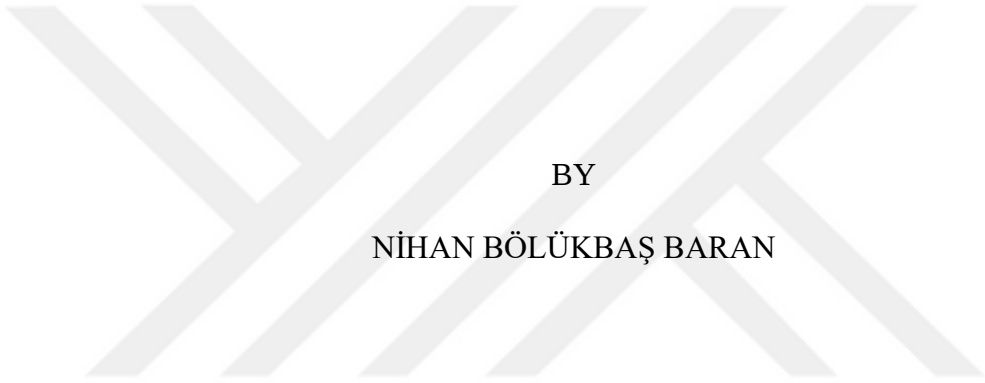


CONSTRUCTION OF A SYSTEM OF MEANING
IN-BETWEEN MODERNITY AND (MASS) HOUSING: *TOKİ*

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
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BY
NİHAN BÖLÜKBAŞ BARAN

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IN
ARCHITECTURE

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Approval of the thesis:

**CONSTRUCTION OF A SYSTEM OF MEANING
IN-BETWEEN MODERNITY AND (MASS) HOUSING: *TOKİ***

submitted by **NIHAN BÖLÜKBAŞ BARAN** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in **Architecture, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Naci Emre ALTUN
Dean, **Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. A. Berrin Çakmaklı
Head of the Department, **Architecture**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ela Alanyalı Aral
Supervisor, **Architecture, METU**

Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın
Co-Supervisor, **Architecture, METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Celal Abdi Güzer
Architecture, METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ela Alanyalı Aral
Architecture, METU

Prof. Dr. Adile Nuray Bayraktar
Architecture, Başkent University

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Esin Kömez Dağlıoğlu
Architecture, METU

Assist. Prof. Dr. Bilge İmamoğlu
Architecture, TED University

Date: 25.07.2024



I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name Last name : Nihan Bölükbaş Baran

Signature :

ABSTRACT

CONSTRUCTION OF A SYSTEM OF MEANING IN-BETWEEN MODERNITY AND (MASS) HOUSING: *TOKİ*

Bölükbaş Baran, Nihan

Doctor of Philosophy, Architecture

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ela Alanyalı Aral

Co-Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

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This study examines how to analyze modernity through *TOKİ*'s different phases of modernity. Then, it observes what emerges in the relationship between modernism and (mass) housing. This research interest grounds itself through two primary problems. The first is the crisis in modernism and the crisis in-between modernism and architecture. The second, one of the main results of the first problem, is the confinement of the meaning and dimension of (mass) housing to the definitions related to commodification and financialization and the reduction of (mass) housing production to the practices of real estate agencies.

Within this theoretical framework, this research re-visits the idea of modernity and re-reads the relationship between different phases of modernity and (mass) housing under an intermittent and overarching experience of modernity. Thus, it intends to grab instants of *TOKİ*'s experience of modernity in the context of Turkey. At the end of the process, it attempts to rewrite systems of thought in-between modernity and (mass) housing.

In line with these targets, the main discussion is carried out on *TOKİ*, and it focuses on the following research areas:

The meaning of *TOKİ* in Turkey's experience of modernity

TOKİ's vision of modernity built on selected notions – development, urban planning, urbanization, democratization, and the social state

The relationship established by these modernity visions with (mass) housing

To that end, it targets the construction of a system of meaning in-between modernity and (mass) housing through provisional constructions. These constructions intend to explore *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity, and the journey of the meaning and dimensions of the concept of (mass) housing within these visions. They also investigate how commodification and financialization contribute to this process.

Keywords: Modernism, Modernity, Mass Housing, *TOKİ*

ÖZ

MODERNLİK VE (TOPLU) KONUT ARASINDA BİR ANLAM SİSTEMİ İNŞASI: TOKİ

Bölükbaş Baran, Nihan

Doktora, Mimarlık

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Ela Alanyalı Aral

Ortak Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

Temmuz 2024, 220 sayfa

Bu çalışma, TOKİ'nin farklı modernlik fazları üzerinden nasıl bir modernlik tahlili yapılabileceği, bu tahlil içinde (toplu) konut ve modernizm arasındaki ilişkide nelerin ortaya çıktığına dair bir sorgulama yapmayı amaç edinir. Bu araştırma alanının temellendiği iki ana problem vardır. Birincisi modernizm, mimarlık ve ikisinin arasında ortaya çıkan krizdir. İkincisi de bu krizin sonuçlarından biri olan, (toplu) konut' un anlam ve boyutunun metalaşma, finansallaşma çerçevesi içerisine hapsolması ve (toplu) konut üretiminin de emlak ofisi pratiklerine indirgenmesidir.

Bu teorik çerçeve içerisinde, bu araştırma modernlik fikrini yeniden ziyaret ederek, farklı modernlik fazları ile (toplu) konut arasındaki ilişkiyi kesintili ve tek bir çatıya sahip olan modernite deneyimi üzerinden okur. Bu sayede, Türkiye bağlamında TOKİ'nin modernlik deneyimine ait anları yakalamayı hedefler. Bu süreçlerin sonunda, bir yandan modernlik ve (toplu) konut arasındaki düşünce sistemini yeniden yazmaya teşebbüs eder.

Bu hedefler doğrultusunda, ana tartışma TOKİ üzerinden şu araştırma alanları üzerinden yürütülür:

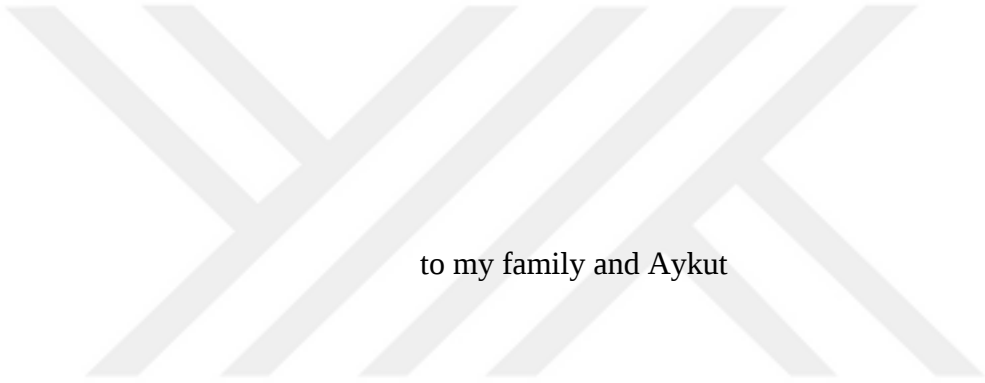
Türkiye'nin modernlik deneyimi içerisinde TOKİ'nin anlamı

TOKİ'nin seçili kavramlar – kalkınma, imar, kentleşme, demokratikleşme ve sosyal devlet olgusu – üzerinden inşa ettiği modernlik vizyonu

Bu modernlik vizyonlarının (toplu) konut ile kurduğu ilişki

Bu amaçla, çalışma geçici yapılar üzerinden modernizm ve (toplu) konut arasında bir anlam sistemi kurar. Bu yapılar, TOKİ'nin modernlik vizyonlarını ve bu vizyonlar çerçevesinde (toplu) konut kavramının anlam ve boyutlarının yolculuğunu keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, bu yapılar, metalaşma ve finansallaşmanın bu sürece nasıl katkıda bulunduğunu da araştırmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modernizm, Modernite, Toplu Konut, TOKİ



to my family and Aykut

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Statement and Objectives

This study aims to analyze modernity through *TOKI*'s experience of modernity by identifying its different phases and examining their interconnections, followed by querying the relationship between modernity and (mass) housing.¹

The theoretical framework of this analysis and its embedded discussions rely upon the definitions of Marshall Berman on modernity, modernism, and modernization.² This intention stems from the inclusivity and open-ended potentials of these definitions, and their convergent trajectories with the current debates on these terms.³

According to Berman, modernity is a mode of experience composed of “space and time, of the self and others, of life’s possibilities and perils — that is shared by men and women worldwide today.” Although this experience is quite discontinuous based on its fluctuant extent and truth, Berman discusses the entire system as a container that dissolves the “boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology” in it. He refers to modernization in the twentieth century as the social processes take their source from the maelstrom of modern life that the “world-historical processes” have supplied. Correspondingly, he defines modernism as diverse visions and ideas fed by these “world-historical processes.” They search for new aspirations and possibilities in the changing world, which also changes

¹ I prefer to parenthesize “mass” to emphasize that I read (mass) housing first as a mode of housing, then as a concept of the industrial period.

² For more information, see Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (USA & Canada: Penguin Books, 1988).

³ I refer to the readings that consider the expansions of these terms and open new options and possibilities on them rather than those that adopt anti-modernist perspectives and reject the potential of these terms. This position is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

humankind, to make it a home de novo. In other words, he describes the experience of modernity as an intermittent but overarching container and dialectically positions modernization and modernism within this experience.⁴

This research interest grounds itself through two primary problems based on this background. The first is the crisis in modernism and in-between modernism and architecture, which is also related to the argumentations on “the end of Modernism,”⁵ the rise of anti-modernism and post-modernism,⁶ and the changed position of modernity in the architectural theory of knowledge.

The second, which is one of the main results of the first problem, is the confinement of the meaning and dimension of (mass) housing to the definitions related to commodification and financialization and the reduction of (mass) housing production to the practices of real estate agencies.

This research adopts and interprets Marshall Berman's approach to exploring the experience of modernity, characterized by disruptions and comprehensive scope.

⁴ For more information, see Berman, *op. cit.*, 1988.

⁵ The one starter of the arguments on “the end of Modernism” was made by Charles Jencks through the demolition of the Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project in 1972 in Charles Jencks, “The Death of Modern Architecture,” in *the Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, 6th ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1991). For more information on the academic debates and different positions on Pruitt-Igoe, see Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *College City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976); Tom Wolfe, *From Bauhaus to Our House* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981); Oscar Newman, *Creating Defensible Space* (U.S. Department of Housing and Development Office of Policy Development and Research, 1966); William L. Yancey, “Architecture, Interaction and Social Control: The Case of a Large-scale Housing Project,” *Environmental and Behavior* 3, no. 1 (March 1971): 3-21; Eugene J. Meehan, *Public Housing Policy: Convention Versus Reality* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, 1975); Eugene J. Meehan, *The Quality of Federal Policymaking: Programmed Failure in Public Housing* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1979); Mary C. Comerio, “Pruitt-Igoe and Other Stories,” *JAE* 34, no. 4 (Summer, 1981): 26-31; Lee Rainwater, *Behind Ghetto Walls: Black Family Life in a Federal Slum* (Chicago: Aldine, 1970); Katharine G. Bristol, “The Pruitt-Igoe Myth,” *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984-) 44, no. 3 (May 1991): 163-171; Bölükbaş, N. “Re-reading of the Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project (St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.) in the Context of Modernism.” Master’s thesis. Middle East Technical University, 2016.

⁶ Berman states that the rise of anti-modernism and post-modernism was mainly related to Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, with an Introduction by Vincent Scully (Museum of Modern Art, 1966), which was a critique of the paradigms of International Style. Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (Rizzoli, 1977) has a significant role in accepting this critique as a fact in the history of modernism. On the other hand, Berman falls under the group that believes that “modern life and art and thought have the capacity for perpetual self-critique and self-renewal.” For more information, see Berman, *op. cit.*, 1988.

Accordingly, this exploration consists of three interrelated stages. The first examines the discursive paradigms that guide the experience of modernity. The second part focuses on how these discursive paradigms influence modernization processes. The third part analyzes the dialectical relationship between these modernization processes and modernism. Here, modernism denotes a mode that does not confine itself to any architectural movement associated with a specific place or style. It avoids the anomalies that arise from the boundaries of style-driven paradigms and directs attention to an understanding of modernism that connects with the world in a multi-dimensional way.

This thesis makes a discourse analysis of *TOKI* through its verbal manifestations. In this way, it targets to constitute the first stage of analyzing the modernity experience. These discursive paradigms emerge through the produced visions of modernity, which are related to multiple forms of modernism. Based on the potential of these modes of modernism to transform and change both themselves and the experience, the study assumes that the experience of modernity does not comprise a single form of modernism. On the contrary, it involves diverse forms of modernism, such as industrial, political, economic, social, spatial, and aesthetic. Moreover, these forms often intertwine with each other. Even though the intended intervention targets a specific level of this experience, it never stands alone in the end. Consequently, the visions of modernity also do not offer a single, continuous ideal, goal, or worldview of what it means to be modern. Instead, they change, transform, and experience disruptions over time.

TOKI provides a highly suitable research area for the first stage of analyzing the experience of modernity. One reason for this suitability is that *TOKI* generates discourses that reveal the discursive paradigm constructed by the political authority of the period. Another reason is that *TOKI* formulates housing policies through the concept of (mass) housing, and these policies play a decisive role in the period's meaning-making of housing.

The concept of (mass) housing, a mode of housing, is one of the research areas to be examined to analyze the experience of modernity due to the act of dwelling it entails. It is because dwelling corresponds to what Berman describes in his definition of modernism as “a struggle to feel at home in a constantly changing world.”⁷ Furthermore, (mass) housing, like the experience of modernity itself, has many facets within this constantly changing experience. Therefore, this study does not consider (mass) housing merely as physical shelter. Instead, it prefers to follow the academic perspective that interprets housing in a broader context. For example, Jon Pynoos et al. refer to housing as follows:⁸

[W]hen households consume ‘housing,’ they purchase or rent more than the dwelling unit and its characteristics; they are also concerned with such diverse factors as health, security, privacy, neighborhood and social relations, status, community facilities and services, access to jobs, and control over the environment. Being ill-housed can mean deprivation along any of these dimensions, and relative deprivation can lead to widespread discontent and suffering...

As another example, Michel Canon refers to housing as follows:⁹

There is more to housing than shelter, because housing itself is but a mean to life long experiences of dwelling, among others, of intimacy and solitude, joy and sorrow trust and fear. Housing may enable people to dwell poetically on earth, but such is not always the case.

Within this theoretical framework, this research re-visits the idea of modernity and re-reads the relationship between different phases of modernity and (mass) housing under an intermittent and overarching experience of modernity. Thus, it intends to grab instants of *TOKI*'s different phases of modernity in the context of Turkey and attempts to re-write "systems of thought" regarding in-between modernity and (mass) housing.

⁷ For more information, see Berman, *op. cit.*, 1988.

⁸ Jon Pynoos, Robert Schafer and Chester W. Hartman, ed., “Introduction,” in *Housing Urban America* (London & New York: Routledge, 2017), 1.

⁹ Michel Conan, “Communicative Ethics in Housing,” *METU JFA* 14:1-2 (1994), 39.

In line with these targets, the main discussion is carried out on *TOKİ* and focuses on the following research areas:

- The meaning of *TOKİ* in Turkey's experience of modernity
- *TOKİ*'s vision of modernity built on selected notions – development, urban planning, urbanization, democratization, and social state.
- The relationship established by these modernity visions with (mass) housing

1.2. Theoretical Framework

This study steps away from modernism's stereotyped definitions, which addresses it as a periodical movement. Similarly, it avoids building the ended arguments that aim to reach absolute validity and certainty or a single narrative, which ignores the interdisciplinary and multi-layered character of the experience of modernity. Instead, it handles this instability and complexity as a research method to observe the phases of this experience through its selected instants.

At this stage, this research coincides with the specific considerations of Manfredo Tafuri. In *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, Tafuri refers to the problematic nature of historiography.¹⁰ The one significant discussion under this topic is on the leading role of the chosen materials and the selected analyses to the result of the process. Accordingly, Tafuri objects to produce "a piece of history complete in itself." He claims that every construction comes with its boundaries, immutable judgments, and even the aforethought ends. Instead of laboring history under the illusion of achieving an "absolute validity," he posits "new historical space" that imperils the creation of "a temporary inactuality." Therefore, he addresses the practice of writing as "[a]n intermittent journey a maze of tangled paths, one of the many possible "provisional

¹⁰ For more information, see Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, translated by Pellegrino d'Acerno and Robert Connolly (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: The MIT Press, 1987).

constructions" obtainable by starting with these chosen materials." In this way, he abstains from concrete arguments and leaves the door open for the new readings that may appear in the new boundaries.

The other compelling debates of Tafuri in this book are on the dangers of the linear causal links of historiography and the autonomy of this history. Concerning these topics, he points out the dangers of the division of labor, the strictly drawn boundaries of different fields of inquiry, and their alienated languages. Accordingly, they cause a gap that precludes the relationship between the signifier and the signified under the shadow of differentiated techniques and languages. To avoid these dead ends, he focuses on these voids out of their concomitant limits. For this operation, he starts researching through "the fragments and unrealized intentions, with the purpose of tracing back to their contexts" and then construct "provisional constructions" to the re-configuration of these pieces.

The thesis draws inspiration from this creative approach in examining the experience of modernity since conventional historiography has a significant role in the epistemological break of the architectural environment from the discourse of modernism.

In another respect, this creative framework also parallels the mode of modernism that Berman defines. According to him, modernism establishes a dialogue between past, present, and future.¹¹ By adopting this tool to the reading of Berman, this research intends to expand this dialogue and emancipate it from the shallows of the linear causal links. This dialogue indicates a new "system of thought" between the instants of *TOKI*'s different phases of modernity and (mass) housing.

Moreover, this approach also allows for constructing a "system of meaning" in-between modernity and (mass) housing. In this way, it intends to explore the understanding of the dimension and meaning of the (mass) housing concept apart

¹¹ Tafuri, *op. cit.*, 1987.

from the boundaries of commodification and financialization and those that end up with these boundaries.

At this point, it is worth mentioning another discussion that enriches the theoretical framework of the thesis. The approach of this study on the experience of modernity and its desire to construct a “system of meaning” in-between modernity and (mass) housing also converges with the groundings of architecture theory. There are some core names to give reference to lighten this exchange, such as Michael Hays and Frederic Jameson.¹² As Hays states in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, the world contains a whole, and architecture theory acts as an intermediary in this totality.¹³ It aims to create concepts to re-articulate this totality, correlate it with architectural fact, and link it with its “social, historical, and ideological subtexts.” In other words, it aims to uncover the inconspicuous relational positions and sharing between diverse realities, which were considered to emerge and continue their existence independently and unrelated to each other.

Jameson depicts the production of theory in the *Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* as follows: “transcoding: as the invention of a set of terms, the strategic choice of a particular code or language, such that the same terminology can be used to analyze and articulate two quite distinct types of objects or ‘texts,’ or two very different levels of structural reality.”¹⁴ In *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, he defines new theoretical discourse as a problem of associating two different sets of terms in a format that allows them to communicate and translate each other.¹⁵ In the end, architecture theory permits us to discuss architecture in other codes and rewrite the boundaries of architecture’s intellectual

¹² For more information, see K. Michael Hays ed., *Architecture Theory since 1968* (London, England and Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1998); Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2002); Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991).

¹³ Hays ed., “Introduction,” *op. cit.*, 1998.

¹⁴ Frederic Jameson, “On Interpretation: Literature as a Socially Symbolic Act,” in *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2002), 25.

¹⁵ Frederic Jameson, “Conclusion,” in *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 279-418.

and critical fields. From a broader perspective, it helps construct a new worldview by making different readings on reality by creating new concepts and codes (or metacodes) open to interpret, break and convert each other.¹⁶

In like manner, this thesis discusses the experience of modernity as a whole with all its disruptions and fluidity. This experience also comes with a motivation to construct a new worldview but its main motivation springs from the maelstrom of being modern and its innate crises. To grab facets of this reality and re-construe it, the central apparatus of this study is to create a “system of meaning,” which can also be expressed as a tool for creating a new code (or metacode). The locus of this new code also aims to identify the definitions and dimensions of dwelling and (mass) housing and make extensions on these issues in the end. Since ruptures and breaking points in this experience are the main inspirations for these readings, it centers upon *TOKİ*’s different phases of modernity in the context of Turkey.

To that end, it creates “provisional constructions” among selected instants of *TOKİ*’s different phases of modernity. These constructions intend to explore *TOKİ*’s visions of modernity and the journey of the meaning and dimensions of the concept of (mass) housing within these visions. They also investigate how commodification and financialization contribute to this process.

1.3. Research Questions

The thesis groups its research questions under two main titles, which are essential for professional and academic architectural environments. These titles and the items listed below illustrate a pattern that takes shape from the sorted research areas of the thesis. Some indicate clear answers, while others offer not-ended responses but intend to open new paths for these problems.

The one is on *TOKİ*’s experience of modernity.

¹⁶ For more information, see Hays ed., “Introduction,” *op. cit.*, 1998.

- Is it possible to make an interconnected analysis of modernity in today's fragmented, distinct phases of modernity?
- Is it possible to establish a dialogue between past, present, and future, free from boundaries of the linear causal links of historiography?
- How do *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity establish a dialogue between past, present, and future? How do the monolingual discourses of *TOKİ* adopt these intertemporal borrowings?

The second is in-between modernity and (mass) housing.

- Is it possible to construct a “system of meaning” between modernity and (mass) housing?
- Do "systems of meaning" provide a means of communication among architecture, (mass) housing, and the experience of modernity? In other words, through which metacodes has *TOKİ* constructed the relationship between (mass) housing and the visions of modernity?
- What is the role of commodification and financialization / economic instruments in the construction of the relationship between *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity and its interpretations of the concept of (mass) housing?

1.4. Structure of the Study

This work consists of five chapters, with the introduction and conclusion sections. Chapter 2 focuses on the theoretical foundations and contextualization of the research. In this manner, it refers to key theoretical concepts of the thesis and their definition. Moreover, it provides a literature review of the thesis's main discussions and states the significance of the research.

Chapter 3 aims to contextualize *TOKİ* within Turkey's experience of modernity. To that end, it reinterprets the socio-political and socio-economic history of Turkey's modernity and explores *TOKİ*'s role and position within this historical context.

Subsequently, it examines the interpretations of modernity, modernism, and being modern by *TOKİ* and the political authority of the period, aiming to analyze the elements that shaped the modernity visions of the period. Ultimately, it intends to explore *TOKİ*'s various phases of modernity within Turkey's experience of modernity, an intermittent but overarching container. Additionally, it investigates the notional constructs that played a significant role during these critical junctures. The phases of modernity and the selected notions that influenced these phases, as explored in this section, form the foundational research structure of the thesis.

Chapter 4 examines how *TOKİ* has constructed visions of modernity through selected concepts in its various phases of modernity. In doing so, it discovers the creative power of the modernity imaginaries built by *TOKİ* and the political authority of the period. It also deciphers the mental map of *TOKİ* and the political authority of the period. This mental map provides insights into the multidimensional research area indicated by the visions of modernity.

Chapter 5, which is the conclusion, aims to make inferences based on the following headings: *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity and dimensions and interpretations of (mass) housing. The first concludes *TOKİ*'s images of modernity. Within this context, it discovers the creative power of *TOKİ*'s different phases of modernity and the character of this creative power. Then, it identifies the ironies, contradictions, and ambiguities within the visions of modernity produced through selected concepts by tracking their continuities, changes, and transformations. Lastly, it explores the elements of *TOKİ*'s phases of modernity through the areas of discussion contained within these images of modernity.

The second examines the relationship between *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity and (mass) housing. This analysis explores the dimensions and meanings of (mass) housing within the discourses constructed by *TOKİ*, investigating how these meanings and dimensions have persisted, changed, and transformed through different phases of *TOKİ*. The third reports on how this thesis engages with the international literature and outlines the potential future implications of this study.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND CONTEXTUALIZATION

2.1. Key Concepts and Definitions

As the introduction mentions, this thesis borrows its key theoretical concepts and definitions from specific names and debates. However, it interprets these borrowed concepts and definitions within the context of its research area, thereby establishing its methodology. Therefore, discussing these borrowings and interpretations helps appropriately position the argument within the thesis.

2.1.1. The Experience of Modernity

This thesis borrows this term with reference to Marshall Berman's use in *All That is Solid Melts into Air*.¹⁷ Berman offers an in-depth analysis that emphasizes the dynamic, contradictory, and ever-evolving nature of modernity. According to him, the experience of modernity is inherently not a uniform process and does not adhere to a linear progression model. The opportunities and danger brought about by time and space construct this intricate and multifaceted web of relationships and transform the life lived and imagined. This transformation creates new internal fractures and implicit connections within the experience of modernity. In this context, Berman approaches modernity not as a single narrative but as a series of stages reflecting the volatile nature of modern life.

The social, cultural, and economic changes occurring at national and international levels closely link these stages. These changes present unique challenges and opportunities that reshape how individuals and societies perceive and interact with

¹⁷ For more information, see Berman, *op. cit.*, 1988.

the world. These challenges and opportunities, in turn, give rise to visions and ideas that reflect the human desire to remake the ever-changing world into a place they can once again call home.

Berman offers an analysis to understand how these different phases of modernity interact with and transform one another. From this perspective, modernity transcends geographical, ethnic, class, and ideological boundaries to create a more interconnected and dynamic world. This interconnectedness indicates that the events shaping the experience of modernity are not isolated but rather part of a continuous and dialectical process.

In line with this theoretical framework, the thesis examines *TOKİ* as an institution that generates visions of modernity alongside the political authority of its time. These visions construct specific ideas, values, and concepts related to human life by producing discourses and policies on the urban and housing scales. By tracing these construction processes through *TOKİ*'s discourse, the thesis aims to conclude *TOKİ*'s engagement with the experience of modernity. Within the scope of this research, the thesis selects certain auxiliary concepts to explore the continuities, fractures, and transformations in *TOKİ*'s experience of modernity.

The selected concepts are as follows: development, urban planning, urbanization, democratization, and the social state. The thesis considers these concepts as phenomena that influence *TOKİ*'s relationship with the country's experience of modernity on socio-political and socio-economic levels. From this perspective, these phenomena encompass the debates that shape the dynamics, sources of inspiration, and creative forces of the different stages in *TOKİ*'s experience of modernity.

2.1.2. “Provisional Constructions”

One of the primary objectives of this thesis is to analyze modernity that connects the fragmented moments of today's modern experience. This analysis draws on an academic framework that includes the works of Manfredo Tafuri. The thesis adopts

Tafuri's term "provisional constructions" to build its research approach.¹⁸ According to this approach, these constructions are not rigid narratives but are open to change and transformation in line with the selected materials and the accompanying analyses.

The research scope of this study encompasses the written materials produced by *TOKİ* and its affiliated ministry.¹⁹ These materials enable an understanding of *TOKİ*'s discursive paradigm and facilitate the analysis of how this paradigm engages in a dialogue with the past, present, and future.

As discussed in the previous section, one of the critical tools of this research approach is the selection of specific concepts. In the context of this research, these selected concepts represent a conceptual inquiry through the visions of modernity and the inherent areas of debate within these visions. Two main issues shape this conceptual inquiry.

The first issue concerns the reflections of the interpretations of modernity, modernism, the state of being modern, and the visions of modernity produced in this context on the scales of the city, housing, and the human. The second issue involves the impact of these visions of modernity on the meaning and scale of (collective) housing. The thesis defines the knowledge that emerges at the intersection of the selected concepts and the main issues as "provisional constructions."

2.1.3. Visions of Modernity

This research area is essential for revisiting the idea of modernity and examining the written discourse produced by *TOKİ* within the framework of debates on modernity. *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity represent a significant research area that reveals how

¹⁸ For more information, see Tafuri, *op. cit.*, 1987.

¹⁹ Primary sources of the research are The Ministry Bulletin of the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, The Magazine of *TOKİHABER*. It supporting sources are Metropolitan Cooperative and Mass Housing Magazine, Ministry Budget Speeches, *TOKİ* R&D studies, publications produced on Habitat I-II-III, other *TOKİ* publications, other online magazines of the ministry, other ministry publications.

the political will of the time and *TOKI* positioned themselves in response to and in alignment with a changing world. This position also encompasses how various interpretations of modernity were defined and the values, ideas, and concepts with which these definitions were associated. These aspects, in turn, offer insights into the imaginations of human beings and their lives expressed through urban and housing policies.

This study examines *TOKI*'s phases of modernity individually and analyzes the written discourse produced through selected concepts within these phases. This analysis reveals the "creative forces," "ambiguities and contradictions," and "self-ironies and inner tensions" inherent in these phases' understanding of modernity. Additionally, it explores the areas of debate that this understanding encompasses at the scales of the city, housing, and the individual and society. In the next stage, the study aims to observe how different phases of modernity relate. This relationship examines the continuities, ruptures, and transformations in the discourses produced at the scales of the city, housing, and the individual and society.

2.1.4. In-between Modernity and (Mass) Housing

This research area indicates the relationship between *TOKI*'s visions of modernity and (collective) housing. One of the primary reasons for focusing on this relationship in the thesis is the confinement of the meaning and dimension of (mass) housing to processes of commodification and financialization, as well as the reduction of housing production to real estate office practices.

The thesis examines the definitions of the meaning and dimension of (mass) housing within *TOKI*'s discourses on modernity. It compares the discourses produced by *TOKI* across its different phases of modernity. This comparison aims to trace the impact of various interpretations of modernity on the meaning and dimension of (mass) housing. In doing so, the thesis seeks to build a comprehensive framework of thought that delves deeply into the relationship between modernity and (mass) housing.

The subheadings of this research area consist of the areas of debate present in *TOKI's* written discourse. The first research area focuses on (mass) housing and its surroundings. In this context, the thesis reveals the scales and dimensions at which the concept of (mass) housing, as incorporated into *TOKI's* discourse, interacts with its surroundings. The thesis also examines how these relations shape the discussions about (mass) housing and what definitions they make about (mass) housing.

The second research area focuses on *TOKI's* visions of modernity concerning democracy, human rights, and living conditions. The thesis aims to conduct a comparative analysis across *TOKI's* different phases of modernity by revealing how these visions define, interpret, and give meaning to (mass) housing.

The final research area focuses on the economic value and significance of (mass) housing. In this context, the thesis aims to comparatively analyze the relationship between *TOKI's* visions of modernity and the economic value and importance of (mass) housing. Through this analysis, the thesis reveals the connection between these visions and the commodification and financialization of (mass) housing.

2.2. Literature Review on the Main Discussions

2.2.1. Critiques on Architecture, Housing, and Modernism

The experience of industrialization comes with several new conditions that are inspiring, worrisome, or sometimes lie somewhere in between. This changing setting, of course, significantly influences the relationship between architecture, housing, and modernism.

Scholars' disputes on this relationship vary according to their perceptions and concentrations. The five research areas brought into this discussion are intended to show how the thesis positions itself with the literature while addressing the issue of modernism. In bold outline, these interpretations are from the theoretical frameworks

of architectural determinism,²⁰ stylistic notion,²¹ Marxist approaches,²² phenomenological research²³ and the experience of modernity.²⁴

Within this context, the first group discusses housing in terms of architectural determinism. It would not be wrong to refer Le Corbusier as a milestone for this approach since he is well known in the Western world thanks to his writings with his inspiring architectural drawings. In 1931, he wrote *Towards a New Architecture* by regarding mass-production as the spirit of the period.²⁵ In search of this spirit, he suggests focusing on the economic, technical and aesthetic levels of housing. According to him, the right administration of technology and economy in the production of houses is enough to solve the housing problem of the industrial cities. Moreover, this process ends up with the creation of a society suited for this spirit.

In other words, the limited toolbox of Le Corbusier suggests building houses under the economy and technological possibilities and subordinates society in favor of this production. This perspective ignores the non-mentioned components of society and the other levels of the relationship between housing and society. Not surprisingly,

²⁰ Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*., translated by Frederick Etchells (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1986) (originally published in 1931).

²¹ The Museum of Modern Art, *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition, New York, Feb. 10 to March 23, 1932* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1932). <https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/2044> (accessed June 8, 2019).

²² Frederick Engels, *The Housing Question. The Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers* (Originally published in between 1872 and 1873) (1995). Marxist Internet Archive, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_The_Housing_Question.pdf (accessed April 17, 2019); Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*. Translated by Robert Bononno, foreword by Neil Smith (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press: 2003).

²³ Norberg-Schulz, Christian, *The Concept of Dwelling: On the Way to Figurative Architecture* (New York: Electa/Rizzoli: 1985); Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, translations and introduction by Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper Perennial: 2001).

²⁴ Berman, *op. cit.*, 1988; Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation" and "Science as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, translated, edited and with an introduction by H. Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University: 1946) ("Politics as a Vocation" was originally published in 1919; "Science as a Vocation" was originally published in 1919); George Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, translated, edited and with an introduction by Kurt H. Wolff. (Illinois: The Free Press: 1950) (the article was originally published in 1903); George Simmel, "The Conflict in Modern Culture" and "Group Expansion and the Development of Individuality." *George Simmel on Individuality and Social Forms*, edited by Donald Levine (University of Chicago: 1971) ("The Conflict in Modern Culture" was originally published in 1918; "Group Expansion and the Development of Individuality" is originally published in 1908).

²⁵ Le Corbusier, *op. cit.*, 1986.

after the public destruction of the Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project, which is one of the postulated of the post-World War II U.S. modernist architecture, Charles Jencks indicts Modern Architecture and its tools for being unsuccessful in creating its ideal society and denounces "the end of Modernism" through this experience.²⁶

This breaking point also constitutes one of the statements of problem of this thesis. Accordingly, this interpretation based on architectural determinism has resulted in the abandonment of modernism and its critical thinking and the issue of modernity being pushed out of the realm of architectural theory knowledge.

The second group approaches housing from the point of stylistic notion.²⁷ In 1932, Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, Museum of Modern Art curators, organized an exhibition on the buildings of Modern Architects of Europe. The exhibition also traveled to the cities of the U.S. to reach a much larger audience. Immediately after the display, Hitchcock and Johnson produce two publications..²⁸ While the first included the exhibition materials with written information on the architects and formal descriptions of their buildings,²⁹ the second one gave clues on the ideational background of the exhibition and the position of buildings in this context.³⁰ Under these conditions, it would not be wrong to state them as producers of the stylistic notion through the works of European Modern Architecture and as spokesmen who spread this notion into the U.S.

Accordingly, Hitchcock and Johnson define architecture and housing under the movement of the International Style. They aim to create a new style as a "visible manifestation" of the period, which has been missing since the thirteenth century. In other words, they read the experience of industrialization from the point of view of style and call attention to the lack of style in the nineteenth century. Since they interpret the reason for this deficiency as the irregularity in the structural systems

²⁶ Jencks, *op. cit.*, 1991.

²⁷ The Museum of Modern Art, *op. cit.*, 1932; Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style* (New York: Norton: 1966).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ The Museum of Modern Art, *op. cit.* 1932.

³⁰ Hitchcock, et al., *op. cit.*, 1966.

and design approaches of the buildings, they choose to read European Modernism through this framework. On the other side, this interpretation induces us to read European Modernism in a foreordained way and to discount its discursive power. Similarly, the inferences on behalf of anti-modernism and post-modernism generally adopt this partial reading and charge Modernism with being the reason for the economic, social, and political disappointments of the 1950s and 1960s.³¹

As Sarah Williams Goldhagen also stated, such a reductionist reading has led to the marginalization of the discourse of modernism. It has resulted in the issue of modernism being read solely through appearance and aesthetics.³²

The third group provides its motivation from the economy and its role in forming social life. The housing issue becomes involved under this equation by leaving the priority of its architectural level to the political economy.³³ Within this framework, the selected sources branch out into specialized approaches: relations of production³⁴ and social production.³⁵

In 1872 and 1873, Frederick Engels reviewed the housing question of Germany concerning the Industrial Revolution under the capitalist mode of production.³⁶ He critically reads about the housing shortage in the major industrial centers, including their backgrounds, reasons, the roles of existing classes, and the capitalist mode of production. In this sense, Engels looked closer at the suggestions of the Proudhonist school and the Bourgeois to review the housing question. In the end, he concludes that the solution to the housing question is not based on the revolutionary class policy of the proletariat but instead the abolition of the capitalist mode of production.

³¹ Wolfe, *op. cit.*, 1981; Jencks, *op. cit.*, 1991.

³² Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Something to Talk About: Modernism, Discourse, Style," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no.2 (June 2005): 144-167.

³³ See Leonardo Benevolo, "Introduction: Architecture and the Industrial Revolution," *History of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1971), xv-xxxiv.

³⁴ Engels, *op. cit.*, 1995.

³⁵ Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, 2003.

³⁶ Engels, *op. cit.*, 1995.

His foremost contributions are on the relationship between capitalist production and housing and the significance of social questions within this context. It is helpful to comprehend the relationship between housing and the Industrial Cities under the capitalist mode of production, in other words, the relationship between architecture, housing, and the socio-economic history of the world.

Henri Lefebvre wrote *The Urban Revolution in 1970*, which centers on the idea of the total urbanization of society and inspects the realities and possibilities of urban space within this framework.³⁷ He emphasizes the lived experience of an individual inhabitant of the city. In this context, he broadens the dwelling to include habits, daily living and the generated social relations depending on them. He refers to the meta-philosophical readings of Heidegger and Nietzsche, which also allow for a re-examination of the theoretical boundaries and potentials of philosophy versus the reductive housing approach of the current understanding of planning and architecture. He discusses the topic through a theoretical dialectic perspective and enlarges the arguments on the sense of belonging to the dispute in daily living.

Even though the subject of housing does not form the book's core idea, Lefebvre is instrumental in reading housing as a part of an urban environment with social levels. It is helpful to approach housing with its environment from a viewpoint different from the so-called modernist approach.

The fourth group approaches architecture and housing in terms of phenomenological research.³⁸ The scientific-oriented epistemic ground of the 1920s, the isolation of the building production from metaphysical or cultural sources, and the aftermath shift from Modernism to Anti-Modernism and Post-Modernism are the leading motives of this changing ground.

Within this framework, Christian Norberg-Schulz directly refers to the relationship between Modern Architecture and housing in his book *The Concept of Dwelling: On*

³⁷ Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, 2003.

³⁸ Norberg-Schulz, *op. cit.*, 1985.

the Way to Figurative Architecture, written in 1985.³⁹ According to him, on the one hand, the modern house makes a significant contribution to human beings and their living; on the other hand, it degrades housing into a "private dwelling" and ignores its public relations. Instead of the modern house, he approaches the house as one model of dwelling with three meanings: collective, public, and private dwellings. Moreover, he counts the places humans create in the content of the dwelling. In this context, settlement, urban space, institutions, and houses also point to dwellings since they constitute a total environment of humans.

Even though he refers to Modern Architecture instead of the discourse of modernism, it gives clues on the relationship between housing and the discourse of modernism. In this context, it is helpful to discover the different levels of housing and how to re-connect links with its environment.

The fifth group objects to the style-based readings of Modern Architecture and its anti-modernist or post-modernist criticisms, which also brace up with the style-based discussions. Instead, it tends to read Modern Architecture through the experience of modernity. Therefore, the readings on architecture and housing originate in the theoretical framework of modernity, too.⁴⁰

In other words, this research area brings modernity back into focus instead of clinging to concepts such as "the end of Modernism," anti-modernity, and post-modernity. The idea of modernity here points to a dynamic and multidimensional experience. This experience indicates a mode of modernism with the potential for self-critique and transformation.

2.2.2. Perspectives on Modernity

In addition to those who produce work on anti-modernity and post-modernity, scholars in the academic literature expand on the concept of modernity. The

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Berman, *op. cit.*, 1988; Weber, *op. cit.*, 1946; Simmel, *op. cit.*, 1950.

prominent expansions include early modernities, multiple modernities, macro modernity, and micro modernity. It is helpful to examine the similarities and differences of these expansions with Marshall Berman's interpretation of modernity, which forms the theoretical foundation of this thesis.

Berman's interpretation of modernity provides a profound analysis of modern life's dynamic, contradictory, and ever-changing nature. Berman defines modernity as a process in which "all that is solid melts into air," suggesting that this process continuously subjects individuals and societies to cycles of transformation and innovation. Berman's understanding of modernity reflects a period where individual experiences and social structures are constantly reshaped and revolutionary changes are experienced.⁴¹

"Early modernities" refers to the historical diversification of the concept of modernity and the various modernization processes that emerged in the early periods. This term encompasses the social, economic, and cultural changes in Western Europe from the 16th to the 18th centuries, both before and after the Industrial Revolution. Robert Brenner examines the commercial and political changes of the early modern period, detailing early modernization processes in Europe.⁴² "Early modernities" aims to go beyond the Western-centric narrative of modernity by exploring early modernization processes in different parts of the world.

The term "multiple modernities" suggests that modernity is not a single universal process but manifests in various forms across different societies and cultural contexts. Shmuel N. Eisenstadt developed this concept to highlight that modernity is experienced and shaped differently in different societies.⁴³ Peter Wagner also examines the diverse forms and processes of modernity, asserting that there is no

⁴¹ Berman, *op. cit.*, 1988.

⁴² Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders* (Princeton University Press, 1993), 1550-1653.

⁴³ Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, "Multiple Modernities," *Daedalus* 129, no. 1 (2000): 1-29.

single path to modernity and that each society has the capacity to create its modernity.⁴⁴

"Macro modernity" refers to the large-scale, societal, and global dimensions of modernity. This term typically examines the broad economic, political, and social changes and their impacts on larger social structures. Anthony Giddens analyzes the macro-level effects of modernity and its relationship with globalization, providing an understanding of the extensive dynamics of modernity.⁴⁵

"Micro modernity" focuses on the individual and small-scale community impacts of modernity. This term investigates how modernity is experienced in daily life and within small communities and how these experiences affect individual identities and relationships. Michel Foucault examines power relations over individuals and the mechanisms of social control at the micro level, shedding light on the individual impacts of modernity.⁴⁶

The fundamental differences between Berman's definition of modernity and the terms "early modernities," "multiple modernities," "macro modernity," and "micro modernity" lie in their perspectives on the nature and scope of modernity. While Berman views modernity as a universal and inevitable process, the perspective of "early modernities" emphasizes the emergence of modernization processes in different regions during early historical periods. "Multiple modernities" argues that modernization diversifies across societies and cultural contexts, each developing its understanding of modernity.

"Macro modernity" analyzes the broad societal and global impacts of modernity, whereas "micro modernity" examines the impacts of individual and everyday life. These terms demonstrate how modernity is experienced and shaped at different scales.

⁴⁴ Peter Wagner, *Modernity: Understanding the Present* (Polity Press, 2012).

⁴⁵ Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford University Press, 1990).

⁴⁶ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Pantheon Books, 1977).

It is essential to note that interpretations of modernity, mainly Berman's, are valuable because they aim to reveal the creative and transformative potential of modernism, in contrast to anti-modernity and post-modernity approaches. Berman emphasizes the continuous innovation and transformation capacity of modernism, presenting it not only as a critical framework but also as a positive and constructive force.

In conclusion, Berman's interpretation of modernity and the terms "early modernities," "multiple modernities," "macro modernity," and "micro modernity" offer different yet complementary perspectives on the understanding of modernization processes. While Berman's approach addresses the dynamic and transformative nature of modernity from a universal perspective, these terms illustrate how modernity diversifies and varies across historical, societal, and individual levels. Comparing these approaches helps us to grasp the richness and complexity of the concept of modernity more deeply.

On the other hand, Berman's interpretation of modernity is an appropriate method for analyzing the different phases of modernity and their relationship with (mass) housing in the context of *TOKI*. Berman's inclusive and open-ended definitions of modernity, modernism, and modernization provide the necessary theoretical framework to explore how *TOKI*'s housing policies shape visions of modernity and how these visions impact the meaning and scale of (mass) housing.

2.2.3. The Background of the Concept of (Mass) Housing

Another research area of the thesis is (collective) housing. Therefore, it is helpful to recall the origins of the concept of (mass) housing. The background of the concept of (mass) housing goes back to the technical and socio-economic forces springing from the Industrial Revolution.⁴⁷ Mass-production techniques can be followed until the mass-production of cast-iron by Abraham Darby in 1767.⁴⁸ In parallel, iron

⁴⁷ For more information, see Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London & New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992).

⁴⁸ As stated in "Part I: Cultural Developments and Predisposing Techniques 1750-1939), *ibid*, 2: Territorial Transformations: Urban Developments: 1800-1909," 20.

production in metallurgy grew dramatically between 1750 and 1850 in England.⁴⁹ This specialization and mass production have affected the dreams of housing and the production of housing, too. In the 1850s, The Edinburgh iron founder C.D. Young states his praises for technology and wishes to see the increase of its role in forming the whole city.⁵⁰

On the other hand, this demand did not carry into effect until the discovery of Taylorist and Fordist industrial production methods, which are the masterminds of mass production.⁵¹ From then on, mass production techniques started both in the imagination and production of housing prominently. As stated in the book of Barbara Miller Lane, Sigfried Giedion is one of the first names who expresses his wish to see the way mechanically produced mass products in the sector of housing.⁵² In other words, he was quite interested in catching the advantages of the Fordist techniques for “standard, well-designed, at low-cost” houses.⁵³

Walter Gropius is one of the first names to pioneer in the emergence of the concept of (mass) housing. One of his earliest publishing titled “Program for the Founding of a General Housing - Construction Company Following Artistically Uniform Principles (1910)”⁵⁴ – as well as his other articles and lectures in 1910⁵⁵ – are the pioneer sources of the concept to grasp the translation of prefabricated housing into the concept of (mass) housing.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ As stated in Gilbert Herbert, “8. Modernism, Technology and Utopian Hopes for Mass Housing: The dream of the Factory-made House: Walter Gropius and Konrad Wachsmann,” *op. cit.*, 240-247.

⁵¹ As stated in *ibid*; see also Dieter Bogenhold, “Mass Production,” in *the Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, edited by George Ritzer (USA, UK & Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 2827-2829.

⁵² As stated in *ibid*.

⁵³ As stated in *ibid*.

⁵⁴ Walter Gropius, “Program for the Founding of a General Housing – Construction Company Following Artistically Uniform Principles,” in *Housing and Dwelling: Perspectives on Modern Domestic Architecture*, edited by Barbara Miller Lane (London & New York: 2007), 237-240 (originally published in 1910).

⁵⁵ Walter Gropius, “The New Architecture and the Bauhaus,” in *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus*, translated by P. Morton Shand, an introduction by Frank Pick (Cambridge, Massachusetts: the MIT Press, 1971), 40.

Gropius starts his paper with the aim of “the industrialization of the building houses.”⁵⁶ According to the partial edition of the article in the book of Barbara Miller Lane, his motivation comes from the advantages of the “production methods, best materials and workmanship, and low cost.”⁵⁷ Even though he refers to various topics such as “ideal prototypes, “Zeitstil,” mass production, standard sizes, and individual needs,”⁵⁸ it will not be wrong the state that economic notions of the concept of (mass) housing override the others.

The only connection in the paper of Gropius is the chain of industrial development in housing production and its economic advantages through mass production. Even though he also refers to the aesthetic and social levels of housing, they are overwhelmed by the domination of economic forces.

2.2.4. Debates on (Mass) Housing and *TOKİ*

There are considerable academic discussions on the concept of (mass) housing. On the other side, the signification of (mass) housing varies according to its content and discussions. Accordingly, some of the significations of (mass) housing are public housing,⁵⁹ social housing,⁶⁰ high-rise/apartment housing,⁶¹ multi-residential

⁵⁶ Gropius, *op. cit.*, 2007.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ N. Bölükbaş, “Re-Reading of the Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project (St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.) in the Context of Modernism” (Master’s thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2016); Osman Suleiman The Invention of Brownstone Brooklyn: Gentrification and the Search for Authenticity in Postwar New York (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Gail Radford, Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).

⁶⁰ Paul Watt and Peer Smets ed. Social Housing and Urban Renewal: A Cross-National Perspective (U.K. Emerald Publishing Limited, 2017); N.B. Bican, “Securing Future of Social Housing: Learning from an Alternative Regeneration/Gyldenrisparken in Denmark” (Ph.D. diss., Middle East Technical University, 2016); M. Shahri, “The Impacts of State Policies on Social Housing and Urban Identity: The Case of Maskan Mehr in Urmia” (Master’s thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2015); Kimberly Elman Zarecor, Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945-1960 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011); Cliff Hague and Paul Jenkins, Place, Identity, Participation and Planning (London: Routledge, 2005).

⁶¹ Christine Varga-Harris, Stories of House and Home: Soviet Apartment Life During the Khrushchev Years. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015); Frank Wassenberg, Large Housing Estates: Ideas, Rise, Fall and Recovery: The Bijlmermeer and Beyond. (Delft: IOS Press, 2013); M. Havva Gürel, “Domestic Space, Modernity, and Identity: The Apartment in mid-20th Century Turkey” (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2007).

housing,⁶² cooperative housing,⁶³ mass-produced housing,⁶⁴ workers' housing,⁶⁵ immigrant housing,⁶⁶ and national housing.⁶⁷

Their differing grounds and theoretical frameworks likewise offer a wide range of opportunities for the inception of academic discussions. Therefore, some of them are on the experience of modernity,⁶⁸ production process and design quality,⁶⁹ the relationship between nation, citizens, and housing,⁷⁰ its ideological, political, economic, cultural, and institutional programming,⁷¹ its instrumentalization of mass production for social benefits,⁷² the place identity and the experience of its users,⁷³

⁶² Albostan, D. "Flexibility in Multi-Residential Housing Projects: Three Innovative Cases from Turkey" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2009).

⁶³ Bülent Batuman, *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Nation and Islam Through Built Environment* (New York: Routledge, 2018); G. Güler Kavas, "An Alternative Housing Experiment by the Housing Administration of Turkey: Ankara, Eryaman, Stage III" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2016); Figen Akpınar, "Class Dimension of Housing in the new Era of Liberalization: A Case Study in Ankara," *METU JFA* 25, no.2 (2008/2): 39-69.

⁶⁴ Frank Wassenberg, *Large Housing Estates: Ideas, Rise, Fall and Recovery: The Bijlmermeer and Beyond*. (Delft: IOS Press, 2013); İsbilen, E. "From Bauhaus to Ikea: Integration of Mass Production, Standardization, Modularization and Claim of Universality with Capitalist Mode of Production" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2012); K. Cupers, "In Search of the User: The Experiment of Modern Urbanism in Postwar France, 1955-1975" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2010); D. Albostan, "Flexibility in Multi-Residential Housing Projects: Three Innovative Cases from Turkey" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2009); N. Çapoğlu, "Home as a 'Place': The Making of Domestic Space at Yeşiltepe Blocks, Ankara" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2008); Radford, Gail. *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008); Cliff Hague and Paul Jenkins, *Place, Identity, Participation and Planning* (London: Routledge, 2005); İhsan Bilgin, "The Relationship Between Politics and Design in Mass Housing Production," *ITU A|Z* 1, no.1 (2004/1): 47-59.

⁶⁵ S. Karataş Başoğlu, "Building Marshall Plan in Turkey: The Formation of Workers' Housing Question, 1946-1962." (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2015).

⁶⁶ Y. Allweil, "Building a Home-Land: Zionism as a Regime of Housing 1860-2005" (Ph.D. diss., University of Berkeley, California, 2011).

⁶⁷ Y. Allweil, "Building a Home-Land: Zionism as a Regime of Housing 1860-2005" (Ph.D. diss., University of Berkeley, California, 2011).

⁶⁸ Bölükbaş, *op. cit.*; Zarecor, *op. cit.*; Gürel, *op. cit.*

⁶⁹ Güler Kavas, *op. cit.*

⁷⁰ Allweil, *op. cit.*

⁷¹ Karataş Başoğlu, *op. cit.*

⁷² İsbilen, *op. cit.*

⁷³ Watt and Peer ed., *op. cit.*; Bican, *op. cit.*; Cupers, *op. cit.*; Çapoğlu, *op. cit.*; Hague and Jenkins, *op. cit.*

urban and architectural complexities,⁷⁴ housing politics,⁷⁵ its flexibility, adaptability and typological variety,⁷⁶ gentrification,⁷⁷ and social reproduction.⁷⁸

In summary, neither the signification nor the academic debates on the concept of (mass) housing are limited to the frames of Gropius and Le Corbusier, the leading introducers of the concept of (mass) housing. Instead, the discussion topics tend to diversify as the frames change or expand. Within this respect, the subject of *TOKİ* in the dissertations has been studied every decade since the 1990s. It is still a standing topic that contains materials to re-read. Moreover, its problem area stands in an interdisciplinary location. The locations of the selected dissertations diversify as follows: architecture,⁷⁹ regional planning,⁸⁰ urban policy planning and local governments,⁸¹ city planning,⁸² urban and regional planning,⁸³ social service,⁸⁴ and labor economics and industrial relations.⁸⁵

⁷⁴ Shahri, *op. cit.*

⁷⁵ Batuman, *op. cit.*; Varga-Harris, *op. cit.*; Wassenberg, *op. cit.*; Radford, *op. cit.*; Bilgin, *op. cit.*

⁷⁶ Albostan, *op. cit.*

⁷⁷ Watt and Peer ed., *op. cit.*; Suleiman, *op. cit.*

⁷⁸ Akpınar, *op. cit.*

⁷⁹ M. Sezer, "Housing as a Sustainable Architecture in Turkey: A Research on TOKİ Housing" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2009); E. Özbilen, "Toplu Konutlarda Konut Topluluğu Ölçeğinde Bir Değerlendirme Yöntemi Önerisi: TOKİ Ankara Örneği" (Ph.D. diss., Gazi Üniversitesi, 2014); N. Parlak, "Typological Residential Urbanism: An Alternative Analysis of the TOKİ Housing Production as a Dominant Type" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2015); H.Ö. Büyük, "A Review of Urban Transformation Approaches: The Case of Çay, Çilek, and Özgürlük Neighborhoods, Mersin" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2019).

⁸⁰ E. Erözgün Satılmış, "The Contribution of the Housing Production of the Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) in Meeting Housing Need in Turkey by Provinces" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2011).

⁸¹ E. Gülcan, "Social Housing as a Solution for Housing Need of Low-Income: Evaluation of Housing Implementations of Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) for Lower-Middle Income Groups" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2020).

⁸² İ. Taner, "Evaluation of 1984 Mass Housing Law: Spatial Distribution of Housing Credits" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 1992).

⁸³ E. Altınok, "Kentsel Mekanın Yeniden Organizasyonunun Ekonomi Politikası ve Mülkiyete Müdahale – 2000 Sonrası Dönemde İstanbul TOKİ Örneği" (Ph.D. diss., Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2012).

⁸⁴ B. Hatiboğlu Eren, "Yoksul Kadınlar İçin 'Sıcak Yuva/Özgür Kent' Hayaliyle 'İmkansız Medeniyet' TOKİ: Feminist Sosyal Çalışma ve Kent İçi Yoksul Alanların Dönüşümü: Ankara, Aktaş Mahallesi Örneği" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2014).

⁸⁵ H. Yüksel, "Sosyal Politika Unsuru Olarak Toplu Konut İdaresi (TOKİ) Uygulamaları: Isparta İli Çünür ve Akkent Mahalleleri Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı'nca Yapılan Konutlarda İkamet Eden Konut Sakinlerine Yönelik Bir Alan Araştırması." Ph.D. diss., Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, 2014.

In addition, the selected dissertations on *TOKİ* vary on their grounds and theoretical frameworks. These selected dissertations study *TOKİ* through the arguments on sustainable architecture,⁸⁶ design limits of (mass) housing at housing ensemble scale,⁸⁷ typological residential urbanism,⁸⁸ urban transformation approaches,⁸⁹ housing production in meeting housing need,⁹⁰ social housing for lower-middle income groups,⁹¹ spatial distribution of housing credits,⁹² the political economy of urban space,⁹³ social policy,⁹⁴ and feminist social policy and social work.⁹⁵ According to these suppositions, a research field open to investigation is to discuss (mass) housing and *TOKİ* through a discourse analysis formed by the idea of modernity.

⁸⁶ Sezer, *op. cit.*

⁸⁷ Özbilen, *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ Parlak, *op. cit.*

⁸⁹ Büyük, *op. cit.*

⁹⁰ Erözgün Satılmış, E. *op. cit.*

⁹¹ Gülcan, *op. cit.*

⁹² Taner, *op. cit.*

⁹³ Altınok, *op. cit.*

⁹⁴ Yüksel, *op. cit.*

⁹⁵ Hatiboğlu Eren, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER 3

***TOKİ* IN TURKEY'S EXPERIENCE OF MODERNITY: SOCIO-POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT**

The aim in this chapter is to reveal the relationship between Turkey's experience of modernity and *TOKİ*, and to uncover the driving concepts that construct this relationship. The first aspect of this section is to comprehend the country's socio-political and socio-economic history. This examination is crucial to uncovering the country's experience of modernity and drawing conclusions about the changing character and structure of this experience.

In other words, the goal of the historical reading is not to produce a chronological and interconnected narrative encompassing the country's socio-political and socio-economic dimensions. Instead, it addresses this historical interpretation in conjunction with the discourses on modernity, modernism, and to be modern generated by political power. In this manner, it aims to discover the discursive changes intended to alter radically the country's experience of modernity. The second aspect of this section is to track the evolution and transformation of *TOKİ*'s agenda, its approach to production, the critical areas of debate it prioritizes, and its financial models.

In conclusion, this section aims to explore the country's experience of modernity while simultaneously uncovering *TOKİ*'s role and position within this experience. By overlapping these research areas, this section explores the different phases of modernity that *TOKİ* has undergone. Additionally, it aims to identify the notions that have influenced *TOKİ*'s experience of modernity.

3.1. First Phase: from 1984 to 2002

3.1.1. Background of the First Phase

The starting point for the research area of this thesis is the year 1984. The reason for this is that *TOKİ* emerged with the enactment of the Mass Housing Law (*Toplu Konut Yasası*)⁹⁶ in 1984. However, to capture snapshots of the experience of modernity in that period and accurately determine the position and role of *TOKİ* within this experience, it is necessary to examine the contextual background of the law in question closely. This contextual background consists of two main components.

The first one pertains to the urbanization experience of the period, housing policies, and the dynamics behind these policies. The post-World War II era was a turning point that shaped the country's experience of modernity in the economic, political, social, and cultural dimensions. This determinative nature of the period is not unique to Turkey. Sarah Williams Goldhagen states that this "anxious" period had some decisive outcomes worldwide. Some include the spread of democratic governance, the increasing number of welfare states, and the reconstruction of collapsing economies.⁹⁷

Turkey has experienced modernity in parallel with this global trend. One of the fundamental elements of this modernity experience is the country's intention to establish strong relations with the industrialized, capitalist Western world. Consequently, the country underwent profound urbanization, industrialization, democratization, and development changes. For these reasons, Turkey faced rapid economic modernization, mass migration from villages to major cities, and accelerated urbanization.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ *Toplu Konut Kanunu*, no. 2985, March 02, 1984.

⁹⁷ For more information, see Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Something to Talk About: Modernism, Discourse, Style," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no.2 (June 2005): 144-167.

⁹⁸ For more information, see Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, "Introduction," in *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 7-16; Sibel Bozdoğan, "Conclusion," in *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle:

The 1960s witnessed the establishment of critical developments that directly impacted the country's urbanization experience and housing policy. One such development was the 1961 Constitution, with which concepts such as social welfare and the social state entered the national agenda. The Constitution also addressed the housing issue under the right to health. In this context, the Constitution tasked the state with taking measures to meet the housing needs of poor or low-income families in conditions suitable for health.⁹⁹

The 1982 Constitution expanded and defined these rights concerning living and housing more clearly. It elaborated on the right to live in a healthy and balanced environment and the right to housing. Additionally, it stated that the state should take measures to meet housing needs within the planning framework and particularly support (mass) housing enterprises.¹⁰⁰

Another significant development was the establishment of the State Planning Organization (*DPT - Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*). This organization aimed to create the country's economic and social development roadmap. In this context, it also addressed the state's housing production policy and the role of (mass) housing within this policy.

In this framework, the First Five-Year Development Plan (1963-1967) drew attention to the rapidly increasing population and the necessity of meeting their housing needs and improving standards of living. For this purpose, it announced that it would support those constructing mass housing in cooperatives with legal and economic incentives instead of producing luxury housing and housing at social housing standards. Additionally, it included the research of economically standard, healthy, and locally appropriate types of mass housing on its agenda. These intentions and measures, provided within the framework of public service, align with the understanding of social welfare prevalent in the Western world.

University of Washington Press, 2001), 294-304; İlhan Tekeli, "1. Türkiye'de Kent Planlamasının Tarihsel Kökenleri," in *Türkiye'de Kentleşme Yazıları* (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1982), 26-147.

⁹⁹ Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 1961, Article 49.

¹⁰⁰ Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 1982, Articles 56 and 57.

The Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1979-1983) expressed the following critiques, which can be summarized as follows: Urban development plans had lost their function beyond legitimizing irregular development. Additionally, the housing produced with public support was insufficient to meet demand, and the measures implemented failed to curb rising housing prices. Consequently, slums became the primary means to fill this gap, with more than half of the population living in slums.

Consequently, the National Housing Policy Decree came into effect in 1980. The decree emphasized the need to prioritize housing for low- to middle-income groups and referenced the principles and measures to be adopted within this direction. Key measures highlighted included the rapid rehabilitation of slum areas and the prioritization of (mass) housing production to accelerate housing production and reduce costs. The decree also identified financing as a priority issue for housing production. It proposed encouraging the use of housing finance sources and taking measures to support the private sector's financial, technical, and organizational strength. A Mass Housing Law¹⁰¹ was enacted in 1981 in this framework, but this development was insufficient to effectively control the housing crisis.

The country's integration into neoliberal policies constitutes the second component of the contextual background of this period. This process began with the January 24, 1980 Decisions. These decisions marked a turning point in the country's economic policy, involving significant steps toward opening the national economy to the outside world and adopting a free market economy. These decisions were implemented by the then Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel of the Justice Party (*AP - Adalet Partisi*), and the 1980 Military Coup period continued to implement these decisions, aiming to maintain economic stability in the country.

After the military coup, the leading party of the first democratic election in 1983, the Motherland Party (*ANAP - Anavatan Partisi*), was also committed to these decisions. *ANAP's* 1983 election manifesto¹⁰² stated that the primary concern of *ANAP*, led by

¹⁰¹ *Toplu Konut Kanunu*, no. 2487, July 07, 1981.

¹⁰² *Anavatan Partisi, 6 Kasım 1983 Seçim Beyannamesi* (1983).

Turgut Özal, was economic development. The foundation of this economic growth was a "competitive free market economy." Additionally, it aimed for comprehensive development by building a political balance between economic and social development. The manifesto expressed that this holistic development would build a "new Turkey that is peaceful, stable, growing, strong, advanced, modern, and leaping into a new era."

The manifesto describes cities as the "mirror of society." Therefore, orderly and planned urbanization serves as a measure of the country's development. One of the "rational tools" for orderly and planned urbanization is mass housing. Within this conceptual framework, ANAP under Özal proposed a "program to strengthen economic and social development." One of the issues addressed in this program was housing. The prominent measures proposed under the housing section included:

- Completing urban development plans
- Increasing the authority of local units
- Solving housing financing through housing loans
- Establishing a housing fund based on off-budget resources
- Providing various supports to accelerate mass housing production
- Amending the mass housing law

3.1.2. In-between the Experience of Modernity and TOKİ

3.1.2.1. TOKİ's Agenda

With the election victory of Özal's government, a new Mass Housing Law ¹⁰³ was enacted. This law established the Mass Housing and Public Partnership Board (*Toplu Konut ve Kamu Ortaklığı Kurulu*), the name of which was changed to the High Planning Board (*Yüksek Planlama Kurulu*) in 1987. In 1990, the name of this board

¹⁰³ *Toplu Konut Kanunu*, no. 2985, March 02, 1984.

was updated to the Ministry of Housing Administration (*TOKİ - Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı*).

The purpose and scope of the law consist of the following motivations: Meeting housing needs, regulating the procedures and principles for those who build houses, developing industrial construction techniques, tools, and equipment according to the conditions and materials of the country, and creating and using the Mass Housing Fund (*Toplu Konut Fonu*) for the government support. The use areas of this fund include land supply to mass housing areas (through the mediums of determination, expropriation, and cadastre), and financial supports and incentives such as individual and mass housing loans, interest subsidy on housing loans, and investment and business loans to the industry of the housing sector for research, tourism infrastructure, residential infrastructure, schools, police stations, places of worship, healthcare facilities, sports facilities, post offices, playgrounds, and so on.

However, the institution had remained inactive for years due to legislation problems. In 1990, the Presidency of the Mass Housing Administration (*Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı*) and the Presidency of Public Partnership Administration (*Kamu Ortaklığı İdaresi Başkanlığı*) were organized.

In this year, *TOKİ* advanced its agenda on the mass housing issue. The on-topic supplements are as follows:

- Supporting the residential/housing construction industry and the employees in this field
- Participating in companies related to housing construction, especially in priority regions for development
- Ensuring to have all kinds of research, project, and contracting transactions are done by contract when necessary
- Providing housing assistance to civil servants, workers, and retirees

In 2001, the last article mentioned above was repealed. Two years later, the following items were included in the job description of *TOKİ*:

- To establish companies or be a partner in established companies and financial institutions related to the housing sector
- To develop projects firsthand or through its subsidiaries at home and abroad; to make housing, infrastructure, and social reinforcement implementations or have them made
- To make profit-oriented applications or have them made to provide resources to the administration
- To build, promote and support housing and social facilities with their infrastructure in regions where natural disasters occur
- To give individual and mass housing loans, providing loans to the projects for the development of village architecture, the transformation of slum areas, preservation and renewal of historical texture and local architecture, and making interest subsidies on all these loans when necessary

In short, although *TOKİ*'s goals and agenda have changed during this period, its primary focus has remained the same. This primary issue is to develop housing policies that enable the production of more, faster, and more economical housing.

3.1.2.2. Financing Models of *TOKİ* and Economic Crises

In addition to the Mass Housing Fund, the Development and Support Fund (*Geliştirme ve Destekleme Fonu*) was also given to *TOKİ*'s administration in 1990. However, in 1993, transferring funds allocated to *TOKİ* to the general budget limited the agency's resources.¹⁰⁴ As a result, *TOKİ*'s support for mass housing production significantly decreased. This dramatic change is evident in the comparative reading of the numbers between those of 1984-1992 and those of 1993-1999. While *TOKİ*

¹⁰⁴ 1993 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu, no.3859, December 25, 1992.

financed 877,984 housing units between 1984 and 1992, it financed only 252,117 housing units between 1993 and 1999.¹⁰⁵

TOKİ aimed to support mass housing production through various means in this framework. These means included mass housing loans, credit support to municipalities, credit support for families of martyrs, housing loans for citizens living in Germany, land allocation to cooperatives, a mass housing savings system, and projects realized with World Bank loans.¹⁰⁶

The main reasons for *TOKİ*'s inability to operate more effectively during these years included the country's political instability, periods of political crisis, economic stagnation, and the 1999 earthquake in the industrial center of İzmit. On the other hand, although these crises hindered *TOKİ*'s functional operation, they did not significantly change *TOKİ*'s or the government's urban and housing policies.

In 2000, *TOKİ* announced new production models it planned to implement. These models included providing serviced land and housing for low-income citizens, revenue-sharing-based housing supplies, customer-financed housing supplies, and securing long-term foreign loans.¹⁰⁷ However, there was little opportunity to experience these new models. On February 10, 2001, a political disagreement between then-President Ahmet Necdet Sezer and Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit quickly escalated into a nationwide economic crisis.

The reforms implemented to overcome this crisis brought about profound changes in the country's political, economic, social, and institutional structures. These reforms aimed to establish a rational, rule-based, and democratic model for the country. One of the reforms was to regulate public finance. *TOKİ*'s financial resources and economic support methods also underwent significant changes during this process. Funds allocated to *TOKİ*, such as the Mass Housing Fund and the

¹⁰⁵ TOKİ Basın Müşavirliği, *Toplu Konut 2000* (Ankara: T.C. Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Development and Support Fund, were abolished. Additionally, *TOKİ* terminated housing assistance to civil servants and retirees.

In the same year, the allocation and intended utilization of *TOKİ*'s resources has been updated as follows:

- To give individual and mass housing loans or subsidizing loans
- To provide land for mass housing areas
- To promote research, tourism infrastructures, housing infrastructures, schools, places of worship, health facilities, sports facilities, post offices, playgrounds, similar facilities, and the industrial enterprises of the housing sector through investment and business loans
- To support businesses and small industrial enterprises belonging to tradespeople and artisans through loans with the intent of creating jobs and employment
- To promote and support housing construction in disaster areas

3.2. Second Phase: from 2002 to 2017

3.2.1. Background of the Second Phase

2002 was a breaking point in the history of the country's politics and *TOKİ* for several reasons. One of these reasons is that 2002 marks the beginning of a political era that extends to the present day. According to the *AKP's* 2002 General Elections Manifesto,¹⁰⁸ the fundamental elements of *AKP's* (*AK Parti*) governance also reference the concepts of development and democratization. The party defines development as a result of adopting a market economy and a "democratic pursuit respectful of the pluralistic structure of society." In other words, this development and democratization are complementary government policies.

¹⁰⁸ *AK Parti, 2002 Genel Seçimleri Seçim Beyannamesi* (Tanıtım ve Medya Başkanlığı, 2015).

In this framework, the *AKP* describes itself as a "democratic, conservative, innovative, and contemporary" party. This definition contains a number of contradictions within itself. Briefly examining the relevant vital terms is helpful to understand this definition better.

The democratic identity here primarily refers to the right of the people to choose the leaders who will have the authority to govern and make political decisions. Other ideas discussed under this heading include the legal equality of people from different languages, religions, ethnicities, and social statuses, offering "freedom of thought, belief, education, organization, and enterprise," and enabling people to live freely and participate in politics.

The foundation of the conservative identity, on the other hand, consists of the ideas of preserving and carrying forward the "historical experience and accumulation of the nation." In other words, conservatism refers to protecting "local values" while opening up to the global world as a fundamental requirement of the country's adopted economic system.

To understand the ideas of innovation and modernity, looking at how the party defines the era and interprets modernity based on this definition is helpful. The party describes the contemporary world as a rapidly developing and changing shared experience where different nations interact economically, culturally, and socially. The triggers of this change are the regulations that form the basis of information, technology, and international relations - the understanding of universal law and the global free market are at the forefront of these regulations.

According to the party, in such a dynamic experience, trying to remain static or stay outside this global experience makes it impossible to meet the evolving needs of society and achieve a strong position in the international community. In this framework, the innovation referenced by the party is about actively participating in this global experience. The vision constructed around modernity explores how to

carry cultural and traditional values into the future rather than abandoning them while engaging in this experience.

The *AKP* Government frequently references modernity, modernism, and being modern. These references are closely related to the *AKP* Government's decision to make modernity a fundamental party policy. The reason for this is their dissatisfaction with the current modernization experience and their reaction to it, aiming to balance it by constructing a new modernization practice. These discourses often refer to the ongoing understanding of modernity and modernization practices. They include critiques and new interpretations of modernity across different dimensions and scales, such as the environment, cities, architecture, and mass housing.

These critiques and interpretations draw from a discourse between being modern, globalization, and civilization. An example of this is the speech given by then-Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu in 2015 at the launch of the “City-Human Civilization Bridge: Exemplary Personalities Project.” In his speech, Davutoğlu mentioned that modernity and globalization threaten urban culture. According to this idea, modernity destroys and transforms cities, uprooting them from their identities deeply rooted in “ancient civilization.” This alienation profoundly affects and transforms urban life. In response to the destructive actions he associates with modernity, Davutoğlu proposed a preservation culture that emphasizes the necessity of “preserving cities” and “protecting urban culture.” The sphere of action indicated by this preservation culture is “space” and “the architecture on that space.”¹⁰⁹

Based on this, it would not be incorrect to say that the *AKP* Government constructed a modern architectural understanding that aligns with its interpretation of modernity. There are many discourses on the definition of this modern architecture. At the core of these discourses lies the synthesis of modernity and locality. Modernity is associated with possessing, utilizing, and producing contemporary technological

¹⁰⁹ “Tanpınar’ın Beş Şehrinden Günümüz Türkiye’sine Şehir – İnsan,” *TOKİHABER*, no.66 (August 2015).

capabilities. Conversely, locality focuses on creating structures and spaces that reference the country's Seljuk and Ottoman cultural heritage. The concept of modernity built on this relationship aims to produce these structures and spaces through technological means and to enhance their spatial quality.¹¹⁰

The Presidential Complex is one of the projects produced based on this modern architectural understanding. Accordingly, the design of this complex relies on three fundamental principles: Seljuk architecture, Ottoman architecture, and intelligent architecture. Here, smart architecture is synonymous with modern architecture. In other words, being modern is defined through technical and economic benefits.¹¹¹

In other words, the modernity constructed by the *AKP* Government predominantly refers to technical and economic benefits and opportunities. This perspective, which denies the socio-political and cultural dimensions of modernity and sees it as dangerous, prefers instead to turn to the phenomena of culture and civilization and draw inspiration from selected past moments.

3.2.2. In-between the Experience of Modernity and *TOKİ*

3.2.2.1. *TOKİ*'s Agenda and Urbanization Approach

Another reason 2002 was a breaking point is the dramatic impact of the aforementioned political landscape and the understanding of modernity built upon it on *TOKİ*. This change began with the government's publication of an Emergency Action Plan (*Acil Eylem Planı*) in 2003.¹¹²

This plan referred to the government's new vision of Turkey as follows:

¹¹⁰ Some of them: "Yatay Yapılaşma Zamanı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 75 (May 2016); "Mimaride Modernlik ve Yerellik," *Çevre ve Şehir*, no. 22 (October 2013). *TOKİ* President, "Preface," *TOKİHABER*, no. 67 (September 2015); "Akıllı Konut Akıllı Şehir," *TOKİHABER*, no. 81 (November 2016).

¹¹¹ "Yatay Yapılaşma Zamanı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 75 (May 2016).

¹¹² T.C. 58. Hükümet, *Acil Eylem Planı* (AEP), January 03, 2003.

- To ensure economic stability
- To create a competitive market structure
- To achieve a sustainable development environment and to distribute its blessings fairly
- To eradicate poverty and corruption
- To create an environment where free and prosperous people live in peace
- To integrate with the contemporary world
- To perceive differences as richness and to contribute to the construction of a new world with this understanding
- To create a respectable, democratic Turkey where East and West coexist

In line with these goals, it made some structural changes and reforms on the social, economic, and administrative levels of the country. These activities are grouped under four main policy headings:

- Public administration reform
- Economic transformation program
- Democratization and law reform
- Social policies

One of the subjects covered by the last title is urbanization and settlement. Under this issue, it concluded that slums should be prevented and housing mobilization should be started. In line with these decisions, it put into action "Planned Urbanization and Housing Attack" (*Planlı Kentleşme ve Konut Seferberliği*) in charge of the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. This scope involves a five-year plan to produce 250,000 housing units through renovation, transformation, and production through the medium of *TOKİ*.¹¹³

¹¹³ <https://www.TOKİ.gov.tr/en/background.html> (accessed May 31, 2023).

In the same year, the corporate structure of *TOKİ* also changed. It started working connected to the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (*Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı*), and one year later, it was attached to the Prime Ministry (*Başbakanlık*).

In 2008, *TOKİ* added a new task to its duties:

- To make the projects and applications or have them made, subject to the Ministries' request and the Minister's approval to which they are affiliated.

With the "Law on the Transformation of Areas at Risk of Disaster"¹¹⁴ that came into force in 2012, regions declared disaster risk areas became one of *TOKİ*'s intervention areas. This law introduces various concepts and ideas of different scales and criteria. Some of these include facilitating life in cities, making cities more livable in the future, turning cities into brands, strengthening the spirituality and culture of renewed cities, rescuing cities from risky structures and living spaces, highlighting the history of the country and cities, and supporting urban tourism. In addition, the advantages provided by the forms of urban intervention in declared risk areas and reserve building areas are listed as follows: strengthening the country's economy through construction and related sectors, the opportunity for holistic change, transformation, and renewal in cities, and a method of producing land in cities.

In 2014, another shift would occur in *TOKİ*'s problem area and the scale of its intervention tools. Accordingly, *TOKİ* added the mission of establishing new settlements to its agenda that year. Through these new settlements, *TOKİ* aimed to produce a building fabric that is resilient to natural disasters, allowing cities to develop healthily, and reflecting the local identity and values of cities.

In summary, from this period onward, the factor guiding *TOKİ*'s housing policy is not rapid and economic housing production but rather the production of housing and living spaces within a specific model framework.

¹¹⁴ *Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun*, no. 6306, May 5, 2012.

3.2.2.2. Financing Models of *TOKİ* and Economic Crises

The program to combat the 2001 crisis cut off *TOKİ*'s financial resources. In 2003, *TOKİ* introduced the goal of generating its budget. In this context, *TOKİ* developed various financing models. One is the revenue-sharing model, where a contractor develops a project on land auctioned by *TOKİ*, and *TOKİ* receives a share from the project's sale. In this scenario, *TOKİ* uses the budget obtained from housing units produced for the upper-income group to finance housing units for citizens in the lower and middle-income groups. These revenue-sharing model projects are carried out or supported by *TOKİ*'s affiliates.¹¹⁵ These affiliates operate independently from *TOKİ* in administrative and financial terms and provide services to *TOKİ* in various scales and definitions.

Another financing model is to raise funds through the production or sale of projects by valorizing the land that *TOKİ* purchases from the treasury and public institutions in major urban centers. Through these resources, *TOKİ* aims to enable lower and middle-income citizens to become homeowners over extended periods (10 years, 15 years, 20 years) in alternative applications.

In this revised system, the housing credit policy also undergoes updates. Accordingly, *TOKİ* evaluates credit applications under the main headings of interest-free housing loans for families of martyrs, invalids, widows, and orphans, cooperative loans, loans for the preservation of immovable cultural assets and natural heritage, municipal loans, and disaster relief loans. Under the cooperative category,

¹¹⁵ In the *first* issue of *TOKİHABER* magazine, published in 2010, there were six of these subsidiaries. They are Emlak Konut Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı, Emlak Pazarlama İnşaat Proje Yönetimi ve Ticaret A.Ş., Gayrimenkul Ekspertiz A.Ş., TOBAŞ Toplu Konut Büyükşehir Belediyesi İnşaat Emlak ve Proje A.Ş., Vakıf Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı A.Ş. ve Vakıf İnşaat Restorasyon ve Ticaret A.Ş. For more information, see *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February 2010). According to the *TOKİ Corporate Profile* published in 2022, there are six of these subsidiaries. In this list, Emlak Pazarlama İnşaat Proje Yönetimi ve Ticaret A.Ş. and Gayrimenkul Ekspertiz A.Ş. are not included. Instead, GEDAŞ Gayrimenkul Değerleme A.Ş. and Boğaziçi Konut Hizmet Yönetim İşletim ve Ticaret A.Ş. are listed. For more information, see *TOKİ Corporate Profile* (Ankara: T.C. Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı, Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 2022).

TOKİ provides credit facilities only for unfinished cooperative constructions due to cost increases encountered during construction.

TOKİ's financial changes also led to a revision in how it supports housing. With the abolition of the Mass Housing Fund in 2001, the credit support provided to mass housing producers (cooperatives, cooperative unions, social welfare institutions, natural and legal entities, and municipalities that produce housing for sale to developers) also disappeared. Since 2003, *TOKİ* shifted its housing support policy from providing housing loans to the method of housing production. Through *TOKİHABER* magazine, *TOKİ* interprets this transformation as a shift from an era of “bad cooperation” to a period characterized by the production of quality and fast housing facilitated by *TOKİ*.¹¹⁶ With this production mode, *TOKİ* also introduces an expansion through housing models. Accordingly, numerous issues associated with housing and (mass) housing production have become part of *TOKİ*'s agenda, such as migration, squatter areas, urban transformation, natural disasters, poverty, historical texture, excessive population in large cities, urban infrastructure, and immigrants.

In 2003, the intended use of the resources of *TOKİ* has been updated as follows:

- To provide loans and subsidize interest on these loans to the projects for the development of village architecture, the transformation of slum areas, and the preservation and renewal of historical texture and local architecture.

In addition to all these, *TOKİ* has also obtained authorization over some other issues:

- In 2004: to develop slum transformation projects for the clearance or improvement of the slum areas and to make construction practices and financing arrangements for these projects
- In 2008: to run earthquake-related transformation projects

¹¹⁶ “*TOKİ Konut Üretiminde Seviyeyi Yükseltti*,” *TOKİHABER*, no 2 (March 2020).

The other trigger that affected the scale and extent of *TOKİ*'s production in Turkey was the global crisis that broke out in 2008. There is more than one theory on its causes. The leading one is using housing as an investment tool and housing finance. Accordingly, the crisis gave its first signals through the depreciation in the subprime mortgage market in the USA. It turned into an international banking crisis with the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers on September 15, 2008. In the last stage, it turned into a global financial and economic crisis.

Developed countries were more affected by this crisis. Nevertheless, there were contradictions in the Turkish economy, and inflation on a global scale also affected Turkey. The relationship between this crisis, urban policy, and housing is also worth mentioning. The economic and political environment in Turkey, which was affected by the crisis, resulted in the government adopting an authoritarian centralism. Infrastructure and real estate projects have become vehicles for economic growth and job creation. *TOKİ* became a functional tool for managing the government's growing control over urban land and housing markets in this scenario.

3.3. Third Phase: from 2017 to the Present

3.3.1. Background of the Third Phase

The second breaking point acknowledged by this thesis is the year 2017. The nature of this breaking point differs from the previous one. In 2017, a structural change emerged in the country's modernity experience. Additionally, this period marks the beginning of a nationwide economic crisis. While these changes do not directly propose an alteration to the structure of *TOKİ*, the radical shift in the country's modernity experience naturally alters its relationship with *TOKİ*. Therefore, this thesis needs to examine this relationship and the modernity discourse that *TOKİ* built in line with this relationship.

The main reason for the break between this period and the previous period is the profound change in the country's political structure. Following the Constitutional

Amendment Referendum held nationwide in 2017, the Presidential Government System was implemented in 2018. This change and the new governance model refer to visions of modernity such as centralization, which allows for a holistic approach to the government system, creating a stable political life and making the country more democratic by eliminating the "guardianship" system that controls national administration.¹¹⁷

One of the slogans featured in the *TOKİHABER* magazine for this new system is "strong parliament, strong government, strong Turkey." In other words, this new system adopts a vision of goals and a future built through centralized power. One of the steps taken in this direction includes reducing the number of ministries, removing the authority of ministers to propose legislation, and replacing the decrees issued by the Council of Ministers with presidential decrees covering economic, social, and cultural rights.

President Erdoğan claims this 'reformist' approach will create widespread effects at all scales and levels. He also states that the New Turkey, built on a new governance model, is expected to trigger structural changes in the country's public, private, and civil sectors.¹¹⁸

The discourses produced by this political rupture on modernity, modernism, and to be modern are parallel to the previous period. These discourses also draw strength from dissatisfaction with the modernization experience that preceded the *AKP* government and the motivation to react to or balance this experience. As in the previous period, a discourse constructed between being modern, globalization and civilization nourishes these critiques and interpretations. An example of this is the comparison made between Ottoman cities and contemporary cities. According to this comparison, how Ottoman cities integrated different civilizations into their own

¹¹⁷ Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi Genel Başkanı İzmir Milletvekili Binali Yıldırım ve Grup Başkanvekilleri Kayseri Milletvekili Mustafa Elitaş, Amasya Milletvekili Mehmet Naci Bostancı, Aksaray Milletvekili İlknur İnceöz, Çanakkale Milletvekili Bülent Turan ve İstanbul Milletvekili Mehmet Muş ile 310 Milletvekilinin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasasında Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi (2/1504) ve Anayasa Komisyonu Raporu, TBMM.

¹¹⁸ "Yeni Bir Yönetim Modeline Geçtik," *TOKİHABER*, no. 102 (August 2018).

culture differs from the interaction experienced in today's modernity. Ottoman cities reinterpreted these encounters in their unique way, enriching their culture. However, with modernity, the value given to "civilization" has diminished, and the cities built have started to standardize and resemble each other. The only way to cope with this modernity is to preserve or revive our historical texture.¹¹⁹

Additionally, during this period, some discourses criticized the impact of the modernization experience on culture and society and aimed to change this experience. One example is President Erdoğan's speech at the educational and consultation meeting organized for World Urbanism Day in 2018. In this speech, Erdoğan mentioned that the modernization experience, built by emulating Western civilization over the past two centuries, had improved the country's physical conditions. However, this improvement came at a cost. This cost was the loss of "the cosmic vision of our civilization, the essence of our culture, and the spirit of our cities." Referring to this, Erdoğan described the modernization experience his government aims for: "In the coming period, we will use our strength, resources, and hearts more to enrich our souls, elevate our civilization, and accelerate our culture." This experience references the country's culture and local values while pointing to modernization practices that meet the needs of modern life.¹²⁰

In addition, some academics and thinkers criticize the societal changes brought about by the modernization experience. An example of this thought points to the "family" and family space, seen as the cornerstone of society. According to this view, the process of modernization has radically transformed "family life" and "family culture." The shift from the "extended family" structure to "nuclear family" and "single-parent family" structures is one of the most salient changes. This transformation has undoubtedly influenced space and housing production. On the other hand, the city, space, and housing production also have the power to shape

¹¹⁹ "Osmanlı Şehirleri Kendi Medeniyet Anlayışını Geliştirmiştir," *TOKİHABER*, no. 97 (March 2018).

¹²⁰ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "Gücümüzü, Kültür ve Medeniyetimizi Yükseltme için Kullanacağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 106 (December 2018); "Amacımız, Türkiye'yi Dünyanın En Güçlü Devletleri Seviyesine Çıkarmak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 129 (November 2020).

"family culture." Therefore, the production of cities, spaces, and (mass) housing also represents society's production.

According to this perspective, being aware of this representation is essential. In response to the changing conditions and needs of the day, it is important to recognize other guiding subjects instead of adhering solely to the standard assumptions that come under the banner of modernity. These subjects already exist in our history. Examples include are Mimar Sinan, Mimar Hayreddin, Mehmet Tahir Ağa, Ali Neccar, Turgut Cansever, Akif Emre, Köksal Alver, Alev Erkilet, Semavi Eyice, and Mehmet Ögün.¹²¹

3.3.2. In-between the Experience of Modernity and *TOKİ*

3.3.2.1. *TOKİ*'s Agenda and Urbanization Approach

This period does not bring a direct change to *TOKİ*'s structure. The projects and discourses produced during this time refer to the "Planned Urbanization and Housing Mobilization" initiated within the framework of the Emergency Action Plan in 2003. On the other hand, this new period has witnessed many financial and economic crises in the country. These crises and the trend towards centralization have profoundly affected the Ministry's and *TOKİ*'s urbanization and housing policies, as well as their relationships and positions in the contemporary world.

In 2018, *TOKİ* updated its production model, initially defined in 2014, to reflect the production of a structure that embodies local identity and values. This update represents a new urbanization model that combines the architectural approach adopted in 2014 with ideas of smart urban transformation and sustainability. In this context, various ideas emerge, such as creating greener cities and residential areas, green buildings, producing economic and efficient buildings in new building stocks,

¹²¹ "Adil Bir Şehir ve Mekan İnşa Etmek Elimizde," *TOKİHABER*, no. 99 (May 2018); "Yerelin Sosyolojisini Anlamak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 99 (May 2018).

and enhancing energy efficiency in homes while reclaiming commercial production areas for the city.

During this period, new forms of intervention in planning and implementation at the urban and housing scales emerged. One of the updates implemented in this context involves activating aesthetic committees in cities to regulate city identity studies. The aim is to prepare 'urban design guidelines' tailored to each city's climate, geographical features, history, and unique architectural texture and aesthetics.

In this period, green infrastructure projects have come to the fore within the scope of sustainable urbanization and sustainable urban transformation. These projects include *TOKİPARKs* and Community Gardens (*Millet Bahçeleri*). *TOKİPARKs* are city parks planned in metropolitan areas, while millet gardens are recreational areas created by reclaiming areas owned by *TOKİ*. The intention is to create these gardens in every city, not only just the major cities. The Ecological Corridors Project was added to these infrastructure projects a year later. This project aims to create connecting areas that ecologically link habitats in geographically close regions. By doing so, it seeks to facilitate species migration and protect Turkey's natural environment, biodiversity, fauna, and flora. Community Gardens are also considered essential components of this project.

Another significant development in 2018 relates to zoning plan notes. On the one hand, these notes refer to horizontal architecture and regionalism. On the other hand, they focus on new designs proposed for city centers and areas with a historical fabric and the selection of materials for these designs. These selections are made based on decisions that consider the suitability of the cities' historical and natural textures.

Another innovation implemented during this period under the understanding of sustainable urban transformation is the creation of urban transformation laws and urban transformation strategy documents specific to each city. These action plans focus on four transformation efforts:

- the transformation of structures and areas at risk of earthquakes
- the transformation of areas at risk of floods and landslides
- the renewal of historic city centers and squares
- the relocation and transformation of industrial areas

These plans offer transformation activities that approach the city holistically rather than parcel- and building-based transformation practices. The ideas referenced in these transformation activities include sustainability, energy efficiency, environmental sensitivity, compatibility with cultural and traditional textures, and city identities. Here, city identities are evaluated as 'unique' and refer to the city's history and culture.

Also in 2023, the issue of urban transformation re-entered the country's and the ministry's agenda following two major earthquakes centered in Kahramanmaraş. These earthquakes caused significant destruction in ten provinces, making these areas declared disaster zones. The widespread urban destruction necessitated rapid and large-scale interventions in residential and construction areas. In response to this need, the government enacted an emergency law.¹²² This law facilitated the adoption of new decisions for reconstructing cities and housing in the disaster zone. These decisions included changing the status of designated areas and transferring or urgently expropriating private properties. *TOKİ* has been one of the primary instruments in managing this process and structuring the participation of other actors in it. Along with the updated agenda, projects for earthquake-prone regions and cities in the country have increased. One such project is the "Half of the Urban Transformation on Us" (*Kentsel Dönüşümde Yarısı Bizden*) campaign, which aims to eliminate risky buildings in Istanbul within five years.¹²³

¹²² *Olağanüstü Hal Kapsamında Yerleşme ve Yapılaşmaya İlişkin Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararnamesinin Kabul Edilmesine Dair Kanun*, no. 7452, April 05, 2023.

¹²³ *TOKİ HABER*, no.159 (May, 2023).

In 2023, the Urban Transformation Directorate was established, and a new urban transformation and earthquake law¹²⁴ was enacted. This law aims to create new formulas for urban transformation, making it easier and faster. Some fundamental changes in this context involve the required number of votes for urban transformation decisions and the definition of 'reserve areas' in the Urban Transformation Law. According to the updated law, a revised urban transformation decision requires a majority of 50% +1 votes. The updated definition of 'reserve areas' removes the term 'new settlement areas' and includes the phrase 'existing urban and rural areas.' In other words, property rights in 'existing urban and rural areas' have become contentious.

3.3.2.2. Advanced Technology and Climate Change

In 2019, another critical factor expected to contribute significantly to the country's development was the production of advanced technology and its transformation into innovative products and services. To this end, centers such as Technoparks (*Teknoparklar*) and Technology Transfer Offices (*TTO*) were established. The Smart City concept is an essential example of investment in advanced technology in the country. The Smart City Information Sharing Platform was created to guide local governments.

TOKİ has integrated the Smart City concept and the Zero Waste Project into its projects. In this context, it has developed geographical information systems to achieve digital transformation through national smart technology. Another development related to integrating advanced technology into the building inspection system is establishing the National Green Building Certification System. This system aims to promote the widespread construction of energy-efficient buildings capable of generating energy. It also aims to integrate the construction sector into the global market through this technology production and to establish a strong position in this

¹²⁴ 7471 sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun ile Bazı Kanunlarda ve 375 sayılı Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamede Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun, no. 32364, November 9, 2023.

market. The Ministry announced that the National Smart Cities Action Plan, which was declared in 2019, aligns with these goals.

During this period, the Ministry also included on its agenda the issuance of the "Declaration of Cities that Sustain Our Civilization" (*Medeniyetimizi Sürdüren Şehir Beyannamesi*) and the "Unique Neighborhood Certificate" (*Benzersiz Mahalle Sertifikası*), as well as the creation of Urban Information System Modules to process urban data infrastructure. Additionally, it aimed to establish a real estate value information center integrated with the Land Registry and Cadastre Information System.

In 2019, in line with the vision of sustainable growth, Emlak Bank was reactivated and renamed Turkey Emlak Participation Bank. The bank aims to provide various financial services for housing, land, and real estate investments and to support *TOKİ* projects.

In 2021, the Ministry began referring to climate change as a development issue.¹²⁵ The reason for this is the potential of climate change to impact the sustainability of many sectors directly. The government's approach to the issue of climate change has even led to a change in the Ministry's name. The Ministry was renamed the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization, and Climate Change in the same year. As part of the fight against climate change, The Ministry has put goals on its agenda, such as the National Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan 2050, the 2053 Net Zero Emission target, the establishment of the National Climate Change Research Center, the enactment of a Climate Law, and the adoption of Green Development principles.

3.3.2.3. Economic Depression and Housing Crisis

In 2018, *TOKİ* was affiliated with the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. 2018 is also significant as it marks the beginning of a new financial and economic

¹²⁵ "İklim Değişikliğiyle Mücadelede Sorumluluk Bütün Dünyanıdır Hepimizindir," *TOKİHABER*, no. 133 (March 2021).

crisis in Turkey. Frequently cited reasons for this crisis include the failure to implement necessary "structural reforms" and the management of foreign policy. The consequences of this crisis can be summarized as follows: low growth rates, declining investments, increasing unpaid debts, rising unemployment, currency devaluation, high inflation, and prolonged stagnation.

On the other hand, some studies propose other theories regarding the primary causes of this crisis.¹²⁶ These examples claim to address the issue from a broader perspective, highlighting neoliberal policies and their global and national consequences. These policies include a market-oriented economy, economic growth through speculation, inflows of hot money, and foreign policy and their results on both global and national levels. The built environment and the construction sector are part of this financial process and are affected by this crisis in various ways. These outcomes include using housing as an investment or savings tool, creating capital through urban projects and real estate, and using housing as collateral in debt-based financialization.¹²⁷

The financial and economic crisis and the housing crisis that began in 2018 continue to persist today. Several factors have contributed to the deepening of this crisis. One significant factor is the COVID-19 pandemic and the government's inability to provide adequate economic support during this period. Particularly during this time, despite many vacant houses, housing prices and rents skyrocketed.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Some of these include: Özgür Orhangazi and A. Erinc Yeldan, "The Re-making of the Turkish Crisis," *Development and Change* 52, no.3 (2021), 460-503; Yunus Yücel and Berkay Kabalay, "Suicidal Economy of Turkey in Times of Crisis: 2018 Crisis and Beyond," *Critical Sociology* 49, no.4-5 (July, 2023), 783-800.

¹²⁷ For more information, see Emre Ergüven, "The Political Economy of Housing Financialization in Turkey: Links with and Contradictions to the Accumulation Model," *Housing Policy Debate* 30, no.4 (2020), 559-584; Manuel B. Aalbers, "The Financialization of Home and the Mortgage Market Crisis," *Competition & Change* 12, no.2 (June, 2008), 148-166; Alan Smart and James Lee, "Financialization and the Role of Real Estate in Hong Kong's Regime of Accumulation," *Economic Geography* 79, no.2 (April, 2003), 153-171; David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1985).

¹²⁸ For more information, see Monsurat Ayojimi Salami, Harun Tanrivermis and Yeşim Aliefendioğlu (Tanrivermis), "Interdependence between Foreigner Housing Acquisitions and Housing Price Increase in Turkey during the COVID-19 Pandemic Era," *International Journal of Housing Markets and Analysis* 16, no.3 (March, 2023), 1753-8270; Halkevleri, *Halkevleri Konut Krizi Raporu* (Ankara: Halk Evleri Genel Merkezi, 2021).

In 2022, the government, through *TOKİ* and relevant ministries, launched several campaigns to mitigate the effects of the ongoing housing crisis. The campaigns organized by *TOKİ* include the "My First Home, My First Workplace Project" (*İlk Evim, İlk İş Yerim Projesi*) and the "My First Homeland" (*İlk Evim Arsa*) campaign. These campaigns have been declared "the largest social housing projects in the history of the Republic." Accordingly, the goal is to provide 500,000 housing units, 250,000 serviced housing plots, and 50,000 workplaces. The aim is to provide safe living spaces for 3,750,000 people.

Another significant campaign announced during this period is the "New Home Housing Finance Program" (*Yeni Evim Konut Finansman Programı*). This program results from a joint effort by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change and the Ministry of Treasury and Finance. Its purpose is to unite the support of the housing and finance sectors with the government for middle-income citizens who wish to become homeowners for the first time. These projects aim to create solutions by uniting the housing and finance sectors to alleviate the country's economic depression and housing crisis.

3.4. Conclusive Remarks

In summary, between 1984 and the present, there have been two breaking points concerning the country's experience of modernity and *TOKİ*'s position and role within this experience (See Table 3.1.). At the end of this section, this thesis presents notions that influence these turning points include development, urban planning, urbanization, democratization, and the social state. These notions are not the only ideological foundations influencing *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity, but they are among the notions that dramatically impact this field of study and its transformations.

Therefore, the thesis intends to explore the nature of *TOKİ*'s constructed visions of modernity by examining the conceptual foundations that influence these turning points. In this context, the ongoing discussions analyze *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity through the lens of the five influential concepts.

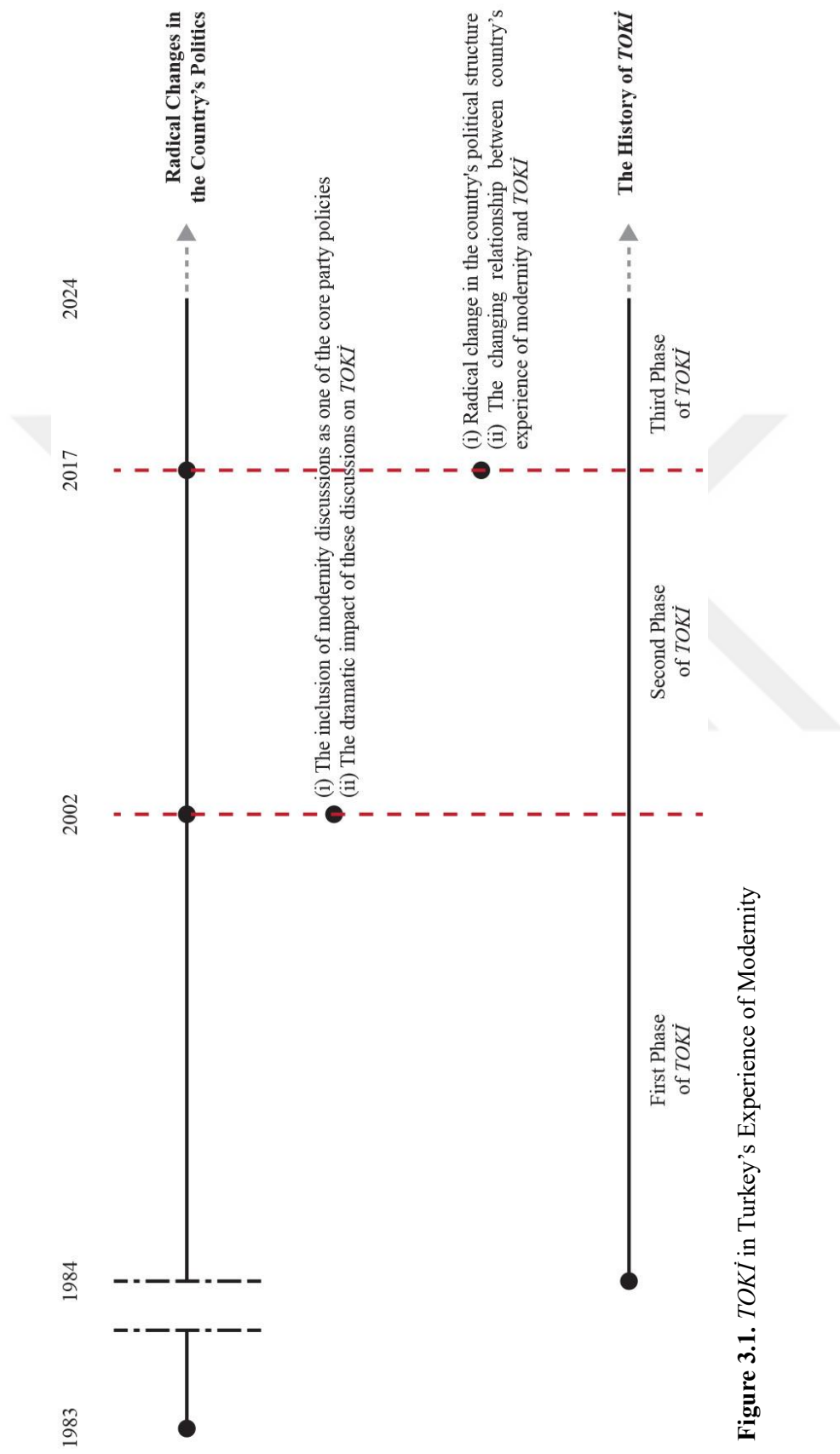


Figure 3.1. *TOKİ* in Turkey's Experience of Modernity



CHAPTER 4

THE MENTAL MAP OF POLITICAL POWER AND *TOKİ* IN DIFFERENT PHASES OF MODERNITY

The primary research question of this section revolves around how to conduct a comprehensive analysis of modernity through selected concepts that have played a decisive role in various phases of modernity within *TOKİ*. This research question aims to identify the visions of modernity in *TOKİ*'s various phases, "the creative forces" behind these visions, their transformations, and their interrelations.

Consequently, this chapter examines the visions of modernity that *TOKİ* has constructed through selected concepts and the areas of discussion, as well as the ideas, values, and concepts shaping these visions. The goal is to uncover the mental maps of modernity adopted by *TOKİ* and the political authority across different phases. Furthermore, it seeks to identify the connections between these mental maps and the country's adopted economic policies and tools.

The primary sources for this section are the bulletins and magazines compiled and published by *TOKİ* and its affiliated ministry. These include the Ministry Bulletin of the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (*Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı – Bakanlık Bülteni*)¹²⁹ and the magazine *TOKİHABER*.¹³⁰ This review also includes

¹²⁹ *Bakanlık Bülteni*, Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı (1984-1992), <https://cevresehiriklimkutuphanesi.csb.gov.tr/Books>, (accessed Jan 05, 2024). This scan starts with the 81st issue, published in November 1984, aligning with the enactment of the Mass Housing Law of 1984 was enacted. It ends with the 114th issue, published in 1992, as it ends in the digital archive of the ministry. Issues 87 and 93 are not considered in this discussion as they are absent in this archive.

¹³⁰ *TOKİHABER*, İstanbul: Emlak Basın Yayın A.Ş., (2010-), <https://www.TOKİhaber.com.tr/dergi-arsivi/>, (accessed Jan 05, 2024). The magazine commenced publication in 2010, and as of 2015, it has been printed and produced online in an e-magazine format. Since I could not access the 11th, 21st, 28th and 94th issues in the archival work, the readings made through this magazine do not cover these issues.

written press releases by significant institutional and political figures on *TOKİ*'s activities.

The ministry bulletins examined span the years 1984 to 1991 with 1984 being a starting point as it marks the enactment of the Mass Housing Law and the establishment of *TOKİ*. The tracking through this source ends after August 1991, since the bulletin has ended that year. After the middle of 1990, although there were a number of exceptions, this bulletin, which used to be published every two or three months, began to be published every four or five months. With the financial crises in 1990 and 1994 and the integration of *TOKİ*'s budget into the general budget in 1993, accessing the discourses constructed by *TOKİ* and the ministry on the public platform through written statements became more difficult. The ministry and *TOKİ*, with some exceptions, would sideline the written press as a vehicle for discourse building because of budgetary constraints.

Additionally, 1991 was the year the political landscape changed in Turkey during the general elections, during which *ANAP* (*Anavatan Partisi*) lost its dominant position, which it had held since 1983. The party fell behind the *DYP* (*Doğru Yol Partisi*), relegating *ANAP* to the position of the second-largest party in the country. This political change began with the results of the local elections in 1989. Since 1984, *ANAP*, which held the majority of local administrations, slipped to the third-party position in these elections. The echo of this political change in the country was even reflected in the written press produced by the ministry, so much so that this political defeat was the subject brought up by the Minister of Public Works and Settlement at that time, Cengiz Altınkaya, in the ministry bulletin.¹³¹

Similarly, *TOKİHABER* does not cover the entire period from 2002 to 2017. The *TOKİHABER* magazine began its print publication in 2010, and since 2015, it has been published both in print and digitally. Even though 2010 does not signify a breaking point or significant break in *TOKİ*'s history, it is a period during which

¹³¹ Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı Cengiz Altınkaya Göreve Geldiği Günden Beri Yoğun Bir Ziyaretçi Trafiği İçerisinde,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 106 (April-May-June 1991).

significant social and political developments occurred in Turkey, including a constitutional referendum. This referendum resulted in two extreme interpretations in public opinion regarding its content and the meaning it represents. One interpretation was that it marks Turkey's confrontation with the "tutelage regime" and a significant step towards democratization. Another interpretation was that this referendum allowed the *AKP (Ak Parti)* to take control of all state levels, particularly the judiciary. According to another interpretation, this experience foreshadows the referendum held in 2017 for a Turkish-style presidential system.¹³² Ultimately, the referendum victory solidified the political authority of the *AKP* and contributed to its victory in the local elections held in 2011.

In such a political atmosphere, *TOKİHABER* served as a tool for constructing a general vision of modernity for society and the state. The magazine's discourse typically aligns with the milestones set in 2003, marking the beginning of the *AKP*'s governance and the transformative period for *TOKİ*'s goals, methods, and financial structures under this political ideology, which is defined as the "new Turkey vision."

TOKİHABER does not solely represent state-produced discourse but includes writings from academics, professionals, and administrators. These contributions frequently align with the magazine's central discourse, broadening its scope across various levels and dimensions. Nevertheless, some of the writings in this publication include critical perspectives and viewpoints that challenge or diverge from the established narrative framework.

TOKİ produces this magazine to announce its activities and address issues and developments in the construction and housing sectors. Additionally, it serves as a valuable resource for tracking the political and economic positions of key government figures, the impact of these positions on housing policies, and the relationship between the discourse and the concept of modernity, guiding theoretical and practical developments in Turkey.

¹³² <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-39462061> (accessed July 10, 2016).

Consequently, although the publication dates of these sources do not perfectly align with the focus periods of the thesis, they do in fact provide valuable insights into *TOKI*'s history and evolution. The thesis uses this discontinuous review to explore when and how written discourse is utilized and transformed into a strategic tool. This approach aligns with the intellectual background of the thesis, acknowledging that the outcomes of the study depend on the variability of sources, methodologies, and time frames. In this context, the goal is to provide nuanced insights rather than definitive conclusions.

Methodologically, the thesis identifies and quantifies selected notions in these sources, focusing on the contexts in which they are produced and by whom. This method does not track the frequency of the selected notions within the text but counts the number of articles referencing them.

The thesis follows a structure aligned with *TOKI*'s different phases of modernity, with two subheadings for each period. The first examines the visions of modernity constructed through selected notions, namely development, urban planning, urbanization, democratization, and the social state. This examination identifies the notion, acting as the "creative force" of the period.

The second subheading explores the visions of modernity built upon the above notions. This examination references the country's political/administrative, economic, social, cultural, societal, and industrial objectives across various scales and dimensions. Through this, it uncovers the ideas, values, and concepts that form the building blocks of these visions constructed by *TOKI* in different phases of modernity.

4.1. From 1984 to 2002

4.1.1. *TOKİ*'s Visions of Modernity

This section thoroughly examines the visions of modernity that *TOKİ* constructed between 1984 and 2002 through the selected notions of development, urban planning, urbanization, and democratization. The thesis bases the order of these notions on the number of articles identified through a comprehensive review. Although the 1961 Constitution introduced the concept of the social state into the national agenda,¹³³ *TOKİ*'s written discourse does not refer to this concept. Therefore, the thesis concludes that *TOKİ* did not utilize this concept in constructing its visions of modernity.

4.1.1.1. Development

The analysis of concepts in the bulletins produced between 1984 and 2002, the first period under scrutiny, yields the following findings: "development" is the most frequently referenced term. Among the 134 articles and written pieces in the bulletin, 16 of the articles are authored by and attributed to the writers and editors of the Ministry Bulletin. Among these references, 75 had been authored by individuals working within the ministry or its affiliated institutions.¹³⁴ The Prime Minister contributed six, while another government minister contributed one. Moreover, other actors make 32 references.¹³⁵ (See Table 4.1.)

¹³³ The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey (1961), Article 49.

¹³⁴ Minister; Ministry Advisor; Ministry Undersecretary; Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry; Director of Public Works and Settlement; General Directorate of Construction Works; Regional Director of Airports and Fuel Facilities Construction; President of Research, Development, and Coordination Board; General Directorate of Technical Research and Implementation; General Directorate of Technical Research and Implementation; General Directorate of Highways; General Directorate of Railways, Ports, and Airports Construction; President of Research, Planning, and Coordination Board.

¹³⁵ International organizations, such as United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), United Nations Commission on Human Settlements, and the World Bank; professional chambers and associations; urban planners, architects, or engineers; academicians; individuals or companies in the construction industry.

Table 4.1. Number of articles discussing selected concepts and authors, 1984-2002

1984-2002	WHO														TOTAL
SELECTED NOTIONS	Editors and Writers of the Ministry Bulletin	Officials within the Ministry	Development and Investment Bank	Prime Minister	Governor	Mayor	Ministers From Other States	Official Gazette	International Organizations	Professional Chambers and Associations	Urban Planners, Architects, or Engineers	Academicians	Individuals or Companies in the Construction Industry	Others	
Development	16	75		6			1		3	3	24	1	1	4	134
Urban Planning	10	47	3		2	3		1			6			1	73
Urbanization	10	35		1	1	1			1	3	8			2	62
Democratization	2	21	2								2			2	29

These discourses also contain a number of descriptions of the period to which they belong. According to these descriptions, dramatic advancements in science and technology are the most characteristic features of the 20th century. These advancements have shortened distances between countries, exposing different people and lifestyles to each other more intensely. This exposure and interaction have ignited a comprehensive change both globally and nationally.

Other significant factors in Turkey's transformations are the shift from rural to urban life and from a local economy to one integrated on national and international scales. Developing and emerging nations, of which Turkey is one of a number of such nations, are experiencing this environment and undergoing modernization processes within this experience.

Efforts to keep up with the changing world also emerge as the country's quest for progress. Constant changes and transformations constantly test these efforts. In such an experience, it is the duty of the government to remember that the state exists for the people and to provide solutions to the changing needs and problems of the citizens.¹³⁶

These discourses also highlight a form of development that values relationships established through representation with countries around the world. This representation includes forms of modernity drawn through housing. For example, the discourse linking the development of athletes representing the country to national development views providing housing rights to athletes as a step towards national advancement.¹³⁷

The narratives generated through the ministry's services and duties focus on the country's reconstruction and development goals. These goals include making the

¹³⁶ "Sincan Fatih Mahallesinde 150 Konutun Anahtar Teslimi Yapıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 113 (August, 1991); "Dünya Konut Yılı Nedeniyle Günaydın Gazetesinin Düzenlediği Sempozyumda Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı İ. Safa Giray'ın Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 95 (January-February, 1987); "Dünya Konut Yılı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 95 (January-February, 1987).

¹³⁷ "Emlak Kredi bankası Altı Başarılı Sporcuya Ev Verdi," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 97 (May-June, 1987).

country habitable and achieving rapid development through planned and systematic growth. The aim is to elevate the country both socially and economically, making it 'larger and more prosperous.' The foundation of this planned and systematic production is to provide infrastructure projects through the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement.¹³⁸

The development vision constructed during this period also establishes a relationship with the concept of political stability. A speech by then-Minister Cengiz Altınkaya exemplifies this relationship well. In this speech, the Minister emphasizes that political stability and the central government's support for municipalities are essential for developing the region and the country. He frames this approach to development around meeting the needs of the people living in the city. The Minister also references the 1989 local election results. Accordingly, the political stability established through *ANAP* since 1983 has also been a key to development. However, *ANAP*'s loss of many municipalities in the 1989 local elections disadvantaged this development experience.¹³⁹

The development vision also references the idea of strengthening inter-regional relationships. This idea calls for discussions on priority development areas and regional development goals. According to this view, regional imbalances can cause serious issues that affect the country's integrity and development.

¹³⁸ "Geleneksel Karayolları Bölge Müdürleri Toplantısı Yapıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 82 (May, 1984); "Bakanımız Sayın İ. Safa Giray'ın 10 Kasım 1984 Tarihinde TBMM Plan ve Bütçe Komisyonunda Yaptıkları 1985 Mali Yılı Bütçe Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 85 (November, 1984); "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı İ. Safa Giray'ın 15 Aralık 1985 Tarihinde TBMM Genel Kurulunda Yaptığı 1986 Mali Yılı Bütçe Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Önsöz," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 105 (February-March, 1989); "Adıgüzel Barajından Sulamaya Su Verildi," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 111 (November, 1990); "Gödet Barajı Hizmete Açıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 105 (February-March, 1989); "Bayındırlık Ve İskan Bakanlığına Hüsamettin Örüç Atandı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 113 (August, 1991); *Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı Koray Aydın'ın 2000 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu Tasarısı'nı TBMM Genel Kurulu'na Sunu Konuşması* (Ankara: Araştırma, Planlama ve Koordinasyon Kurulu Başkanlığı, 1999).

¹³⁹ "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı Cengiz Altınkaya Göreve Geldiği Günden Beri Yoğun Bir Ziyaretçi Trafiği içerisinde," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 106 (April-May-June, 1989); "Karayolları Bölge Müdürleri Toplantısı Yapıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 109 (January-February-March, 1990).

Other vital ideas added to the vision of development include the "multi-faceted and balanced development of the country" and the need for a "balanced national road network" to achieve this development. Connecting the country through road networks improves underdeveloped regions and eliminates security vulnerabilities. In other words, an "economic system based on an efficient transportation system" enables administrative, social, and cultural development, thereby ensuring national unity.¹⁴⁰

The policies built around the goal of spatial integrity and regional development also align with the objectives of the European Community. Therefore, the bulletin includes discourses emphasizing the importance of becoming a member of the European Community and utilizing its financial instruments. Applying to the European Community brings imaginaries of modernity such as the "European identity," respect for democracy and human rights, and improving living conditions. Additionally, these discourses incorporate discussions on regional development projects, rural development, and local development.¹⁴¹

Another image of modernity to discuss under this heading is the relationship between (mass) housing and the notion of development. One of the leading discourse producers in this area is the UN Commission on Human Settlements. According to this idea, "all developing and industrialized countries are undergoing a process of change caused by technological advancements and new economic priorities." Such a radical change affects settlements in both structural and functional terms, impacting urban and rural areas. In other words, this transformation forces both developed and developing countries to experience rapid urbanization. Consequently, developing countries will depend on "the ability of cities, whose economic importance is rapidly increasing, to perform their main economic functions and guide development." This

¹⁴⁰ "Bütçe Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 114 (March, 1992).

¹⁴¹ "2000'li Yıllarda İnşaat Mühendisliği Paneli Yapıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 106 (April-May-June, 1989); "Avrupa Ölçeğinde Bölge Planlama," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 109 (January-February-March, 1990); "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı İ. Safa Giray'ın 15 Aralık 1985 Tarihinde TBMM Genel Kurulunda Yaptığı 1986 Mali Yılı Bütçe Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986).

situation implies that the settlement and housing policies of the countries will serve as the starting point for their development processes.¹⁴²

Another relationship referenced in the development vision is the link between development and citizens. An example is the discourse asserting that the country and its people's strength and determination can alone achieve development. According to this view, the "ideal of an advanced, modern, and Great Turkey" can be approached only in this way.¹⁴³ This development vision, constructed through such a relationship, also aimed to inspire greater motivation among the country's citizens through the infrastructure projects it implements.¹⁴⁴

The vision of modernity built on the relationship between development and citizens also generates discourse based on principles such as "goodwill, good perspective, solidarity, understanding, and compromise." According to which, achieving "the lifestyle required by the modern age," establishing social peace, and achieving social development becomes key goals, with one of the keys to success being the relationship between employers and workers. Establishing these relationships must therefore prioritize "preserving common values" and "considering national interests."¹⁴⁵

Other essential discourses on the development-citizen relationship emphasize the contribution of universities, higher education graduates, scientists, and experienced technical personnel, as well as the inclusion of women in various positions within the construction sector, to the country's development efforts. These discourses conceptualize this contribution through two different channels. One focuses on the potential for change inherent in the vision of development. According to this view, well-educated individuals can meet the new social, economic, technical, and scientific needs brought about by this change. The other channel emphasizes that

¹⁴² "Habitat Temel Dökümanı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 100 (January-February, 1987).

¹⁴³ "Anadolu Otoyolu Gebze-Izmit Kesiminin Açılış Töreninde Başbakanımın Sayın Turgut Özal'ın Yapmış Olduğu Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 86 (January, 1985).

¹⁴⁴ "Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü Bölge Müdürleri Toplantısında Başbakan Sayın Turgut Özal'ın Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986).

¹⁴⁵ "4. Dönem Toplu İş Sözleşmesi İmzalandı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 113 (August, 1991).

producing well-educated personnel is essential for adapting to the competitive order of the free-market principle adopted by the government.¹⁴⁶

In addition to these areas of discussion, the ministry's discourses based on its services and duties also focus on the goals of developing and advancing the country. Creating a prosperous and livable nation has been one of these objectives, as is encouraging quick development through planned and coordinated expansion. According to these discourses, this is the only way the country can become "larger and more prosperous." At the core of this planned and programmed production is providing the country with infrastructure projects through the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement.¹⁴⁷ (See Appendix A between Figures 1 through 16)

Therefore, there are numerous discourses by key political figures and the ministry on the production of infrastructure projects and their significance. One of these figures is then-Prime Minister Turgut Özal. He stated that these infrastructure projects would not show direct productivity but are essential for building a modern economy in the country and enabling citizens to attain modern living standards.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı Cengiz Altınkaya Hacettepe Üniversitesinin 1989-1990 Akademik Yılı Açılış Törenine Katıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (October-November-December, 1989); "Önsöz," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 102 (August-September, 1988); "Bayındırlık İskan Bakanı Cengiz Altınkaya Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesinin Açılış Törenine Katıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 111 (November, 1990); "13. Dünya Şehircilik Günü Kutlandı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (October-November-December, 1989); "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığına Hüsametlin Örüç Atandı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 113 (August, 1991); "Taşra Teşkilatı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 82 (May, 1984); "Belediye Fen Elemanlarını Geliştirme Kursu Sona Erdi," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 84 (September, 1984); "Fen Adamları Yetiştirme ve Geliştirme," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (October-November-December, 1989); "Kadın ve Konut Paneli Yapıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 102 (August-September, 1988).

¹⁴⁷ "Geleneksel Karayolları Bölge Müdürleri Toplantısı Yapıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 82 (May, 1984); "Bakanımız Sayın İ. Safa Giray'ın 10 Kasım 1984 Tarihinde TBMM Plan ve Bütçe Komisyonunda Yaptıkları 1985 Mali Yılı Bütçe Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 85 (November, 1984); "Bayındırlık Ve İskan Bakanı İ. Safa Giray'ın 15 Aralık 1985 Tarihinde TBMM Genel Kurulunda Yaptığı 1986 Mali Yılı Bütçe Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Önsöz," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 105 (February-March, 1989); "Gödet Barajı Hizmete Açıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 105 (February-March, 1989); "Adıgüzel Barajından Sulamaya Su Verildi," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 111 (November, 1990); "Gödet Barajı Hizmete Açıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 105 (February-March, 1989); "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığına Hüsametlin Örüç Atandı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 113 (August, 1991); Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı Koray Aydın'ın 2000 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu Tasarısı'nı TBMM Genel Kurulu'na Sunuş Konuşması (Ankara: Araştırma, Planlama ve Koordinasyon Kurulu Başkanlığı, 1999).

¹⁴⁸ T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı (1984).

In this context, the discourses that reference the relationship between the production of infrastructure projects and development include several key points. One pertantst the production and updating of transportation systems and the tools and equipment used in their construction. This discourse asserts that solely focusing on building transportation infrastructure is insufficient; how and in what timeframe it is built is equally essential. These details regarding methods and techniques indicate the country's position among contemporary civilizations.¹⁴⁹

Another critical discourse includes then-Prime Minister Turgut Özal's speeches at the groundbreaking ceremony for the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge and its inauguration. According to these speeches, establishing a highway system in the country is proof of a significant development initiative. For the rapidly developing country to sustain this growth, a "comprehensive highway system" is necessary. It is because enabling the nation to carry out "all administrative, social, cultural, economic, and commercial activities" and making "every part of the country easily accessible, livable, workable, and economically functional" is only possible through such a system.¹⁵⁰

A speech by then-Minister Cengiz Altinkaya at a groundbreaking ceremony highlights this importance. According to him, it is essential to prioritize infrastructure projects in agriculture, transportation, communications, energy, education, and health, with transportation and road transport being paramount.¹⁵¹

Another notable speech is by then-Minister İ. Safa Giray at the opening of the Gebze-İzmit Highway opening in 1985. The Minister begins by stating that roads are among

¹⁴⁹ "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı İ. Safa Giray Fatih Sultan Mehmet Köprüsünü Yürüyerek Geçti," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 97 (May-June, 1987).

¹⁵⁰ "Başbakan Sayın Turgut Özal'ın Fatih Sultan Mehmet Köprüsünün Temel Atma Töreninde Yaptığı Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 88 (June, 1985); "İkinci Boğaz Köprüsü Ve Alt Yapı Yatırımları Hakkında," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 88 (June, 1985); "Karayolu Ulaşımında Dev Bir Adım Daha," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 88 (June, 1985); "Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü, Bölge Müdürleri Toplantısında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı İ. Safa Girayın Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986); "Fatih Sultan Mehmet Köprüsü Açıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 102 (August-September, 1988); "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı Sayın İ. Safa Giray'ın 17 Aralık 1984 Tarihinde TBMM Genel Kurulunda Yaptığı 1985 Mali Yılı Bütçe Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 86 (January, 1985).

¹⁵¹ "İzmir-Urla Çeşme Otoyolunun Temeli Atıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 110 (April-May-June, 1990).

the most critical elements, if not the foremost, in a country's social and economic life. Therefore, he argues that the "size of the road network" indicates development. He defines this form of development through several arguments. The first of which is the necessity of "delivering state services to citizens and reaching every corner of the country." One reference used by the Minister for this necessity is the constitutional principle of the "indivisibility of the country and the nation." Another reference is the saying of Ottoman statesman Halil Rıfat Paşa: "The place you cannot reach is not yours."¹⁵²

Another argument is that transportation is the foundation of economic development. According to this view, a goods or products can only generate economic value through access centersto consumption centers.

Another element references the country's geographical location. The country's position at an intercontinental junction also defines its relations with neighboring countries through transportation systems. Connecting the country's highway network to the European Transit Road Network is critically important in this context. Another aspect mentioned in the speech is the need for transportation to be faster, more comfortable, and cheaper.¹⁵³

Strengthening the country's road transportation also supports the vision of developing the country through the automotive industry, a private enterprise. The key here is to provide the necessary motivation for production.¹⁵⁴

In addition, Minister Altınkaya's speech at the General Directorate of Highways meeting in 1990 can be referenced. According to the Minister, the transportation sector is essential for developing the country's agriculture, tourism, and industry. The

¹⁵² "Sayın Bakanımızın Gebze-İzmit Otoyolunun Açış Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 86 (January, 1985).

¹⁵³ "Sayın Bakanımızın Gebze-İzmit Otoyolunun Açış Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 86 (January, 1985); "Sayın Bakanımızın Gebze-İzmit Otoyolunun Açış Konuşması;," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 86 (January, 1985); "Bütçe Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 114 (March, 1992).

¹⁵⁴ "Otoyollarda Hedefe Doğru Tam Gaz," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 111 (November, 1990).

goal of connecting every region of the country through road transportation is associated with creating a stronger and more robust image for the country.¹⁵⁵

Some discourses view the production of infrastructure projects as contributing lasting works to the country. According to these views, creating these works is also a source of pride and evidence of the country's development.¹⁵⁶

Another area of discussion referenced in the development vision is the construction sector. According to these discourses, the construction sector is a highly effective tool for reducing unemployment nationwide and promoting the country's development.¹⁵⁷ It is also necessary for the Turkish construction sector to keep up with current technology to compete with major international construction companies and thus contribute sustainably to the country's development.¹⁵⁸

One of the reference sources for the notion of development of the country and *TOKİ* is the Habitat II conference organized by the United Nations Commission on Human Settlements in Istanbul in 1996. The conference addressed sustainable development among its essential agenda items. This form of development was examined in relation to discussions on settlements and housing. These discussions considered sustainable development and the creation of livable, equitable, and resilient urban environments as interrelated goals.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ "Karayolları Bölge Müdürleri Toplantısı Yapıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 109 (January-February-March, 1990).

¹⁵⁶ "Şanlıurfa Sulama Tünellerinin (1. Kısım) Kazısı Tamamlandı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 113 (August, 1991).

¹⁵⁷ "Yapı İşleri Genel Müdürü Sayın Teoman Özlapın Bölge Müdürleri Toplantısını Açış Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 81 (March, 1984); "Toplu Konut Ve Yurtiçi Göçler," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, No. 81 (March, 1984); "Nevşehir Yapı Taşları -Mühendisler," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 89 (September, 1985).

¹⁵⁸ "İnşaat Sektörünün Ekonomideki Yeri Ve Son Gelişmeler Konulu Sempozyumu Yapıldı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 102 (August-September, 1988).

¹⁵⁹ Habitat Gündemi ve İstanbul Deklarasyonu: Hedefler, İlkeler, Taahhütler ve Küresel Eylem Planı (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1996).

4.1.1.2. Urban Planning

Urban planning is the second most referenced concept in bulletin-based scanning. A total of 73 articles and writing pieces reference the notion of urban planning. Among these references, nine are from bulletin writers and editors, 48 are from individuals associated with the ministry or ministry employees,¹⁶⁰ three are from the Development and Investment Bank, two are from governors, three are from mayors, one is from the official gazette, six are from urban planners, engineers, and architects, and one is from others. (See Table 4.1.)

The bulletin predominantly addresses urban planning through topics such as urban layout, urban regulations, and urban laws. These references have a number of clues regarding how urban planning was utilized in constructing visions of modernity. Accordingly, the concept of urban planning functions as a democratic tool that adds "a new dimension to urbanization." This new dimension redefines settlement by transcending it beyond merely a social activity. On the one hand, it emerges as a significant subject shaping the country's economic, educational, and cultural activities. On the other hand, it comes into focus primarily as a tool that plans the daily life and future of the homeland and, therefore, the "way of living" of individuals. In this planning process, planners prioritize addressing the local people's needs and desires.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Minister; Ministry Advisor; Undersecretary of the Ministry; Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry; Director of Public Works and Housing; General Directorate of Construction Works; Director of Airports and Fuel Facilities Construction Region; President of Research, Development, and Coordination Board; General Directorate of Technical Research and Application; General Directorate of Technical Research and Application; General Directorate of Highways; General Directorate of Railways, Ports, and Airports Construction; President of Research, Planning, and Coordination Board.

¹⁶¹ "İmar Kanunu ile İlgili Yönetmelikleri Tanıtma Semineri," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Bakanımız Sayın İ. Safa Giray'ın, 3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu ve Yönetmeliklerinin Bir Değerlendirmesini TRT Yaptı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Sayın Bakanımızın 3194 Sayılı Kanun ile İlgili Olarak Seminerde Yaptıkları İkinci Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Giray Yeni İmar Kanunu Türkiye'de Demokrasi Olup Olmadığına Verilen En Büyük Cevaptır," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu ile İlgili Yönetmelikleri Tanıtma Seminerinde Müsteşar Yardımcımız Erol Ünal'ın Yaptığı Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Ankara Valisinin Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Sayın Bakanımız İ. Safa Giray'ın İmar Kanunu ile İlgili TRT'ye Yaptığı Açıklaması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 90 (November, 1985); "Fatih Sultan Mehmet Köprüsü ve Kınalı-Sakarya Otoyolu Temel Atma Töreninde Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı Sayın İ. Safa Giray'ın Yaptığı

An excerpt from then-Minister İ. Safa Giray's opening speech at a meeting on "urban planning laws and regulations" serves as an example of this approach through zoning.¹⁶²

Urban Planning Law is one of the most important laws concerning a country's daily life and future. It is a practice that either enables or restricts people from living comfortably, prosperously, and peacefully and finding opportunities for development in their living areas. Essentially, what is planned is the human dream. In zoning practice, the subject of planning is human life.

Within this framework, the bulletin describes urban affairs as a practice aimed at "the improvement, renewal, and beautification of cities" by "plans, science, health, and environmental conditions."¹⁶³ The discourse introducing new urban legislation highlights the significance of urbanization, characterizing this new urban movement as "looking at metropolitan areas in the dimensions of the coming century."¹⁶⁴

Alongside discourses produced by the ministry and key political figures, professionals such as urban planners, architects, and engineers frequently referenced the notion of urban planning. One notable figure is Aydın Boysan, who comments on the contemporary significance of urban laws and regulations in our era. According to Boysan, the main issue of our time is not imposing prohibitions or attempting to replicate structures of the past era. Instead, the focus should be on "serving society."¹⁶⁵ In other words, Boysan has drawn attention to the state-society relationship in the vision of modernity constructed through urban planning.

Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 88 (June, 1985); "İkinci Boğaz Köprüsü ve Alt Yapı Yatırımları Hakkında," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 88 (June, 1985)

¹⁶² The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "İmar Kanunu ve Yönetmeliklerinin Tanıtılması Amacıyla Ankara'da Başlayan Seminerde Bakanımız Sayın İ. Safa Giray'ın Yaptığı Açış Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986).

¹⁶³ "Sayın Bakanımız İ. Safa Giray'ın İmar Kanunu ile İlgili TRT'ye Yaptığı Açıklaması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 90 (November, 1985); "Edirne Valisi Enver Hızlanın Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986).

¹⁶⁴ "Türkiye'de İmar Hareketlerinde Yeni Dönem," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 94 (December, 1986); "Büyük Şehirlere Gelecek Yüzyılın Boyutlarında Bakabilmek," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 94 (December, 1986).

¹⁶⁵ "Kocaeli Bayındırlık ve İskan Müdürlüğünce 3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu ve Yönetmelikleri ile İlgili Toplantılar Düzenlendi," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 96 (March-April, 1987).

4.1.1.3. Urbanization

Urbanization is the third most referenced concept in the bulletin analysis.¹⁶⁶ A total of 62 articles and writing pieces reference urbanization. Among these, ten are attributed to bulletin writers and editors, thirty-five to individuals working within the ministry or ministry-affiliated institutions, one to the Prime Minister, one to the Governor, one to the Mayor, one to UN-Habitat, three to professional chambers and associations, eight to urban planners, architects, or engineers, and two to others. (See Table 4.1.)

The bulletin describes urbanization as a common experience shared by developing and emerging countries in the 20th century. In such a shared experience, the level of urbanization serves as an indicator of development. In developing countries, where urbanization outpaces industrialization, the experts often categorizes this process as "urbanization problems." Turkey is one of these countries.¹⁶⁷ The bulletin contains many sources referring to urbanization problems.¹⁶⁸

In the bulletin, municipalities primarily address the notion of urbanization as a vision of modernity. This vision centers on the significant roles of municipalities in urbanization and urban development, such as voicing the concerns of city residents, providing clean and comfortable living conditions, and solving local problems.¹⁶⁹ The bulletin also covers a competition titled "What Kind of Urbanism? / What Kind of City Do You Want to Live In?" on urbanization and urban planning issues. The

¹⁶⁶ I expanded this conceptual research by using the key terms related to visions of modernity associated with urbanization, with these additional key terms: urbanization and urbanism.

¹⁶⁷ "“Hızlı Şehirleşmenin Yarattığı Ekonomik ve Sosyal Sorunlar” Semineri Sayın Bakanın Açış Konuşması,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); “Büyükşehir Belediyelerinin Yönetimi,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); “İmar Kanunun Getirdiği Yenilikler ve Uygulamaya İlişkin Çalışmalar,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 94 (December, 1986); “Merkezi ve Yerel Yönetimlerde Plan Yapma Yetkisi,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 113 (August, 1991).

¹⁶⁸ One of them is: “Kamu Konut Politikaları ve Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Uygulamaları ile İlgili Görüşler,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 82 (May, 1984).

¹⁶⁹ “Kentsel Gelişimde Kamu ve Özel Sektör İlişkileri Konulu Seminer - Sayın Bakanımızın Açış Konuşması,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 83 (July, 1984); “Birleşmiş Milletler Dünya Sağlık Teşkilatı, Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığı, Tübitak ve Ankara Büyük Kent Belediyesi ile Bakanlığımızın Düzenlediği “Kent Çevresinde Konut ve Çevre Sağlığı Sorunları” Konulu Seminerde Bakanımız Sayın İ. Safa Giray’ın Yaptığı Konuşma,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 88 (June, 1985).

criteria for this competition link urban problem-solving with "holistic societal development." ¹⁷⁰

Moreover, the concept of development appears not only in the notion of urbanization but also in the visions of modernity established through urban planning. These constructs suggest that realizing the visions of modernity built through urbanization and urban planning is possible only through the development concept and its tools. ¹⁷¹

4.1.1.4. Democratization

Twenty-nine articles and writing pieces from the bulletin refer to democratization. ¹⁷² Among these, two are attributed to bulletin authors and editors, 21 to personnel within the ministry or its affiliated institutions, two to the Development and Investment Bank, two to urban planners, architects, or engineers, and two to others. (See Table 4.1.)

The bulletin refers to constructs of modernity at various scales and dimensions, emphasizing development, urban planning, and urbanization through democratization. One of these references is the Urban Planning Law, which the Minister described in a 1986 *TRT* evaluation as "the greatest democratic step taken in Turkey." ¹⁷³ The bulletin also includes multiple narratives awaiting the spread of this "democratic administrative model" throughout the country. Accordingly, the Urban Planning Law actively intervenes in the urbanization process, empowering society to shape "the desired way of life for the Turkish people" and thus the "future of Turkish urbanism." Achieving this "democratic society" necessitates

¹⁷⁰ "Dünya Şehircilik Günü ve Bir Yarışma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 98 (August-September, 1987); "Bir Yarışmanın Ardından," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 99 (October-November, 1987).

¹⁷¹ "13. Dünya Şehircilik Günü Kutlandı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (October-November-December, 1989); "Türkiye'de Deprem Zararlarının Azaltılması Çalışmaları," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 103 (October-November, 1988); "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı 1991 Yılı Bütçe Kanunu Tasarısı TBMM Plan ve Bütçe Komisyonunda Kabul Edildi," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 111 (November, 1990); "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığının Belediyelere Yardımları," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986).

¹⁷² The key terms used to explore visions of modernity associated with the concept of democratization are democracy and democratic.

¹⁷³ 91-1986: "Bakanımız Sayın İ. Safa Giray'ın, 3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu ve Yönetmeliklerinin Bir Değerlendirmesini TRT Yaptı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986).

strengthening municipalities and local administrations to establish a "modern administration."¹⁷⁴

A different vision of modernity built on democratization references national economic and social development. This discourse connects the principle of decentralization with the country's urbanization experience, linking it to national development goals.¹⁷⁵ Additional democratic references highlight the significance of establishing and maintaining democratic stability, deemed essential for the country's prosperity.¹⁷⁶

Another set of discourses referencing democracy describes the country's transition to a multiparty democracy and the relationship between governments' economic liberalization policies during this process.¹⁷⁷ The concept of "urban management" emerged on the national agenda due to this economic choice. The bulletin covers the discussions on this concept involving general problem identification and definitions,

¹⁷⁴ "Basında Bayındırlık," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986); "Sayın Bakanımız İ. Sefa Giray'ın İmar Kanunu ile İlgili TRT'ye Yaptığı Açıklaması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 90 (November, 1985); "Kentsel Hizmetler İçin Alternatif İşletme Yöntemleri" Seminerinde Bayındırlık İskan Bakanı Sayın İ. Sefa Giray'ın Açılış Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 90 (November, 1985); "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı İ. Sefa Giray'ın 15 Aralık 1985 Tarihinde TBMM Genel Kurulunda Yaptığı 1986 Mali Yılı Bütçe Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Hızlı Şehirleşmenin Yarattığı Ekonomik ve Sosyal Sorunlar" Semineri Sayın Bakanın Açış Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "İmar Kanunu ile İlgili Yönetmelikleri Tanıtma Seminerinde Sayın Bakanımız İ. Sefa Giray'ın Açış Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Sayın Bakanımızın 3194 Sayılı Kanun ile İlgili Olarak Seminerde Yaptıkları İkinci Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Müsteşar Yardımcımız Erol Ünal'ın Açış Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Giray Yeni İmar Kanunu Türkiye'de Demokrasi Olup Olmadığına Verilen En Büyük Cevaptır," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Bakanımız İ. Sefa Giray'ın Unchs (Habitat) 9. Komisyon Toplantısı Açış Töreninde Yaptığı Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986); "Belediyeler ve Demokratik Bir Adım," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986); "Fen Adamları Yetiştirme ve Geliştirme," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (October-November-December, 1989); "İller Bankası Genel Müdürü Sayın Teoman Ünsal'ın Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 88 (June, 1985); "İller Bankası Genel Müdürü Sayın Teoman Ünsal'ın Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 90 (November, 1985); "Kent-Koop / Batıkent ya da (Uluslararası) Bir Kooperatif Merkezîyetçilik Üzerine," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no.107 (July-August-September, 1989); "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığınca, 9 Mayıs 1985 Tarihinde Yürürlüğe Giren 3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu ve Yönetmeliklerin Tanıtılması Amacıyla 18 İlde Bir Dizi Seminer Düzenlendi," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986).

¹⁷⁵ "Dünya Konut Yılına İlişkin Bakanlığımız Çalışmaları," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 95 (January-February, 1987).

¹⁷⁶ "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı İşyerlerinde Çalışan Yaklaşık 10 Bin İşçiyi Kapsayan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi İmzalandı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 106 (April-May-June, 1989).

¹⁷⁷ "2000'li Yıllarda İnşaat Mühendisliği Paneli Yapıldı; 108-1989: Yenipazar Madran Suyuna Kavuştu," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 106 (April-May-June, 1989).

concluding that "local democracy" should be both the tool and the goal of urban management.¹⁷⁸

Another discourse that establishes a relationship with democratization is on cooperativeness. (See Appendix A between Figures 17 through 27) Accordingly, housing cooperatives are the most effective method to deal with the housing problems of the period. On the one hand, it makes it possible for middle-income groups to acquire property by utilizing their savings. On the other hand, cooperative formation has also become a support method for low-income and poor citizens to own housing. It does this by allocating treasury lands allocated to the ministry, on which multi-story housing can be built, to housing cooperatives whose members are low-income and have no housing.

TOKİ's discourse does not establish a direct relationship between cooperativeness and democratization. However, the publication of the Metropolitan Cooperative and Mass Housing Magazine (*Büyükşehir Kooperatifçilik ve Toplu Konut Dergisi*), the official organ of the Metropolitan Housing Construction Cooperative (*Büyükşehir Konut Yapı Kooperatifi*), involves this direct reference. The democratization reference here pertains to the management style of cooperatives. According to this, the proper management and operation of cooperatives is both the democratic right and responsibility of cooperative members.¹⁷⁹

4.1.2. Urban Identity, Architectural Approaches, and Social Identity in *TOKİ's* Visions of Modernity

One way to examine *TOKİ's* discourse on urban identity and architectural approaches is to examine its housing policy statements. One such discourse addresses the relationship between lodging practices and community building. According to this discourse, lodging production creates specialized residential areas

¹⁷⁸ "Türkiye'de Kent İşletmeciliği, *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 114 (March, 1992).

¹⁷⁹ "Kooperatifçilik Demokratik Bir Kuruluşur," *Büyükşehir Kooperatifçilik ve Toplu Konut Dergisi*, no. 91 (February, 1986).

based on professional groups. This specialization makes these areas perceived as exclusive and inaccessible within the city, hindering “the social development of the community.” In this context, Minister İ. Safa Giray emphasizes shifting away from lodging policies, except for housing designated for specific city officials, to promote residential areas where people can integrate and interact.¹⁸⁰ Although this discourse does not specify a particular concept, it outlines a form of urban perspective.

Under this heading, another significant discourse addresses the permanent housing constructed after the 1999 Marmara and Düzce earthquakes. Minister Koray Aydın offers two notable definitions regarding these permanent houses. One concern is the architectural style synthesizing Seljuk-Ottoman architecture with contemporary Turkish architecture. This approach aims to distance these houses from the appearance of standardized disaster housing and serves as a tool to impart identity to otherwise anonymous urban areas. Aydın refers to these newly constructed urban fragments as “pilot cities that will serve as examples of the country’s development” and the houses as “Turkey’s prestigious homes.”¹⁸¹ (See Appendix A between Figures 28 through 32)

4.2. From 2002 to 2017

4.2.1. TOKİ’s Visions of Modernity

This section focuses on the selected concepts of urbanization, development, urban planning, democratization, and the social state in TOKİ’s discourse between 2002 and 2017. The thesis arranges these concepts based on the number of articles identified through a comprehensive review. According to this arrangement, unlike in

¹⁸⁰ “Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı İ. Safa Giray’ın Mersinde Yapılan “Yerel Yönetimlerin Konut Sektöründeki Rolü” Konulu Seminerde Yaptığı Konuşma,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986).

¹⁸¹ “Bakan Koray Aydın’dan Bir Yılın Kısa Öyküsü,” in *Türkiye’nin Hizmetinde 1. Yıl* (Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı); Koray Aydın, “Önsöz,” in *Depremde ve Sonrasında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı); “Kalıcı Konutlara Türk Damgası,” in *Depremde ve Sonrasında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı); “Hedefimiz Çevreye Duyarlı İnsana Saygılı Çağdaş Kentleşme,” in *Depremde ve Sonrasında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı).

the previous period, urbanization became the most frequently referenced concept during this time. Additionally, the concept of the social state also began to be used in constructing TOKİ's visions of modernity.

4.2.1.1. Urbanization

The analysis of bulletins produced between 2002 and 2017 reveals the following results for concept tracking. The notion of urbanization is the most frequently referenced term during this period.¹⁸² Of 402 articles and pieces in the magazine, 275 were produced by the magazine's writers and editors, and 40 by the *TOKİ* Presidency. Ministry employees contributed four articles, while *TOKİ* affiliates produced five. Individuals in significant political positions also authored 18 references, and other various actors contributed 60 references.¹⁸³ (See Table 4.2.)

The magazine's descriptions of urbanization primarily reference the 58th, 59th, and 60th Turkish Government's Emergency Action Plans and Programs and the "Planned Urbanization and Housing Mobilization" initiative declared under the "New Turkey Vision."¹⁸⁴

In this context, from 2003 onward, *TOKİ*'s mandate expanded. The updated authority also revised *TOKİ*'s housing support methods. With the abolition of the Mass Housing Fund in 2001, the credit support provided to mass housing producers (cooperatives, cooperative unions, social assistance institutions, real and legal entities producing housing for sale, and municipalities) ended. In 2003, *TOKİ* shifted its housing support policy from providing housing loans to direct housing production. Through the *TOKİHABER* magazine, *TOKİ* interpreted this

¹⁸² I expanded this conceptual research by using the key terms employed in the creation of visions of modernity associated with urbanization. These additional key terms are urban renewal, urban transformation, slum transformation, urbanization, and urbanism.

¹⁸³ President: two references, Prime Minister: five references, mayor: nine references, ministers from other states: two references.

¹⁸⁴ "Ucuz ve Kaliteli Konutun Adresi: TOKİ. Kurulduğu Günden Bu Yana Büyüme Öyküsü," *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010).

Table 4.2. number of articles discussing selected concepts and authors, 2002-2017

2002-2017	WHO														TOTAL
SELECTED NOTIONS	Editors and Writers of the TOK(HABER Magazine	TOK/ Presidency	Officials within the Ministry	TOK/ Affiliates	President	Prime Minister	Mayor	Ministers From Other States	Professional Chambers and Associations	Urban Planners, Architects, or Engineers	Academicians	Journalist	Individuals or Companies in the Construction Industry	Others	
Development	49	17			2	3			1	1	5		2	1	81
Urban Planning	24	6	2	1	1	1			1		1	1	2		40
Urbanization	275	40	4	5	2	5	9	2	13	2	7	2	33	3	402
Democratization	10	1								1	1				13
Social State	6	6					1								13

transformation as a shift from a period of "bad cooperatives" to an era of rapid and quality housing production under *TOKİ*.

This new production model brought various housing-related issues to *TOKİ*'s agenda, such as urban transformation/renewal (including the transformation of slum areas, areas at risk of disasters, and the preservation of historical and regional architecture) (See Appendix B between Figures 1 through 12), social housing production (See Appendix B between Figures 13 through 15), agricultural village projects, satellite city projects (new settlements) (See Appendix B between Figures 27 through 32), all kinds of social facilities and environmental planning accompanying housing, resource development, and revenue-sharing projects. The contexts and problem definitions highlighted include slums, risks posed by natural disasters, historical texture deterioration, poverty, migration, excessive population density in large cities, and inadequate infrastructure and environmental planning.

Additionally, in line with the decision for *TOKİ* to generate its budget in 2003, *TOKİ* developed various financing models. One of these was the revenue-sharing model, where a contractor develops a project on a plot auctioned by *TOKİ*, and *TOKİ* takes a share from the sales. In this scenario, the budget obtained from housing produced for the upper-income group is used to finance housing for low- and middle-income citizens. The discourse produced through the *TOKİHABER* magazine presents this as a practice of "taking from the rich and giving to the poor."¹⁸⁵

Another financing model involves generating resources by enhancing the value of land acquired from the Treasury and public institutions in major city centers through projects or sales. Using these resources, *TOKİ* aims to enable low- and middle-income citizens to own homes by paying rent payments over long terms (10 years, 15 years, 20 years).¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ "Hedefe Az Kaldı: 500 Bin Konuta Doğru," *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010).

¹⁸⁶ "Kendi Kaynağını Kendi Üretiyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010).

In this renewed system, the housing loan policy has also been updated. *TOKİ* evaluates credit applications under the main categories of interest-free housing loans for martyrs' families, disabled veterans, and their widows and orphans, cooperative credits, loans for the preservation of immovable cultural properties and natural heritage, municipal credits, and disaster relief loans. In the cooperative category, *TOKİ* only provides credit opportunities for incomplete cooperative constructions due to cost increases during construction.

These changes have also transformed *TOKİ*'s vision of urbanization and the concepts of modernity constructed through this vision. As the Minister of Public Works and Settlement declared, *TOKİ* defines its role in contributing to the country's goal of achieving contemporary and sustainable urbanization. Statements from *TOKİ* and prominent political figures featured in the magazine are crucial tools for deciphering the definitions pointed to by this vision of urbanization.

The discourses produced on urban transformation provide significant insights into this subject. Since 2012, urban transformation has become one of *TOKİ*'s responsibilities within the Planned Urbanization and Housing Mobilization framework. Consequently, the magazine contains many articles referencing the relationship between urban transformation and the vision of urbanization of the period.

Discourse on urban transformation often references various definitions of urbanization. These definitions typically invoke descriptors such as contemporary, civilized, modern, and orderly. An example of this is the claim that the idea of urban transformation follows the "vision of a contemporary city," emphasizing the reorganization of depressed areas into more civilized and modern forms. This approach underscores the efforts to revitalize urban decay zones and align them with contemporary urban standards, reflecting a broader agenda for creating advanced and sustainable urban environments.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ "Odağında İnsan Olmayan Dönüşüm Mümkün Mü," *TOKİHABER*, no. 9 (November, 2010).

Another example is the Kayabaşı Urban Transformation Project in Istanbul, which redefines areas at risk of disaster as "modern urbanism principles," creating "contemporary settlements." A key factor is integrating the project with infrastructure and social facilities.¹⁸⁸ Another aspect of contemporaneity is the aim to create 'orderly and healthy urban development' through urban transformation.¹⁸⁹

Another example is the contribution of *TOKİ* to organized urbanization through urban transformation projects. In 2010, Speaker of the Parliament Şahin emphasized *TOKİ*'s role in enhancing cities' modern appearance through urban transformation projects:¹⁹⁰

When I visit a country for the first time, especially its capital, my impressions are formed by what I see from the airport to the city. If a foreign guest comes to Ankara, what impressions would they get from the sights along the way? On either side of the road, there are shanty houses built haphazardly... Unsightly views... Now, when a guest arrives from the airport to the city center, he/she no longer encounters those unsightly views that used to disturb us all. Those shanty houses have been cleared away, and now we see modern buildings rising.

In other words, a city is characterized by its orderly appearance and modern housing. This regular and modern appearance is so influential that it has the power to shape the country's existing and potential relationships with other nations. For instance, *TOKİ* President Bayraktar also highlights that one of the prerequisites for Turkey to harmonize with the "modern world" and join the EU is the nation's efforts to combat unsightly structures and disorganized urbanization.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ "İstanbul'da Dönüşüm," *TOKİHABER*, no. 72 (February, 2016).

¹⁸⁹ "“Kondü”dan “Modern”e Sancılı Geçiş," *TOKİHABER*, no. 15 (May, 2011); "Kentsel Dönüşümün Yol Haritası Yerel Yönetimlere Anlatılıyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 36 (February, 2013).

¹⁹⁰ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "Şahin: Misafirlerimden Artık Utanmıyorum," *TOKİHABER*, no. 5 (June-July, 2010).

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

Other constructs of modernity built around urban aesthetics aim to elevate the country above contemporary civilizations and showcase Turkey's greatness to other world nations.¹⁹²

The magazine contains numerous articles reiterating concepts of urbanization based on the appearance of the country and its cities. Some of these definitions include Turkey's new face, architectural silhouettes beautifying the country, a modern city look, transforming/enlightening city/region appearances, beautifying cities, a livable city appearance, and preserving the mosque silhouettes in cities.¹⁹³

Another vision of urbanization derived from urban transformation is the understanding of urbanism, defined as an element of the country's "essential civilization." During a 2013 opening ceremony, Prime Minister Erdoğan elaborated on this concept. He compared cities in Western civilizations with those built during the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. This comparison emphasizes how the concept of a city is inclusive of its inhabitants. The notion of inclusivity aims to integrate the spirit of cities, shaped by the essence of civilization, with the people living in them. According to this view, civilization is a conceptual phenomenon born and shaped through cities, with humans being one of the most critical actors in this scenario. To explain this relationship, Erdoğan refers to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar: "In our case, the city is such a thing that, as the late Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar puts it, it joins your conversation while you are speaking, influences your life, and gives direction to your dreams and aspirations."¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² "Karapınar TOKİ ile Dönüşecek," *TOKİHABER*, no. 14 (April, 2011); "Ankara'nın ve Türkiye'nin Gerdanındaki Ziyet Eşyası: Kuzey Ankara Projesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 9 (November, 2010).

¹⁹³ Some of these include: "Sektörün Bugünü ve Geleceği 13. Gayrimenkul Zirvesinde Tartışıldı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 47 (January, 2014); "Bingöl'deki Kentsel Dönüşüm Örnek Bir Projedir," *TOKİHABER*, no. 59 (January, 2015); "Bursa'nın En Eski Mahallesi TOKİ ile Modernleşiyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 9 (November, 2010); "Çin'in Yatırım Merkezi Olunca TOKİ, Konutları Kurayla Satışa Çıktı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 39 (May, 2013); "Diyarbakır'ın Çehresi Aydınlanıyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 5 (June-July, 2010); "Önsöz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 62 (April, 2015); "İstanbul'un En Kapsamlı Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Yenileme Projesi: Ayazma," *TOKİHABER*, no. 9 (November, 2010); "Bayraktar: Kentsel Dönüşüm Ana Gündem Maddesi Olmalı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 9 (November, 2010); "Muşta Kentsel Dönüşüm Cami Silüetleri Korunarak Uygulanacak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 54 (August, 2014); "Bahar Barış Açtı," *Çevre ve Şehir*, no. 15 (2013).

¹⁹⁴ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "Kimsenin Doğaya Zulmetmeye Hakkı Yok," *TOKİHABER*, no. 36 (February, 2013).

President Erdoğan asserts that one of the main goals of his government and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization during that period is to rebuild cities as their ancestors did. He emphasizes achieving a "mentality transformation" through the Ministry and *TOKİ* and aims to leave this legacy for future generations.

Other aspects of the intended human-city relationship through urban transformation practices are "in situ transformation" and "consensual transformation." These concepts propose ideas for how urban transformation practices should be conducted, such as operating with openness, transparency, and participation and providing services based on stakeholders' consent, demands, and expectations (local people, urban residents, civil society representatives, and local administrations).

The intended human-city relationship aims to foster interaction among people of various income groups, preserve socio-cultural identity, maintain a sense of belonging to the region, ensure the sustainability of local traditions, culture, and architectural elements, and prevent divisive scenarios based on ethnic nationalism. In line with these goals, the magazine contains numerous discourses on developing collective awareness of urban transformation and recognizing these practices as a social necessity.¹⁹⁵

In relation to these visions and descriptions, the texts featured in the magazine interpret urban transformation as a means to make cities healthier and more resilient while enhancing the spirituality of the country's citizens and strengthening the country's own culture.

¹⁹⁵ Some of these include: "Konut Üçüncü Çeyrekte İvme Kazanacak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 25 (March, 2012); "Şehirlerin Şimliğidir Binalar," *TOKİHABER*, no. 25 (March, 2012); "Deprem Riski Kentsel Dönüşümü Öncelikli Hale Getirdi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 23 (January, 2012); "Kalitede Referans Kuruluş Olacağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 76 (June, 2016); "Katılımcı Yönetim Anlayışı ve Kentsel Dönüşüm," *TOKİHABER*, no. 15 (May, 2011); "Türkiye'nin En Kapsamlı Kentsel Dönüşüm Hareketi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 72 (February, 2016); "Deprem Riski Kentsel Dönüşümü Öncelikli Hale Getirdi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 23 (January, 2012); "Kentsel Dönüşüm İhtiyaçtır," *TOKİHABER*, no. 84 (February, 2017); "Kentsel Dönüşüm Bölücü Senaryolara Set Olacak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 24 (February, 2012).

In this context, the definitions of the texts included in the magazine on the nature and character of urban transformation practices related to the urbanization vision can be summarized as follows: Urban transformation is not merely a spatial change aimed at physical improvement. It also encompasses societal transformation by affecting the mental, socio-economic, and socio-cultural fabric of the people living in the area. Therefore, the discourses produced on urban transformation projects also construct visions modernity for the future of cities, generations, and the country.¹⁹⁶

These visions for the future include securing the country's future by mitigating the risks of natural disasters, creating better living conditions by bequeathing planned settlements to future generations, building modern urban life with the changing parameters of the day, and enhancing and enriching our spiritual values and cultural heritage. Additionally, they aim to strengthen the national economy by adding value to cities.¹⁹⁷

There are many discourses that link urbanization, development, and democracy within these ideas. According to these discourses, urban transformation revitalizes regional and city economies by enhancing their brand value, prestige, and identity, turning them into attractive construction and tourism centers. Such revitalization is seen as both a matter of social justice and a national development initiative. This development initiative is defined through the construction sector, impacting the country's relations with other world nations. Some of the related statements include:

¹⁹⁶ Some of these include: "Kentsel Dönüşüm Sadece Mekansal Bir Dönüşüm Değildir," *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010); "Tarihin En Kapsamlı Kentleşme ve Konut Üretim Programı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 75 (May, 2016); "Sektörün Bugünü ve Geleceği 13. Gayrimenkul Zirvesinde Tartışıldı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 47 (January, 2014); "İzmir'e Yeni Kentsel Dönüşüm," *TOKİHABER*, no. 5 (June-July, 2010); "Türkiye'nin En Kapsamlı Kentsel Dönüşüm Hareketi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 72 (February, 2016); "Kentsel Dönüşümde Fırsatlar Tehditler Beklentiler ve TOKİ'nin Hedefleri," *TOKİHABER*, no. 33 (November, 2012); "Bölgede Sessiz Bir Devrim Yaşanıyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 5 (June-July, 2010); "Modern Sanayi Sitesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 69 (November, 2015).

¹⁹⁷ Some of these include: "TOKİ Başkanı Mehmet Ergün Turan: Kentsel Dönüşüm Türkiye'nin Önceliği," *TOKİHABER*, no. 54 (August, 2014); "TOKİ, Çocukların Yüzünü Güldürdü," *TOKİHABER*, no. 12 (February, 2011); "Kentsel Dönüşümde Fırsatlar Tehditler Beklentiler ve TOKİ'nin Hedefleri," *TOKİHABER*, no. 33 (November, 2012); "Gayrimenkul 2013'te de Büyüyecek," *TOKİHABER*, no. 35 (January, 2013); "Yeni Yıl Yeni Umutlar Demek," *TOKİHABER*, no. 46 (December, 2013).

"Turkey grows through projects," "Turkey will develop and become a globally influential actor," and positioning the country to export know-how worldwide.¹⁹⁸

Discourses on urban identity also reference the era's housing-neighborhood typologies and urban architecture. These references encompass critiques of social isolation experienced in cities and urban aesthetics.

TOKİ generates discourses on urban identity through "urban identity workshops" held in various cities.¹⁹⁹ The motivations for these workshops include considering the past, present, and future dimensions of humans and their environments; sustaining "gained values," reviving "lost values," and creating "new values" based on current experiences in the planning and programming of residential areas; revealing the potential and unique values of settlements through pluralistic-participatory democracy; and shaping the future vision of settlements and creating any necessary infrastructure accordingly.²⁰⁰

Additionally, with the motivation to produce "unique and identity-rich cities," an "Urban Design Guidebook for Local Governments" was prepared for many cities. The context built by this guidebook references several areas of discussion, including social structure, regional identity and local character, urban image, connections, open and green spaces, elements in public spaces, and building design.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Some of these include: "Kadifekale İzmir'in Prestiji Olacak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 3 (April, 2010); "Diyarbakır'ı Çarpık Yapılaşmadan Kurtarmak İçin Üçlü Mutabakat," *TOKİHABER*, no. 5 (June-July, 2010); "Şehirlerimizde Arabesk Bir Yapılaşma Var," *TOKİHABER*, no. 81 (November, 2016); "Konut Konferansı Mimarlığın Gurularını Ağırladı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 58 (December, 2014); "Kentsel Dönüşümle İstanbul'da 3 İlçe Daha Yenilenecek," *TOKİHABER*, no. 35 (January, 2013); "Önsöz," *TOKİHABER*, No. 62 (April, 2015); "İkitelli Ayazma'da Konut Kurası Heyecanı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 26 (April, 2012); "Bayraktar: Kentsel Dönüşüm Ana Gündem Maddesi Olmalı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 9 (February, 2010).

¹⁹⁹ Examples of these include the cities of Bursa, Düzce, Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş, Kastamonu, Konya, Kütahya, Nevşehir, Ordu, Sakarya, Samsun, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Tokat, and Üsküdar.

²⁰⁰ *Şehir Çalıştayları* (Bursa, Düzce, Gaziantep, Kahraman, Kastamonu, Konya, Kütahya, Nevşehir, Ordu, Sakarya, Samsun, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Tokat, Üsküdar) (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı 2015); "Önsöz," *Çevre İnsan ve Şehir*, no. 4 (May, 2014); "Şehir Kimliği Çalıştayları," *Çevre İnsan ve Şehir*, no. 6 (2014).

²⁰¹ *Yerel Yönetimler için Kentsel Tasarım Rehberi* (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı 2017).

Another concept referenced by the city's identity is vernacular architecture. The primary relationship that vernacular architecture refers to is the relationship between identity and culture. Here, culture is considered to be "a concept that includes the tradition, customs, way of life, customs and habits of the society." The ideas of visual representation of the relationship between identity and culture and the creation of an image through this representation come to the fore.²⁰² In this context, the architectural environment is considered one of the primary tools "to ensure the continuity of Turkish culture and our tradition."²⁰³

Here are some examples of key concepts highlighted in urban transformation and social housing projects that reference local architecture discourses: local texture/city fabric, local architectural lines, traditional architecture, urban memory, locality, sustainability, horizontal architecture, ancient cultures / multiculturalism, living culture, traditional neighborhood fabric, green spaces / robust landscaping, climate protection, stone architecture, and aesthetic form. In this context, these projects emphasize elements such as preserving and integrating traditional and local architectural styles, ensuring sustainability, fostering a sense of community through horizontal architecture, and maintaining green and aesthetically pleasing urban environments.²⁰⁴

The discourses on urban identity also reflect on human identity by emphasizing the city-human relationship. These discourses suggest that cities and their inhabitants have a reciprocal transformative potential. In other words, people's daily practices and lifestyles have the power to shape their cities. Similarly, transforming cities and

²⁰² *Yöresel Kırsal Mimari Kimlik* (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı Mekansal Planlama Genel Müdürlüğü, 2011).

²⁰³ *Yöresel Mimari Özelliklere Uygun Konut Projeleri vol. 1: Amasya-Balıkesir-Bursa-Edirne-Karabük-Rize-Trabzon* (T.C. Çevre Ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı); *Yöresel Mimari Özelliklere Uygun Konut Projeleri vol. 2: Denizli-Erzurum-Iğdır-Kars-Kayseri-Muğla-Nevşehir-Niğde-Uşak-Şanlıurfa* (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı).

²⁰⁴ *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Bursa İznik Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı); *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Çeşme İzmir Reisdere Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı); *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Diyarbakır Sur İçkale Vadisi Çevre Düzenlemesi* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı); *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Mardin Merkez Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Projesi* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı).

bestowing them with an identity also implies transforming the people who live in these cities. This identity influences human character through various dimensions, such as modes of speech, lifestyles, and imagination. Numerous references to this relationship can be found in the literature. One notable example is the introductory article written by the Minister of Environment and Urbanization in the 2014 issue of 'Environment, Human and City' magazine:²⁰⁵

States contribute to civilization with cities composed of functional spaces that meet the needs of social life, where society breathes because the city is the sum of the concrete entities in which civilization was formed and developed and emerged with the ingenuity of humanity. When you adorn a region with architectural works such as mosques, schools, sports, and social areas, where civilization flourishes, the city transforms into the identity of that nation. This identity not only meets the daily needs of our people but also includes spaces that nurture their dreams...

A significant area of research to track the expansions on the urbanization vision of the political power of the period and *TOKİ* is the discourse on satellite city projects (new settlements), agricultural village projects, and rural transformation projects. The relationship between these discourses and the urbanization vision is established through the prevention of migration to major cities, the development of Anatolia, and rural development.²⁰⁶

An example is Prime Minister Erdoğan's speech at a groundbreaking ceremony in 2012. In this speech, Erdoğan describes urban transformation as one of the most effective tools in achieving the nation's envisioned position. According to this vision, it becomes possible to undertake the technical, social, and urban infrastructure

²⁰⁵ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "Önsöz," *Çevre İnsan ve Şehir*, no. 1 (February, 2014); "Önsöz," *Çevre İnsan ve Şehir*, no. 11-12 (2015); "Şehir İnsandır," *Çevre İnsan ve Şehir*, no. 16 (2017); "İnsan ve Şehir," *Çevre ve Şehir*, no. 12 (2012).

²⁰⁶ "Yaşanabilir Şehirler Sürdürülebilir Çevre," *TOKİHABER*, no. 70 (December, 2015); "Yeni Yerleşimler Yenilenen Şehirler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015); "Tarımköy Konutlarının Anahtarı Başbakan'dan," *TOKİHABER*, no. 14 (April, 2011); *Kırsal Dönüşüm Çalıştayı: Sonuç Raporu* (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı 2015).

projects essential for the country's development through urban transformation projects and to create a sustainable environment through energy planning.²⁰⁷

4.2.1.2. Development

In this magazine, after urbanization, "development" is the most frequently referenced concept. Among these references, 49 belong to the editors and writers of the *TOKİHABER* Magazine, seventeen to the *TOKİ* Presidency, two to the President, three to the Prime Minister, one to Professional Chambers and Associations, one to urban planners, architects, or engineers, five to academicians, two to individuals or companies in the construction industry, and one to others. (See Table 4.2.)

The President of *TOKİ* highlighted in the forewords of the 2015 issues of *TOKİHABER* Magazine that the country's position in the global economy and its stable growth are considered to be among the most significant indicators of development.²⁰⁸

This relationship between development and stability is also present in other discourses referencing visions of democratization and urbanization. One example is the discourses produced about the July 15 coup attempt. According to these views, preventing this coup has led to significant democratic gains for the country. These gains also ensure political and economic stability.

Similarly, *TOKİ* refers to this relationship in its discourses on local and general election results. These discourses equate "the stability from the ballot box" with continuing the country's development journey. Another idea is that the urban transformation projects carried out by *TOKİ* stimulate production nationwide, thereby ensuring political and economic stability in the country.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ "Yaşanabilir Çevre ve Marka Şehirler İçin Kentsel Dönüşümü Sürdüreceğiz" *Çevre ve Şehir*, no. 2 (2012).

²⁰⁸ "Önsöz," *TOKİHABER*, No. 59 (January, 2015); "Önsöz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 61 (March, 2015).

²⁰⁹ Some of these include: "Yeni Kapı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 79 (September, 2016); "Makelin Hedefi Dünya Devliği," *TOKİHABER*, no. 17 (July, 2011); "Emlak Konut Kentsel Dönüşümde Aktif Rol Alacak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 23 (January, 2012).

In a 2010 foreword, the President of *TOKİ* stated that one of the country's developmental precursors is the development of its cities. This form of development points to economic and social progress. The critical conditions for urban development include establishing the city's transportation axis and redeveloping the city by clearing slum areas and illegal constructions.²¹⁰

The quality of housing and demand for shelter is another crucial development criterion referenced in the magazine. Accordingly, living in safe housing that integrates with urban life and meets economic, social, and cultural needs is a service expected to be provided to citizens by a developed country in the 21st century.²¹¹

The drivers of the visions of development defined by these criteria include: energy, foreign capital investment in the country through the construction sector (similarly contributing to the development of other countries by entering their markets through the construction sector), the production of new and large projects, urban transformation projects, technical and social infrastructure projects, housing projects, and having qualified engineers, architects, and technical personnel working in the implementation field.²¹²

In other words, the construction and housing sectors operate as the driving force of the national economy and the primary tools for the country's economic development.²¹³ In this scenario, *TOKİ* also acts as the most significant player in the construction and housing sectors in the country. With its significant market share,

²¹⁰ “Şehirler Kalkınmadan Ülke de Kalkınmaz,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 2 (February, 2010).

²¹¹ “Yaşanabilir Kentler Elbirliği ile Oluşacak,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 14 (April, 2011); “Kayaşehir’de Yaşam Başladı,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 16 (June-July, 2011).

²¹² Some of these include: “Gayrimenkule Yabancı Sermaye İlgisi Artıyor,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015); “Türk Tipi Yardım Modeli Somali’ye Kabul Gördü,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 73 (March, 2016); “Önsöz,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015); “Kentsel Dönüşüm Zincirinin Son Halkası Meram,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 9 (November, 2010); “Önsöz,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 63 (May, 2015); “7,5 Milyon Konut Yeniden Yapılsın,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 3 (April, 2010).

²¹³ Some of these include: “Önsöz,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 59 (January, 2015); “Aşırı Düşük Teklif Batırır,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010); “En Gözde Yerleşim Alanları: En Hızlı Gelişen Konut Bölgeleri,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 3 (March, 2010); “Yeni Yerleşimler Yenilenen Şehirler,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015); “TOKİ Yatırımlarıyla Ülke Ekonomisini Büyütüyor,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 13 (March, 2011); “İnşaat Malzeme İhracatı 2023 Hızlı Adımlarla Koşuyor: Hedef 100 Milyar Dolar,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 16 (June-July, 2011).

TOKİ contributes to the construction sector and to employment. Mega projects, especially urban transformation projects, are the most significant and functional tools for creating sustainable growth in the sector. In other words, the housing and construction sector, by generating new economic values for the country and cities, plays a crucial role in shaping the future of cities.²¹⁴

This development model structured through the construction and housing sectors does not target only domestic activities. *TOKİ* also articulates its goals of integrating into global markets, such as Europe and Africa, through its initiatives in the construction and housing sectors.²¹⁵

Another form of development referenced in the bulletin is sustainable development. *TOKİ* often uses the concept of sustainable development in relation to visions urbanization. There are two main channels referred to in this usage. One channel concerns the relationship between sustainable development and sustainable cities. The concept of sustainable development here generates discussions based on economic, social, and environmental dimensions. Some elements included in the vision of sustainable urbanization, referenced to these dimensions include: social equality, local democracy, basic human needs (housing is considered one of these), production and waste recycling, respect for the environment and nature, and the city's infrastructure institutions.²¹⁶

The second main channel through which *TOKİ* references sustainable development is international collaborations and agreements. The one is the 2030 Development Goals adopted at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit. These goals

²¹⁴ Some of these include: “Hedefe Az Kaldı: 500 Bin Konuta Doğru,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010); “4 Milyon Kişinin Ekmek Kapısı,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 2 (March, 2010); “İnsanı Temel Alan Bir Anlayışla Hizmet Ediyoruz,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 2 (March, 2010); “2013 Beklentileri Karşılacak mı,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 36 (February, 2013); “İnşaat Sektörü ve Türkiye Beraber Büyüyor,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 44 (October, 2013); “Önsöz,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 75 (May, 2016).

²¹⁵ “TOKİ Piyasayı Dengeliyor,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 5 (June-July, 2010); “Ekstra Bir Şey Yapmadık Olamı Yazdık,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 12 (February, 2011).

²¹⁶ “Daha Yaşanılabilir Bir Dünya için Sürdürülebilir Kentler Zorunlu,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 31 (September, 2012); “Sürdürülebilir Büyüme için Atıkların Geri Dönüşümü Zorunlu,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 48 (February, 2014); “Sürdürülebilir Büyüme Çevreye Saygıyla Mümkün,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 20 (October, 2011).

include enhancing global cooperation on environmental sustainability and sustainable development. Other international references include the Habitat III organization held in Quito on October 17-20, 2016, by the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development and the Quito Declaration. These discourses reiterate that countries must develop and manage sustainable urbanization models to achieve sustainable development goals.²¹⁷

TOKİ also uses the concept of sustainable development in relation to a vision of urban planning. This relationship emphasizes the importance of cadastre in sustainable development. Here, cadastre is a comprehensive land registration system that ensures property rights, forming the basis of economic stability and social justice. Cadastre also provides environmental monitoring opportunities that facilitate resource management and environmental protection. Additionally, cadastre supports urban planning and infrastructure development by ensuring the regular and efficient use of land. In this context, *TOKİ* considers cadastre as a fundamental human right.

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Other forms of development referenced by *TOKİ* are the development of Anatolia, regional development, and rural development. In these forms of development, *TOKİ*'s activities, especially urban transformation projects, stand out both as a vision of modernity and as a development tool.²¹⁹

This framework derives its main ideas from "distributing the population evenly across the country" and "slowing the pace of migration." *TOKİ*'s Satellite City and Agricultural Village Projects are realized based on these ideas. In this context, the Satellite City Projects aim to create new settlements with strong connections with existing settlements, possessing commercial, social, and cultural structures that give

²¹⁷ "TOKİ Modeli Habitat III Zirvesinde," *TOKİHABER*, no. 81 (October, 2016); Turkey Habitat III National Report (2016).

²¹⁸ "İstanbul Dünya Kadastro Zirvesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 63 (May, 2015).

²¹⁹ Some of these include "TOKİ, Konut Üretiminde Seviyeyi Yükseltti," *TOKİHABER*, no. 2 (March, 2010); "Cumhuriyetin 100.Yılına 15 Marka Kentle Gireceğiz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 14 (April, 2011); "Tarımköy Konutlarının Anahtarı Başbakan'dan," *TOKİHABER*, no. 14 (April, 2011); "TOKİ Kira, Konut ve Arsa Piyasasını Dengeye Oturttu," *TOKİHABER*, no. 3 (April, 2010).

them 'central' characteristics while maintaining ties with the main city. The Agricultural Village Projects aim to provide rural residents with the opportunities that make cities attractive, thereby maintaining the urban-rural balance and slowing migration.²²⁰ These examples should also include urban transformation projects produced in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Regions. These projects aim for regional development through structural transformation across the region.²²¹

4.2.1.3. Urban Planning

The concept of development is the third most frequently referenced term in the magazine. A total of 40 articles/texts mention the term. Of these, magazine writers reference it in 24 instances, the *TOKİ* Presidency in six, officials within the Ministry in two, and *TOKİ* Affiliates in one. Additionally, the president, the prime minister, professional chambers and associations, academicians, journalists, and individuals or companies in the construction industry each reference it once. (See Table 4.2.)

The magazine predominantly references urban development through urban renewal projects, new city construction, provision of zoned land, conservation zoning plans, and updates to zoning regulations. Urban renewal primarily articulates the relationship between development and modernity among these topics. Discussions centered on urban transformation, including the renewal of slums and areas at risk of natural disasters, as well as new city projects, evolve around developing the country and its cities through *TOKİ* projects and the construction sector. This concept of development encompasses creating secure, healthy, modern living spaces and residential areas with urban infrastructure.

In addition, there are also discourses in the magazine that equate the spread of this construction practice to every country's city. This practice includes a particular

²²⁰ "Hedefe Az Kaldı: 500 Bin Konuta Doğru," *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010); "Yeni Yerleşimler Yenilenen Şehirler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015).

²²¹ "Bölgede Sessiz Bir Devrim Yaşanıyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 5 (June-July, 2010); "Malatya Kentsel Dönüşümle Doğunun Gelişen Yüzü Oluyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 33 (November, 2012).

standard with the "image of a construction breakthrough" and treats this as a vision of modernity.²²²

Renewing the urban planning legislation in line with the day's needs is another vision of modernity produced through the notion of urban planning. This vision aims to produce "human and environment-friendly, aesthetic, participatory, and prosperous brand cities." To achieve this goal, it references ideas such as facilitating access to services for individuals with special needs and promoting mutual socio-cultural benefits.²²³

4.2.1.4. Democratization

The notion of democratization ranks fourth in this analysis.²²⁴ It is referenced in ten instances by magazine writers, once by the *TOKİ* Presidency, once by urban planners, architects, or engineers, and once by academicians. The magazine constructs narratives of modernity through the lens of democracy at various scales and dimensions. (See Table 4.2.)

Some references appear in issues published after the July 15 coup attempt. These texts frame the coup as a pivotal moment in the country's democratic evolution, portraying the resistance against it as an act of safeguarding the nation and freedom, thereby marking a significant democratic milestone. This resistance also presents an opportunity to prioritize the country's reconstruction towards a more prosperous future.²²⁵

²²² Some of these include: "Erzincan'ı Yeniden İmar Ediyoruz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 14 (April, 2011); "TOKİ'den İstanbul 2020'ye Erken Teslim Garantisi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 39 (May, 2013); "İş Makineleri Kentsel Dönüşümle Yüzde 20 Büyüyecek," *TOKİHABER*, no. 33 (November, 2012); "TOKİ, Hükümetin En Etkin Çalışan Kuruluşu," *TOKİHABER*, no. 2 (March, 2010).

²²³ "Yaşanabilir Şehirler Sürdürülebilir Çevre," *TOKİHABER*, no. 70 (December, 2015).

²²⁴ The key terms used to explore visions of modernity associated with the concept of democratization are democracy and democratic.

²²⁵ "Önsöz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 78 (August, 2016); "Tek Yürek: Türkiye Tarihe Geçecek Yeni Bir Destan Yazdı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 78 (August, 2016); "Yeni Kapı," *TOKİHABER*, No. 79 (September, 2016).

Another notable vision of modernity built on the notion of democracy revolves around urban transformation projects. These discourses link housing provision for disadvantaged groups, such as the Romani people, with themes of democracy and human rights. Additionally, they suggest that citizens moving from slums to contemporary spaces will lead happier lives under democratic site management systems.²²⁶

In addition, references made by subjects other than *TOKİ* and the government to the concept of democracy consist of discussions on the local democracy-sustainability relationship and competition-democracy culture.²²⁷

4.2.1.5. Social State

The notion of the welfare state is the least frequently referenced notion. Among these references, six are made by the editors and writers of the *TOKİHABER* magazine, six by the *TOKİ* Presidency, and one by the Mayor. (See Table 4.2.)

In this period, *TOKİ* introduces the notion of the welfare state into its discourse for the first time. This inclusion is primarily related to the structural transformation that *TOKİ* has undergone. Central to this transformation is the shift from providing housing loans to the practice of producing social housing for those in need. *TOKİ* President Erdoğan Bayraktar articulates the necessity of producing social housing thus: “Poor people have rights over the wealthy. As long as the living standards of the poor do not improve, the world will not find the peace it seeks.”²²⁸

In the magazine, the notion is predominantly associated with the state's role in providing 'high-quality and accessible housing' for its needy citizens.

²²⁶ “Avrupa’ya Örnek Proje,” *TOKİHABER*, No. 7 (2010); ““Köndü”dan “Modern”e Sancılı Geçiş,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 15 (May, 2011).

²²⁷ “Yerel Demokrasi Olmadan Sürdürülebilirlik Sağlanamaz,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 31 (September, 2012); “Hayata Geçirilmeyen Ödüllü Proje Kağıt Mimarlığı Olur,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 73 (March, 2016).

²²⁸ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. “Projelerden 5 Milyar Dolar Kazandık,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 3, (April, 2010).

Additionally, other significant ideas accompany this notion. These include revitalizing the private sector during economic crises, contributing to employment, boosting production through construction investments, and offering interest-free housing to those in need.²²⁹

4.2.2. Urban Identity, Architectural Approaches, and Social Identity in TOKİ's Visions of Modernity

In this period, *TOKİ*, distinct from the previous era, starts generating discourses about urban perspectives. These discourses focus on several key areas, with a mutual component being the concept of sustainability. These concepts generate discourse through three main channels. The first channel pertains the sustainability of a livable environment through urban transformation projects. This theme of sustainability describes a dynamic mechanism that addresses contemporary needs while providing urban dwellers a greater sense of self-worth.²³⁰

The goal of creating "livable and sustainable environments" also references *TOKİ*'s concepts of "brand residences" and "brand cities." These concepts aim to enhance the prestige of residential areas and cities by considering their economic, social, and cultural dynamics while simultaneously improving the quality of life for city inhabitants through urban infrastructures. Furthermore, some of these narratives focus on "sustainability," developing models emphasizing preserving cultural and natural environments.²³¹

²²⁹ Some of these include: "Bölgede Sessiz Bir Devrim Yaşanıyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 5 (June-July, 2010); "Sosyal Devlet Olgusu ve TOKİ Realitesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010); "Krizde Ayağımız Gazdan Çekmedik," *TOKİHABER*, no. 4 (May, 2010); "TOKİ Faiz Uygulamıyor Fiyatları Güncelliyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 7 (September, 2010).

²³⁰ "Sürdürülebilir Çevre Çağdaş Yaşam Alanları," *TOKİHABER*, no. 76 (June, 2016).

²³¹ Some of these include: "Bayraktar: Kentsel Dönüşüm Ana Gündem Maddesi Olmalı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 9 (November, 2010); "Kentsel Dönüşümle İstanbul'da 3 İlçe Daha Yenilenecek," *TOKİHABER*, no. 35 (January, 2013); "Çevreye Duyarlı Yatırıma Daha Çok Destek Vereceğiz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 36 (February, 2013); "TOKİ Başkanı Mehmet Ergün Turan: Kentsel Dönüşüm Türkiye'nin Önceliği," *TOKİHABER*, no. 54 (August, 2014); "Yaşanabilir Şehirler Sürdürülebilir Çevre," *TOKİHABER*, no. 70 (December, 2015).

Another channel focuses on creating a sustainable environment through disaster resilience and smart technologies. Prominent ideas within this framework include resilience to disasters, energy conservation, cost-effectiveness, clean environments, unique building technologies, climate sensitivity, green initiatives, green buildings, smart cities, and smart homes.²³²

The final important channel involves discourses on "the sustainability of unique identities and socio-cultural values in settlements." Core concepts include horizontal architecture, traditional/local architecture, and neighborhood.²³³ (See Appendix B between Figures 16 through 26) This form of sustainability and the concepts above frequently appear in discourses on urban transformation projects. Notably, in 2014, *TOKİ* presented these three concepts as a new model and production discipline in its urbanization policy and (mass) housing practices.²³⁴

Further analysis reveals that horizontal architecture fundamentally positions itself in contrast to vertical architecture. In a 2017 foreword, the President of *TOKİ* M. Ergün Turan stated, "There will be no place where the tallest building is a *TOKİ* building."²³⁵ Additionally, this concept aligns with the need to emulate a specific urban model. This model, referencing the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, aims to reconstruct cities in the same manner as they were originally built, which is a primary goal for the current political authority and *TOKİ*.²³⁶

A further example of this formal reference can be seen in the 2016 foreword by the President of *TOKİ*, who lauds the height of buildings, asserting that "in our ancient culture," building heights were determined by the height of trees. Likewise, *TOKİ*

²³² "Önsöz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 75 (May, 2016); "Güneydoğunun En Kapsamlı Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi Şanlıurfa'da," *TOKİHABER*, no. 39 (May, 2013); "Önsöz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 72 (February, 2016); "Karapınar TOKİ ile Dönüşecek," *TOKİHABER*, no. 14 (April, 2011); "Yenilenecek 6,5 Milyon Konutun Büyük Bölümü Yeşil Bina Olacak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 37 (March, 2013).

²³³ "261bin Konutluk Dönüşüm," *TOKİHABER*, no. 84 (February, 2017).

²³⁴ "TOKİ Üretiyor Türkiye Büyüyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 63 (May, 2015); "Kalitede Referans Kuruluş Olacağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 76 (June, 2016).

²³⁵ "Önsöz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 85 (March, 2017).

²³⁶ "Kimsenin Doğaya Zulmetmeye Hakkı Yok," *TOKİHABER*, no. 36 (February, 2013).

prioritizes creating spaces that harmoniously integrate human and environmental considerations.²³⁷

Narratives on traditional/local architecture respond to criticisms that had emerged before 2014. These criticisms targeted the "uniform" buildings produced in *TOKİ*'s housing production. In a way, the discourse on traditional and modern architecture emerged to add aesthetic value to the housing produced.²³⁸ An example of this aesthetic-driven discourse is President Erdoğan's 2016 speech: "Instead of architecturally shapeless, soulless, and aesthetically lacking buildings, we should create works shaped by the interpretations of Seljuk and Ottoman architecture."²³⁹

On the other hand, the discourses produced after 2014 also refer to the following ideas: creating original architecture that references historical ties, preserving the texture of cities, considering historical buildings that 'carry the cultural genetics of society' as 'memory institutions' and protecting them, giving cities a unique identity, ensuring the local population embraces urban identity, and adapting this heritage to the present by drawing inspiration from regional architecture.²⁴⁰

The "7 Climate 7 Regions: From Tradition to Future, National Architectural Project," organized in 2014, is a significant R&D project that references these concepts of urban identity and traditional architecture. The competition aims to produce projects with traditional architectural aesthetics that consider the historical memory and identity of different regions. The projects also needed to align with the climate, adapt to the lifestyle and practices of residents, and fit the region's economic sources.²⁴¹

²³⁷ "Şehirlere Model Projeler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 81 (November, 2016).

²³⁸ "Şehirlerin Kimliğidir Binalar," *TOKİHABER*, no. 25 (March, 2012).

²³⁹ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "Kentsel Dönüşümde Hedef Büyük," *TOKİHABER*, no. 76 (June, 2016).

²⁴⁰ "TOKİ Kentsel Dönüşümde Örnek Projeyi Uşakta Uygulamaya Koydu," *TOKİHABER*, no. 54 (August, 2014); "Kentsel Dönüşümde Yerinde Takip," *TOKİHABER*, no. 55 (September, 2014); "TOKİ Üretiyor Türkiye Büyüyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 63 (May, 2015); "Yeni Yerleşimler Kuruluyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 71 (January, 2016); "Yatay Yapılaşma Zamanı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 75 (May, 2016); "Yeni Nesil Bedesten Van Erciş," *TOKİHABER*, no. 84 (February, 2017); "Önsöz," *TOKİHABER*, No. 65 (July, 2015).

²⁴¹ 7 İklim 7 Bölge Gelenekten Geleceğe, *Ulusal Mimari Proje Yarışması* (November 11, 2014).

In *TOKİ*'s discourse, the notion of the "neighborhood" appears even before 2014. These discourses generate ideas about modernizing neighborhoods through urban transformation projects and production that align with the local texture.²⁴² However, treating the neighborhood as a concept began in 2014. In this context, the narratives in the magazine frequently refer to "neighborhood culture." This culture draws on the forms of neighborhood from the Seljuk and Ottoman periods.

TOKİ envisions a societal transformation through this neighborhood culture. This transformation aims to strengthen neighborly relations, foster a culture of solidarity, achieve social and cultural integration, preserve a sense of communal living, enhance the sense of belonging to the area, and ensure that "traditional living culture finds life in modern cities."²⁴³

Such urban structuring aims to "reflect a certain perception of civilization" and produce generations that uphold and carry forward this civilization's cultural codes and heritage. At the introductory meeting of the 'City-Human Civilization Bridge: Exemplary Personalities Project' in 2015, Prime Minister Davutoğlu defined "city, civilization, and state" as an inseparable trio, equating the country's preservation of its civilization with the protection of its political sovereignty.²⁴⁴

Another significant example of expanding on civilization is the speech by the President of *TOKİ* at the conference on "Human, City, and Civilization." In this speech, the President of *TOKİ* Turan linked the city's physical structure with the "spirit, future, and belief world" of individuals. According to this speech, urban

²⁴² "Romanların Ucuz Konut Rüyası Gerçek Oluyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 3 (April, 2010); "Bursa'nın En Eski Mahallesi TOKİ ile Modernleşiyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 9 (November, 2010).

²⁴³ Some of these include: "Mahalle Kültürünü Yenilemek," *TOKİHABER*, no. 57 (November, 2014); "Yeni Yerleşimler Yenilenen Şehirler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015); "Turan: TOKİ'nin 2015 Konut Hedefi 50 Bin," *TOKİHABER*, no. 58 (December, 2014); "Kentsel Dönüşüm Proje Örnekleri," *TOKİHABER*, no. 72 (February, 2016); "Gecekonduyan Modern Yaşama," *TOKİHABER*, no. 84 (February, 2017); "TOKİ Üretiyor Türkiye Büyüyor," *TOKİHABER*, No. 63 (May, 2015); "Mahalle Kültürünü Yenilemek," *TOKİHABER*, no.57 (November, 2014).

²⁴⁴ "Önsöz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 55 (September, 2014); "Tanpınar'ın Beş Şehrinden Günümüz Türkiye'sine Şehir – İnsan," *TOKİHABER*, no. 66 (August, 2015).

structuring has, and should have, a close relationship with the country's religious faith and the lifestyle it prescribes.²⁴⁵

In other words, civilization and culture are vital concepts that *TOKİ* frequently references and uses to interpret its practices while producing discourse through the "horizontal architecture-traditional/local architecture-neighborhood" triple concept. In this context, discussing other concepts related to civilization produced by different subjects featured in the magazine is also helpful. One such concept is the consciousness of civilization. This concept not only refers to the country's history through the lens of civilization but also frequently references Islam, intending to interpret urban and architectural structures from this perspective.

An example is a book review published in the magazine in 2015. According to this article, the book *Understanding Istanbul* shares Cansever's perspectives on how he views the city of Istanbul and considers it a heritage. The book defines being aware of this heritage as a consciousness of civilization. It comments on the dramatic transformation of Istanbul and discusses why and how the city has lost its deep-rooted heritage. A prominent criticism highlighted in the book is that, especially after World War II, the country abandoned one of the city's heritages, the "Islamic house, neighborhood, and city culture," and instead produced "Western imitative" urban environments.²⁴⁶

The reflections of the expansions on civilization are also found in other publications by the Ministry. For instance, an interview with Saadettin Ökten in the *Environment, Human, and City Journal* is a significant example. In this interview, Ökten describes the country's civilization vision as "the Ottoman interpretation of Islamic civilization." Thus, he points to this epistemic framework for discussions that reference civilization.²⁴⁷ Moreover, another reference to the association between the

²⁴⁵ "İnsan Şehir ve Medeniyet," *TOKİHABER*, no. 85 (March, 2017).

²⁴⁶ "Cansever'in Düşündeki İstanbul," *TOKİHABER*, no. 69 (November, 2015).

²⁴⁷ "Biz Şehri, Bir Bilenden Okuduk - Saadettin Ökten'le Medeniyet Tasavvurumuz ve Şehir Üzerine Söyleşi," *Çevre İnsan ve Şehir*, no. 14 (2016).

Islamic World and civilization is the etymological proximity between the city of Medina and the Turkish word for civilization, "*medeniyet*." ²⁴⁸

The final and most crucial part of the discussion concerns the desired urban profile through urban transformation projects. *TOKİ*'s perspectives on cities and architectural approaches reveal clues about this urban profile. The prominent concepts and ideas in these discourses, which indicate social transformation, are local urban texture, traditional neighborhood culture, the neighborhood culture of the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, traditional neighborly relations, tolerance, mutual assistance, solidarity, family, people having a sense of belonging to the region in which they live, the perception of civilization that upholds cultural codes, and the perception of civilization referencing the Ottoman period and the Islamic World.

An essential example of the relationship established through the city and urban profile is a speech given by the then-president of *TOKİ*, Turan, in 2016: ²⁴⁹

The environments where human life and spirit develop, grow, and are nurtured naturally form the foundations of civilization. In our culture, integrating humanity with civilization and civilization with the city is not in vain. This is because civilization creates a climate that enables the maturation of humanity's material and spiritual dimensions.

References to the Seljuk and Ottoman periods also resonate in the discourses on social solidarity and mutual assistance institutions. According to these discourses, the concept of the *waqf*, defined as a cultural value, comes to the forefront. *Waqfs* are charitable institutions that provide services related to faith, social and civil life, scientific production, and education. Reflecting on this historical value, *TOKİ* places great importance on sustaining this form of social relationship today and integrating it into contemporary life. ²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ "İnsan ve Şehir," *Çevre ve Şehir*, no. 12 (2012).

²⁴⁹ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "Şehirlere Model Projeler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 81 (November, 2016).

²⁵⁰ "Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşmanın En Güzel Örneği: Vakıf Olgusu," *TOKİHABER*, no. 23 (January, 2012).

4.3. From 2017 to the Present

4.3.1. *TOKİ*'s Visions of Modernity

This section focuses on the selected concepts of urbanization, development, urban planning, the social state, and democratization in *TOKİ*'s discourse between 2017 and the present. The thesis arranges these notions based on the number of articles identified through a comprehensive review. According to this arrangement, the most frequently referenced notion in *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity during this period remains unchanged.

4.3.1.1. Urbanization

As previously expounded, urbanization is this period's most frequently referenced notion.²⁵¹ The magazine features 419 articles/pieces of writing that reference this concept. Of these, 156 are written by the editors and writers of *TOKİHABER* Magazine, 99 by the *TOKİ* Presidency, and 106 by officials within the Ministry. Additionally, this concept is referenced 37 times by the president and once by a mayor. It is also used 20 times by other actors.²⁵² (See Table 4.3.)

During this period, *TOKİ*'s discourses on urbanization visions largely resemble those of the previous period. They continue to produce in line with "Planned Urbanization and Housing Mobilization" introduced in 2003 under the New Turkey Vision. The core elements of these urbanization practices remain, as in the previous period, horizontal architecture, traditional/local architecture, and the neighborhood. Similarly, the discourses of this period frequently reference the concept and practices of urban transformation. (See Appendix C between Figures 1 through 3)

²⁵¹ I expanded this conceptual research by using the key terms employed in the creation of visions of modernity associated with urbanization. These additional key terms include: urban renewal, urban transformation, slum transformation, urbanization, and urbanism.

²⁵² Others: Urban Planners, Architects, or Engineers; Academicians; Individuals or Companies in the Construction Industry

In addition, this period also sees the inclusion of new ideas, values, and concepts in *TOKİ*'s discourse. One such idea is the concept of "greener." In line with this idea, *TOKİ* introduces the following concepts: *TOKİPARKs*, Community Gardens (*Millet Bahçeleri*), and ecological corridors. Each concept produced within this framework encompasses different visions of modernity. These visions include goals such as creating socially integrated living spaces, building areas where people can relax and socialize within the city, and establishing a balanced relationship between humans and nature. These concepts also reference ideas such as reclaiming unused urban areas and making cities climate resilient.²⁵³

Another prominent element in the discourses of this period is smart technology. The relationship established between urban practices and technology serves as a bridge between civilization and science. The role of technology and science here is to build the future of cities while preserving the "heritage inherited from the country's ancient civilization."²⁵⁴ An example of this discourse is President Erdoğan's speech at the Smart Cities and Municipalities Congress and Exhibition held at ATO Congressium in 2020:²⁵⁵

In our cities, we will preserve history, culture, and civilization while investing in new needs. What good is a smart city if it is not friendly to the elderly, women, children, and the disabled, and if its streets are not peaceful 24 hours a day? A city without character, without prioritizing its people, and without centers of knowledge, wisdom, and art has no intelligence. A city full of people unaware of their neighbors, streets, districts, or neighborhoods has lost its soul. That is why we need cities that are both smart and symbols of civilization.

²⁵³ Some of them are: "81 İlde 154 Millet Bahçesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 124 (June, 2020); "Şehir Yaşamına Değer Katakacak Projeler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 125 (July, 2020); "Hedef 2023," *TOKİHABER*, No.102 (August, 2018).

²⁵⁴ *TOKİ Corporate Profile Document* (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı 2019).

²⁵⁵ The original language of the quotation is Turkish. The English translation is by the author of the thesis. "Akıllı Şehir Uygulamalarında Dünya Pazarlarında İhracatçı Olacağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 120 (February, 2020).

2017- SELECTED NOTIONS	WHO Editors and Writers of the TOKIHABER Magazine	TOK/ Presidency	Officials within the Ministry	President	Mayor	Other Political Figures	Urban Planners, Architects, or Engineers	Academicians	Individuals or Companies in the Construction Industry	TOTAL
Development	32	12	24	11		1	4	2	3	89
Urban Planning	15	6	11	4			1	2	2	41
Urbanization	156	99	106	37	1		11	3	6	419
Social State	3	6		2						11
Democratization	5			3						8

Table 4.3. Number of articles discussing selected concepts and authors, 2017-

4.3.1.2. Development

In this period, the second most frequently referenced concept is development. Of these references, 32 are made by the editors and writers of *TOKİHABER* Magazine, twelve by the *TOKİ* Presidency, and 24 by officials within the Ministry. Additionally, the President and another political figure, Emine Erdoğan, each reference this concept once. There are also nine references made by other actors.²⁵⁶ (See Table 4.3.)

As in previous periods, sustainable development is one of the development concepts referenced during this period. Key political figures and *TOKİ* refer to this concept of sustainability in various dimensions and scales. One aspect of this is the production of sustainable projects focusing on people's lifestyles and daily activities. President Erdoğan has expressed this perspective: “The more we focus on projects that address the daily lives of people on our streets, the more we are on the right path...”²⁵⁷

Some of these projects propose a sustainable development model through smart technologies and smart governance practices. This model includes goals such as energy efficiency and efficient resource use. Notable examples are green buildings, smart energy, smart transportation, smart technology, smart healthcare services, smart infrastructure, smart governance, smart government, and smart citizens.²⁵⁸

Other visions of development produced through technology build on partnerships that strengthen the relationship between universities, industry, and the government. These collaborations aim to create "advanced technology" and transform this technology into "products and services" through tools such as Technoparks and Technology Transfer Offices.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ Others: Urban Planners, Architects, or Engineers; Academicians; Individuals or Companies in the Construction Industry.

²⁵⁷ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. “Hedef Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 88 (June, 2017).

²⁵⁸ “Dönüşümün Temelinde İnsan Var,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 97 (March, 2018).

²⁵⁹ “Ülke Kalkınmasında Etkili Güç: Teknoloji Transfer Ofisleri,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 115 (September, 2019).

Another project included in the discourse of sustainable development, though not produced by *TOKİ* but featured in *TOKİHABER* through academic and professional groups, is the Cittaslow initiative. This movement shows how small cities can develop by using their own resources while preserving their cultural and local values.²⁶⁰

TOKİ's discourses include other concepts that reference sustainable development. Chief among these is green development. During this period, discourses frequently use the concepts of sustainable and green development together. They point to a form of development that addresses various issues, such as climate change, sustainable urbanization, development-focused urbanization, and the green economy.²⁶¹

In this framework, proposals included in the discourses of key political figures and *TOKİ* cover a range of dimensions and scales, including waste recycling, low-emission zones, green energy, circular economy, social housing production, urban transformation, youth employment, green transformation of industry and tourism, and the production of smart, green, and sustainable infrastructure. Projects such as *TOKİPARKs*, Community Gardens (*Millet Bahçeleri*), and ecological corridors exemplify these infrastructure projects included in *TOKİ*'s production practices.²⁶²

Other concepts referenced within the sustainable development framework are local, regional, and rural developments. These concepts are included in the discourses to describe the conceptual framework of infrastructure projects, large-scale projects in

²⁶⁰ “Evden Sokağa Sokaktan Mahalleye Sükunet,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 102 (August, 2018); “Cittaslow Ne Kadar Bize Özgü,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 102 (August, 2018).

²⁶¹ “İklim Değişikliğiyle Mücadelede Sorumluluk Bütün Dünyanıdır Hepimizindir,” *TOKİHABER*, No. 133 (February, 2021); “Dünya Habitat Günü: Kimse Geride Kalmasın,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 152 (October, 2022); “Her İlin Kent Merkezi Bir Mimarın İmzasını Taşıyacak,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 158 (April, 2023).

²⁶² Some of these include: “Atıkların Ekonomiye Katkısı 3,5 Milyar TL,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 97 (March, 2018); “Yeşil Kalkınmada Türkiye’nin Rotası İnsan ve Doğa,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 145 (March, 2022); “MIPIM2022’de Türkiye’deki Yatırım Fırsatları Anlatıldı,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 146 (April, 2022); “Yıl Sonuna Kadar 200 Bin Adet Afet Konutunu Teslim Etmeyi Hedefliyoruz,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 168 (February, 2024); “Türkiye Yüzyılında Yeşil Dönüşümün Sağlandığı Şehirleri İnşa Edeceğiz,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 165 (November, 2023); “Çevreye Duyarlı, Çağdaş Yaşam Alanları Kuruyoruz,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 155 (January, 2023).

health, transportation, agriculture, industry, energy, housing projects, and urban transformation projects produced through *TOKİ* practices.

According to this conceptual framework, the projects aim to socially, culturally, and economically develop a region or city. One of these supports is to add value to a region/city by enabling local development. These discourses also incorporate other social and cultural dimensions, such as social integration, social justice, and historical and cultural heritage preservation.²⁶³

In all these forms of development included in the discourses of key political figures and *TOKİ*, the construction and housing sectors, along with national technology production and related industrial sectors, function as the driving force of the country's economy.²⁶⁴ As then-Minister Murat Kurum stated, developing cities and settlements equates to developing the country: “The path to a strong Turkey passes through strong cities.”²⁶⁵

This "strength" that the country gains internationally does not only reference sustainable development. As in previous periods, this "strength" also necessitates the widespread adoption of rapid transportation through highways, railways, and airways. This relationship established through the transportation network is essential for the country's presence within the broader economic system.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ Some of these include: “800 Bini Aşkın Aile TOKİ Sayesinde Ev Sahibi Oldu,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 95 (January, 2018); “Kentsel Dönüşüm Eylem Planı,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 116 (October, 2019); “TOKİ Modeli Dünyaya Örnek Oluyor,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 152 (October, 2022); “Köydes ile Kırsal Altyapı Güçlendiriliyor,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 168 (February, 2024).

²⁶⁴ Some of these include: “TOKİ Geleceğin Şehirlerini İnşa Ediyor,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 166 (December, 2023); “Çevre ve Şehirciliğin Yeni Yol Haritası,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 108 (February, 2019); “İleri Toplum, İleri Teknoloji, Sürdürülebilir ve Dirençli Dünya,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 168 (February, 2024); “İnsan Dostu Şehirler Kurmalıyız,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 139 (September, 2021).

²⁶⁵ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. “Amacımız Türkiye’yi Dünyanın En Güçlü Devletleri Seviyesine Çıkarmak,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 129 (November, 2020).

²⁶⁶ “Türkiye Ulaşımında Bölgesel Merkez Konumuna Gelecek,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 124 (June, 2020).

4.3.1.3. Urban Planning

Fifteen references to the concept of urban planning come from the editors and writers of *TOKİHABER* Magazine, six from the *TOKİ* Presidency, eleven from officials within the Ministry, and four from the President. Other actors use this concept five times.²⁶⁷ (See Table 4.3.)

Some of the topics referenced by the magazine through the concept of development include urban planning regulations, urban planning practices, urban planning amnesty, development rights, and the provision of infrastructure-equipped and zoned land and workplaces.²⁶⁸

Additionally, some discourses consider the notion of urban planning as a vision of modernity. Some of these focus on the (re)development, construction, and revitalization of regions/cities. One vision is to make a region/city more modern and healthier through urban transformation activities. Another vision is producing zoned, technically and socially infrastructured living spaces that add value to people's lives in cities through social housing constructions.²⁶⁹

Furthermore, the construction, re-construction, and revitalization of areas affected by terrorism and earthquakes are also among the visions of modernity featured in the magazine. Another vision included in the magazine is the developing and constructing the country through *TOKİ*'s activities. This vision encompasses the goals of producing the principles of "housing for all," "humane living," and

²⁶⁷ Others: Urban Planners, Architects, or Engineers; Academicians; Individuals or Companies in the Construction Industry.

²⁶⁸ Some of them are: "Kocaeli ve Trabzon'da Dönüşüm Yeni Konutlar ve İş Yerleri," *TOKİHABER*, no. 148 (June, 2022); "Marmara Depreminin 20. Yılında Hayatını Kaybedenler Anıldı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 115 (September, 2019); "2020 Hedefleri," *TOKİHABER*, no. 118 (December, 2019); "Kentsel Dönüşüm Eylem Planı Açıklandı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 116 (October, 2019); "Yeni Kentsel Dönüşüm Ve Deprem Yasası Hazırlanıyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 164, (October, 2023); "İlk Evim İlk İş Yerim Büyük Sosyal Konut Projesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 151 (September, 2022).

²⁶⁹ Some of them are: "Denizli Yenileniyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 90 (August, 2017); "Yaşam Kalitesini Yükseltiyoruz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 169 (March, 2024); "Önsöz," *Çevre İnsan ve Şehir*, no. 17, (2018); "Görmeye Değecek Eserler, Gurur Verecek Yeni Yerleşimler İnşa Ediyoruz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 98 (April, 2018); "Afetten Zarar Gören Şehirlerimizi En Kısa Sürede Ayağa Kaldıracağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 163 (September, 2023).

"economically accessible housing" while also contributing to the country's culture and civilization.²⁷⁰

4.3.1.4. Social State

In this period, the texts referencing the concept of the welfare state are as follows: three by the editors and writers of *TOKİHABER* Magazine, six by the *TOKİ* Presidency, and two by the President. (See Table 4.3.)

As in the previous period, the concept of the welfare state during this period mainly refers to the structural transformation that *TOKİ* has undergone. This structural transformation represents *TOKİ*'s shift from supporting (mass) housing production through various means to the practice of producing social housing for middle and low-income groups as well as impoverished citizens.²⁷¹

With this structural transformation, *TOKİ* defines itself as an "institution that emphasizes the social state approach." The discourses produced in this context are diverse, including providing housing rights to those in need, facilitating access to housing for needy individuals, improving people's living conditions, and producing housing without a profit motive as a social state institution.²⁷²

Additionally, another discussion included in the *TOKİHABER* discourse during this period is the similarity between the *dariüşşifas* of the Seljuk and Ottoman periods and contemporary social state practices. This discourse draws a parallel between these *dariüşşifas* and today's *waqf* tradition, emphasizing that *waqf* are practical tools of the social state.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ Some of these include: "Çevre Hizmetlerini Millet Bahçeleriyle Taçlandırıyoruz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 137 (July, 2021); "Silivri Millet Bahçesi İlk Fidanlarıyla Buluştu," *TOKİHABER*, no. 151 (September, 2022); "Gücümüzü Kültür ve Medeniyetimizi Yükseltmek için Kullanacağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 106 (December, 2018).

²⁷¹ "TOKİ, Sosyal Devlet Anlayışını Öne Çıkaran Bir Kurumdur," *TOKİHABER*, no.156 (February, 2023).

²⁷² Some of these include: "Nilüfer'de İkinci Bahar," *TOKİHABER*, no. 104 (October, 2018); "100 Bin Yeni Sosyal Konut," *TOKİHABER*, no. 119 (January, 2020); "Projelerimizi Bütüncül Olarak Tasarlıyoruz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 148 (June, 2022); *TOKİ Corporate Profile Document* (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı 2019).

²⁷³ "Anadoluya Şifa Verenler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 89 (July, 2017).

4.3.1.5. Democratization

In this period, five references to the concept of democratization come from the editors and writers of *TOKİHABER* Magazine, and three from the President.²⁷⁴ (See Table 4.3.)

The discourses produced during this period contain very few references to democratization. On the other hand, since some of these references focus on the country's new governance model, they have the power to shape the political mindset of the era dramatically and influence *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity.

President Erdoğan describes this new governance model—the Presidential Government System—as "not an imposition, but a correct choice guided by history." He states that the new model of governance is a new milestone for the country and the Turkish Nation. This milestone results from the Turkish Nation's 150-year and the Republic of Turkey's 95-year quest for democracy. Consequently, this democratic outcome strives to achieve profound conceptual and structural transformations.²⁷⁵ President Erdoğan's 2018 speech on the 2023 goals and future vision provides a clue about these transformations:²⁷⁶

By making the best use of the opportunity our nation has provided us, we are setting out for a strong parliament, a strong government, and a strong Turkey. We will gradually implement our new governance system with a reformist approach, extending it to the lowest level of civil servants.

This new era also legitimizes itself through the vision of urbanization as the creative force of the period. According to this vision, the 400 new projects initiated after the presidential election and completed within 100 days will serve as the "driving force" of this new era. These projects also aim to create the country's architecture while

²⁷⁴ The key terms used to explore visions of modernity associated with the concept of democratization are democracy and democratic.

²⁷⁵ "İnsan Dostu Şehirler Kurmalıyız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 139 (September, 2021).

²⁷⁶ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "Yeni Bir Yönetim Modeline Geçtik," *TOKİHABER*, no. 102 (August, 2018).

embracing a new management approach. In other words, *TOKİ* seeks to produce symbolic values for this new era through urbanization and architectural practices.²⁷⁷

Other discourses produced around the concept of democratization refer to the goal of becoming one of the most democratic countries in the world, the struggle against the July 15 coup attempt, and the significance and importance of national holidays.²⁷⁸

4.3.2. Urban Identity, Architectural Approaches, and Social Identity in *TOKİ*'s Visions of Modernity

Some ideas, values, and concepts introduced in the previous period continue to be present in the discourses produced during this period. However, this period also adds new elements to the discourse. These additions do not significantly alter the character of the discourses from the previous period but rather introduce new dimensions and scales to them. Therefore, this analysis replicates the examination model structured around the concept of sustainability from the previous period.

Accordingly, the first area of discussion under the concept of sustainability concerns the sustainability of a livable environment. Some of the ideas under the theme of sustainability aim to enhance quality of life. It involves an urban existence where authorities meet all social and economic infrastructure needs and provide essential urban services fairly and which are easily accessible. Moreover, urban management and citizens engage in transparent and solution-oriented dialogue to achieve contemporary living standards through innovative and unique principles. Under the theme of sustainability, as in the previous period, "brand cities" are also included. Through the concept of brand cities, *TOKİ* emphasizes a policy of creating a robust, safe, and livable environment that can serve as a model.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ "100 Gün 400 Proje," *TOKİHABER*, no 103 (September, 2018).

²⁷⁸ Some of these include: "Çocuklarımızdan Geleceğe Dair Hayaller Kurmalarını İstiyoruz," *TOKİHABER*, no 99 (May, 2018); "Çanakkale'nin Ruhu Kuvayı Milliye Şuuru," *TOKİHABER*, no. 102 (August, 2018); "23 Nisan Evlerde Coşkuyla Kutlandı," *TOKİHABER*, no 123 (May, 2020).

²⁷⁹ Some of these include: "Karadenize Değer Katan Projeler," *TOKİHABER*, no 91 (September, 2017); "2020 Hedefleri," *TOKİHABER*, no. 118 (December, 2019); "İstanbul'da Kura Sevinci," *TOKİHABER*, no 113 (July, 2019); "Kimliği Olan Şehirler Bırakacağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 100

The second area of discussion under the theme of sustainability focuses on creating a sustainable environment through disaster resilience and smart technologies. Some of the ideas referenced in this discussion include the capacity for resilience against natural disasters, the conservation and utilization of natural resources, and the establishment of spaces and settlements that unite humans and nature.²⁸⁰

TOKİ expands this nature-human relationship through the concept of "green." Since 2018, it has produced discourses on green space production with descriptions such as "greener," "green public space planning approach," weaving the country with green networks, strengthening green infrastructure, and the "Green-Respectful Urbanism Vision."²⁸¹

The concepts built through these discourses include *TOKİPARKs*, Community Gardens (*Millet Bahçeleri*), and ecological corridors. (See Appendix C between Figures 4 through 27) Designed as new urban open spaces, *TOKİPARKs* are places where citizens can interact socially and communicate.²⁸² These spaces are relatively small-scale and serve their respective regions.

Community Gardens also emerge as park and recreation projects; however, these cater to the city's general population. These gardens are "quality social spaces" equipped with sports and play areas and high-quality landscaping, where citizens of all ages and backgrounds can engage in activities such as walking, jogging, and cycling. Such gardens also feature socializing and resting areas, such as Community

(June, 2018); "50 Bin Yeni Sosyal Konutta Kurallar Başladı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 112 (June, 2019); "İlk Evim İlk İş Yerim Büyük Sosyal Konut Projesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 151 (September, 2022).

²⁸⁰ Some of these include: "50 Bin Yeni Sosyal Konutta Kurallar Başladı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 112 (June, 2019); "Yeni Şehircilik Vizyonuyla 50 Bin Yeni Sosyal Konut," *TOKİHABER*, no. 110 (April, 2019); "Şehirlerimizi Büyük Yatırımlarla Dönüştürdük, Destekledik, Güçlendirdik," *TOKİHABER*, no. 143 (January, 2022).

²⁸¹ Some of these include: "Hedef 2023," *TOKİHABER*, no. 102 (August, 2018); "Kimliği Olan Şehirler Bırakacağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 100 (June, 2018); "İstanbul'da Yapılar Yenileniyor, Yeşil Alanlar Büyüyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 129 (November, 2020); "Yıl Sonuna Kadar 200 Bin Adet Afet Konutunu Teslim Etmeyi Hedefliyoruz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 168 (February, 2024); "İlk Evim İlk İş Yerim Büyük Sosyal Konut Projesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 151 (September, 2022).

²⁸² "Hedef 2023," *TOKİHABER*, no. 102 (August, 2018).

Coffeehouses (*Millet Kiraathaneleri*), and large green spaces that serve as gathering points in emergencies.²⁸³

The concept of Community Gardens references Islamic and Turkish history as well as Western civilizations. The references to Islamic and Turkish history include socialization venues that emerged as "coffee houses" in the early 16th century, the transformation of coffee houses into reading rooms with the advent of the printing press, coffee houses being part of the policy to uplift the public and the peasantry during the Republic period, and the People's Houses used by villagers as meeting places. The references to Western civilizations in this concept pertain to offering food and drink gratis and providing Internet and reading materials to encourage the public to use these spaces.²⁸⁴

Additionally, Community Gardens represent a variety of ideas and values. Some of these include giving the city a loftier identity, creating value for the city, and providing residents with a new space to escape the city's chaos and to relax. Moreover, Community Gardens reflect the "historical, cultural, and natural values the city possesses within a contemporary urbanism approach," shaping themselves according to the "social habits, lifestyles, and the region's climatic and geographical features."²⁸⁵

The ecological corridor concept refers to a network of corridors connecting the Community Gardens, protected areas, national parks, and rivers with green networks. This concept also serves the goals of "Turkey's Ecological Transformation" and weaving the country with green networks.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ "Yeni Yılda Hedef 50 Bin Konut," *TOKİHABER*, no. 107 (January, 2019); "Hedefimiz Tüm Dar Gelirli Vatandaşlarımızı Konut Sahibi Yapmak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 113 (July, 2019).

²⁸⁴ "Milletin Kiraathanelerinin Uzun Öyküsü," *Çevre ve Şehir*, no. 77 (July, 2020).

²⁸⁵ "Şehircilikte Yeni Bir Süreç," *TOKİHABER*, no. 101 (July, 2018); "Hedef 2023," *TOKİHABER*, no. 102 (August, 2018); "Yeni Yıl Yeni Hedefler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 107 (January, 2019); "Erzurum Üç Kümbetler Millet Bahçesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 123 (May, 2020); "81 İlde 154 Millet Bahçesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 124 (June, 2020).

²⁸⁶ "Çevre Hizmetlerini Millet Bahçeleriyle Taçlandırıyoruz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 137 (July, 2021).

TOKİ's concepts regarding green spaces also include references to the country's history and culture. One such reference points to the Seljuk-Ottoman period. An example of this is a speech given by then-Minister Murat Kurum at a groundbreaking ceremony in 2019:²⁸⁷

[T]he greatest feature of our urban planning tradition is gardens. Since the Seljuk and Ottoman eras, we have created both ecological corridors and Community Gardens. With our new Community Gardens, we are keeping our ancestors' urban planning tradition alive. Our Community Gardens are some of the most important steps taken towards Turkey of 2023, which we will weave with green networks.

These references also include examples of the Republican era and its political figures. One such example is a speech by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at a key handover ceremony in 2021: “[O]ur goal is to revive the garden culture that crowns our urban planning tradition from the Seljuk and Ottoman eras to the Republic.”²⁸⁸

Another example is a quote from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk found in the introduction of the Community Gardens Guide published in 2019: “Trees, flowers, and greenery mean civilization. Eyes that do not see green are deprived of the pleasure of color.”²⁸⁹

TOKİ further expands the nature-human relationship through "smart technologies." The first of these is the smart city concept, which also appeared in the discourses of the previous period, primarily highlighting goals such as energy efficiency and climate sensitivity. However, in this period, the discourses on smart cities begin to reference additional definitions and descriptions.

²⁸⁷ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. “İstanbul’da Yapılar Yenileniyor, Yeşil Alanlar Büyüyor,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 129 (November, 2020).

²⁸⁸ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. “1 Milyonuncu TOKİ Konutunun Anahtarı Teslim Edildi,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 138 (August, 2021).

²⁸⁹ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. *Millet Bahçeleri Rehberi* (Ankara: Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı Mekansal Planlama Genel Müdürlüğü, 2019).

One example is the concept of "national smart cities," which derive their name from producing smart technologies within the country. This production includes the goals of entering the global market through smart technologies and becoming a leader in this market.²⁹⁰

Another definition produced under the smart cities concept is "smart cities in the neighborhood concept." This definition refers to smart technologies integrated into cohesive residential areas developed within horizontal architecture and neighborhood concepts. These technologies are tools designed to solve the problems of urban life and improve living standards.²⁹¹

In this period, the smart city concept started appearing in discourses referencing history, culture, and civilization. This concept signifies tools designed to meet new contemporary needs while preserving the country's history, culture, and civilization.²⁹²

Additionally, this period introduces new descriptions to the discourses on the smart city concept, such as "smart energy," "smart transportation," "smart technology," "smart healthcare," "smart infrastructure," "smart governance," "smart government," and "smart citizen." These descriptions generally represent complementary concepts aimed at ensuring the efficient use of smart technologies.²⁹³

Other concepts and ideas defined through the nature-human relationship during this period include waste recycling/waste management, green buildings, and the green transformation of the industrial sector.²⁹⁴ (See Appendix C between Figures 28 through 35)

²⁹⁰ "2023'ün Akıllı Şehirleri Kuruluyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 129 (November, 2020).

²⁹¹ "Türkiye'nin En Büyük Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 151 (September, 2022).

²⁹² "Akıllı Şehir Uygulamalarında Dünya Pazarlarında İhracatçı Olacağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 120 (February, 2020).

²⁹³ "Dönüşümün Temelinde İnsan Var," *TOKİHABER*, no. 97 (March, 2018).

²⁹⁴ "Atıkların Ekonomiye Katkısı 3,5 Milyar tl," *TOKİHABER*, no. 97 (March, 2018); "2020 Hedefleri," *TOKİHABER*, no. 118 (December, 2019); "Gelecek Nesiller İçin Yaşanabilir Bir Dünya Hedefi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 135 (May, 2021).

The third area of discussion under the sustainability theme concerns the "sustainability of the unique identity and socio-cultural values of settlements." As in the previous period, the critical concepts referenced in these discourses include horizontal architecture, traditional/local architecture, and the neighborhood.

In this period, many discourses reiterate these concepts and describe them as a turning point for *TOKİ*'s urban planning vision.²⁹⁵ Additionally, there are new discourses and ideas integrated into this vision. One of these focuses on traditional/local architecture. One such addition is the idea of renovating historic city centers and squares. Under the slogan "Loyalty to Heritage, Respect for the Past," these renovation projects aim to create visual environments that reference the culture and history of "ancient cities."²⁹⁶

Another supporting discourse for traditional/local architecture comes through the Urban Transformation Action Plan announced in 2019. This plan creates a unique transformation charter for each city. This approach aims for *TOKİ* to achieve authentic, traditional, and cultural textures in each city, thereby avoiding any replication.²⁹⁷

Another supporting discourse focuses on urban identity. In 2018, the Ministry prepared urban design guides and established aesthetics committees for each city. These aesthetic committees aim to promote the production of traditional/local architecture through building facades. This initiative seeks to revive discussions about the notions of neighborhoods and streets, ensuring that the facades of constructed buildings establish a relationship with their surroundings.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Some of these include: "Kentsel Dönüşümde Düğmelerimizi Yeniden İliklemeliyiz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 92 (October, 2017); "800 Bini Aşkın Aile TOKİ Sayesinde Ev Sahibi Oldu," *TOKİHABER*, no. 95 (January, 2018).

²⁹⁶ "Yeni Projelerimiz İçin Aynı Kararlılıkla Çalışmaya Devam Edeceğiz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 143 (January, 2022); "Osmaniye'de Yeni Ev Sevinci," *TOKİHABER*, no. 146 (April, 2022).

²⁹⁷ "Kentsel Dönüşüm Eylem Planı Açıklandı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 116 (October, 2019).

²⁹⁸ "Kimliği Olan Şehirler Bırakacağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 100 (April, 2018).

A similar discourse emerges through the Development-Oriented Urbanization (*KÖK*) studies. These studies rebuild the eleven provinces affected by the 2023 Kahramanmaraş earthquakes. This reconstruction aims to shape the future of cities based on the country's historical and cultural heritage and the imprints of this heritage on collective memory. To achieve this, they develop projects to reconstruct city centers.²⁹⁹

In this period, the neighborhood concept comes to the forefront with new references and discussions. As part of its R&D efforts, *TOKİ* launches the National Architectural Urban Design Ideas Competition: 7 Climates 7 Regions Neighborhood. This competition aims to explore the neighborhood concept that, on the one hand, references urban identity, local architecture, and traditional values and, on the other hand, meets contemporary urban needs.

Here, the neighborhood is not merely a "physical space;" it relates to its users' social and psychological life experiences. This definition gives rise to discussions on various dimensions, including "neighborhood texture and culture, sustainability, identity, human and user-centeredness, quality of life and space, social life, traditional values, the requirements of modern life, social integration, architectural elements, and urban aesthetics, in addition to landscape, silhouette, ecology, and new urbanism concepts and elements."³⁰⁰

This competition also leads to an increase and diversification in the discourses and discussions on neighborhoods. Prominent themes are creating "vibrant" cities through traditional neighborhoods, living neighborhoods, the potential meanings of today's concept of neighborhood and being a neighbor in a "Turkish-Islamic synthesis" social culture, and the street as a "permanent and dynamic living space."³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ "Her İlin Kent Merkezi Bir Mimarın İmzasını Taşıyacak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 158 (April, 2023).

³⁰⁰ "Ulusal Mimari Kentsel Tasarım Fikir Yarışması," *TOKİHABER*, no. 88 (June, 2017); "Ulusal Mimari Kentsel Tasarım Fikir Yarışması Mahalle," *TOKİHABER*, no. 89 (July, 2017).

³⁰¹ "İstanbul'a Yeni Bir Mahalle," *TOKİHABER*, no. 91 (September, 2017); "İç Anadolu Bölgesi Yatırımları," *TOKİHABER*, no. 149 (July, 2022); "Yeniden Mahalle," *TOKİHABER*, no. 105 (November, 2018); "TOKİ Modeli Dünyaya Örnek Oluyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 152 (October, 2022).

In addition, the threefold concept that shapes *TOKİ*'s urban planning vision—horizontal architecture, traditional/local architecture, and neighborhood—continues to produce discourses referencing culture and civilization, just as in the previous period. One discussion added to these discourses concerns the notions of "living culture" and "urban culture." Through these concepts, *TOKİ* emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between the spaces it creates and the habits and lifestyles of users, as well as the cultures of cities.³⁰²

Similarly, *TOKİ* and prominent political figures continue to generate many discourses on the concept of civilization. One significant example added to these discussions on civilization is a speech by President Erdoğan at an inauguration ceremony in 2020:³⁰³

Millions of our students are receiving education in our schools, but we do not have a sufficiently well-trained workforce in many areas to satisfy us all. We have a young population, but we cannot fully realize our vision of civilization. Our media has the most modern infrastructure but does not reflect our voice and breath. We face similar challenges in science, art, and culture. Even in the areas where we are most justified, we cannot explain ourselves to the world. Therefore, I believe that we have not yet established our intellectual dominance.

In this speech, Erdoğan pursues the concept of civilization as a vision. In another speech in 2018, Erdoğan expressed the goal of preserving the country's civilizational heritage by creating cities with distinctive identities and guiding future generations through civilization.³⁰⁴

³⁰² "Güneydoğuda Konut Seferberliği," *TOKİHABER*, no. 87 (May, 2017); "Mardin'de Yeni Yerleşimler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 151 (September, 2022); "TOKİ ile Depreme Dirençli Yeşil Şehirler İnşa Ediyoruz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 170 (April, 2024).

³⁰³ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "Amacımız Türkiye'yi Dünyanın En Güçlü Devletleri Seviyesine Çıkarmak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 129 (November, 2020).

³⁰⁴ "Kimliği Olan Şehirler Bırakacağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 100 (June, 2018).

Another critical discourse referencing the concept of civilization comes from then-Minister Kurum. He asserts that *TOKİ* bases its urban discourses and practices on a "civilization-centered" foundation.³⁰⁵

The discourses regarding the urban profile desired to be produced through the projects produced through *TOKİ* are similar to those produced in the previous period. Additionally, this period witnesses new supporting discourses on *waqf*, previously described as institutions of social solidarity and assistance. One such discourse discusses the structures organized under the name "*darüşşifa*" in the Seljuk and Ottoman Empires as the first examples of today's *waqf* tradition. This discourse describes *darüşşifa* as a social state practice and similarly considers *waqf* as one of the most important social tools of the welfare state.³⁰⁶

Another supporting discourse refers to the ideas of Turgut Cansever and highlights the relationship between the *waqf* system and the neighborhood. This discourse emphasizes the importance and necessity of seeking the modern equivalent of the inherent relationship between the Ottoman neighborhood and *waqf* during the Ottoman period.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ "Kentsel Dönüşüm Eylem Planı Açıklandı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 116 (September, 2019).

³⁰⁶ "Anadoluya Şifa Verenler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 89 (July, 2017).

³⁰⁷ "Pilot Şehirler İnşa Etmeliyiz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 96 (February, 2018).



CHAPTER 5

COMMENTARY CONCLUSION

5.1. On *TOKİ*'s Visions of Modernity

5.1.1. The “Creative Power” of *TOKİ*'s Visions of Modernity

The creative force of *TOKİ*'s first phase is the concept of development. The visions of modernity produced around this concept aim to make Turkey a part of the neoliberal economic system, defining contemporary civilization and modern living conditions through this economic framework. These visions of modernity are the country's roadmap for adapting to a changing world. This roadmap has a sophisticated relationship with other visions of modernity produced during the period. This sophisticated relationship also contributes to constructing other images of modernity examined in this study, built on urban planning, urbanization, and democratization.

The creative force of the second phase is the concept of urbanization, with urban transformation being the most frequently referenced subtopic. This vision of urbanization acts as a vision of modernity and an effective economic tool.

The creative force of *TOKİ*'s third phase is also the concept of urbanization, with urban transformation again being the primary subtopic. Discourses referencing the country's changing governance through the concept of democratization incorporate urbanization as a tool. In other words, discourses produced through the notion of urbanization generate visions of modernity that serve both as the creative force of the era and support the visions of modernity produced through the concept of democratization. One of the most striking examples of this is the new administration

using urbanization discourses and practices as a tool to represent itself economically and symbolically.

5.1.2. Continuities, Changes, and Transformations

This part summarizes the continuities, changes, and transformations within the images of modernity produced through these concepts and examines the ironies, contradictions, and ambiguities of these narratives.

5.1.2.1. Urbanization

In the first phase, the notion of urbanization is largely framed as a vision of modernity through democratization.

In the second phase, the urbanization visions produced are primarily discourses on urban transformation practices. These discourses focus on creating physically healthy and robust living environments. Simultaneously, they use the concepts of 'culture' and 'civilization' to describe the lives and humanity within these living spaces.

In the third phase, the themes of green and technology are incorporated into these discourses. These themes become part of *TOKI's* interpretation of modernity, which began to take shape in the previous phase. The international discussions inherent in these concepts help to legitimize these visions of modernity.

On the other hand, after the first phase, the character of the images of modernity produced through the concept of urbanization also changes. While the first phase includes goals related to urban life and the visions of democratization, starting from the second and third phases, these modernity discourses function as tools for economic development. In this form of development, both the city and the people are the targets and the means.

5.1.2.2. Development

In *TOKI*'s discourses, the visions of development and the means of these imaginaries have also changed. In the first phase, the visions of development focus on infrastructure production (mainly transportation). These productions are presented as a necessity for the country to integrate into the modern economy and secure a place in the free market.

With *TOKI*'s changing production practices in the second phase, the primary development tools become the construction and housing sectors. In other words, urbanization practices serve as the driving force enabling the country's development by producing cities and settlements.

In the third phase, national and smart technology are included in the development tools referenced by *TOKI*. Thus, these tools become concepts integrated into *TOKI*'s form of development, which is structured around cities and settlements.

5.1.2.3. Urban Planning

The inclusion of the concept of urban planning in *TOKI*'s discourses occurs in various forms. In the first phase, the discourses around the notion of development operate as a democratic tool that generates visions of modernity related to life, living, and humanity.

In the second phase, the discourses produced through urban planning indicate a set of construction practices and the rules governing these practices rather than describing a vision of modernity.

In the third phase, the concept of urban planning both generates rules for the production of housing and living spaces and constructs images of modernity concerning life, living, and humanity by referencing the concepts of "culture" and "civilization." However, these images use "selected" images inspired by the past.

5.1.2.4. Democratization

In the first phase, the modernity discourses produced through the concept of democratization are built around the concepts of development and urbanization. This construction generates discourses on the active participation of citizens in development and urbanization practices (e.g., decentralization and democratic society). In the second phase, no significant discourses were produced around this concept.

In the third phase, with the introduction of the Turkish-style presidential system, the modernity discourses produced through the concept of democratization also undergo a transformation. The new model of governance brings forth a new office representing the will of the people. The visions of democratization constructed through the concept of urbanization focus on urbanization practices that symbolize this new administration.

In summary, the modernity discourses produced through the concept of democratization undergo a significant rupture in the third phase. Unlike the first phase, this rupture has created a more centralized and strengthened power. These centralizing and accelerating decision-making processes manifest in urban-scale practices, too. The most fitting examples of this are the production of region-based urban transformation projects and the facilitation of their approval.

5.1.2.5. Social State

In the first phase, no discourses directly reference the concept of the social state. On the other hand, the 1961 and 1982 Constitutions, the country's (mass) housing support policies, and its participation in international organizations and declarations function as visions of modernity produced around the concept of the social state. The direct inclusion of the social state concept in *TOKİ*'s discourses begins in the second phase.

On the other hand, the visions of modernity associated with the social state also contain certain ironies and contradictions tied to the economic system. The most significant of these is the tension between the mission of providing shelter to people in need through the social state and the housing sector as one of the country's tools for economic development.

According to the discourses of the first phase, the fundamental ideas of modernity guiding the housing policy of the period operate to solve the housing issue within the framework of the free market economy. Increasing the number of houses through cooperatives also emerges as a method adopted to increase supply within the embraced free market economy of the period.³⁰⁸

In other words, this method and its implementation describe the housing issue through the housing sector and generate discourses based on the role of the ministry and local governments in this sector. One of the prime examples of this is the speech given by the then-Minister Giray in 1986 at the seminar titled "The Role of Local Governments in the Housing Sector".³⁰⁹

[I] have not seen such a practice anywhere in the world. It may exist in Russia, but I do not know. The state covers the entire cost of the house, and the citizens move in, but there is no such thing. In other words, if you want to build or buy a house, you must have some savings. You cannot just turn 18, prove your maturity, and immediately demand a house; it does not work like that. You need to work, save some money for that purpose, and manage your finances wisely without losing to inflation. Then, when you reach a sufficient level, you can take out a loan and build your house. In other words, buying a house is not like buying a camera. When you buy a house, you must save some money. Then you have this possibility: if you provide the money quickly, you can become a homeowner within six months. It is possible in Turkey today...

³⁰⁸ "Sayın Bakanımız İ. Safa Giray'ın İmar Kanunu ile İlgili TRT'ye Yaptığı Açıklaması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 90 (November, 1985); "Konut Politikaları ve Programları Üzerine," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 82 (May, 1984).

³⁰⁹ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı İ. Safa Giray'ın Mersin'de Yapılan "Yerel Yönetimlerin Konut Sektöründeki Rolü" Konulu Seminerde Yaptığı Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986).

This tension becomes more prominent starting from *TOKİ*'s second phase. The reason for this is the vision of modernity constructed by *TOKİ* and the political authority of the period through the concept of the social state and the housing policies adopted in line with this vision. By keeping *TOKİ* construction sites operational during periods of crisis, they continue to increase employment and production, especially by making urban investment conditions attractive through urban transformation projects, thereby stimulating private sector growth. Additionally, *TOKİ* produces housing in "areas of need where the private sector does not venture" and functions as a market maker in the housing sector due to its significant role in the market.³¹⁰

In other words, the construction and housing sector has become one of the most essential tools for the country's economic development. *TOKİ*'s discourses reflect this tension. These discourses state that the free market conditions to which the country is subject prevent people from obtaining the "right to safe and secure housing," which is considered one of the fundamental rights under universal law. At the same time, these discourses propose resolving this victimization through a housing production campaign that adheres to the principle of "adequate housing for everyone in modern spaces," which aligns with the government's social policies.³¹¹

However, these policies are not strong enough to alleviate the tension between the concept of the social state and the neoliberal economic system. Indeed, during this period, discourses indicated that meeting the housing needs of citizens in need is directly related to their purchasing power. One example of such a discourse is a statement made by Minister Erdoğan Bayraktar during an interview at the 2013

³¹⁰ "Ucuz ve Kaliteli Konutun Adresi: TOKİ. Kurulduğu Günden Bu Yana Büyüme Öyküsü," *TOKİHABER*, No. 1 (February, 2010); "Hedefe Az Kaldı: 500 Bin Konuta Doğru," *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010); "TOKİ, Hükümetin En Etkin Çalışan Kuruluşu," *TOKİHABER*, no. 2 (March, 2010); "Türkiye'ye Yatırım Zamanı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 82 (December, 2016); "TOKİ Piyasayı Dengeliyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 5 (June-July, 2010).

³¹¹ "Çağdaş Kentleşme Arayışında TOKİ'nin Rolü," *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010).

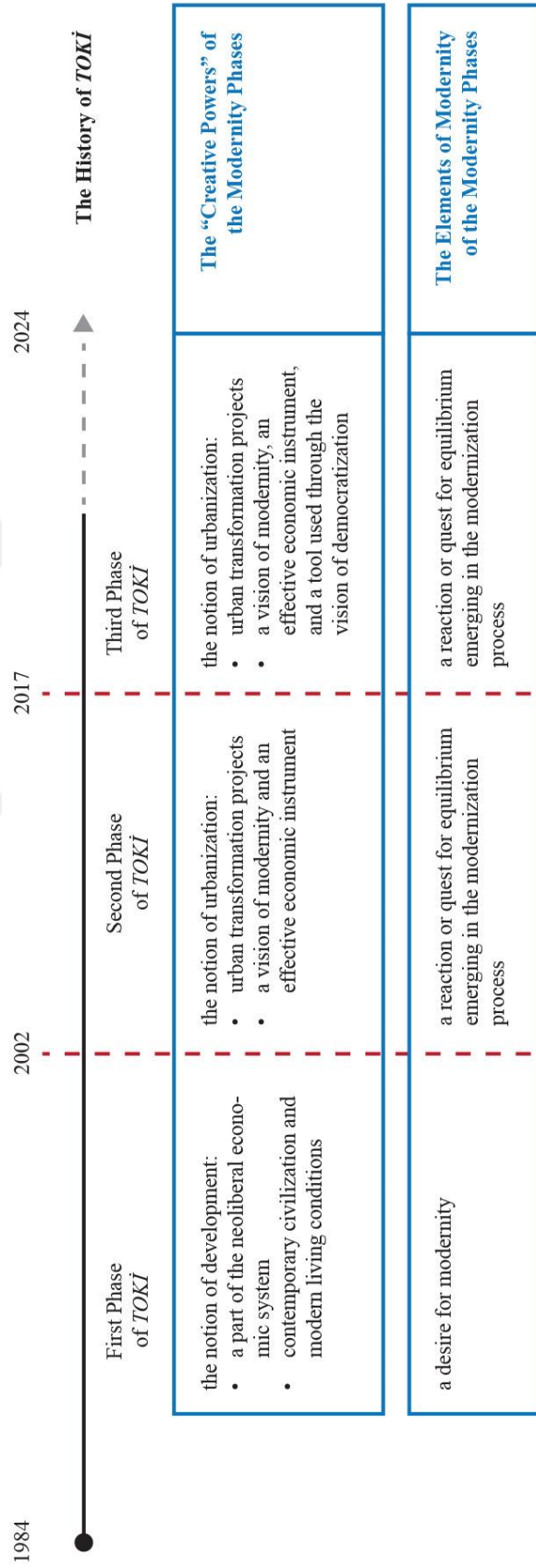


Figure 5.1. Comments on *TOKI*'s Visions of Modernity

International Green Buildings Summit: “Those with no money cannot have a house; you must save some money.”³¹²

Starting from the third phase, another discussion included in *TOKİ*'s discourses through the concept of the social state revolves around the concepts of culture and civilization. From this period onward, *TOKİ*'s discourses describe the waqf system in Turkish-Islamic history as one of the first examples of the social state and present it as a practice that should still be upheld today.

5.1.3. Discussion Areas of *TOKİ*'s Visions of Modernity

Examining the discussion areas that shape the visions of modernity is crucial as it demonstrates how influential and directive political power is in constructing *TOKİ*'s ideological framework.

The concepts, values, and ideas that *TOKİ* frequently references after 2003 are based on the scientific meetings organized as an alternative by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality to the Habitat II Summit held in Istanbul in 1996.

This alternative organization justified its existence by claiming that the preparation and implementation of Habitat II were assigned to *TOKİ* and Şişli Municipality instead of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and that the National Committee, authorized to produce the National Report, ignored the criticisms of the Metropolitan Municipality. According to this claim, the representation process was conducted under the hegemony of social democrat-leaning municipalities and *TOKİ*, while *RP*-led municipalities could not play an active role in this process.³¹³

³¹² The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. “2. Uluslararası Yeşil Binalar Zirvesi’nde Konuşan Bakan Bayraktar: Kentsel Dönüşümü Gözümüz Kesiyor, Asıl Zor Olan Kafaları Dönüştürmek,” *Çevre ve Şehir*, no. 14 (2013).

³¹³ “Habitat II Özel Sayısı,” *Yeni Türkiye*, no. 8 (October, 1996).

The municipality published a book containing the outcomes of these meetings and criticisms of Turkey's National Report and Action Plan.³¹⁴ One of these criticisms addresses globalization. According to this criticism, the report approaches settlement systems within a globalization mindset, aiming to produce satellite cities. This critique equates the production of these cities with the forced adoption of global values imposed by globalization from the center to the rest of the world. Instead, the book advocates for producing cities with "distinct identities" and adopting a perspective that values "regionalism and local values." In this context, it references "Traditional Muslim Cities," noting the close relationship between these cities and symbolic values. It argues that this type of relationship falls outside the universal standards accepted by the global world. The book laments that such a perspective excludes discussions on "belonging, cultural identity, and lifestyles associated with cities."

Another criticism in the book addresses spatial inequality. It criticizes the notion of treating spatial inequality and social diversity as potentially threatening concepts. The concern is that the assumption that social differentiation and group formation are produced solely through spatial distribution could lead to the complete eradication of differences that enrich human and social life in the name of achieving equality.

Another significant criticism concerns the cultural dimension of residential areas addressed in the report. According to this criticism, one of the representatives of this dimension is women and family. It argues that the fundamental approach to women's issues should be based on "difference" rather than "equality." This idea suggests that women's participation in home and social life should be discussed with this difference in mind, and it should be remembered that the primary roles of women include family and motherhood. In this regard, the criticism finds the report's expression "empowering the position of women in home and urban life" incorrect.

³¹⁴ Habitat II Kent Zirvesi '96: Uluslararası Bilimsel Toplantılar: 3-12 Haziran 1996, vol.2 (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1997).

Instead, it suggests that regulations should be made to sustain the "traditional family structure."

Another criticism produced through the cultural dimension relates to moral and ethical values referencing religion. The criticism argues that the report largely neglects the importance of moral and ethical values in urban planning and the structure of cities. Some of these values include tolerance, mutual assistance, solidarity, family, and neighborhood. Additionally, there is criticism based on the country's "civil society tradition." The critique accuses the report of excluding the civil society organizations inherited from the Ottoman period, such as religious orders and waqfs, from this definition and failing to incorporate this tradition into multi-actor governance.

In connection with these criticisms, the changes in the discussion areas that shape *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity can be summarized as follows:

One discussion area is horizontal architecture. In the first phase, horizontal architecture is proposed solely as a form of construction ensuring earthquake safety. From the second phase, horizontal architecture emerges as an architectural style referencing the Seljuk and Ottoman periods.

Another discussion area refers to Seljuk-Ottoman architecture. From the end of the first phase (around 2000), *TOKİ* and the Ministry began incorporating Seljuk-Ottoman architecture into their discourses. This inclusion occurs through disaster housing to create a synthesis with contemporary Turkish architecture.

In the second and third phases, references to Seljuk-Ottoman architecture extend to both housing and urban scales. At the urban scale, the discourse aims to recreate the cities built during this period through symbolic resemblance, attempting to revive aspects of life from that era. The discourse aims to contribute to the envisioned city image at the housing scale by incorporating architectural elements from the Seljuk and Ottoman periods into building facades.

The other discussion areas indicate the concepts of "civilization" and "culture." In the first phase, the visions of modernity include references to "contemporary civilizations" that point to European and Western civilizations.

In the second and third phases, the discourses of modernity are constructed around the concepts of "ancient civilization" and "culture," referencing selected historical periods of the country, specifically the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. These discourses serve as reactions or quests for equilibrium emerging in the process of modernization.

These concepts also shape the mindset and sources of inspiration for other concepts included in TOKİ's discourse. These concepts include green (Community Gardens – *Millet Bahçeleri*), smart cities, and neighborhoods.

The areas of discussion that form images of modernity also provide clues about the elements of modernity in these phases. Accordingly, in the first phase, there is a desire for modernity constructed through contemporary living standards. This desire for modernity takes developed civilizations as its model. However, the elements of modernity in the second and third phases are based on a reaction or quest for equilibrium emerging in the modernization process. The elements shaping the visions of modernity in these phases pertain more to reviving selected moments and social structures from the past.

5.1.4. Concluding Remarks

This section aims to make inferences about the nature and analysis of modernity through TOKİ by providing concise answers to the research questions of the thesis.

(1) Is it possible to make an interconnected analysis of modernity in today's fragmented, distinct phases of modernity?

The thesis aims to explore TOKİ's fragmented experience of modernity through "provisional constructions." This analysis, conducted through selected concepts, functions as temporary structures. The thesis recognizes this approach to capture specific moments. These selected instants aim to establish a connection between distinct and divergent experiences of modernity. Within this theoretical framework, the answer to the research question is affirmative. However, the constructed relationship encompasses various connections across multiple scales and dimensions. Therefore, claiming that this reading produces definitive and unchanging results would be misleading. Instead, it proposes a relational reading that allows for discovering the main ideas, values, and concepts that guide, inspire, and influence the experience of modernity.

(2) Is it possible to establish a dialogue between past, present, and future, free from the boundaries of the linear causal links of historiography?

The provisional constructions built through the selected concepts the thesis include examples that do not follow a linear causal relationship. The analysis based on the concept of democratization is perhaps the most striking example among them. The discourse produced through democratization in the first phase of TOKİ often references decentralization and strengthening local elements. In the discourses of the second stage, democratization mainly relates to the narratives produced in response to the prevention of the 2016 coup attempt. By the third phase, democratization produced visions of modernity with a completely different mindset from the first phase. This new mindset promoted centralization and presented it as a revolutionary democratic step.

On the other hand, concepts do not solely tie the ideas and values they invoke to the political authority that produces them. For instance, since 2002, the same political party has won the general elections in the country. However, the democratic life described in this party's 2002 election manifesto envisions a society where the pluralistic structure of the country is respected and protected.

In other words, it is not possible to derive a reading following a linear timeline through concepts and claims of a continuous progression. On the contrary, this experience reveals a sophisticated network of relationships where ideas and values are often lost, transformed, or newly acquired.

(3) How do TOKİ's visions of modernity establish a dialogue between past, present, and future? How do the monolingual discourses of TOKİ adopt these intertemporal borrowings?

The ideas, values, and concepts that TOKİ produces at the scales of the city, housing, and the individual/society allow for in-depth observation of how these intertemporal borrowings operate. The most notable example of this observation is the "Seljuk-Ottoman architecture" concept referenced in different phases of TOKİ's modernity. Toward the end of the first phase, this concept points to the synthesis of contemporary Turkish architecture. However, the second and third phases aim to recreate specific moments from the past through elements such as typology, facade design, street patterns, and family life.

In other words, the desire to be modern, constructed through contemporaneity in TOKİ's first phase, generates a discourse that connects past values with modern life's needs and requirements. In the second and third phases, however, TOKİ adopts a protest stance toward the experience of modernity, modernism, and being modern. This stance confines the visions of housing to a reduced and limited reservoir of knowledge. Consequently, this approach primarily aims to revive valued moments and aspects of the past as they were without engaging with the conditions of the present time and space or with the new needs, desires, and lifestyles these conditions bring. In this context, it is fair to say that the relationship between different experiences of modernity and their balance between the past and the future varies significantly.

5.2. On Dimensions and Interpretations of (Mass) Housing

The other research area examined in this thesis concerns the relationship between (mass) housing and *TOKİ*. This analysis addresses the discourses produced by the political authority of the period and *TOKİ* within the framework of the (mass) housing policy of the time. By comparing these discourses with those produced by *TOKİ* during different phases of modernity, the study examines their continuities, changes, and transformations.

5.2.1. (Mass) Housing and Its Surroundings

This analysis focuses on the discourses produced concerning mass housing and its relationship with its surroundings. One of the prominent visions of modernity in *TOKİ*'s first phase is the "construction of healthy housing in a healthy environment." The primary references in constructing this discourse are the Mass Housing Law No. 2985, the Squatter Housing Law No. 775, Certain Procedures to be Applied to Structures Contrary to Urban Planning and Squatter Legislation, the Amendment of an Article of the Urban Planning Law No. 6785, and the Zoning Law No. 3194.³¹⁵

The financing created through the Mass Housing Fund plays a significant role in achieving this goal. Consequently, many discourses reference the formation of this fund, arguing that this practice operates as an economic tool that upholds the principle of "social justice" and functions as a regulatory mechanism for income disparities.³¹⁶

The bulletin associates creating a healthy environment with producing social and technical infrastructure. For housing in such an environment, the key features highlighted include ease of access to other functional areas of daily life—work,

³¹⁵ ““Hızlı Şehirleşmenin Yaratdığı Ekonomik ve Sosyal Sorunlar” Semineri Sayın Bakanın Açış Konuşması,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, No. 91 (September, 1986); “Mersin Belediye Başkanı Okan Merzeci’nin Yaptığı Konuşma,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, No. 92 (October, 1986).

³¹⁶ One of these: “BM İskan Komisyonu 9. Dönem Toplantısında Başbakan Turgut Özal’ın Konuşması,” *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (October, 1986).

education, health—safety, property security, quality, and affordability. The healthy environment envisioned for squatter areas is also defined by providing technical infrastructures to these regions. Additionally, providing land ownership security to the people living in these areas is another element of this vision of modernity.³¹⁷

During this period, supporting and facilitating mass housing construction to provide shelter for those without homes is another prominent vision of modernity, alongside creating a healthy environment. The then-Prime Minister Turgut Özal defined housing as "the minimum condition of civilization." Here, "civilization" is used as a criterion to indicate the country's economic and social development and its ability to adapt to the modern world.³¹⁸

Another discourse on the relationship between (mass) housing and its surroundings focuses on its interaction with urban dynamics and city dwellers. This analysis highlights the spatial and environmental relationships that (mass) housing introduces. An example is a speech by the Minister of the time, İ. Safa Giray, in 1986. In his speech, Minister Giray stated that lodgings, which emerged as a housing model for a specific user group, negatively contributed to "the social development of society." Consequently, he indicated that the ministry would limit its support for socially isolated models such as lodgings. Instead, he announced that they would support the production of housing where different people could live together, fostering integration among people from various socio-cultural classes.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ "Birleşmiş Milletler Dünya Sağlık Teşkilatı, Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığı, Tübitak ve Ankara Büyük Kent Belediyesi ile Bakanlığımızın Düzenlediği "Kent Çevresinde Konut ve Çevre Sağlığı Sorunları" Konulu Seminerde Bakanımız Sayın İ. Safa Giray'ın Yaptığı Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 88 (June, 1985).

³¹⁸ "Birleşmiş Milletler İskan Komisyonu 9. Dönem Toplantısı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986); "BM İskan Komisyonu 9. Dönem Toplantısında Başbakan Turgut Özal'ın Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986); "Müsteşar Yardımcısı Sayın Erol Ünal'ın Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (February, 1986); "Birleşmiş Milletler İskan Komisyonu 10. Toplantısından İzlenimler," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 96 (March-April, 1987); "Bakanımız İ. Safa Giray'ın Unch (Habitat) 9. Komisyon Toplantısı Açış Töreninde Yaptığı Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986); "1987 Uluslararası Evsizlere Barınak Yılı ve Türkiye," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 95 (January-February, 1987).

³¹⁹ "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanı İ. Safa Giray'ın Mersin'de Yapılan "Yerel Yönetimlerin Konut Sektöründeki Rolü" Konulu Seminerde Yaptığı Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (May, 1986).

During this period, topics such as neighborhood, urban culture, and the historical environment also gained prominence. Scientific research supported by *TOKİ*'s R&D activities conducted these discussions. This research, produced between 1993 and 1996, was published in 1996. These are not discourses produced by *TOKİ*; instead, they are detailed and analytical evaluations of the outcomes of *TOKİ*'s housing policies.³²⁰

From the second phase onward, *TOKİ* centers its production policy updates around constructing modern living spaces and modern (mass) housing environments. The discourses around this shift reference the relationship between housing and its surrounding city. In other words, a new discussion area emerges, focusing on the relationship between the city, (mass) housing, and people. One aspect of this relationship is the rising per capita gross domestic product and the subsequent changes in the "housing concept" on the government's agenda.³²¹ This new concept describes living spaces integrated with urban life, equipped with technical, social, and urban infrastructures that meet residents' social, cultural, and economic needs.³²²

This description of living spaces also includes concepts and ideas about preserving and sustaining cultural values, as well as settlement proposals that shape the interaction patterns of local people. Some include the perception of civilization, traditional neighborhood culture, and community culture. The aim is to create spaces that meet modern living standards and improve citizens' living conditions. These discourses view housing not merely as units that meet the need for shelter but as elements that also address social and cultural needs, thereby enhancing citizens' living conditions.³²³

³²⁰ *TOKİ - Konut Araştırmaları Dizisi* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1996).

³²¹ "Kentsel Dönüşümde Fırsatlar Tehditler Beklentiler ve TOKİ'nin Hedefleri," *TOKİHABER*, no. 33 (November, 2012); "7,5 Milyon Konut Yeniden Yapılsın," *TOKİHABER*, no. 3 (April, 2010); "Konut Üretiminde Yeni Dönem," *TOKİHABER*, no. 71 (January, 2016).

³²² Some of them are: "Kayaşehir'de Yaşam Başladı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 16 (June, 2011); "Kentsel Dönüşümde Fırsatlar Tehditler Beklentiler ve TOKİ'nin Hedefleri," *TOKİHABER*, no. 33 (November, 2012); "İkitelli Ayazma'da Konut Kurası Heyecanı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 26 (April, 2012).

³²³ "Konut Üretiminde Yeni Dönem," *TOKİHABER*, no. 71 (January, 2016); "Yeni Yerleşimler Yenilenen Şehirler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015); "Yeni Yerleşimler Yenilenen Şehirler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015); "TOKİ Başkanı Mehmet Ergün Turan: Kentsel Dönüşüm

Another example of this perspective is the discourse that describes housing as "a dimension of life." This dimension of life corresponds to the physical space and environment suitable for human nature, meeting their essential needs, and the spiritual dimension where individuals can engage in social relationships.³²⁴

According to this viewpoint, "houses are fundamental elements of cities." Through these elements, it is possible to gain insight into countries' economic, cultural, historical, and social identities and their development processes.³²⁵ Similarly, cities are considered the "larger home" of people. Therefore, cities are seen as reflections of societies, embodying their culture, social life, and history as living organisms. Consequently, cities should be built with a focus on people and respect for the past.³²⁶

A similar discourse between the city and housing describes the "home" as a city component. According to this discourse, the home plays a crucial role in many activities and human functions, such as eating, sleeping, and playing. Additionally, the home does not merely signify a type of spatial boundary. It also influences how people perform actions in public spaces.³²⁷

With this new "housing concept," the definitions and meanings ascribed to (mass) housing also change. The sole criterion defining and giving meaning to (mass) housing is no longer only the need for shelter. Many new concepts are added to this need. Some of these concepts pertain to the dimension between housing and people. They refer to values and ideas such as privacy, security, health, happiness, tranquility, and the assurance of individual existence.

Türkiye'nin Önceliği," *TOKİHABER*, no. 54 (August, 2014); "Türkiye, TOKİ ile Dönüşüyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 13 (March, 2011).

³²⁴ "Şehirlere Model Projeler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 81 (November, 2016).

³²⁵ Convention Book: Housing Provision to Low Income Groups and Urban Transformation in Turkey (2006).

³²⁶ "Odağında İnsan Olmayan Dönüşüm Mümkün mü?" *TOKİHABER*, no. 9 (November, 2010).

³²⁷ Here, domestic activities such as eating, sleeping, and playing are defined as "motherhood-oriented." According to this definition, the mother is "the language of the home." For more information, see "Şehrin Dilleri," *Çevre İnsan ve Şehir*, no. 1 (2014).

Other concepts focus on the architectural and structural features of housing. These include values and ideas such as quality, aesthetic values, architectural language, typology, and harmony with the surrounding environment. The architectural language here often points to traditional, regional architecture and local motifs, while typology is defined through "Turkish family life and rituals." An example illustrating the importance of the family concept in the discourses of (mass) housing production during this period is the call made by the then-*TOKİ* President Ahmet Haluk Karabel in 2013 for housing suitable for the Turkish family structure.³²⁸

The mission of constructing modern living spaces and modern (mass) housing environments remains significant in *TOKİ*'s third phase. Similarly, the discourses around this mission reference the constructed relationship between the city, (mass) housing, and people. It is helpful to examine the definitions of urban and city concepts first to decipher this relationship. One of the prominent definitions comes from President Erdoğan's speech in 2022:³²⁹

We placed special importance on preserving our natural, historical, and cultural heritage, which are the most crucial elements that make a city a city. We have taken steps to carry our high architectural value homes, shops, and squares, which connect us with our past, into the future.

Another attempt at defining the city is found in the speech of Minister Kurum in 2019, who defines the city as "a civilization-based concern." Through this definition, he implies that no intervention in urban areas should overlook the discussion of "civilization."³³⁰

³²⁸ Some of them are: "Konut Üretiminde Yeni Dönem," *TOKİHABER*, no. 71 (January, 2016); "Çağdaş Kentleşme Arayışında TOKİ'nin Rolü," *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010); "TOKİ, Konut Üretiminde Seviyeyi Yükseltti," *TOKİHABER*, no. 2 (March, 2010); "Yatay Yapılaşma Zamanı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 75 (May, 2016); "Geçmişin Belleği Konut Sektörüne Yol Gösterecek," *TOKİHABER*, no. 52 (June, 2014); "Önsöz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 59 (January, 2015); "Hanımeli Kokularına Karışan Rezidansta Aile Keyfi Koruflorya," *TOKİHABER*, no. 27 (May, 2012); "TOKİ'den Mimarlar 'Türk Aile Yapısına Göre Konut' Çağrısı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 41 (July, 2013).

³²⁹ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "İlk Evim İlk İş Yerim Büyük Sosyal Konut Projesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 151 (September, 2022).

³³⁰ "Kentsel Dönüşüm Eylem Planı Açıklandı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 116 (October, 2019).

In other words, the definition of the city in the discourses of this period shows considerable parallels with the previous period, and the emphasis on "civilization" in city and urban definitions increases. This emphasis becomes a tool for defining all aspects of urban life—social, cultural, and economic—through the city concept.³³¹ Other discourses that explore the relationship between the city, (mass) housing, and people focus on the characteristics of the urban environment. These definitions reference concepts such as urban identity, neighborhood, street, culture, and family. The discourses on the urban environment also provide insights into the relationship between the city and its inhabitants. Through these concepts, other subjects' discourses on the envisioned urban dweller and their living practices offer some visions of modernity concerning the city, the urban dweller, and their lifestyle. Examples include goals such as raising individuals who can form meaningful connections with the city, preserving the culture of the traditional family structure, and creating "livable cities for families."³³²

During this period, housing definitions also reference the relationship between housing, people, and the city. Accordingly, housing is at the center of this relationship. An example of this discourse suggests that a sense of belonging to a city and wanting to live there begins with owning a home.³³³

During this period, discourses that describe the relationship between humans and nature through the concept of "home" also emerged. These discourses converge on the expression "our common home, the Earth." Here, "home" refers to a form of dwelling that enables sustainable existence.³³⁴

³³¹ Other significant examples that produce discourse on the relationship between the city and civilization include: "Kimliği Olan Şehirler Bırakacağız," *TOKİHABER*, no. 100 (June, 2018); "Afetlere Karşı Güvenli Şehirler İnşa Etmeyi Sürdüreceğiz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 167 (January, 2024); "Karadenize Değer Katan Projeler," *TOKİHABER*, no. 91 (September, 2017).

³³² Some of them are: "Burdur Merkez Millet Bahçesi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 141 (November, 2021); "Tek Göz Odadan Toplu Konuta," *TOKİHABER*, no. 99 (May, 2018); "Yerelin Sosyolojisini Anlamak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 99 (May, 2018).

³³³ "Anadoluda Konut Talebi Artıyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 100 (June, 2018).

³³⁴ Some of them are: "Sıfır Atık Sıfır İsraf," *TOKİHABER*, no. 149 (July, 2022); "Çevreye Duyarlı, Çağdaş Yaşam Alanları Kuruyoruz," *TOKİHABER*, no. 155 (January, 2023); "Ortak Evimiz İçin Sıfır Atık," *TOKİHABER*, no. 158 (April, 2023); "Özhaseki, Tbm Çevre Komisyonu ile Bir Araya Geldi," *TOKİHABER*, no. 165 (November, 2023); "İstanbulda 13 İlçede Kentsel Dönüşüm Mesaisi Başladı," *TOKİHABER*, no. 169 (March, 2024).

5.2.2. Democracy, Human Rights, and Living Conditions

Some of *TOKİ*'s definitions and descriptions of (mass) housing reference visions of modernity produced through democracy, human rights, and modern living conditions. In this context, the primary reference sources for the discourses produced in *TOKİ*'s first phase are the 1982 Constitution,³³⁵ and the urban planning movements that began with the Urban Planning Law enacted in 1985.³³⁶

The 1982 Constitution opens the urban planning concept to discussion through various principles and goals. Some of these fall under the "fundamental rights and duties" heading within the scope of "public interest." Another part related to housing can be found under the heading "health, environment, and housing," specifically within the article on "the right to housing." According to these articles, the state undertakes "taking measures to meet the housing needs of citizens and supporting mass housing initiatives."³³⁷

Discussions on the "right to housing" and "right to life" also gained global prominence in 1987 during the World Housing Year activities coordinated by the United Nations Commission on Human Settlements. World Habitat Year emphasized that the right to housing is an integral part of the right to life. In this vein, the organization aimed to foster cooperation and awareness among governments, NGOs, and international organizations and to initiate a global movement towards improving and implementing housing policies.

Turkey, through *TOKİ* and the Ministry Bulletin, was one of the countries that embraced this event and produced discourses that adopted this global message. One such discourse is found in Prime Minister Turgut Özal's article titled "Turkey in the World Housing Year" in the bulletin: "It is the natural right of every person to live in their own home or to find cheap and abundant rental housing."³³⁸

³³⁵ Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 1982.

³³⁶ *İmar Kanunu*, no. 3194 (May 3, 1985).

³³⁷ "Şehir Planlama Mevzuatı Ve Uygulama," *TOKİHABER*, no. 88 (June, 1985).

³³⁸ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "Dünya Konut Yılında Türkiye," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 95 (January, 1987).

In this context, the Ministry's summary of its activities related to the World Habitat Year highlights several other areas of discussion: improving and rehabilitating squatter areas, establishing neighborhood relations, public participation in planning and housing projects, social solidarity, democratization and decentralization.³³⁹

The bulletin references align the technical issue of public participation, as raised by the UN Commission on Human Settlements, with the urban planning movement in Turkey. These discourses interpret the delegation of planning authority to local administrations, both regarding the UN Commission on Human Settlements and democratic countries, as a vital link established with Europe.³⁴⁰

Discussions on the "right to housing" and the "right to life" re-entered the country's agenda with the conference organized by the United Nations Commission on Human Settlements in Istanbul from June 3-14, 1996. Although the Ministry Bulletin publications, one of the primary sources of this research, do not cover this period, it is possible to trace the discourses related to this context by the political authorities and *TOKİ* through other sources produced in connection with Habitat II.

The conference had two main themes: "adequate housing for all" and "sustainable human settlements in an urbanizing world." In this context, the Istanbul Declaration aimed to strengthen existing partnerships and establish new ones at international, national, and local levels.

Their main goals were to ensure "adequate shelter for all and making human settlements safer, healthier and more liveable, equitable, sustainable and productive." In this context, it referenced many sub-discussions, such as broad freedom, better living standards, improved urban life, increasingly attractive rural life, rights of disadvantaged groups, activation of the existing housing market, sustainable

³³⁹ "Dünya Konut Yılına İlişkin Bakanlığımız Çalışmaları," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 95 (January, 1987).

³⁴⁰ "Birleşmiş Milletler İskan Komisyonu 9. Dönem Toplantısı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (October, 1986); "İmar Kanunu ile İlgili Yönetmelikleri Tanıtma Seminerinde Sayın Bakanımız İ. Safa Giray'ın Açış Konuşması," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (September, 1986); "Bakanımız Sayın İ. Safa Giray'ın, 3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu ve Yönetmeliklerinin Bir Değerlendirmesini TRT Yaptı," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 91 (September, 1986).

production patterns, consumption, transportation and settlement opportunities, protection from pollution, ecological balance, life opportunities for future generations, and protection and maintenance of open spaces and landscapes with historical, cultural, architectural, natural, religious and moral values.³⁴¹ In other words, this declaration referred to visions of development and democratization on a global scale. In this vision, the production and methodology of settlements, towns, and cities play a significant role.

In parallel, the commitments of the Habitat Agenda were adequate shelter for all, sustainable human settlements, enablement and participation, gender equality, financing shelter and human settlements, international cooperation, and assessing progress.³⁴²

The Turkey National Report and Action Plan represented its intentional and instrumental principles in this context. Accordingly, the first of these are sustainability, liveability, and equity. The second ones are civic engagement, enablement, and governance. Within the framework of these principles, it created a roadmap that outlines the priority issues to be focused on, as well as proposed solutions for them, tasks to be undertaken, the monitoring method for these tasks, and the actors responsible for this process.

These priority issues were around the following key terms: settlement systems in a globalizing world, spatial inequality, urban life, urban rent, urban infrastructure financing, housing financing, cooperatives and new housing models, illegal construction, squatter areas, resettlement and housing provision, natural disasters, historical sites and structures, the quality of housing, environment, and social relations, urban transportation, recreational activities, women in the city, equal opportunities for children and youth, the elderly, energy use and air pollution in the city, noise pollution, urban infrastructures, urban waste management, local

³⁴¹ The Habitat Agenda: İstanbul Declaration on Human Settlements (1996).

³⁴² The Habitat Agenda Goals, and Principles, Commitments and the Global Plan of Action (1996).

governments, multi-actor participation and NGOs, non-urbanized areas, and settlement and housing development.³⁴³

After Habitat II, the UN member countries embraced the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in 2000. This new declaration was due to the increasing dimensions of poverty and their impact on people's lives. In this context, it represented eight goals and eighteen targets for the problems of poverty and hunger, education, gender equality, health, environmental sustainability, and global partnership for development. Goal 7 was to ensure environmental sustainability. Target 11 under this heading was on the slum problem and aimed to improve the living conditions of slum dwellers. The indicators of MDG showing that progress had been made on this problem were the "proportion of the urban population with access to improved sanitation" and the "proportion of households with secure tenure." A similar follow-up was carried out on the Habitat Agenda through the following indicators: durable structures, overcrowding, secure tenure, access to improved sanitation, connection to services, housing finance, homicides, travel time, and local government revenue.³⁴⁴

In *TOKİ*'s second phase, the definitions and interpretations also refer to the "right to housing" and the "right to life":³⁴⁵

Bright and clean residential areas, solid and quality homes are human rights. Spaces where children play in parks, the elderly rest in gardens, and are adorned with amenities required by modern life are part of the right to life. This right should be the most fundamental provision the modern world offers humanity.

TOKİ references both sources included in its previous phase and new ones added during this period to legitimize these discourses. One of these references is Article

³⁴³ Birleşmiş Milletler İnsan Yerleşimleri Konferansı Habitat II. Türkiye Ulusal Rapor ve Eylem Planı, Haziran 1996. İstanbul: Habitat II Kent Zirvesi.

³⁴⁴ Urban Indicators Guidelines: Monitoring the Habitat Agenda and the Millennium Development Goals (2004).

³⁴⁵ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. "Bu Sorun Elbirliğiyle Niçin Çözülmesin," *TOKİHABER*, no. 6 (August, 2010).

57 of the 1982 Constitution, titled "The Right to Housing." Referring to this article, *TOKİ* emphasizes that the state must take measures to meet housing needs and support mass housing initiatives. It positions itself as the public institution responsible for ensuring this. Additionally, in its discourses on the "right to housing," *TOKİ* references the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the "universal goals" adopted at the Habitat II Conference and outlined in the Istanbul Declaration, which emphasize "vital rights." These discourses also refer to Article 31 of the European Social Charter. This article includes provisions that ensure everyone can own a house at affordable prices and that producing houses in sufficient numbers and quality is on the agenda.³⁴⁶

Other references under this heading are Articles 23 and 56 of the 1982 Constitution:³⁴⁷

Article 23 – Everyone has the freedom of residence and travel.
The freedom of residence may be restricted to prevent crime, to ensure social and economic development, to achieve healthy and orderly urbanization, and to protect public property...

Article 56 – Everyone has the right to live in a healthy and balanced environment...

TOKİ's discourses also legitimize and implement Law No. 6306 on the Transformation of Areas Under Disaster Risk, published in the Official Gazette on May 31, 2012, through these articles. This law produces transformation projects for disaster-prone areas based on the discourses of the "right to housing" and the "right to life."³⁴⁸

Another new reference emerging in this phase is the Habitat III conference coordinated by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) in

³⁴⁶ "Ucuz Ve Kaliteli Konutun Adresi: TOKİ. Kurulduğu Günden Bu Yana Büyüme Öyküsü," *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010).

³⁴⁷ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 1982.

³⁴⁸ "Kentsel Dönüşümün Yol Haritası Yerel Yönetimlere Anlatılıyor," *TOKİHABER*, no. 36 (February, 2013).

Quito in 2016. In this context, *TOKİ* frames social housing production for those in need and those in low-income groups, as well as urban transformation projects, as solutions to fundamental housing issues and aims to ensure that all citizens have equal access to the "right to housing."³⁴⁹

Additionally, some discourses define the "right to housing" through the city-human relationship. An example is Prime Minister Erdoğan's speech at the Housing Congress in 2011:³⁵⁰

Undoubtedly, it is people who shape cities. However, just as people shape cities, they are also shaped by them. One of the masters of Turkish poetry, Edip Cansever, says, 'People resemble the place they live in / they resemble the water and soil of that place / they resemble its houses, streets, and corners'... Therefore, housing is a human right.

As mentioned by Dr. Jonas Clos, Head of UN-Habitat Human Settlements, at the same congress, the discussion that begins with the "right to housing" expands and becomes layered through concepts such as the right to the city, the right to the street, the right to proper energy use, the right to development, the right to have suitable employment, and the right to a quality urban life.³⁵¹

In its third phase, *TOKİ* continues to reference the right to housing and the goals of "housing for all," "decent living," and "economically accessible housing." Additionally, as stated by *TOKİ* President Ömer Bulut in 2019, the foundation of *TOKİ*'s social housing production practice lies in the "awareness that housing is a human right." Moreover, the discourses produced within this framework not only

³⁴⁹ "TOKİ Modeli Habitat III Zirvesinde," *TOKİHABER*, no. 81 (November, 2016).

³⁵⁰ The original language of the quotation was Turkish. The English translation was by the author of the thesis. Housing Convention 2011: Innovative Housing Approach, Strategies, Implementations and Urban Transformation: Urban Transformation Rally for a Natural Disaster Risk Free Turkey (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 2012).

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

point to shelter but also emphasize the production of healthy, safe, and high-standard living environments.³⁵²

5.2.3. Economic Value and Significance of (Mass) Housing

In its first phase, *TOKİ* features discourses that define (mass) housing as a "social security tool" and open the discussion on the "second housing phenomenon." Discourses that define (mass) housing as a "social security tool" refer to squatting practices. According to this understanding, people who have recently migrated to the city and do not have a permanent job or steady income form the squatter belts. Here, squatting represents a need for shelter and acts as a social security tool.³⁵³

The "second housing phenomenon," on the other hand, refers to a type of housing that has become widespread, particularly in coastal areas, to meet modern societies' increasing rest and recreation needs. This phenomenon involves individuals and families owning a second home outside their primary residence, typically used for vacations or weekend getaways.³⁵⁴ While the concept of a social security tool refers to the need for shelter, the second housing phenomenon focuses not only on the act of residing but also on meeting the luxury needs of vacationing and resting.

In its second phase, *TOKİ* demonstrates the shift in its approach to the housing issue through the concepts incorporated into its discourse. This shift has led to increased discourses that define housing through its economic value and as a tool. At the forefront of these discourses is the concept of real estate, which became a frequently used descriptor for (mass) housing during this period.

³⁵² "TOKİ Sıfır Atık Pojesinin Paydaşları Arasında," *TOKİHABER*, No. 117 (November, 2019); "Ağustosta Yeni Sosyal Konut Kampanyası Başlatılacak," *TOKİHABER*, no. 149 (July, 2022); "Konut Politikalarında Moderatör TOKİ," *TOKİHABER*, no. 95 (January, 2018).

³⁵³ "Bakanımız İ. Safa Giray'ın Unchs (Habitat) 9. Komisyon Toplantısı Açış Töreninde Yaptığı Konuşma," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 92 (October, 1986); 95-1987 – "1987 Uluslararası Evsizlere Barınak Yılı ve Türkiye," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 95 (January, 1987).

³⁵⁴ "8. Dünya Şehircilik Günü Dolayısıyla Bakanlığımız Tarafından Sunulan Bildiri," *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 85 (March, 1984).

In this context, the concept of real estate refers to various values and ideas through social housing production and urban transformation projects:

- (mass) housing as an investment and financial instrument
- (mass) housing adding appeal to a region or city
- the real estate market emerging through (mass) housing production
- the role of the real estate market in the country's development
- the role of foreign capital in the real estate market
- *TOKİ*'s guiding role within this market³⁵⁵

Such a definition attributed to housing also generates discourses that view transportation infrastructure projects, deemed necessary for quality and sustainable urban living, as tools for real estate valuation.³⁵⁶

In its third phase, *TOKİ* frequently references the term real estate, paralleling the previous period. The prominent references add value to the region/city, the importance of domestic and foreign investors in the housing sector, and real estate valuation through urban transformation projects.³⁵⁷

5.2.4. Continuities, Changes, and Transformations

The breaking points acknowledged in the thesis also permeate the discourses on the dimensions of (mass) housing and the practices of giving meaning to (mass) housing by *TOKİ*. Although themes regarding the dimensions and meaning of (mass) housing

³⁵⁵ Some of them are: “2013 Beklentileri Karşılacak mı,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 36 (February, 2013); “En Gözde Yerleşim Alanları: En Hızlı Gelişen Konut Bölgeleri,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 3 (April, 2010); “Büyümenin Yeni Yönü Gayrimenkul,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 86 (April, 2017); “Türkiyeyi Bölgenin Stratejik Üssü Olarak Kabul Ediyoruz,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015); “2013’ü Sırtlayan İnşaat 2014’e Temkinli Giriyor,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 46 (December, 2013); “Finans ve Konut Sektörleri Arasında Köprü: Gayrimenkul Sertifikası,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 79 (September, 2016); “Emlak Konut Halka Arz Geliriyle 100 Bin Konut Üretecek,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 37 (March, 2013).

³⁵⁶ “Metro Ağları Uzunlaştıkça Konut Fiyatları da Yükseliyor,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 42 (August, 2013).

³⁵⁷ Some of them are: “İstanbul’da Yeni Bir Mahalle,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 91 (September, 2017); “2017 Sonunda 1 Milyon 400 Bine Ulaşacağımıza İnanıyorum,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 95 (January, 2018); “Gayrimenkul Değerleme, Kentsel Dönüşümde Tamamlayıcı Bir Unsur,” *TOKİHABER*, no. 98 (April, 2018).

show continuity across all three phases, these breaking points often result in specific changes and transformations.

The first of these changes concerns the relationship (mass) housing establishes with its surroundings. In the first phase, *TOKI* aims to create an urban environment through social and technical infrastructures and financial incentives. This urban environment is defined based on rational criteria such as health and safety. Starting from the second phase, the relationship between (mass) housing and its surroundings references the relationship between the city, (mass) housing, and people. Unlike the previous period, these definitions also bring the cultural dimension of the urban environment into discussion. With this change, definitions of the urban environment reference history, traditional/cultural values, and social structures. This definition continues into the third phase. In this phase, the scale of discourses produced on the urban environment also expands, presenting a form of relationship where the urban space transforms and represents the urban dweller in the city-human context.

Starting from the second phase, including a cultural background in the discourses leads to transforming the concepts used to define (mass) housing. Concepts such as civilization and neighborhood are prime examples of this transformation. In the first phase, *TOKI* associates civilization with modernness and development. However, this concept carries subtexts loaded with history and culture from the second phase onward. Similarly, from the second phase, the concept of the neighborhood not only refers to the interaction and solidarity between individuals but also signifies a form of socialization experienced within a specific historical process.

In their discourses, all three phases consistently include definitions of (mass) housing that reference the right to housing and the right to life. However, starting from the second phase, the dialectical relationship between the city and the individual also permeates these definitions. This dialectical relationship expands the interpretations of the right to housing and life. It also emphasizes the potential guiding influence of the produced urban environment on the urban dweller's profile.

Another transformation *TOKI* has made concerning the economic dimension of (mass) housing refers to the change in its operational definition. In the first phase, *TOKI*'s support for (mass) housing construction through financial tools functioned as an economic instrument to enable people in need to become homeowners. Starting



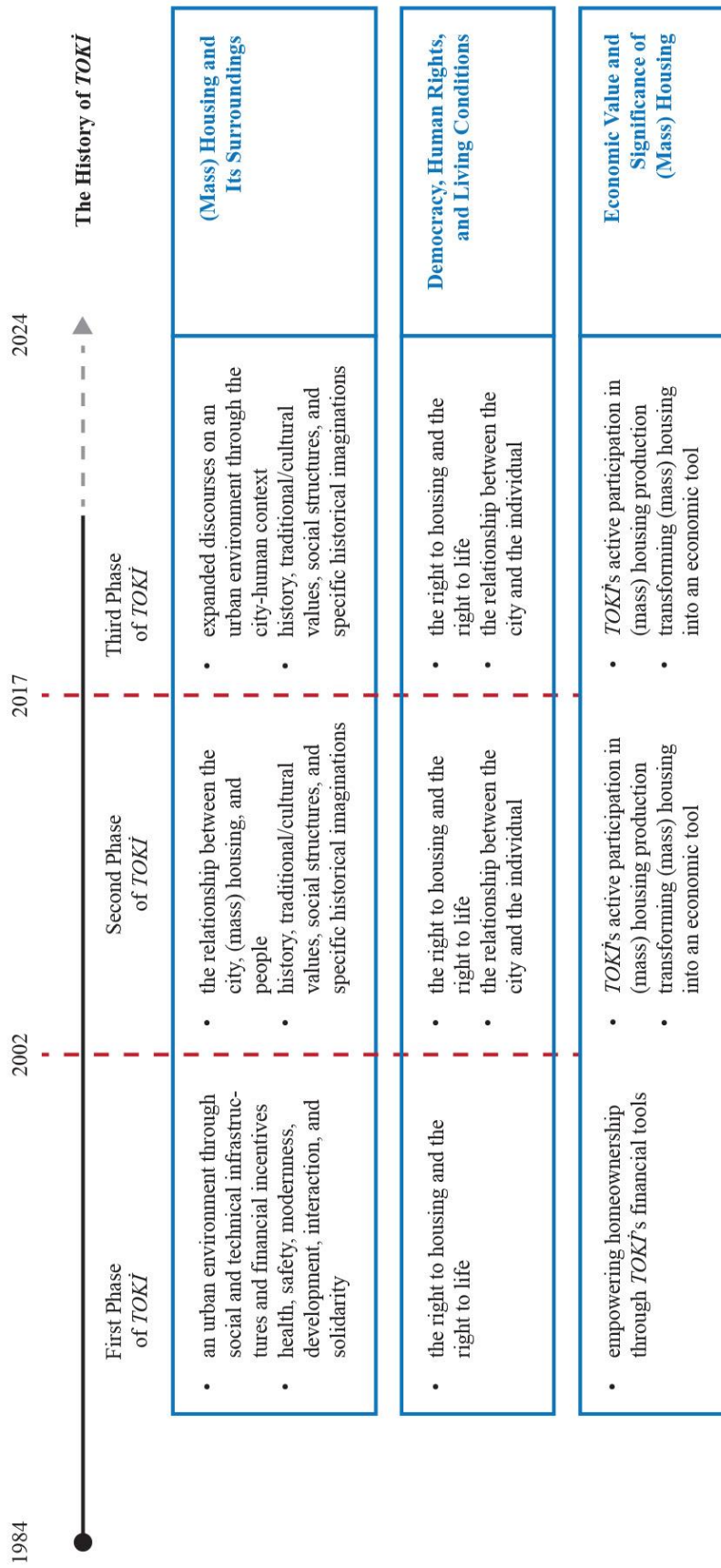


Figure 5.2. Comments on the Dimensions and Interpretations of (Mass) Housing

from the second phase, *TOKI*'s active participation in (mass) housing production led to a transformation in the economic dimension of (mass) housing. With this transformation, the production practice itself became an economic tool. This new tool not only aims to provide contemporary living standards for people in need but also introduces the necessity for a sustainable construction practice targeting a sustainable development program. In conclusion, the practice of construction and (mass) housing production envisions a form of economic development. However, this form also results in the commodification and financialization of existing (mass) housing units, transforming them into investment instruments.

5.2.5. Concluding Remarks

This section provides concise answers to the research questions of the thesis, concluding the relationship between modernity and (mass) housing through *TOKI* and the role this relationship plays in shaping the dimensions and meaning of (mass) housing.

(1) Is it possible to construct a “system of meaning” between modernity and (mass) housing?

(2) Do "systems of meaning" provide a means of communication among architecture, (mass) housing, and the experience of modernity? In other words, through which metacodes has *TOKI* constructed the relationship between (mass) housing and the visions of modernity?

The thesis has conducted a comparative analysis of the dimensions and meanings of (mass) housing as referenced in *TOKI*'s visions of modernity. Based on selected notions, this analysis attempts to construct a "system of meaning" between modernity and (mass) housing. These systems of meaning reveal the metacodes that *TOKI* has built between modernity and (mass) housing. These metacodes, inherent in *TOKI*'s various experiences of modernity, encompass a range of definitions and descriptions related to (mass) housing at different scales and dimensions.

TOKI's definitions and descriptions of (mass) housing and its surroundings exemplify these metacodes. In the first phase, *TOKI* establishes the relationship between (mass) housing and its surroundings through concepts and discussion areas that align more closely with the desire for modernity. These concepts include health, safety, modernity, development, interaction, and solidarity. Starting from the second phase, additional concepts and discussion areas, such as history, civilization, and culture, are introduced. These new contexts are not inspired by the idea of modernity but rather by a reaction to and a search for balance against the modernization process.

A similar shift emerges in the relationship between (mass) housing and its environment and the city. In the first phase, this relationship is defined and described in social, technical, and financial dimensions to support the living environment of (mass) housing. Starting in the second phase, these definitions and descriptions include the relationship between the city and the individual. This relationship incorporates predetermined ideas and values about human lifestyles and urban profiles established through the production of the built environment. Architecture is a tool for implementing these ideas and values in this context.

Another example of a metacode is how (mass) housing is defined and described through concepts such as the right to housing, life, and shelter. Although these definitions and descriptions undergo some changes in content, they appear in all three phases of *TOKI's* modernity.

In conclusion, the contextual ground with which (mass) housing engages, and the boundaries of this ground, have not remained constant throughout this modernity experience. On the contrary, they are highly variable and do not always adhere to the boundaries of contemporary architectural theory. The discourses around (mass) housing adopt a more inclusive and multi-layered approach to life and humanity, extending beyond these boundaries.

(3) What is the role of commodification and financialization / economic instruments in the construction of the relationship between *TOKI*'s visions of modernity and its interpretations of the concept of (mass) housing?

The relationship between (mass) housing and economic instruments has been present in *TOKI*'s discourse since its inception. During this period, the country's aim to integrate with neo-liberal policies brought this relationship to the forefront as an inherent aspect of (mass) housing. Starting from the second phase, however, *TOKI* became actively involved in (mass) housing production and directly linked it to the country's economic goals and interests. This shift led to the re-definition of the meaning and dimensions of (mass) housing through economic value, facilitating its reduction to an economic tool.

5.3. Critical Positions and Further Insights

This thesis argues that *TOKI*'s experience of modernity consists of three phases. Radical changes in the country's politics define the turning points of these phases. These changes also alter *TOKI*'s and the political authority's interpretations of modernity, their perspectives on being modern and modernism, and the relationship between *TOKI* and the country's experience of modernity.

In its first phase, spanning from 1984 to 2002, *TOKI*'s visions of modernity reflect an intention to establish connections with the Western world. The primary motivation behind this intention is grounded in economic integration. Modernity discourses that reference economic development particularly emphasize this intention. Alongside this economic motivation, the discourse also invokes ideas and values intrinsic to the experience of modernity, such as democratization, local democracy, modernity, livability, and egalitarianism. The visions of modernity articulated through the notion of democratization serve as an example of this relationship. While there are fewer direct references to democratization compared to other notions, the idea of democratization inherently shapes the discourses of modernity referencing development, urbanization, and urban planning. In other

words, the notion of democratization is one of the forms of modernity that inspired this period.

Starting from the second phase, *TOKI* develops a clear counter-narrative against modernity, modernism, and being modern. This narrative emerges as a reaction or a balance within the country's modernization process. Dissatisfaction with the country's modernization processes strongly permeates the discourse of the ruling power and *TOKI*. Although some might interpret this stance as anti-modernist, it inherently ties itself to a form of modernity. Because the intention to criticize the experience of modernity and to re-establish a meaningful relationship with time and space through changing conditions is also a part of being modern, full of "ambiguities, contradictions, ironies, and internal tensions." However, during this period, *TOKI* focuses solely on technological advancement and scientific utility as the accepted forms of modernity. By excluding other dimensions of the modernity experience, it turns its attention to selected historical moments.

Such a stance turns its back on the creative forces inherent in this experience. This inward focus has led to the loss of metanarratives such as democratization, freedom, and human rights, which are integral to the idea of modernity. Economic objectives isolated from its metanarratives and visions of modernity shaped by the predominance of these objectives have replaced them. This dominance has instrumentalized the visions produced through other notions, draining them of their inherent potential or altering them.

The attempt to confine the idea of modernity and the pursuit of being modern to such a narrow framework causes *TOKI*'s discourses at the scales of the city, housing, and the individual to become trapped between the reproduction of selected historical moments and the pursuit of economic benefit.

In the last instance, defining this discourse merely as a verbal manifestation falls short. It goes further, shaping the mindset behind *TOKI*'s urban development and housing policies. This mindset not only positions (mass) housing within a tightly

woven architectural theory but also creates a bordered framework for understanding the relationship between modernism, dwelling, and (mass) housing. By confining (mass) housing to commodification and financialization, this framework forces *TOKİ* to act as a real estate agency.

In this context, to offer a critique inherent to this modernity experience, it is necessary to revisit the concepts that *TOKİ* has instrumentalized. One example is the discussions *TOKİ* has produced around neighborhoods and streets. Rather than interpreting *TOKİ*'s discussions on traditional neighborhood and street structures merely as a recreation of past moments, revisiting mid-20th-century debates and reinterpreting them in today's context would be more beneficial. Another example is the concepts of green buildings, smart homes, and smart cities, which have developed alongside advancing technology. *TOKİ* defines these concepts through qualifications such as symbols of civilization, sustainability, and being nature- and environment-friendly. However, there is also a need to interpret these concepts more comprehensively regarding their contribution to human life and lifestyle.

In addition to these observations, the thesis predicts another turning point in *TOKİ*'s experience of modernity: the 2023 Kahramanmaraş earthquake. Given the magnitude of the earthquake and the vastness of its impact, *TOKİ* has implemented various updates to its methods of intervention, strategies, and tactics for managing the affected built environment. These updates include changes in *TOKİ*'s institutional and organizational structure, adjustments to its production strategies, and legal regulations that allow for more flexible and rapid interventions in planning and construction processes.³⁵⁸

It may be too early to thoroughly analyze and assess thoroughly the impact of these changes on *TOKİ*'s visions of modernity and its discourses on the relationship between modernity and (mass) housing. However, considering the shifting

³⁵⁸ The critical legal regulations include an emergency law (Olağanüstü Hal Kapsamında Yerleşme ve Yapılaşmaya İlişkin Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararnamesinin Kabul Edilmesine Dair Kanun, no. 7452, April 05, 2023), accelerated zoning plan changes, and granting special status to disaster areas.

production dynamics and motivations of *TOKI* after 2023, it is not an unfounded hypothesis to suggest that *TOKI* may have entered a fourth phase of modernity. This preliminary assessment could provide essential insights into *TOKI*'s future directions and indicate a potential transformation in the institution's understanding of modernity and its approach to (mass) housing.

In the end, as stated in the introduction, this thesis constitutes the first part of a three-phase study. This initial section focuses on the relationship between modernity and *TOKI*. Under this heading, the thesis examines *TOKI*'s visions of modernity and the meanings and dimensions of (mass) housing that these visions signify. The subsequent two phases analyze how these visions and definitions of (mass) housing transfer to the production phase and how this discourse and the production of the built environment contribute to the country's experience of modernity. These three phases collectively aim to revitalize the concept of modernity by offering a new analytical approach to the experience of modernity.

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APPENDIX A

IMAGES OF PROJECTS PRODUCED BETWEEN 1984 AND 2002

I selected these images from projects supported and produced by *TOKİ* and its affiliated ministry. I sourced these images from their publications.



Figure A.1. Atatürk Dam (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 114 (March, 1992))

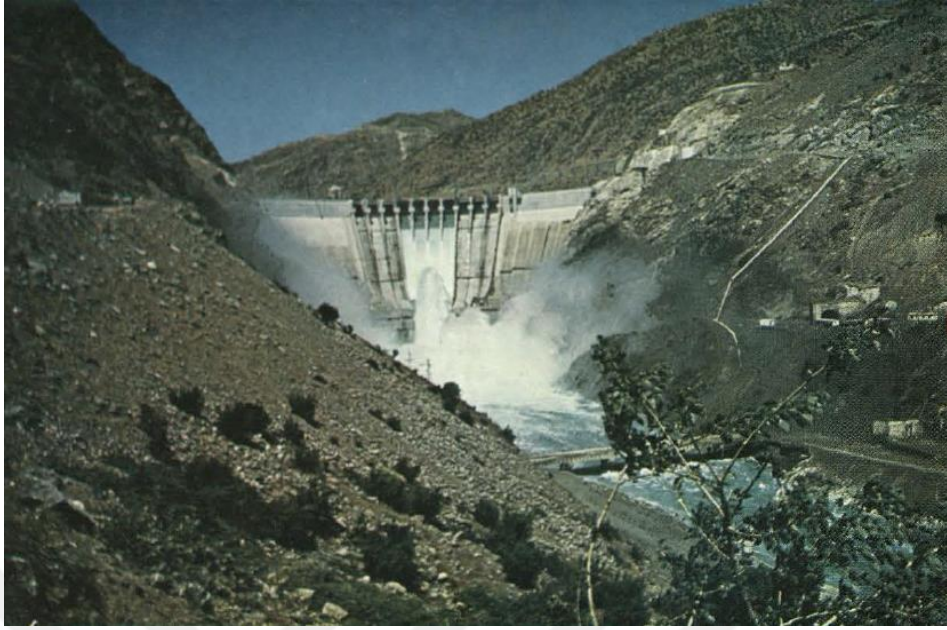


Figure A.2. Karakaya Dam (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 100 (January-February, 1988))



Figure A.3. Altınkaya Dam (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 100 (January-February, 1988))

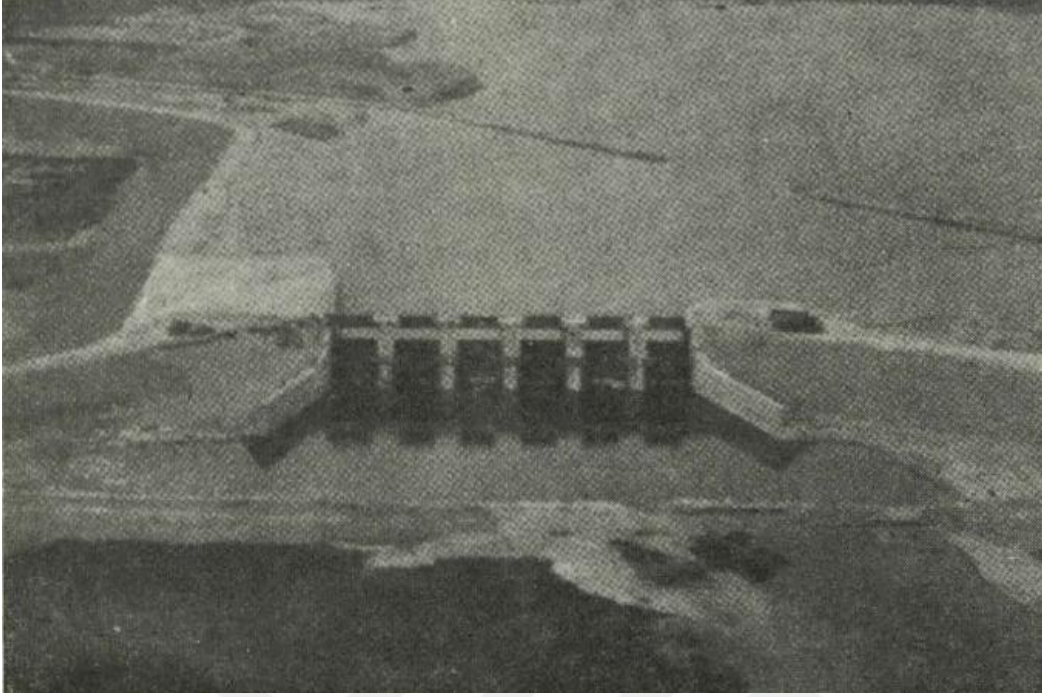


Figure A.4. Greater İstanbul Water Supply Project Büyükçekmece Dam System (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 100 (October-November, 1987))



Figure A.5. Tortum Hydroelectric Facilities Gölayağı Weir (source: *İller Bankası'nın 67 Yılı* (İller Bankası Genel Müdürlüğü))



Figure A.6. İstanbul – İzmit Motorway State Road - Railway (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 86 (January, 1985))



Figure A.7. Büyükdere Junction (source: *Cumhuriyetin 70. Yılında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1993))



Figure A.8. Kozyatağı Junction (source: *Cumhuriyetin 70. Yılında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1993))

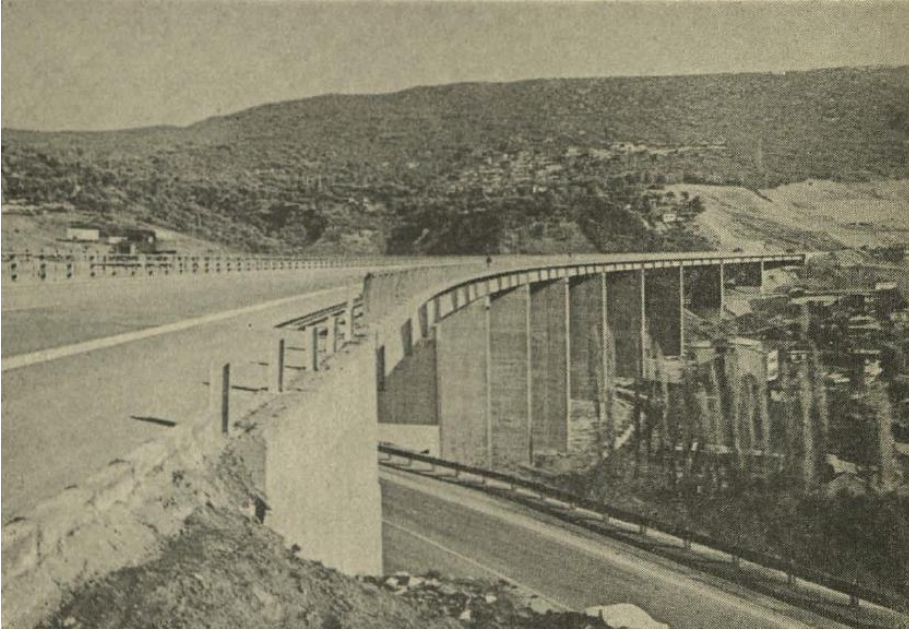


Figure A.9. İstanbul – İzmit Hereke Viaduct (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no.86 (January, 1985))



Figure A.10. Prof. Dr. Mustafa İnan Viaduct (source: *Cumhuriyetin 70. Yılında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (sT.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1993))



Figure A.11. Anatolian Motorway Elmalı Viaduct (source: *Cumhuriyetin 70. Yılında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1993))



Figure A.12. İzmit – Kirazlı Toll Motorway (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 82 (May, 1984))

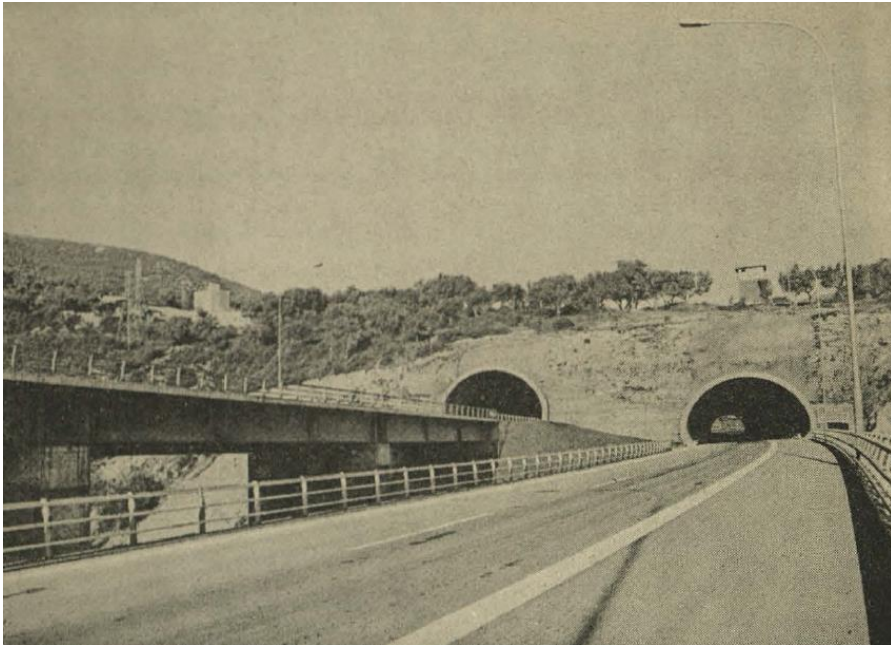


Figure A.13. Hereke Tunnel Entrance for the İstanbul Direction (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 86 (January, 1985))



Figure A.14. Trakya Motorway Edirne – Kınalı Section (source: *Cumhuriyetin 70. Yılında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1993))



Figure A.15. A view of the Tarsus - Gaziantep Motorway from the Adana-Seyhan Bridge (source: *Cumhuriyetin 70. Yılında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1993))



Figure A.16. Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 97 (May-June, 1987))



Figure A.17. Housing built in the Ankara-Sincan Fatih Neighborhood Slum Prevention Area (source: *Cumhuriyetin 70. Yılında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1993))



Figure A.18. Housing built in the Ankara-Sincan Fatih Neighborhood Slum Prevention Area (source: *Cumhuriyetin 70. Yılında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1993))



Figure A.19. Beylikdüzü Mass Housing Project (source: *Metropolitan Cooperative and Mass Housing Magazine*, no.1 (1989))



Figure A.20. Beylikdüzü Mass Housing Project (source: *Metropolitan Cooperative and Mass Housing Magazine*, no.1 (1989))

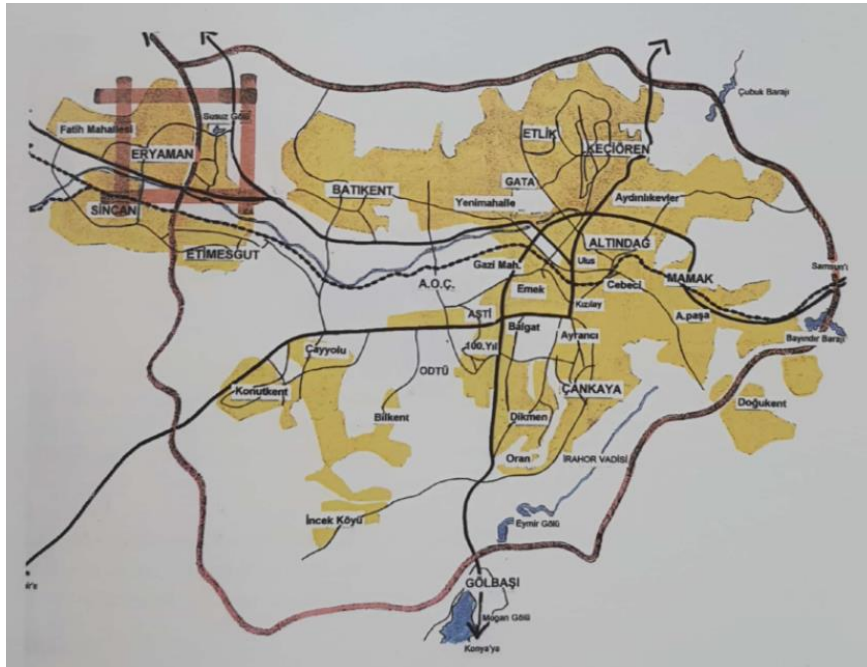


Figure A.21. Beylikdüzü Mass Housing Project (source: *Toplu Konut 2000* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))

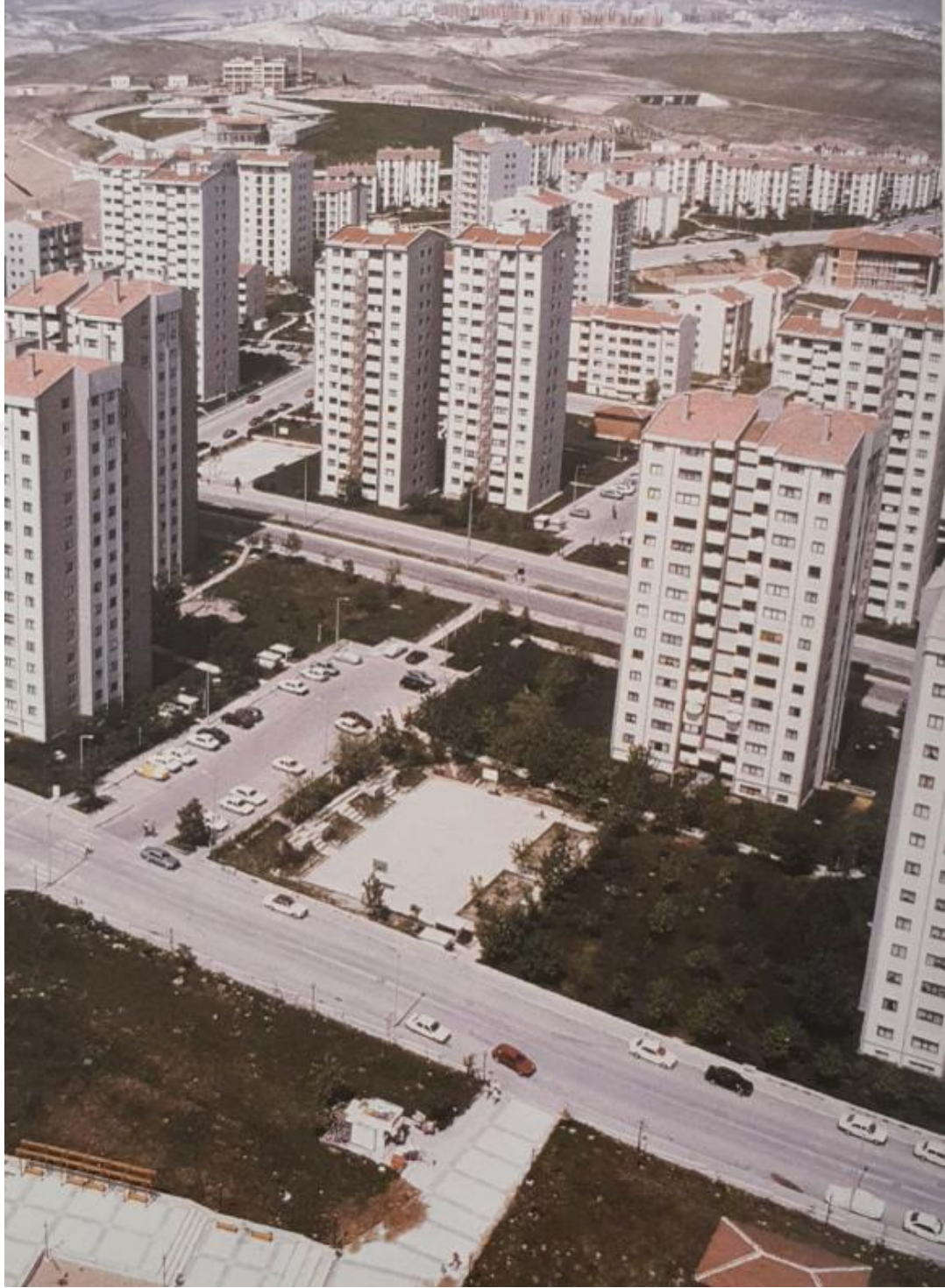


Figure A.22. Ankara Eryaman Mass Housing Project (source: *Toplu Konut 2000* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure A.23. Ankara Eryaman Mass Housing Project (source: *Toplu Konut 2000* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure A.24. Ankara Eryaman Mass Housing Project (source: *Toplu Konut 2000* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure A.25. İstanbul Halkalı Mass Housing Project (source: *Toplu Konut 2000* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure A.26. İstanbul Halkalı Mass Housing Project (source: *Toplu Konut 2000* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure A.27. İstanbul Ataköy Smart Houses (source: *Toplu Konut 2000* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure A.28. Prestige Project of Leading Turkey – Examples of Permanent Housing
(source: *Depremde ve Sonrasında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı))



Figure A.29. Prestige Project of Leading Turkey – Examples of Permanent Housing
(source: *Depremde ve Sonrasında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı))



Figure A.30. Prestige Project of Leading Turkey – Examples of Permanent Housing
(source: *Depremde ve Sonrasında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı))



Figure A.31. Prestige Project of Leading Turkey – Examples of Permanent Housing
(source: *Depremde ve Sonrasında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı))



Figure A.32. Prestige Project of Leading Turkey – Examples of Permanent Housing
(source: *Depremde ve Sonrasında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı))

APPENDIX B

IMAGES OF PROJECTS PRODUCED BETWEEN 2002 AND 2017

I selected these images from projects supported and produced by *TOKİ* and its affiliated ministry. I sourced these images from their publications.



Figure B. 1. North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project (before) (source: T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, *TOKİ Araştırma Dizisi 8: Kentsel Dönüşümde Model Arayışları* (Ankara: Miki Matbaacılık, 2011))



Figure B. 2. North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project (after) (source: *Kuzey Ankara Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure B.3. North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project (after) (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 49 (March, 2014))



Figure B. 4. Sulukule Urban Renewal Project (before) (source: T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, *TOKİ Araştırma Dizisi 8: Kentsel Dönüşümde Model Arayışları* (Ankara: Miki Matbaacılık, 2011))



Figure B. 5. Sulukule Urban Renewal Project (after) (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 15 (May, 2011))

Figure B. 6. Sulukule Urban Renewal Project (after) (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 66 (August, 2015))



Figure B. 7. Altındağ Urban Renewal Project (before) (source: T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, *TOKİ Araştırma Dizisi 8: Kentsel Dönüşümde Model Arayışları* (Ankara: Miki Matbaacılık, 2011))



Figure B. 8. Ankara Altındağ Urban Transformation Project (after) (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 15 (May, 2011))



Figure B. 9. İstanbul Ayazma Halkalı Urban Renewal Project (before) (source: T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, *TOKİ Araştırma Dizisi 8: Kentsel Dönüşümde Model Arayışları* (Ankara: Miki Matbaacılık, 2011))



Figure B. 10. İstanbul Ayazma Halkalı Urban Renewal Project (after) (source: T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, *TOKİ Araştırma Dizisi 8: Kentsel Dönüşümde Model Arayışları* (Ankara: Miki Matbaacılık, 2011))



Figure B. 11. Zağnos Valley Urban Transformation Project (before) (source: T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, *TOKİ Araştırma Dizisi 8: Kentsel Dönüşümde Model Arayışları* (Ankara: Miki Matbaacılık, 2011))



Figure B. 12. Zağnos Valley Urban Transformation Project (after) (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 3 (April, 2010))



Figure B. 13. İstanbul Kayabaşı Social Housing Project (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 1 (February, 2010))



Figure B. 14. Gaziantep North City Project (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 73 (March, 2016))



Figure B. 15. Ankara Mamak Social Housing Project (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 19 (September, 2010))



Figure B. 16. Bursa İznik Social Housing Project (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Bursa İznik Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure B. 17. Bursa İznik Social Housing Project (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Bursa İznik Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure B. 18. Bursa İznik Social Housing Project (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Bursa İznik Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure B. 19. İzmir Çeşme Reisdere Social Housing Project (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: İzmir Çeşme Reisdere Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure B. 20. İzmir Çeşme Reisdere Social Housing Project (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: İzmir Çeşme Reisdere Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure B. 21. Diyarbakır Sur İçkale Valley Landscaping (before) (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Diyarbakır Sur İçkale Vadisi Çevre Düzenlemesi* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))

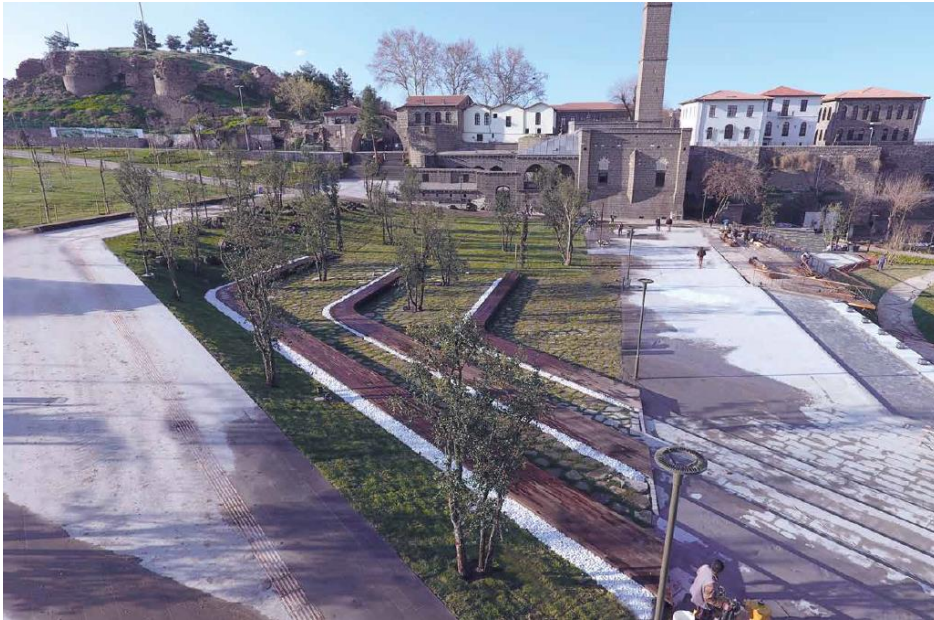


Figure B. 22. Diyarbakır Sur İçkale Valley Landscaping (after) (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Diyarbakır Sur İçkale Vadisi Çevre Düzenlemesi* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure B. 23. Mardin City Center Urban Transformation and Development Project
(source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Mardin Merkez Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Projesi* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure B. 24. Mardin City Center Urban Transformation and Development Project
(source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Mardin Merkez Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Projesi* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure B. 25. Mardin City Center Urban Transformation and Development Project
(source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Mardin Merkez Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Projesi* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure B. 26. Mardin City Center Urban Transformation and Development Project
(source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2017: Mardin Merkez Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Projesi* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure B. 27. Manisa Akgedik (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015))



Figure B. 28. Gaziantep Beylerbeyi (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015))



Figure B. 29. Hatay Payas (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015))



Figure B. 30. Şanlıurfa Maşuk (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015))



Figure B. 31. Diyarbakır (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015))



Figure B. 32. Çankırı (source: *TOKİHABER*, no. 68 (October, 2015))

APPENDIX C

IMAGES OF PROJECTS PRODUCED BETWEEN 2017 AND THE PRESENT

I selected these images from projects supported and produced by *TOKİ* and its affiliated ministry. I sourced these images from their publications.



Figure C. 1. New Fikirtepe Urban Transformation Project (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 147 (May, 2022))



Figure C. 2. İstanbul Esenler Urban Transformation Project (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 145 (March, 2022))



Figure C. 3. İstanbul Kayaşehir Mass Housing Project (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 97 (March, 2018))



Figure C. 4. TOKİPARK Kayaşehir (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 96 (February, 2018))



Figure C. 5. TOKİPARK Pendik Koru (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 100 (June, 2018))



Figure C. 6. Pendik Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 102 (August, 2018))



Figure C. 7. Elazığ Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2019))



Figure C. 8. Pendik Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2018))



Figure C. 9. Sakarya Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2019))



Figure C. 10. Kayaşehir Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2019))



Figure C. 11. Aydın Nazilli Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 120 (February, 2020))



Figure C. 12. Eskişehir Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2019))



Figure C. 13. Konya Seydişehir Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 122 (April, 2020))



Figure C. 14. Samsun Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2019))



Figure C. 15. Ankara Cebeci Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 133 (March, 2021))



Figure C. 16. Ankara İmrahor Valley Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2019))



Figure C. 17. Erzurum Üç Kümbetler Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 122 (April, 2020))



Figure C. 18. Diyarbakır İçkale Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2019))



Figure C. 19. The Foothills of the Diyarbakır City Walls Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2019))



Figure C. 20. Adana Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2019))



Figure C. 21. Atatürk Airport Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2019))



Figure C. 22. Mersin Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 108 (February, 2019))



Figure C. 23. Malatya Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 140 (October, 2021))



Figure C. 24. Adıyaman Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 128 (October, 2020))



Figure C. 25. Konya Ereğli Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 135 (May, 2021))



Figure C. 26. Şanlıurfa Viranşehir Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 136 (June, 2021))



Figure C. 27. Afyonkarahisar Sandıklı Community Garden (source: *Bakanlık Bülteni*, no. 140 (October, 2021))



Figure C. 28. Gaziantep Beylerbeyi Social Housing Project (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2018: Gaziantep Beylerbeyi Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure C. 29. Gaziantep Beylerbeyi Social Housing Project (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2018: Gaziantep Beylerbeyi Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure C. 30. Uşak Urban Transformation Project (before) (source: *Uşak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure C. 31. Uşak Urban Transformation Project (after) (source: *Uşak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure C. 32. Şanlıurfa Maşuk Social Housing Project (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2018: Şanlıurfa Maşuk Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure C. 33. Şanlıurfa Maşuk Social Housing Project (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2018: Şanlıurfa Maşuk Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure C. 34. Şanlıurfa Maşuk Social Housing Project (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2018: Şanlıurfa Maşuk Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))



Figure C. 35. Şanlıurfa Maşuk Social Housing Project (source: *Proje Uygulamaları 2016-2018: Şanlıurfa Maşuk Sosyal Konutları* (T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı))

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION:

Surname, Name : Bölükbaş Baran, Nihan

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU, Architecture	2016
BS	İzmir Institute of Technology, Architecture	2011
High School	Atakent Anadolu High School, İzmir	2006

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2014-Present	Sakarya University	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Inter-mediate Italian