# THE ROLE OF TOPONYMY IN NEOLIBERAL

# URBANIZATION, CASE STUDY: İNCEK, ANKARA

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By

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We certify that we have read this thesis and that, in our opinion, it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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# ABSTRACT

## THE ROLE OF TOPONYMY IN NEOLIBERAL URBANIZATION, CASE STUDY: İNCEK, ANKARA

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With the spread of the neoliberal economic system, the policies, social and social realities that developed depending on this system also affect the urban structure, the perception of the city and the architectural structuring. Neoliberal urbanization shows its effects all over the world. The race between national economies and sectors accelerates the race that occurs within the cities and the spaces within the city.

The neoliberal urbanization process, by influencing the architectural design processes, affects the daily life, the quality of life, and the city profile. The change in architectural design and design perception is primarily reflected in the language. All the spaces in the city constitute the structures that are valued and known by the name they present. At this point, names of places, naming decisions and processes gain importance. Neoliberal urbanization, which is the general context, reflects itself on each street and housing project, and changes the urban structure and affects perception. This thesis explores the role of toponymy in the context of neoliberal urbanization. The toponymy is examined at the micro level within neoliberal urbanization context in order to reach its role. Incek is explored through all spatial forms through Ankara, Turkey as a case study.

Keywords: Neoliberal urbanization, city politics, toponymy, space production, place naming.

# ÖZET

## NEOLİBERAL KENTLEŞMEDE TOPONİMİNİN ROLÜ: İNCEK, ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ

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Neoliberal ekonomi sisteminin yaygınlaşması ile bu sisteme bağlı gelişen politikalar, sosyal ve toplumsal gerçeklikler kent yapısını, kent algısını ve mimari yapılaşmayı da etkilemektedir. Neoliberal kentleşme etkilerini tüm dünyada göstermektedir. Ülke ekonomileri ve sektörler arasındaki rekabet, kentlerin ve kentler içerisindeki mekanların arasında oluşan yarışı hızlandırmaktadır.

Neoliberal kentleşme süreci, mimari tasarım süreçlerini etkilemesi ile günlük hayatı, yaşam kalitesini ve kent profilini etkilemektedir. Mimari tasarımın ve tasarım algısının değişimi en başta dile yansımaktadır. Kentte yer alan tüm mekanlar aldıkları isimlerle anlam kazanmakta ve bilinmektedir. Bu noktada merkanlar, mekanların isimlendirme karar ve süreçleri önem kazanmaktadır. Genel bağlam olan neoliberal kentleşme her bir cadde ve konut projesi üzerinde kendisini yansıtmakta, kent yapı ve algısını belirlemektedir. Bu tez toponiminin neoliberal kentleşme bağlamındaki rolünü araştırmaktadır. Toponimi mikro seviyede neoliberal kentleşme bağlamındaki rolüne erişilebilmesi için incelenmektedir. İncek, Ankara, Türkiye üzerinden tüm mekânsal biçimler üzerinden örenek çalışma olarak araştırılmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Neoliberal kentleşme, kent politikası, toponimi, mekân üretimi, mekân isimlendirilmesi.

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sacrifices of my beloved family, who are excited by my dreams and proud of my achievements.

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# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

Globalization contributes to understanding the world while it changes the nature of the world's political and monetary members. The elaboration is ideal for addressing how globalization politicizes and historicizes current urbanization issues, how urban settlement reacts to a modern form of urbanism as symbols and architectural norms and how it affects the city. For the past two decades, many causes such as global climate change, migrant movements, economic and social transformation processes, rapid technology progress, and population growth have influenced a new urbanization process around the world. Contemporary urban development redefines cities to increasingly large global social, economic, political, and environmental processes (Brenner and Schmid, 2015). Soja (2011) describes the remarkable trend that emerged

that began in earnest in the 21st century: accordingly, the reinvention of the productive power of the urban environment; the multidisciplinary dissemination of significant spatial points of views, consequently renewed popularity in all regions. Moreover, through these influences and movements, urban policies under the influence of neoliberalism have become dominant.

The cornerstone of neoliberal conception is the conviction that open, competitive, and unregulated markets are the primary way for economic progress, free of all types of state intervention (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Therefore, neoliberalism rests on a basic assumption that entrepreneurs' independence can establish an institutional structure defined with private property rights, personal liberty, open markets, and free trade (Harvey, 2007). Neoliberalism has created a type of organizational structure and "ideological software" for global trade, encouraging and implementing "far-reaching state reform" and rescaling initiatives through a variety of "national and local contexts" (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Gales (2016) proposes that cities' urban environment and urban growth dynamics do not alter all the time. On constant changes to neoliberal market standards, Gales (2016) explains that even urban governance will consist of glorifying property ownership, specifying rules and conventions, and creating uncertainty and unpredictability in the patterns of social order. Neoliberal systems are unforgiving in the face of failure or incompliance, executing cities that struggle in strict competitive urbanism conditions by similarly specific interventions such as malignant neglect, exclusion from funding sources, and the displacement of local operatives (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Under neoliberal policies, Pow (2009) clarifies that cities have become strategic and influential as geographical and institutional subjects. In local entrepreneurship, extensive project building processes,

space marketing and branding, municipal public sector privatization, urban housing restructuring issues, cities act as a new socio-spatial strategy (Pow, 2009).

The introduction of neoliberalism utilized the urban spatial means as a capital accumulation process (Sengul, 2009). According to the complexities of global financial capitalism, the idea of developing cities has brought on what is known as neoliberal urbanization (Miro, 2011). Neoliberal urbanization, which followed neoliberal economic reforms, seeks to empower the role of the wealthy in shaping public environments by expanding the role of market forces in the housing and real estate sectors, and privatizing the procurement of urban and social services (Geniş, 2007). According to Shields (1999) and Watkins (2005) interpretations for the contemporary context, it can be said that, since neoliberal urbanization become the focus of competence at an urban level, consequently the space in neoliberal urbanization becomes the critical area to develop competence in different spatial practices such as construction, naming, branding, and marketing. Moreover, neoliberal urbanization also targets different segments of society with a different location, denomination, spatial organization, and marketing strategies other than different spatial practices.

Cities participate in a highly competitive market process, facilitating government support for transnational urban areas and the domestic and foreign flows of capital, businesses, customers, and tourists (Light and Young, 2014). In today's world, population flow is dominant in big cities and urban regions; the estimation asserts that urban spaces receive fifty-five percent of the flow of population (Meredith, 2018). The

demographic reports predict that "two-thirds of the world will be living in cities by 2050" (Meredith, 2018). Global cities have appeared worldwide as the new tools of capitalism to reshape capital accumulation, reproduce capital through urban space and make the cities' new prestigious brands of the countries compete with others (Sassen, 2001). In the past half-century, cities have seen many fragmentations; Pow (2009) states that:

> Since the 1980s and 1990s, urban scholars have mobilized various categories, including deindustrialization, post-Fordism, global city formation, urban entrepreneurialism, etc., to describe and theorize the ongoing destruction and attempted reconstitution of urban spaces (pp.374).

Cities, as emphasized by Marx, are the product of political agendas and capitalist accumulation that created vast disparities and segregated power dynamics (Gales, 2016). Cities have been categorized as "post-modern, post-industrial, post-colonial, mega, global, sustainable, neoliberal, gentrified," under many theoretical frameworks (Bezdecny and Archer, 2018, pp.1). All labels give ideas about city perception, the modes of space production in the city, and the political background of the urban, but do not define the specificities of the cities. Entrepreneurial strategies have developed to focus on initiatives that aim to embody the image and identity of cities (Light and Young, 2014). The staging of "sporting and cultural mega-events," the growth of "tourism and consumption," the construction of large, luxurious projects, and gentrification of urban centers are all closely linked to endeavors to shift the definitions of the site and combat impressions of economic crisis, unemployment, "crime, and urban decay" (Light and Young, 2014, pp.437).

Place names as narrative structures are hugely affected by dominant or hegemonic cultural forms (Kearns and Berg, 2002). Place names are one of the most critical indicators of intimate human-territorial relationships (Shoval, 2013). Place names shape the material of symbols and form an intense meaning and operation of areas (Peteet, 2005). Place names are not only inscriptions in the landscapes on maps or signboards, and they have often spoken items (Kearns and Berg, 2002). Kearns and Berg (2002) claim that speaking of place names requires a declaration of cultural values under certain times and locations. In the past ten years, toponymy has been discussed in different disciplines as scholars have focused on renewed critical attention to place names. The old tradition was predominated by focusing on names themselves, which means their derivations and origins as an etymological approach and further classifications on collecting and cataloging place names.

The toponymy of a city, street, house, or geographical location tells the story of the identity, memory, history, and evolution of space, directly or indirectly. Kearns and Berg (2002) believe that whereas place names can even be regarded as one of the substances and symbolic objects of culture, they also become a part of local cultural politics and thus introduced into the contentious composition of place. Alderman and Inwood (2013) concentrate on the cultural practice of naming rather than the origins and etymology of place names. Place names, according to Cosgrove and Daniels (2012), are mechanisms of meaning connected to spaces that change into places. The names assigned to places such as "settlements, urban streets, and landmarks" are not unintended or non-political but are selected and highlighted as 'fitting' in some way, whereas other, less suitable names are ignored or marginalized (Light and Young, 2014, pp.436).

Architecture dedicates a place from its nature and allocates it to politics through symbolism (Lefebvre, 1991). In this era, the right to name everything commodified from prominent buildings to subway stations to whole cities is being challenged (Rose-Redwood and Alderman, 2011). There is a need for a more perceptive critical theory of political toponymy that goes beyond the long-standing assumption that place naming is a purely "cultural" phenomenon that is somehow detached from political, economic, and social conflicts over "place" development (Rose-Redwood and Alderman, 2011, pp.2). Throughout the neoliberal period, the place name provides a symbolic capital, which transformed as a whole or at least in part into economic capital; such that it becomes a commodity to be a part of marketing, branding strategies, and a commodity to be sold in the local and global markets (Light and Young, 2014). Street name studies have already indicated place names as a mode of figurative investment to produce and purchase location contrasts for prestige and profit-making (Shoval, 2013). Words are essential for the way in which they embody ideological meaning and circulate moral attributes, which means the chosen words to describe events, decisions, countries and people, places, and social phenomena resound with, contest power in a conflict (Peteet, 2005).

Moreover, there is a considerable result that the urban environment is named to interact with traditional symbols of capitalism and economic growth, or with particular corporate interests (Light and Young, 2014). Most of the new names have been designed to arouse their audience, to be encountered, at least from the first glance, as uncommon and often hard to pronounce (Yurchak, 2000). Worded place names are viewed as a database of the naming process that goes beyond time and place specificities (Kearns and Berg, 2002). This issue also features a business agenda that

emphasizes public-private partnerships as modern modes of urban governance that are profoundly shaping both the business and corporate world (Light and Young, 2014).

## 1.1.Problem Statement

This thesis studies the role of toponymy in neoliberal urbanization. Naming practices play an essential role in the urban processes, which didn't receive enough attention in neoliberal urbanization discussions in literature since it doesn't directly relate to economic terms. Thus far, neoliberal urbanization has generally discussed economic parameters as a part of the capital accumulation process. This thesis discusses neoliberal urbanization while referring to place naming practices as a part of the city's symbols through dominant spatial production modes in a contemporary urban discussion. While this situation causes neoliberal urbanization not to be discussed with all its aspects, it prevents the clarification of social and social events and situations. The content of this thesis favors the social and cultural aspects of neoliberal urbanization rather than economic aspects. An exemplary study is created in order to examine and study the traces and tools of neoliberal urbanization on the city. Toponymy researches focusing on name origins are also used with the current urban order being carried out here. Amongst different approaches to toponymy such as semasiology, onomasiology, etc., the role of toponymy research can bring up different kinds of data according to the focus of the study. At this point, the toponymy is examined within the scope of the city with an understanding that goes beyond the origins of the name and everything a name can express. Thus, this thesis connects place names with their context in the contemporary period as a representation of the cultural politics of the urban. Within the research objectives and boundaries being described,

the main research question of this thesis is: "what is the role of toponymy in neoiberal urbanization and how this role effects the neoliberal urbanization in a contemporary neighborhood/ district/ city?". In order to form the basis of this research, toponymy and neoliberal urbanization priorities and features are discussed. This thesis follows the renewed understanding of toponymy and situates it within the contemporary urban context.

## 1.2. Aim and Scope of the Thesis

The thesis examines the commodification of place-naming in the neoliberal city thorugh the case of Ankara, the capital of Turkey. The study brings together the geographic and statistical data about the environment where place names are one element- are being used, processed, commercialized, and privatized. The main path here is to focus on the understandings of toponymy and neoliberal urbanization and use toponymy in its renewed understanding, approach to neoliberal urbanization as a socially useful process on everyday life rather than solely economic parameter.

This thesis examines the relationship between place naming and placemaking within the context of neoliberal urbanization. The study knocks together the geographic and statistical data about the environment where place names are one element- are being used, processed, commercialized, and privatized. Toponymy research enlightens the branding and marketing strategies in the contemporary city of Ankara and deepens as İncek district as a case study. The aim is to inquire into how toponymy and discourses of place help to constitute İncek itself. Within the scope of this thesis, it is desired to

create awareness of social and societal traces in the relationship between architecture and neoliberal urbanization.

## 1.3. Methodology

This thesis concentrates on collecting data for the toponymy of İncek, Ankara, Turkey, on examining the case study in relation to contemporary local and global urban contexts. To understand mechanisms of place-making in contemporary Ankara and its relation to the district, this thesis has methodological steps to concentrate interdisciplinary data. The first step includes a literature survey that contains toponymy and neoliberal urbanization from general to specific, including mapping specific areas, neighborhoods, and projects to form the appropriate questions to the metropolitan municipality and investors for research on toponymy. The second step is the inspection and interview of the major actors: Municipality and Investors (advertisement companies, agencies, private sector actors). The interview consists of district municipality interviews, metropolitan municipality interviews, and meeting with investors, influencers, agencies interviews, and investigations. The third step is to gather the obtained literature and field data, relate and discuss them in the right contexts.

## 1.4. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter starts with the introduction, in this part general information about globalization, current urbanization and the subjects covered in the thesis are given. In the continuation of the first chapter, the problem

constituting the essence of the thesis, the purpose and scope of the thesis, and the method used in the thesis are stated.

In the second chapter, as part of the concept of the thesis, the role of toponymy and toponymy in neoliberal urbanization has been studied. At this point, while explaining the literature on toponymy and neoliberal urbanization, historical development processes and the boundaries of study within the scope of the thesis are explained.

In the third part, neoliberal urbanization in Turkey and then Ankara is discussed. The urbanization processes of Turkey and Ankara are included with all the details aimed to be discussed within the scope of the thesis, and literature review is given through historical periods to the contemporary urbanization process.

The fourth chapter focuses on the sample district of İncek studied for the thesis. In this section, İncek is discussed as a neighborhood and district as part of Ankara. The neoliberal urbanization process in the selected area, the street and boulevard naming and numbering procedures and processes applied here, the naming decisions and processes in housing projects, and finally the naming decisions and processes in public or open spaces are examined and discussed.

The fifth chapter is the conclusion, which is the last part of the thesis. In this section, while the discussion, which is reduced from general to specific, is summarized, important points that emerged as a result of the research are mentioned.

# CHAPTER 2

# CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: SITUATING TOPONYMY WITHIN NEOLIBERAL URBANIZATON

## 2.1 Toponymy

Toponymy and toponymic research generally take place in contemporary literature as the science and practice of place names. Toponymy as a word derives from Greek words "place" and "name". As a scientific position, toponymy is classified as a branch of onomastics. The literature of toponymy is based on the search for etymology, their meaning, and their evolution through time in many fields such as history, geography, geology, sociology, politics, and economics (Alasli, 2019). After that, place names have become a part of the social science studies, and names' connections with past and culture, political and social reflections on place names become part of toponymy

research (Vuolteenaho and Berg, 2009). After the 1980s, human geography started to pay attention to culture, human relations and accepted these relations as active factors in a social environment (Çetin and Şentürk, 2019). Over the last two decades, toponymic research has reached a watershed moment in terms of direct and self-reflective interaction with critical space and place theories (Rose-Redwood et al., 2009). Aside from the etymological information that it provides, the toponymy of a city, a street, a house, or a geographical location occurs as an effectual actor in the identity, memory, history, and evolution of space. Current toponymic literature emphasizes the cultural dynamics of place naming by giving special consideration to the naming process and the world's cultural and political views that are given expression via the place name and its environment (Alderman and Inwood, 2013). Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016) distinguish toponymy studies as place-name studies and place naming studies and further state that the place naming studies, which include the process of naming, allow the analyzing of the motives of power relations and agents. Place naming research focuses on the methods and variables that go into giving a particular name to a given location, even if the name itself might be considerably less informative than the processes that went into choosing that name over others (Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016).

There are two different approaches for doing toponymic research; the first focuses on the etymology, context, and history of place names, and the second focuses on the toponyms of an area and analyzes the patterns and characteristics of those names (Tent, 2015). The Australian National Placenames Survey (ANPS) decided to use terminology to more accurately represent and express the two different research methods as "intensive and extensive toponymy", as representations of "qualitative and

quantitative" analysis of toponymy (Tent, 2015, pp.66). The intensive is used in the sense of inherent qualities such as intensity, quality, or depth, whereas the extensive is used in the sense of extension, presenting a vast number of things as opposed to intense ones (Tent, 2015). Tent (2015) also defines these modes of research as micro toponymy and macro toponymy, since intensive toponymy deepens the research and focus on quality, while the extensive one converts pieces to a whole and focuses on quantity on a larger scale. Implementing intensive toponymy is the method of writing the history and identity of a place name, which includes the answers over who named or renamed the place when the place was named, why that specific name was chosen, what is the significance of the name, and features of that name, where the place is located as extensive toponymy base data (Tent, 2015). In extensive toponymy, place names act as substantive variables that can be evaluated to bound parameters like area, toponym category, and feature category (Tent, 2015). The focus on place-naming procedures has been one of the main parts of a notable critical shift in toponymy studies in recent years, as it aims to uncover the political dimension of place names (Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016).

The naming of spaces is one of the main tools for setting up precisely defined spatial identities (Rose-Redwood et al., 2009). Moving beyond conventional approaches to identify and categorize names and material things, practitioners are now emphasizing the value of recognizing broader socio-cultural contexts and their local consequences (Fuchs, 2015). Alderman and Inwood (2013) focus on toponymy from the perspective of cultural politics of naming rather than the origins and etymology of place names. Cosgrove and Daniels (2012) see place names as instruments attached into places. Fuchs (2015) thinks about the underlying historical backgrounds and social forces

inside and beyond these places in his work. Kearns and Berg (2002) suggest that the toponymic classification method has traditionally been predominantly not theoretic and that this method has virtually ignored the disputes over the politics of the locality that sometimes underlie naming processes; even so, literature that objectively explores the issues of cultural politics and the influence of place naming has only recently grown. Boyd (2000) highlights sports venues by speaking on the naming of venues, such as those in public memory and memorial sites. Yurchak (2000) expresses the privatization of place names, and by that, he highlights the cultural production and naming market in Russia. In recent years, the cultural politics of place names, architectural relations with place names, space-place correlation, processes, and naming mechanisms have become the main objectives of toponymy research. As Withers (2000, pp.533) astutely observed:

> Attention to the name alone, either on the ground or on a historical map, runs the risk of concerning itself with ends and not with means; of ignoring, or, at best, underplaying the social processes intrinsic to the authoritative act of naming.

In tune with Withers, geographers have investigated social dynamics and put toponymy research in the context of wider discussions on shared human geography in recent years (Rose-Redwood et al., 2009). In the concept of naming the place, the literature has often ignored addressing "the power/politics/place" connection (Kearns and Berg, 2002, pp.285). Social actors and groups retain substantial power in controlling the information represented on and then through the place name landscape because of naming's cultural influence (Alderman and Inwood, 2013). People name areas to create order; in this naming process, names are frequently selected that offer their perspective louder, which means they mute other points of view, cultural identities, and voices (Alderman and Inwood, 2013). The study of political and

economic toponymy requires a more deepened approach with scale, while the study focuses on a specific area with a deepened approach, it must address the broader politics to characterize general data and comment for the whole discussion.

Names and their definitions are components of cultural systems that create and identify ways we see, understand, and imagine the world (Peteet, 2005). Place naming is significantly involved in wider influence, identity, memory, and culture (Light and Young, 2014). Place names are often more than a pure reflection of fact, referring to a spiritual grammar underpinning and reproducing force (Peteet, 2005). Each place name indicates some awareness of the location it defines, and the choice of a specific toponym indicates a particular connection of power, which is preserved by the use of this toponym (Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016). According to Madden (2019), the neoliberal cities can be identified immediately by just gazing at the map. Thus, names are not only ingredients of a vocabulary of policy mechanisms and stressful situations of historical progressions, but they are in this process, methodologically speaking, that own a means of tracking power (Peteet, 2005). Urban toponymy is viewed as an important component of larger cultural settings that are constructed to promote a specific political agenda, but it may also be questioned by the city (Light and Young, 2014). According to Rose-Redwood, Alderman, and Azaryahu (2009), an interaction between critical research of place naming and an overview of calculation policy making reveals that place names are part of a broader tradition of spatial recognition, and this thesis focuses on toponymy in a specific neighborhood through consideration of a whole urban movement at city, country, and global scales. Questions about the politics of urban life in neoliberal urbanization are who rules the city, which determines how to use and manage urban space, and where names that matter as

identifiers and instruments in initiatives that aim to address individual questions (Madden, 2019).

Yurchak (2000) notes that the new names of most private projects are not only uncommon terms but terms that seem to have almost nothing in common with the actual occupation of these projects, which strikingly resigns public space, the new names carry out their first symbolic work of bringing about a revolutionary break in the logic of social meaning. This approach brings the study of place names into urban studies informing analysis on space production, placemaking, economy, politics, power, and culture. Toponymy research can provide a basis for urban settlement analysis in a specific context since that kind of research concerns the linguistic evolution of place names and the motives behind the places' naming. Further studies need to consider not only the place of naming itself but also how place naming connects to a wide range of spatial activities (Rose-Redwood et al., 2009). Street and house numbering, the creation of signpost systems, mapping for cadastral pruposes are examples for consideration of spatial activities in further studies. As Brenner and Theodore (2002) suggest, the commodification of place naming rights as a part of a broader criticism of the "spaces of neoliberalism" needs to be critically evaluated. This thesis follows this suggestion to scrutinize the role of toponymy in the context of neoliberal urbanization and searches for mechanisms and procedures of production of space in the contemporary urban context.

The critical approach to toponymy has experienced the progress of expanding the study of place names into areas that deal with public space, power, and identity (Light

and Young, 2014). Critical toponymic research has highlighted such a need to examine the underlying power and ideology structures that encourage place-and-history identifications (Fuchs, 2015). There are several approaches for critical toponymy studies so far in the literature (Light and Young, 2014). One of them deepens the study to the modern governmentality and control through the line of naming urban places, while the other one focuses on the pronunciation of urban place names. Hence, some of the studies deepen the focus on politics, while some of them deepen in urban studies. This thesis explores toponymy at the micro-level through an analysis of neighborhoods in a specific context, whereas it connects with a larger level in the context of neoliberal urbanization. However, this thesis does not intend to combine itself with the larger scale as written symbols of urban but rather aims to combine itself with the modes of spatial production in the city, in the country, and the global trend through toponymy.

Another trend relates to a broader transdisciplinary agenda focused on remembrance and commemoration (Light and Young, 2014). As Azaryahu asserts in his studies, linking a commemorative name to a place or a street means bringing an accepted kind of collective past into the straight norm, which is very common in urban life (1996; 2009; 2011). Commemorative street naming is an essential method to syncretize the past and the present, and to integrate tradition into the daily territorial framework (Alderman, 2002). Naming may be a part of the process of collective memory building and formal establishment, which is generated in national projects and must form a past ideology to create a collective consciousness of the present and the future (Peteet, 2005). In neoliberal urbanization, place names can become a part of another constructive strategy that can involve high-income groups by using prestigious names and well-known symbols or words to brand houses, sites, neighborhoods, urban

spaces, and cities. Just like every area associated with memory, named streets may become involved in the politics of defining what is historically important or worthy of public recall (Alderman, 2002). Another influential trend in critical toponymy studies is renaming the urban landscape for being or staying compatible with the new regime's political ambitions and agenda during rapid political transitions (Light and Young, 2014). The critical place naming studies have suggested a modern, neoliberal, toponymic governance that strongly leads to place naming by private actors, especially businesses (Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016). Madden (2019) defines confiscation as the "main motive of the neoliberal city," in which city inhabitants are stripped of common identities, places, properties, and institutions, while governments and communities are robbed of their assets (pp.889). Therefore, it is not shocking that the place branding is almost always challenged and is often a battleground in disputes over urban space. Madden (2019) explains that:

> Only with neoliberal inequality are corporations so emboldened that their owners and strategists think they can override local naming traditions and lay claim to major city landmarks and social spaces. Only neoliberal entrepreneurialism has produced the relationships between the branding industry, the state, and real estate capital that make corporate renaming happen. Only under neoliberal politics do city dwellers expect that their primary mode of incorporation into the urban order is as consumers and therefore see the corporate colonization of their city as unexceptional (pp.889-90).

The place-name currency can be symbolic of power structures, and place naming is deeply involved in landscape politics (Peteet, 2005). In urban studies, toponymy can play an explanatory role by discussing social and cultural issues such as symbolic value, social distinction, and power relations (Fuchs, 2015). This thesis sees toponymy as a reflection of the representation of neoliberal urbanization ideology since it relates the symbols, codifications, and representations with the built environment's current

context. In this manner, critical toponymic research can piece together the context and understanding of symbols and codification in a specific built environment. Based on these arguments about toponymy and its relation to neoliberal urbanization, this thesis focuses on toponymy by examining the decisions involved when attributing (or not attributing) a name to a place and the agendas of those who oversee or sponsor this process in the contemporary urban environment of İncek district, Ankara, Turkey.

## 2.2 Neoliberal Urbanization

Neoliberalism initially obtained significance in the 1970s, when it was described as a policy based on economic liberalism and the free market (Mudge, 2008). It has occurred over the years as the reformation of economic liberalization, together with the significant trend of globalization (Liu and Yau, 2020). A drastic wave of urban transformation has been taking place all over the world since the 1980s (Brenner and Schmid, 2015). Global investment thorugh cities were eventually controlled, notably, not by capital invested directly in productive methods, but by capital pouring into the capital markets, which evolved in the 1980s as the international economic market (Sassen, 2001 and Smith, 2002). Thatcher and Reagan's coming to power in the U.K. and U.S. in 1979 and 1980 symbolized the neoliberal turn (Harvey, 2005), which gave rise to a new state rising on the ruins of the import substitution growth paradigm and broke down existing corporate ties and generated a new wave of growth (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). The early 1980s was the period in which neoliberalism became a tactical political reaction to the previous decade's prolonged global recession due to the growing role of the private sector in the economy and society (Brenner and Theodore 2002). The economic advancements set in the 1980s have played a vital role

in the securitization and branding of local mortgages for sale to investors around the world and the establishment of new financial organizations to retain collateralized debt obligations on housing (Harvey, 2003).

Neoliberalism, according to Miro (2011), is a political philosophy that promotes private property, the redistribution meechanism of social capital, the flexibilization of political frameworks that may block free-market principles, and the "supposed" removal of government intervention. Smith (2002) describes the neoliberal state as a market actor rather than a market manager and argues that neoliberal urbanization has gradually voiced capitalist production's interests rather than social reproduction. The policy network of neoliberalism collaborates with economic, social, cultural struggles of society and everyday life challenges at the local and global scale that create an entirely new world as a utopia. In the concept of neoliberal urbanization, Smith (2002) insists that a resizing of social structures and relationships have created new amalgams of scale that replaced the old amalgams mainly associated with "culture," "urban," "regional," "national," and "global." As Harvey (2003) states, new means of production and new environmental assets are needed for the politics of capitalism. Financial capital has triggered many global crises, and urbanization has become a significant global economic stabilizer (Miro, 2011). From 2000 onwards, real estate growth and urbanization has played a key role in capital expansion worldwide (Harvey, 2009). Neoliberalism and neoliberal urbanization have generally piqued interest in economic and political discourse, which piqued social science interest over almost two decades in addition to economic and political discourse (Pinson and Journel, 2016). Urban studies have mainly been part of the social science as it takes place in this thesis as a part of urban politics. Neoliberal urbanization is an urbanization

style that confuses capital's mandates, whereby urban powers try to place their cities in the top positions of the global urban hierarchical network where rivalry is the key (Miro, 2011). Since neoliberal urbanization encircles a broad variety of social, economic, and geographical changes (Smith, 2002), this development's content can be discussed in different disciplines. However, the development mostly discussed in economic terms in this thesis deepens to cultural- political-social side, which focuses on state bureaucracies, prevalent actors, decision-making mechanism, processes, and procedures by the individual, collective, and state action in urban toponymy.


Cities have emanated from a surplus product's spatial and social collections from their early history (Harvey, 2003). Besides, Harvey (2003) comments on urbanization and pictures it as a class phenomenon and relates this idea with the surplus logic, which has been deduced from somewhere and somebody, while ownership of the surplus payment is commonly in a few pockets. Most capital assets focus on positioning the cities as a symbol of power in the world rankings (Sassen, 2001). Old racial and class geographies are becoming more mixed and heterogeneous while new neighborhoods of immigrant communities are forming in a reshaped urban geography that many believe is much more volatile and dangerous than ever before (Soja, 2011). Since urbanization depends on mobilizing a surplus commodity, an internal link occurs between capitalism growth and urbanization (LeGates and Stout, 1996); as Harvey (2003) mentions, the process of urbanization is achieved through the mobilization of surplus products. Therefore, there is an inherent connection between urbanization and capitalism's development (Harvey, 2003). Global location competition conducted by powerful corporations, speculative movements of financial flows, sliding geo-

economic environments, fiscal crisis, and crescent global-local race characterize cities (Swyngedouw, 1992b).

Under neoliberal policies, numerous regulatory agencies, coalitions, movements, and actors are struggling to influence place production and reshape the larger institutional and territorial structures in which urbanization processes are controlled at all spatial scales (Brenner and Schmid, 2015). If there is insufficient buying power on the market, it is crucial to find new markets by increasing international trade, introducing new goods and lifestyles, generating new credit instruments, and debt-financed state and private investment (LeGates and Stout, 1996). Through that sense, the neoliberal transformation of urban space reveals several concerns about the purpose, development, and exploitation of space by those who organize it and those who reside inside it (Lelandais, 2014). Neoliberal urbanization has its origins in the global economy's market-oriented rearrangement, as seen by regulatory changes and lifestyle experiences in urban areas. As Brenner and Theodore (2002, pp.368) consider in this context:

> Cities appear to become increasingly critical geographical targets for a variety of neoliberal policy experiments, from place-marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations, public-private partnerships, and new forms of local boosterism to property redevelopment schemes and a host of other institutional modifications within the state apparatus. The overarching goal of such neoliberal urban policy experiments is to mobilize city space as an arena for market-oriented economic growth within the limits of élite consumption practices.

Since 2000, it has become increasingly apparent that the world's major urban regions are not only the main driving forces of the global economy but are also highly unpredictable and create fundamental problems of inequality and injustice (Soja,

2011). About the transition of urban, Soja (2011) argues that metropolitan urbanization developed out of an earlier period of more highly centralized modern urbanism but never entirely erased the earlier period. The spread of neoliberal policies and the financialization of space is not limited to developed countries. Neoliberal urbanization assumes different forms and adapts itself to each country's political and economic conditions and systems. However, Brenner and Schmid (2015) define three major macro-trends: first, new geographies of unequal spatial development have arisen through a contradictory interaction between rapid, disruptive urbanization processes and various forms of stability, depreciation, and marginalization, mostly in proximity to each other (Brenner & Schmid, 2015). Urban regeneration, renewal, and gentrification projects take roots from this trend as uneven spatial development outcomes. The gentrification phenomenon originally started as an intermittent, bizarre, and local trend on the housing markets of some command-centered cities; then, it was articulated as an urban policy that took over liberal urban strategy (Smith, 2002). Second, the fundamental essence of urban reality, which has long been known under the single, inclusive heading of 'cityness', has become more distinct, polymorphic, dispersed, and multi-scalar than in former cycles of capitalist urbanization (Brenner and Schmid, 2015). Gated communities, peripheral developments, shopping malls, and new typologies have arisen, especially in the last two decades as the city's new images. Third, closely related to former urban developments, capitalist urbanization's regulatory geography has also undergone fundamental, accelerating transformations (Brenner and Schmid, 2015). New regulations, laws, new actors, municipalities are changing the former system of urban development.

Growing and often even obsessive concern about deteriorating downtowns and the increasingly pervasive demand for regeneration and renovation followed the highly varied experiences of the inner cities (Soja, 2011). Urban-regeneration marketing could be viewed from both spatial and temporal points. Hence, urban renewal focuses on incorporating spontaneous creation and partial management of areas (Karaman, 2012). By replacing unofficially substandard housing with fully legal and permitted dwelling units, these regions become formal capital accumulation circuits (Karaman, 2012). This is achieved by pushing people into a government-run mortgage scheme to gain ownership of their new homes by committing to a payment plan stretching for a period of 15 to 20 years (Karaman, 2012). Harvey's (2003) remarks include the point reached by Karaman (2012); in a world that consumer culture, tourism, and knowledge-based enterprises have now become primary considerations of urban political economy, urban quality of life has become a commodity for those with money (Harvey, 2003). Even the precarious, boring, and repetitive construction of suburban dwellings that tends to expand in many areas now finds its solution in new urbanization trend which drives retail sales and a luxury lifestyle to satisfy urban expectations as a developer commodity (Harvey, 2013). The distribution of income in the wealthiest one percent of the total and the corresponding rise in populations living on or below the poverty line have reached unprecedented rates and since 2000 have almost definitely risen in the U.S. and many other countries (Soja, 2011). People living in a world where the neoliberal morality of intensified bossy individualism and its cognizance of political discontinuation of assistance for collective forms of action can become the template for human personality socialization (Harvey, 2003). Neoliberalism's new cultural line of reasoning appears to penetrate urban planning policies from the gentrification of old and ugly inner-urban neighborhoods, strategically embellishing

and reimagining urban; the assessment of urban design strategies prestigious urban projects and designed silhouette (Pow, 2009). Under this urban revival dream, a city's distinctive identity is stressed by revitalization efforts and mega-events (Karaman, 2012).

The world's major cities have several features that are becoming increasingly similar, and indeed, "Coca-colonization" and "McDonaldization" have something to do with that (Soja, 2013). Simultaneously, cities around the world are also becoming more heterogeneous and segregated, generating an increasing need for systematic international comparative urban studies (Soja, 2013). The advent of a planetary urbanization development does not entail the homogenization of socio-spatial landscapes; it is not reflected by the 'globalization' of a constant state of urban sprawl around the whole planet; or it does not imply the transformation of the planet as a whole onto a one world-city (Brenner and Schmid, 2015). The phase of financial deregulation in Turkey is fundamentally related to foreign capital inflows, which have a significant effect on both the Turkish economy's development mechanism and its housing market that plays a central role in such a structure (Ergüven, 2020). Therefore, in the next chapter, the specifics of Turkey and Ankara in neoliberal urbanization will be discussed in detail.

# CHAPTER 3

# CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK: ANKARA IN THE NEOLIBERAL ERA

The current urbanization process cannot be separated from the larger context of the world's urbanization movement (Harris & Işlar, 2014). The previous chapter intended to cover the larger context to think of the dynamics and mechanisms of urbanization in the local context and the global one. All the cutting-edge features in urban politics have been described so far, and further discussion describes the contours of neoliberal urbanization in Turkey's specific case as the thesis is based on an understanding the urban context. It describes the roots of contemporary place-naming mechanisms, procedures, and place names as urban icons to be understood and analyzed.

## 3.1 Neoliberal Urbanization in Turkey

In Turkey, the contemporary urban context has been characterized by rapid growth driven mainly by rural to urban migration towards large metropolises (Erman, 2011; Ünsal and Kuyucu, 2010, Dinçer, 2014). Historically, the lack of necessary infrastructure resulted in negative impact on urban human welfare including poverty, unemployment, and the lack of housing (Erman, 2011; Ünsal and Kuyucu, 2010, Dinçer, 2014). For the analysis of the recent urban history of Turkey, specific periods need to be discussed. Different scholars have described Turkey's urbanization process in various ways, but a shared approach identifies three periods: before 1980, between 1980 and 2001, and the period after 2001. For the period before 1980, it is essential to understand Turkey's urban dynamics, which requires going back to the 1950s, to the post-war processes that resulted in changes in Turkey's financial, social, and political framework and its governance model (Ataöv and Eraydın, 2011). Öncü (1988) accepted the 1950s as the beginning of a new urbanization movement with a high rural migration rate. Şengül (2003) describes the 1950-80 period as urbanization of labor power. After the Second World War, the changing social atmosphere raised optimism for a better standard of living in the cities and led the rural population migrate to urban settlements (Köroğlu and Ercoşkun, 2006). Erman (2011) classifies the pre-1980 period as the national developmentalism era. As a result of the US Marshall Plan, Turkey allied with the US, the country was situated as a buffer zone between the "Communist Bloc" and the "Western Bloc" under the leadership of the US (Şenyapılı, 1998). This alliance affected small farmers, sharecroppers, and agricultural tenants in society, which caused migration to big cities and searched for new livelihoods, particularly to Istanbul, Ankara, and İzmir (Şenyapılı, 1998, 2004). Before the 1980s, the State had primarily backed down from direct interference in residential markets.

Therefore, disbursing financial resources to industrialization rather than urbanization was the determining policy (Geniş, 2007). This meant letting the residential market grow its own tools and solutions was the path for this (Geniş, 2007). Therefore, the cities were not prepared to accommodate many such newcomers (Erman, 2011). The majority of immigrants were not wealthy enough to afford formal property (Ergüven, 2020). How migrants have been integrated into metropolitan areas generated informal structures and created challenges to welfare service delivery systems, property regimes, and regulation modes (Ataöv and Eraydın, 2011). Affordable housing has always been limited in Turkey and migrants arriving in metropolitan areas set up their informal structures (gecekondu-squatter settlements) (Alkan, 2015a). Therefore, rural land ownership characteristics were transferred to cities through informal structures (Köroğlu and Ercoşkun, 2006). Erman (2011) argues that the pre-1980 period was "soft and integrative" since urban land was distributed to a broad segment of society through gecekondu owners and small developers. Cities became the subject of dramatic crises with gecekondu, low job prospects for growing unskilled workers, environmental damage, untreated water, inadequate waste disposal, and degradation of existing infrastructure (Köroğlu and Ercoşkun, 2006).

The 1980s was the first phase for Turkey's transition to neoliberalism and this period was regarded as a milestone in Turkey's neoliberal urbanization (Öniş, 2004; Dinçer, 2011). The turning point in Turkey's social history and "neoliberal globalization" process was signified by the coup of 12 September, 1980. It triggered a structural transformation in all fields (Dinçer, 2011) but the role of the State did not necessarily diminish. Conversely, it has converted from being the company of public utilities and offerings (such as electricity, gas, telecommunications, etc.) to be the regulator of an

enterprise or investor-friendly environment to motivate private involvement in providing these services (Ferguson 2009; Peck 2001). Vast numbers of migrants have registered since the 1980s, mainly, alongside settlements in the coastal regions, in large cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, and İzmir; thus, this issue intensified the burden on city authorities (Ergun & Gul, 2011). Housing capacity have failed to match the rate of population growth in urban environments experiencing rapid migration, and so many migrants developed squatter settlements in the outskirts of urban areas (Ergun & Gul, 2011).

A systematic change transferred urbanization policies following the military intervention in 1980 in three steps (Batuman, 2018); these three steps form three necessary foundations of neoliberal urbanization in Turkey. The first step was creating a two-tiered municipal structure (1984), which transferred the central government's planning powers to metropolitan municipalities (Batuman, 2018). In this step, it can be said that from the 1980s onwards, metropolitan municipalities have become significant agents of neoliberal urbanization in Turkey. This situation gets along with Smith's (2002) argument that the metropolitan economies are epicenters of a new globalism. The second step was to establish TOKI (Mass Housing Administration) (1984), which provided state funding for mass housing projects. A third step of the change was the commodification of urban space through building amnesties in the squatter settlements (Batuman, 2018; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001). A series of amnesty laws were implemented between 1983 and 1988 to legitimize the current stock and resolve ownership issues in the gecekondu districts (Köroğlu and Ercoşkun, 2006). State intervention by these laws aimed to mediate the relationship between different strata of squatters/migrants rather than resolve the housing issue (Balaban, 2011). To

this end, the treasury land was handed over to municipal authorities to maintain housing for low-income groups (Köroğlu and Ercoşkun, 2006). The number of people in urban areas hit just above 50 percent in 1985 (Ergun and Gül, 2011).

The newly established TOKI was been heavily useful in the suburbanization and gentrification processes of urbanization. This step defined the main methods of space production in the contemporary urban environment. As Güzey (2012) argues, the metropolitan municipalities, TOKI, and squatter settlements (gecekondu amnesties) make up Turkey's primary agents since the 1980s.The State's role in the urban land market has increased, and its influence has changed since the 1980s (Geniş, 2007). Despite its adverse effects, urbanization has been seen as a sign of development that has helped boost urban economies (Ergun and Gül, 2011). By this development, in comparison to rural areas, the cheap labor available in urban areas and crowded urban communities became the place where the needs could be met more quickly and better in a familiar way (Ergun and Gül, 2011).

Liberalization and privatization policies led to the emergence of new lifestyles and elites at an increasing rate after the 1980s (Akpınar, 2009). Briefly, Turkey's specifics suggest that urban growth's primary reasons were rapid migration to the cities, uncontrolled and unplanned urbanization changes, and economic development (Ergun and Gül, 2011). Turkey's specifics imply that Turkey's urban development was not driven by industrialization and subsequent urban labor demand (Ergun and Gül, 2011). With the transfer of the planning authority and approval from the Ministry of Construction and Housing to the municipalities in 1986 (Dinçer, 2011), state was

expected to be downsized, and public participation environments were expected to be expanded, the municipalities became a local state with their mandate (Güzey, 2012). Another trend witnessed during this period in cities was vacating historical centers (Dinçer, 2011). In this context, the conclusion is that planning was deregulated and took a new role, paving the way for market-oriented practices rather than opening itself to the public. In the 1980s, a new type of urbanization has merged which was characterized by its increased competition over urban land (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001). These actions aimed to increase productivity, but not all Turkish cities could reach the same level (Erman, 2011).

In the 1990s, small or medium-scale construction firms served the higher section of the housing market, with large-scale private-sector construction firms. It was becoming apparent during the 1990s that the practical solutions introduced in the 1980s were not enough to fulfill the demands of global market liberalization (Ataöv and Eraydın, 2011). Against the backdrop of oppressive growth, severe and persistent inflation, and unsustainable public-sector debt (Boratav, 2003), the powers of institutions representing and carrying out the new planning approach in Turkey were further diminished (Dinçer, 2011). Hence, by the 1990s, market-supported reforms became the determinant factor of the governance system, which moved on towards the 2000s (Dinçer, 2011; Güzey, 2012). Through the 1990s, the profit-driven re-appropriation of peripheral land intensified with new demands on it. The urban real estate market was started to be seen as a sizeable profit-generating tool (Erman, 2011). Gated communities, i.e., luxury houses covered by high-tech and privatized protection for the upper classes and multistory suburban housing for the middle classes, were designed by major construction firms on the outskirts of cities (Öncü, 1997). These

building typologies such as apartments, gated communities, or gecekondus did not remain specific to the 1980s or 1990s; on the contrary, they moved on and developed themselves as components of the contemporary built environment. Following the rapid shift to the neoliberal economy, the division of the "gecekondu" and "apartment" problem was replaced by the distinction between "gecekondu," " apartment," and "suburbanites" (Akpınar, 2009). Cities have always traditionally displayed division between the wealthy and the poor; what has changed in the new world order is the relation between the newly rich and the global and liberal economy (Akpınar, 2008). Turkish society seeks solitude and anonymity behind the walls by escaping the scrutiny of their neighbors and, to a lesser extent, state power (Erkip, 2010). People (who can afford this kind of lifestyle) can fulfill these needs by their spatial choices, at least partially through gated communities. Gated communities represent the upper and middle classes' desire for order and security in contemporary era which is characterized by chaos and disorder, particularly in big cities (Tanulku, 2012). Gated communities give a convincing example of consumers banding together for enhanced individual advantages in order to safeguard an elite local lifestyle as a consumer behavior with the primary goal of revaluing prime urban land in Turkey (Güzey, 2014). In Turkey, the apartment housing has always been regarded as the converse of gecekondu; this classification comes from the idea that the gecekondu symbolizes the informal part of urban culture, while the apartment housing has been used as the sign of formal and 'modern society' (Köroğlu and Ercoşkun, 2006). The gecekondu community has been motivated by the authorities to unite their parcels so that apartment buildings can be built by planned loans in a legalized, formal lifestyle (Köroğlu and Ercoşkun 2006). Primarily in major cities, the gecekondu as single-story shelters were replaced by multistory apartments (Balaban, 2011). Therefore, the new state identity is structured

by neoliberal urban policies and powerful urban actors. (Güzey, 2012). The most distinctive characteristic of the laws enacted during the 1990s was that they aimed to promote domestic and foreign investment as market-supported reforms (Dinçer, 2011). In this context, the most prominent legal breakthrough for promoting domestic and foreign investment was the legislation that promoted tourism investment and granted extraordinary development rights concessions (Ekinci, 1994). In 1994, the Privatization Administration's powers (which was established in 1984) to privatize public institutions were expanded (Dinçer, 2011). The powers or power of private sector actors, such as contractors, landowners, consultants, professionals, and the media, who are the biggest supporters of this new urban coalition, become more evident with the increasing initiative of government agencies such as TOKI and Privatization Administration (Türkün, 2011).

After the 1990s, the conventional participants brought changes to the governance structures through which new players started to emerge, encouraged by new economic and political pressures and opportunities (Ataöv and Eraydın, 2011). In 2000s, gecekondu apartment dilemma finds a place in urban transformation and gentrification developments. Urban transformation is an effective method for inner-city areas and, particularly, for squatter housing (Güzey, 2012). Urban transformation is a tool to reclaim the rent gap between the decreasing value of squatter housing and the rising value of land in the most desirable urban areas and developing high-income housing areas in a reorganized open market (Güzey, 2012). After 2002, by this effective method, a squatter moving to his / her new home, who also does not own the property, has to regularly pay for mortgages for an extended period, while ownership remains with TOKI (Ergüder, 2015, Batuman, 2018). The life cycle of gentrification depends

not only on middle-class demand for residential properties in the area but also on various players (Görk and Tılıç, 2016). These players can be developers, real estate brokers, landlords, and state policies, who may try to renovate residential or sometimes commercial properties to increase their market value (Görk and Tılıç, 2016). Wyly (2015) argues that gentrification does not inherently displace the first inhabitants. Even if these urban renewal projects are being carried out to improve the physical environment and improve the living standards of the poor, they have become the subject of dissatisfaction and protest (Karaman, 2012). Karaman (2012) defines the reason behind the dissatisfaction and protests as the top-down approach adopted by the authorities and their inability to enable grassroots involvement in the construction of projects. Neoliberal policies dictate demand and supply, and the demand and supply mechanism are becoming clear by legitimizing the cycle of transformation and gentrification by legal frameworks (Güzey, 2012). In the meantime, it can be seen that the production of housing is rising faster than the number of households in most provinces (Türel and Koç, 2015), which can be commented as supply policy is driving the production of housing without a demand. Unhealthy urban areas become the focus of urban reorganization, and displacement, whether voluntary or involuntary, appears to be the concealed aim. The State should be restructured with legal frameworks and powerful state institutions in order to legitimize regeneration with a high level of acceptability from society (Güzey, 2012).

The financial crisis of 2001 brought about significant political and economic changes (Lelandais, 2014). Under the governance of the economically liberal and politically conservative AKP, who dominated both the national government and also most of the municipalities in the 2000s, new spatial dominations were formed with their policy

and institutions (Erman, 2011). From 2001, a new period for urbanism has been started as Lelandais (2014) defines as a beginning of a new period, while Erman (2011) defined the 2000s as the period when a full neoliberal regime developed. The reforms that restructured the banking system and deepened neoliberal practices following the 2001 crisis provided the basis for the Turkish housing sector (Ergüven, 2020). The 2001 period witnessed an explosion in housing development and credit markets, all of which had collapsed due to the ensuing debt crisis and constituted the new method of luxurious housing production (Erol, 2019). The banking system was already at the core of the economic sector and, by growing building and housing loans, led to housing financial deregulation (Ergüven, 2020). The AKP intended to reorganize the regulation of Turkish real estate markets and urban development by introducing a series of legal and structural changes, with significant repercussions for urban socio-economic geography and rural environment (Lelandais, 2014). Between 2002 and 2007, there was a housing supply-financed nexus period in which increased macroeconomic conditions were connected to the creation of a legitimate mortgage market in the nation, and middle- and higher-income citizens began to become indebted by entering the mortgage market (Erol, 2019) During the neoliberal urbanization period, that growth blossomed as one of the new means of producing luxury housing. It encouraged Turkish entrepreneurs to undertake large-scale investments in the housing sector via capital inflows, supplying a type of protected market (Ergüven, 2020). The gated communities that emerged in the 1990s period, moved on 2000s onwards as a popular way of housing production, whereas the Gecekondu was officially redefined in the 2000s as an environment of violence and social inadequacy; gecekondu residents were in sight as individually inadequate and socially oppressive (Lovering and Türkmen, 2011). Exclusive and privileged new modern lifestyles were becoming a way of

increasing the status of the wealthy ones in the new era (Perouse and Danış, 2005) by the presented lifestyles of new gated communities. The isolation and separation elements clearly reflected in the content of gated community lifestyle contribute to the social status of people on the basis of their increased income (Perouse and Danış, 2005).

In 2003, the expansion of the Mass Housing Administration (TOKI) competencies permitted the transfer of all treasury lands for the use of TOKI with the permission of the prime minister to create land for housing (Lelandais, 2014). Through this expansion, TOKI gained new powers in the field of urban renewal, enabling it to conduct businesses, develop programs to set up new funds, and use public land for free (Batuman, 2018). During the rapid transformation of cities, a new metropolitan urban coalition emerged fundamentally different from the previous alliance (Erman, 2011). The main participants of this new alliance were large-scale private investors, major construction companies, national and foreign financiers, investment trusts in real estate, various state agencies (such as TOKI), and metropolitan and regional municipalities (Unsal and Kuyucu, 2010). High rates of housing construction have been experienced in the last two decades only with limited state involvement in the housing market, as traditional housing policies associated with a welfare state were not implemented, which indicated that housing markets operate in Turkey under highly competitive circumstances (Türel and Koç, 2015). The parliament passed several laws between 2004 and 2008 to make government policy guidelines for land use and housing (Lelandais, 2014). The law passed in May 2004 allowed TOKI to distrain on land in urban regeneration areas, create partnerships with private companies and funds,

and establish development projects in the gecekondu regions (Lelandais, 2014; Bektaş, 2014).

The main types of urban reconstruction include the redevelopment of the squatter housing area and the development of mass social housing (Ergun and Gül, 2011). The population of gecekondu houses is cheap labor, which is urgently needed by the private sector in the industrialization of imported imports, which depends on the moment of expensive remote innovation and capital (Şenyapili 1982). They were moreover the buyers in the household showcase, whose role as shoppers was once more much required by the private segment in the closed economy of the time (Şenyapılı, 1982). From the 2000s, the Turkish government, along with the state-backed housing corporation, metropolitan municipalities, and public-owned investment firms, has been involved in national housing construction and urban regeneration projects (Erol, 2019). Another law, passed in July 2004, extended the municipalities' rights to take decisions on projects and areas of urban transformation (Lelandais, 2014). By this law, the Greater Municipalities' authorization has been expanded, and by this expansion, these municipalities became monopolized (Şahin, 2018). Another important legislation gave the municipalities and TOKI authority to provide and contract urban regeneration projects in both areas considered deteriorated and unsustainable districts and historical places, theoretically to regenerate them and reprocess them (Lelandais, 2014). A new law passed in 2007 and bestowed authority to TOKI to assess zones for the development and selling of public lands through that legislation, and the duties of the Ministry of Public Works on gecekondu prevention and slum clearance were also transferred to TOKI (Batuman, 2018).

As interest rates were still too high, the implementation of the Mortgage Law in 2007 failed to promote the development of a good mortgage lending program, rendering loan facilities prohibitive for especially low to moderate-income classes. (Alkan, 2015b). Özdemir (2011) argues that between 2000 and 2010, amongst all supply-oriented housing policies, TOKI's public-owned housing production has been the most effective. The Chairman of the TOKI welcomed 2011 as the country's 'year of urban transformation' (Karaman, 2012, p.1). Within the scope of the amendment made in municipal law in 2010, municipalities were given the authority to execute urban transformation in planned, unplanned, structured, or vacant areas (Bektaş, 2014). With this law, the municipalities were given the right to demand the transfer over the value of the fee, without the obstacles imposed on the judiciary lands, slum lands, open fields, agricultural fields, military fields, etc. (Bektaş, 2014). In 2012, under the guardianship of TOKI, the government let a free hand implement reconstruction projects anywhere in Turkey through a subordinate law on building security against earthquakes (Lelandais, 2014). There are no incentives for interest charged on mortgage loans or for low-income families living in rental housing, which are well-known welfare state strategies (Türel and Koç, 2015).

The financial transition of the economy had significant impacts on the housing market in line with the reform of state-led urban legislation, which affects the housing commodification, construction activities across the nation, and recognized rises in mortgage debt and building company loan payments (Erol, 2019). Supply-side discussions derive from the debate on the restructuring of the economy and the

capitalization of globalized interests (Güzey and Özcan, 2010), which reveals that consumption is ensured by supply-side strategies. Lelandais (2014) regards this period as the formation of a new urban system, and under this new urban system, TOKI can carry out planning and renovation projects anywhere in Turkey. In addition, the new laws provided broader powers to the public authorities to carry out these ventures, including urgent expropriation, thus reducing the capacity of resistance and negotiation of concerned citizens (Lelandais, 2014). All these legal adjustments reveal that the Great Municipalities are the main actors in space production after the 2000s. As a result of the reform of the Turkish banking system and other regulations, the interaction between the real estate sector and the financial industry reached an unprecedented degree in the regulations adopted in the 2000s and 2010s (Ergüven, 2020).

In the daily life circle of metropolitan areas, public areas with dense pedestrian and vehicle traffic are the general image (Erkip, 2005). Hence, traffic problems and lack of pedestrian protection identified as the city center's primary complaints, which created an enormous demand for new types of suburban settlements and resulted in the supply of gated communities for high- income groups and new public space typologies more common in cities such as shopping malls (Erkip, 2005). The mall is characterized by private creation and ownership, but with state support through specific legal arrangements, which allow real estate investment trusts to be established in Turkey, which is often assessed as financial aid for large investments (Erkip, 2005). Erol (2019) interprets neoliberalism as a provider of optimum conditions for financialization by presenting the State's evolving status and role as a direct housing supplier. The government partners with major players in the housing sector in

residential growth and urban regeneration programs across the nation (government-backed residential corporations, regional municipalities, and publicly held real estate investment firms) (Erol, 2019). Even if the interventions are residential or industrial environments, the interventions carried out jointly by the TOKI and the Greater City Municipalities target the use of upper-middle-classes income segments (Görk and Tılıç, 2016).

Cities in Turkey have been more vital in the replication and improvement of neoliberalism over the last two decades, serving as essential geographical targets and laboratories for a variety of neoliberal policy experiments all targeted at raising land prices. Housing has been produced in far more significant quantities than is needed to accommodate the number of new households and businesses in Turkey, and these high rates of production can be attributed to less market-based system conditions prevailing in the country (Türel and Koç, 2015). These include the introduction of financial centers, the building of shopping malls and tourist attractions, the development of included luxury lodging, and upward social mobility in urban areas with prestigious business centers and a new lifestyle for the emerging elites of neoliberal urban transformation, the globalization process, which is organized and marketed to the society as the best possible solution to draw global capital. Urban transformation has been a primary concern for the governance of the Islamic Justice and Development Party (AKP) for a decade (Karaman, 2012). In addition, by redistributing valuable land, planning permits, and public auctions to countries with good ties, mostly with the government, it has established a "construction elite" (Ergüven, 2020, pp. 571). Metropolitan and district municipalities nowadays have substantial jurisdiction, entrepreneurial groups play a decisive role in decision-making, and civil society

participates in the provision of public service through city councils, but low-income residents are a politically inactive social community and organized mostly informally (Ataöv and Eraydın, 2011). The creation of an elite lifestyle is reflected in residential remodelling projects in inner-city regions and gated communities in the periphery with prestigious advertising strategies (ekiç & Gezici, 2009). The State played a significant role in the emergence of the rent gap by private-public collaborations in this process (Unsal and Kuyucu, 2010). In the contemporary urban environment, the same transformation programs can be implemented for urban centers and rent-raising regions for broad metropolitan areas. This issue suggests that local characteristics and local problems can be overlooked (Bektaş, 2014).

## 3.2 Neoliberal Urbanization in Ankara

Ankara is a large commercial and service zone located in central Anatolia (Ercoşkun, 2013). Hence, it is necessary to study the urban context's specificities; TÜİK (2020) data shows that Ankara has more than 5,5 million population and is classified as a metropole. The provincial administration, urbanization policies for the capital, rapid migration, invisible boundaries of spatial segregation, urban transformation projects, significant investments, historical references in new buildings, new neighborhoods with new classes are contentious headings of Ankara during neoliberal urbanization development. This section is going to touch on the specifics of contemporary urban developments in the city.

Spatial modes of production in Ankara take place themselves as an intersection of renovated versions of some old typologies along with new ones which have emerged with neoliberal urbanization. The development of gated communities, new sorts of public spaces, market-orientated spatial enterprise were linked to the neoliberal restructuring of the economic system toward urban-focused financial strategy-making (Güzey, 2014). Ankara city profile shows some dominant spatial production typologies such as; gentrification and urban transformation projects (as a renovation of squatter areas and old neighborhoods with TOKI involvement in the process), renovated versions of cooperative projects, peripheral development (suburbanization) as gated communities, luxurious settlements, residences and contemporary public spaces (as shopping malls and entertainment places, etc.). These typologies are going to be grounded in further discussion to analyze and present modes of production thematically. The specifics of urbanization in Ankara go back more than the last twenty years. Help for the construction of houses by cooperatives to develop owner-occupied housing in Turkey became the most crucial supply-oriented strategy, beginning with the establishment of Bahçelievler the first cooperative called in Ankara during the 1930s (Tekeli and İlkin, 1984). Cooperatives have been one of the leading residential production methods which have continued and reshaped itself as a space production typology during the neoliberal urbanization period.

When it was declared the new republic's modern capital in 1923, although some shanties were built and here and then earlier, the shanties appeared during the construction boom in Ankara (Şenyapili, 2004). Ankara has extensive experience in the squatter areas and their transformation processes (Ercoşkun, 2013). As mentioned earlier, these developments are among the main space production typologies in

contemporary Ankara. In this regard, it is necessary to detail this transformation, which is key to understanding Ankara's contemporary urban condition (Batuman, 2013).

In the latter half of the 1950s, Ankara became a big city with half a million inhabitants, where the main gecekondu areas were on rugged topography (Ercoşkun 2013). After the 1950s, these areas formed a belt, and the urban form of the entire area continued to expand, forming an urban area, such as Mamak, Çinçin, etc. (Ercoşkun, 2013). The Condominium Law was enacted in 1965, which facilitated the construction of multistory apartment buildings with no more than a small number of assets (Alkan, 2015a). This legislation brought individual contractors and small business people into the housing market; thereby, a build-and-sell housing program became popular throughout the city (Alkan, 2015a). The city will witness non-stop expansion in subsequent decades (Batuman, 2013). There were some decisions for completed planning of the city in the 1970s, which moved on and manipulated the 1980s. The plan of the city took shape part by part rather than planning as a whole. During the 1980s, the Ankara Greater Municipality enabled local development of residential areas on the city's western and southern fringes (Batuman, 2013). As Günay (2006) states, after the 1980s, Ankara's urban area stood on topographical thresholds in the northern, southern, and eastern parts, and slums surrounded the city in these areas. Until the 1980s, the main driving force of urban growth was state-led industrialization, and after that, the main driving force reshaped itself as locally administered neoliberalization (Batuman 2013). Ankara was stuck with the slums surrounding the city center, and has grown out of this narrow city center and has developed out of the city center to the periphery, thus creating satellite settlements such as Batıkent, Eryaman, and Ümitköy (Yüceşahin and Tüysüz, 2011). Şenyapılı (2006) evaluates these kinds of projects as

analogous to those years of Ankara's new republican era when the ruling class tended to separate themselves from the city, which reflects the socio-spatial duality of society like this period with these peripheral developments. Erkip (2005) comments on the city and mentions that densely populated squatter areas have caused metropolitan areas to be segmented by income level and birthplace (Erkip, 2005).

For the transformation projects, since most of the Metropolitan Municipality and all municipalities play an active role, legal regulations make all kinds of transformation possible (Güzey, 2012). In the 1990s, the individual housing projects led to the sprawl, and the expansion was driven in the following decade by partial revisions to the plan covering broader areas (Batuman, 2013). During 1990s, the southwest periphery of Ankara has started to develop; in a short time, the region has become the area where the city's land prices are the highest, the highest number of exchanges, and the most rent anxiety (Kamacı, 2009). With the 1990s, shopping mall growth has become one of the main modes of public space production in Ankara, as an indicator of growing control of corporate and global capital versus national values (Erkip, 2005). Throughout the 2000s, shopping malls have been heavily involved in Ankara's urbanization process; Erkip (2005) interprets this typology as a valuable part of the city because they point out the local characteristics that transform the experience of global spaces. The linear westward expansion of the city triggers linear commercial and public operations along two main highways and the construction of shopping malls in the new growth areas (Görk and Tılıç, 2016). Coupled with the explosion in transformation projects, the rapid increase in the number of shopping centers has an impact on the allocation of city retail activities, and this development brings an economic burden on the majority of local stores in the city center (Ercoşkun, 2013).

Housing conditions are strongly associated with the broader context of any society's economic, demographic, and political structures (Akpınar, 2008). In this social climate, developers/builders promote large-scale gated community projects in anticipation of greater economic benefits by providing the home buyer with a full package of overall living experience (Blakeyly and Snyder, 1997). Parallel to the growing diversity and multiplicity, gated communities in developed and developing countries have rapidly become a major phenomenon in the housing sector (Akgün and Baycan, 2012). Likewise, the gated community as a spatial mode of production is one of the main drivers of contemporary Ankara's housing sector. From the point of consumption patterns, "housing costs" are very significant for both "rich" and "poor" to a varying extent, whereas in part of the richer classes, a great deal of the spending cost goes to the housing costs (Akpınar, 2009). Major construction firms developed cooperatives and housing estates (sites) built in Çayyolu, Beysukent, Yaşamkent, etc. In gated communities where sub-centers were not planned, construction areas lacked public spaces (Ercoşkun, 2013).

Today, it is challenging to differentiate the cooperative housing from gated communities (Perouse and Danış, 2005). Many residential cooperatives are for profit-making rather than providing mutual solidarity and turning economically underpowered people into homeowners; on the other hand, renewed cooperative space typology offered high comfort and have recently closed their surroundings with walls (Perouse and Danış, 2005). Residential market fragmentation has ended in the segregation of socio-economic classes based on their buying power (Alkan-Gökler, 2017). From the transportation point, automobile, which is one of the main components in the modern lifestyle and status package of the gated communities,

causes large areas in the periphery to be preferred rather than the old districts in the city center that do not have enough parking space (Perouse and Danış, 2005). Ankara has been witnessing projects that have expanded road capacity and constructed different grade junctions, leading to higher traffic speeds and dramatically degraded travel conditions for pedestrians and cyclists (Görk and Tılıç, 2016). From 2000 to 2010, the greater municipality is being criticized for car-orientated policies and high public transport charges (Görk and Tılıç, 2016).

Gentrification has been a significant element in Ankara's recent development. Gentrification took place mainly in the inner cities where areas predominantly populated by squatters (Görk and Tılıç, 2016). The government implemented the transformation through urban reconstruction projects intended to be undertaken in partnership with municipalities and private contractors like the Dikmen Valley project in Ankara (Görk and Tılıç, 2016). Ercoşkun (2013) defines these changes as an 'oil-drop development' that has resulted in the loss of natural areas and valleys such as Dikmen, Portakalçiçeği, Kavaklıdere, and Bentderesi in Ankara. These early examples were more of high-profile, symbolic infrastructural projects aimed toward polishing the city's image (Gül and Ergun, 2011). Such ventures have drawn more migration to Ankara, contributing to the already crowded, impoverished pool of workers, housing issues, urban congestion, and insufficient urban infrastructure (Ergun and Gül, 2011). Besides others, it is unlikely that the infrastructural needs of existing neglected neighborhoods and their residents' views have been considered (Ergun and Gül, 2011). Görk and Tılıç (2016) stress that gentrification processes are the product not only of external systemic forces but also of the agents' intervention. Agents' interference

consists of their personal or shared interests, such as income and reputation (Görk and Tılıç, 2016).

Between 2005 and 2012, in the city's central areas, 46 urban transformation projects were implemented by the Metropolitan Municipality. (Güzey, 2012). Ercoşkun (2013) claims that most of the urban transformation project's goal is to reform the damaging squatter fabric and build housing for middle- and high-income groups. Only the conservation projects of Ulus and the old city center of Ankara aim to surge prestige in the areas (Ercoşkun, 2013). While these redevelopment practices are created and supported by the local government, especially TOKI and private sector actors stand out as significant investors in Ankara's high-rent central areas. The shifting position and role of the state as a provider of housing can be seen as the circumstance where neoliberalism offers favorable conditions for financialization, contributing to the commodification of housing (Erol, 2019). In 2005, the municipal boundaries of Ankara were extended and reframed within a radius of 50 km, and in 2007, the municipality approved a new plan targeting 2023 (Görk and Tılıç, 2016). However, this solution has returned as unsafe and more expensive water for Ankara (Görk and Tılıç, 2016).

In contemporary Ankara, the transformation areas have spread to various parts of the city, such as squatter areas in the city center, existing structured areas, and most of the city's empty areas have been declared as urban transformation areas (Bektaş, 2014). The two main pillars of this 'urban transformation' are the regeneration of squatter settlements on the city's outskirts and the forced gentrification of its inner-city slums (Karaman, 2012). Çinçin was one of the areas that experienced urban transformation

as an inner-city slum. On the other hand, Kuzey Ankara was one of the areas that generated a new settlement area on the city's outskirts. Urban transformation and regeneration are being developed to recapture the squatter housing zone (Ercoşkun, 2013). Smith (2002) notes that the motivating factor causing gentrification is not the new middle class but the rising rent gap between property prices and the land values in the city. In this matter, Güzey (2012) notes that it is legal to promote urban transformation arrangements and revitalization efforts in the housing market as local governments' primary objectives in reshaping the city and local units' image. The overall assessment of the municipality's approach in Ankara's urban situation shows the local government's rising influence over social ties in the city (Batuman, 2013).

The city serves high-income groups; these groups represent the community members who can potentially afford to buy whatever form of a house they want, whereas other middle- and low-income groups have no faith in any part of the city being homeowners (Alkan-Gökler, 2017). During the structure of the new luxurious lifestyle, unlike the earlier period when the State was absent from the development of housing for the poor, in the modern era, rural migrants lost the chance to live in the community that was created following their needs and desires (Erman, 2011). Developers, planners, and architects redefine built environments with local symbols (Geniş, 2007). Advertisers fashion a discourse that interprets such symbols as requirements for new urban lifestyles, high culture, elite ideals, and identities that contrast with the images of a culturally and physically collapsing environment (Geniş, 2007). As the State gradually interfered in the urban areas, although many missed their gecekondus and shared their willingness to move back, others viewed it as an opportunity to integrate into urban society (Erman, 2011). For some areas, the comparatively relatively affordable

housing prices attract middle- and low-income classes, while the higher income groups have slowly moved to other areas on the outskirts of the city, where this new wave of luxury housing projects has increased in popularity (Alkan-Gökler, 2017). This situation has created a unique spatial consumption pattern among high-income groups. This pattern stimulates consumption through a supply mechanism without a demand. In this way, the capital has chosen its location, and for a closed community, the location becomes a peripheral development. In the absence of demand, supply-oriented housing has attracted people's attention and has become a new driving force for contemporary housing in Ankara. The construction of privatized public space in the form of gated communities creates barriers that prohibit others from reaching these areas and can only be accessed by those who have the resources to afford them (Alkan-Gökler, 2017). In this respect, gated communities in Ankara maintain power over space, including green areas, services, and other amenities, while excluding the others (Alkan-Gökler, 2017). Although the 2023 Plan's goal is to adopt a participatory ecological and strategic approach, current urban activities are always top-down (Ercoşkun, 2013). The contemporary approach tends to continue to consume natural areas, agricultural land, valleys, and water supplies with suburbanization and misleading transportation policies in the short term (Ercoşkun, 2013). As Batuman (2013) suggests, neither housing developments, nor traffic improvements, nor the development of shopping centers obeys any plans or predictions based on the needs of the urban population. Ankara city development has been developing in the last decade that has caught up with the new convergence trend in areas close to its periphery. The areas that have developed on the Ankara periphery have developed in the neoliberal urbanization process. The İncek region forms an area leaning on the southern wall of

the city. This thesis argues that all these improvements and developments to the built

environment have left traces on İncek, followed by toponymy.

# CHAPTER 4

# CASE STUDY: TOPONYMY IN INCEK

## 4.1. İncek in Urban Context of Ankara

Ankara's neoliberal urbanization was previously discussed as the larger context for the analyze and explanation of development of İncek district. Incek village, prior to its urbanization in the recent decades, was one of the areas preferred by the population of Ankara for relaxation. Today, it is a developing district on the periphery of Ankara city map. The district is on the southern border of Ankara city, and it is an area simultaneously away from the city center and easily accessible to the city center with its proximity to the ring road located around the city.
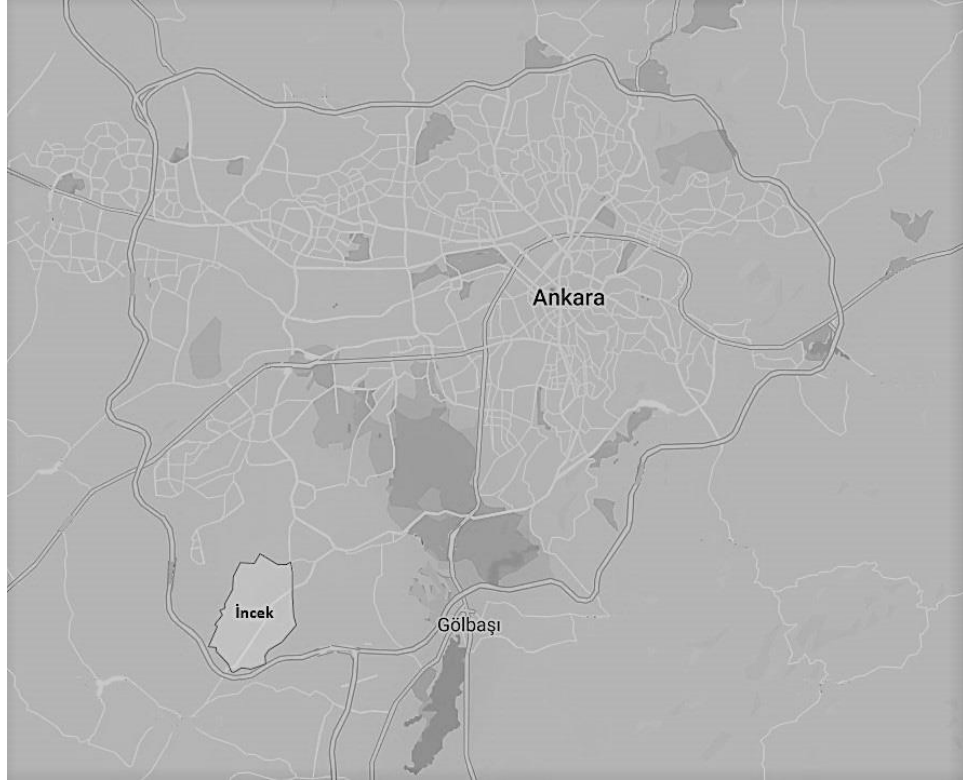
Figure 4.1 Formal borders of İncek neighborhood, Google Maps, Ankara Map.

As can be understood from the area shown in the figure 1, Incek neighborhood is seen on the map as a district located far from the developing city center in a region that extends to the southern borders. İncek as a neighborhood is within the limits of the Gölbaşı Municipality. İncek is 18 km from downtown Ankara and 8 km from Gölbaşı District center. The construction and opening of the Ankara ring road in 1993 facilitated transportation from the city to İncek and from İncek into the city, and it was an important development in the transformation of the region. Therefore, the fact that it is a residential area that has easy access to the city but far from its crowded and stressful life has become a characteristic for Incek.

Gölbaşı means "lakeside", and Gölbaşı district is the lake region of Ankara with Mogan and Eymir lakes. Before Gölbaşı, which became a district in 1936, it was

connected to Örencik village with the name Gölhanı. For its contemporary situation since 1976, the establishment of industrial facilities throughout the ring road around the city, parallel to the increase in employment, caused intense migration in Gölbaşı district, which changed the economic structure and, at the same time, rapid and urbanization. In contemporary Ankara, Gölbaşı is part of the city with economy and development of the service industry, the construction sector, and the industrial sector.

The neighborhood of İncek has emerged as a highly sought-after area in the last twenty years. As Görk and Tılıç (2016) defines, with the 27 km sprawl from the city center to the west, there have emerged several new settlements in the southwest and northwest sections (Görk and Tılıç, 2016), and İncek is part of this sprawl with its peripheral characteristic. The northwestern part of the city is mainly middle-class, while the southwest where the İncek district is located, is mainly high-income (Görk and Tılıç, 2016). The ring road around the city creates the southern borders of the İncek neighborhood, which causes an area where the rural and suburban characters are intimate (Yenigül, 2009).

### 4.1.1. İncek Neighborhood vs İncek District

The neighborhood's legal boundaries do not designate the area named İncek, so it is necessary to tackle the area named İncek or known as İncek beyond the neighborhood's legal boundaries. This situation brings up two defining terms for the area as İncek neighborhood vs İncek district which this thesis deepens its focus as İncek district in

terms of place naming and placemaking practices. The case study includes different kinds of architectural projects, streets, and boulevards.
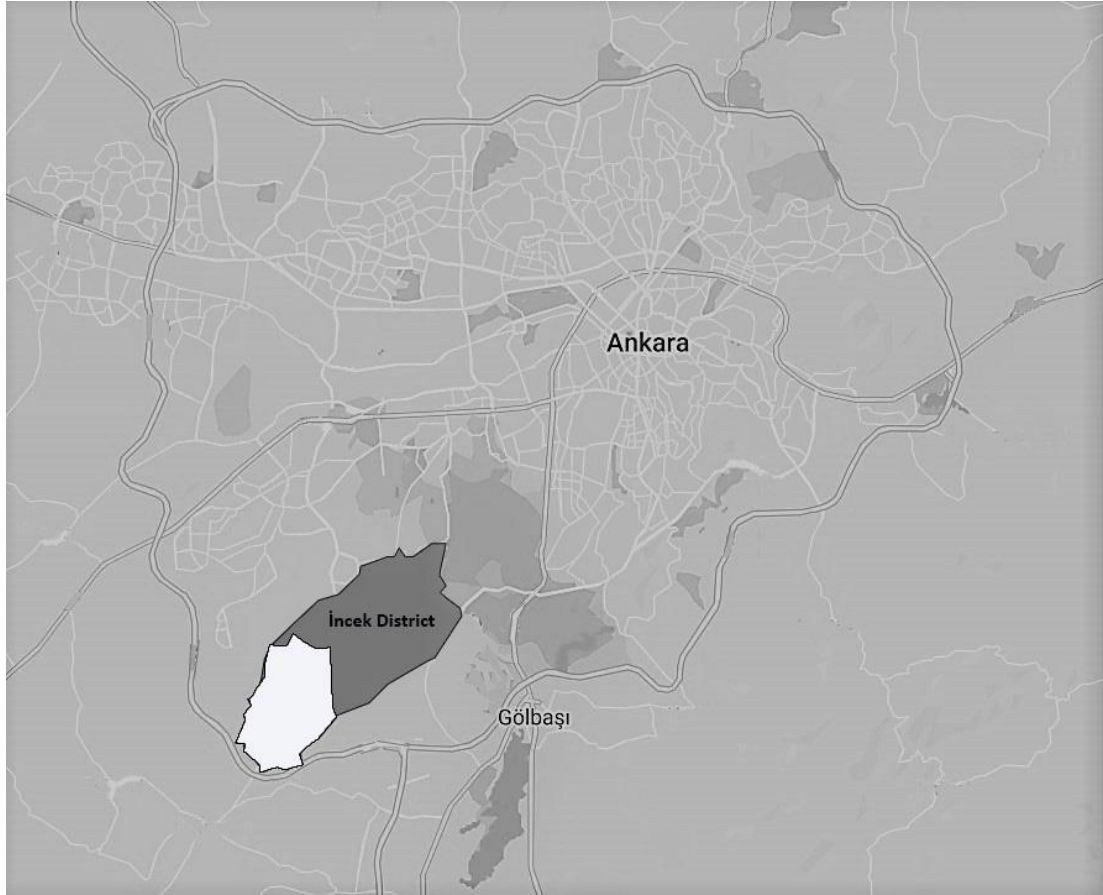


Figure 4.2 İncek District (The area covers where places named and known as İncek) official neighborhood is shown white, Google Maps, Ankara Map.

The area known as İncek district includes five different neighborhoods. In terms of place naming practices, Incek district consists of Kızılcaşar, Taşpınar and Tulumtaş Neighborhoods, Ahlatlıbel Neighborhood of Çankaya Municipality and Fevziye Neighborhood of Etimesgut Municipality. Therefore, within the scope of this thesis, I will investigate not only the Incek neighborhood but İncek district as it is understood in daily use. This is crucial since the focus of the thesis is a placenaming and it is necessary to address İncek including the whole area named as such, beyond the formal boundaries.

**4.1.2. Development of İncek**

The population of the İncek Neighborhood was 368 in 1980, which indicates a village population. In 2008, İncek Village became a neighborhood, in 2020 as a result of popularization of the neighborhood the population became 5183 people (TÜİK, 2020). The population increases rapidly, according to census data. TÜİK (2020) data shows the current population as 26865 as a district (sum of five neighborhoods). This data shows a rapid increase in the neighborhood populace parallel to build environment development between the 1980s and 2020. Neoliberal urbanization effect plays a role in this specific timing and changes parallel to Turkey and Ankara in the İncek neighborhood and district. The population data of the settlements named Incek neighborhood and Incek district are quite different from each other. The inclusive area known and named İncek represents approximately five times the population of the neighborhood according to 2020 data (TÜİK, 2020).

| İncek Neighborhood | | İncek District (Five neighborhoods) |
|---|---|---|
| Year | | Population |
| 2007 | 2222 | 6523 |
| 2008 | 2175 | 7526 |
| 2009 | 2180 | 8228 |
| 2010 | 2123 | 8854 |
| 2011 | 2204 | 9508 |
| 2012 | 2256 | 10002 |
| 2013 | 2292 | 14088 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2014 | 3249 | 15523 |
| 2015 | 3950 | 17426 |
| 2016 | 4363 | 15123 |
| 2017 | 4662 | 20301 |
| 2018 | 4605 | 23583 |
| 2019 | 4911 | 24788 |
| 2020 | 5183 | 26865 |

Table 4. 1 İncek Neighborhood and İncek District Population Data consists of İncek, Kızılcaşar, Taşpınar, Tulumtaş, Ahlatlıbel and Fevziye Neighborhoods - Address Based Registration System – Population Data (TÜİK, 2020)

Incek neighborhood, which has gained dominance and popularity among the surrounding neighborhoods throughout Ankara, creates a living space that represents more than the area and population officially stated. As statistics of population mentioned, the area has become neighborhood from the village due to rapid development, the area has been announced as a part of urban transformation and development project region with Taşpınar and Kızılcaşar Neighborhoods (Yenigül and Gökler, 2017). Since these neighborhoods experienced the very same transformation and are very close to İncek, they are also known with the places were named as İncek as well. These areas have opened up a new period, and in the new zoning and construction plans, urban transformation should be paid attention to as the main feature. According to Yenigül and Gökler (2017), the development after the 1990s shows that the community reflects consumer society's pattern. As mentioned in Turkey

and Ankara discussions, today, urban spaces with projects that offer comfort and luxury draw attention with the promise of an increase in the quality of life (Yenigül and Gökler, 2017).

## 4.2. İncek District as a Product of Neoliberal Urbanization

İncek can be considered as the product of neoliberal urbanization in Ankara. While the district's specific suburban profile and lifestyle are being marketed through its location and architecture, it has become a competitive district especially in the housing market. İncek is demanded as a field where a new life standard and way of life are bought and sold through architectural functions, and it is marketed by renewing and increasing this demand. Project advertisements supporting the formation of the new elite via keeping the profile of the region popular and updated for marketing. İncek district attracts attention with its rapidly developing and rising buildings in the last decade.

The development of İncek district in terms of neoliberal urbanization can be observed as a process of the last decade. Incek, which has mainly developed after 2010, can be expressed as an example of the recent urbanization trend in new structures, architectural and demographic patterns emerging in the restructuring. Some of these projects are finished with the construction and have moved on with the marketing and selling process. Some of the housing projects are still under construction and provide services of selling and marketing. Projects that have now completed the construction, sales, and marketing stages are also located in the region. The projects in the district were built as gated communities or, in Turkish, as *güvenlikli site*.

İncek has become a part of the city leaving its rural profile behind with the rising modern buildings. In this sense, the increase in automobile use and the proximity of the region to the Ankara ring road also contribute. A residential area that takes the user profile living in the city as the target audience is defined by the emphasis on the areas in the city where the crowd, insecurity and class distinction are not felt. It is marketed as a new residential profile, attracting attention through its suburban features in contrast to the deteriorating content of city life. These aspects will be examined in detail in the following sections through placemaking, place naming and marketing processes.



Figure 4.3 İncek District, Ankara, 8/6/2005, Google Earth

Figure 4.4 İncek District, Ankara, 5/25/2020, Google Earth

The name İncek has come to signify a larger district over time. The names Kızılcaşar, Tulumtaş or Taşpınar have not become popular. İncek stands out in terms of recognition, popularity and marketability. The name İncek has come to represent much more than its original boundaries. İncek draws a more popular image in this region compared to other neighborhoods around it. It gave its name to the main boulevard that it is the most expensive, region regarding housing and prices. That it is the region where prestige and vanity combine with lifestyle away from the city make Incek dominate both as a name and a residential area. Therefore, it is impossible to talk about a sharp border in this region for İncek as a neighborhood. It is possible to mention 'İncek' as the use of words to naming almost all housing projects. The name İncek is not only popular with the mention of the main boulevard in its name. While it is popular in marketing and sales, it creates a more popular and dominant image compared to the surrounding neighborhoods. For this reason, it is possible to come

across projects that are kilometers away from each other, called Incek, whether it is within the boundaries of the neighborhood or not.

Although İncek is both a neighborhood and a district affiliated with Gölbaşı municipality, it differs from Gölbaşı with its role in the city and the user profile it inhabits. While the neighborhood does not show the general characteristics of Gölbaşı in terms of its architectural and demographic profile, it can be seen as a more parallel neighborhood to the city center where architectural functions, the neighborhood and surrounding area which comprises public and private institutions, educational buildings and campuses, residential, commercials, and mixed-use facilities. The profile mismatch with the region of affiliation stems from the new urbanization trend of Incek. The region's out-of-city yet easily accessible location, which is competitive, open to market and supportive of the formation of a new elite class as a marketing strategy, distinguishes itself from the municipal area to which it is affiliated. Therefore, Incek district, which differs from the region it is connected to is close to the profile of the inner city Çankaya district. New housing projects, education campuses and new structures are marketed to those who are used to inner city life and are looking for differences in this life. The user profile that turns to İncek district dominates the area in order to separate herself/himself from the inner-city life, to skip the social class, or to bypass the stress and similar problems he/she feels in the city. By focusing on the spatial consumption forms, in İncek, the middle- and high-income class preferences draws attention while greater area as Gölbaşı region the middle- and high-income class prepotency do not form a similar pattern of consumption.

The residential areas in İncek draw attention with their locations close to educational facilities such as university campuses, public and private schools (both high school and elementary), and daycare centers. Perouse and Danış (2005) mention these kinds of areas as reflections of child-centered life which educational institutions have particular and spatial importance. The fact that the residents do not want to send their little children (daycare and elementary school students) too far causes the private educational institutions to move around the gated communities outside the city (Perouse and Danış, 2005). In the 2020-2024 Strategic Plan of Gölbaşı Municipality, preschool education institutions' insufficiency is significantly included.



Figure 4.5 İncek district organic rural fabric, *Şehit Gültekin Teber* Street, 4/25/2020, Google Earth

Figure 4.6 İncek district organic rural fabric, *Şehit Gültekin Teber* Street, 7/5/2021, Google Street Views

It is possible to identify three different urban fabrics in İncek. The first one is the oldest fabric with an organic character inherited from when the district was a village.



Figure 4.7 İncek District low-density spreading settlements, 4/5/2020, Google Earth
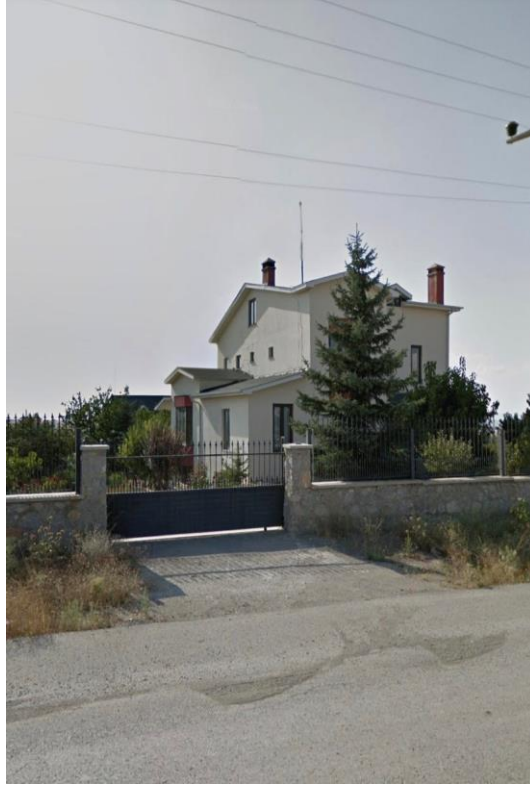
Figure 4.8 İncek district low density spreading settlement, *Kara Mehmetoğlu* Street 7/5/2021, Google Street Views



Figure 4.9 İncek district low density spreading settlement, *Kara Mehmetoğlu* Street 4/25/2020, Google Earth

The second and most common one is the low-density spreading settlements. Housing projects in the region show themselves as distant structures. The sparse settlement

pattern is characteristic in the region, where personal space gains importance and stands out with its privileged and secure life. The residential areas in Incek district differ in terms of architectural typology. However, all three forms mentioned here are generally composed of structures that are far from each other.



Figure 4.10 İncek District new extension areas as residences, 4/5/2020, Google Earth
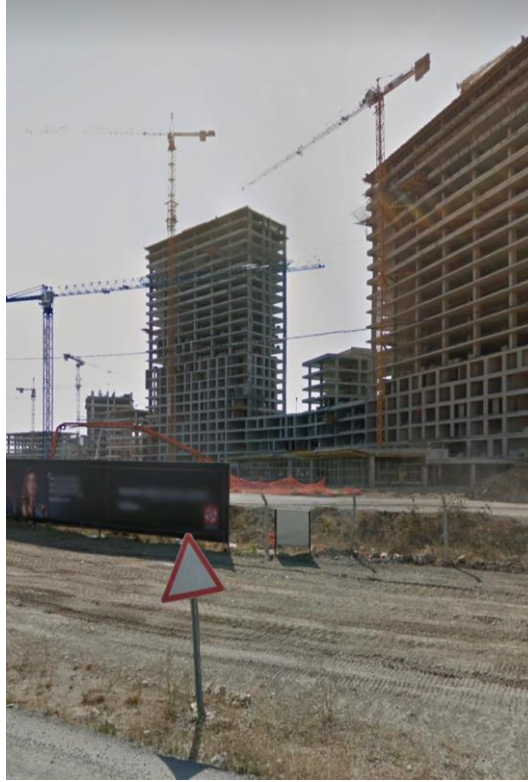
Figure 4.11 İncek district, İncek Loft, 7/5/2021, Google Street Views

The third one is the newest one is a result of neoliberal development: high-density, new areas. The sparse urbanization characteristic shows itself in this form as well, with the housing projects being far from each other. However, while the third type of settlement is built far from each other as a project in the regional plan, the projects show themselves as complex structures with high density in themselves. In İncek, the second and third fabric types are widespread as gated communities, luxurious housing projects, cooperative projects, new prestigious public spaces, institutional and educational complexes. The known idyllic, out-of-town, quiet and rural life idea varies in Incek. In this sense, while it is possible to talk about a suburban life for Incek, it differs with the way in which a rural life does not prevail in the whole region, and the way the buildings are marketed. This stated situation is also valid for many buildings in the region. Therefore, while new housing projects crowd the region, the scattered settlement structure of the region continues. The region, which has the green and

calmness that is reminded by the known rural life, also draws attention with its residences that accommodate hundreds of people under one roof. The second and third fabric types support the neoliberal urbanization ideologies through advertisement, place-naming strategies, marketing developments, and creating and supporting the dream of luxurious life, upwards social mobility, and a prestigious living environment with supply building policy without actual demand. Therefore, this range of fabrics reflects itself as a range of social, cultural, and economic differences in the neighborhood. As a result of these ranges, spatial differences occur. The new residential areas built in the Incek region are mostly designed and planned as residence and residence complexes. In addition to such constructions, gated communities consisting of villa housing types with an emphasis on private life are also designed and preferred.

## 4.3. Toponymy in İncek

With the Population Services Law No.5490 enacted in 2006 in Turkey, a new system was established in 2007 to form the data source of the census (Sincar and Özbek, 2016). All efforts for the establishment of the system are under the coordination of the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) created under the chairmanship of governors and district governors in provinces and districts carried out with executive committees (Sincar and Özbek, 2016). The application called "Address Based Population Registration System" (ADNKS) is a registration system where the census information of individuals is kept up-to-date according to their place of residence, population movements can be followed, and their T.C identification numbers and residence addresses are matched. In 2007, official population information began to be provided

through instead of population censuses (Çavlin and Rittersberger, 2011). While the use of electronic tools was becoming widespread to receive services such as marriage and health services, the information of the places where people live is emerging as necessary in providing these services. Prior to 2007, the need for a mechanism to check the accuracy of the notifications has arisen due to the inadequacies and inconveniences experienced over the address changes in the notification and arrangement of the population records obtained from the residences to the neighborhood mukhtars and police units (Naralan, 2008, TUIK, 2008). This system has been effective in preventing the flaws and irregularities in population registration and in accelerating and reducing bureaucratic steps. The ADNKS ensures that the most up-to-date information on parameters such as in-country migration, marital status and education status is obtained in the fastest way (Sincar and Özbek, 2016).

For the system's application, the metropolitan municipality rearranged the capital city neighborhood's place naming system by giving numbers to the main streets and changing some of the names of streets, neighborhoods, and boulevards. Within this scope, seventy-five thousand names have been changed to prevent using the same numbers and names in Ankara. A standardized network of numbers and codes, a city's street names, become elements of a geolocational regime that enables government officials to tax, police, and provide services effortlessly to their communities (Rose-Redwood et al., 2009). This network enables businesses to spatially target potential customers using a range of geodemographic information systems and is integrated into a ready-made everyday life infrastructure (Rose-Redwood et al., 2009). It was argued that with this new system, the authorities would have better communication among institutions. The procedures such as determining the residence and conducting

municipal services will be done faster. Rose- Redwood (2009) comments on naming and numbering practices of roads and streets as a modern method of order and rationalism over urban space. The central system of the street numbering of the İncek neighborhood comes from the ADNKS. Street numbering in Ankara is carried out by the Ankara Metropolitan MunicipalityNumbering Service.



Figure 4.12 İncek, Google Maps, Adress-Based Registration System – Numbering system in İncek

Figure 4.13 İncek, Google Maps, Adress-Based Registration System – Numbering system in İncek

Numbering certificate is determined for the address of the squares, boulevards, avenues, roads, streets and buildings with façade to these within the boundaries of the municipality adjacent area (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Numarataj Şube Müdürlüğü, Sorularla Numarataj, 2020). It is to ensure that any piece of land or building is defined in terms of geographical location and function. The structures that are not registered in the national database and the numbering counter system are determined by the survey officers. As a result of the detection, new buildings are registered (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Numarataj Şube Müdürlüğü, Sorularla Numarataj, 2020). Hence, the following subheadings will focus on the projects from different themes (economically based different architectural ideologies) through toponymy research. It necessitates the census system being used and the process of street numbering that develops accordingly. This process changes the rural village texture of İncek district. The changing rural texture leaves its place to an urban and

rational character. The systematic, rational and rapidly developing and changing city structure, which is a result of neoliberal urbanization, is in parallel with the address-based population system and numbering systematic.

## 4.3.1 Street Names

İncek district is connected to the city center of Ankara through main boulevards. The development axis in Incek region is formed over the main boulevard. Turgut Özal Boulevard and İncek Martyr Prosecutor Mehmet Kiraz Boulevard form this main axis. The boulevard, extending into the continuation of each other, constitute the largest access road on the map in the development of Incek and its surrounding neighborhoods. Commemorative names and elements are conventional methods of condensing the past symbolically and providing an everyday basis for consensus and community identification (Fuchs,2015). Commemorative name usage is an example of the leading boulevard name. İncek Şehit Savcı Mehmet Selim Kiraz Boulevard's name and Turgut Özal Boulevard name are the examples of commemorative place naming. İncek Şehit Savcı Mehmet Kiraz name suppresses the region's name perception with usage of İncek as a sign of location. In this naming process, it is possible to say that the boulevard's naming is dominant, not the neighborhood borders. The fact that İncek is perceived as a district rather than a neighborhood is supported by this single axis. This single-axis supports the idea of the district with its name and the perception that comes from the name over the boulevard.

Although the dominant development axis is the boulevards, the rural and out-of-town profile of the region does not differ greatly in these regions. It is not possible to walk on the sidewalk or on a main road in this sense. However, as can be seen from figure no construction around the main boulevards increased between 2005 and 2020 and the area became crowded. It maintains the profile of dispersed construction during this change. On the main boulevard, there is no use of a popular street in spatial terms. Therefore, there is no pedestrian traffic on the main boulevard. On the boulevard constituting the main axis, the characteristic scattered settlement pattern seen in the district continues.



Figure 4.14  8/6/2005  İncek Şehit Savcı Mehmet Kiraz Boulevard, Google Earth

Figure 4.15    5/25/2020 İncek Şehit Savcı Mehmet Kiraz Boulevard, Google Earth

In addition to the street numbering system examined previously, street naming is also available as signs in the field and mapping the neighborhood system data. Notable names on main streets and boulevards are given upon commemoration, dedication, and current national or international situations or events. İncek Şehit Mehmet Kiraz Boulevard, Türkan Şoray Street, 30 Ağustos Street, Misak-ı Milli Street, 29 Ekim Street are one of the examples which remark dedication and commemoration. In the street names, there are flower names, commemorative names to be dedicated, and names that are familiar and meaningful in the neighborhood within the context of the neighborhood history. The street naming and numbering procedure and pattern are in parallel with the city of Ankara in general. The zoning and naming status of Incek district is possible to be examined through the Gölbaşı Municipality website and Google Maps. Gölbaşı Municipality does not take part in naming (Gölbaşı Municipality, interview, November 18, 2020; Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Numbering Service, interview, November 18, 2020). In accordance with the law numbered 5126, the metropolitan municipality has the duty and authority to perform

the works of giving numbers to the square, boulevard, street, road and street names and numbers and the buildings on them.

Thus, İncek is not affiliated with the Gölbaşı Municipality in terms of naming. Street numbers are applied throughout the city and follow the rules mentioned in the third section. Street numbering, street and boulevard naming practices are carried out by the Metropolitan Municipality. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality regulates and superintends all the avenues, streets, roads, and boulevards in terms of place naming. These avenues, streets, roads, and boulevards are indicated in the city plan. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality makes all the changes for the streets and boulevards officially visible on the city map, works on anonymity of the streets, change of place names, signage requirements for the naming processes in the field (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Numbering Service, interview, November 18, 2020).

The place naming process starts with the field teams of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. For the untitled place studies, field teams check the location and certify the place as untitled. For renaming places, field teams also check the location and certify the current data about the place's title and form a report about the place. After the teams complete the field reports and analyses on the system and map, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality numbering teams carry out the system and map studies. The numbering system makes sure that the same name or number is not used more than once within the neighborhood's boundaries. After the field teams' works and the numbering system teams are complete, the naming process continues with the

municipal council. The municipal council decides on the fieldwork location. This decision is dependent on the naming commission and the presidency.

The naming commission with the presidency takes action on changing the place name as a rational process. The name decision is presented for the approval of the Ankara Governorship. Upon the approval of Ankara Governorship, field teams come to work again. While the field teams provide the necessary signage assembly in the field, the numbering teams process the new decision on the map and system. If the Ankara Governorship does not approve the municipal council's decision, the process continues again according to the reason for rejection. All decisions taken in the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council, including the naming commission's decisions, are published on the institution's website and announced to the public (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Numbering Service, interview, November 18, 2020). This process is undertaken by the local government, sometimes making changes based on the central government's decisions. Within the framework of the mentioned procedure, there are two types of actors; local and central. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality carries out the naming processes as a local actor. It carries out the studies of the process through numbering units. The Governorship of Ankara, on the other hand, is involved in the procedure as an agent of the central government working as a control mechanism. Mayors are elected and run the municipal council. However, when the governorship is involved in the nomenclature process, it is an authority assigned by the central government instead of an electoral authority. In special and rare cases, the central government may be involved in the naming and name change processes. Gölbaşı Municipality, the local government actor to which the named neighborhood is affiliated, is excluded from the naming process. The street and boulevard naming

process, which takes place within the framework of state control, is not affected by personal decisions, the opinion of the user and the population that constitutes the neighborhood profile, unlike housing projects.

Such changes are based on national or international events and situations. Martyr Prosecutor Mehmet Kiraz Boulevard in İncek was re-named to commemorate the prosecutor who died in the Istanbul Courthouse where he served ("Ankara'da iki önemli değişiklik," 2015). This naming decision is the result of a decision taken at the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality council meeting. Before the re-naming the boulevard was called İncek Boulevard. Place names and naming processes are essential elements for the construction of memories, cleansing of memories, reshaping and creating identities through the built environment (Light & Young, 2014). A place name's appeal as a commemorative instrument turns an authorized history debate into a shared cultural reality rooted in daily life activities (Rose-Redwood et al., 2009). Ankara Metropolitan Municipality pays attention to the public's demands while evaluating the issues that has create importance for the public. In the naming process, public voting, questionnaires, and similar investigations are not included in the municipal council's decision-making process (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Numbering Service, interview, November 18, 2020).

### 4.3.2. Naming Practices of Residential Projects/Housing Compounds in İncek

Since the 2000s, emerging in developed cities coming out; high-rise, mixed-use and closed-safe living spaces trends, also in Ankara has been spreading gradually (Yetkin and Yıldırım, 2017). There are houses in different typologies in the Incek region,

including private apartments and villas, mass housing, cooperative and large gated communities. Housing projects reflect this situation within the scope of this thesis, which focuses on naming procedures and practices. Name practices used in housing projects also use the name *İncek* outside the boundaries of İncek neighborhood. Project officials define the name Incek in this sense as it promotes the wider district. Incek Neighborhood headman Huseyin Koca stated that the name Incek is related to registration, while other neighborhoods around Incek neighborhood are not as well known as Incek. Incek neighborhood dominates other neighborhood names with its popularity. Therefore, it expands beyond its official borders. The İncek district, which is meant and named as an area larger than the neighborhood boundaries, is known as the vicinity of İncek Martyr Savcı Mehmet Kiraz boulevard and is named as İncek in projects. It is possible to follow this situation in the map below from the locations of the projects outside the boundaries of the neighborhood but named as İncek.

It is possible to find very similar services, architectural typologies, and marketing techniques in all of these projects. While the marketing and sales emphasize the popular features that gradually form patterns, they also seek differences to present the projects as unique. Therefore, all these projects are related to the contemporary urbanization movement. The projects which are available and confirm interview are included in data about housing projects in İncek. Interviews with authorized representatives of housing projects in this region were held in October and November 2020.

Figure 4.16 Housing Projects named "İncek", Google Maps, Ankara Map.

Kızılcaşar, Alacaatlı, Ahlatlıbel neighborhoods also contain "İncek" named housing projects. Some projects offer quite different options as a housing typology in the region. Areas that develop predominantly outside the city center aim to provide people with a "safe" and comfortable life, at the same time, it also includes many different functions such as needs, social opportunities, and large landscaping areas (Yetkin and Yıldırım, 2017). Studio apartments, multiple bedroom apartments, terraces, residences and high-rise buildings, garden floors, duplex and triplex houses, villa-type smart buildings are of different types sold in the region. Many housing projects in İncek name in the shape of a gated community's architectural and social typology. Gated communities are defined as residential areas often enclosed or walled off their surroundings, barring or restricting access through a secure entrance as gates or booms as general typology (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2003). While the projects that want to reach more and more buyers include smaller flats within their structure, some housing developments only tend towards large-scale housing construction. İncek Vista

project official comments on the profile and potential of university students and tells the significance of smaller flats; depending on the university campuses, which lead the younger generation to have a house in the district to live closer to the campuses. While a supply for students, singles, and couples is created with smaller flats, families are presenred with large-scale flats. The small-scale apartment concept is used as a new home design throughout Turkey. The usual 2 + 1 and 3 + 1 options are designed to appeal to students, people living alone or people who prefer small-scale houses, taking their place in new housing areas. It is possible to find small-scale apartment flats in the housing buildings that have developed in Incek in recent years. The potential created by university students draws attention in the region. Small scale real estate opportunities are becoming popular for students in large projects such as Incek Vista, Incek Loft and Bulvar Loft. In all other housing projects, the kindergarten, and school campuses in the İncek district are a factor that attracts families to live in the region.

The gated communities, different kinds of cooperative projects, luxurious public and private projects gain their popularity by place-naming, branding marketing strategies over high-income groups. Besides residential construction, new public spaces have become the new parts of the urban such as various entertainment complexes and shopping malls. The naming, branding, and advertising processes are a part of a new race in İncek to attract buyers. In this new race, the neighborhood symbolizes comfort and luxury with the names and services presented. Lofts, residences, luxury complexes with striking images, names, and advertisements are the new happy places for the people who can afford a special kind of lifestyle in İncek. Even though the places have similar services, the emphasis is almost always on the residents' uniqueness and specialty. In high-income settlements, residential blocks are symmetrical and have

repetitive features; but due to many functions offered outdoors and offer housing prices are determined to be quite high and suddenly there is a discrimination according to the income group is happening (Yetkin and Yıldırım, 2017). The housing sector's marketing policies make heavy use of slogans, place names, and various written expressions to provide a sense of perception to buyers who do not but have become part of the supply mechanism. Below I will scrutinize thematically selected projects, which reflect dominant modes of spatial production.

While the housing type preferences are determined according to the target audience, the projects offer various housing type options. The square meter calculation, which develops according to the housing types and the target buyers, determines the location, settlement, parking lot, and social area usage of the gated communities. In the district, high-rise building selection has recently become the most popular option. Therefore, with the high-rise advantage, Ankara city scenery and lake view are frequently featured in slogans, advertisements, and housing projects catalogs. The gated communities heavily form a spatial consumption pattern in İncek. While landscaping, planting, and other facilities inside these gated communities are of the highest quality, the contrast with the external setting is striking, overlooked due to the local municipalities' limited resources. The location of public institutions, educational institutions, and campuses in the region draws attention. The neighborhood's development as a prestigious area, especially with mega housing projects, appears to be continuing (Yenigül and Gökler, 2017). Gated communities reflect a search for status rather than a real sense of shelter.

| Projects | Date Started | Date Finished/Delivery | Number of Residences |
|---|---|---|---|
| Uptown İncek | 2012 | March 2016 | 226 |
| Sinpaş İncek Life | April 2012 | August 2014 | 548 |
| Tim Towers | May 2013 | June 2018 | 161 |
| Ada İnncek Konutları | May 2013 | May 2020 | 120 |
| Nata İncek Konutları | June 2013 | March 2017 | 196 |
| İncek Loft | November 2013 | September 2016 | 1199 |
| İncek Vista | December 2013 | August 2018 | 265 |
| Royal İncek | December 2014 | September 2017 | 84 |
| İncek Avlu | 2016 | January 2018 | 75 |
| Bulvar Loft | January 2016 | June 2019 | 822 |
| Atabilge İncek | December 2016 | June 2019 | 699 |
| Rinnova İncek | July 2017 | August 2019 | 33 |
| Kent İncek | January 2017 | December 2022 | 604 |
| Sunset İncek | July 2018 | June 2022 | 139 |

Table 4. 2 Housing projects in İncek district, approximate start and delivery dates, Based on the interviews with the project officials and Google Earth 2021 data.

The projects included in Table 4.2 aim to be inclusive of all the projects that have been done in the last twenty years and whose information has been accessed. These large gated community projects were started after the 2010s, most of them started construction after 2015. The Turkish economy and the housing industry were affected by marketization (Ergüven, 2020). Raised residential assets and mortgage loans significantly and supported the housing industry with different services (Ergüven, 2020).

One interviewee indicates that the housing sector works as the locomotive of the economy, and this sector stimulates the economy as not only housing sales but also as

a mechanism that tolerates migration to big cities and directs seasonal labor (*Kent İncek*, interview, October 20, 2020). Among all the projects, some company representatives declared that the housing projects in İncek is a need for the society especially for "a new socio-cultural layer of society" who wonders to live near the city but not in the city in a peaceful, secure, elite, and green area. The stated expressions are phrases that are repeated many times by many of the project officials. During the interviews, a lot of expressions were used about the formation of a new city, a new Ankara and a new class. With these expressions, it is advertised to offer a positive, special, priority and prestigious life.

In the construction sector, which has further developed in recent years, dynamism continues due to alternative investment instruments, housing loans, interest rates, economic and political stability (Hatipoğlu and Tanrıvermiş, 2017). While the local economy, which has progressed depending on the construction sector, has been stagnating in recent years, there are difficulties in sales in new projects, recessions, and bankruptcies in the construction and project design stages. The city's economic profile is aimed to develop based on housing sales which support neoliberal urbanization with the investment in the housing sector. The need for housing, the demand for new housing, and the purchasing power considered accordingly are questionable in this economic profile. While *İncek Vista* project officials indicate that the supply is too low, *Nata Incek*'s representative stated that the new housing area is not a requirement in Ankara (*İncek Vista* interview, October 21, 2020, *Nata İncek* interview; October 17, 2020). Although many companies continue construction there is now an excess of housing for Ankara due to the insufficient housing demand (*Rinnova İncek* interview, October 22, 2020).

The requirement for housing sales and new luxury housing does not produce the envisaged result. Some of the residential projects in the region are sold quickly, and it can be observed that some housing areas cannot find buyers. Problems experienced in the sale and rental of finished houses and office buildings hindered new investments (Sönmez, 2018). It is observed that the rise in the prices of construction materials due to the rapid increase in foreign currency and TL interest rates has been effective in the halt of construction investments (Sönmez, 2018). In addition to the projects that can successfully sell all their residences in the region, it is possible to come across many housing projects that fail financially. These failed projects cannot complete projects due to bankruptcy, cannot deliver the houses they sell to the user on time and are left unfinished. For some projects, it is the case that the project cannot find a buyer. These projects experience the inability to complete the construction and not deliver houses according to the commitment and declare bankruptcy. While *İncek Vista* project officials emphasize the brand value in sales success, they state that there is always demand for residences with high brand value (İncek Vista, interview, October 21, 2020). Project executives point out these projects' high recognition and popularity; they believe that they can reveal their difference in architectural design. For these projects and sales results, it wouldn't be a wrong to say that there is demand for buyers in Ankara for housing. However, considering the projects' sales results and financial problems in general, it is not possible to find the demand for housing. Project sales figures and the contribution of housing sales to the economic order are not the focus of this thesis. However, although it is not the only and main feature that brings good sales figures based on the project officials and their statements, the naming is also a

striking feature here. It gains recognition, reliability, popularity, and the name chosen during project marketing and the brand value of this name are of great importance.

The areas that are away from pedestrian and vehicular traffic, 24-hour security, monitored through cameras, but express the privileges of private life, contain security guards, the site entrance is secure, walls or other boundary elements indicate the surrounding of the site area. These projects continue to have the features of contemporary gated community typology. Specific to Incek, secure residential areas represent one of the basic development features of the region. Incek region in Ankara attracts attention with its secure residential areas. The fact that the region offers a life away from life for the city also strengthens the idea of safe life. The security content does not only consist of the features provided by the residential compounds. At the same time, residential areas that recognize individual spaces and special areas for children direct the user profile with children to the Incek region. Therefore, Incek refers to a region that is safe throughout Ankara, far from city life, has Ankara city view, includes green areas and offers an elite lifestyle.

In housing projects; *Kent İncek, Atabilge İncek, Nata İncek, İncek Vista, Rinnova İncek, İncek BellaPais, Pelit Pamira İncek, Sunset İncek, İncek Loft, Bulvar Loft, Uptown İncek, İncek Venüs Residence, İncek Avlu, Ons İncek Residence* are part of the interviews on housing projects. The developing and upper-class social structure of the Incek district, which is appealing to the inner-city residents, accompanies the transition between cooperative and gated community structuring. The strengthening of the housing market in the region plays a role in the transformation of cooperative projects.

While the projects that transfer to the gated community profile change hands in terms of the contractor firm, they change in price and housing type. Considering the nomenclature choices in the region, there are different types of housing projects. There are ideological name preferences, European name preferences and projects taking the name of the project contractor firm. These different name preferences show a common feature in using the name "İncek". There is a trend where almost all housing projects are combined with European names while including "İncek" as default.

The tendency to use the word İncek regardless of the boundaries of the neighborhood is directly related to the popularity of the Incek district across Ankara. The fact that İncek neighborhood dominates the region around it shows in parallel with the name decisions of the housing projects. The fact that housing projects also contain the name of the location, which is popular, both follows and strengthens the Incek emphasis throughout the region. While İncek catches the trend of naming the neighborhood, projects such as *Kent İncek* and *Atabilge İncek*, which do not prefer to give a non-Turkish name, are also in the region. From a name selection point of view, it is possible to say that this trend works as a part of the international neoliberal trends. Giving names that are half Turkish, half English or half Turkish, half European can be shown among the followed trends of the last decade. Name decisions that are unknown, different, evoking prestige and creating brand value appear as an internationally popular name choice. The name choices mentioned at this point as European, global or unknown names are not seen as a feature specific to Turkey or İncek. As they are names that evoke prestige and create brand value globally, they are seen as common name choices within the scope of neoliberal urbanization. While İncek as a Turkish word is used in many projects, it can be interpreted as part of a very popular name

trend to come across words such as *Uptown, Loft, Vista, Rinnova, BellaPais, Pelit Pamira, Sunset, Empire, Country* next to the word İncek.

The branding of urban elements is a part of neoliberal urbanization; these brands create an additional value themselves. The value comprises the house with all the qualities it serves and the idea of life desired to be created in and through the house. The desire and the house are sold and bought together, and the buyers think that they have gained prestige through the choice of housing; they think that they have changed their class. The housing project names preferred in cooperative projects create a different image according to the gated community concept. According to *Atabilge İncek* projects official, *Atabilge İncek* chose a name representing the nationalist values representing Atatürk and Bilge Kaan. It is stated that the cooperative, which carries out projects in different districts of Ankara with the name Atabilge, has a brand value through housing projects in the district and the city. It is seen as a trustworthy name in the sector and the masses to be addressed together with other projects (Atabilge İncek, interview, October 16, 2020). While *Kent İncek* project refers to Ankara city with the word "kent" (city), it has chosen a name representing a life away from the city and expresses a new suburban settlement.

On the other hand, some companies prefer their company names with high brand value, instead of giving European names. Nata Holding and *Nata Incek* are an example of this preference. While large companies in the Turkish real estate sector include their own brands in their project names, they also frequently use some additional words.

Some of the words that are believed to be attractive to the customer are listed as residence, tower, suites, houses, park, city, garden, villa, city, life, green, mansion.

In İncek, there are some big gated community projects, as mentioned and explained earlier as an architectural element. While the region was the address of calm and rural life a decade ago, cooperative and individual property areas were the dominant scales of space production in the last decade, it has become an area that reflects the dominance of large investors, the construction sector, luxury, and prestige designing and marketing residential areas. Therefore, cooperative projects generally ended up selling the rest of their projects to the housing companies. The projects have turned into significant gated communities which are not related with the first group of people who started the organization and established the cooperative. As a result of neoliberal urbanization, the project objectives, the mass of people involved in the construction and management of the project, and the marketing and sales conditions of the project are subject to a great change. While projects that started as cooperatives before 2015 were completed as cooperatives, it is noteworthy that the projects that started as a cooperative after 2015 started collaborating with various construction/building companies and terminated the cooperative structuring in exchange for the price of the land. While it is possible to see many projects that were considered and started as a cooperative at the beginning of the housing projects in İncek, when we look at the completed projects, there are very few projects completed as cooperatives.

The projects initiated as a cooperative are observed as more naive, appealing to the middle class, non-competitive projects in terms of sales and marketing. When these

projects become large gated community projects, the initial ideas, architectural designs, naming preferences and the audience they address as buyers are undergoing a significant change. The change is observable through names. This stage is observed as a contractor change, which results in a single project and a single sales channel in project sales rather than cooperative and gated community sales as differentiated paths of marketing. In the contractor change process, it is sufficient that the region is becoming a more expensive place than other Ankara districts, with the increase in land prices and the more profitable land. While the companies that undertake the construction draw profiles shaped by the middle class before this process, the companies to which the projects are transferred are the prominent construction industry leaders and companies that dominate the economy. The cooperatives' relationship with Incek region has been based on a period of approximately thirty years, long before the change in recent years.



Figure 4.17 Rinnova İncek, taken from https://www.rinnovaincek.com.tr/, 8/5/2021

In the last decade, there has been a change of hand from cooperatives to big gated communities or different residential projects such residences and villas. This transformation happened through change of contractors, which change the project and eventually change the name. The transformation process of the land and the projects

mainly take place via flat-rate calculations. *Akkayalar 87* was initial name of *Rinnova İncek* when it was in the cooperative state. While projects transformed from cooperatives adapt to the name trend in the region, projects that remain as cooperatives continue with names that do not follow the trend but represent members' composition. In the *Rinnova İncek* project, the name changes parallel to the change of contractor is striking. The name *Rinnova Incek* is a decision made by the contractor firm. For the cooperative state of the project, the chosen name was meaningful for a certain community and did not contain brand value.

New names, however, must serve two tasks at once; first, in order to break from the past, they must be distinctly new and unfamiliar; and second, in order to draw from the past and present types of symbolic power, they must be seen as identifiable and significant (Yurchak, 2000). Hence, with the change of the project ownership, the name *Rinnova Incek*, which is thought to create brand value in the housing market, was chosen. The project officials stated that they found the choice of a European name more appropriate and that the word *Rinnova* was inspired from Italian. *Rinnova İncek* also follows the trend of including "İncek" in the name. The name change is in line with the change of the target audience. The project official states that if the cooperative's name had not been changed, the same financial success would not have been achieved sector (*Rinnova İncek* interview, October 22, 2020). It seems possible to follow the architectural and urban changes experienced in the region along with in terms of naming. Rinnova Incek is one of the examples changed from a cooperative project to a villa type gated community.

While the *Atabilge İncek* project official defines the Incek region as the most expensive area of Ankara in terms of housing after Oran, he argues that being a cooperative is a method of keeping the demographic structure under control (Atabilge İncek, interview, October 16, 2020). Considering the current real estate data of Ankara, rental and sales prices, it can be said that the Incek district hosts some of the most expensive housing projects. The architect of Rinnova İncek defined Incek as an elite, expensive, prominent and prestigious district (Rinnova İncek, interview, October 22, 2020). The economic profile change is helpful in selling projects that started as cooperatives to construction and contracting companies. *Kent İncek, Nata İncek* are the projects which transformed from a cooperative into company-led development. Besa İnşaat, Akfen Holding, Barış İnşaat, Limit İnşaat, Özçelik Pelit İnşaat, Göksu Grup İnşaat, Nata Holding are among the big companies building houses in İncek and these construction companies are quite popular in Turkey's construction sector. Behind the sales success in the housing sector are the projects undertaken by large construction companies in the region, which is thought to have an important place in the name and success of the company. The fact that the company name has a reliable and deep-rooted meaning is expressed as an important advantage by the project authorities. Therefore, statements emphasizing the credibility and popularity of contractor companies are used in project advertisements and websites. Apart from naming the project, the name of the contractor firm of the project stands out with its brand, advertisement value and popularity.

ÜLKEALAN YAPI

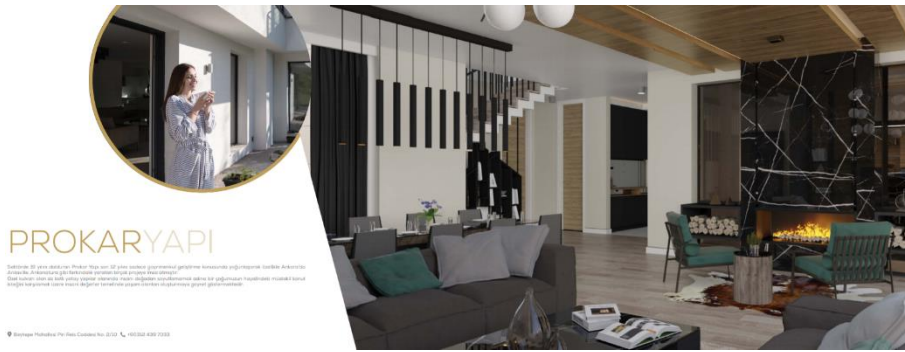Figure 4.18 Sunset İncek by Ülkealan Yapı, taken from http://sunsetincek.com/, 8/5/2021



Figure 4.19 Rinnova İncek by Prokar Yapı, taken from

https://www.rinnovaincek.com.tr/media/rinnova-incek-katalog.pdf, 8/5/2021

The change in the cooperative projects experienced via transferring the shares to the contractor companies caused a socio-economic change in the region's human population profile. The people who previously owned the land in the valued region, and then started construction, and established a cooperative could access much more than the investment they made. Therefore, increased and accelerated prices for the housing projects and land brought the rapid growth of the population and the imaginary formation of a new socio-economic class. In projects with a change in contractor firm, it is generally progressed as a single project and a single sales channel after the change. At this point, the project, which started as a cooperative, ceases to act as a cooperative and proceeds under the contractor firm's control in terms of construction, sales, and

marketing. *Atabilge Incek* project attracts attention as a project that did not abandon its cooperative character and did not prefer another contracting company to complete the project. Based on the relationship between Fidanlar İnşaat and the landowner, the project was carried out on the area purchased from the municipality (*Atabilge İncek* interview, October 16, 2020).

The lifestyle, which is additional to the house price in gated communities, provides a new way of existence for those who have lost their belonging to the city center or perhaps have never felt such belonging (Perouse and Danış, 2005). The environmentalist attitude that emphasizes the green and nature encountered in almost all housing project publicities and sales catalogs and is created/desired to be created with different slogans draws attention.
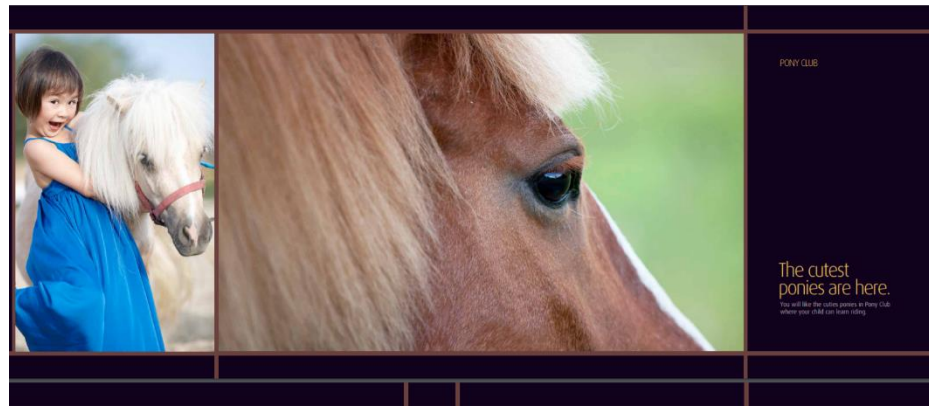


Figure 4.20 İncek Loft Publicity Catalog, The cutest ponies are here,

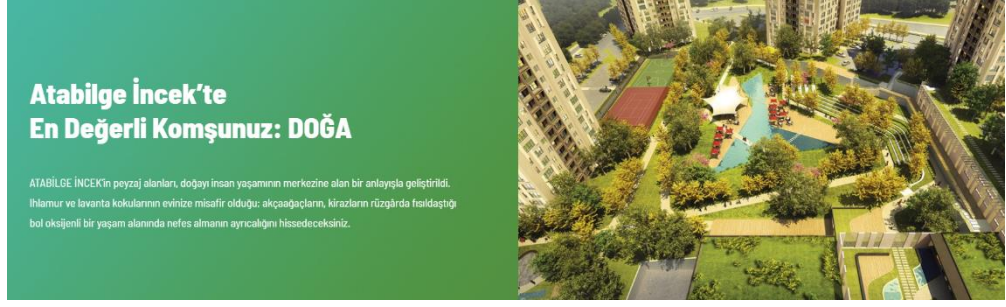http://www.inceckloft.com.tr/pdf/katalog_en.pdf

Figure 4.21 Atabilge İncek Website Advertisement, "Your Most Valuable Neighbor in Atabilge Incek: Nature'', https://www.atabilgeincek.com/

The emphasis on nature in the advertisements constitutes an extension of İncek's image before the rapid urbanization process. It is emphasized that İncek is a place where the negative effects of crowded city life are not experienced. The word choices used in the advertisements define İncek as a pastoral and sparsely populated area and maintain this image from the past. Therefore, İncek's image before neoliberal urbanization creates a profile that confirms each other with the project names used and certain word repetitions used in advertisements.



Figure 4.22 İncek Vista Website Advertisement, "Why İncek Vista?, Residence, Because your home in İncek is in the fastest rising living area of Ankara, in the green, the easiest, most stylish and most modern area of the city.'' http://incekvista.com.tr/

Figure 4.23 Rinnova İncek Website Advertisement, "Children are intertwined with nature", https://www.rinnovaincek.com.tr/

İncek begins to represent these green, nature and oxygen-rich life slogans, family life, family security, and an emphasis on a life that feels safe and special also emerge as an element encountered in all projects. While the emphasis on the green is used as a symbol of visual richness and clean air, the search and service to offer different sports opportunities varying from building to structure are among the necessary opportunities offered by the region's housing developments. The design of the green areas, marketing of clean air, and sportive activities of the significant gated communities take place in sales slogans, advertisements, and catalogs. These features give the audience the message that they can find the features, opportunities, and alternatives that they cannot find in the city, in İncek. In addition to the advertisements and slogans focusing on the green space and the environment approach, individuality, private life, and security advantages emerge as a standard feature that is emphasized in all projects. The desire for a safe life that cannot be achieved in the city, according to the marketing strategies of these projects, comes with the promise of a quiet and calm life. The need for elite and prestigious housing is being created and marketed, green areas and healthy life in touch with nature, social areas that bring solutions to the person's daily life,

playgrounds for those who care about family life. Moreover, social areas that are safe for children constitute essential parts of the architectural and social urbanization elements created and designed in Incek. Naming, marketing, and sales decisions, while remembering what the individual can find in a housing project, offers the dreamed home for every living standard he/she can look for. However, instead of using a name that refers to the type of residence, the landscape, prestige, luxury consumption, emphasis on green space, Incek district, and European names are used in the naming process.

The high-rise housing selection is advertised and marketed with view advantage commercials and slogans emphasizing scene views towards both the city and pastoral surroundings including lake Mogan. This view advantage supports the idea that the house is close to the city and easily accessible to the city. The word "Vista" is also used with this emphasis and included in a project name. The name decision of *İncek Vista* constitutes the brand value of the project as a name given to the view made visible via the high blocks of the project. While detached houses and villas was already in the district and the new popular typology become the high-rise buildings, villa-type house selection is rarely encountered in constructions such as housing estates. It is possible to encounter the old rural texture only in patches on the main boulevard. In this manner, the oldest organic village is not seen anymore. The absence of high-rise buildings on the main boulevard and the intact old rural image on the boulevard make the new rising projects visible (Atabilge İncek, October 16, 2020). In all of the projects interviewed and observed, green spaces and security formation draw attention as common elements among the projects. Another element commonly used in advertising, marketing, and sales is the discourse on innovation and difference: "A

first in Turkey", "a new life", "for the first time", and "excels in" are some of the expressions of real estate sales.

The idea that it is necessary to live in a safe area emerges as a feature expressed, served, and advertised in all projects in the region. However, the projects differ in their security measures. It is possible to see the emphasis on 24-hour security in the advertisements of many projects. The promised special, peaceful, privileged, and secure emphasis creates the perception of living in a place without 24-hour security, such as living spaces of many people in the city, apartments, private villas, and areas where there is no private security, insecure, vulnerable, restless and in danger. The emphasis on security does not differ in all projects in the region, regardless of architectural typology or name decision, in gated communities consisting of a cooperative, private security high buildings, or in-villa projects. However, as will be mentioned, different designs and different measures have been considered, varying from project to project. While the social areas created in the *İncek Vista* are open to the public, the entrance to the residential area through the social areas is controlled. *Incek Vista* officials believes in the necessity of addressing the general user in the region as it is a project located close to the university campuses and preferred to place the famous restaurants and cafes in the outer area of the housing project by keeping the social areas open to the public.

## SOSYAL ALANLAR

Spordan vazgeçemeyenlere özel **fitness center** ve **yüzme havuzu;** spordan sonra rahatlayabileceğiniz ya da yoğun bir günün ardından stres atabileceğiniz **sauna , dinlenme odası** ve **fin hamamı;** Home Office çalışanların ihtiyaçlarını karşılayacak donanımlı **toplantı salonu;** keyifli bir mola için **Cafe Vista** sizi bekliyor. Vista çocuklarının vazgeçilmezi **Kids Club,** minikler için keyifli ve güvenli bir oyun alanı.

Figure 4.24 İncek Vista Website Advertisement, Social areas closed to public, http://incekvista.com.tr/

When viewed through this advertisement, the words used with another emphasis symbolize and support the community to be created. The emphasis on "Vista children" is the result of the name of the project becoming a representation of the population living in the project. The name İncek Vista given to the housing project dominates the community and public spaces within the project with the use of names and visualizes the brand name with "Cafe Vista". Being a high-rise building in the sparsely populated İncek region, the emphasis on the landscape made over the name represents and supports not only the architectural feature but also a community and brand. At this point, branded housing project names make the audience within the project a community and represent that community.

Figure 4.25 İncek Vista Project, Social areas open to public, http://incekvista.com.tr/

*Atabilge Incek* project, on the other hand, believing in the necessity of safer social

areas as a cooperative project, designed the social areas of the project to be open to the

use of the residents only, not the public.



Figure 4.26 Rinnova İncek Website Advertisement, "The house that thinks everything",

https://www.rinnovaincek.com.tr/

Figure 4.27 Atabilge İncek Website Advertisement, "Security, Infrastructure and Building Systems"

https://www.atabilgeincek.com/

One finding of the interviews is that the name decisions are based on the individual decisions and preferences of the construction and investor company owners. The preferences are unsystematic. However, the end product of the names comes out as very similar from different aspects. "Promoting" is the method via its name (or nickname) to identify a location, creation, resort, region, or city that is being used as valued and commercially viable symbolic capital (Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016, pp.9). In the region where branding and show-off are generally valued, companies have deemed such name preferences appropriate. The emphasis on the importance of branding in sales and marketing, which is expressed as common among projects, is flashy, branded, and the buyers' preferences, which draw west-facing images, are legible when looking at the region. In most of the projects, following the name of the place Incek, the European names generally used are parallel to an architectural feature envisaged in the project. *Sunset Incek, Incek Vista, Incek Loft* are among the projects that prefer to use architectural references with European names. The disappearance of indigenous languages is accelerating dramatically under the weight of the global dominance of English and other major world languages in the context of neoliberal urbanization (Rose-Redwood & Alderman, 2011). While names

that are believed to evoke architectural features, scenery or prestige, and luxury are given to the projects, some names have very different meanings from the project contents. It is possible to talk about such a situation for the İncek Venus Residence and İncek Courtyard projects. While the name "Venus" is supposed to refer Greek architecture.
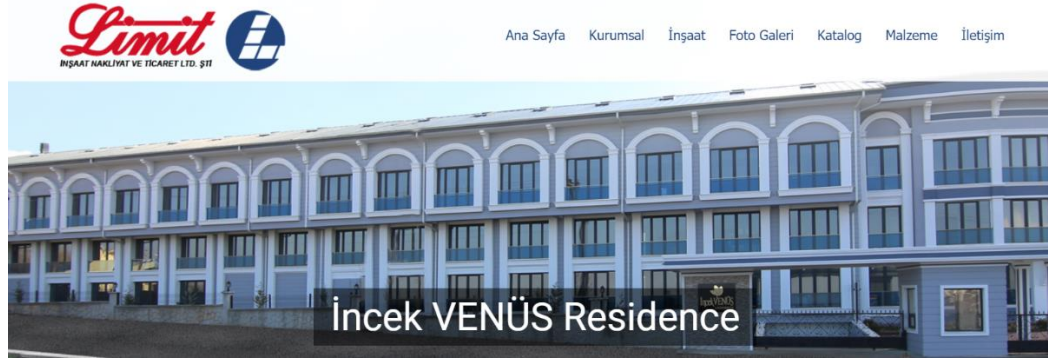


Figure 4.28 İncek Venüs Residence, http://limitinsaat.com.tr/bws-gallery/205-2/
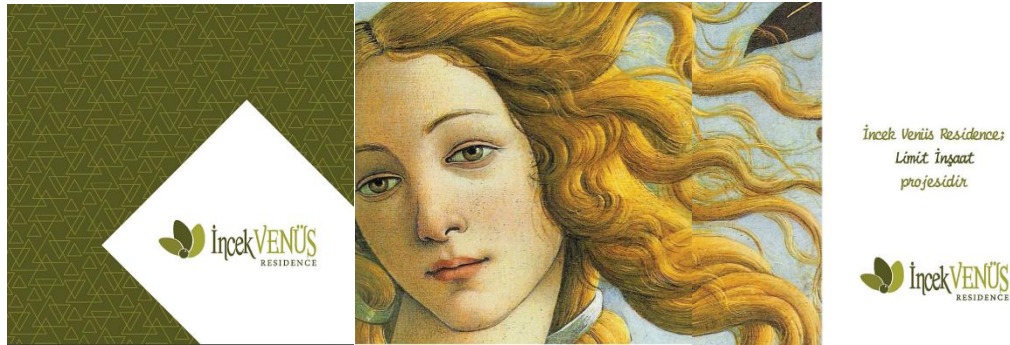


Figure 4.29 İncek Venüs Residence Website Advertisement, http://limitinsaat.com.tr/bws-gallery/205-2/

Making a name decision by the company owner creates confusion in the references given over the name instead of conveying the desired message as *İncek Venus Residence*. Although different methods are followed to name the projects in the region, choosing names that are branded in tune with the neoliberal city understanding in all options and creating a flamboyant and reliable image can be considered a shared trait. It is among the information conveyed by the company officials that the people who

are interested in the projects of the flamboyant, branded, well-known companies have bought the brand name and are interested in the content and life quality of the project as a secondary decision. *Incek Vista* officials stated that the creation of flashy names in residential projects is a trend in Turkey. The project officials narrate that the brand name is marketing itself when the project is successful (*İncek Vista* interview, October 21, 2020). They count the word of mouth advertisement in society, exemplary presentation, and the internet as the tools for advancing a project's brand name.

Redefining luxury, prestige, city, residence, daily life, home life, and living standards, giving a different meaning to every item used in daily life or claiming to be doing them stand out as the details that meet the people who can buy in each project. Incek district is advertised and marketed as the new favorite location in Ankara. While Ankara, a new social class, a new elite, a new city, a new life promises, and slogans are common elements used in advertising and marketing. These kinds of discourses aiming social class formation through a housing project with the words that define the perception desired to be created on the Incek district, even if not housing projects. It is possible to come across the message of economic potential and vitality that Ankara does not possess in every project. While it is possible to emphasize an extraordinary life in every advertisement and housing catalog, it is questionable why the advertisement and emphasis of such an extraordinary life are made according to the people living in the city life.
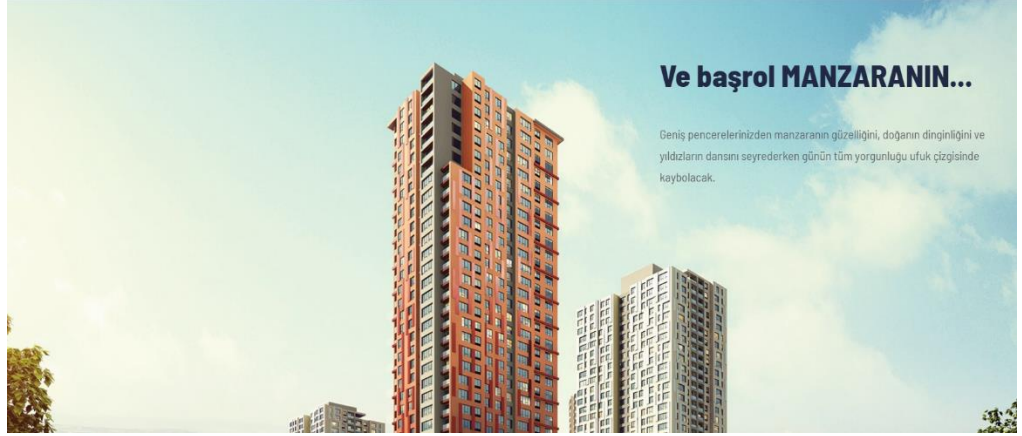
Figure 4.30 Atabilge İncek Website Advertisement, "The main role of the scenery", https://www.atabilgeincek.com/



Figure 4.31 İncek Loft Publicity Catalog, "Ankara Houses, Gaziospmanpasa Houses of Ankara are now in İncek!", http://www.incekloft.com.tr/katalog

The population currently residing in Incek is defined as upper-middle class by company officials. There are top-level civil servants, company executives, and people whose savings are in the trillions of Turkish liras within this segment. It would be a wrong conclusion to generalize over a specific class, occupation group, and income level for the people who prefer to live in İncek. Since it is possible to choose different housing types, it should be said that the owners and tenants comprise along viewed user profile live in the same area. However, as a result of the region's location, owning a private vehicle becomes a necessity to live in Incek. In the literature, the rent and sale prices of a region also describe the sub-markets related to income groups in that region (Uğurlar and Özelçi Eceral, 2014). Compared to other districts of Ankara, the

common perception is that the group of people intended as buyers is the so-called new elite. For some projects, it is not possible to talk about the middle class. With prices up to 3-4 million Turkish liras, the homeowners are mainly composed of company owners, investors, and employers living in Ankara. The desire to realize the prestige and luxury expectations of this high-income group housing encourage the idea of new elite formation. Accepting this as a fact, the company officials claim that this "class" of people came randomly in İncek district. With the deterioration of the cooperative structuring and the transfer of ownership, people who are not socially connected but whose income levels are a similar increase in the region's population. It is expected that there should be a demographic formation that coincidentally came together in projects that were transferred to large construction companies by the transfer in cooperatives. All the interviewed project officials stated that they observed that the projects' transition from cooperatives into company-led initiatives changed the region's demography.

Naming rights for gated communities and cooperatives are practically at private hands. During the naming process in any initiated project, local or central authorities are not consulted, and no process is followed under their authority. The decision to give a name to housing initiatives appears more as a market-based decision. In this regard, the individual decision should be stated as the investor's individual choice, or that of a group of people who decided to start the project. It is crucial that the name (decision made for a new project) should not be used previously by another company. The trademark registration process is the registration that is to be registered by the TPE (Turkish Patent Institute) of a brand name. The brand name can produce by any company or individual and after registration the rights to use the name are fullly owned

by the person. Although its main use is "Trademark Registration", it is often referred to as "Name Registration" in daily use. There are two options for trademark registration: the person can apply online by going to the TPE site or through TPE's Trademark Attorneys (Authorized Patent Offices). Giving a name that has not been used before is also a process that progresses with name registration. At this point, the name turns into a brand. For this reason, naming is the main factor in creating the brand value of a project. Private institutions work on the name given to the project. The work is based on the assurance that the name has not been used before. Then the information about the name is obtained upon registration. Through this process, the institutions question the name to be given without any restriction. It is important to secure the brand, to have rights on the logo and name of the brand, and to complete the name procedures and to register the decided name in the market. When housing projects are considered through official transactions, each house name becomes a brand that emerges as an inevitable result of neoliberal urbanization. It is an inevitable result that the names of the venues become branded and represent the projects by gaining brand value.

Interviewees reported that in some projects they received assistance from companies that provide services in the naming process. Agencies and companies that assist in trademark and name registration serve on behalf of the companies for a name. They do the preliminary research to check whether or not the name was previously used. Afterward, the name is registered, and the company purchases the rights of that name. While some companies include advertisement, real estate, consultancy, and marketing agents in the naming process, some companies do not prefer to receive such services. While the naming process follows for streets, boulevards, and public areas go through

bureaucratic channels, and this process works entirely differently in residential compounds, which operate entirely as a market mechanism.

In the region where serious efforts are made on sales, advertising, and marketing, cooperation is made between real estate consultancy companies, and advertising companies. It is striking to see that no research, questionnaire, or statement of opinion is carried out among members of the cooperative, or the gated community residents regarding naming. In all cases that were interviewed the name decision was made through to the individual decisions of the employer, the boss, the contractor, or the founder of the cooperative. Until now, the fact that no buyers want changes on the housing project can be seen as a factor in the fact that the buyer's opinion is not taken. The user who buys the housing project buys the residence as marketed to him. The house purchased is currently in the content of a brand. The user who makes a residential investment makes an investment directly proportional to the brand value. Therefore, the value of the purchased house also concerns the user and potential buyer profile. In the region where branding and the housing market are at the forefront, the user who invests in the house does not look for a change in the name.

### 4.3.3 Naming Practices of Public Spaces in İncek

When one considers the İncek region in terms of public spaces, two specific types strike attention: The multi-purpose open and closed shopping complexes and the country gardens specialized in wedding and organization services.

Large mix-use projects with shopping malls have a common architectural element in İncek. Interestingly, İncek does not follow the shopping mall typology (an indoor space of varying scale) dominant in Ankara. In contrast, shopping spaces in İncek are organized following the logic of open bazaars and street shops. It is possible to observe here that neoliberal urbanization operates dynamically. In tune with İncek's image as an outdoor environment free from the pollution of the city center, the architecture of the shopping venues has changed. In this sense, the fact that the region is close to popular shopping centers (indoor spaces) (Panora, One Tower, Kuzu Effect in Oran) in the city creates a situation that should be considered. People's shopping habits and spending time in the mall leave their place locally in more open areas in this region.

Firms that do not see investment gaps in this area in the region adopt the construction of shops, stores, and restaurants, primarily included in the housing and housing area, and progress in the logic of a private security site to their projects. Considering that the construction idea, which offers prestigious lives in Incek, is designed, marketed, and sold in a way that appeals to 2010 and after, it is noteworthy that it does not follow the previous construction trend. Some shopping malls within driving distance of the region seem to meet the people's needs in the region for shopping and spending time in the mall. Therefore, people can spend time in areas where much fewer people are used and where social distance can be sufficient, instead of searching for a place shared with the society in this new residential area where they pay high amounts. The fact that the areas designed to be open to everyone's use are not located in Incek as usual in the rest of the city, which can be interpreted as the effect of the social habits of the people who prefer to live in private security sites in this region.

In the Incek district, some residential compounds have shops, cafes, and restaurants open to public use and some contain shops exclusively for their residents. There are no conventional shopping centers in the region. The sparse settlement pattern also determines the shopping venues. Scattered shops, markets and restaurants maintain the rural and idyllic image of the region. Residential areas that provide public cafes, shops, and restaurants particularly target the student population in the surrounding campus areas. There are not many public areas close to Atılım and Ufuk University campuses. The boulevard which is the main traffic artery, does not function as a "main street". It neither encourages pedestrian use nor houses, cafes, restaurants or stores. The dispersed service spaces support the development of İncek mainly as a residential area and creates an urban form unique to the Incek region.

Incek Vista Mall which is the only venue as such is an open-air street containing restaurants and shops designed as an integral part of the İncek Vista residential high rise. It was not built considered as a separate shopping mall and is used extansively as a popular venue in the last five years. There is no known shopping mall trend in Incek and that bazaars, street shops, and restaurants are the new typology which is preferred as a public space instead of classic shopping malls. The common shopping malls are not found in Incek. With the way the indoor and outdoor areas in the district, are used even the suburban character, differentiates itself from similar distrcits in Ankara. Here, a different architecture is formed as a result of the interaction of the loose sattlement character of the district and the neoliberal urbanization process.

In İncek district, where land use and building density are much freer in comparison to inner-city districts, it is possible to come across extensive country gardens where wedding and engagement organizations take place. The countryside garden, bar, and outdoor spaces of entertainment and organization services are public spaces that have grown in number in the region in the last ten years as part of the popularity of the district with its idyllic character. Incek is recognized as a green and natural area across Ankara. Thus, open space activities are organized in gardens, which emerge as a typology. Gardens -business providing open space arrangements- should be understood as public spaces due to the size of organizationsthey provide. Among these wedding venues, which are frequently encountered due to land use convenience, serve not only both Incek residents but the whole city. They provide venues with easy access, parking spaces and service areas easily accessible, and not crowded area.

The concept of a country garden emerges as a reflection of the village and rural image that İncek hasalways had. It is not an architecture produced by neoliberal urbanization. Neoliberal urbanization has appropriated and commercialized the pastoral image of the rural İncek of the past. And place naming is also operational in this process. Similar to the preferences made in residential spaces, European names and the emphasis on "Incek" as a location indicator are juxtaposed (in organization venues). *La Mozza Wedding Garden İncek* and *Country İncek* are among such country gardens the interviews conducted with representatives of these businesses indicate that the naming process of these entertainment venues are similar to the residential compunds. Generally, the decision is made by the owners of the venue through the involvement of private agencies providing research and registration services. If the decided name

has not been used and registered before, the business owner is informed and name usage rights are purchased by registering the name.

In case where European names are not preferred, it is possible to see a parallel with the housing projects. The use of the name İncek evokes prestige, privilege, and luxury, and turns it into a prevalent name choice. Areas such as *İncek Hasbahçe, İncek Country Wedding, Göl Seyir İncek Country Wedding* are examples of organizational venues that are named based on location. The fact that there are areas in the region that have adopted the scattered settlement form with the concept of a country garden for a long time pushes some places to present the newer generation and the latest trends in organization and space. While some places did not change their old image, they did not change their name, and in parallel, the organization did not change the way of service.

In wedding and organization venues, choosing a name that can be registered and creating a brand in wedding and organization in the service industry is seen as the main criteria taken into consideration in place naming. In Incek, venues that provide services identify a rural garden's concept in a luxurious way of design and arrangement in various kinds of organizations based on customer preferences. The rural settlement concept does not constitute a new typology for the region. However, as a commercial spatial practice, pastoral venues are gaining popularity. The rural garden and rural settlement concept, which has been followed in such public spaces that have started to exist in the region in the last decade, although it referrers to old rural state of Incek village, it conveys a differentiated countryside in practice. The garden concept spaces

aim to present naturalness, greenery, luxury, and prestige. Various organizations, especially wedding and engagement ceremonies are advertised and promoted through design, concept, and organizations. Venue owners also want to adopt a global entertainment outlook rather than a local one (*Country İncek* interview, October 26, 2020).

The development of residential, luxury and prestigious housing in Incek parallels the development of new public venues. While there is an irregular settlement pattern inherited from the old rural texture of Incek village, the countryside in the organization venues in the region represents a comfortable and wide area where luxury service is provided while bearing the reference of nature and green. Similar design elements showing similarities in public organizational spaces and housing design and advertisements and the services provided accordingly, the name choices made for the spaces and space and organization advertisements are also similar in itself. Being memorable, being a qualified and particular name that can advertise the place, arousing curiosity, and being a name with a European connotation, which is not Turkish in residential buildings, are among the other main venue naming criteria.

The choice of name, which has become the promotion of venue and organization services, is an important choice for the entertainment and service sector serving common areas. Indicating that they serve luxury and elite organizations in this region, the project officials create an image that carries the concept they want to create between the spaces. La Mozza Wedding Garden İncek, one of the organization venues interviewed, describes the choice of name due to the search for a different name, and

they talk about the choice of name, which means fairy girl. They define the venue names, meaning their daughter, as meaningful, catchy, intriguing, and enabling branding. While referring to the wedding ceremony in selecting the venue name, it was compelling that they wanted to use an element in which the bride figure was a fairytale, evoking a fairy tale and glorifying the figure they saw as the most critical element of the wedding organization. It is possible to find other venues in Incek with name preferences that are very similar to the name of La Mozza. Reaching similar name choices also reveals the effect of branding and creating and using a name with brand value on the place's owners. Examined as an example of neoliberal urbanization and its reflection in the capital, Incek is defined in parallel by the space owners. The venue naming and design concept rather than a specific mention in Turkey to catch the trend in the world today who want Country İncek space is also available in line with the views expressed above. While the name Country İncek is explained as the English translation of its country, it is the end of an image work reflecting the design, concept, and idea. It is among the prominent places with its name. Unlike the other spaces, this time, it is desired to refer to the green and nature in the names seen as reflections of the mass, space design, and concept they want to address.

Instead of using Turkish words to arouse curiosity, it sounded more sophisticated and considered Turkey to capture the global trend instead of getting references, branding straightforward, easy to keep in mind, and the names on the reference regarding the design Incek region. When we look at the region in detail regarding such name preferences, the name trend that is caught becomes an element that does not discriminate in public spaces and residential areas. For the Incek region, where neoliberal urbanization can be examined from general to specific, it has created a

pattern on behalf of all examples of construction from European influence in general. In this sense, it is noteworthy that prestige and luxury life options are matched with non-Turkish names for both residential and social areas. Naming the preferences of names that are not preferred in Turkish by matching their name with the Incek region, emphasizing the location in general, while expressing the different services it offers and wants to offer in a different language, gains visibility in the region.

# CHAPTER 5


# CONCLUSION


This thesis aimed to reveal the role of toponymy in neoliberal urbanization. The study is based on the hypothses that the naming of places is strictly linked to the neoliberal dynamics of space production. Toponymy represents a name, a sign, a description of the address, and the way of life that is intended to be created and contributes to marketing and branding. While the cities of the world and newly produced projects show similarities due to the neoliberal policies applied globally, the regions produce new patterns within themselves. In everyday life, neoliberal political and economic practices reflect a new production model and consumption in social and cultural life. For the past twenty years, structural and profound results on the direction and planning of the development of metropolitan areas are under the impact of neoliberal urban policies, and every city has its specifics. Brenner, Peck, and Theodore (2010) call for

greater sensitivity to variegation towards different cities, referring to the systematically unequal or varying complexity of social and economic systems, including the emphasis on distinct geographies, procedures, and mechanisms of neoliberal systems. Unconventional name choices are likely to take place in projects shaped by the newly marketed living standards.

The place-production and place naming reveal a relationship that is influenced by each other. The names express themselves as a part and image of the projects and the city. The critical toponymy considers the research of linguistic origins, but the fact that in today's conditions, advertising becomes a part of the marketing and image created in the city. Contemporary toponymy research involves gathering, compiling, and analyzing web tools, old and recent maps, ancient paintings, pictures or photos, historical texts, and other usable materials to add to the literature in a contemporary context. (Maciag. L, 2020). In this sense, naming decisions and the processes involving place naming were examined within the scope of the thesis. Hence, in this thesis, the role of toponymy in neoliberal urbanization is the main scope. Within the scope of this thesis, neoliberal urbanization and its toponymy are discussed in-depth, and the literature is included. The relationship between the urbanization process and place naming practices and decisions follows the main scope to relate the scope with the context. Incek, Ankara, as discussed in detail in the fourth chapter, the data obtained on toponymy and neoliberal urbanization, comments, discussions referring to the literature, and determinations specific to the study area are included. The focus of urban context deepens on a developing country, Turkey, and specifies itself as the neoliberal urbanization process of Ankara and, more specifically, as İncek neighborhood as a product of this ongoing development. In order to present an

understandable and traceable work within the scope of this thesis, the place-naming process, techniques, actors, and experienced processes are limited in the context of neoliberal urbanization in the context of İncek. However, toponymy in future studies can be discussed in different contexts, viewed from a different perspective in terms of language features, and creates an area that can be examined in terms of economy, marketing, and branding.

Neoliberal urbanization is discussed within the scope of this thesis over the Incek district, which has come to the fore in the urban race within Turkey's capital Ankara in the last decade. Observing the similar effects in an urban environment is possible, and new urbanization dynamics are legible towards the capital city. Incek district attracts attention with its out-of-city residential structure, advantageous and private security housing projects, and education facilities. It has gained a reputation for its elite and luxury living options in Ankara. İncek district is not an entirely new settlement area that has just become known in Ankara. On the contrary, it has a deep-rooted and ancient history as the İncek village. However, while it was a rural area in its past profile, it has become a different settlement, especially in the last decade. In this process, the region, which went through a rapid urbanization process while maintaining its rural and distant character as a location, has become a prevalent settlement.

Methodologically, interviews were conducted with the municipality, project owners, contractor company officials and project sales personnel within the scope of the thesis. In the interviews held within the scope of the thesis, it was desired to add one more

step methodologically in order to reveal the ideas and opinions about the user profile. However, the interviews that coincided with the pandemic process created a limiting factor for the conversations with the user profile. Incek district, as it gives its name to the main boulevard, recognizes the city, its rise, and rapid development in the real estate market nominally dominates the neighborhoods nearby. For this reason, in order to comprehensively examine the role of toponymy in neoliberal urbanization, all of the areas where the name Incek is used have been taken into consideration. Therefore, the term İncek district is used in this context instead of İncek neighborhood. Kızılcaşar, Taşpınar and Tulumtaş, Ahlatlıbel and Fevziye neighborhoods constitute the area meant by İncek district. The fact that the name İncek dominates the address descriptions, project names, and boulevard name of the neighborhoods around the İncek neighborhood is related to the popularity, prestige, and recognition it has gained in Ankara during the neoliberal urbanization process. It is ahead in the real estate sector with its projects offering luxurious and prestigious living standards. It was seen in the housing projects examined in the region that many housing projects that are not within the boundaries of the Incek neighborhood were named using the name Incek. The first finding regarding the projects in the İncek region was that the neighborhood borders were perceived quite differently from the map due to the naming decisions. The name İncek changes the pricing of the project, and in this sense, it creates its own financial value. Therefore, the usage area of the name İncek expands and goes beyond the boundaries of the neighborhood. The naming decisions give the perception of İncek within the city the feature of being a region that can be named as a district rather than a neighborhood which consists of five neighborhoods.

The second finding in the study conducted within the scope of the thesis was on marketing-oriented name choices. While neoliberal urbanization gives direction to the names of the projects, the names given give İncek qualities that support the urbanization process. Names are given for branding and advertising value potential become brands through projects and reflect themselves architecturally. Naming decisions, which are an essential and indispensable element in the expression of architectural elements on the user and the city, also gain importance. Architectural elements are parts of the city and have become parts of the living standards marketed by the new projects. The life standards being marketed create a pattern among themselves, and the potential user is offered a unique lifestyle that includes top class, elite, advantageous, and luxurious items. Marketing-oriented name choices are a typical situation. Prestigious European name choices depict a modern and high-quality life. Most of the new names have been designed to arouse their audience, to be encountered, at least from the first glance, as uncommon and often hard to pronounce (Yurchak, 2000). However, at this point, the urbanization process and the name choices mutually feed each other. European name selections, which are seen as an easy branding method, gaining prestige and advertising by project sales representatives, emerge as an expected and familiar situation. Name choices such as Incek Vista, Rinnova Incek, Empire Incek are among the projects that support this finding. The project officials interpret such name choices as making a positive difference in terms of sales.

An urbanization process, which is the opposite of the image of İncek, a region under the influence of modern construction, global trends and values that are not unique to Turkey, is also a form of construction in Turkey. Contrary to İncek's example, an urbanization trend is also evident throughout the country, with name choices and

architectural compounds designed with Ottoman nostalgia, giving historical references and reflecting the Ottoman and Seljuk history. While Incek catches the global trend, it does not reflect the entire urbanization process seen throughout the country.

The third of the findings specific to İncek is the names that gain prestige thanks to their interaction with neoliberal urbanization, while they do not have prestige and brand value. The fact that the mentioned space naming and space production are in a mutual relationship is also valid in this context. The name Incek, which is involved in projects where prestigious name choices and marketing-oriented decisions become essential, has become a region that represents prestige and luxury as a location. While İncek now represents a much larger area within its borders, it is becoming a symbol of prestige, luxury, and high standard living opportunities. It adds prestige to this image while preserving this image in the change of rural and pastoral village image with new projects, and it is predominantly used in the names of many projects in the region. Project officials interpret the use of the name "Incek", which has a good market share in the real estate market compared to other districts due to a conscious decision, as a positive effect in terms of sales. Incek Prestij, Kent Incek, Atabilge Incek are among the projects that use the name Incek consciously in this sense. This finding constitutes a unique situation for İncek. It emerges as a result reflecting Incek's image change in the neoliberal urbanization process.

Apart from housing projects, another architectural focus has been public spaces. At this point, streets and boulevards form the first focus, while organization spaces and multi-use-oriented complexes are in the second focus. Street numbering is used

throughout the country and is prominent in the population system. Therefore, no unexpected finding was found in the numbering and naming of the streets in a systematic census system logic. However, İncek's rural image becomes systematic with this system and the applications that come with it, and it becomes relatively more rational without completely erasing its old image. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality carries out street naming and numbering studies. Gölbaşı Municipality is not involved in the process. However, the name changes made with the approval and rejection of the governorship reveal that the central government can be involved in the process apart from local actors. The change on İncek Boulevard to İncek Martyr Prosecutor Mehmet Kiraz Boulevard was one of the changes in İncek, which refers to central government decisions on place naming. The work on which identity will be created depends on both local government and central government. Therefore, which national or historical situation or event and who will be remembered about it depends on the central government.

Another finding unique to İncek is the architectural difference in public spaces and the relationship of this difference with place naming. The image of İncek, which includes sparse settlements and pastoral elements, includes complexes with multiple uses instead of a closed shopping mall. The region, which includes large housing projects, includes areas that offer multiple use opportunities in the project contents and generally keep these areas exclusive to the housing project. Apart from this, the organization and wedding venues, which are seen as another public space, maintain the rural image and adopt architecture in country gardens. This architectural decision is filled with names that evoke prestige and that are thought to respond to branding expectations. European names, which the owners believe in strengthening the

perception of a unique and prestigious service, drawing attention in such areas and are frequently encountered. While European name preferences generally refer to architectural features, the emphasis on landscape, luxury, prestige, unique and advantageous living conditions in the housing projects in the region is sharpened and branded. This time, the emphasis on architectural features left its place to an emphasis on weddings and various organizations. The unchanging situation in the region is the emphasis on the possibility of personal and advantageous, luxurious, and prestigious choices made regardless of the housing project or public space. The choice of names is also in line with the desired service.

It is also noteworthy that large construction and building companies take part in the neoliberal urbanization race in the region. The construction companies in the region are famous, branded, and famous construction companies in Turkey. In some projects, it is also possible to find the names of these companies as the project name using the name Incek. Even if the names given in the region are preferred in Turkish or in a different language, the emphasis on private, upper class, luxury, and prestigious life prevails in all projects. In the region where it is possible to find the highest real estate market prices throughout Ankara, project name preferences become a part of popularity, recognition, marketing, advertising, and expectation. It is possible to talk about name preferences as one of the methods of providing an advantage over the city and other projects, with the real estate race brought about by neoliberal urbanization, the emphasis on prestige and luxury, the promise of jumping up the class.

While neoliberal urbanization experienced by many cities around the world shows sharp similarities, it creates different cities with policies specific to the country, city

and region. This study is a thesis in which the toponymy and neoliberal urbanization are melted in the same pot and exemplified with a study area, and it will be a part of a whole that will become much more comprehensive and detailed in expressing an urbanization process that dominates the world with many regional studies to be done. As Rose-Redwood (2011) states, by transforming public spaces into branded destinations, these public-private collaborations represent sufficient corporate power and can turn toponyms to structures in cities around the world into modern spaces (Harvey, 2001). In the same manner, this thesis aims to find the effects of neoliberal urbanization in everyday life with a specific case study to contribute to the literature. This thesis might be an early study for cultural policies of neoliberal urbanization as a case study from Ankara, Turkey. While the global race shows itself among the world cities, it is possible to follow this race locally.

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