under the neoliberal restructuring of agriculture, particularly the approach advanced in the World Bank's *World Development Report 2008*. While the housing question and the agrarian question are related in numerous ways, I wish to emphasize underlying processes of "accumulation by dispossession." After that, I narrow my focus to Turkey, starting from the regional significance of the Turkish Republic today and then discussing the origin of the Republic in 1923 all the way up to preparations for the centenary under the Justice and Development Party (AKP). The rise to office of the AKP has been preceded by a significant "realignment of Turkish capital" since the beginning of the neoliberal era (Atasoy 2005; 2008; 2009). I conclude the chapter by suggesting that the stance of the Turkish state under the AKP has determined that accumulation by dispossession should operate as both dispossession and repossession and explore this stance largely through the work of TOKİ, the Housing Development Administration.

2.1. The narrow movement from the "Washington Consensus" to the "post-Washington Consensus"

The 1970s witnessed a breakdown of the post-Second World War structure of capitalism, where crises in the international monetary system with the collapse of the Bretton Woods arrangements, the food system with a rapid rise in wheat prices, and the energy system with the OPEC oil embargo, all combined with the growing reality of the failure of capital to find profitable outlets. Today we know which of the proposed solutions to these crises won out: post-war Keynesian and import-substitution strategies were gradually discarded and a turn towards neoliberal ideology based on the neoclassical economic theory of people like Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman was

eventually widely embraced—a turn signalled by the two separately winning a Nobel Prize in Economics during the 1970s. I deliberately use the word embraced because even though the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank's structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) are particularly virulent strains of neoliberalism, it would be generally incorrect to assume that the diffusion of neoliberalism is simply an imposition. In regard to the adoption of neoliberalism in Latin America, Francisco Panizza argues it was a "decision taken by the governments of the region, which, with the exception of Chile and the partial exception of Mexico, were democratically elected, for their own political considerations, including an assessment of the political costs and benefits to be drawn from the imposition of the reforms" (2009, pp. 18). Indeed, Jamie Peck suggests that the "production of neoliberalism has been 'dialogic'" (2010, pp. 6) which means that the diffusion of neoliberalism has been a street with two-way traffic. As I will later discuss, in Turkey there is more to the adoption of neoliberalism than an imposition from outside by the IMF, the World Bank or the European Union: domestic "individuals and groups are actively making history by creating cultural repertoires and steering ideological frames of action in a specific direction" (Atasoy 2009, pp. 13).

Neoliberal ideology rests on neoclassical economic theory, which posits that the market is efficient, the state is inefficient, and each country has comparative advantages in particular commodities that they should exploit to reap the rewards of trade liberalization—rewards that are based on the underlying assumption that "free trade is generally best for all people in all countries at all times and that it brings assured gains, leading to long-term economic growth and development" (Dunkley 2004, pp. 18). In other words, neoclassical economic theory calls for a free market that is liberated from state interference, which requires states to privatize any public functions that could presumably be better managed by the market and actively encourage the "freedom" of capital and labour through de-regulation. Such state functions have included vital social services for the poor, but the abdication for a concern with poverty and inequality has been justified on the basis of a "trickle-down" of wealth through the economic growth obtained by free trade and the exploitation of the benefits of comparative advantage.

John Williamson coined the term "Washington Consensus" in 1989 to capture the widespread acceptance of these and other neoliberal tenets[2].

Throughout the 1990s, the "Washington Consensus" was haunted by the apparition of poverty that only became more tormenting with the increasingly severe economic crises that characterized the decade. The promised growth and prosperity for all failed to achieve even partial fruition and in its wake was growing inequality not only between states, but within states. Panizza notes that in absolute numbers, there were more people living in poverty in Latin America in 1996—around 210 million to be more precise—than ever before (2009, pp. 129). Even a supposed success story like Argentina faced the cold reality of the failures of neoliberalism with a particularly devastating economic crisis in 2001. The 1997 economic crisis that swept across a large swathe of East Asia revealed chilling impacts: "millions of people were impoverished; unemployment rates tripled in some countries; real wages dropped, at times by 40 percent; health deteriorated throughout the region; and reported cases of child labor, prostitution, and domestic violence dramatically increased" (Aslanbegui and Summerfield 2000, pp. 82). Such statistics underscored the increasingly glaring failures at not just an economic level, but also a deeply human level.

In response to these crises, the World Bank, under the presidency of James Wolfensohn, stepped in to perform its job as one of the primary managers of the crises of capitalism, with the economist Joseph Stiglitz as the World Bank's most vocal figure promoting a so called "post-Washington Consensus." In his foreword to Polanyi's classic text, *The Great Transformation*, Stiglitz argues that the "transformation of European civilizations is analogous to the transformation confronting developing countries around the world today" and suggests that advocates of the "Washington Consensus" have failed to heed the lessons from that earlier transformation, when the rapid pace of change destroyed "old coping mechanism, old safety nets" while it created a "new set of demands, *before new coping mechanism*" could be developed (1944/2001, pp. vii-xvii). Further, Stigliz argues that these advocates ignore the myth of the self-regulating market and how governments must take an active role or risk, as Polanyi

[2] See Williamson (1990) for the ten policy instruments that he identified at the time.

himself suggests, “annihilating the human and natural substance of society” (1944/2001, pp. 3).

With Wolfensohn at the helm and Stiglitz as the spokesperson, the “post-Washington Consensus” quickly made it clear that poverty and inequality were back on the agenda. This was apparent in a series of speeches delivered by Wolfensohn and Stiglitz and in the *World Development Reports* beginning in the late 1990s, but particularly the 2000/2001 report titled *Attacking Poverty*. Wolfensohn’s foreword in this report is instructive in understanding the new approach:

> We have learned that traditional elements of strategies to foster growth—macroeconomic stability and market-friendly reforms—are essential for reducing poverty. But we now also recognize the need for much more emphasis on laying the institutional and social foundations for the development process and on managing the vulnerability and encouraging participation to ensure inclusive growth (World Bank 2001, pp. vi).

The new approach is a re-packaging of the old approach, only now there is a justification for a “more pro-poor liberalization” to reduce poverty and inequality through the targeting of market reform to poor people and a broadening of the agenda to include “promoting opportunity,” “facilitating empowerment,” and “enhancing security.” In other words, this new approach maintains the long standing emphasis on growth to alleviate poverty, but argues that growth must be complemented by “actions beyond the economic domain” (World Bank 2001, pp. 33) to ease any burdens imposed on the most vulnerable and ensure the inclusion of the “excluded.” However, as Ray Bush argues, lost in this view of the need to reduce the “exclusion” of the poor is a “failure to understand that poverty does not emerge because of exclusion but as a result of poor people’s ‘differential incorporation’ into economic and political processes” (2004, pp. 674). Thus, it is not exclusion from market reforms that creates and reproduces poverty, but the reforms themselves which are bound to incorporate the poor into the generally harsh reality of contemporary capitalism without a comforting share in the material benefits.

What is at work in this new approach is an attempt to respond to pressures arising from apparent failures, but only by raising awareness within an acceptably narrow range that conveniently overlooks broader systemic failures. It is not surprising then that the report makes note of the United Nations’ “Millennium Declaration,” whose

targets were eventually incorporated into the "Millennium Development Goals" by people from the UN, World Bank, IMF, and OECD "in order to," as insider Jan Vandemoortele states, "rescue them [the targets] from oblivion" (2011, pp. 4). The seven goals, for example "eradicate extreme poverty and hunger" and "ensure environmental sustainability," and numerous targets, such as "halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than US$1 a day" and "by 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers," are predictably uncontroversial because they raise awareness within this narrow range. Each goal and its numerous targets encourage problem solving instead of a thorough analysis of the root of problems with inconvenient origins—inconvenient because they result from the ongoing operation of market processes. It is the latter target that is increasingly a part of—indeed, central to—the housing question in the twenty-first century.

2.2. Combining growth with a newly discovered socially responsible urbanization

Urbanization and its accompanying poor-housing conditions in the "Third World" began to take-off during the developmental era, when import-substitution industrialization (ISI), where domestic industries are nurtured by discouraging imports through tariffs, was combined with the agrarian changes spurred by the Green Revolution and the US food aid programme (Public Law 480) (see McMichael 2012, chapters 2 and 3). Nevertheless, it is the neoliberal era that has witnessed a truly spectacular rate of urbanization: in 1970 there were only two cities (Tokyo and New York) with populations over 10 million; in 2011 there were thirteen in Asia, four in Latin America and Africa, and two in Europe and North America (UN DESA 2012, pp. 5). The UN Habitat's report on *The Challenge of Slums* acknowledges that "[s]lums do not occur in a vacuum" (2003, pp. 17) and places the blame for the rapid expansion of urban poverty and "slums" squarely on the policies of neoliberalism that are expressed most clearly through SAPs. Unlike in Engels' time, when urbanization and the accompanying poor housing conditions was largely joined to industrialization and economic growth, the report identifies that the poor housing conditions of recent urbanization are not necessarily "accompanied by economic growth in many developing countries" (UN

Habitat 2003, pp. 25). Thus, central to the current housing question is the matter of how to provide adequate affordable housing at a time when there is a "wholesale *loss of formal-sector job opportunities*" (UN Habitat 2003, pp. 52).

The report suggests that "the most important factor that limits progress in improving housing and living conditions of low income groups in informal settlements and slums is the lack of genuine political will to address the issue" (2003, pp. 5). At the time this was certainly the case, but from the vantage point of 2012 it is apparent that the "genuine political will to address the issue" of housing has been discovered across large parts of the world; despite social housing going out of fashion since the 1970s, it appears to once again be a favoured strategy. The President of India, Pratibha Patil, recently announced the ambitious aim "to make a slum-free India in five years" through a new affordable housing scheme called "Rajiv Gandhi Awas Yojana" based on public-private partnerships and working with individual states to "assign property rights" and carry out "slum rehabilitation projects" (The Times of India 2012, June 5). In 2009, the Brazilian government, under the leadership of Lula da Silva, announced "Minha Casa, Minha Vida" (My House, My Life) in order to address the problem of poor and inadequate housing across the country by providing one million affordable units of housing; in 2011, the new government under the leadership of Dilma Rousseff announced an additional two million units. In China, the government announced plans to construct seven million units of affordable housing in 2012—that includes new units and the rehabilitation of "run-down areas"—partly in response to anger over rising property prices (Xinhuanet 2011, December 23). In Turkey, the government plans to complete one million units of housing by 2023 through its Housing Development Administration (TOKİ), whose efforts received praise from the late Venezuelan leader Hugo Chavez; in fact, Chavez was so impressed that he wanted TOKİ to build housing in Venezuela in exchange for shares in an oil field (Today's Zaman 2011, January 22). The list of "slum-free" cities initiatives and state initiated affordable housing schemes could continue, but the important conjuncture to capture in this shift of "political will" is how social responsibility and capital accumulation are often being brought together in new ways.

Slavoj Zizek captures this transformation when he first identifies Davos and Porto Alegre as the "twin cities of globalisation"—the former is where the "global elite" meet to

celebrate globalization and the latter is where the "counter elite" meet to convince us that "capitalist globalisation is not our fate"—and second, suggests that Porto Alegre has lost its early impetus because some have begun to reject the opposition between the (formerly) competing visions (2008, pp. 15-16). Instead of separate paths, people like Bill Gates and George Soros now claim that "we can have the global capitalist cake, i.e., thrive as profitable entrepreneurs, and eat it, too, i.e., endorse the anti-capitalist causes of social responsibility and ecological concern" (2008, pp. 16). Ananya Roy captures much of the same by focusing on micro-finance as a "paradigmatic example of a new moment of development," (2010, pp. x) and argues that Bill Gates is one of the central figures of "millennial development," where a "kinder, gentler capitalism seeks to aggressively mine the 'fortune at the bottom of the pyramid', but in doing so it also hopes to eradicate 'poverty through profits'" (2010, pp. 5).

While at first glimpse the private philanthropy of Gates and others based on the "business model" appears to seriously challenge state social programmes, there are reasons to doubt the seriousness of this challenge. As Ilan Kapoor points out, the "'business model' is sold as a panacea, applicable to government programs as much as philanthropic causes" (2013, pp. 47). Indeed, Roy interviewed a director who remarked that "the public sector wants to be more business-like than Wall Street" (2010, pp. 194). At a time when state social programmes are perceived to be in decline, private philanthropy steps forward to emphasize social responsibility. Even though Gates and others may question the ability of state social programmes to achieve the same results as private philanthropy, both the state and private philanthropists now appear to speak the same language and follow the same "business model"; thus, the distinction between citizenship and consumership is sometimes difficult to distinguish. In both cases, social responsibility is the key concept that comes with the catch that "in order to give, first you have to take" (Zizek 2008, pp. 20), a point that will become apparent when I discuss the operation of the social state in Turkey. Rather than offer competing visions, private philanthropy and state social programmes are working to embed the socially responsible neoliberalism of "millennial development." Though possessing a shared vision, a significant contrast continues to be apparent in the boundaries of social responsibility and Engels' point remains largely true today: capital cannot or will not abolish the housing shortage—"only by the solution of the social question...is the solution of the

housing question made possible"—leaving only "self-help on the part of the workers and state assistance" as the two remaining expedients (1872). Self-help was tried in Turkey and now the state justifies taking the lead in social housing provision due to the unwillingness of the private sector to forego higher profits; where the social responsibility of the private sector ends, the social responsibility of the Turkish state now extends.

Many of the ideas indicative of the direction of "millennial development" are not new, but have been repackaged or repeated long enough to have finally gained traction; one need look no further than economist Peter Thomas Bauer, who for decades has continuously criticized how development policies generally overlook the inherently entrepreneurial nature of the poor, who are unable to make use of their existing assets because they are held down by protectionist states that favour an existing bureaucratic elite (Mitchell 2005, pp. 301). Perhaps the most influential person has been the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto—influential largely due to the credibility he gains from "his identity as a neoliberal from the third world" (Mitchell 2005, pp 306). De Soto's arguments are echoed by other figures of "millennial development," such as William Easterly, whose analysis underscores "that the poor *have* assets and that the poor *are* assets" (Roy 2010, pp. 64). The poor have assets like housing and entrepreneurial skills that are dormant because they are largely outside of the formal economy, which means that the poor cannot be tapped as assets. In order for the poor to realize the significance of these assets, the use-value of any asset must be superseded by exchange-value, which can only occur through inclusion in the formal economy. For evidence of this one need look no further than the commodification of informal housing through land titling as recommended by de Soto and the World Bank—an institution that argues informality "is a brake on land development" (2009, pp. 203)—which removes the ambiguities that discourage speculative real estate activity in these areas. This also creates the conditions for what Neil Smith (2002) identifies as gentrification as a "global urban strategy," with the added benefit that gentrification can be cloaked in the respectability of contributing to an improvement in the lives of "slum dwellers." Indeed, in the arguments of de Soto and others there are reflections of Engels' charge against

Dr. Sax[3]—that he attempts to solve the housing question by turning the workers into capitalists—only the contemporary "solution" demands that workers struggling in the informal economy reap the taken for granted benefits of exchanging their assets in the formal economy.

Such arguments point to the conclusion that enabling the expansion of the capitalist market will alleviate the very disparities created by the capitalist market; or, as Engels (1872) suggests, it is the "essence of bourgeois socialism[4] to want to maintain the basis of all the evils of present-day society and at the same time want to abolish the evils themselves." What such arguments are actually concerned with is the opening up of new spaces for the accumulation of capital, such as the land currently being used for so called "slum" housing and housing projects for those hitherto excluded from the formal housing market. David Harvey (1989b; 2011) has long argued that throughout the history of capitalism, urbanization has been essential to the absorption of surplus capital and labour: from Haussmann's[5] Paris during the nineteenth century to suburbanization in the United States after the Second World War to the economic booms occurring in China, Brazil, and elsewhere today. Indeed, Engels (1872) remarks that the "bourgeoisie has only one method of solving the housing question after its fashion" and that method is called "Haussmann": "the practice which has now become general of making breaches in the working class quarters of our big towns." The problem of poor housing is not resolved, but "merely shifted elsewhere," (Engels 1872) which subtly alludes to what Smith (1996) later identified as the "rent gap"—the notion that a gap exists between the ground rent realized under current property values and land uses and the potential ground rent realized through processes of gentrification. The emergence of this gap is due in large part to the long turnover time of capital invested in the built environment, which tends to encourage the valorization and devalorization of the built environment. What recent concerns over adequate safe and affordable housing

[3] Dr. Emil Sax was an economist who wrote *The Housing Conditions of the Working Classes and their Reform*, which Engels was responding to in *The Housing Question*.

[4] Engels' "bourgeois socialism" is essentially the same as what Zizek (2008, pp. 15-16) refers to as "liberal communism," as best exemplified by people like Bill Gates and George Soros.

[5] Georges-Eugene Haussmann or Baron Haussman was commissioned by Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, the ruler of France (1848-1870), to redesign Paris and is responsible for, among other things, the long, straight, broad streets that characterize the city.

suggest is that there must be an element of "social responsibility" in solutions to the contemporary housing question.

Elsewhere, Harvey has argued that the spatial adjustments and increased competition of the neoliberal era have forced capitalists into "paying much closer attention to relative locational advantages, precisely because diminishing spatial barriers give capitalists the power to exploit minute spatial differentiation to good effect" (1989a, pp. 294). In other words, as the crisis of post-Second World War capitalism witnessed calls to reduce local obstacles to international capital flows, conditions of heightened competition demanded careful consideration by capitalists as to what separates one place from another in regards to potential profitability. Just as capitalists must pay close attention to "relative locational advantages," those with the powers to alter spaces must do so in ways that make those spaces attractive to capital. In response, Harvey (1989c) identifies a shift in the task of urban governance from "managerialism" to "entrepreneurialism": from providing for the needs of the urban population to creating an optimal space for the investment of capital, particularly through public-private partnerships that engage in speculative real estate activity. These partnerships forge closer links between the public and private sectors on an entrepreneurial common ground—"entrepreneurial precisely because [the activities are] speculative in execution and design" (Harvey 1989c, pp. 7)—that is favoured at a time when risk is increasingly borne by the local public sector instead of the central government. Such activity has generally been directed towards the wealthy, but the growing interest in providing adequate safe housing for lower income people suggests that there is a further shift towards a kind of "socially responsible" urban entrepreneurialism, with speculative real estate activity increasingly also directed towards the provision of housing for lower income people. What the UN Habitat (2003, pp. 145) report on "slums" identifies as the growing need to reconcile "social and economic objectives" is increasingly evident, even as tension between the two objectives continues to persist.

2.3. What can "millennial development" do for agriculture?

While neoliberalism is "increasingly seen as an essential descriptor of the contemporary urban condition," (Brenner and Theodore 2005, pp. 101) a similar

statement could be applied to the countryside, where we are witnessing the expansion of market oriented agriculture through a transition from subsistence farming to agribusiness food production. Central to this process has been one of the outcomes of the Uruguay Round of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) negotiations: the World Trade Organization's "Agreement on Agriculture" (AoA). The Agreement calls for a commitment to the liberalization of trade in agriculture under the premise that food security is best provided through the market; a reduction in trade barriers and export subsidies to be combined with a minimum import rule; and the reform of domestic support for agricultural producers. As Philip McMichael argues, the "WTO policy eliminating 'market management' of agriculture shifts priorities from public interest in producing use-values for domestic provisioning, to private/public encouragement of producing exchange-values to expand profits and export revenues" (2005, pp. 280). This stands in contrast to the introduction of GATT in 1947 when agriculture was largely exempt and food security widely acknowledged as a national initiative (McMichael 2005, pp. 270). The AoA came into force in 1995; between that year and the new millennium, 20-30 million small producers lost their agricultural lands across the world due to the impact of trade liberalization (Madeley 2000, pp. 75). Thus, it is evident that cities are not the lone epicentre of the explosive contradictions of neoliberalism.

The agrarian question as it was originally posed was not simply, as Henry Bernstein (2006, pp. 449) suggests, the "agrarian question of capital," because it was also concerned with what Farshad Araghi (2009, pp. 114) identifies as "the future prospects for the peasantry." In his highly influential *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*, Eric Wolf defines peasants as "populations that are existentially involved in cultivation and make autonomous decisions regarding the process of cultivation" and suggests that the "major aim of the peasant is subsistence" (1969, pp. xiv). However, this definition obscures as much as it clarifies because it is exceptional for peasants to be self-sufficient (Akram-Lodhi and Kay 2009, pp. 3); thus, as Deborah Bryceson suggests, the "peculiar characteristic" of peasantries is that they "combine commodity and subsistence production to varying degrees" (2000, pp. 299). Wolf does capture what is unique about peasants in that they are not wholly market dependent because their goals are generally directed towards the satisfaction of use-values, not exchange-values. This poses a barrier to the accumulation of capital, because market dependence

is only possible when the ability of people to subsist is extinguished. It is for this very reason that Ivan Illich (1981) regards the war against subsistence as the true war waged by capital, compared to the preferred false terrain of struggle over wage demands—false in the sense that a struggle over wages means the ability to subsist has been destroyed and a radical dependence on the market established.

The restructuring of agriculture under neoliberalism continues the war against subsistence by widening the "scope of already established and prevailing capitalist social property relations into areas of social, cultural, political and economic life that have yet to be fully commodified, exposing an even greater number of people to the market imperative" (Akram-Lodhi, Kay, and Borras Jr. 2009, pp. 218). This is apparent in the World Bank's *World Development Report 2008*, where it is claimed that placing "agriculture afresh at the centre of the development agenda" can offer "new opportunities to hundreds of millions of poor to move out of poverty" through employment in the "'new agriculture' of high-value products, and entrepreneurship and jobs in the emerging rural, nonfarm economy" (2007, pp. 1). The report suggests that an "emerging vision of agriculture for development redefines the roles of producers, the private sector, and the state": smallholders are celebrated for being efficient, but must give way to the "economies of scale in production and marketing" of commercial farming when competition deems it expedient; the private sector "drives the organization of value chains," which means that everything upstream and downstream from the actual growing of food is dominated by private interests; and the state "corrects market failures, regulates competition, and engages strategically in public-private partnerships to promote competitiveness in the agribusiness sector and support the greater inclusion of smallholders and rural workers" (2007, pp. 8). In other words, the "emerging vision of agriculture for development" is a formula for a state assisted expansion of the market imperative through the differential incorporation of small producers into the middle of a food system where near total control of everything upstream and downstream of actual production is exercised by corporate agriculture.

The report suggests that the "Liberalization of imports of food staples can also be pro-poor because often the largest number of poor, including smallholders, are net food buyers," (2007, pp. 10) but such actions only accelerate depeasantization by undermining small producers and encouraging their transformation into outgrowers,

producers who grow generally labour intensive crops for export. Raj Patel presents evidence of the devastation that liberalization of imports of food staples can have on small producers through a description of the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on corn growers in Mexico, the "centre for the world's corn biodiversity" (2007, pp. 48). At the time NAFTA was concluded, corn was responsible for sixty per cent of the land cultivated and a direct source of livelihood for three million producers in Mexico, but the Agreement ignored the fact that American farmers are able to sell their corn below the cost of production due to generous subsidies. When NAFTA came into force in 1994, the impact on Mexican corn producers was immediate and the price for corn went into a downward spiral. Unable to invest in alternative crops, corn growers faced little assistance from the state and relied on increasing production; thus, driving the price down further. Suicide rates exploded, but contrary to expectations, the price of tortillas—a staple food made from corn—actually became seven times higher by 1999. In some instances, the liberalization of imports of food staples has been used to compel small producers to switch to alternative crops that fit within supermarket procurement systems or to sell their labour power to larger producers who are able to meet the private standards set by supermarkets.

The report acknowledges the challenges faced by small producers to keep up with the growing burden of requirements, but suggests that the government and the private sector can assist smallholders to "expand and upgrade their range of assets and practices to meet the new requirements of supermarkets and other coordinated supply chains" (2007, pp. 127). Land is considered by the World Bank as one of the key assets of the rural poor, but only if the ambiguity of collective and communal arrangements are replaced by the supposed clarity and simplicity of private property rights. Indeed, the report argues that "well functioning land markets are needed to transfer land to the most productive users and to facilitate participation in the rural nonfarm sector and migration out of agriculture" (2007, pp. 9). This leads to recommendations that, in some cases, small producers who are unable to participate in what the report calls the "supermarket revolution"—the increasingly dominant position of supermarkets in setting strict standards for agricultural products and in the sale of agricultural products (2007, pp. 12)—should sell or rent their land to more "productive users" or realize the exchange-

value of assets they already have, such as knowledge of traditional handicrafts, by becoming micro-entrepreneurs and engaging in the "rural nonfarm economy."

Land as the key agrarian asset raises the issue of what Akram-Lodhi, Kay, and Borras call "agrarian questions of land": "who controls it, how it is controlled, and the purpose for which it is controlled," which encourage us to keep in mind that "the way in which land is held will affect the capacity of capital to transform agriculture" (2009, pp. 216-217). The salience of this issue was underscored in a colossal manner by what a recent World Bank report describes as "the 2007-08 commodity price boom and the subsequent period of high and volatile prices" (Deininger, et al. 2011, pp. 1). As speculation in real estate cooled with the emergence of the global economic crisis, speculation on farm land and the futures markets—where contracts for food staples and other commodities can be bought and sold independently of the physical goods themselves, with a major influence on the cost to people who actually eat those staples—heated up. During what should have been a crisis for the neoliberal conception of food security based on the market, import dependent countries and private investors began exploring, and in some cases, purchasing farm land, particularly in Africa and Asia; the newly dubbed global land grab was afoot. Since then, much ink has been spilled in an attempt to explore and document the involvement of various actors in the disparate contexts of the global land grab and the debate that surrounds it.

While the title of the World Bank report, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can it Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits?*, poses a question, the actual content of the report appears to presume the affirmative as long as the proper policy, legal, and institutional framework is in place, but also concedes that in "many cases, the most desirable mechanism for investment in the agricultural sector will be providing support to existing smallholders" (2011, pp. 7). For a more critical introduction to the debate, we can explore a recent issue of *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, which contains a collection of articles dedicated to the "new frontiers of land control." In the introductory article, Peluso and Lund argue that there is "no one grand land grab, but a series of changing contexts, emergent processes and forces, and contestations that are producing new conditions and facilitating shifts in both *de jure* and *de facto* land control" (2011, pp. 669). Several of the contributors explore land control through processes of primitive accumulation, enclosure, and privatization. The ongoing nature of primitive

accumulation and enclosure has received renewed attention during the neoliberal era, but perhaps no account has been as influential as David Harvey's concept of "accumulation by dispossession."

2.4. Old questions and the ongoing nature of "primitive" processes

The housing question and the agrarian question are related for relatively obvious reasons: as Patel suggests, "what happens in the fields and in the cities is intimately connected" (2007, pp. 317). What is more challenging to capture is how "what happens in the fields and in the cities is intimately connected." In other words, what underlying processes are at work that provides this intimate connection? Araghi (2009) attempts to capture the agrarian question of our time by highlighting three central processes: global depeasantization, global deruralization, and global hyperurbanization. By depeasantization, Araghi means the "storm of violent forces that uproot, dispossess, and propel them [peasants] into emerging vast spaces of informal labour in the global slums" (2009, pp. 112); deruralization refers to the decline of rural areas; and hyperurbanization refers to the rapid concentration of populations and activities in expanding urban areas. It is clear that these everyday processes encourage peasants displaced from agricultural production to migrate to cities where they join the many before them in self-help communities commonly referred to as "slums." This contributes to the shortage of adequate housing that is specific to the housing question; however, hyperurbanization and deruralization are also driven by proposed solutions to the housing question that are generally concerned with the extraction of dormant capital and the absorption of surplus capital. This is evident in the United States around the New Deal era when private housing advocates touting the detached suburban home as the ideal won out over proponents of a vast public, non-commercial housing sector and ensured that urban sprawl would become a process supported by federal policy and dollars (Hayden 2003; Radford 1996). Today, for many remaining in rural areas throughout the world, the process of urban sprawl brings the city to the countryside to the extent that it becomes difficult to identify where the city ends and the countryside begins (Davis 2006, pp. 8-11).

The relation between these two questions that I want to emphasize is underlying processes of what Harvey (2003) has termed "accumulation by dispossession." Most people are intimately familiar with accumulation through expanded reproduction, where money becomes capital through the purchase of labour power, means of production and materials to produce a commodity that can then be sold for a profit through the extraction of surplus value; however, this assumes the pre-existence of the social relations of the capitalist system, where private property is firmly entrenched and workers must sell their labour power for a wage. It assumes a "primitive accumulation," what Marx describes as "nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production" (1976, pp. 875). Marx suggests that it appears as "'primitive' because it forms the pre-history of capital, and of the mode of production corresponding to capital" (1976, pp. 875). With an analysis that draws on Rosa Luxembourg and Hannah Arendt, Harvey argues that processes of primitive accumulation are ongoing and, since it "seems peculiar to call an ongoing process 'primitive,'" (2003, pp. 144) introduces the concept of accumulation by dispossession.

Harvey proposes that there is an "organic relation" between accumulation through expanded reproduction and accumulation by dispossession because capitalism requires assets that exist outside of capital circulation to reduce the pressures of overaccumulation. These pressures lead to crises of overaccumulation, where productive capacity exists beyond the ability of capitalists to profitably put such capacity to use. Accumulation by dispossession works by releasing assets—among them, but not limited to, land, labour power, or even the very resources that sustain life—at a low cost for overaccumulated capital to seize hold of and immediately turn to profitable use; thus ensuring the perpetual accumulation of capital required to sustain capitalism. The immediacy that Harvey underscores should be partially tempered by Alice Kelly's excellent article on the spatial and temporal dimensions of the process of primitive accumulation and its relation to conservation practices, where Kelly argues that "it can also be an extraordinarily slow and veiled process, with the act of enclosure sometimes well removed from the act of accumulation" (2011, pp. 685). Nevertheless, Harvey underscores the preference for rapid turnover times that provides that sense of immediacy. The concept covers four broad areas that have been at the forefront of capital accumulation in the last few decades: privatization and commodification, the

management and manipulation of crises, financialization, and state redistributions. These four have combined, as Harvey suggests, to ensure the upwards redistribution of assets at the expense of the lower classes. However, from the beginning these processes have often been legitimized for their supposedly progressive aspects, such as the privatization of social housing in Britain under Margaret Thatcher—progressive in the sense that renters can partake in all the taken for granted benefits of ownership. The progressiveness of accumulation by dispossession is increasingly being praised under the direction of "millennial development"; how the processes operate may not be as straightforward as Harvey suggests and as its workings in Turkey demonstrates.

2.5. The "contextual *embeddedness*" of neoliberal restructuring in Turkey

As the "Arab Spring" bloomed, mainstream media outlets throughout the world increasingly asked the same longstanding question: is Turkey a model for other states in the "Middle East"? Generally, this question pivoted on democracy and the role of religion, with the growing fear that the tide of opposition to the recently deposed authoritarian regimes would unleash a wave of support for Islamists to ride to electoral victory. There was no fear that left leaning parties would seize this opportunity to ride the wave of populist support; years of repression had ensured the absence of an organized left and Islamist parties had emerged in the void created by this absence. Turkey has long appeared to many commentators as a country where Islam and democracy managed to co-exist, a trend that continues under the self styled "conservative democratic" Justice and Development Party (AKP) led by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. While former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak was on trial for the premeditated murder of peaceful protesters, Erdoğan received a warm reception while he toured Egypt and other countries to chants of "Erdoğan! Erdoğan! A real Muslim and not a coward." Erdoğan was also a focus for the North American media and even managed to grace the cover of *Time Magazine*, with suggestions that he should be the magazine's "Person of the Year."

Judging by the warm reception that Erdoğan receives everywhere he goes it is no surprise that Turkey appears as the most likely model for other states in the region;

however, the numerous simplistic accounts that chalk the protests up to the singular desire to sunder the proverbial shackles of authoritarian rule ignore the likelihood that the protests symbolize the people "pulling the emergency brake" on years of neoliberal restructuring. While Turkish democracy may contain some of the characteristics that other states may wish to emulate, Erdoğan's AKP gives no indication that the emergency brake is about to be pulled; in fact, the AKP has successfully managed what Yildiz Atasoy (2009) identifies as "Islam's marriage with neoliberalism."

While growth in most of Europe was heavily impacted by sovereign debt crises in the Eurozone, the Turkish economy achieved nearly nine per cent growth in 2010 and averaged nearly eight per cent between 2003 and 2007, with only a brief downturn between 2008 and 2009 (OECD 2012). A recent report from the Brookings Institute demonstrates that three Turkish cities—Izmir, Ankara, and Istanbul—are among the top ten fastest growing cities in the world (Istrate, Berube, and Nadeu 2012). Indeed, for the second year in a row, Istanbul ranks first in Europe for new investment and development potential, with investors particularly excited over urban renewal projects that have been announced in the wake of the 2011 earthquake in Van and are expected to be valued around $255 billion (Urban Land Institute and PricewaterhouseCoopers 2012, pp. 30-32). The AKP aims to maintain this momentum in the build up to the centenary celebration of the founding of the Republic in 2023, with all of the ambitious goals laid out in their *Vision 2023* platform. The goals include: Turkey ranking among the top ten economies in the world; per capita gross domestic product (GDP) exceeding $25,000 USD; achieving all of the membership conditions in Turkey's bid to join the European Union (EU); Turkey becoming the fifth largest tourism destination in the world; and the Housing Development Administration completing one million units of housing across the country. Central to this vision is Istanbul assuming its position as a "world city" alongside other mega-cities like Tokyo, New York, and London. To achieve this aspiration, Istanbul is preparing the infrastructural services required to become a global financial hub and Erdoğan has unveiled the Istanbul Canal Project (better known as the "Crazy" Project), which aims to connect the Marmara Sea and the Black Sea. The capital of the country remains Ankara, but the centre of gravity has clearly shifted back to the historical crossroads between Europe and Asia.

The founding of the Republic of Turkey on 29 October 1923 is actually preceded in date by the founding of Ankara as the official capital on 13 October of the same year. The capital of the vast and multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire had been Istanbul; however, the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, was adamant that the new nation would repudiate the Ottoman identity and instead construct a distinctly Turkish identity. Nothing could be more symbolic of this intended shift than moving the capital of the new Republic to a town that served as an administrative centre for the Kemalist forces during the War of Independence that followed the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire (Evered, 2008). There were perhaps more suitable Central Anatolian cities to choose from, such as Konya, with its rich Seljuk, Ottoman, and Islamic history, but that would defeat the purpose. Istanbul was the capital of the Ottomans, while Ankara would be the capital of the Turks that would emerge out of nothing in the centre of Anatolia; it was to be a "blank screen" on which the image of a new nation could be projected and "given material form" (Çinar 2007, pp. 152). The image the Turkish leadership wished to project was one of modernism, secularism, and nationalism and Ankara was to be the material embodiment of those characteristics.

Ankara was not entirely the blank slate that it was made out to be by the expediency of nationalism: it was a local agricultural centre and, by most estimates, home to around twenty thousand people by the beginning of the twentieth century. Nor was the ongoing debate around modernity, modernism, or modernization a break with the Ottoman Empire; indeed, in many regards, the Turkish Republic demonstrates a historical continuity with debates that can be traced back to at least the reforms of the Tanzimat period that began in 1839[6]. However, unburdened by historical significance and buoyed by its strategic position in recent events, Ankara could become the model for the new nation.

To ensure that Ankara lived up to the ambitions of the founders of the Turkish Republic, a German architect by the name of Hermann Jansen was awarded the prize of designing the city that would absorb the majority of attention and resources as it became the model for all Turkish cities. Alev Çinar suggests that one of the most important

[6] For a detailed discussion see Atasoy (2005), particularly chapter 2.

considerations was the “use and rearrangement of cities and city spaces” to foster a sense of nationhood (2007, pp. 159). Unlike Ottoman cities which were clustered around a central mosque, the centre of the city (and more importantly the nation) was to be marked by *Ulus Meydani* (the Nation Square)—later the centre would shift to *Kizilay*. Istanbul was not immune from this reconfiguration of space and, according to Çinar, actually underwent the “most significant transformation” of all Turkish cities (2007, pp. 164). Instead of building over the vestiges of Ottoman rule in the former imperial capital, the centre of Istanbul was shifted to a location free of the reminders of the past: Taksim Republic Square—where the imposing Republic Monument would serve to represent the “spatial articulation of the political triumph of the new secular state over its predecessor” (Çinar 2007, pp. 165). No wonder the AKP is keen on completely re-imagining and re-designing Taksim.

It was in the Sultanbeyli Municipality in Istanbul in the late 1980s where the Welfare Party (RP)—one of the precursors to the AKP—secured its first foothold with the support of squatters who had recently migrated to the area. In the language of supporters, Sultanbeyli became the “‘fortress’ from which Islamists would conquer the rest of Istanbul” (Tuğal 2008, pp. 72). Indeed, with Erdoğan’s victory in the 1994 metropolitan municipal elections, supporters and opponents both referred to a “second conquest” of Istanbul, in reference to the Ottoman capture of the city in 1453 (Tuğal 2008, pp. 73). While Erdoğan ran on a platform that appeared to oppose neoliberal restructuring, he proved adept at further integrating Istanbul into global circuits of capital; however, the limits of what could be accomplished from the metropolitan municipality became clear given the economic instability of the country at large and the lack of agreement between different levels of government (Aksoy 2012, pp. 98). It turned out that the path to the “reconquest” of Istanbul actually ran through securing the central government in Ankara after all.

As a result of recurrent economic crises and mass dissatisfaction with neoliberalism, the AKP won the 2002 general election with Erdoğan as its leader—even though at the time of the election he was banned from running for office—and became the first party to earn enough seats to form a majority government since 1987. While opponents tried to portray the AKP as an Islamist party, the AKP campaigned on a platform of “bread and democracy” and promised to “prioritize the material problems of

the people" (Cinar 2006, pp. 473). The formation of the AKP in 2001 was not an attempt to rebuild the RP after it was banned in 1998, but a move by key figures like Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül (the now president), and Bülent Arinç (the now deputy prime minister) to jettison the Islamist orientation while creating a certain Islamic moral position on social justice and establish a new "Third Way" party along the lines of Blair's "New" Labour Party and the Democrats under Clinton (Atasoy 2009; Patton 2009).

While successfully drawing on mass dissatisfaction with neoliberal restructuring, the AKP openly embraces many of the core beliefs of neoliberalism; however, if one attempts to understand neoliberalism in Turkey by studying Friedman and Hayek then one would be making a mistake akin to the mistake of Orientalist scholars who claim to understand Islam based solely on knowledge of the religion's classical texts. Instead, what we need to seek out is an "actually existing neoliberalism" that captures the "contextual *embeddedness*" (Brenner and Theodore 2002, pp. 351) of neoliberal restructuring in Turkey. In other words, neoliberalism can never be implemented as a "one size fits all model" that is uniformly applied everywhere to achieve the same desired outcome; it must be understood as an ongoing process (neoliberalization) driven by contextually specific strategies that produce uneven outcomes (Brenner and Theodore, 2005; Peck and Tickell, 2002).

In the absence of a blank slate from which to pursue such context bound approaches, those who implement neoliberalization *must* contend with inherited institutions, policies, regulations, infrastructure, and struggles within society that are unlikely to suddenly disappear. This is evident in what Atasoy (2005; 2008; 2009) describes in a series of books and articles as the "realignment of Turkish capital" as neoliberalization has evolved since its early days under Turgut Özal's Motherland Party (ANAP). During the 1980s, neoliberal restructuring was not simply an outcome of pressure from outside sources like the IMF and the World Bank; domestic pressure originated from the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD), an Istanbul based big business interest group whose members trace their origins to industrialization initiated by the Kemalist state in the 1930s and nurtured under import-substitution development strategies adopted after the Second World War. Since being founded in 1971, TÜSİAD focused on abandoning import-substitution for export oriented strategies and "repeatedly argued that excessive state regulation was the source of

Turkey's economic problems" (Atasoy 2009, pp. 115). The deep ties between many TÜSİAD members and the Kemalist state explains the enduring backing that these firms tended to receive and, in turn, the support of members for the secular position of the state; however, the privileging of these firms involved the simultaneous marginalization of smaller capitalists based outside of Istanbul who did not share the same state sanctioned secular orientation. Indeed, this other group of capitalists have reasons of their own for supporting neoliberalization.

The Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (MÜSİAD) was formed in 1990 as a vehicle to represent the interests of the "Anatolian Tigers," pro-Islamic capitalists who emerged outside of Istanbul or maintained strong ties to villages or cities outside Istanbul. Many members have been exceptionally successful since the beginning of neoliberal restructuring and are now in the same league as the most successful TÜSİAD members: according to *Forbes*, Turkey now has 35 billionaires (quoted in Today's Zaman 2012, March 8). However, in comparison to the TÜSİAD members, the MÜSİAD members do not share the same attachment to the institutions of the Kemalist state from which they felt excluded. MÜSİAD members "often believe that because of their Muslim beliefs and rural Anatolian family backgrounds they have been looked down upon and discriminated against by government bureaucrats" (Atasoy 2008, pp. 127). While doing so for different reason, there is widespread support for neoliberal restructuring within MÜSİAD and TÜSİAD, with both largely in line with the policy prescriptions of the IMF and the World Bank and committed to reforms aimed at Turkey's accession to the European Union (EU).

The enduring tension between the two associations persists in TÜSİAD's portrayal of itself as the defender of Ataturk's legacy of secularism and MÜSİAD's portrayal of itself as the "champion of 'Muslimness'" (Atasoy 2009, pp. 116-117). This tension is also apparent in TÜSİAD's persistent uneasiness with the AKP: after a year in office, the organization appeared to consider the AKP to be a capable steward of neoliberal restructuring, but maintained suspicions of a "religious agenda" (Turan 2003). Neoliberal restructuring is one-half of the two-part reform programme laid out in the EU's Copenhagen Criteria, the necessary reforms required for membership accession, with the AKP's fervent embrace of the second-half viewed by the traditional secular elite as an attempt to "institutionalize *Islamization-by-stealth*" (Atasoy 2009, pp. 3).

"Democratization discourse" constitutes the second half and concerns the adoption of western European and North American liberal democracy as a "singular 'normative ideal'" (Atasoy 2009, pp. 23). The adoption of liberal democracy may transform the Kemalist state, which is threatening to the traditional secular elite who oppose the AKP largely for that very reason.

2.6. Possession and dispossession through the operation of the social state

MÜSİAD members have been essential to the initial and long term success of the AKP (Atasoy 2008, pp. 126): ten members were among the founders of the AKP; twenty members were counted among the AKP caucus after the 2002 election; and the association provides necessary financial backing for the AKP to contest elections. However, the electoral base of support also includes a significant disadvantaged population most closely associated with the *gecekondu* (literal translation: built overnight) neighbourhoods prevalent in the large cities. The AKP's evolution demonstrates striking similarities to Lula da Silva's Worker's Party (PT) in Brazil—with the obvious difference that one is left of centre and the other is right of centre—with the PT drawing on the support of a disadvantaged population associated with the *favelas*. As Panizza describes, while the PT "fought previous elections on the alternative of 'keeping the markets happy' *or* promoting social justice, in 2002 the PT electoral campaign was based on a platform of keeping the markets happy *and* promoting social justice" (2009, pp. 233). The key to the continuing success of the AKP has been the ability to advance a similar platform that has combined social inclusion with the expansion of the market imperative. Ironically, two parties initially vehemently opposed to neoliberal globalization are proving to be among the most successful in managing its grating tendencies. In the case of the AKP, the party has "successfully redefined social justice, a key Islamic value, so that it conforms to the logic of neoliberal capitalism" (Patton 2009, pp. 448). This is evident in both the 2002 *Party Programme* and the 2012 *Political Vision of AK Parti 2023*.

The AKP's *Party Programme* states that their conception of the economy regards "the mixture of international norms with our cultural values, in every area of economic

activities as a precondition of continuous and sustainable growth" (2002, sec. 3, pt. 1). In other words, the party believes that the path of economic development must be paved by a synthesis between Islamic values and the type of free market reforms advocated by the World Bank and the IMF. Islamic moral principles are "seen as a strategy for asset building in human capital" that can only succeed if the Kemalist developmental state is transformed to "achieve greater solidarity" (Atasoy 2008, pp. 123). This transformation envisions the state as an "orchestra conductor" (2002, conclusion) or a "facilitator" as opposed to a "force preventing creativity and development" (AK Party 2012, pp. 47). The individual is placed at the centre of this new approach and priority is assigned to the establishment of a "productive environment in which the entrepreneurs and workers can realize their potential" (AK Party 2012, pp. 47). This is closely related to one of two types of social assistance policies, where the aim is to "lift those who are in need of social assistance from their current situation to conditions where they are more productive and self sufficient" (AK Party 2012, pp. 39). The other type is meant to provide "better living standards for our citizens parallel to the progress and development in the country" (AK Party 2012, pp. 39). These social assistance policies introduce the notion of the "social state" which is responsible for the "unemployed, poor, needy, ill and handicapped people" and enables them to "live in a way that is commensurate with human honor" (2002, sec. 5, pt. 1). After all, the AKP suggests that while it "always defended market economy and free trade" it also "never gave into the savagery of capitalism" (2012, pp. 32). This should be tempered by the fact that the AKP insists that any protection afforded by the "social state" will never be "allowed to interrupt the functioning of the economy, disrupting confidence or causing instability, as a result of inflationist and populist implementations" (2002, sec. 5, pt. 1).

I want to emphasize how the AKP's conception of the "social state" is important to understanding how accumulation by dispossession has operated in Turkey since late 2002. As Harvey points out, processes of accumulation by dispossession are "vitally contingent upon the stance of the state" (2003, pp. 145). In Turkey, the stance of the state has determined that accumulation by dispossession may function as both repossession and dispossession; in other words, there may be an attempt to ensure that redistribution is both upwards and downwards. This does not mean that there is any kind of equitable balance between the directions of redistribution or that the outcomes

are necessarily progressive. What this does mean is that there is a concerted effort to utilize processes like commodification and privatization to not only redistribute wealth to an economic elite, but also to accomplish socially useful objectives. Far from being strictly exclusionary, processes of accumulation by dispossession may also be inclusionary, albeit not always in the most benevolent ways.

Take TOKİ, a significant actor across Turkey that has been assigned a "new direction under the auspices of the 'social state,'" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 5) as a paradigmatic example: it is charged with, among other things, providing mass housing to those excluded from legal housing, but it does not complete this task through the direct allotment of traditional public funding. Instead, TOKİ is allocated land in lieu of significant funding, which it then enters into a partnership with private sector companies to develop attractive housing for higher income groups. Accumulation by dispossession is at work, with a set of public assets—in this case land—released for capital to capture and put to profitable use, but TOKİ's share of the profit is to be used for mass housing projects. Providing adequate safe housing is clearly an important objective and it is accomplished in this case through the workings of accumulation by dispossession. That is not to suggest that the relationship between TOKİ and the intended recipients of mass housing is altogether positive: the financial burden on people with limited income can be exacting and if residents miss two consecutive payments then their home is confiscated (Candan and Kolluoğlu 2008, pp. 22-23).

Now, examples of the types of "predatory and fraudulent practices" that Harvey highlights (2003, pp. 148) can be found in Turkey: the Tarlabaşi and Sulukule urban transformation projects come to mind because they have featured most prominently in media coverage (Bourque 2012, July 4; Letsch 2012, March 1; Letsch 2011, November 9; Tait 2008, July 22; Watson 2007, July 16). Tarlabaşi, it should be noted, is located near Taksim Square, while Sulukule is located near the historic heart of Ottoman Istanbul. Residents in both these neighbourhoods have reportedly been forcibly removed after receiving little advance notice of the projects and have faced threats, intimidation, and misinformation; if residents are able to prove title to their former residence, they have been compensated or offered an opportunity to purchase housing through TOKİ on the outskirts of the city. There is also a strong ethnic dimension that renders residents displaced by these projects particularly vulnerable, with Sulukule

noted for its Roma population that goes back over five hundred years and Tarlabaşi noted for its Kurdish population. The fraudulence of the Sulukule project was recently underscored when a court ruled the entire project illegal—citing that the "project is not beneficial to the public" (Today's Zaman 2012, June 14)—but the old homes have already been torn down, residents displaced, and construction on the project nearly completed before the court was able to issue its ruling.

These projects are examples of the potentially predatory nature of accumulation by dispossession; however, the urban transformation process is not homogenous, largely because so called "blighted" or "slum" neighbourhoods are not necessarily similar to one another. Indeed, urban transformation projects may actually be popular with some residents, particularly if there is the potential for material gains in the form of several additional units. Accumulation by dispossession is again at work, with an expansion of the commodification of land that developers may be eager to exploit, but residents with *de jure* title or even *de facto* title may be able to exchange the land on which their current home is built for multiple units in the new development. Of course, this process largely excludes renters—an increasingly large share of the residents of such neighbourhoods—and is only likely to occur in neighbourhoods located in prime locations where the municipality decides not to transfer the property rights elsewhere; nevertheless, it should not be dismissed as an insignificant phenomena. What must be emphasized is that no matter how universal the process of urban transformation is across Turkey, the outcomes will be vastly uneven.

Given the importance attached to the goal of turning Istanbul into a "world city" it seems likely that Istanbul will be the epicentre of urban transformation in Turkey. After all, it is the largest city in Turkey by far at 13.6 million residents or 18.2 per cent of the overall population (Turkish Statistical Institute 2012)—many suggest that the real number is closer to 20 per cent—and it has received a significant portion of the rural migration that began in the 1950s and the resulting *gecekondu* construction. Thus, Istanbul experiences the urban impacts of agrarian restructuring, but it is not an important area to focus on in terms of agrarian restructuring because of its historical insignificance in agricultural production. In Istanbul we witness hyperurbanization and the resulting deforestation and endangering of water reservoirs as the city sprawls all the way towards the Black Sea—an increasingly likely scenario if the proposed third bridge

over the Bosphorus is completed—but deruralization and depeasantization are only felt as a pressure from the immense movement of population within Turkey from east to west. Instead, we need to look towards Ankara, which remains an agricultural centre of some significance—to get a more complete picture of the workings of accumulation by dispossession.

Wheat is to Turkey as corn is to Mexico and the Central Anatolian Region of Turkey, where Ankara is located, is the "bread basket" of the country. The adoption of the requirements of the WTO's AoA in Turkey is particularly unsettling for the future of domestic provisioning of wheat, along with production for use among small producers, but must be seen in light of accession to the EU given the similarities between demands from the WTO and the EU. Thus, the drive to harmonize Turkish agricultural policy with the EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) simultaneously serves to bring Turkish agriculture in line with the requirements of the AoA. Agricultural subsidies are being redirected away from cereal production, which has encouraged small producers to shift to alternative crops, like fresh fruits and vegetables, favoured for exchange domestically and internationally. McMichael (2005) would identify this as an example of the operation of accumulation by dispossession, where decisions over local provisioning are undermined by incorporation into domestic and international supply chains controlled by corporate agriculture with a number of assets released for capital to capture. The original form of dispossession, the "expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil" (Marx 1976, pp. 876) is present in response to violence in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia (Keyder and Yenal 2011, pp. 61), but is not the dominant outcome throughout Turkey. Instead, the radical dependence of small producers on the market has been established, without their complete dispossession. By this I mean that small producers have lost control over seeds, among other things, and the certainty provided by state determined prices for crops, but they have not lost control over their lands.

The question of land control can be raised within the Turkish context, but not yet in reference to the grabbing of land that I discussed in a previous section. It is true that the Gulf states have expressed interest in the purchase or lease of agricultural lands in Turkey, just as they have elsewhere, particularly in Africa. In contrast to Africa, I do not yet know of any publicly announced purchase or lease of agricultural lands in Turkey by

a foreign state or group of foreign investors; however, the large number of uncultivated agricultural lands, whether semi-permanently fallow state lands or seasonally fallow private lands, makes Turkey an attractive target (Hurriyet Daily News 2010, September 12). We do know that 286.5 km² of state agricultural lands have been sold since 1995, including 39.49 km² for the Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP), but existing legislation does not allow the sale of these agricultural lands to foreigners (Hurriyet Daily News 2009, September 6). The question of who controls the cultivated land in Turkey can be answered to some extent by the Turkish Statistical Institute's (2008) "2006 Agricultural Holding Structure Survey": smallholders account for 78.9 per cent of agricultural holdings on 34.3 per cent of the total land. Smallholders are defined in this survey as agricultural producers who hold less than 100 decares[7] of land; in recognition of the ambiguities created by defining smallholders based on land size—thus overlooking, among other dimensions, the social relations of production (Atasoy 2012)—it should be noted that 32.7 per cent of these smallholders hold somewhere between 20-49 decares. At a time when the relations upstream and downstream of actual agricultural production are increasingly controlled by agribusiness, small producers remain significant to food provisioning in Turkey.

The significance of small producers is not the result of some kind of historical accident or anomaly, but the outcome of state policy. The availability of state lands have played a vital role in repossession throughout Turkish history: during the developmental era, land reform ensured the consolidation of small scale production as small producers reclaimed state land; at the same time, rural migrants asserted ownership of land—often public but sometimes private—through use as housing that came to be called *gecekondus*. Since 2002, state lands have been reclaimed on a grand scale for the provision of mass housing and, in Ankara, it is sometimes the case that such land is agricultural. Repossession operates in this instance to reverse the flow of out-migration from rural areas, prevent the construction of *gecekondus*, and provide a path to homeownership. It is this contrast between the two eras and the shift in repossession as production for use is replaced by production for distant consumers that I examine in the next chapter.

[7] One decare is 1000 m².

3. "Turkey is not an agricultural society anymore..."

In June 2010 during the G-20 Summit in Toronto, Prime Minister Erdoğan addressed a question about unemployment in Turkey by remarking that "Turkey is not an agricultural society anymore. That is to say, Turkey is a society in transformation process from an agricultural society into an industrial one" (Aktar 2010, July 9). By no means should the sentiment contained in Erdoğan's comment—regardless of its intent—suggest that this transformation is new under the leadership of the AKP. After all, industrialization has been the primary pursuit of successive Turkish governments dating back to the founding of the Republic. Millions of people—whether by push or pull—have left the countryside for the cities since the 1950s when 75 per cent of the population inhabited villages; that number was down to 56 per cent by the 1980s and down further to 35 per cent by 2000 (SPO 2006a, pp. 7). This rural migration resulted in the explosive growth of self-help housing called *gecekondus* in the large cities of Turkey as urbanization outpaced industrialization and successive governments did little more than pay lip service to the need to remedy the scarcity of adequate affordable housing. From the beginning of Erdoğan taking office as prime minister, he has placed a priority on ending unplanned urbanization, providing adequate affordable housing for all citizens, and membership in the European Union. The reclamation of state lands have played a central role throughout the recent history of Anatolia: in the Ottoman Empire, the availability of these lands initially prevented enserfment and later proletarianization; during the developmental era, land reform consolidated the primary position of small producers, at the same time as rural migrants asserted ownership to land through use as housing. Today lands of varying classifications are being reclaimed by the AKP to be used for the mass housing and urbanization campaign of the Housing Development Administration (TOKİ).

The impact of advancing these priorities in Ankara will be immense, particularly on agricultural lands and small scale agriculture centred on wheat cultivation.

Agriculture's share of the GDP has rapidly declined since the beginning of neoliberalization from 26.1 per cent in 1980 to 10.3 per cent in 2005, but its share of employment remains high around 29.5 per cent (SPO 2006b, pp. 40-41). There is a sense among Turkish agricultural producers that something unprecedented is occurring: "Farmers have suffered the most serious damage in the Republic's 84-year-old history under the reign of the AKP" (Özerkan 2007). At a time when input prices are near record highs, subsidies and price supports are disappearing or being redirected and desperation is taking hold as indebtedness becomes the general condition of Turkish small producers. This did not occur all at once, nor was it always carefully planned or perpetually advanced without (momentary) episodes of tactical reversal in the face of popular discontent, particularly among small producers. Regardless, as Keyder and Yenal (2011, pp. 60) suggest, the "impact of globalization on agriculture has been to finally subordinate farmers, their resources and all flows of trade and credit to the workings of the market" and the momentum behind this process has reached its highest levels under the AKP as Turkey prepares for membership in the EU.

By focusing on wheat, I want to explore the impact of neoliberalization on production for use by Turkish small producers and the transformation of agricultural lands to non-agricultural uses in Ankara during the current era. I will trace the historic roots of small, independent production relying on family labour in Anatolia during the Ottoman Empire and its consolidation at the beginning of the developmental era with land reform. Simultaneous to this consolidation was migration to large cities and the origin of and eventual state support for the *gecekondu*, which I will discuss in detail. Then I will focus on the harmonization of Turkish agriculture with the CAP and how it undermines production for use and privileges the production of export crops like fresh fruits and vegetables and diversification into non-agricultural activities. To create a push in the desired direction, neoliberalization has attempted to replace a dependence on the state with a dependence on agribusiness and the result has been growing uncertainty among small producers. This uncertainty has contributed to a fluctuation in agricultural employment; however, the stance of the state on *gecekondus* has shifted considerably under the AKP as it has adopted a "slum" discourse to wage war against unplanned urbanization. Finally, I will explain that in contrast to the developmental era, when state lands were reclaimed for small scale agricultural production, in the current era, the AKP

is ensuring that state lands are reclaimed for the urbanization and housing campaign of TOKİ to provide mass housing, among other objectives.

3.1. Agriculture in Anatolia: Ottoman Empire to early developmental era

Anatolia holds a unique position in the development of civilization: the domestication of wheat first occurred there upwards of ten thousand years ago and has long since been central to the diets of its inhabitants. As a basic source of carbohydrates and possessing higher protein content than other cereals, wheat holds a special place in meeting the sustenance needs of the peoples of Anatolia; it is found in everything from staple foods like bread and bulgar to desserts like baklava. Even though grain can be cultivated anywhere in Turkey, Central Anatolia is the "breadbasket," with the province of Ankara possessing the third largest area of agricultural lands and Konya the largest—Şanliurfa province in Southeastern Anatolia possesses the second largest. The majority of producers cultivate lands that are historically small and this continues into the present. Indeed, small scale agricultural production was predominant throughout Anatolia during the Ottoman Empire with the exception of the Southeastern region where property relations came closest to resembling properly feudal relations (Keyder 1983b). To understand the predominance of small, independent producers in Central Anatolia the historical context of the late Ottoman Empire needs to be described as it would be inherited and consolidated during the first few decades of the Republic of Turkey.

In the Ottoman Empire, all cultivated lands were considered state property and landholding was closely controlled because of the state's reliance on agrarian production for its finances and, in turn, its military organization (Inalcik 1978, pp. 221). The state guaranteed tenants the use of state land under the *çift-hane* system of agricultural production, where a peasant household worked enough land to sustain itself—varying from 60 dönüms[8] to 150—and provide the state with revenue, but it should be noted that "Permanent tenancy under a perpetual lease amounted to an actual possession of land"

[8] 1 dönüm equals 920 m² (Inalcik 1985, pp. 106).

(Inalcik 1985, pp. 105-106). The *çift-hane* system was an integral part of the *timar* system, where a mounted soldier was assigned the control over a defined area to collect the state's share of revenue from the peasants (Inalcik 1985, pp. 106). Land outside of the *çift-hane* system was considered to be wasted land that could be reclaimed and it was often on such land that large farms were most likely to emerge; however, Halil Inalcik suggests that fundamental changes in the "conditions of agricultural production and peasant-landlord relations...were developments which affected only certain regions which were particularly exposed to external conditions in the Ottoman Empire" (1985, pp. 113). The enclosure movement in England is well known and has assumed the position of the classic case of peasant dispossession, a process that would eventually take place across Europe. Çağlar Keyder (1983a) details how in the Ottoman Empire, unlike in Europe, there was not a strong tendency towards the dispossession of the peasantry and therefore, a supposed precondition for the development of capitalist relations—the availability of wage labour—rarely existed and would not for quite some time. Keyder reveals the factors that contributed to the peasants of Anatolia working for themselves.

A high land/labour ratio historically served as an effective barrier to the enserfment of the peasants of Anatolia and also served as an effective barrier against proletarianization following the English model. With the abundance of state land and the general absence of private property rights until the Land Code of 1858 (Atasoy 2005, pp. 33), peasants could reclaim land not under cultivation; thus, "it was always possible to move out of established settlements and start anew with freshly reclaimed land" (Keyder 1983a, pp. 132). Though this option was infrequently exercised, its availability meant that even as Ottoman villages were increasingly incorporated into the world economy—and the price fluctuations and uncertainty that came with that incorporation—any reduction into sharecropping would likely be temporary. Keyder argues that indebtedness among the peasantry would rise and recede with the cyclical movements of the emerging world economy, but the prevailing conditions of Ottoman society ensured that relationships of surplus extraction would not assume a fixed character. This cycle would contribute to differentiation among the peasantry between sharecroppers forced to yield a portion of their harvest to a landowner and independent cultivators toiling for their own benefit. The character of this differentiation endured until

after the Second World War when small scale, independent production, the prevailing trend throughout the majority of Anatolia during the Ottoman Empire, would become consolidated across most of Turkey.

In 1926, three years after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code signalled a continuance of the *de jure* shift towards a properly capitalist system of land ownership first indicated in 1858. Nearly twenty year later, the state introduced a new land law to expand the area of land under cultivation and make more land available to small producers. This new land law occurred at the same time as a large swathe of Western Europe existed in ruins from the destruction of the Second World War and the United States responded to the need to rebuild with what is commonly called the Marshall Plan (officially the European Recovery Programme): a massive reconstruction plan that combined loans and grants. Even though Turkey was unscathed by the war and officially neutral for a great duration of the hostilities, it was eligible for Marshall Aid after its transition to a multi-party political system in 1945 and eagerly signed an agreement in 1947. Acceptance of the agreement did not come without conditions: “by virtue of its incorporation into the US aid programme in 1948, it was required to adopt an agriculture based development strategy” (Atasoy 2005, pp. 89).

To become an agricultural exporter, the Democratic Party (DP) led government used a considerable portion of the Marshall Aid funds to import tractors from the United States; the result: by 1957, 44,144 tractors imported compared to 1,750 in 1948 (Atasoy 2005, pp. 91). Mechanization rendered any remaining sharecroppers redundant and landlords quickly released them from the land. It was at this point that small holdings became consolidated in Turkey: the introduction of land reform increased the land under cultivation by fifty per cent between 1948 and 1955 (Keyder 1983a, pp. 142). As in comparable cases throughout the world, land reform in Turkey did not significantly redistribute land, but it did enable former sharecroppers to formally reclaim state lands not under cultivation by opening a window of opportunity for households to band together, purchase a tractor, and assert private ownership, which could be formalized after successfully lobbying the government (Keyder 1983a). The cultivation area of wheat shot up from 4,477,191 ha in 1950 to 7,700,000 ha in 1960, with production increasing from 3,871,926 tons to 8,450,000 tons during the same period (TMO 2011). The end result of the expansion of agricultural production combined with government

price and input supports was Turkey's success in becoming a grain exporting country, with "three quarters of the increase in production occurring in central Anatolia" (Atasoy 2005, pp. 92).

As impressive as the productive increases may have been, Turkey's brief status as a grain exporter became increasingly untenable after 1954 with the availability of cheap grain through Public Law 480, a US programme that depressed grain prices and undercut many self provisioning states worldwide. Turkey did not become dependent on wheat imports from the United States, unlike other states who did regardless of "whether or not wheat was part of their traditional agriculture or cuisines" (Friedmann 2000, pp. 497). The short experiment with agricultural export production—an experiment that would return to prominence with the ascendance of a neoliberal faith in comparative advantage—gave way to a new orthodoxy focused on import-substitution industrialization that would come to define the emerging development project. It would also consolidate the increasing importance of small producers in government policies, along with rural migrants after the emergence and rapid expansion of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods in urban areas. Thus, we witness in Turkey what Farshad Araghi (1995) identifies as the simultaneous processes of "peasantization and depeasantization" across the "Third World," with small agricultural producers increasing numerically, but decreasing proportionally as many moved to the cities in hopes of securing employment in the emerging industries.

3.2. Depeasantization and the origin of the *gecekondu*

Industrialization requires a substantial number of people willing to sell their labour power for a wage. Given the conditions in the Turkish countryside, where instances of landlessness and absolute poverty were relatively rare, it may seem puzzling that millions would flock to the cities in search of employment in the factories. With the relative absence of a significant rural "push factor," such as landlessness, to force migration to the cities, the "pull factor" driven by state policies that privileged industrialization above all else and encouraged the rural exodus for employment in the emerging industries. Small producers supplementing their agriculture based livelihoods through seasonal migration was not unusual during the Ottoman Empire, but it began to

take on a new character during the 1950s when millions now permanently migrated to the cities (Karpat 1976; Zurcher 2003). Increasing mechanization decreased the amount of time required for growing and harvesting crops, while those who chose not to take advantage of land reform would be less likely to find employment in the countryside. The challenge of migration was lessened with the rapid expansion of road construction during the 1950s through the DP's road development projects, with paved roads increasing from 1,600 km to 7,500 km and loose-surfaced roads increasing from 3,500 km to 61,000 km (Atasoy 2005, pp. 93). The overwhelming number of people migrating to major cities like Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara soon demonstrated the paucity of available affordable housing; however, the newcomers proved themselves resourceful: they began constructing *gecekondu* (literal translation: "built overnight") wherever they could.

Above I discussed the common practice of asserting ownership to vacant state land through use, a process that took on a new dimension in the 1950s as newly arriving rural migrants landed in cities where housing was in short supply and affordable housing in even shorter supply. The *gecekondu* was born when migrants began settling on vacant land with the unintended backing of Turkish law, which contained provisions preventing the demolition of inhabited dwellings without a court order (Danielson and Keleş 1985, pp. 165-166). Thus, a *gecekondu* is a squatter house of precarious legality erected in haste over a single night or several nights at the centre or periphery of cities on state or private land. According to surveys from the early 1970s, "35 per cent of all the land occupied by squatters belongs to private individuals, while the share of public land is 65 per cent" (Keleş 1972, pp. 97). In some cases *gecekondus* were not erected through squatting, but through the legal or illegal partition of land, with ownership of the land legally acknowledged and the home on the land considered illegal. In other cases, *gecekondus* became or were built for the express purpose of rental units, with Keleş estimating in 1972 (pp. 127) that 35-45 per cent served this purpose. Thus, the term *gecekondu* fails to capture the diversity of property relations that may exist in any given community consisting of self-help homes and these communities should not be considered a homogenous space.

At first, the government responded by tearing down *gecekondus* whenever possible, but this position changed as successive governments began providing tacit

permission for the construction of *gecekondus*. This occurred for two main reasons: first, industry required a cheap wage labour force, which informal housing could provide without sparking demands for higher wages; second, without requiring considerable government intervention, the operation of an informal land/housing market served a "significant redistributive effect" that could be utilized to generate electoral support (Kuyucu and Unsal 2010, pp. 1483). From its inception, the provision of land deeds and public utilities proved a popular method of obtaining votes, while the priority placed on industrialization superseded any provision of adequate affordable housing even though Article 49 of the 1961 Constitution stated that the "State shall take measures to meet the housing needs of the poor and of low-income families in accordance with their health requirements" (Danielson and Keleş 1985, pp. 57-58). Of course, for the majority of people in the large cities—by the 1970s, 65 per cent of the population of Ankara lived in a *gecekondu* neighbourhood (Keleş 1972, pp. 53)—the government failed to live up to its formal obligation; however, in place of meeting this obligation, successive governments provided what Keyder describes as a "moral economy" (1999, pp. 147). The state restricted any significant expansion of the commodification of state lands and instead emphasized the redistributive benefits of the informal appropriation of these lands. After all, at a time when nationalization was popular, the state could not very well undermine its own legitimacy by allowing the "full operation of a market based on private property" (Keyder 1999, pp. 147).

Early *gecekondus* were initially hastily slapped together as expediency and modest savings demanded, but over time residents made significant improvements to their homes, from the addition of toilets to the expansion of living space. Using knowledge accumulated in the countryside, residents built homes comparable to the average village house (Zurcher 2003); therefore, as Keleş suggests, there was no "officially recognized slum problem in Turkey" at the time, despite the seemingly improvised nature of a great deal of the housing stock (1972, pp. 131). The official position of the state on the *gecekondu* phenomenon is clear in a request for assistance to the United Nations:

> Urbanization and its accompanying *gecekondus* are not considered today as undesirable phenomenon in Turkey. Instead, the rapid growth of cities and the existence of gecekondu areas—planned or unplanned—are considered positive factors in national development, for, from them are to

> come the workers for the proposed massive industrialization programme of the decade of the 1970's. In Turkey, urbanization, even as a singularly demographic phenomenon, becomes a 'vehicle of economic and social development.' The approach is realistic in the sense that under the present economic and social conditions in Turkey, there is probably no other alternative to this proposal of allowing massive migrations to urban areas; for agricultural land appears to be at, or near its maximum utilization, and 'urbanization precedes industrialization' according to the Development Plan (quoted in Karpat, 1976, pp. 65).

Nevertheless, the first comprehensive piece of legislation to address the *gecekondu* phenomenon, the *Gecekondu* Law (no. 775), was passed in 1966 and contained three major principles: prevention, improvement, and clearance (Keleş 1972, pp. 128). The prohibition of further *gecekondu* building proved to be largely unenforced, while the appeal of the informal appropriation of land only increased with promises to grant title deeds for existing settlers, even though, as Karpat suggests, at least initially "the actual issuance of deeds proceeded very slowly" (1976, pp. 65).

Efforts to encourage the construction of affordable legal alternatives to self-help housing proceeded with predictable sluggishness and efforts directed at the provision of subsidized loans were insufficient due to the upper limits attached to such loans that meant the majority of housing financed by Emlak Bank (the Real Estate Bank) went to middle and upper income families (Danielson and Keleş 1985, pp. 181). Some politicians regarded *gecekondus* as the solution to the housing question and pointed to the capability of the squatters in comparison to the state: squatters built 5000-15000 homes in a single year, while the state managed to build only 700 dwellings over three years (Karpat 1976, pp. 64). There is certainly truth to the impressive resourcefulness of the residents of these communities: originally lacking infrastructure that would be characteristic of dwellings in most cities—connection to sewers, water, electricity, roads, and transportation—residents organized to become influential actors that could not be ignored by successive governments for the right to such infrastructure and services. While early *gecekondu* living would certainly be considered challenging, particularly without the lack of adequate water and sanitation, many communities were successful in securing improvements for their homes. Indeed, a World Bank study from 1997 suggests that in Ankara, 90 per cent of *gecekondus* were connected to electricity and running water, 80 per cent connected to the sewage network, with the majority of the

rest connected to septic tanks, and 60 per cent of neighbourhoods covered by surfaced roads and garbage collection (Baharoglu, Hannah, and Malpezzi 1997, pp. 3). The permanent jobs in industry that pulled so many from the countryside remained scarce—urbanization continued to outpace industrialization—and residents found work in the informal economy as casual labourers or street vendors. For others, migration was a two stage process with many eventually departing for Germany. *Gecekondu* residents would also use their agricultural skills to supplement their subsistence by maintaining backyard gardens where they would grow fruits and vegetables and raise animals. Through preserving close ties to villages and family members, migrants ensured a steady flow of staple foods to provide for their dietary needs (Atasoy 2005).

3.3. The calm before the neoliberal storm

As migration accelerated and the urban population swelled, rural areas underwent a transformation from extensive farming to intensive farming. Zulkuf Aydin details how the reclamation of land not under cultivation decelerated and agricultural production began to increase throughout the 1960s as capital intensive agriculture became a state priority to "ensure resource transfers from agriculture to industry, to feed the burgeoning urban centres and to increase foreign currency earnings" (2010, pp. 154). The introduction of Green Revolution technologies, like high yield seeds, petro-chemical fertilizers, pesticides, machinery, and irrigation combined with an increase in supports for these inputs from the state contributed significantly to increasing production and remaking agriculture in the image of industry. Indeed, yields in wheat more than doubled between 1950 and 1980 from 865 kg/ha to 1829 kg/ha (TMO 2011). Numerous public and quasi-public enterprises were developed to handle supports provided to agricultural producers: the Turkish Grain Board (TMO) handled support purchases for grain; the sale and distribution of subsidized inputs was handled by the Agricultural Supply Organization (TZDK) and regional cooperatives; and credit was provided through Ziraat Bank (Agriculture Bank). Professional and interest group associations like the Turkish Union of Chambers of Agriculture (TZOB) and the Turkish Federation of Farmers, took on multiple functions from education to lobbying. Such support from the state contributed to agricultural producers becoming a significant source for the consumption of commodities turned out by growing state-owned industries. Successive

governments “aimed to achieve self-sufficiency in food production and to increase the production of agricultural export items” (Atasoy 2005, pp. 108); however, agricultural concessions from the European Economic Community (EEC) were limited and exports to the EEC remained low while imports rapidly increased.

The World Bank was supportive of active involvement by the Turkish state in agriculture and “highly influential in the decision to give priority to small-scale agriculture and to enhance the market orientation of family farms” (Aydin 2010, pp. 154). Support for agricultural producers, though increasing differentiation, served as a shield to protect the diverse continuum of subsistence and petty commodity producers from the negative impacts of complete exposure to the world market. Keyder (1983b) estimates that by the early 1980s, four-fifths of Turkey’s 40,000 villages would fall somewhere between subsistence and petty commodity production. These producers found themselves increasingly dependent on inputs and further dependent on the state to subsidize these inputs and provide generous price supports. As successive economic crises took hold in Turkey during the late 1970s, agricultural producers would experience a retraction of supports and the expansion of neoliberalization, with dependence on inputs widening and exposure to the ravages of the market deepening.

3.4. The tied fortunes of wheat and production for use amidst EU accession

Harmonizing Turkish agriculture policies with the CAP has been on the agenda since signing the 1970 Additional Protocol to the Ankara Agreement; however, for decades successive state development plans had “not gone beyond paying lip service to the necessity of streamlining Turkish agricultural policies in accordance with the CAP” (Aydin 2010, pp. 159). This only began to change as the twentieth century drew to a close and a bilateral trade agreement that included agriculture for the first time was signed. With the launch of full membership negotiations between Turkey and the EU on the third of October, 2005, Turkey indicated that it can accept the *acquis* regarding Agriculture and Rural Development; however, it is likely that accepting the *acquis* will prove to be one of the greatest challenges of the accession process.

The subsumption of Turkish small producers into the common market with European farmers brings together "formally equal but substantially unequal participants" (Araghi 2009, pp. 133) and this, combined with the sheer size of Turkey's agricultural lands (27 million hectares equal to 20 per cent of the EU-25) and the primacy of cereal production (13.6 million hectares equal to 25 per cent of the EU-25) (European Communities 2006a, pp. 2), guarantees that accession is bound to have a greater impact on Turkey and its agricultural producers than on existing members states. The primacy of agriculture in terms of its economic weight and share of employment in the rural areas of the EU is substantially lower than Turkey where agriculture remains the most significant source of economic activity and employment in rural areas (Allen and Özcan 2006). In comparison to the EU, the average size of agricultural holdings in Turkey is smaller and yields lower, while supports and subsidies are not even comparable. This is evident in a comparison of crop prices for wheat, rye, barley, oats, and sugar beets, with the cost of domestic production higher for all of these crops in Turkey (MARA 2007, pp. 14). When forced to compete with agricultural producers from the EU, it would seem that the Turkish agricultural producers are not even on the same competitive playing field.

That Turkey is unable to compete in terms of staple crop production is of some consequence to the EU, but of grave importance to Turkish small producers. Given that the stated economic rationale for becoming a member of a free trade area is "that it opens up opportunities to create additional economic growth by exporting those goods for which a country has a comparative cost advantage" (MARA 2007, pp. 14) it would seem that the abandonment of staple crops and their replacement with high-value export crops is the likeliest scenario for those small producers who are able to remain engaged in agriculture. Under the logic of comparative advantage, countries are to find their niche and then focus production on whatever that niche may be, but this ignores that niches are less often found than deliberately constructed. The FAO suggests that Turkey can find its niche by "positioning itself to become the fruit basket of Europe" (FAO 2009, pp. 24) and this can likely only be accomplished by abandoning the long-held historical emphasis on self-sufficiency in cereals. Turkey's niche has partly been constructed in the context of the 1998 bilateral trade agreement with the EU when Turkey made concessions on cereals and, in return, received concessions on fruits,

vegetables, and olive oil (Atasoy 2012). In a comparison between Greece and Turkey of Mediterranean zone products, Turkey is more competitive in the production of chickpeas, lentils, tomatoes, cherries, olives, mandarins, hazelnuts, and pistachios; however, the "prospects for durum wheat, staple product of the Mediterranean and continental type of farmer, and Turkey's most important product in volume terms, is much less favourable" (MARA 2007, pp. 15). If the prospects for durum wheat in particular and wheat in general are unfavourable then small producers in the "bread-basket" of Turkey face increasing uncertainty because the fortunes of the two appear to be intricately bound together.

Table 1. Cereals in general and wheat in particular: a trajectory of decline

Year	Area of crop production (harvested) for wheat across Turkey (hectares)	Area of crop production (harvested) for wheat in Central Anatolia (hectares)	Area of crop production (harvested) for wheat in Ankara (hectares)	Area of crop production (harvested) for cereals across Turkey (hectares)	Area of crop production (harvested) for cereals in Central Anatolia (hectares)	Area of crop production (harvested) for cereals in Ankara (hectares)
1995	9,319,180	1,501,421	594,646	13,703,013	2,092,047	845,768
1998	9,306,675	1,484,338	468,905	13,904,847	2,114,061	800,123
2001	9,149,844	1,463,154	488,719	13,577,630	2,044,222	777,081
2004	9,268,240	1,477,031	511,418	13,786,050	2,134,788	788,862
2007	7,951,237	1,314,299	445,548	12,140,519	1,990,745	682,643
2010	8,063,071	1,324,395	405,550	12,025,207	1,975,485	685,202

Note: data from Turkish Statistical Institute. It is important to note that 2007 was a drought year.

With a 3.8 per cent share of the area under wheat cultivation in the world and a 2.6 per cent share of world wheat production, Turkey is a relatively significant cereal producing country compared to many of the individual states of the EU-27; however, Turkey's significance is dwarfed by the EU-27 as a whole, which possesses a 21.1 per cent share of world wheat production (TMO 2011). Central Anatolia leads the regions of Turkey with a 34 per cent share of the total production of milling wheat and is second in the production of durum wheat with a 23 per cent share (TMO 2011). With the largest agricultural areas in Turkey, Konya leads central Anatolia in wheat production, but with

the third largest agricultural areas, Ankara remains a significant province for wheat production. Through the historical consolidation of agricultural production based on small holdings employing family labour and the protection provided by supports and subsidies, Turkey has come to rely on small producers for wheat production. That such producers would prefer to dedicate the majority of their holdings to cultivating wheat should come as no surprise: it is the most important cereal crop, with cereals the second most important staple in the Turkish diet behind only fresh fruits and vegetables (Atasoy 2012). In other words, production of wheat as a commodity for exchange is secondary to the primary importance of production for use, with attention focused on exchange only after the satisfaction of personal use. The small size of agricultural holdings, the reliance on family labour, and the tendency to combine subsistence and petty commodity production are not considered advantages, but the greatest obstacles to adoption of the CAP. The proffered solutions to subsistence, the supposed "poor relation of modern economic production" (Robert 2010, pp. 203), are the transition to high value crops, like fresh fruits and vegetables for domestic consumption and export, supplementing agriculture with non agricultural employment, or supplanting agriculture altogether. In order for these solutions to take hold among small producers, state supports and subsidies for the protection of the home market must be reconfigured to create uncertainty and a not so subtle push in the desired direction.

3.5. Legislating market dependence and creating Turkey's niche

The process of neoliberalization arrived in Turkey, as is commonly the case, under conditions of crisis. The Turkish economy had reached a tipping point by the late 1970s and a military *coup d'etat* occurred on September 12, 1980 under the pretext of restoring order to the country. Under the guidance of the IMF and the World Bank, an economic restructuring began that continued as Turgut Özal, an individual with close ties to these international institutions, became prime minister in 1983 with the return of democracy. Guidance under these early agreements "centred mainly on the fiscal and inflationary strains posed by the [agricultural] support regime, and were at best minimally interested in specific institutional configurations" (Guven 2009, pp. 175). Indeed, in the absence of any specifically neoliberal institutional configurations, early restructuring

focused mainly on the taken for granted financial burden that support payments and input subsidies placed on the public purse.

The worn grooves of the developmental era did not suddenly disappear from the consciousness of agricultural producers or politicians as agricultural supports declined. Instead, the time-out on democracy merely disrupted forms of redistribution until the return of elections. A cyclical pattern emerged where supports would contract suddenly and then expand as elections approached. This cycle continued even after the 1994 economic crisis with successive Turkish governments facing increasing pressure from abroad to restructure agriculture. Such demands, made by the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO and the EU, demonstrate, as Aydin suggests, "remarkable similarities and complementarities" (2010, pp. 161). In effect, the demands amount to an insistence that the dependence of agricultural producers on public and quasi-public institutions be severed and replaced by new relations of production controlled by agribusiness. With the disappearance of supports and subsidies, petty commodity producers would no longer be able to survive by solely cultivating crops for the home market, but forced to adhere to the principle of comparative advantage and cultivate crops for export under conditions of highly concentrated capital upstream and downstream. The submission of four letters of intent to the IMF in 1999 signalled that the Turkish state was prepared to acquiesce to these demands and abandon agricultural producers to their fates. With another economic crisis on the horizon, the condition for the imposition of specific neoliberal institutional configurations through a series of complementary pieces of agriculture legislation was at hand.

Fault lines became evident in 2000, as the Turkish economy was under intense strain from the process of integration into global capital markets. In response, an agreement was signed with the IMF for a stabilization programme. A major priority of the stabilization programme was the rolling back of supports and subsidies to agricultural producers, but more importantly, for the first time "critics of the support regime were able to speak of alternative institutional designs" (Guven 2009, pp. 177). Critics argued that subsidies and supports disproportionately benefitted large producers and placed a heavy burden on the state (World Bank 2002). While there is no doubt truth to the claim that large producers benefitted disproportionately, it would be deliberately misleading to suggest that small producers did not also benefit or that supports and subsidies were

fiscally unsustainable. Indeed, Oyan shows that agricultural support represented 0.8 per cent of GNP in 1999-2000 and that the number of agricultural producers with 20 hectares of land or more was only 200,000 when 4.2 million agricultural holdings existed (quoted in Aydin 2010, pp. 162). Nevertheless, based on these (unsubstantiated) claims, in June 2001 Turkey began to focus on neoliberal institutional configurations through the four components of the World Bank's Agricultural Reform Implementation Project (ARIP), which promised to transition Turkey "from a heavily government influenced to a market driven agricultural sector" (World Bank 2002). It also promised to help Turkey meet the most basic pre-conditions set down by the EU: that applicant states have economies that are efficient enough to compete in the unified market.

The first component focuses on replacing the existing "unsustainable and distortionary system of subsides for fertilizers, credit and price supports" with direct income support (DIS), which is decoupled from production and efficiency (World Bank 2002). The implementation of DIS requires the establishment of a National Farmer Registration System (NFRS) containing a complete computerization of existing land records. This requirement proved to be a difficult hurdle for many small producers to overcome because the division of holdings through inheritance creates overlapping ownership claims, while for others registration remains prohibitively expensive. The result of these barriers: only 2.7 million households out of the total 4.1 million registered for DIS (Aydin 2010, pp. 177). The second component, farmer transition, rests on the claim that state purchases lead to an overproduction of crops for which Turkey has a comparative disadvantage. The prescribed remedy: encourage agricultural producers to transition to alternative crops for which Turkey has a comparative advantage. The third component is the privatization of Agricultural Sales Cooperatives and Cooperative Unions (ASCs/ASCUs). The ASCs/ASCUs are alleged to have enabled the state to play a distortionary role in the sector and, with independence from the government, are expected to become more responsible to the needs of agricultural producers. The AKP took the restructuring of the ASCs/ASCUs further, passing law number 5200 in 2004 that directs producers to organize themselves into something resembling a "joint-stock company," which are to act as "market-intermediation mechanisms that facilitate small producers selling directly to retailers" (Atasoy 2012). The final component, project support services, includes a public relations campaign to raise public support for the

reforms and monitoring to ensure that the implementation proceeds as initially agreed upon.

Legislating market dependence in preparation for EU accession not only continued, but accelerated with the electoral victory of the AKP in 2002, albeit in an uneven manner. Among the most important of the legislation passed since 2002 are the 2005 "Law on Soil Conservation and Land Use" (No. 5403), the 2006 Seeds Law (no. 5553), and the 2006 "Agrarian Law" (No. 5488) (SPO 2006b, pp. 41, 72). The stated intentions of law number 5403 are relatively straight forward: agricultural lands should not be put to non-agricultural uses, further fragmentation of agricultural lands prevented, and the consolidation of existing agricultural holdings encouraged to ensure the cost effective expansion of irrigation and the further intensification of production. Soil assessments will be used to identify the potential and capability of agricultural holdings throughout diverse regions to ensure the cultivation of the most suitable crops.

While the "Law on Soil Conservation and Land Use" is not widely known by its official name, the media has ensured that it is well known as the "Cargill Law" (Eğrikavuk 2011). In 1997, agribusiness giant Cargill established a sweet-corn processing factory on prime agricultural land, which sparked a series of legal challenges from concerned agricultural producers and environmentalists. The extent of external pressure on the Turkish government from the United States—a subject of endless speculation in the Turkish media—was confirmed by the leak of a tranche of diplomatic cables. Whether it was the result of lobbying or the close connection between Prime Minister Erdoğan and Cargill through a business partnership, law number 5403 contained an amnesty for existing industrial factories on prime agricultural land. The rounds of legal battles continued until 2011 when the Constitutional Court ruled that agricultural lands could continue to be used for non-agricultural purposes. Thus, it is readily apparent that the law is less about preserving agricultural lands for agricultural uses than an attempt to simultaneously legislate an end to the expansion of subsistence agriculture, encourage land consolidation, and further enshrine the logic of comparative advantage through regional specialization.

The Seeds Law contains provisions which require all seeds used in agriculture to be registered and certified; thus, ensuring the dependence of agricultural producers on

agribusiness for a range of inputs and their loss of control over seeds, the basic constituent of plant life. The Agrarian Law is essentially an attempt to establish Turkey's version of the first pillar of the CAP, which concentrates on providing a basic income support to agricultural producers, who are then supposed to be free to produce in response to market demand; however, an EU screening report from 2006 criticizes the direction of Turkish agricultural policy by suggesting that the country is "moving from decoupled *direct support* back to more coupled direct support and price support, while the EU is moving in the opposite direction" (European Communities 2006a, pp. 15). The move towards such supports was in response to widespread criticism of DIS, particularly from small producers who viewed DIS as a gift to large landholders (Güven 2009, pp. 179). The law lays down the objectives and principles of agricultural supports and identifies DIS as the primary support programme, along with basic support programmes, including premium payments, transition payments, and cereal premiums and requires producers to be registered in the NFRS to receive any of these supports. Article fourteen reiterates the commitment to regional specialization found in law number 5403, a commitment that has been more recently formally implemented through the agricultural basin system.

In 2008, the government officially abandoned the DIS scheme in a somewhat unexpected move considering direct income payments are emphasized in the Ninth Development Plan 2007-2013 (SPO 2006b, pp. 41) and essential to harmonization with the CAP and commitments to the WTO. The Minister of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, Mehdi Eker, remarked that the DIS scheme "only benefits landowners," in contrast to the new system, which "will help producers" (Today's Zaman 2008, 5 April 2008). Eker's predecessor, Sami Güçlü, remarked five years earlier that "We want to convert the DGD [DIS] model, which farmers do not accept as well, into an acceptable form" (Today's Zaman, 23 December 2003). The abandonment of DIS does not mark a definitive return to support programmes for producers, but it may mark the end of the controversy that surrounded income support payments. With no money allotted to DIS in 2009, the government expected to disburse TL 5.5 billion to the agriculture sector, which was actually TL 411 million less than in 2008 (Today's Zaman, 6 November 2008); adjusted for inflation, the money allocated to agricultural supports in 2009 was actually lower than the amount allocated in the late 1990s before ARIP (Öztürk 2012, pp. 98). The

unexpected death of an unpopular support scheme does not necessarily suggest meaningful changes that benefit small agricultural producers.

The impact of diminishing support for producers through ARIP and complementary legislation cannot easily be quantified; a decline in agricultural employment occurred between 2001 (8.1 million) to 2006 (6.1 million) (MARA 2007, pp. 14), but the permanence of all of that decline is questionable—especially in light of an increase in agriculture's share of employment as the global economic crisis landed in Turkey by 2008 (Şengül and Üngör 2011). The World Bank suggests that the largest decline in the producer support estimate (PSE) occurred in Central Anatolia, which "absorbed more than a third of the 3.1 quadrillion TL [old currency] decline in the PSE, with losses there being about 60 percent in the grain sector" (2004, pp. 13). This has contributed to growing indebtedness and, according to the Ankara Chamber of Commerce (ATO), in 2009 alone the debts of agricultural producers rose 20 per cent, while government subsidies decreased by 22.6 percent; this led the chairman of the ATO to remark that "Farmers sowed debt last year and now they are harvesting liens" (Hurriyet Daily News 2010). With a rise in the sowing of debt, the area of wheat sown across Turkey fell from 9,350,000 ha in 2001 to 8,490,000 in 2006 and has fallen further to 8,094,000 ha in 2010 (TMO 2011). Actual wheat production has tended to fluctuate, with 2007 an exceptionally poor year due to the impacts of a harsh drought. In line with the expected outcome of ARIP, a reduction in support for grain cultivation has ensured an increase in the attractiveness of fresh fruits and vegetables (World Bank 2004, pp. 47). By 2011, the production of fresh fruits and vegetables amounted to 44.7 million tons and the export of these products totalled $2.3 billion (USD), with tomatoes accounting for over 11 million tons of the amount produced (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Economy 2012, pp. 2-4).

In contrast to an earlier era, where a fluctuation in agricultural employment would likely correspond to an expansion of *gecekondus*, this type of informal urbanization is now uncommon. Erdoğan claims that Turkey has almost stopped the "unplanned urbanization problem" (Today's Zaman, 4 March 2011); a report for the European Commission goes further in suggesting that in "the big cities, there is no new construction of *gecekondu*" (Adaman and Keyder 2006, pp. 20). Authorities are no longer willing to look the other way, due in no small part to a shift in the stance of the

state on self-help communities. In fact, the position of the state on the *gecekondu* phenomenon has shifted considerably from a "vehicle of economic and social development" in the 1970s to both an obstacle to and opportunity for economic and social development in the new millennium.

3.6. Waging a war through "slum" discourse

On Sunday October 23, 2011, news agencies across the world displayed images that attempted to capture the devastating aftermath of an earthquake in the Turkish province of Van. As coverage across the world continued, only news agencies in Turkey noted the response of Prime Minister Erdoğan, who first identified the absence of damage in the buildings constructed by TOKİ, then proceeded to blame illegal construction for the loss of life, and finally, vowed to demolish all illegally constructed buildings across Turkey. The Chairman of the Association of Real Estate Investment Companies (GYODER) Işık Gökkaya remarked that 40 to 45 percent of existing buildings across Turkey would have to be rebuilt (Hurriyet Daily News, 27 October 2011); AKP officials suggested that existing legislation was insufficient for the necessary task of demolition and would have to be revised to allow for "urgent expropriation" in areas most at risk to earthquakes, floods, and landslides (Hurriyet Daily News, 31 October 2011). The relocation plan is for residents forced from their homes to be offered the opportunity to purchase a new home from TOKİ in an area presumably considered a lower risk—though the twelve fatalities at a TOKİ project in Samsun from a flood in July 2012 suggest this is not always the case (Hurriyet Daily News, 9 July 2012).

The implications of Erdoğan's declaration are clear: the investment of capital in the built environment will increase even faster than its current pace through the rapid disappearance and replacement of *gecekondus* by TOKİ buildings. However, this declaration is a continuation of existing policy, with each disaster merely a pretext for the expansion of expropriation powers and market relations. Indeed, the elimination of *gecekondus* through TOKİ has been AKP policy since nearly the first day they took office and has been repeated in pronouncements throughout their three terms, with 2011 supposed to be the Year of Urban Renewal, particularly concerning buildings lacking the proper resistance to earthquakes (Today's Zaman, 23 February 2011). Urban renewal is

seen as an opportunity for speculative investment that is widely expected to benefit the Turkish economy, while eliminating unsightly obstacles to Istanbul assuming its position as a "world city." The former president of TOKİ, Erdoğan Bayraktar, is partial to characterizing the work of the administration as waging war against "shantytowns"—he earlier suggested that the "work of TOKİ is a war, an act of worship" (Hurriyet Daily News, October 3, 2006)—because "shantytowns are the regions where all negative things, mafia organizations and unlawful development can flourish. We have to get rid of shantytowns for the sake of our children's future" (Hurriyet Daily News, 5 December 2011). Clearly, disasters are not the only concern when it comes to "shantytowns."

There is no word for "shantytown" or "slum" in the Turkish language, but the two are generally used interchangeably in the English translations of TOKİ documents and should be considered as concepts fraught with complications and often difficult to define with any sense of accuracy or determinacy without resorting to the homogenous application of the term. Indeed, Jeremy Seabrook (2009) argues that the "word 'slum' is itself problematic": the word arose out of a "specifically British experience" during the early industrial era when "jerry-built houses" were constructed around industrial work sites. Thus, the use of the term today is historically inaccurate when applied to "Third World" urbanization, because as Davis (2006) demonstrates with wonderful clarity, such development vastly outpaces industrialization. Beyond its historically inaccurate application, "slums" carry disparaging connotations about the inhabitants who live in such areas; one need look no further than popular films like *City of God, Slumdog Millionaire*, or even *The Edge of Heaven*—a film by German-Turkish director Fatih Akin—for proof of negative portrayals of "slums" capturing popular imaginations. Deborah Potts (2011), in a case study on Zimbabwe, argues that "shantytown" can be employed as a synonym for "slum," with both fraught with the same complications—and shortcomings. Indeed, the word is "dangerous because it confuses the physical problem of poor housing with the characteristics of people living there" (Gilbert 2007, pp. 697), which is exactly what the former head of TOKİ is guilty of doing.

Figure 1. Towers in the distance foreshadowing the future for many of the remaining gecekondus

Note: author's photo.

While it is the case that the terms "slum" and "shantytown" do not exist in the Turkish language, a slum discourse appears to be widely employed in Turkey. A report prepared for the European Commission suggests that the

> gecekondu is similar to a whole family of informal solutions to the housing problem of migrants in rapidly growing cities of the South. The generic word is 'shantytown,' referring to the temporary nature of the construction and its quality, and to the haphazard nature of the construction materials. The *bidonville* in French colonial Africa, the *favela* in Brazil, and various other versions of such quickly and illegally built housing are of the same category (Adaman and Keyder 2006, pp. 17-18).

How similar these "informal solutions to the housing problem" and the experiences of the inhabitants are appears to be assumed rather than properly investigated. Katherine Boo's (2012) highly praised recent book based on three years of research in Annawadi, a "slum" near the airport in Mumbai, details the lives of inhabitants variously situated in a continuous struggle to survive, but Annawadi's inhabitants and their self-help housing solutions likely have little in common with the inhabitants of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods

in Istanbul and Ankara. Indeed, the experience is likely to vastly differ between Istanbul and Ankara and even within each of those cities, partly because political patronage was historically uneven between neighbourhoods. Perhaps we should heed the advice of Pushpa Arabindoo, who suggests that when it comes to "slums," "one needs to sift spatio-temporally through a layered multiplicity that is perhaps better unpacked empirically than theoretically" (2011, pp. 638). Indeed, even Davis' work tends to utilize the "slums" to create a kind of homogenous apocalyptic vision of the contemporary urban condition, which tends to subtract from an otherwise excellent analysis.

TOKİ has adopted the discourse surrounding "shantytowns" and "slums" to the *gecekondus* and other urban areas of Turkey in an attempt to create a squalid and dangerous urban imaginaire. In contrast to Dennis Rodgers' (2009) examination of the "political economy of violence in Central America" that he theorizes as a movement from Wolf's "peasant wars of the twentieth century" to "slum wars of the twenty-first century," there is relatively limited violence in impoverished areas in the large cities of Turkey. The economic growth that has characterized most of the past decade has not been accompanied by a significant reduction in unemployment, which remains relatively high at 10.1 per cent as of December 2012 (Turkish Statistical Institute 2013); however, despite this fact, the food poverty ratio is very low in Turkey (0.54% in 2008) even though relative poverty remains high and is significantly higher in rural areas (34.6%) (SPO 2010, pp. 23). Thus, it would be incorrect to assume that incidents of poverty are limited to *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, since rising rural poverty is an increasing concern. This concern has, in part, encouraged a focus on rural development in line with preparations for EU accession, while concern with rural migration has witnessed the state enlist TOKİ to construct homes on state lands, so that, as Erdoğan remarks, "citizens who live far from the 'center' are brought from the 'periphery to the 'center' in a way that allows them to remain where they are and thereby eliminate the need for migration" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 5).

3.7. The subjection of agricultural lands to competing uses

Rural development in Turkey has been included in policy documents for decades, but has only moved beyond the pages of policy documents in recent years in

light of the drive to EU accession. The 2006 National Rural Development Strategy provides the basis for the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance Rural Development (IPARD), which was established to provide assistance to EU candidate countries and is modelled after the Leader Programme. In 1991, the then EEC launched the Links Between Actions of Rural Development (Leader) Programme, which was the culmination of a gradual evolution from an early focus on supporting physical capital and human capital to eventually include a focus on halting the growing exit from agricultural production and migration from rural areas. With the Agenda 2000, rural development policy was established as the second pillar of the CAP and in 2003, the Salzburg Conference recognized that the "development of rural areas can no longer be based on agriculture alone. Diversification both within and beyond the agricultural sector is indispensible in order to promote viable and sustainable rural communities" (European Communities 2006b, pp. 5). This recognition is repeated with a twist for the "developing world" in the *World Development Report 2008* where "placing agriculture afresh at the centre of the development agenda" requires an acceptance that agriculture "alone will not be enough to massively reduce poverty" (World Bank 2007, pp. 1). Some of the startling similarities between rural development policy in the EU and the prescriptions of the *World Development Report 2008* only seem to confirm Bernstein's suggestion that what "differentiates the 'peasants' of the South and the 'family farmers' of the North" is how they are "located in the international division of labour of imperialism and its mutations" (2000, pp. 27).

Rural development in the EU is based on commonly agreed core policy objectives that form the three axes of the Leader Programme: the first axis concerns improving the competitiveness of agriculture and forestry; the second axis focuses on supporting land management and improving the environment; and the central objective of the third axis is to have a "living countryside" through encouraging the diversification of economic activities. These axes are central to the implementation of rural development as laid out in the National Rural Development Strategy and IPARD. Axes one and two have largely been covered in the preceding sections through a discussion of complementary legislation, but axis three takes on added significance with the more than two million people who have left agricultural employment since 2001 and the high incidence of agricultural production characterized by subsistence. With rural

development, there is no longer a question of producing for use or exchange—this has been settled decisively in favour of the latter with the former acceptable only when combined with other strategies for survival—but a drive to expand petty commodity production in rural areas beyond actual agricultural production through the creation of micro-enterprises led by micro-entrepreneurs. The drive to expand petty commodity production is a push to supplement or supplant subsistence agriculture with non-agricultural income obtained from diversification into rural tourism, the sale of tradition crafts and handicrafts, or through wage labour in more conventional employment like construction or large scale agriculture. In encouraging the creation of micro-enterprises led by micro-entrepreneurs, the rural poor are expected to "withdraw from assistance demanded passive position" and be guided to "become productive individuals" (SPO 2006a, pp. 21), which repeats the familiar trope echoed in the *World Development Report 2008* that public policies can help rural men and women "pull themselves out of poverty" (World Bank 2007, pp. 73).

Significantly, expanding diversification seems to suggest that agricultural lands will no longer be reserved for actual agricultural production, but will increasingly be subject to a variety of non or semi-agricultural uses. This is an intended outcome, with the World Bank arguing for the importance of well functioning land markets based on "secure and unambiguous property rights" that will enable markets to "transfer land to more productive uses and users" (2007, pp. 138). We may expect that a well functioning land market will signal the final demise of small producers, but we must be mindful of the multiple paths open to agrarian change. Aydin's analysis of Turkish agriculture suggests that there is an "inevitability" to the "dissolution of small-scale farming" as land consolidation and proper capitalist relations of production replace small scale production based on family labour (2010, pp. 174). It would seem likely that land consolidation is occurring to some extent in Turkey and possibly the expansion of capital intensive farming relying on properly capitalist relations of production; however, it would be misleading to overstate the prevalence of such developments. Keyder and Yenal (2011) underscore that small producers face numerous challenges when trying to sell their crops under the constantly evolving emphasis on quality standards set by supermarkets and other large buyers, but challenges are not insurmountable barriers. Atasoy's (2012) research on supermarket expansion in the context of fresh fruit and vegetable production

in Turkey includes the important acknowledgement that "Turkish agriculture is best described as a 'muddy terrain,' into which agricultural production dominated by an extensive number of small producers is integrated mainly through looser market-coordination arrangements with retailers." The state has been actively involved in facilitating the participation of smallholders in a supply chain increasingly defined by quality standards. Thus, far from their inevitable disappearance, it seems possible that small scale producers will remain a significant part of Turkish agricultural production even in the face of numerous challenges.

Earlier I discussed how the primary position of small producers was consolidated in Turkey with the introduction of land reform in the late 1940s, which allowed small producers to reclaim state lands not under cultivation. Today, such lands are being reclaimed, but for an entirely different, non-agricultural purpose: TOKİ's urbanization and housing campaign. Erdoğan remarks that through this campaign, "Segments of society that previously had been on the margins, despite living there, are being reunited with the city" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 5). TOKİ is charged with the task of working with the Treasury to acquire state lands to be transformed into housing. The General Directorate of National Property (GDNP) is the unit of the Ministry of Finance with the mandate to manage the two types of state land in Turkey: land held by governmental institutions registered in the land registry as "private immovables of the Treasury" and state land not registered in the land registry (GDNP 2012, pp. 1). The surface area of Turkey is approximately 815,000 km² and, of that surface area, 207,087 km² is registered as private immovables of the Treasury, a number that increases or decreases as land is registered or sold (GDNP 2012, pp. 2). There is accurate data on the specific types of private immovables of the Treasury: nearly three-quarters is forest land (149,910 km²), just under ten per cent is agricultural land (19,120 km²), and less than one per cent is coastal areas (5 km²) and historical and cultural areas (78 km²) (GDNP 2012, pp. 4).

A study from the European Environment Agency on land cover changes in Turkey between 2000 and 2006 provides some startling figures: a 134.51 km² decrease in agricultural lands, a 259.52 km² decrease in forest and semi-natural areas, and a 377.29 km² increase in artificial areas (EEA 2010a). Settlement areas and water bodies have increased across Turkey—the latter due largely to the number of recently constructed dams—while there has been a steady decrease in agricultural lands, forests

and semi-natural vegetation, and wetlands (EEA 2010a). The forested areas around the Bosphorus in Istanbul are highlighted as areas subject to significant land cover changes (EEA 2010b, pp. 15); however, Istanbul is not the province with the largest increase in artificial areas. That distinction belongs to Ankara, with an artificial areas increase of 44.6 km² compared to Istanbul's 25.84 km² (EEA 2010a). For all the recent—and justified—concern with urban sprawl in Istanbul, the available data suggests that urban sprawl since the beginning of the new millennium has been far more substantial in Ankara. How much of this sprawl can be attributed to TOKİ's housing and urbanization campaign is unknown, though certainly not insignificant, and will only increase as the administration works towards one million units of housing by 2023.

In one era, state lands were used to expand the area of cultivation and consolidate the prevalence of small scale production in agriculture; however, nearly simultaneous to this consolidation was mass migration from rural to urban areas with migrants forced to rely on their own self-help for the provision of housing that came to be called *gecekondus*. In the current era, state lands are being used for housing to prevent migration and reverse the tide of *gecekondu* construction through TOKİ; thus, increasingly transplanting urban characteristics to rural spaces. This just goes to show that during the previous era rural inhabitants had to migrate to the city, while today the city is increasingly sprawling to rural inhabitants to the extent that it becomes difficult to identify where the city ends and the countryside begins. This is not to suggest some kind of dichotomous relationship between the rural and the urban or that a clear demarcation between the two once existed and has now disappeared; after all, human hands have altered the landscape regardless of whether the alterations were for the purpose of planting crops or the creation of suburbs. The point is that the use of state lands for mass housing is occurring at a conjuncture when food security is conceived as best provided through the workings of the market.

For Erdoğan's AKP, reclaiming state lands for housing is part of a movement towards a more inclusive neoliberalism, where every citizen is supposed to be offered a share in the material benefits of economic restructuring. Neoliberalization in Turkey has resulted in a parallel decline in the economic and employment significance of agriculture and a rise in the economic and employment significance of the construction sector—a sector that experienced a decline between 2001 and 2003 and a reversal in fortune

beginning in 2004 (SPO 2006b, pp. 45)—which is only expected to continue with the current focus on urban transformation projects. TOKİ occupies a contradictory position as a catalyst for the growing construction sector and a key component of the "social state" that promises to provide adequate housing for all. In order to accomplish the latter objective, the administration must privatize potentially valuable state lands through speculative public-private partnerships and transform them into luxury developments. All of this will be the focus of the next chapter, where I will narrow in on TOKİ and the tradeoffs that its vast campaign entails.

4. Homeownership and the veneer of neoliberal inclusivity

4.1. TOKİ and the Turkish real estate boom amidst the "global slump"[9]

In 2007, around the same time as Americans were anxiously watching the news to discover the extent of what was then known as the "subprime crisis," the Turkish government celebrated the passing of a mortgage law (no. 5882). Mortgages existed in Turkey before the passage of this law, but were rare and the securitization of mortgages—one of the main issues apparently at the centre of the "subprime crisis"—was beyond the existing legislation. There was hope in Turkey that the passage of a mortgage law would facilitate further growth in an already booming housing market and enable more people to access mortgages. David McNally suggests that the housing boom in the United States began when low interest rates combined with the "insatiable appetite of banks for new financial instruments" (2011, pp. 102). While certainly true, this overlooks the cultural fixation in that country on homeownership as the cornerstone of the "American dream," part of a more-than-century-long tradition that views "the single family, owner occupied house...as a solution to a wide range of social problems" (Garb 2005, pp. 2). This tradition has been underwritten by social policies that promote homeownership and, as Waltraud Schelkle points out, social policies "created, corrected, and compensated mortgage markets," which means they are also implicated in the crisis (2012, pp. 75). People from social groups that faced "systematic redlining" from loans for homeownership (Roy 2010, pp. 218) were able to secure their piece of the "American dream," through subprime mortgages—subprime because such borrowers, often of low credit or unreliable incomes, are forced to pay more than prime borrowers. Indeed, this

[9] "Global slump" is David McNally's (2011) term that is meant to capture the series of crises that will continue to evolve for years to come and greatly impact world economic growth.

is why Ananya Roy suggests that the "peculiar logic" of subprime credit markets is that "they are simultaneously instruments of financial inclusion and instances of exploitative, even predatory, lending" (2010, pp. 218).

While this type of mortgage has never existed in Turkey, there is also a cultural fixation on homeownership that is now being supported by social policies. The Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) was created in 1984 to, among other things, provide housing for those that would, in the American context, be considered subprime borrowers. In the past, such people were largely excluded from the formal housing market and forced to build or rent a *gecekondu* to meet their housing needs; however, the Turkish government has been committed to the elimination of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods through urban transformation projects since 2002, with TOKİ taking the lead in this area. Since that same year, such people are now included in the formal housing market through TOKİ mortgages for apartment flats built at the behest of TOKİ, with the poorest group paying instalments starting at 100 TL per month over 25 years for 45-65m² units, the lower income groups paying instalments around 300 TL per month with a 6000 TL down payment over 15-25 years for 65-87m² units, and middle income groups paying various amounts per month over 8-10 years with a 5-25 per cent down payment for 85-146m² units (TOKİ 2011c, pp. 25).

"Much more than simply providing a place to eat and sleep," TOKİ claims to be empowering communities and offering a "better life style" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 42). Prime Minister Erdoğan hails the transformation of Turkey into a "great construction site" through the efforts of TOKİ at the same time as he highlights how "segments of the society that previously had been on the margins, despite living there, are being reunited with the city" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 5). The veneer of neoliberal inclusivity in the United States and other parts of the world has lost its attractiveness and been exposed as fraudulent, particularly as the process of foreclosure broadens and deepens, while the attractiveness remains in Turkey even as some projects are subject to growing scrutiny. In contrast to the epicentres of the "global slump," Turkey now appears as a "non-Western miracle of development in the face of the destructive effects of economic crises," but Yaşar Adanli reminds us that we should actually consider this "miracle" as a "'skillful' application of well-known global(urban)ization strategies" (2011, pp. 1). Let us briefly look at developments in other countries before we return to the Turkish "miracle."

The collapse of the housing market in the United States has tended to focus attention squarely on the financial sector and its use of exotic securitized instruments, like mortgage backed collateralized debt obligations and credit default swaps, and predatory lending practices in the form of subprime mortgages, but I want to suggest that while it is important to understand these developments and their proliferation, it is more important that we take them as a starting point for any discussion, rather than the end point as I will explain below. Other countries were not immune from the same morbid symptoms: British and Irish financial institutions also engaged in rampant speculation that drove their own property bubbles. Around this time, Spanish banks received praise for the stringent regulations that forced them to steer clear of some of the more perverse activity for which American financial institutions and their British counterparts came under heavy criticism (Bocking 2012, May 11). This praise was short lived as it soon became apparent that Spanish banks engaged in their own speculative binge in real estate that drove a housing boom of epic proportions—housing investment accounted for 10% of Spanish GDP in 2007, compared to 6.5% in the United States (Economist 2008, April 24)—with an arguably more disastrous bust.

The Spanish case offers important insight into ongoing debates in the United States and the rest of the world over the causes of the economic crisis and the prescribed remedies: if we simply focus on the sophisticated financial instruments that mushroomed in the United States after financial deregulation and ignore the fact that Spain is in a similar position after deliberately avoiding the very same instruments, then we are worried about the smoke instead of putting out the fire. The fire, after all, is the treatment of land as a peculiar commodity under the market mechanism and, because of that, the speculation that inevitably surrounds land—particularly at specific moments in history. Case in point from the Spanish example: “Land has gone from being the safest of bets to the riskiest” (Economist 2011, March 31). David Harvey (1982/2006) has long provided a relatively simple answer to how land can go from being the safest investment to the riskiest: land is a form of fictitious capital, which means any anticipation of future rents is inherently speculative and may never actually materialize. Maximizing those future rents tends to make the homes on high-value land unaffordable for low or middle income individuals or families. Karl Polanyi’s concept of land as a fictitious commodity—fictitious in the sense that the empirical definition of commodities, “objects produced for

sale on the market," (1944/2001, pp. 75) does not apply to land— is also instructive here because it reminds us that the economy is always embedded in social relations, which ensures that the state must manage the supply and demand of land lest society be destroyed. In seeking to provide affordable legal housing in Turkey for the income groups that have traditionally been ignored by the private sector, land has been placed at the centre of the efforts of TOKİ and this is evident in its rapidly growing portfolio of (formerly) state land. Preventing speculative activity surrounding land in order to reach low and middle income groups is constantly emphasized by TOKİ, even while its former president, Erdoğan Bayraktar, brags that "TOKİ has been a major factor in the revitalization of the construction sector of our country over the last few years" (TOKİ 2011).

When the shockwave from the 2007 global economic crisis briefly reduced the high rate of economic growth in Turkey, Bayraktar responded by suggesting that the "world recovered from the Great Depression of 1929 by the real estate industry," and went on to add that Turkey "will definitely recover from this crisis through the workings of real estate, construction and housing sectors" (Hurriyet Daily News 2008, October 15). What a recovery it has been: after a contraction in 2009, the sector achieved an average growth rate of over 18 per cent in 2010 and over 11 per cent in 2011 (GYODER 2012, pp. 30) and can be credited with propelling Izmir, Ankara, and Istanbul into the top ten fastest growing metropolitan areas in the world in 2011 (Istrate, Berube, and Nadeu 2012, pp. 11). Part of the vision for this recovery is implementing the "Spanish Model": developing the coastal areas of Turkey for holiday housing to be purchased by foreigners (Hurriyet Daily News 2008, April 30). Of course, such development is no longer called the "Spanish Model" because no one wants to be associated with the devastation that has enveloped the Spanish people. TOKİ spokespersons are quick to remind everyone that the profit obtained from this development is to be used to finance more affordable housing throughout Turkey, but questions remain over whether a housing bubble is ballooning in Turkey, just as it did elsewhere, with even the IMF suggesting that this may be the case (Hurriyet Daily News 2010, December 19). More recently a prominent Turkish-American economist, Daron Acemoğlu, warned that the rapid increase in housing prices across Turkey combined with low interest rates may be

creating a real estate bubble similar to the one that ballooned in the United States (Today's Zaman 2012, August 7).

Interestingly, an organization whose stated mission is to offer "hope to millions of Turkish citizens who would not otherwise have an opportunity to own their home" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 30) is at the centre of the booming real estate market in Turkey. While TOKİ's mission may be to include those who have been excluded from legal housing, its primary job is to embed a more "inclusive" neoliberalization, while, at the same time, act as a catalyst for the construction sector which is to function as the locomotive of the Turkish economy. TOKİ appears to be caught between its roles of simultaneously promoting the use-value of housing and the exchange-value of housing, with any conflict between the two generally decided in favour of the latter. Indeed, the complicated and, at times, contradictory functioning of TOKİ demonstrates that the critical indictment of the contemporary urban condition expressed through a call for "cities for people, not for profit" (Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer 2009) can be drained of much of its subversive qualities and restored to a level of mainstream-neoliberal respectability. In what follows, I will trace the origins of TOKİ and then describe its evolution under the AKP and how it fits into the party's conception of the social state. I will then examine the three main parts of TOKİ's work, revenue-sharing (how the administration generates income), urban transformation, and mass housing, through an overview of the three processes and then case studies of each in Ankara to provide a clearer picture of the administration as a whole.

4.2. The early years of neoliberalization and the origin of TOKİ

By the 1980s, the hesitation to adopt any kind of affordable housing strategy beyond the widespread acceptance of *gecekondu* settlements had left its mark in large Turkish cities: over fifty percent of housing was built through the operation of a kind of organic solution to the housing shortage that was largely outside of formal city planning. As I discussed in the last chapter, Çağlar Keyder suggests that up until this point, politicians had been torn between accepting "the tenets of capitalist accumulation and providing for the moral economy that would restrict the full operation of a market based

on private property" (1999, pp. 147). Indeed, the legitimacy of successive governments was based on the provision of this moral economy: on the one hand, state lands remained largely outside of the market mechanism, and, on the other, the tacit allocation of state lands for illegal housing and the expansion of urban infrastructure was used to secure votes. The disruption of this moral economy by any significant push towards the more complete commodification of state lands would complicate the legitimacy of governments and signal a change in the relationship between the state and inhabitants of these growing neighbourhoods. With the introduction of neoliberalization in the early 1980s, the first attempts were made to expand the commodification of land beyond earlier limits, while, at the same time, maintaining and, in some cases, transforming the decades old patronage that secured the legitimacy of successive governments. Simultaneous to these attempts would be an early combination of finance, developers, construction companies, and municipalities to form what Logan and Molotch term the "growth machine": local actors that attempt to "create the conditions that will intensify future land use in an area" (1987, pp. 32).

In order to solve the ongoing problem concerning the provision of legal housing, the Housing Development Administration Fund Law (No: 2487) was passed in 1981. The next year, articles 56 and 57 of the new constitution set down the obligations of the state: the former declares that "every citizen has the right to live in a healthy and balanced environment" and the latter that the "state shall take measures to meet the needs of housing within the framework of a plan which takes into account the characteristics of cities and environmental conditions and shall support mass housing projects." This was followed up in 1984 with the passing of law no. 2981, an amnesty or pardoning law for existing *gecekondus* and several "improvement plans" that provided additional construction rights to the now legally recognized owners at the same time as transferring the task of urban planning to municipal authorities in order to stimulate "market-driven construction and land development" (Gündoğdu and Gough 2008, pp. 17). That same year marked the creation of the Housing Development and Public Participation Administration with law no. 2983—later just the Housing Development Administration after a division in 1990—and the passing of the Mass Housing Law (no. 2985), which provided the framework for meeting housing needs and achieving a well

planned urbanization process. The law also contained a provision for the creation of a Mass Housing Fund for the production of housing outside of the general budget.

Taken together, these legal and institutional developments attempted to extend the existing boundaries of the commodification of land with rapid impact. Large Turkish construction firms (such as ENKA, Doğuş, and Maya) that had emerged through their work abroad during the oil boom recognized the potential for profit at home, particularly with the liberalization of finance and the eagerness of local politicians to grow the market for land development (Keyder 1999, pp. 153). Istanbul in particular attracted significant interest from these returning firms, with real estate projects directed at the affluent quickly becoming the most profitable investment. At the same time, the Mass Housing Fund, through TOKİ, provided credit for 940,000 cooperative housing[10] units on the periphery of cities between 1984 and 2001—ostensibly for lower income people even though this was rarely the case—and TOKİ itself built 43,145 housing units across Turkey (TOKİ 2011c, pp. 7). This encouraged what Sencer Ayata describes in Ankara as the "spread of the city like a grease stain" during the 1980s and 1990s as the middle and upper classes increasingly moved to the periphery with the construction of nearly 300,000 suburban units after large plots of state land were provided for cooperatives and large private developers (2002, pp. 27).

The nearly half of urban Ankara occupied by *gecekondus* was not ignored by the rapid increase of the flow of capital invested into the built environment; after all, legal amnesties, though not entirely removing the ambiguities of property ownership, do introduce private ownership on state lands, which invites speculation into areas previously too uncertain to include within the space of (formal) capital accumulation. A wide range of transformations began to occur across *gecekondu* neighbourhoods: large construction firms transformed areas near the centre of the city into dense upper class settlements; small construction firms struck deals with residents to build multi-level apartment buildings on their land in return for a set number of housing units; owners transformed their own *gecekondu* into multi-level apartment buildings; and finally, urban

[10] Housing cooperatives in Turkey are built after people join together in a cooperative and work with various levels of government to secure funding—in the past usually through Emlak Bank—and land. An example is Kent-Koop, the cooperative involved in the creation of the Batikent project in Ankara.

renewal projects, based on public-private partnerships that included the owners, transformed large scale areas, with the owners receiving an agreed upon number of units depending on the size of their land *(*Dündar 2001, pp. 392-395). For new rural-urban migrants of low income, the rental of an existing *gecekondu* proved the only viable path to housing. Indeed, affordable legal housing continued to be elusive for those of modest or low income.

Recurrent economic crises forced successive governments to curtail the activities of TOKİ beginning in 1993 and for the initial enthusiasm for speculation in land to cool off considerably. Large Turkish construction firms refocused their attention to projects abroad as high inflation and high interest rates created an uncertain environment that saw a sharp drop in home values and little enthusiasm for the long turnover time of investment in the built environment. The commodification of land slowed even though state lands remained available and the piecemeal transformation of *gecekondus* staggered forwards. This all changed suddenly after the 2002 election, when the AKP achieved a stunning victory and "embarked on a major neoliberalization programme aimed at extending capitalist market relations and dynamics to a wider domain of social and economic life" (Ünsal and Kuyucu 2010, pp. 54). Immediately after their victory, the AKP declared that a re-tooled TOKİ would be central to their vision of turning the largest cities into a series of massive construction sites, with the acceptance of ambiguous property rights replaced by an earnest attempt to end illegal construction and extend the existing limits of commodification.

4.3. Re-tooling TOKİ under the AKP

After the election of November 3, 2002, the AKP wasted little time in getting to work: on January 1, the "Emergency Action Plan for Housing and Urban Development" was passed with the major aims of the regeneration of *gecekondu* settlements and the provision of mass housing for low and middle income groups; towards the latter aim, the plan set a five year goal of 250,000 housing units to be built through TOKİ by the end of 2007. As Erdoğan remarks

> Soon after we won the [2002] elections, we initiated the reorganization of TOKİ. At that time, despite having been founded in 1984, the institution

> remained dormant. We assigned it a new role and mission in the transformation process of Turkey. This gave the public housing and urbanization policies in the country a new direction under the auspices of the 'social state' (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 5).

What followed the Emergency Action Plan was a series of legal, administrative, and institutional reforms that substantially empowered municipalities and, to a greater extent, TOKİ, to the point that it is now at the centre of land and housing markets throughout Turkey. An empowered TOKİ is ensuring that the partial commodification of land is eclipsed by the private property model's presumption of a "clarity and determinacy in the definition of what property is" (Blomley 2004, pp. 14). The ambiguity that resulted from the operation of a moral economy of land through the developmental state is no longer tolerated; messy actualities are to be resolved through the imposition of private ownership and all of its taken for granted benefits.

Not the first, but perhaps one of the most illustrative actions, was the transfer of TOKİ from the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement to the Office of the Prime Minister in 2004, so that its work was now directly overseen by Erdoğan. More concretely, the Mass Housing Law was substantially amended by two new laws (no. 4966 and no. 5162) in 2003 and 2004 that created new functions previously absent from TOKİ. These functions include: "establishing companies related with [sic] housing sector or participating in those that have already been established"; "implementing or appointing others to implement profit oriented projects to ensure sources to the benefit of [TOKİ]"; "develop[ing] projects for the transformation of slum areas, and conduct[ing] construction and financing work with a view to renovating the slum areas"; drawing and altering plans for areas dedicated to mass housing projects; and expropriating property in transformation zones when necessary (TOKİ 2011b). Another law (no. 5273) transferred the portfolio held by the Urban Land Office to TOKİ, which contained 64.5 km² of state land at the time. This was the major step in what would make TOKİ the near "sole agency to regulate the zoning and sale of all state-owned urban land" (Ünsal and Kuyucu 2010, pp. 55). The result of these new functions was immediately apparent: TOKİ's share of housing construction went from 0.6 percent between 1984 and 2002, to 24.7 percent in 2004 and then settled around 12.1 percent in 2005 (Candan and Kolluoğlu 2008, pp. 17).

Simultaneous to the concentration of power in TOKİ, two laws enabled the devolution of power to the local level. The Law on Metropolitan Municipalities (no. 5216) was passed in 2004 and contained two significant changes in regards to the power of metropolitan municipalities: the size of metropolitan municipalities increased, with the boundaries of the province of Istanbul becoming the boundaries of the Metropolitan Municipality and the boundaries of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality extended to a radius of 50 km; also, the ease with which metropolitan municipalities could enter into partnerships with private companies increased. This was followed in 2005 by the Municipality Law (no. 5393), which authorized municipalities to "carry out urban renewal and development projects in order to rebuild and restore decaying parts of the city" and to "establish real estate investment partnerships." Another law, on the Conservation and Renewal of Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Assets (no. 5366), attempted to lay the framework for the implementation of regeneration projects in "derelict" areas of historical or cultural value through TOKİ or directly through partnerships with private firms.

4.4. Making the "social state" pay for itself

At its conception as a non-profit governmental administration, TOKİ's prospects for providing affordable housing were bound to the performance of the economy and the orientation of the government because funding was allocated from the public budget. The recurrent crises that came to characterize the 1990s led to a contraction in the activities of the administration as rapidly as the expansion of its activities in the 1980s. Dependence on the public budget left TOKİ vulnerable to austerity measures and only served to increase existing budget deficits at a time when successive Turkish governments were under pressure to reduce deficits. In order to resume the construction of mass housing on a significant scale, the AKP decided to transform the logic this non-profit governmental administration operates under. Bayraktar suggests that it is "not even worth pointing out that while TOKİ was founded as a public institution, it operates under private sector logic" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 11). One the one hand, this means that the administration uses "the management and financial practices of the corporate world to increase productivity and decrease bureaucracy" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 80); on the other, this means that while the administration may be characterized as a

"countrywide social responsibility project" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 85) it must also be driven by the pursuit of profit.

The former president of TOKİ categorizes the administration's work into three main groups: the first is mass housing, the second urban renewal and the transformation of "slums," and the third, a somewhat peculiar group, labelled as resource development projects and the development of property with infrastructure. The first two categories are described as "non-profit social projects"; however, Bayraktar suggests that in order for TOKİ "to be able to carry out these projects without being allocated a share of the budget, it is necessary [for the administration] to generate their own resources" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 10). In other words, in order for TOKİ to perform its functions as a non-profit governmental administration that provides affordable housing it must become profitable. Bayraktar is keen to downplay the administration's allocated share of the budget, but TOKİ is not entirely excluded from the public budget: "Its budget share is included in the Prime Minister's Office appropriation and is recorded as for TOKİ's use. This amount was more important in the earlier stages of expansion of TOKİ's activities and has fluctuated in recent years" (TOKİ 2011c, pp. 52). There does not appear to be publicly available data on the budget share allocated to the administration, but what is clear is that initial budget allocations were envisioned as more of a jump-start, with long-term revenue to be derived from the sale of affordable housing and short-term revenue to be derived from allocations of a different kind.

Moody's annual report on TOKİ justifies a positive outlook by suggesting that the administration's "ratings are supported by its solid sales performance, its positive financial results, which have benefitted from substantial asset expansion, and its limited financial debt, which reflects its robust self-financing capacity" (Moody's Investors Service 2012). This "self-financing capacity" has, as TOKİ boasts in its corporate profile, produced "a profit over the last six years, each year an improvement over the last" (2011a, pp. 77); though it is worth noting that it is impossible to verify these claims without the transparency that would come from the regular release of financial statements to the public. Nevertheless, it is a unique capacity that can be traced back to the "substantial increase in TOKİ's land portfolio since 2004" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 82) that was initiated by the transfer of 64.5 km² of state urban land. As I discussed at the end of the previous chapter, TOKİ also has access to Treasury land and can work with the

Treasury to ensure additional parcels are registered and put to use for housing. Thus, instead of allocating significant funding through the budget to finance TOKİ as a "social responsibility project," the AKP has allocated state lands to be privatized in a manner suitable to TOKİ's "private sector logic."

Besides actively seeking out additional state lands, the administration buys and sells private land, often through its real estate investment trust (REIT), Emlak Konut GYO. This particular REIT is the largest in Turkey and mainly involved in projects where land is tendered to the highest bidding construction firm—REITs in Turkey cannot do construction on their own projects—at a fixed share ratio. This tendering method is considered a major strength by investors and has proven to be highly profitable (HSBC Global Research 2011). With TOKİ as its parent company, Emlak Konut GYO has access to Treasury lands, with such lands transferred to TOKİ without cost and then sold to Emlak Konut GYO. TOKİ used to own a large minority in Emlak Konut GYO at 39 per cent, then owned an overwhelming 99.9 percent majority share, and now owns around 75 per cent after an initial public offering in 2010. From the REIT's public financial statements we know that in 2010 it purchased land from TOKİ at a cost of over TL 1.07 billion and sold land at a cost of over TL 80 million to TOKİ; in 2011, it purchased land from TOKİ at a cost of over TL 500 million, but sold no land to TOKİ (Emlak Konut GYO 2012, pp. 41). These land sales and purchases have occasionally raised the ire of opposition parties, with charges of corruption: in 2008, TOKİ sold a plot of land it purchased from Emlak Konut GYO that was originally appraised at TL 153.4 million for TL 603 million to Ziraat Bank, Halk Bank, and the Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency (BDDK)—a profit of 400 per cent (Today's Zaman 2010, October 15).

By the beginning of 2011, the administration's total urban land portfolio throughout Turkey had reached 110 km², with an estimated value of 9 billion TL (TOKİ 2011c, pp. 48). In the first eight months of 2011 alone, the administration received $1.2 billion (USD) from the sale of 368 separate parcels of land (Today's Zaman 2011, September 18). The preferred method of profiting from the sale of land is through public-private partnerships using a "revenue-sharing model" based on a build-sell approach where income, not units, is shared. In such partnerships, TOKİ puts out a tender for the construction of housing for high-income groups on a specific plot of land from its portfolio. The developer is selected through the use of a formula that selects the

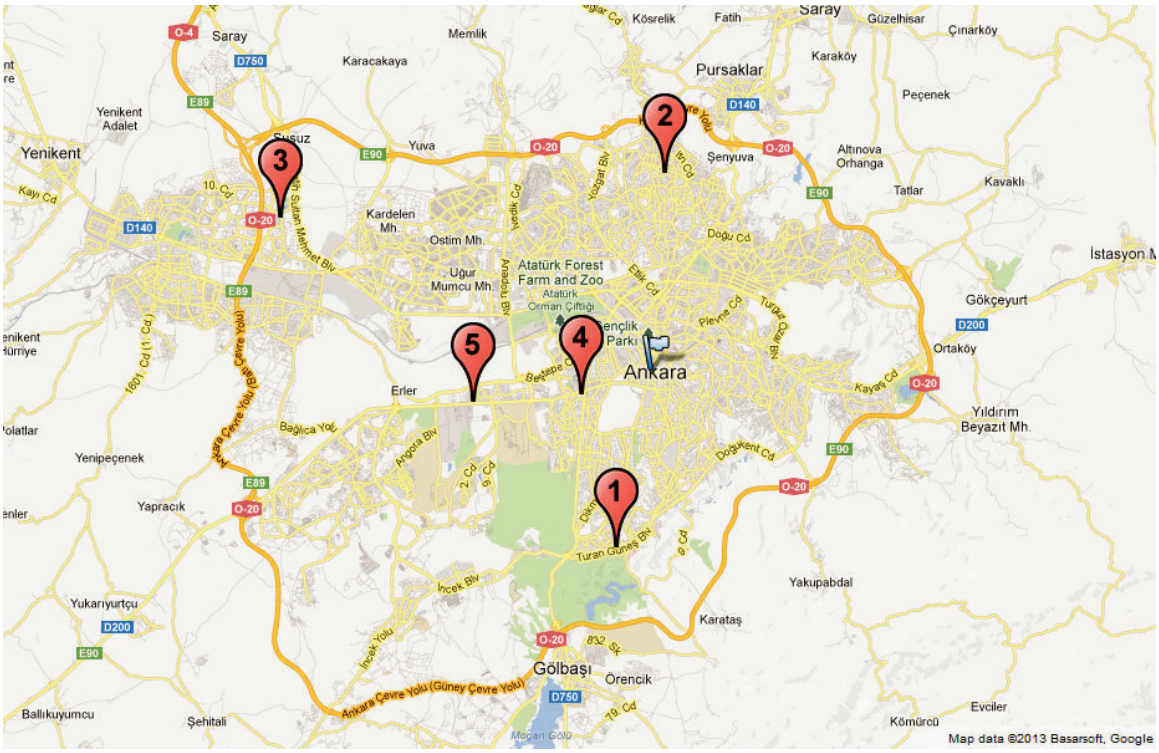

Figure 2. Revenue-sharing projects in Ankara

Table 2. Details of revenue-sharing projects in Ankara

Pin #	Project		Private Partner(s)	TOKİ's Share (TL)	Details
1	Park Oran		Mesa Mesken, Aktürk Yapı, & Emlak Pazarlama	304,500,000	Gated community consisting of 1832 units
2	Divan Konutlari		Kuzu Toplu Konut Construction	26,260,000	428 units of housing, plus a shopping mall
3	Eryaman stages	7	İntim Construction	9,472,000	168 units
		8-9	KC Group	57,985,235	1154 units & shopping mall
		10	KC Group	33,000,000	534 units
4	Next Level		Pasifik Construction	106,200,000	Includes offices, a shopping mall, & residences
5	Ankara Westgate		Türkerler Construction Inc.	397,000,000	Includes offices, residences, a hotel, & commercial area

Note: data for map and table obtained from "Procurement Information Statement" (TOKİ 2013a). Flag pin marks *Kizilay* as the centre of the city.

"highest possible income rate and income-share ratio in TOKİ's favour" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 82). This is the point at which TOKİ steps back and the developer assumes all responsibilities for the project, including financing, engineering, construction, marketing, and sales. Indeed, the only two resources that TOKİ claims to provide are land and its public guarantee, with the latter expected to increase marketing and sales capabilities. The benefits to TOKİ are straightforward: by making the developer "responsible for the entire cost of financing the investment," the administration is able to dedicate its capital to "needed social housing projects" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 82). Further, this provides added incentive to the developer to "commence and finish construction of the project in the shortest possible time" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 52). The benefits to private developers are two-fold: first, because the land comes from TOKİ's portfolio there are few delays that otherwise inhibit the land acquisition process; second, and perhaps most importantly, the land is below market value, which means that the developer can out-compete other developers on the cost of the homes. The land is considered below market value because TOKİ evaluates the land lower than what it would fetch on the open market—an option only available to the administration.

This latter point became highly contentious in 2008 when the global economic crisis hit the Turkish construction sector. Representatives of the sector charged that TOKİ had deviated from its original objective of providing homes for the lower and middle income groups (Today's Zaman 2008, June 28)—a point echoed by the president of the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB) (Hurriyet Daily News 2008, August 11) and pointed to the administration's intention to build holiday homes for foreigners along the coasts as evidence for this accusation (Hurriyet Daily News 2008, May 10). For its part, TOKİ admits that the provision of land below market value creates unfair competition, but believes that the open tender process "compensates this disadvantage to a certain extent" (TOKİ 2012). What is interesting about this conflict is that it did not seem to be a major issue before 2008, which can likely be traced back to TOKİ's role as a catalyst for the construction industry; however, given the likelihood of a "soft-landing" for the Turkish economy after nearly a decade of more or less sustained growth, the possibility of future conflict appears likely.

An interesting question arises over whether TOKİ avoids the common—and well documented (Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez 2002, pp. 552)—processes of the

socialization of risk and cost and the privatization of profits in development projects based on public-private partnerships? Though land investment is an inherently speculative activity, the vast majority of land in TOKİ's portfolio is from the state and has been transferred without any associated costs; therefore, even if the anticipated returns never actually materialize, the only part of the investment that is lost on TOKİ's end is the land—and even this, it is claimed, is not the case because in the event that sales are weak, the developer is obliged to provide the estimated total revenue in the original contract. The private developer is responsible for securing the financing and is responsible in the event that the project proves merely speculative instead of profitable. From this it would appear that TOKİ may actually escape these common processes as risk and cost are privatized and profits are both privatized and socialized. This is certainly the narrative that TOKİ tries to advance, with the social returns of the projects emphasized repeatedly; the privatization of state land is necessary in order for the self-financing of mass housing projects. Recent history has again demonstrated that in the event of a crisis that cannot be contained, the risk and cost is ultimately borne by the state (read: the public). Whether this recent history would ever be repeated in Turkey is merely conjecture; however, the social returns from TOKİ's projects for high-income groups are dubious for more concrete reasons like the appearance of new forms of spatial segregation and elite consumption practices, as a brief examination of the privatization of the former TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanlari (Turkish Grand National Assembly Deputy Residences) development into Park Oran and the Panora Shopping Centre demonstrate.

4.5. From housing for politicians to housing and shopping for the affluent

Shortly after the 2002 election, Erdoğan announced his intentions to privatize the site of TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanlari under the slogan "Deputies shall live within the public." The deputy residences was a project initiated in 1984 when deputies demanded housing near the city centre and originally consisted of 400 triplex units until the addition of 150 housing units in two high-rise towers in 1996. Throughout their short existence, the deputy residences were resented by many citizens because they were built for politicians who could, for the most part, afford housing at a time when adequate

affordable housing remained scarce for the average citizen. Initially, the site was transferred to the GDNP and partitioned into five separate parcels to be sold separately; these parcels would eventually become a hotel, the Panora Shopping Centre, a business centre, the two existing high-rise towers, and the Park Oran gated community. After a failure of the original tender, the remaining parcels of the site were transferred to TOKİ and a tender was initiated that was eventually secured by a joint venture consisting of Mesa Mesken, Aktürk Yapı, and Emlak Pazarlama. The administration's share of the partnership for Park Oran was set at TL 304.5 million or 42 per cent, but was expected to increase further to over TL 400 million or 55 per cent once the construction of a business centre was included in the contract (Hurriyet Daily News 2007, April 26). On February 10, 2007, the destruction of the 400 deputy residences and the construction of the 1832 units of Park Oran spread out across 17 buildings began and the Panora Shopping Centre officially opened on November 22 of the same year.

In an unpublished thesis, Evrim Özlem Kale compares TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanlari with Park Oran and suggests that the two projects can be "regarded as being realized within the agenda of different socio-economic dynamics" (2008, pp. 77). Some of the differences that Kale underlines are particularly telling. The architect of the deputy residences, Behruz Çinici, was strongly influenced by the state architecture approach of Clemens Holzmeister, designer of the Turkish Grand National Assembly building, and attempted to create a low density neighbourhood that tried "to reproduce the notion of the street" (2008, pp. 91). This included a post office, bank, administrative office, hair salon, primary school, club house, small amphitheatre, and a recreational area that contained sport facilities and green space for a park. While concerns for the safety of the deputies led to the construction of two guarded entrances, every citizen had the right to enter the neighbourhood after passing through the guarded entrances and the common spaces were considered public spaces; however, few citizens would actually care to access these spaces given that they were public largely only in name.

While many celebrated the closing of TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanlari and its eventual demolition, any semblance of public space has disappeared as we witness reflections of Mike Davis's scathing indictment of contemporary Los Angeles: efforts to ensure the "seamless continuum of middle-class work, consumption and recreation" (1990, pp. 231). Park Oran is a gated community whose design is based on an

"introverted concept for further segregation of the site from its urban surroundings" (2008, pp. 106). The low-density housing for politicians has been replaced by high-density luxury condo units intended to appeal to affluent professionals. The recreational space of the deputy residences has been replaced by the most luxurious shopping mall in Ankara: Panora Shopping Centre. Kale suggests that human interaction in the former open air recreational area has been substituted by an "enclosed shopping mall where every interaction aims to facilitate consumption" (2008, pp. 97). Indeed, even though Panora and Park Oran were separately designed, with the former finished shortly after construction on the latter began, the two appear to be seamlessly integrated.

Figure 3. Panora and Park Oran

Note: author's photos.

Unlike the popular ANKAmall, which is located along the existing metro line, Panora is not easily accessible because it is a 5-10 minute walk—without a proper sidewalk—away from where the buses and dolmuş (Turkish mini-buses) stop, which

makes private automobiles or taxis the preferred way to arrive at the mall. ANKAmall and Panora are just two of the twenty-eight shopping centres built in Ankara by 2010, which total 215 m² of floor space per 1000 people—more than the Turkish average (82 m²) and higher than any European city (Batuman 2013, pp. 584). After passing through the security check-point just inside the entrance of Panora—a common feature in Turkish shopping malls—you unknowingly step onto a tile rendering of a sixteenth century map of the world created by Ottoman naval commander and cartographer Piri Reis. From the second and third floors, the full image of the map comes into view and reveals the startling accuracy of an ancient depiction of the world. Wandering around the more than 180 luxury stores, one cannot avoid stumbling upon the two massive aquariums that are home to sharks and other various kinds of ocean life. The central dome of the shopping centre bears a striking resemblance to a Faberge Egg and is intended to allow natural light to shine through to create the impression that the luxury brands are displayed on a kind of elegant street; in this way it is similar to Çinici's attempt to "reproduce the notion of the street."

Questions can be raised over what kind of social returns emanate from the sale of TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanlari? Erdoğan states that TOKİ is "changing the face of our cities" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 5), but to whose cities is he really referring? The former deputy residences have been opened to the affluent with the construction of Park Oran and Panora, but the less affluent are excluded through the gates of the former and the relative inaccessibility and expense of the latter. The pretence of building inclusive cities begins to lose traction as this case demonstrates growing spatial segregation, not just in where the classes live, but also in where they shop. Indeed, given what Feyzan Erkip underlines as the "investment potential" of gated communities (2010, pp. 100)—a point often emphasized in advertisements—TOKİ is likely to maximize profits by promoting such segregation. The promised profits from the sale are evident, but the social returns from this part of the whole are dubious at best. The only real apparent social return is the provision of funding for mass housing, a return based on a troubling trade-off.

4.6. The evolution of urban transformation projects in Ankara

Urban transformation projects originated in Ankara in the late 1980s—well before such projects became part of TOKİ's various undertakings—with the Dikmen Valley project in Çankaya, the most prestigious area in Ankara where the residences of the president and prime minister are located, along with the supreme court, embassies, and various cultural centres. The transformation of Dikmen Valley was envisioned, as Pinar Türker-Devecigil (2005) details, as a project to be completed in five implementation zones that would finance itself and even be profitable without the contribution of public funding due to an increase in density and the addition of commercial areas. In the first thirteen years that Türker-Devecigil details, only the first and second zones were completed; construction only began on the fourth and fifth zones in 2006. The stakeholders in this project included the Municipality of Çankaya, a public-private development corporation created for the project called Metropol İmar Inc. Co., *gecekondu* owners, and landowners—note the absence of renters as stakeholders. Similar to earlier *gecekondu* "improvement plans," the size of the plot of land owned determined how many units a landowner received in return for participating, but unlike in earlier plans, those who owned their home without title to the land itself were guaranteed a unit in the new development. Legal battles over expropriation values—the amount to be received for the land, home, or both—and the eventual court decision to increase these values, along with the economic crises of the 1990s and the changing political situation, led to "several modifications of land use, development rights, design principles, and value shares" (Türker-Devecigil 2005, pp. 223): the area of land dedicated to housing increased to maintain profitability for all stakeholders, while the protection of the valley—an initial goal given the importance of the valley as an air circulation corridor and water basin—was forced to give way to profits.

The majority of urban transformation projects in Ankara[11], beyond the piecemeal agreements between individual landowners and small contractors, are public-private partnerships that include the metropolitan municipality and/or a local municipality. For

[11] For a detailed list of urban transformation projects in Ankara see Güzey (2009, pp. 32-33).

some *gecekondu* owners, urban transformation projects can be rather lucrative, particularly if their *gecekondu* is centrally located; however, the further *gecekondus* are situated from the city centre, the less likely large developers will be willing to participate in urban transformation projects. In other words, large private developers participate in urban transformation projects where a significant "rent gap" (Smith 1996) exists because potential ground rent is not being fully realized under current property values and land uses. *Gecekondu* owners may resist urban transformation projects when they expect to gain two to three housing units in return for their *gecekondus* (Dündar 2001), but such gains are only likely to be secured in central areas. A recent report from GYODER underscores that the "income generated by the urban transformation should be as much as the cost of the project" and that the public sector should "offer encouraging incentives" to increase the private sector's participation, which may include a shift in the number of units divided up between owners and developers (Gürlesel 2012, pp. 32-33). Thus, the private sector recognizes the potential for profit in urban transformation projects—5.3 million flats are expected to be included in urban transformation projects across Turkey (Gürlesel 2012, pp. 39)—but is only willing to take the lead under conditions where the public sector provides the right incentives and *gecekondu* owners receive less in return.

In areas where the "rent-gap" is smaller, TOKİ undertakes the primary role in the urban transformation process. This is part of what TOKİ means when it says that the "private sector, while capable and ambitious, naturally seeks projects with the greatest profit margin...TOKİ is working to fill this gap between what the private sector can do and the needs of Turkish citizens" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 7). An example is the North Ankara Entrance Urban Renewal Development Project, which is impossible to miss when one arrives at Esenboğa Airport because it is on the drive to the centre of Ankara. Indeed, Bülent Batuman (2012) suggests that since "the road to the airport was defined as a gateway to the capital city, the project was presented as a national undertaking." Bayraktar alludes to this when he remarks that the "perception of representatives of foreign states will change in a positive manner when they see the improvements in the residence projects of Turkey in their visits to our country" (Hurriyet Daily News 2008, July 18). With a 2004 law (no. 5104), TOKİ and the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara were authorized to transform the northern approach to Ankara and together created the

Metropolitan Municipality Construction, Real Estate and Project Co. Inc. (TOBAŞ) as a consultant and supervisor for the project; thus, a clear legislative framework was established in contrast to earlier projects, like Dikmen Valley, which stalled without such a framework in place.

Table 3. North Ankara Entrance Urban Renewal Project sections

Section Number	Number of Units	Value of Tender (TL)	Construction firm(s)
1	720	47,100,000	Toprak Yapi Construction & Özoğuz Construction Co.
2	755	47,247,613	Türkerler Construction Inc. (Türkerler Holding Inc.)
3	540	10,700,000	Aksu Construction Inc.
4	690	45,500,000	Gestaş Construction Trade and Industry Co. Inc. & Hona Group Construction Inc.
5	697	42,444,000	Toprak Yapi Construction & Özoğuz Construction Co.
6	574	39,435,000	İlerleyen Yapi Construction & İnta Engineering Architecture Trade Co. Ltd.
7	186	11, 244,000	Özoğuz Construction Co.
8	477	30,344,000	Dağsan Construction & Özoğuz Construction Co.
9	587	38,744,000	Dağsan Construction & Özoğuz Construction Co.
10	824	51,150,000	Can Construction Inc.
11	610	38,187,079	Türkerler Construction Inc. (Türkerler Holding Inc.)
12	533	40,850,000	Can Construction Inc.
14	137	8,970,000	Mescioğlu Construction
15	186	16,744,000	Gestaş Construction Trade and Industry Co. Inc. & Ankara Beton Inc.
16	512	38,253,000	Türkerler Construction Inc. (Türkerler Holding Inc.)
18	124	10,010,000	Gestaş Construction Trade and Industry Co. Inc. & Ankara Beton Inc.

Note: table data obtained from “Procurement Information Statement” (TOKİ 2013a).

The Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara and TOKİ each have a 49 per cent stake in TOBAŞ; however, the actual construction is arranged through tenders with numerous construction companies. The project is massive, spreading out across nearly 14 km² and divided into sixteen sections that straddle the municipalities of Keçiören, Pursaklar,

and Altindağ, with around 18,000 units eventually planned ranging from sizes of 80 m² to 120 m² intended for around 70,000 inhabitants. Batuman (2012) suggests that the removal of the 30,000 original inhabitants and the demolition of their housing was a rather peaceful process, with rental aid provided during the construction phase of the project; however, some of the initial good will has partly evaporated as the project has not been completed as swiftly as promised. As is typical in urban transformation projects, those "with title to their land will be given new housing and those without title, will be settled in social housing not far from their original homes" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 15)—in this case, 4000 residences were built for this purpose in Pursaklar Karacaören, with former renters offered the opportunity to pay the cost over 15 years (Hurriyet Daily News 2008, July 18). Indeed, tenants are given the opportunity to purchase a home at a subsidized rate, but have little say in the process. In 2009, the North Ankara Entrance Urban Renewal Development Project was selected as one of the "Good Practices" projects for the year 2009 by the UN Habitat Business Award Selection Committee, which "aims to recognize and publicize outstanding achievements contributing to sustainable urbanization through corporate responsible practices" (UN Habitat 2009, July 9).

Table 4. Pursaklar Karacaören Project sections

Section Number	Number of Units	Value of Tender (TL)	Construction Firm(s)
1	480	12,879,000	Mehmet Çelik Construction (Mehmet Çelik Companies Group)
2	496	13,416,000	Kalyon Construction Industry and Trade Joint Stock Co. (Kalyon Group)
3	480	20,275,000	Nuhoğlu Construction
4	1008	49,443,000	İlsan Construction Industry and Trade Ltd. Co. & İlci Construction Industry and Trade Ltd. Co. (Both part of İlci Holding Group)

Note: table data obtained from "Procurement Information Statement" (TOKİ 2013a).

Urban transformation processes in Ankara raise several critical questions that cannot be adequately answered within the scope of this chapter, but can be briefly addressed. After the 1960s, the property relations of *gecekondus* began to change,

when “some of the newcomers had to become tenants of the *gecekondu* owners who had already constructed their second/third *gecekondu* in order to get rental income” (Türker-Devecigil 2005, pp. 214). TOKİ underscores that throughout a transformation process, “great significance is attached to the participation of all the social actors of the transformation areas, the persuasion and voluntary participation of all the citizens in those regions” (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 46). Indeed, participation has been emphasized in most of the urban transformation projects; however, the priority placed on determining the rightful owners largely excludes renters from meaningful participation. This draws attention to Davis’s key point that titling “accelerates social differentiation...and does nothing to aid renters” (2006, pp. 80). Renters may be offered the opportunity to purchase a new home, but whether they can afford these new homes is another issue. Adaman and Keyder’s (2006, pp. 70-71) in-depth research on the “slum areas” of Turkey emphasizes that the multitude of ways poverty is manifested in their participants’ lives was at the centre of almost all conversations; participants stressed that their neighbours and themselves are usually employed, but in low-paid jobs and experience frequent periods without work. The average monthly expenditure of a participant’s household in Ankara was 543 TL and 82 per cent of participants admitted to taking on debt to satisfy the primary needs of the household (2006, pp. 104-105). Another study suggests that 91 per cent of the families that purchase a home from TOKİ have a steady job with regular income (cited in Yağci 2009, pp. 96). Titling may eventually prove lucrative for some or beneficial to others at the same time as demonstrating the growing gap among the urban poor. Offering poor people the opportunity to purchase a home does not address their underlying poverty, just as “waving the magic wand of land-titling” (Davis 2006, pp. 80) does not provide the formula for instant wealth for all; it provides the formula for commodification and growing inequality. This leads me to question whether the emphasis on determining the rightful owners is beneficial or ultimately destructive? Does this emphasis narrow opportunity for *gecekondu* owners and renters to work together towards a more equitable and just future in the communities they have often built together?

While *gecekondu* owners who do not live in areas where a large “rent gap” exists may be disappointed in what they receive in return for the land their home is built on, there is an upside: the likelihood of gentrification and its usual outcome, displacement, is

significantly lower (Güzey 2009). Tom Slater (2009) has convincingly shown that the celebration of gentrification tends to involve the denial of displacement or praise for the redistributive benefits of gentrification for those who are displaced. At an urban transformation project in Çankaya, Güzey determined that within three years, "89.5% of the then-present population in Koza Street and 93.3% of the then-present population in Küpe Street deserted the area" (2009, pp. 31). In the Dikmen Valley transformation project, "the rights-holders occupied 49 per cent of the total social housing units completed. In 2003, this ratio decreased to 39 per cent" (Türker-Devecigil 2005, pp. 224). No doubt, social polarization between the class of existing residents and the class of new arrivals is a major contributor to displacement as Türker-Devecigil makes clear in the case of Dikmen Valley. We should recognize that the displacement of individuals ultimately includes the displacement of communities: as the original inhabitants disappear, the community that they created disappears as well, which can create an impetus for more residents to follow in the footsteps of their departing neighbours. However, this should be tempered somewhat by the importance Turkish culture attaches to securing a future for the next generation through housing, which can only be accomplished by selling any existing unit(s) and buying several cheaper units elsewhere. Municipalities may celebrate the success of urban transformation projects, but what they are often celebrating is the success of gentrification, albeit a gentrification process that does not always produce clear winners and losers. If a significant number of original residents are displaced—for any number of reasons—by an urban transformation project, but some have presumably secured a future for themselves and/or their children, should this project be considered a success? Is this what inclusive cities are supposed to look like?

4.7. The formalization of homeownership

"Facing a formidable variety of housing challenges, TOKİ developed a holistic approach to eliminate Turkey's housing problems by offering viable solutions for low and middle-income Turkish citizens" (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 42). This approach involves the use of TOKİ's land portfolio to subsidize the cost of mass housing projects and then offering units in these projects to eligible applicants who obtain a mortgage loan through the administration. To be eligible for mass housing, an applicant must meet five basic

requirements: “They cannot own a home, they cannot have previously obtained a housing loan from the Administration, they must reside in the province where the project is being built, they are required to submit their national ID and tax registration numbers and some projects required [sic] they submit official evidence they have a level of income that qualifies them for housing” (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 44). These eligible applicants are portrayed as individuals who “cannot own a housing unit under the existing market conditions” (TOKİ 2011c, pp. 18). In other words, eligible applicants are those who wish to own their own homes, but are excluded due to being unable to qualify for a traditional mortgage from a bank.

The emphasis placed on ownership in TOKİ’s mass housing projects is actually absent from the current constitution—though not necessarily incompatible—where articles 56 and 57 set down the obligations of the state to “meet the needs of housing.” The decision to “meet the needs of housing” for those excluded from traditional mortgages by providing TOKİ mortgages for homeownership is not the inevitable outcome of the needs and concerns of Turkish citizens; it is the outcome of a deliberate policy to turn low and middle income Turkish citizens into unambiguously legal homeowners, just like citizens with higher incomes. Indeed, the desire for homeownership cannot be taken for granted as some inherent characteristic of human beings that has existed for time immemorial; as Harvey suggests in reference to the United States, homeownership “may be a deeply held cultural value...but cultural values of this sort always flourish best when promoted and subsidized by state policies” (Harvey 2011, pp. 15). In fact, even the authors of a recent study on the evolution of homeownership rates in several OECD states suggest that the rise in homeownership rates in many of these states is likely explained by public policy decisions that have made homeownership more attractive than renting (Andrews and Sanchez 2011). One of the largely unchallenged values of the ownership model that is taken for granted is the future earning power of property, a feature that makes property ownership attractive across the classes, regardless of social policy towards homeownership.

The most recent available data from the Turkish Statistical Institute (2000) on homeownership rates in Turkey shows that 68.3% of Turkish households owned their own dwelling and in Ankara that number is lower at 58.7% of households; thus, the overall homeownership rate in Turkey is comparable to the United States. The political

reasons for facilitating homeownership through *gecekondu* building in earlier years are well documented; the political reasons for the current emphasis on homeownership under the AKP are numerous. Keyder writes that inequality in Turkey has increased since the beginning of neoliberalization with the incorporation of "one small segment of the population into the new dynamics provided by the world economy, while the majority witnessed and reacted to this incorporation without partaking in its material benefits" (1999, pp. 23). The most important reason for emphasizing homeownership is to offer those excluded from a share in the material benefits, to borrow Marcie J. Patton's phrase, "a stake in the neoliberal order" (2009, pp. 444). This is conveniently combined with creating a more attractive environment for the investment of capital[12] by simultaneously removing *gecekondus*—the stake offered in the former Kemalist developmental order—and creating a legal successor, which is linked to a belief in the ability of housing construction to propel the economy. Such policies are intentionally reminiscent of Harvey's description of how the United States "killed two birds with one stone" after the Second World War: "revive the economy through massive housing construction and suburbanization and co-opt the better paid workers into conservative politics by homeownership" (2011, pp. 16). There is another upside: widening inequality can be downplayed by high rates of homeownership. Of course, inequality cannot be erased by homeownership, but it can be particularly effective in concealing inequality in plain sight. In other words, widespread homeownership can support the appearance of formal equality—"we are all property owners"—even though substantive inequality remains pervasive; this is one of the important points that emerges in Margaret Garb's (2005) excellent study of homeownership in the neighbourhoods of late nineteenth/early twentieth century Chicago. While all actors of the "growth machine" support homeownership, there is emerging disagreement on how to achieve this goal.

Mortgages were relatively rare in Turkey before the AKP was first elected: the economic situation was considered too unstable to secure a mortgage given the likelihood of unpredictable interest rates. Thus, Turkish citizens across the income

[12] In late 2012, Fitch upgraded Turkey's rating to investment grade, which is likely to bolster Turkey's attractiveness to foreign investors (Today's Zaman, 5 November 2012). The Association of Foreign Investors in Real Estate's (AFIRE) 2013 annual survey demonstrates that Turkey is third among emerging markets and fourth among best opportunities for capital appreciation (AFIRE 2013).

spectrum generally did not obtain mortgages. This has slowly began to change, particularly since 2007 when the AKP passed what is popularly known as the "mortgage law" (no. 5582) in order to further growth in the housing market; to this end, the law forms a legal basis for the creation of a "secondary market": the securitization of mortgages. In fact, the infancy of the "secondary market" is likely one of the reasons that Turkey escaped the worst of the global economic crisis, but that has not stopped Standard and Poor's from suggesting that Turkey's housing boom could be funded by growth in this "secondary market" (2012, April 30). There was debate over whether the law should provide incentives, such as deductions from income tax for interest payable on mortgage loans, but the government decided to exclude such incentives using the reason that other states warned against the inclusion of such incentives (Today's Zaman 2007, February 20). Supporters argued that without the incentive section it will be more difficult for people of lower incomes to obtain mortgages.

Given that GYODER predicts the fastest growth in housing demand from the "medium income group," the fact that mortgages remain inaccessible for many is an impediment to further growth in private sector housing (Gürlesel 2012, pp. 44). To expand the accessibility of mortgages—and thus growth in housing construction—GYODER argues that it is necessary to ensure the transformation of TOKİ from an administration involved in the actual production of houses to a "Housing Financing Fund Organization," with any remaining production limited to affordable housing for low income people (Gürlesel 2012, pp. 52). This echoes the recommendations of an earlier GYODER sponsored report from the Affordable Housing Institute that suggests TOKİ shift from housing production to housing financing, similar to Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac in the United States (GYODER 2009). This clearly conflicts with TOKİ's goal of providing 5-10% of the housing needed across the country (TOKİ 2011a, pp. 31). A two-tier mortgage market is emerging, where those who can access a traditional bank mortgage do just that and those who are unable to secure a traditional mortgage must turn to TOKİ, but this clearly is not the outcome favoured by every actor in the "growth machine." Would Park Eymir or the Güdül project, both of which are discussed below, be constructed if TOKİ did not take the lead on housing for middle and lower income people? Possibly the former would be built, but the sheer volume of projects creates the impression that TOKİ is everywhere and, by extension, the social state of the AKP.

4.8. Distance and the ubiquitous quality of TOKİ in Ankara

With more than 200 projects in Ankara either complete or ongoing, it is difficult not to get the sense that TOKİ is everywhere. Sometimes this ubiquity is intentionally emphasized, such as with the North Ankara Entrance Urban Renewal Development Project, and other times this ubiquity is partially concealed by the name of other construction companies on the advertisements for a new luxury development like Park Oran. Often, TOKİ's ubiquitous quality is achieved through its less promoted projects, like schools, hospitals or mosques, which are a consistent reminder of the efficacy and reach of the social state under the AKP. Such infrastructure is often built to accompany the administration's primary objective, mass housing projects, which are generally recognizable by the austere design of multiple colour coordinated towers jutting skywards, standing in sharp contrast to the desolate fields of the surrounding areas. This contrast is present for a simple reason: mass housing projects are generally constructed on vacant state lands a great distance from the centre of Ankara. If seeing the design and contrast of these buildings is not enough to observe their origin then the nearly obligatory TOKİ signage that adorns the most outwardly facing side will settle any questions of their origin.

In European fashion, Ankara is surrounded by a highway ring-road; however, the highway does not necessarily demarcate the centre from peripheral areas, with many areas inside the ring considered relatively distant and recent suburbs. What is interesting about this highway ring and its relation to mass housing projects in Turkey is that most of these projects are situated outside of the ring, with few exceptions to this point. This provides an idea of the distance the majority of mass housing sites in Ankara exist from *Kizilay*, the city centre. The Park Eymir TOKİ project in Gölbaşi is typical in this regard as it is situated over 22 km by car from the city centre. A TOKİ project manager described Park Eymir as "one of the standard projects. The reason it was done is that they already had the land that is needed there and because the city is already growing in that direction. It was the feasible and logical thing to do" (Interview, June 2012). In other words, the process of urban sprawl coinciding with the availability of land in the area made it an ideal project. Built in seven stages by several different construction firms, the project contains several schools, markets, mosques, recreation

areas, and even a hospital, and appears as a kind of self contained town aimed at middle income families. On the other side of the relatively nearby Mogan Lake are more affluent suburbs of single detached homes that provide, like Park Eymir, the impression of a sudden terminus of the built environment created by the vast open fields that spread out into the distant rolling hills marked by only a few scattered buildings and power lines.

Table 5. The Park Eymir Project stages

Stage Number	Number of Units	Value of Tender (TL)	Construction Firm(s)
1	664	36,460,000	YSE Building Industry and Trade Joint Stock Company (Çelikler Holdings)
2	984	57,835,000	ÖZKAR Construction (ÖZKAR Group)
3	456	42,990,000	Ilgin Construction
4	600	35,335,000	ÖZKAR Construction (ÖZKAR Group)
5	1062	72,335,000	ÖZKAR Construction (ÖZKAR Group)
6	744	41,625,000	YP Construction Co. Inc. & Koçoğlu Construction Company
7	756	43,150,000	Eryapı Industry and Trade Co. Ltd. (Koçoğlu Group)

Note: table data obtained from “Procurement Information Statement” (TOKİ 2013a).

Figure 4 West and east view at Park Eymir

Note: author’s photos

The distance of these and other suburbs has likely been a contributing factor in the recent rapid rise in the ownership of cars in Ankara: “The number of private cars

increased 20% between 2005 and 2009 and reached 887,703, which corresponded to 191 private cars per 1000 persons in Ankara, the highest among Turkish cities" (Batuman 2013, pp. 584).

If the number of mass housing projects built even further away than Park Eymir are taken into consideration then the future of mass housing in Ankara is increasingly distant from the city centre; however, the continued expansion of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality is ensuring that distance from the city centre does not equate to distance from the Metropolitan Municipality. Given the likelihood that it will soon join the Metropolitan Municipality and its recently constructed TOKİ project, Güdül emerges as an appealing case study for mass housing in Ankara.

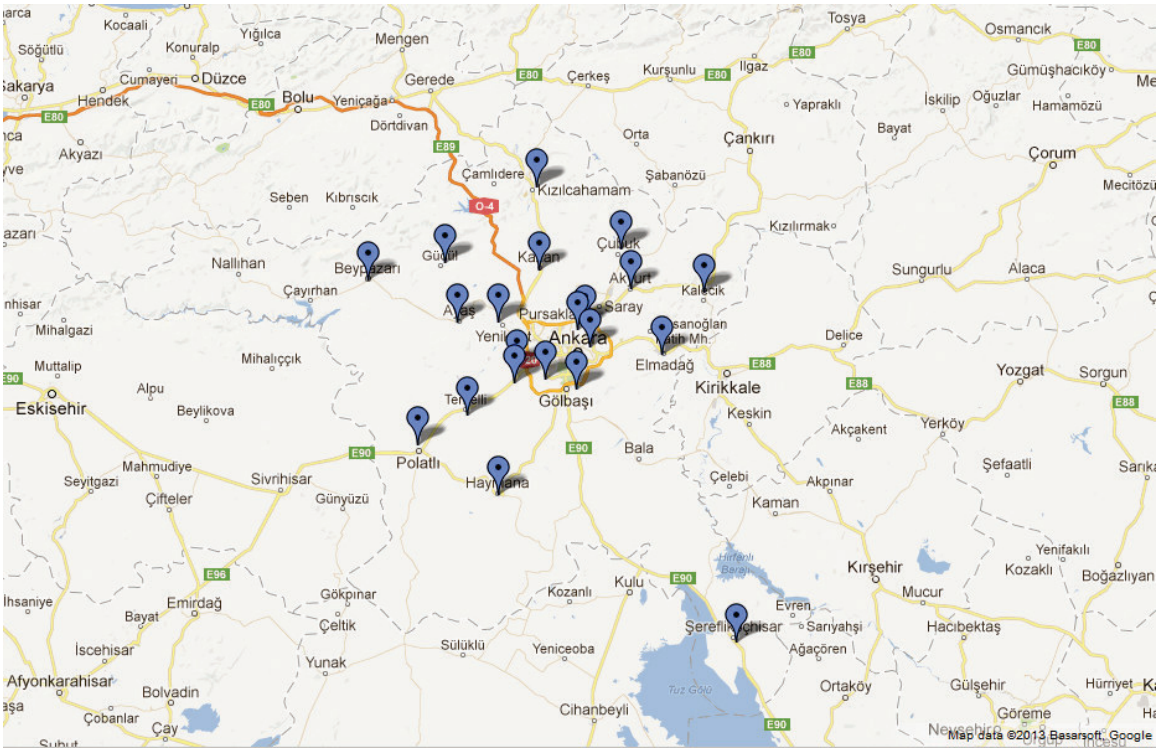

Figure 5. Mass housing projects in Ankara

Note: data for map above and table below obtained from "Ankara Province Public Housing Applications" (TOKİ 2013b).

Table 6. Mass housing projects in Ankara

Project	Details
Akyurt	336 housing units, plus a primary school and business centre
Ayaş	288 housing units, plus a business centre, mosque, and primary school
Beypazari	256 housing units, plus a business centre
Çubuk	484 housing units, plus a business centre, social facilities, and primary school
Elmadağ	528 housing units, plus a nursery, primary school, business centre, and mosque
Gölbaşi Incek	1059 housing units, plus social facilities
Gölbaşi Örencik (Park Eymir)	7 stages containing 5266 housing units, plus 2 business centres, 2 mosques, 2 primary schools, 1 secondary school, 1 hospital, 1 nursery, and 1 gymnasium
Güdül	144 housing units, plus business centre
Haymana	196 housing units, plus business centre and mosque
Kalecik	112 housing units, plus business centre
Kazan	504 housing units, plus business centre, primary school, and mosque
Keçiören	440 housing units, plus a business centre and mosque
Kizilcahamam	298 housing units, plus a business centre and mosque
North Ankara Project	Several sections of the urban transformation project are classified as mass housing, including sections 8,9,10,12, and 14
Mamak	Part of an urban transformation project that includes additional housing. 3 stages (2 stages with 1 section and 1 stage with 2 sections) containing 2878 units of housing, plus 3 primary schools, 3 mosques, 1 Secondary school, and 1 nursery, and 1 trade centre
Polatli	2 stages containing 1040 housing units, plus a primary school, business centre, nursery, mosque, and hospital
Şereflikoçhisar	512 housing units, plus a primary school, nursery, business centre, hospital, and mosque
Sincan-Yenikent	3 stages containing 2788 housing units (additional facilities in separate tenders)
Sincan-Yenikent (Ortapınar)	2 stages containing 747 housing units, plus a hospital, library, mosque, primary school, secondary school, gymnasium, nursery, and business centre
Temelli	2 stages containing 720 housing units, plus a primary school, hospital, and mosque
Yapracik	14 stages containing 9582 housing units (additional facilities in separate tenders)
Yukari Yurtçu	2 stages (stage 1 has five sections, stage 2 has 1 section) containing 4852 housing units, plus 4 business centres, 2 mosques, 2 nurseries, 1 hospital, 1 primary school, 1 secondary school, 1 fitness centre, and 1 library

4.9. Güdül case study

Güdül is a district and small rural town approximately 105 km north-west by car from Ankara city centre; the TOKİ project is situated roughly 2 km away on the outskirts of the town near the village of Kamanlar. The TOKİ project in Güdül was completed in late April 2012 by Güryapi Construction; however, local rumour suggests that the construction firm that won the original tender abandoned the project in a half completed state after going bankrupt. At just 144 units spread out over nine separate buildings, the Güdül project was unlikely an appealing tender; thus, it was combined with a separate tender for a larger project in the neighbouring province of Çankırı in the town of Çerkeş for a total cost of TL 9.6 million. The project was aimed towards the lower income group, which means that potential buyers would have to demonstrate that they fall within this group, but it is possible that not all current residents meet the low income requirement given the likelihood of "poaching" by people with incomes above this requirement through an informal secondary market that often emerges wherever TOKİ builds mass housing. Owners pay around TL 275 per month plus TL 150 for utilities and fees over a 15 year term, with any increases linked to a rise in the salaries of government employees. The cost per month varies depending on which of the four floors the unit is on, with the third and second floors slightly more expensive than the fourth and first floors. However low the cost may be there will always be a significant number of people who struggle to make the monthly payments or are altogether unable to scrape enough money together. Some of those who struggle will get by through neighbourly relationships and generosity, while others will move to more affordable accommodations. Still others will be able to afford the payments, but find the benefits of a single detached home more appealing; after all, many Turkish people have an enduring relationship with the garden plots they proudly cultivate and are unlikely to divorce themselves from their gardens without the forces of expediency demanding it. Living in mass housing comes with regulations that include the absence of personal garden plots and this may be too burdensome for some avid gardeners to accept.

Figure 6. Güdül TOKİ project from a distance

Note: author's image.

The exterior of the nine buildings are rather plain in appearance: a straightforward design that features sloped tile roofs, diminutive balconies, no windows on the sides, and neutral colours on rough concrete; however, this simplicity lends itself to the apparent sturdiness and durability of the buildings that some residents appreciate. These desirable characteristics are derived from the use of the tunnel-form system, "an industrialized construction technique in which structural walls and slabs are cast (*in situ*) simultaneously using steel forms composed of vertical and horizontal panels set at right angles" (Kalkan and Yüksel 2008, pp. 601). The tunnel-form system is widely used in projects throughout Turkey due to advantages that range from speed (an entire floor can be cast in a single pour) to superior performance in seismically active areas. The common areas of the buildings serve only for the retrieval of mail and the shepherding of residents up the stairway and into their apartments. The units themselves can best be described as spartan: a narrow hallway throughout connects to a modest kitchen near the entrance, a comfortably sized living room near the kitchen, two basic bedrooms, and two separate bathrooms—one with full facilities and the other contains only a squat toilet. The main attraction of the units, besides the apparent permanence of the construction, is the central heating system, which is a luxury in a village where most

homes rely on less reliable means of heating like coal burning stoves. Indeed, the central heating system in the nine TOKİ buildings is the first instance of such technology in Güdül and is greatly appreciated by the residents.

The success of the TOKİ project in Güdül in terms of attracting residents and creating new homeowners is evident in the number of signs that advertise rental units in the town. Single detached homes for rent throughout Güdül sit empty, with their owners unable to attract new tenants now that former tenants have become homeowners through TOKİ. Thus, one of the intended outcomes of creating new homeowners is emptying some of the rental homes in the surrounding towns and villages of inhabitants; an unintended consequence is that the town of Güdül is partially emptied. The emptying will likely be ongoing as Güdül continues to grey, with the proportion of elderly people steadily increasing. Before the TOKİ project was built, the land the project sits on sat "idle"; now some of the rental homes in the surrounding area sit idle. As a local official remarked, "If agricultural land is not becoming productive then it simply remains idle" and went on to add, "I don't support every agricultural land being turned into housing, but if housing is a big need then you have to give up the agricultural land. TOKİ is really beneficial in this respect: just because they make mass housing projects, they don't consume a lot of agricultural land" (Interview, June 2012). Certainly it is the case that single detached dwellings occupy far greater space overall than vertical multi-unit dwellings, but the meaning of "idleness" is indicative of a broader shift. Making "idle" agricultural land "productive" in this instance requires a new, non-agricultural use of the land. This occurs at a time when the production for use of grains like wheat is increasingly undermined, in contrast to the developmental era when the area of cultivation expanded due in no small part to cultivation for use. Making people homeowners is now considered a more productive use of the land than small-scale grain cultivation; after all, small-scale grain cultivation does not contribute to the Turkish economy in the way that economists tend to narrowly imagine an economy (since exchange is privileged) and TOKİ's contribution to the construction sector in particular and the Turkish economy in general is constantly emphasized.

4.10. Grand bargain, Faustian bargain, or something more opaque?

It is common that we are promised market solutions that attempt to maintain a safe distance from broader social, political, and economic issues. Kathleen McAfee (1999) deftly underscores this point in an article titled "Selling nature to save it? Biodiversity and green developmentalism" by exposing the kind of Faustian bargain we are told is required to protect the natural world: privatization and commodification are necessary evils to protect nature and its resources; the old "tragedy of the commons" argument in a new suit and tie. We know from Polanyi and others that there is nothing natural about free markets, a perspective captured with beautiful simplicity in the statement that "Laissez-faire was planned" (1944/2001, pp. 147). Certainly then, these Faustian bargains that are sold to us as the only viable solutions to the numerous problems that we confront are also the product of planning and present potential trade-offs that may be troubling.

TOKİ has been conscripted into numerous roles by the AKP that demand certain compromises in order for the administration to function as effectively as it has since 2002. It is necessary to provide housing and other infrastructure through the operation of the social state, but it must be paid for through resource generating projects for the affluent. TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanlari must be put up for tender and turned into, among others things, a gated community and a shopping mall for the affluent, in order to build, among other projects, Park Eymir at a far greater distance for middle income people; this seems to suggest that inclusive cities can emerge alongside new instances of social and spatial segregation. TOKİ must be a catalyst for the "growth machine," but it must also discipline the "growth machine" when necessary: in order to tame land speculation—which we are told renders housing unaffordable for so many—TOKİ actively harnesses land speculation to achieve its desired objective. *Gecekondu* owners must be given formal title in order to transform the illegal housing stock, but renters can be left out of these dialogues—if they can even be called that. The social state can solve the housing question, but only by making everyone into a homeowner, with homeownership now considered a more productive use of agricultural lands than small-scale grain cultivation. Finally, that repossession, the use of state land for mass housing, is only possible through dispossession, where state land is sold in the most profitable manner.

These are some of the trade-offs that appear when the various parts of TOKİ come together to form something that resembles a whole. I do not want to go so far as to insist that the trade-offs that create TOKİ's opaque qualities are equivalent to the Faustian bargain that McAfee describes, but we should recognize that there are significant compromises being advanced that are made to appear as the only possible options. At a time when news coverage is a constant reminder of "unsustainable" public spending, the allocation of public land in lieu of public funding certainly appears as the only option possible within the constraints of the neoliberal imagination. Granted, there are times when TOKİ does fill the "gap between what the private sector can do and the needs of Turkish citizens," but it is able to do so only by acting in the image of the private sector; thus, sometimes reproducing the very problems that it seeks to overcome, all while generally ignoring broader social, economic, political, and ecological issues.

5. Conclusion

In the preceding pages, I have detailed a shift from wheat fields to mass housing in Ankara as an extended historical process. This has involved a combined analysis to enhance our understanding of urban and rural issues and capture the complexities and contradictions of neoliberalism in a specific place. I have placed processes of accumulation by dispossession at the centre of this combined analysis and argued that the Turkish state under the AKP has determined that these processes should operate as both dispossession and repossession; by this I mean that upwards redistribution is only a part (albeit significant) of the story, with these processes also harnessed to accomplish socially useful objectives. In order to historically specify this shift, I juxtaposed the developmental and neoliberal eras to arrive at Ankara's neoliberal conjuncture. The historical emphasis on self-sufficiency in cereals is being abandoned at the same time as TOKİ's urbanization and housing campaign increasingly shapes Ankara and other cities and towns through urban transformation projects and mass housing projects.

The preceding decade since the AKP's first electoral victory stands as a reminder of how much can change over ten years. The reversal in economic fortunes during that time has been immense: Turkey rung in the new millennium under conditions of economic turmoil that eventually led to the election of the AKP; less than a decade later, the EU and the United States have become defined by chronic economic turmoil. Neoliberalism has certainly "lurched through moments of innovation, overreach, correction, and crisis" (Peck 2010, p. 20) but it still maintains a dominant ideological position and its proponents continue to demonstrate a tremendous capacity to incorporate criticism purged of any subversive content. After presiding over the marriage between Islam and neoliberalism (Atasoy 2009), the AKP is unlikely to preside over the divorce; even if the next decade proves as eventful as the preceding decade, the AKP will push forward with their synthesis between Islamic values and neoliberal restructuring.

The AKP's *Vision 2023* platform provides a roadmap for Turkey over the next decade, with EU membership and TOKİ completing one million units of housing across the country among the goals. Achieving the latter goal would demonstrate the continuing efficacy of the "social state" under the AKP; however, the efficacy of this conception of the "social state" involves a number of trade-offs that I discussed at the end of the last chapter, among them, that repossession is only possible through dispossession. This starts to take the shine off the veneer of neoliberal inclusivity that the AKP offers through TOKİ. The urbanization and housing campaign of TOKİ may prove to be a serious weakness for the AKP if these trade-offs persist in their current form, not just because of the sometimes dubious nature of the inclusivity offered by the AKP, but also because numerous cogs in the "growth machine" are growing increasingly displeased with the involvement of the administration in projects for middle and upper income groups. Of course, TOKİ is only able to build housing for lower income people through revenue-sharing projects for upper income people. The AKP's base of support draws on pro-Islamic capitalists and the disadvantaged population associated with the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods and whether repossession through dispossession can continue to maintain this broad base of support will be interesting to watch in the coming years.

Achieving the goal set for TOKİ does not appear to be in doubt, but Prime Minister Erdoğan has recently downplayed the importance attached to EU membership: "The EU is not a must for Turkey. It is not the Apocalypse if they do not let us in the EU. We would continue our way in steadiness" (Berberoğlu 2013, February 6). In their *Vision 2023*, the party platform remarks that "we will redefine the Copenhagen Criteria as 'Ankara Criteria' and move forward. Because we believe in the EU membership not as an end in itself but as a process by which our nation will achieve the universal standards of democracy that our people deserve" (2012, pp. 58). The message appears to be that with or without achieving EU membership, Turkey will forge ahead in neoliberal restructuring and the adoption of liberal democracy. Critics may accuse the AKP of hidden intentions after suddenly downplaying the importance of membership; after all, some domestic opponents have long doubted the authenticity of the AKP's embrace of the accession process. Regardless of where one stands on the AKP's decade in office, the instability within the EU and the current prescriptions for stability—

imposed austerity in order to service debts—appears to divide the union along the lines of the Global North and the Global South, which does not make the prospect of membership as appealing as it once was. Restructuring in line with the EU's Copenhagen Criteria will continue even if the accession process proceeds at the pace of a slow crawl or ceases to proceed at all. Even if aligning Turkish agriculture policy with the EU's Common Agricultural Policy becomes less of a priority, commitments to the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture will likely produce similar policy outcomes.

The above paragraphs demonstrate that the shift from wheat fields to mass housing is ongoing and currently shows few signs of losing momentum as the centenary of the Republic of Turkey approaches. The AKP may continue to prove adept at navigating the social and economic minefields of neoliberalization, but the passing of another decade without meaningful local or global action on the scientifically uncontroversial fact of a warming planet will pose problems of its own that even a government as accomplished as the AKP may not be able to manage. It is important to note that how food is grown (the intensive use of petro-chemicals) and for whom food is produced (distant consumers), along with urban sprawl and its promotion of automobile dependence are significant contributors to climate change. Droughts like the one experienced in 2007 are likely to increase in frequency, which is especially damaging for rain fed crops like wheat. In fact, two separate studies on the Konya plains, which are in the largest wheat producing province in Turkey, show that the area is facing the threat of total desertification as the rate of precipitation steadily falls (Hurriyet Daily News 2008, June 23; Today's Zaman 2008, June 17). Konya is a neighbouring province of Ankara and part of the Central Anatolian region, the "bread basket" of Turkey; the threat of drought—a likely outcome of climate change—may permanently parch the Anatolian "bread basket" some ten thousand years after wheat was first domesticated in Anatolia. I noted in an earlier chapter that human hands have altered the landscape regardless of whether the alterations were for the purpose of selectively planting crops or the creation of suburbs. The directions these alterations take will likely assume a new significance as the potentially harsh realities of climate change become more apparent and serious thought is given to the kinds of cities we build and want to live in, along with how food is grown, who grows the food, and who it is grown for.

The ceaseless reinvention of neoliberalism requires researchers that are dedicated to capturing its complications and contradictions across space and time, but just as importantly, it requires researchers dedicated to breaking down the arbitrary distinction between the study of urban and rural issues. We have to always be mindful of the fact that "what happens in the fields and in the cities is intimately connected" (Patel 2007, pp. 317) and be willing to traverse the imagined divide to uncover these connections. I focused on accumulation by dispossession, but emphasizing ecological connections is a potentially fruitful avenue of research. At the same time, we have to explore "what happens in the fields and in the cities" through "the encounter of global and local forces" because, as McMichael argues, the "mutual conditioning of the local and the global makes each more historically concrete" (1992, pp. 362). The encounter between the global and the local in Istanbul has been the subject of recent scholarship—Keyder (1999) edited a book with the title *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*—partly because of the importance attached to Istanbul assuming its position as a "world city." Given that real estate is central to Istanbul's "world city" project, the Housing Development Administration has been a constant presence in this scholarly work. I suspect that TOKİ's urbanization and housing campaign will be one of the most researched subjects in Turkey in the coming years and it is my hope that this research will not only extend into the cities east of Istanbul, but also into the fields where agricultural producers continue to labour. After all, neoliberalism is more than an "essential descriptor of the contemporary urban condition" (Brenner and Theodore 2005, pp. 101): it has become a general descriptor for the precarious conditions experienced everyday by a large share of humanity in cities and countrysides throughout the world.

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