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NEOLIBERALIZING AMED: GATED COMMUNITIES IN DIYARBAKIR 1999-2019

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Neoliberalizing Amed: Gated Communities in Diyarbakır 1999-2019

Neoliberalleşen Amed: Diyarbakır'da Güvenlikli Siteler 1999-2019

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to examine the gated housing areas, which started to be widely seen in Diyarbakır between 1999-2019, in Kayapınar district. In the academic literature, it is assumed that these secured housing areas, which are defined as *Gated Communities*, set the ground for a new socio-spatial separation in Diyarbakır. The year 1999 also marks the time when a new political party representing the Kurds won the election of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. With this study, gated communities will be examined in the context of the production of space, politics and neoliberalism**.**

Keywords: Diyarbakır, Kayapınar District, Gated Communities, Local Governments

ÖZET

Bu çalışma 1999-2019 yılları arasında Diyarbakır'da yaygın olarak görülmeye başlayan kapılı yerleşim alanlarını Kayapınar ilçesi özelinde incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Literatürde "Gated Communities" olarak tanımlanan bu güvenlikli konut alanlarının Diyarbakır özelinde sosyo-mekansal ayrışmaya zemin hazırladığı varsayılmaktadır. 1999 yılı Kürtleri temsil eden bir partinin büyükşehir belediye başkanlığı seçimini kazandığı zamana da işaret etmektedir. Bu çalışmayla mekânın üretimi, siyaset ve neoliberalizm bağlamında kapılı yerleşim alanları incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Diyarbakır, Kayapınar, Kapılı siteler, Yerel yönetimler

To the deceased anthropologist David Rolfe Graeber,

who ally of the Kurds…

INTRODUCTION

"City is the capital of capital"

(Harvey, 2001)

In today's world, modern city has become one of the conflict zones of contrasting interests (Sengul, 2009;15). Therefore, security mechanisms and state of fear can be experienced in a global level in cities. This phenomenon occurs especially in ever-developing cities and metropolitan areas. Since the emergence of common living spaces, people behaved in their relationships under the dichotomy of friend-foe. As a result, it affected living spaces in every time period and transformed them continuously. Because of utilization of the city as a space and the power struggle in the city as a concept, all these processes have had impact on us to see modern city as the base of this relationship. When we think about it the in terms of Diyarbakır, it is possible to state that a city form which was protected by walls was prevalent. Similarly, what we see here is the division between interior and exterior and representative publicity. We can assume that people behave according to the aspects that are widely adopted and these assets should be protected. Moreover, existence of transitions between the doors of the neighbors in a traditional city structure may actually serve as a clue as to if it is possible to talk about a collaborative and trustworthy environment there.

The concept of city has been chosen as the topic in this study, and the main motivation for it is the desire to review environment by keeping holistic and historical -cumulativeness in an historical sense- state in mind. Therefore, Harvey's description of city as a structured form and *urbanism as a way of life* (Harvey, 2003:281) is quite useful in this sense. Thus, looking at the urbanization practices of today, we can easily assume that these cases form a manner of urbanization which is transformed by many different dynamics. It is an important case of transition from an image of boundary surrounding all city walls into a one that

surrounds housing. This case becomes more and more interesting when we particularly think about the city practices transforming pursuant to global capitalism and neoliberal policies. This study focuses on multistory condominiums[1] as the new spaces of housing in Diyarbakır. Condominiums refer to the system in which many people from the same income group can coexists (Atilla, 2003;36–37). Today, condominiums are viewed as the multistory luxurious apartments mostly used by high- or middle-income groups representing prestige and urban lifestyle that externalizes the housings in slums (Atilla, 2003; as cited in Deneri, B., 2007). Deneri's historical explanation as follows:

> "The housing perception of the elite class that started with the separate house structures has continued with the need of being a part of a class in time, and the concepts created by these housing types is being carried into the areas where business life is intense in the city center by merging with the understanding of collective housing. In this sense, with their reserved structure, harmonious nature and functions, horizontally expanding collective housings are important sources of modern housing towers predicting vertical structural development with concept designs." (Deneri, 2007: 61).

This object of study is related to the spatial structure and its relationship between society and everyday life styles. The analysis of this relationship aims to make the atomized particles of city forms visible by involving political, ideological and economic convergences. The study will deeply outline about local authorities by taking area conjunctures into consideration.

[1] Kumkale, Ece. "*Türkiye'de Yeni Bir Barınma Biçimi Olarak 'Kondominyum*' ", Mimarlık Dergisi, Accessed in 2 May 2020, http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=287&RecID=1628.

For a detailed study, See also: Deneri, Burcu. (2007). *Kondominyumların Çok Katlı Konut Kompleksleri Bağlamında İncelenmesi*. (Postgraduate Thesis). Dokuz Eylul University. İzmir.

The Aim of the Study

Cities have been prolific scales for understanding and examining the transformations that took place in the post-industrialization process. This case caused cities to be an e essential object of academic studies. Accordingly, every issue about cities provides new data about the process. The object of the study is the condominiums, a new generation housing type, and they enable us to see neoliberal policies and capitalist procedures in a global scale, as well as the reactions to these procedures and what kind of relationship they form in the local level. Multistory and private condominiums have started to occupy literature in a global scale and eventually people have started getting used to these structures. As condominiums are mostly seen in city environment, and often applied as a form of new generation structures, these gated communities can be considered as an epitome that reveals the recent changes for researchers to observe. These housing areas isolated from outside for security concerns and surrounded by new generation control mechanisms (Blakely & Snyder 1997; Low 2003) are called *Gated Communities* in international sources.[2] These settlements firstly originated in America, but started to expand in a global scale afterwards. The same settlements became widespread after the 1980s in Turkey, and it did not happen until the 2000s in Diyarbakır (Genç, 2014; Gürhan, 2015).

Secured housings are examined in a lot of ways depending upon the Lefebvre's concept of urban society and its effects. This concept has become an interesting topic for many disciplines such as economics, politics, environment, architecture, geography, anthropology, sociology. It constituted a large field in terms of examining the effects of late capitalism, neoliberal rationality, the global

[2] As it will be explained in the following chapters, there are two types of gated communities. The first is the villa-like residences in suburbs, and the latter is closed condominiums.

economy, security systems, spatial segregation and the public realm (Sassen, 1991; Low, 2003; Candan ve Kolluoğlu, 2015; Peck ve Tickell, 2002; Blakely ve Synder, 1997; Tas, 2016; Ay, 2013; Muhlis, 2015; Tümtaş, 2011; Bağdu, 2010). From a holistic point of view, it is possible to talk about both affirming (Webster, 2001) and negating (Roitman, 2005; Low, 2003; Calderia, 2000, Blakely ve Snyder, 1997) secured housing areas by looking at the studies carried out in this field.

As it can be seen from above, it is an interdisciplinary field connected to researches carried out in many different fields and contexts. The subject of this study is mainly about the dynamics influenced by gated communities in an urban scale. As a result, the aim of the study is to examine the influence of gated communities expanding in Diyarbakır specifically on the city structure. The main motivation and postulate of problematizing this case is about the transformation of city form by these kinds of settlements Kayapınar district which introduced as the modern face of the city is in the development axis which continues to develop. As explained by Kıtay (2002), the city is located on four main axes: Mardin Road, Elazıg Road, Urfa Road and Bingol Road. By looking at the city development plans and the urban development that took place after the 2000s, it is possible to observe that the city has developed in the axes of Urfa Road and Elazig Road. Therefore, it causes city center to shift from its original location. This situation causing the high possibility of transformation in terms of urban and housing forms might influence the transformation of Diyarbakır's city form. As a result, the structure of this study was formed around the socio-spatial segregation, public space-private space contention, the commodification of security, and visibility of the economic-political orientation of the power mechanisms resulted by these housing. Therefore, this study mainly aims to answer following questions:

- How have the housing forms changed in Diyarbakır since the 2000s?
- Who are the actors thought to have an impact on this situation?
- If there is a change, what are the dynamics affecting it?
- How have the processes (global capitalism, neoliberalism etc.) experienced both on a global and on a local scale been reflected in the district of Kayapınar?

- What are the reasons behind the fact that many of the buildings are secure and isolated from outside in this district which was opened for construction after 1999?
- What is the importance of trust and insecurity in this context?
- What is the impact of local governments as a ruling mechanism in this context?
- How does the relationship between capital and city progress in Kayapınar?
- What are the effects resulted by privatization of security in the context of social movements?

Literature Review

Since the gated housing is a phenomenon that emerged in the process of neoliberalization and late capitalism, it resonated both globally and locally. Therefore, the literature which is primarily formed internationally will be examined later in the case of Turkey.

By looking at the international literature, it can be observed that the first studies took place in the beginning of the 1990s. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* written by Mike Davis in 1990, is one of the first studies in the field. *Socioeconomic Analysis of Gated Communities* written by Paul Jorgensen in 1995 offered a deep socioeconomical analysis of gated communities. Again, in the same year, *The Rise of New Walled Cities: Spatial Practices* put forward by D. Judd focused on the popularization of gated communities. Later in 1996, *Are African-Americans Still Hypersegregated?* written by Nancy Denton in the scale of spatial decomposition became a part of the literature. This study written in the context of ethnicity and race-based housing discrimination and spatial segregation, can be evaluated within the context of Apartheid studies and researches about gated housing areas. Again, in the same year, the study called *Gated communities: Do They Really Stop Crime?* written by Kenneth Bud concentrates on crime rates and fear of security. He mainly focused on how effective gated communities are in terms of decreasing crime rates and protecting from crimes. Setha Low whose work is respected in the field has contributed to the literature, as well. Especially, her

works of *Urban fear: Building fortress America* (1997), *On The Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture* (2000) and *Behind the Gates: Life, Security and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America*, (2003) are among the studies that founded the field and referenced the most. *Fortress America: Gated communities in the United States* written by Blakely and Synder in 1997, is one of the most referenced studies in the literature and their typology is widely adopted. In this comprehensive study, gated housing areas were analyzed in the suburban context. They mentioned the privatization and the shift of these housing forms from public to private. In the 2000s, Klaus Frantz wrote *Gated communities in the USA: A New Trend in Urban Development* to explain gated communities as the new urban form in USA. This study puts an emphasis on the fact that polarization and privatization of urban services has become widespread in the related field. It is stated in the study called *The Pedestrian Behavior of Residents in Gated Communities* written by Matthew Burke in 2001 that gated communities are alienated from the society and privatization of public spaces, similar to the other studies. The typology put forward by Burke is another study that is heavily referenced in the literature. Most of the important studies were carried out in 2000 in the literature which intensified especially after 2000s. The main ones are *Exclusive Greenry: New Gated Communities in Cairo* written by Petra Kuppinger, *Gated Housing Estates in the Arab World: Case Studies in Lebanon and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia* written by Glasze and Alkhayyal, *Private Communities and China's Dual Land Market* written by Webster, *Gated Communities in Southern California: Assessing the Geographical Aspects of Urban Secession* written by Le Goix and *Property Rights and the Public Realm: Gates, Green-belts, and Gemeinshaft* again, written by Le Goix. *Gated Communities: The New Ideal Way of Life in Natal*, Brazil by Silva, focused on the areas with condominiums. This study particularly touches on the privatization of public spaces. According to Silva, gated housing areas are influenced by the local and federal governments. He also emphasizes that a culture of fear is created by these structures. Marg*inalization in Urban China* written by Wu and Webster is a study that centers on poverty. This study especially focuses on social polarization and urban inequalities rather than gated housing areas. Another important work

focusing on gated communities in China is *Gated Communities in China Class, Privilege and the Moral Politics of the Good Life* written by Choon-Piew. This study is specifically structured around gated housing areas, and it also emphasizes that social inequality is for the benefit of high-income residents living in these settlements. *Understanding Indonesia's Gated Communities and Their Relationship with Inequality* written by Sonia Roitman and Redento B. Recio is a study dealing mainly with gated communities located in the cities of Yogyakarta and Jakarta in Indonesia. This study contributes to the literature of gated communities in two ways. The first is that it offers a deep historical analysis of gated communities. The second contribution is that it puts forward a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between upper-middle class and these housing forms. Moreover, this study mainly explains income inequality with the concept of rooted inequality. *The Security Grills on Apartments in Gated Communities: Trending off 3D and 2D Landscapes of Fear in China* written by Guibo Sun and Chris Webster is work based on a field study in which approximately 2400 people took part. This study has been carried out about gated housing areas by centering on the instinct of escape from insecurity and protection through iron fences. 2D is described as the protection ensured by gates to the communities, whereas 3D refers to the protection of apartments with gratings, that is iron grills. It would not be wrong to state that this in-depth analysis has made a very important contribution to the literature. *Perception of Security Risk in Gated and Non-gated Communities in Lahore, Pakistan* is another study carried out by Humna Bint-e Waheed and Obaidullah Nadeem. This study which focuses specifically on the city of Lohore is a comparative study dealing with the perception of security risk in settlements with and without gates. *A Toponymic Investigation of South African Gated Communities* by Manfred Spocter is another study offering a topological analysis of gated communities located in Western Cape, South Africa. As it approaches the subject from a topological point of view, its contribution to the literature cannot be underestimated. He focused mainly on naming conventions by using Bourdieu's explicit concept of *symbolic capital* and topologically analyzing the names given to gated communities. *Crime and Social Connectedness in Malaysian Gated*

Communities conducted by Intan Hashimah Mohd Hashim, Norzarina Mohd-Zaharim, Premalatha Karupiah, Nor Hafzah Selamat, Noraida Endut and Azwan Azmawati Azman analyzes the data gathered from the participation of 240 people in terms of crime exposure, perceptions of security, adverse effects associated with crime exposure and the way social connectedness affects subjective happiness in Malaysia. As for Latin America, *Spatial Characterization and Mapping of Gated Communities* conducted by Agnes Silva de Araujo and Alfredo Pereira de Queiroz is a study dealing with mapping of gated communities according to the land cover map and life quality index. As for Middle East, *Benchmarking Perceived Quality among Gated Communities Using VIKOR: A Study from Kurdistan Region of Iraq* written by Jalal Saadoon and Nizar Najim Othman is a valuable work contributing to the literature. This is a benchmarking study examining gated communities in terms of perceived quality. This study which specifically focuses on the city of Sulaymaniyah analyzes gated communities comparatively using VIKOR method. Another important study in the context of Middle East is a postgraduate thesis called *Housing Transforming in Erbil and Gated Community Development: The Case of Italian City* by Mustafa Muhlis. This study puts forward an in-depth analysis of gated communities through the example of Erbil. Another study involving Mustafa Muhlis and Ahmet Demir is *An Evaluation of Gated Communities as a Product an Emprical Study in Sulaimaniyah, Iraq*. This study is developed focusing on the city of Sulaymaniyah. When the detailed studies carried out in the Middle East scale about gated communities, Anthony H. Cordesman wrote *Securing Baghdad with Gated Communities* in 2007. This report draws a line of analysis on the usefulness of gated housing areas based on the large boundaries of the region and failure of ensuring security due to the complexity[3] of these areas. According to the report, gated housing areas are regarded as the only way to provide physical security.

[3] Political complexity of ethnical diversity
See also: https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/media/csis/pubs/070420_burkecommentary.pdf

When we look at the emerging literature of critical urban studies in Turkey, it is possible to observe that the literature generally developed after the 2000s. *Tarz-ı Hayat'tan Lifestyle'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekânlar, Yeni Yaşamlar* (From Life Style to Lifestyle: New Elite, New Spaces, New Lives) written by N. R. Bali is an early study which can be considered as pioneering in the field. With this study, Bali aims to examine ever-changing spaces and lifestyles. Another important study which is frequently referenced due to its typology focusing on Turkey is *İstanbul'da Kentsel Ayrışma: Mekânsal Dönüşümde Farklı Boyutlar* (Urban Segregation in Istanbul: Different Dimensions in Spatial Transformation) by Hatice Kurtuluş. Among the pioneering studies in the literature, Kurtuluş and Geniş's studies dealing with gated settlements as a result of neoliberalism are outstanding. *Gated Communities as a Representation of New Upper and Middle Classes in Istanbul* by Kurtuluş is an important study dealing with these residences with respect to neoliberalism. *Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul* by Şerife Geniş, similar to Kurtuluş's topic, explains this phenomenon in terms of neoliberalism relationship. Another important study is a thesis study titled *A New Trend in Urbanization: Gated Communities in Istanbul* written by A. Gülümser. Also, *Steril Hayatlar: Kentte Mekansal Arışma ve Güvenlikli Siteler* (Sterile Lives: Spatial Research and Safe Sites in the City) written by K. Alver has an important place in the literature. By looking at the literature, it can be observed that there are a lot of studies focusing on İstanbul and Ankara. In addition, some studies about other cities have started to emerge. Some of those are: *Güvenlikli Sitelerde İnşa Edilen Sosyo-Mekânsal İlişkiler ve Sosyo-Mekânsal Ayrışma* (Socio-Spatial Relations and Socio-Spatial Segregations Constructed in Secured Housings) which is a doctoral thesis written by Levent Taş, *Privatization Of Security And The Transformatıon of The Modern Bourgeois State In The Neoliberal Era: The Case of Turkey* which is a postgraduate thesis written by Çağlar Dölek, *Sosyal Ve Mekansal Ayrışma Kapsamında Konut - Kamusal Alan İlişkilerinin Ataköy Örneği Üzerinden İrdelenmesi (Examination of Residences And Public Spaces Relations*

Within Social Segregation and Spatial Fragmentation: In The Case Of Ataköy) which is also a doctoral thesis written by Meryem Melis Cihan, *Türkiye'de Kapılı Topluluk Yerleşimleri- Edirne Avrupa Kent Örneği* (Gated Communities in Turkey: Edirne European Cities) again, a postgraduate thesis by Demet Onur, a postgraduate thesis titled *Gated Communities and Sign Value: Logic of Segregation in the Case of Ankara* by Handan Karakaş, another postgraduate thesis titled *Sosyal Kontrolün Yeni Biçimi Olarak Özel Güvenlik Birimleri: Site Yerleşimlerinde Yaşayanlar Üzerinde Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz, Ankara Örneği (P*rivate Security Units As A New Type Of Social Control: Comparative Analyze On Gated- Community Residents, Ankara Sample*)* by Mustafa Deyan, *Place Attachment and Gated Communities: The Case of Soyak Mavişehir, İzmir* which is also a postgraduate thesis written by Ebru Bengisu.

When we look at the Diyarbakir scale, we see that a lot of contribution has been made to the literature with important studies. As an inclusive study, it possible to give Fırat Genç's *Politics in Concrete: Social Production of Space in Diyarbakir, 1999-2014* as an example. In his study, Genç analyzed the 14-year-long process in the city by viewing neoliberal city planning in the context of hegemony. His work focusing especially on types of dwelling production is an eye-opener for future studies. Genç who also mentions Kayapınar district and its gated communities in his work, focuses on the city from an economic and a political way as a sociologist. Another important study is *Rethinking Urban Transformation and Contested Spaces: The Case of Diyarbakır* by Ronay Bakan. Bakan focused on the production and transformation of space in Suriçi. In particularly, the study is vital in context of contentious politics and the dynamics of collective political struggle. Another study of the literature is a postgraduate thesis titled *Diyarbakır'daki Dışa Kapalı Konut Yerleşmelerinde Kullanıcı Memnuniyetinin İncelenmesi: Hamravat Ve Gökkuşağı Yerleşmeleri* (An Invesiıgation of the User Satisfaction in the Gated Housing Settlements of Diyarbakir: Hamravat and Gökkuşağı Settlements) by İlham Yılmaz Ay which focuses on gated communities in terms of single-detached dwelling forms in Diyarbakır. Ay who talks about the contexts of dwelling forms and user

satisfaction, has written his thesis in the field of architecture. *Diyarbakır'da Yeni Zenginliğin Mekânsal ve Toplumsal Yansımaları: Diclekent ve Metropol Örneği* (Spatial and social reflections of nouveau riche in Diyarbakır: Diclekent and Metropol sample) which is a doctoral thesis put forward by Nazife Gürhan, structures her work around the class organization of space and the transformation of the city form. Gürhan who carried out her field work as a sociologist, examined the effects of urban spaces on life economically. *Diyarbakır'da Nüfus Hareketlilikleri ve Konut İhtiyacının Karşılanması Için Çözüm Yöntemleri Tartışması* (The Movement in the Population of Diyarbakır and Discussion, Methods to Solve the Housing Issue) by Selvi Kıtay mainly focuses on dwellings. Kıtay who carried out this work as an architect, channeled the historicity of dwelling forms into the literature. *Suriçi'ni Ev Mekanı Üzerinden Düşünmek* (Thinking of Suriçi Through Home Space) by İclal Ayşe Küçükkırca focuses on house as a space. Küçükkırca who structured her study through housing anthropology, examined the concept of house as a public-private space, memory location and a space of privacy. Duygu Canan Öztürk concentrates on space, unequal development and local administrations in her postgraduate thesis titled *Socio-Spatial Practices of the Pro-Kurdish Municipalities the Case of Diyarbakır. Political Debt and Development Discourse: Translating Incommensurable Worlds in Diyarbakir* by Onur Günay deals with the political operators and the discourse of development.

When we look at the works put forward by Turkish researchers, we see that discussions and academic studies on the city and housing forms have started to intensify in recent years. Especially, the studies on Kayapınar district, which is a new settlement area, are increasing rapidly. The studies carried out so far has been mainly written by architects and sociologists. However, it is important to state that this field in question is new and limited. Secondly, the studies on the transformation of urban settlement patterns in the international literature will be used in this paper. Studies on the gated housing areas the number of which have increased in recent

years are still few in the local literature, except for Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir examples. These settlements are not analyzed much, especially in the context of the transformative effect of the city form. It can be stated that this is normal, as it is a quite new field of study even in the global scale.

Methodology: Looking Through Anthropological Perspective

Since this study aims to investigate the subject based on urban experience, it will be executed according to anthropological method and field work. For this study, in-depth interviews were made with 35 building occupants in 15 closed condimiums in the area between Mahabad boulevard and 75-meter ring road. In addition to this, meetings were held with representatives of local administration and chamber of architects who were involved in the design process of respective housings. This study will be mainly based on qualitative data and analysis, although its study pattern is a mixed model in which quantitative and qualitative data were used together. While determining the sample set and interviewees, preparation was carried out on the field.

I did theoretical reading on the subject besides the field work in order to answer questions about the process of urbanization in Diyarbakır after 2000s. When we look at the literature, we can see that former studies were mostly developed by sociologists, urban planners, architects and architectural historians. However, when we look at the recent urban studies which were established on a global scale, we especially see that those which were related to securized housings are gradually increasing. I am also closer to the methodology which I mentioned as secondary. Because I adopt the idea that urban spaces have a continuity and a communal process. At this point, it would be appropriate to mention *spatial form/communal process* duality which Harvey (2003) also mentioned. I embrace the state which tries to understand one part of this duality by keeping the other fixed in this

workflow. With this work, I will investigate the notion of communality by dealing with a physical settlement as a spatial form. This kind of analysis will allow us to handle time and space intersection in which we are present.

Inspecting a city with an anthropological method provides us two significant advantages. First one makes it easier to grasp the urbanization process as an object of production. This situation will provide an analysis in the context of cultural continuity especially for the cities those have historical engagement. When Tanyeli refers to *cultural disconnection* (2013) and questions whether there was a disconnection between pre-modern cultural accumulation and modern form or not, he touches the concept of cultural continuity. This work in its context aims to analyze the case of possible disconnection and what kind of accumulation was there in the process while the state of cultural continuity caused this accumulation in the city since the ancient times. This approach is centered itself as accepting that the city has a layered process and as a collectively produced phenomenon. This situation has a power which is destructive towards the political discourse. Especially at certain times, there is a desire to develop a destructive discourse against discourses those pacify the city by referencing certain communities, ethnicities and groups. In this context, I claim that spaces which can be considered on an urban scale, are rather strong and resilient structures contrary to what most studies in the literature. These spaces, which have witnessed different civilizations throughout the process, show that they have a structure that transcends respected communities rather than being a limited phenomenon by carrying the traces of the cultural transfer. This is one of the main sensitivities of anthropological emphasis. Secondly, trying to make the current process understandable throughout the experiences of individuals and analyzing the imagined urban model which is tried to be established through these discourses will reveal both the reasons of the subject and also the information about the results.

CHAPTER 1

1. THEORICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. Public Space and Private Space

Public space is often used to define an accessible, visible space, while private space refers to a closed, isolated from outside and sheltered structure (Peters & Cmiel, 259; Arendt, 1994; Sennet, 1996; Habermas, 1997). On the other hand, from an urban perspective, the private space is associated with family and privacy and it conflicts with the definition of public space in this neoliberal era. With the emergence of gated community areas, public spaces and socialization areas are privatized as areas accessible by only certain society members.

A literature survey revealed that the difference between public space and private space is dealt with differently by different scholars. From a historical perspective described by Mumford, public space refers to an open space with Agora's concept and explained by a space that is not surrounded by a fence or walls, used by the public for public purposes (Mumford, 2007). According to Arendt, the concept of public space dates back to the emergence of the Ancient Greeks (Arendt, 2012: 65). Moreover, Arendt introduced the concept of social space and the difference between public and private space. Arendt explains the development of private spaces and its transformation to public places through the table metaphor. This is similar to a world consisting of "objects" and a table shared by those who sit around it Accordingly, like everything between them, this world relates and segregates people (Arendt, 2012:92-95). As analyzed by Habermas, it is believed that public space is undergoing a transformation towards a masculine and rational individual identity. According to Habermas, public space is a common social space where people come together and interact freely or partake in their activities without violating the privacy of other people. Habermas argues that the publicness dates back to the middle ages and that it can be defined within the concept of the

bourgeois public sphere, dating back to the 18th century. It's understandable from his statements that Habermas addressed the concept of the public sphere through a historical perspective and analyzed it, especially up to the period of bourgeois society, the period in which the distinction between public and private spaces emerged according to him. It is argued that the concepts of public and private space were not clear in medieval European society, accordingly, recognizing the prince's seal as public in this period was not a coincidence. Habermas pointed out that there was a public representation of power in the Middle Ages, so it is not possible tomake a distinction between private and public in that period. Habermas also addressed the similarity and distinction between public and private spaces through a historical perspective. It was implied that beginning from the end of the nineteenth century, the public's interventions in individuals' private exchanges indirectly affected their impulses from the private space (Olgun, 2017). According to Habermas, public space was a symbolic space in the Middle Ages and this symbolic public space was directly related to the presence of a ruler (Habermas, 2004:97; as cited in Olgun, 2017). The representative public space in the Middle Ages and the lack of a real public space appear as city walls on an urban scale. For example, as the city walls determine the city boundaries in Diyarbakır, these walls symbolize representative publicity. Today, this representative publicity can be seen in public buildings and the early Republican period as government buildings in Turkey. Another example of usual publicity is the new side of the city's preference in the city's construction instead of the urban area in the Early Republican period. Evaluating the case for Diyarbakır city, this situation played an influential role in the construction of the city outside the city walls. The municipality building and other government buildings were first built in the area outside the city walls.

The Bourgeois public sphere is the main concept of the study. According to Habermas, the bourgeois public sphere is associated with public space. Habermas argued that the bourgeois public sphere developed in the space between power and society by nourishing from the private space. Political power and wealth played an important role here. Habermas's bourgeois public sphere contributed to the

realization of the legitimacy of the property-ownership bourgeois as a result of discussion between private persons (Yukselbaba, 2008: 67). This situation can be considered as the masculine and class-based privatization of the public space. This is because the person considered and imagined in the bourgeois public sphere is the rich, white and has a masculine personality. Habermas explained the transformation of the public space as immanent to capitalism. Accordingly, it can be said that Habermas tried to define the factors affecting the internal rigidity, transformation and degeneration of bourgeois society by criticizing it (Yukselbaba, 2008; 134). At this point, we can see the signs of the bourgeois public sphere in gated community areas. Leslie Kern addressed the masculinity in public space from a similar perspective to Habermas's framework of analysis. For example, Kern explained this situation by saying that;

> Many of these barriers are invisible to men, because their own set of experiences means they rarely encounter them. This means that the primary decision-makers in cities, who are still mostly men, are making choices about everything from urban economic policy to housing design, school placement to bus seating, policing to snow removal with no knowledge, let alone concern for, how these decisions affect women. The city has been set up to support and facilitate the traditional gender roles of men and with men's experiences as the "norm," with little regard for how the city throws up roadblocks for women and ignores their day-to-day experience of city life. This is what I mean by the "city of men." (Kern, 2019: 12).

Therefore, in Lefebvre's words, urban society turns into a masculine form and reduces women to a secondary role. Thus, women's rights become things spoken and decided about by men. The other objectified subject that accompanies women's secondary role in the modern world is children. Like women, the same publicity applies to children in which the best decisions are given through masculine power mechanisms. The emphasis that children and women belong to the private space implies a judgment justifying this situation. This situation, which is discussed in the context of suburban and gated communities, was criticized by feminist geographers as "*the unnamed issue*" (Kern, 2019). Suburbs' physical

structure, shape, control mechanism, and character, which highlights the class inequality, were examined and discussed in this context. Accordingly, Kern said as follow:

> We take the suburbs largely for granted now as a kind of organic outgrowth of big cities and a result of a natural need for more space and bigger family homes. However, the suburbs are anything but natural. Suburban development fulfilled very specific social and economic agendas. From providing much-needed housing for returning soldiers and their growing families to giving a boost to the post-war manufacturing sector, the suburbs were an essential component of a plan to sustain economic growth, especially after World War II. In North America, government programs facilitating home ownership turned us into nations of home owners, tying workers to their mortgages in a move that some felt would produce a more conservative, and importantly, anti-communist society. The residential real estate sector grew into one of the most significant components of the twentieth-century economy—so significant, that when the U.S. housing sector was undermined by risky lending practices in 2007, it triggered a global economic crisis. Perhaps most critically, as feminist architect Dolores Hayden notes, "single family suburban homes have become inseparable from the [North] American dream, of economic success and upward mobility. Their presence pervades every aspect of economic, social, and political life." (Kern, 2019: 36)

Kern argued that the lifestyle imposed and capitalized in the suburbs presupposes a heterosexual nuclear family where one parent works outside the home and the other works at home. This structure is essential for the allocation and institutionalization of public and private spaces. According to Sherilyn MacGregor, this structure creates a basis to legitimize the gender division of labor as much as possible (MacGregor, 1995). This distinction became obvious by the suburbs, and the distinction between public and private space is considered a weakening of public space by Jane Jacobs (2011).

Considering the urbanization process in the case of Diyarbakır, while the public space becomes a playground and public space for the masculine personality. Women and children remain in private space. The patriarchal social structure, the

necessity of supervision of the child and the emphasis on the relationship between women and private space constitute the basis of the statements that emphasize today's publicity. From an urban perspective, gated dwelling areas increase the spatial feasibility of these statements.

Consequently, it can be argued that the urban structure became the mold of personal and social relations. However, this mold has a flexible structure that can expand at particular aspects and take shape to a certain extent. Therefore, this transition has an impact on transforming the individuals" living space. Benedict's analysis that society and individuals are not irreconcilable opposing elements is also recognized in the present study. Individuals will contribute to cultural customs to some extent (Benedict,2011:383). However, this contribution is based on the advantages and disadvantages of the individual's living conditions. Therefore, any situation where identity/ethnicity is obvious (or creates a more or less tense burden) also shows the signs of unequal economic and political relations. [Larrain said, "Whenever a contradictory and unequal confrontation occurs between cultures, a cultural identity arises, whether through occupation, colonialism, or even advanced forms of communication." Larrain (1995: 197)]. The difference in the city building strategies of trustees and mayors is a concrete example of this contradictory situation, especially in the case of local governments.

1.2. Housing in the Neoliberal Era

When we look at neoliberalism's concept in the written resources, discourses show that there are different views, but basically, neoliberalism majorly has an ambiguous structure. According to Foucault, neoliberalism asserts more effective intrusiveness than liberalism and manages individuals through environmental interventions (Foucault, 2013). Foucault explained this situation by saying, "*The power compositions in which the dominant power for state domination over a territory and the disciplinary power that employs the bodies for maximum efficiency and the security mechanisms that regulate the population movements alternately*

dominate each other" (Foucault, 2005: xxvi) Foucault explained the neoliberal rationality and organization of space in the following sentences:

> When a power form tries to manage a certain population by organizing their environment, that is, interfering with people's environments rather than their bodies, it encounters a population that resists. Such environment management can emerge through the state's monopoly or force. It can take forms that remind of the former sovereign power. An attempt can be made to establish sovereignty -like an empire establishes over its land- over the city's population, which resists this environmental management. In short, while securing the freedom of movement of people and goods by law, the neoliberal power determines how this movement will be controlled, especially through city and zoning policies, and can choose to establish sovereign and/or disciplinary powers over the individuals who oppose these policies. State authority can appear to allow the freedom of movement and expression of citizens in its territory. However, it can also take a form of sovereignty that suspends freedom of movement by defining protest movements against the ways of determining the limits of this freedom as extraordinary situations." (Foucault, 2005: xxvi)

Also, as Brown puts it, neoliberalism is often described as a slippery signifier. This slipperiness can vary in spatial and temporal context (Brown, 2018). As Brown cited, Foucauldian neoliberalism is a unique mentality and evaluation system. Similarly, Brown; Dardot and Laval have definitions of Foucauldian neoliberalism as well. In this context, neoliberalism is described as the whole of discourses, practices and mechanisms which determine the dominant rationality of today, and as a consequence of this, the mentality of the contemporary capitalism and a new style of regulating people under the principle of universal competition (Dardot & Laval, 2018). From this point of view, this totality emerges with its political aspect (the conquest of the authority by neoliberal forces), economic aspect (the breakthrough of globalized financial capitalism), social aspect (the individualization of social relations in a way that harms collective solidarity, the extreme polarization of rich and poor) and the subjective aspect (emergence of a new subject and the development of new mental pathologies) (Dardot & Laval, 2018). By mid-1970s, we see that neoliberalism was discursively and practically in

the agenda both as a limb of capitalism and as a new paradigm. In short, the evaluation of neoliberalism from Foucault's framework, which is an important path for the mentioned thinkers, is valuable for this study. In a Foucauldian sense, *as techniques ruling individuals through environmental interventions (*Foucault, 2013), neoliberalism is a strategy frequently used in the reconstruction of cities and the organization of spaces and leads to a way that allows a capitalist mode of production.

Also, Harvey describes neoliberalism as a theory of political-economic practices above all. According to this theory, Harvey claims that the best way to increase human welfare is to set free the individual enterprise's skills and opportunities within an institutional framework based on strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade (Harvey, 2015). At this point, we can define neoliberal policies as an agreement between the state and capital. Securing the private property rights of the capital owners and ensuring the existence of trade and economic exchange are some of the basic conditions of neoliberalism. Harvey interprets neoliberalism as a utopian project to execute a theoretical design aiming to reorganize international capitalism or as a political project to return power to the elite members in the economy and restore capital accumulation conditions. Harvey regards neoliberalism economically as a new form of capitalism and overcoming the crisis of capitalism in the 1970s.

Dwelling and the city had some changes in this period due to the nature of this period. A dwelling is defined as a shelter for one or more households with basic needs such as harmony, cooking, protection from a cold and hot climate, washing and restroom required by human life (Keles, 1980). The necessity of a housing met in different geographies provided an increase of examples with similar structures throughout different geographies with the influence of modernization, capitalism, and technology. This situation started to be more intense in the 20th and 21st centuries, especially with the influence of industrialization and the developments which are defined as the paradigm of neoliberalism after the 1970s. The conflict of

interests in different income groups on a local scale, disengagement from the empire and the republican transition process also affected the form of residence spatially. Therefore, developing traditional and modern housing forms have transformed the environments of today's cities. The fact that income sources are not evenly distributed in urban space has also accelerated the conflicts and disagreements spatially.

Dwellings have gained a socio-economic background and respond to the needs of human bio-social shelter after the industrial revolution and mechanization. Industrialization should be explained in two aspects here; First, the cities' increased significance with industrialization brought up subjects such as the construction, planning, and future of the cities. Second, since most of the old craftsmanship disappeared with the industrialization, bankrupt artisans joined the proletariat[4]. Developing mechanization after the industrial revolution and acceleration in the production brought growth in the urban space, migration and over-population. Population and tools of production are piled in the cities in the process of capitalization, the fact that the economic power is gathered around the urban elite also replaced the political centralism (Keles, 1972). The handover of capital and means of production shows itself as a spatial change as well. The majority of the underdeveloped countries' experiences show that even if there has been an increase in income with urbanization, a fair distribution has not followed this increase. In other words, urbanization can negatively influence the distribution of the wealth between the areas and classes while contributing to the increase of wealth (Keles, 1972). Therefore, spaces begin to transform with two different textures in bourgeois society. From this point of view, industrialization has turned the society into spatially decomposed groups as employer-employee. As we approach today, it has

[4] Begel, Egon Ernest, (1996), "*Kentlerin Doğuşu*" (Trans.: Özden Arıkan) Cogito: Kent ve Kültürü, Yapı Kredi Publisher, İstanbul.

started to gain completely different features. Especially, Engels' political analysis of the housing in *The Conditions of the Working Class in England* reveals this situation for the first time (Tanyeli, 2006: 26). The Transformation of the city according to the role in the context of capital and means of production occurred during this period for the first time. Therefore, it is transforming into a phenomenon which reflects the relation between space and power. Lefebvre claims in *La production de L'espace* that space is not just a plane, but it is a state which governs and is governed by power mechanisms and management tools. According to Lefebvre, it is vital to establish a certain control over space for a social group that aims to protect or change space-power relations. Different aims and benefits of different classes, groups and individuals, contradictions and struggles on the basics establish the foundation of socio-spatial change (Şengül, 2009: 16). Naturally, the relationship of the housing with the conjunctural situation in the process is very close.

In recent years, developments in urban overpopulation in the global economy, technology and globalization have added economic and political value to the dwelling in addition to social and communal values. The material and cultural impact of globalization has shown itself as the emergence of different capitalist styles (Keyder,2013). The commodification of the dwelling on a global scale has enabled them to channel themselves into the neoliberal capitalization process. This integration has made it easier for dwelling to become an object of consumption. Dwelling consumption, which is also defined as mass consumption, became an investment target, especially in the 1980s. Especially with the situation's industrialization, organizations such as real estate investment partnerships and the *Capital Markets Board* have been formed. The main purpose of the Capital Markets Board is to ensure that the savings are invested in stocks and bonds so that people can efficiently and often contribute to economic development. It is also to manage and inspect that capital market can function with trust, transparency and

determination; the rights and benefits which belong to the owners of savings are protected.[5]

The dwelling as a capital object started to spread globally, especially in the neoliberal period. *The capital subvention* (Merrifield, 2017), which is the main feature of the neoliberal period, provided a great spread, especially for dwelling with the shift of investments to the construction sector. At this point, dwelling have become not only mass consumers of products (Castells, 2017) and household consumption but also a commodity that constantly compares itself with the new ones. We see that the dwelling has achieved a form with status quo and class images through consumption culture in this context. The situation has turned into a structure that enables individuals to gain identity through their consumption, as Taş (2016) analyzed (Bourdieu, 1995; Lefebvre; 1998; Baudrillard; 2004). When we look at the economy on a global scale, we see that the commodification of the dwelling, the close relationship between the economic/financial crisis, which happened in 2007 and still has an impact ongoing, and the global economy were closely related to dwelling industry and dwelling loans. The concept of Mortgage, which has just entered our lives in this period, establishes the basis of this crisis. High-risk subprime mortgaged dwelling loans to households with low income and poor credit history lie at the bottom of the crisis (Hevner, 2009:135). This crisis caused by the USA has shown its impacts in almost every country with the globalization. The formation of gated communities, which we have evaluated in the context of this work, goes back to the Second World War (Kern, 2019). Nevertheless, another factor that has become popular on a global scale is the imagination presented as *the American Dream*.

The dynamic management actors and the area they represent are the factors that should carefully be evaluated while arguing about the dwelling. Especially by

[5] See also for *Capital Markets Board*: https://www.spk.gov.tr/Sayfa/Index/0/1/1

defining where these administrative borders end and start, we can see the actors' impacts more easily on the planning of the city center. Mapping of the different administrative borders was considered valuable in analyzing urban agglomeration in *Urban Indicators Guidelines: Monitoring the Habitat Agenda and the Millennium Development Goals* published by the United Nations Human Settlements Program in 2014. Especially the identification and specification of agglomeration can be investigated easier in this way. In addition to this category, periodic decisions and laws are significant for improving employment.

1.3. Housing in Turkey on the Era of Neoliberal Capitalism

When we look at the practice of urbanization and dwelling construction specific to Turkey, analyzing it with periods will provide a clear framework. Şengül made a tripartite distinction for the republican urban era: they are 1923-1950 Early Republican Period (Nation-State) Urbanization, 1950-1980 Urbanization of Labor, and the 1980-2000 Urbanization of Capital. For this study, the category established by Tarık Şengül will be used, and obtained data will be developed over it. Şengül defines the situation mentioned with small-scaled capital as the urbanization of the nation-state and the labor urbanization. Urbanization is described as a public housing, cooperative housing, corruption with slum amnesty and the introduction of the medium and large-scaled capital to the industry since the Early Republican Period in Turkey. Medium and Large-scaled capital points to the neoliberal period, in which the companies with foreign owners, TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey), cooperatives, banks and investment partnerships exist as intermediaries. Tekeli concretely explains this categorization, which we adopt as follows:

> The urban rents which occurred before January 24, 1980, were divided considerably widespread among urbanites. Older landowners in the cities were getting shares from this rent by transferring their properties to the property developer in return for a floor. The bureaucrats in the city were

> holding a share through the housing cooperatives they established. Many small-scaled business entrepreneurs were saving a preliminary accumulation in this way. Small-scaled producers were benefitting from the industrial sites here. The industrialist, who established a factory in a large area outside the city, could use the property's ever-growing value to increase the amount of credit received by putting the property as insurance. To some extent, former slum owners also benefited from this rent by selling their slum lands to newcomers. In this sense, large-scaled capital owners left the urban rents to small-scaled entrepreneurs and former landowners of the cities; they were getting industrialization rents through import substitution with a monopolistic structure in a protected domestic market. These monopolistic rents did not require them to be interested in land rent. During the Özal governments, an economic shift began to occur in this division of rents. Large-scale capital's tendency to take a share from urban rents increased (Tekeli, 175)

As mentioned above, the construction of the housing industry, which was developing since the 1980s, caused major issues due to the global 2007 crisis. There are impacts of this global crisis on the example of Turkey. In particular, the January 24 decision can be considered as the beginning of these impacts. According to TURKSTAT data, there was an increase in construction permits by %50.6 in 2004 and %51.3 in 2005. There was a decline in 2006 and 2007 (Karayalçın, 2009). According to Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency (BDDK) data, housing loans, which were increasing rapidly until the crisis, fell after this period (Karayalçın,2009). In this process, some methods were developed in 2008 to find solutions for financial depression. The loan of comfort is a method of crediting by the construction company without any other intermediary. On the other hand, the exchange occurred with real estate by simply bartering methods (Karayalçın,2009).

In general, since the urbanization process was considered in the age of capitalism, we see the effectiveness of the official ideology firstly, secondly slumbering as a response to the first step urbanization, becoming a cooperative in the third period and the impact of the Capital-Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ) (Şengül, 2009).

1.3.1. The Transforming of the Small-Scale Investment

When we look from a historical perspective, the first signs of housing cooperatives are seen in the 1880s. This situation, which was considered for the settlement of soldiers who came to Istanbul during the war period, occurred due to the housing need. This housing typology is one of the first examples of collective housing (Keleş, 1982). Also, in this period, we see the tendency towards apartmentalization. The apartment building can be explained by the gradual transformation of the housing type, which was emerged to answer the housing need into a capital. Because the majority of the housing buildings before the apartment were a type made for individual use and non-profitable. The landowners and the entrepreneurs may be the same person in the housing built during this period. There is generally one to one relationship with the people involved in the construction (Tekeli,2010). While the city centre, which was intensified during this period, consisting of apartment buildings, the newly enriched people and the noble part of the city also turned to the perimeters. One example of this can be given as the vineyards which were built at the outer edge of Diyarbakır. The Urbanization experience was on a small-scale until the 1950s in the early Republican period.

One of the most critical decisions regarding urbanization and housing production in this period was the Municipal Law No. 1580 of 14 April 1930 (Tekeli, 1998). There are conditions on the active role of local governments in housing production within this law[6]. Paragraph 86 which was mentioned as *Making cheap municipal housings and renting by constructing in the name of the municipality, and preventing profit by selling to the people who want to buy land and put it in order according to a new plan and reconstruct on the municipal lands which were suitable for growth and dilatation* is significant in this context. The Public Sanitary

[6] Municipal Law. (1930). Official Newspaper. https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/1471.pdf

Law No. 1593, which includes urban planning, has made it necessary to plan in housing areas with a population of over 20.000. These arrangements for zoning activities were followed by the Road Construction Law No. 2290 in 1933 and Law No. 2033, which is about establishing the municipal bank, Law No. 2722, about Municipalities Expropriation in 1934, and Law No. 2763 about Municipal Zoning Committee in 1935 (Tekeli, 1998). The first five-year development plan between 1962-1967, which is the first of the five-year plans structured for the planning and the development of the cities, had some significant breakthroughs on the subject of housing[7]. As mentioned by Keleş (2004), the need for social housing was included in this plan with the following phrase: "*In order to increase the supply of cheap housing in cities, it will be ensured that there will be a shift to social housing construction, which will enable more people to reside with the housing investments through tax, credit policies and other measures*."

In addition to the need for social housing, issues such as social justice in income distribution, inter-regional justice, and rapid population increase are also significant issues in the development plan. When we look from a broader perspective, the emergence of small-scale capitalists rent activities was also ensured by these laws and plans. The old housing and builders of the city, which we define as a small-scale capital, started to become more visible with the Condominium Law[8] in 1955 (Arslan, 2014). Additionally, Law No. 5656 provided significant transformations in 1950. Arslan explains this situation as "*Municipalities have made some duties mandatory with the order of the city council such as constructing housings and renting/selling them to the housing of the town, establishing revolving funds for this purpose and participating in building partnerships that will be established or are established, spending the money for housing which is %75 of the remaining part of the income of the families of the needy soldiers after their annual*

[7] 1963-1967 Development Plan, State Planning Organization. http://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Birinci_Bes_Yillik_Kalkinma_Plani-1962-1967.pdf

[8] Property Law, T.R. Presidency Legislation Information System. Accessed 5 April 2020. https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.634.pdf.

needs are met" (Özgür, 1998, as cited in Arslan, 2014). In addition to this, the Law No.6188 on Building Construction Encouragement and Unauthorized Buildings, institutions such as the Ministry of Local Planning, Ministry of Labor, Social Insurance Institution, Real Estate and Credit Bank, Cooperatives Law No. 1963 in 1969 and Policy No. 198080 National Housing Policy are significant developments in this period (Arslan, 2014).

1.3.2. Medium-Scale Investment: Collective Housing

When we look at the first examples of collective housing, the houses which were planned according to the role of government as an entrepreneur were perceived as collective housing. Collective housings are modeled after the lodgment type (Bilgin, 1996; as cited in Oskay, 2019). The first example of these situations is *the Worker Houses* built in Zonguldak. There is a tendency towards to choose slums in demand due to the insufficient housings by the public. These informal structures were later formally reconstructed by builders. The groups who could not fulfill the bureaucratic patterns of the legitimate housing construction, who migrated from village to city, initially started to build slums which can be easily rebuilt when they are destroyed on mostly the treasury lands in the parts of the city close to the labor market, including the areas which are not suitable for topographical conditions (Tekeli, 1998). One of the most important factors for developing the property development market is the apartment building process of the informally built slums in the 1970s (Çavuşoğlu, 2016). This process's official basis is the legitimacy of the condominium in *the Land Registry Law* enacted in 1954. Based on this, the way to property development was opened. In the first amnesty in 1955, the urban population benefited with 50,000 houses with a share of 14.7%, while the urban population benefited with 2,200,000 houses with a share of 27% (Tercan,1996). When we look at these 50 years, we see that the number of dwellings has increased during every amnesty with an increasing acceleration. The recent *Treaty of Zoning* is the last phase of this process. This situation, which turned into a market, has an important impact on the urbanization of Turkey. Collective

dwelling that are in consideration after individual subject dwellings enabled themselves to function and be preferred as commodities. This situation, which especially occurred under the management of cooperatives and property developers, enabled the dwelling industry's foundation and marketization. This trend, called Property Developer, also allowed the marketization of dwelling construction (Bilgin, 1996). The formal structuring of Property Developing and slums over the tender has led to an increase in the rate of apartmentalization across the country. The significance of condominium has increased with the transformation of the apartment blocks that they started to become a commercial commodity since they get their share from the land. Especially in the period after 1970, building presentation forms in the city have changed and mass production is empowered. This environment enabled mass production since the capital can be accumulated (Tekeli, 1998). As Tekeli reports, the mass dwelling presentation method was first proposed in the *Second Five-year Plan* as a solution in 1967. This process encouraged large-scale investment mobilization, resulting in the emergence of larger structures in larger areas. This reduced the impact of the dwelling market, which was previously under the small-scale investment's influence. Therefore, the buildings now have a structure formed with larger-scale housing production rather than piece by piece (Tekeli, 1998). Then, as Ruşen Keleş explained in *Nüfus, Kentleşme, Konut ve Konut Kooperatifleri* (Population, Urbanization, Housing and Housing Cooperatives), there was some effort for social housing production in the third five-year plan (Keleş, 1982). Housing construction and housing cooperatives were encouraged to deal with a low-income segment. While creating an orientation in this direction in the production of housing, local governments' administrative role was increasing at this point. The local government movement, which is defined as the "*New Municipality Movement*"[9] has shown the signs of development. Firstly, with the influence of Municipal Law and the impact of the local elections in 1973, this impact has led to the differentiation between local and central governments and

[9] The principles such as democracy, productiveness, resourcefulness, organization of social consumption, unity and integrity, executive regulation will become a supra- political party notion in the following years (Tekeli, 1998).

an emergence of a tension line (Tekeli, 1998). However, there were some big breaks in the urbanization process of Turkey in the 1980s. We see that the speed of the intense urbanization process, which was experienced between the years 1950-1980, decreased in the 1980s. Turkey has also experienced a new phase of urbanization due to some reasons, such as the January 24 enactment and September 12 Intervention (Tekeli, 1998). As Tekeli reports, three significant facts were mentioned in this period. The first one is the institutionalization and popularization of the mass housing projects. The second one is the abolition of *the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement*. Finally, the third one is the increase in the municipalities' resources by Laws in 1983 and 1984, the decrease in the impact of the central government and the transfer of the powers related to the reconstruction plan to the municipality. Tekeli analyzes the outcomes of this situation as follows:

> After the second half of the 1970s, when collective housing started to become more widespread in Turkey, slum transformation also took a different character. It went beyond being a granted amnesty to assure slums, and with the reclamation plans of non-multistory slum areas, it was intended to transform these places into collective apartments and gave people who built the slums the opportunity to take a share in urban rent. This new aspect of slum amnesty caused an amnesty to be granted to the people who engage in unlicensed construction in neighbourhoods. Therefore, construction plans lost their meaning, and it became more challenging to support modernity with the ways of supervising construction plans. This period became an era in which the results of the new municipal work movement after 1973 became visible to some extent. After 1973, the power and the resources of municipalities were increased partially, and a two-step type of municipality system was adopted. Granting authority to local authorities started to be seen not only as a problem of the act of governing but also as a result of improving the quality of democracy. (Tekeli, 1998).

With this transformation, there has been a change in the context of investigator and landowners. According to Ebru Firidin Özgür (2009), this situation was brought about by the fact that small-scale investigators producing houses in return for flat were replaced with large-scale inversitagor. We can explain the emergence of this situation as that with the first effects of globalization of banking and neoliberalism using the pro-capital advantages of the free market (Özgür, 2009). The role of local governments in this transformation is also at a very sensitive point. As the local governments got powerful in terms of development and construction, it enabled them to become the authority to decide how the city would develop and by which means it would be planned. The roles given to municipalities, especially in the housing sector, are the most important decisions involving construction firms and contractors. Local governments whose authority got more powerful in accordance with Metropolitan Municipality Laws (2004) no. 5216 and Municipality Laws (2005) no. 5393, facilitated private enterprises and real estate developers by making new plans favouring capital and by landing the sales of public premises (Oskay, 2019). Like the power of local governments on the urban scale, the central government also plays a regulatory role in the property market via TOKI (Mass Housing Agency) (Kuyucu, 2010). TOKI, which was very active until 2001, became passive after the crisis. TOKI, which started to rise again thanks to AKP government, became the sole power in the zoning arrangements and gained the authority to build profit-oriented housing on the public lands (Boratav, 2016; as cited in Oskay, 2019).

The housing sector, which was needed due to industrialization, technological developments and migration -forced migration and rural migration-, also gained new features in this period. The free market that developed because of neoliberal policies manifests itself in the new housing. Especially during the process of becoming a cooperative and TOKI afterwards, allocating housing to the poor, middle and upper classes started to produce residence types alienating themselves from the rest of the society. The widely known example of this situation is the closed condiminium estates and gated communities. While the areas that were

once neglected, such as infrastructure, transportation, and housing, have attracted investments, it caused middle and large scale intestment groups to be drawn to the unearned income gained in the urban areas, which became evident in the 1990s (Sengul, 2009: 138). Consequently, the heterogeneous structure that existed on an urban scale in the 1980s were replaced by homogeneous housing forms that were divided with sharp boundaries (Oncu ve Weyland, 2016).

The heterogeneity prevalent on an urban scale before the 1980s was replaced by homogeneous housing types divided by precise boundaries in the neoliberal era. This shift to homogeneity took place precisely in the gated communities defined as the place of neoliberalism and in the collective housings by TOKI that was defined as social housings. Moreover, this homogeneity was achieved due to the bourgeoisie class going towards the suburbs, leaving the city center to the working class. This homogeneity conflicts with heterogeneity, which is in the city's popular definition when it first emerged. As we can analyze from this situation, it is evident that there is a structure in line with local governments' power on an urban scale (Bilgin, 2016). As this homogeneity is for the upper and upper-middle classes due to the desire to earn more, the chance of the city's lower groups to purchase dwelling in this market is decreasing gradually. Therefore, the informal strategies to satisfy the needs created by this system are widespread.

As a result, the main doctrine of neoliberal marketing is the mass production of housings. With the commodification of the dwellings, housings became property and a commercial exchange tool rather than a need, which is the basic understanding that transformed the recent housing market. Regional homogenization of the urban society dominated by capital takes place globally in today’s world. At the local level, this homogenization and transfer of the public space to the private space take place by the effect of local governments. The strategic partnership of local government and private sector (Aksoy, 2008) is especially visible in residents of the luxurious apartment blocks and securized high-rise apartments.

CHAPTER 2

GATED COMMUNITIES

Definition

Gated communities, as the literature shows, appear as a spatial response for particular social groups to globalisation processes (Roitman, 2010: 34). Gated communities in terms of safety and security, homeland lifestyle (ethnicity), prestige, class distinction (social status) etc. (Ajibola, Oloke, & Ogungbemi, 2011). And, the secured communities with special entry systems and walls or fences are called gated communities (Kim, 2006:32). As is known to all, cities are places that have been rebuilt as a result of the neoliberal economy, globalization, changes in labor, and capitalist relations. Since the city is at the center of these processes, hierarchical relationships occur in the space. Especially as a result of the developments that occurred after the 1980s, urban changes on a global scale have led to the segregation and fragmentation of space and socio-economic group distinctions that emerged due to the new divisions of labor (Turkun and Kurtulus, 2005). Accordingly, modernity is redesigning the space as an ideological tool legitimizing production and redistribution relations in addition to the physical environment of the new society created by industrial production (Turkun & Kurtulus, 2005). Gated communities are described as the most concrete example of this situation in the literature, and they are the spatial structures that display such changes. Gated communities are residential types generally appealing to the upper-middle class and encourage consumption in the free market through several factors such as “lifestyle, security systems and welfare systems” (Oncu, 1999; Bali, 1999 and 2002; Blakely and Snyder, 1999; Low, 2004). Kurtulus (2005) argues that gated communities are discussed under three factors. These are economic, social, global and local-contingent factors that are determining the settlement factors.

Moreover, this is the risk of extinction of the public space through privatization with the consequences of modern urban and metropolitan areas and the fragmentation of urban social life (Gulumser,2005). Based on these arguments, the emergence of gated communities can be associated with the neoliberal period (Tas, 2016). Blakely and Synder emphasized that gated communities are a part of the tendency of suburbanization. While the old center of the city is the market area, the suburbs are defined as large-scale private spaces and small-scale public spaces (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). On the other hand, Perouse and Bali described gated communities as fenced buildings outside of local public authorities and equipped with various social services. Silva discusses gated communities as a phenomenon that privatized public spaces (Silva, 2007). Silva states that the first signs of gated communities in Brazil appeared in the late 1970s and describes the supply and demand with reference to local governments. On the contrary, unlike Silva, Webster (2001) affirms gated communities. He argues that state organs' lack of public services led to the emergence of gated communities. Similarly, McKenzie also has a perspective that is affirming gated communities. McKenzie references, especially utopias associated with the concept of privatopia and from this point of view, he draws the frame from the dystopian and heterogeneous situation to utopian and homogeneous gated communities. Moreover, Caldeira (2000) explains gated communities through the elite's desire to be isolated from urban life.

2.1 Conceptual Approaches

Nowadays, gated communities have become a field of study for social scientists to examine urban societies' development in the 1990s (Roitman, 2010). Though gated communities existed in only a few cities in the early 2000s, today, they display strong development (Roitman and Recio, 2019). Social movements that emerged with industrialization and technological innovations in the 1970s and 1980s caused the formation of certain areas of action in the city. These areas of action sometimes served as shelters and sometimes reflected the characteristics of

housing areas where communities built new publicity. Gated communities, which allow studying the society or the working scale from political, economic, and social aspects have gained tremendous popularity on a global scale, especially due to the recent changes. There are two different kinds of gated communities. These are ghettos where subordinate groups were living and residents of the luxurious apartments that appeal to the wealthy class through the city's gentrification. The current study discusses gated communities as high-rise apartments buildings built for middle- and upper-income groups. In other words, an analysis perspective will be presented through the gentrification of the city. This study's main problem is the construction and implementation of new urban areas, mostly considering the elite, without taking into account the lower income groups. As Sonia Roitman (2010) stated, today, we see gated communities everywhere around the world. Therefore, gated communities are both a global fact and also provide information about the locals through its practical implementations. Accordingly, gated communities became an important subject of study on the urban society experience in Diyarbakır between 1999-2020. Therefore, it will be useful to address the framework formed by the literature and concepts related to gated communities. Before starting this discussion, we should mention a distinction in the literature on gated communities. In addition to the term 'communities', different terms such as private property (condominium) or gated-secured housing areas are also used. Our subject matter, the term vertical gated communities, is also referred to as closed condominium[10] conceptually. Calderia (2000) defines this situation as the housing type usually preferred by the rich and becomes homogeneous socially. This description is convenient for the framework of our study. However, the importance of the terms, society, and community in the present study is the desire to criticize a smaller community's building process in relation to the public space. Therefore, by recognizing the theoretical background, we will continue to use the terms, society and community critically. Because gated communities are housing areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatized. They are security

developments with designated perimeters, usually walls or fences, and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent penetration by non-residents (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Roitman, 2008).

A survey of the literature revealed that Blakely and Snyder (1997) defined the term gated communities as a structure where technological control tools restrict access. Calderia (2000) states that gated communities have a homogeneous structure in terms of interior space in addition to a closed community form. This homogeneity refers to the place where elites live together and desire to be isolated. Moreover, Atkinson and Blandy (2005) described gated communities through the agreement and administrative rules that are similar to the social contract within such structures. Furthermore, McKenzie (2005) discussed gated communities in terms of their governance mechanisms, and accordingly, he emphasized that such structures have micro-governance arrangements. He argued that gated communities operate under local governments and have an ideological and political aspect.

Additionally, Roitman (2010) carried out an in-depth study and explained gated communities by referring to several people, integrating these structures, and mentioning their particular features of these areas. According to Roitman, since gated communities have a relationship structure with certain rules, it can be said that such communities have customized publicity in themselves. Roitman associates this publicity with people's desire in such spaces to be a homogeneous society, and he defines such housing areas as spaces closed from outside access.

In Roitman’s study, gated housing areas and communities have a zone and shelter function. *The zone* (Harvey, 2009) and shelter establish new relationships based on individuals' and families' safety and living standards. This argument means that socializing and communions in a chosen group rather than building a new city. As Amin and Graham (1999) also emphasized, no gated community can be completely isolated from its conditions. However, as explained by Svampa

(2004), they can establish their relation ways through different services, consumption, and means of transport.

2.2. Reasons of the Emergence of Gated Communities

Roitman (2010) explains the reasons for the emergence of gated communities under two categories: The first category is structural and the second category is subjective. Roitman divides the structural reasons into two categories: the globalization of the economy and the state's withdrawal from some essential services. He describes the second situation through the urban insecurity and the privatization and commodification of security services. Considering gated communities from this perspective, it is evident that it creates a new formality in urban society. The emergence of this situation, especially in the least developed countries leads to a larger scale urban segregation. In addition to urban segregation, another impact of gated communities is discussed through the case of Buenos Aires by Thuillier (2000). As Roitman also cited, Thuiller states that through this experience, the American lifestyle was exported to other countries. The fact that gated communities are almost identical in every country across the world is evidence for this argument. In fact, global culture is being built through gated communities. A broad analysis frame on this issue will be presented using the obtained data in the present study.

As the literature shows, gated communities appear as a spatial response for particular social groups to globalization processes. This is related to the second structural theme that refers to the rise of urban violence and privatization of security as a result of state withdrawal from the provision of essential services, in this case, mainly public security (Roitman, 2010).

2.2.1 Structural Reasons

- **Globalization of the Economy**

In the 1980s, a new process had begun worldwide due to the crisis in the USA and later, globally. From a spatial perspective, cities were at the center of this process. During this period, cities functioned as molds of industrialization and marketplaces and capitalist relations, and have undergone significant transformations. These transformations were analyzed by Sassen (1994) around four major categories. The first city has played a leading role in the new organization of the world economy. The second city has become a place where economically specialized essential service companies are located, and third, the city has become the place of production, and finally, the fourth city has become a market for manufactured commodities. As a result of these factors, it is clear that the city has great importance regarding the economy's globalization. This change in cities has transformed the social and economic system and created global cities, as Saskia Sassen pointed out.

Sassen (1994) stated that significant transformations have occurred on a local scale as a result of such global processes. According to Sassen, this transformation primarily affected labor, the distribution of earnings, and the structure of consumption, thus creating new forms of social inequality. This globalization has caused similar experiences and similar developments that simultaneously emerged in different regions across the world. As Low emphasized, this transformation has weakened existing local social relations and paved the way for the deterioration of traditional social relations. While this deterioration created a perception of threat, it also enabled the re-creation of protection ways from this threat. The fact that security becomes a thing that can be bought is an excellent

example of this deterioration and the mechanism developed in response to it. Discussing gated communities in this context is vital in terms of making sense of this process.

The economic transformations resulting from the globalization of the economy and the transformation created by the power of capital emerged as inequalities at the local scale. This inequality was accompanied by social stratification and fear in urban space.

- **Privatization of Public Services and Security**

According to Offe (2001), since the new right-wing welfare state considered that it could not meet the demands of mass democracy, it allowed the responsibilities of the welfare state to be privatized through the market.

"Neoliberalism works by multiplying sites for regulation and domination through the creation of autonomous entities of government that are not part of the formal state apparatus and are guided by enterprise logic." (Gupta and Sharma, 2006: 277, as cited in Gambetti, 2007). The privatization process is the withdrawal of the state from essential public service, the transfer of education and health services to the market, civil servant becomes either directly private sector personnel or government personnel as a result of practices such as "total quality management" based on competition and efficiency (Gambetti, 2007). The privatization of institutions defined as the transfer of services such as health, security, education, transportation, and energy resources from the state to the free market. According to the strategic plan published by the Privatization Administration between 2009-2013, "Privatization, in a narrow sense, refers to the permanent transfer of property rights from the public to the private sector.

On the other hand, in a broad sense, it is the temporary transfer of the functions of the public sector to private through outsourcing, management

agreements, various leasing transactions, build-operate-transfer contracts, and franchising."[11]. The same report explains the main objectives of privatization: to encourage private entrepreneurship, expand the share of the private sector in the economy, create new resources to increase tax revenues, attract foreign capital flows, and improve the middle class and to encourage individual enterprise. The purposes mentioned above are in line with the mechanism defined as *Neoliberal State* by Harvey in his *book A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. According to Harvey, the neoliberal state reflects the interests of private property owners, businesses, multinational corporations, and financial capital through the freedoms collected in its body (Harvey, 2015).

In Turkey's case, concerning the privatization and neoliberal state in the modern sense, it can be said that privatization practices in Turkey started in 1986.[12]

Table 2.1: Privatization Administration, 2009-2013 Strategic Plan.

[11] Privatization Administration, the strategic plan for 2009-2013, accessed 4 May 2020, https://ms.hmb.gov.tr/uploads/sites/6/2019/03/2009-2013-stratejik-plani.pdf

[12] Ibid.

As seen in the cited Table 2.1, privatization practices in Turkey started in 1986 and have accelerated, especially after 1999. “With the decision given on 24 January 1980, after adopting the free-market approach, the term ‘privatization’ entered Turkey's agenda. After the Government adopted the privatization as an economic policy tool in 1983, to organize privatization practices, a privatization board was established within the Mass Housing and Sate partnership administration in 1984.”[13] Later on, with the privatization law's accretion in the Constitution in 1999, the privatization attempt became widespread.

As a result of privatization practices, especially changes in the housing sector and security services have led to significant transformations at the urban level. Especially for the present study subject, privatization of housing and security services has of great importance. The security services process must be analyzed to understand the gated housing areas, which are especially envisioned as the spaces of neoliberalism.

Feeling safe has always been an essential need throughout history. Unlike the welfare state, the way of meeting this need is reduced to an individual level in the neoliberal state. Balta Paker (2012) explains this difference saying “*while in the period when safety is publicly procured, the message given was “there is a threat, but you are safe thanks to us*” since the legitimacy of the public authority is safety, on the other hand, in this new period, the message given by the security market will be “*there is a threat, but you can be safe only by purchasing our services*.” Therefore, while safety is a public need in the welfare state, it has become an individual and purchased commodity in the neoliberal state. According to Low (2003), this situation in the neoliberal state causes more and more people to feel insecure day by day. Because when security becomes a purchased commodity, those who cannot buy it feel obliged to live in an unsafe environment. The commodification of security and it has become a part of capitalism paved the way

[13] Ibid.

for a similar transformation of the housing sector in the neoliberal process. As Balta Paker stated, this situation caused security to become an investment area by capital. This section would be useful to give an example of the emergence of private security companies in the market because the security services transferred to the capital led to the emergence of different sectors that did not exist before. Private forms of policing have increased in the post-1980 period in many countries as a response to the reproduction of neoliberalism (Dölek, 2011). The commodification of security, which defined by Dölek as a step of neoliberal restructuring of the capitalist state in Turkey, resulted especially in the restructuring of the states in the global sense and the transformation of the cities in parallel at the local level. In Turkey's case, official steps were taken with Law No. 2495, The Law on Ensuring the Security and Safety of Some Institutions and Organizations (*Bazı Kurum ve Kuruluşların Korunması ve Güvenliklerinin Sağlanması Hakkında* Kanun), which was adopted in 1981. The Private Security Organization was established in accordance with this law (Dölek, 2011). The framework of the task of the Private Security Organization was explained in Article-9 of this law:

- Securing the institution against all sorts of threat, danger and transgression like sabotage, fire, burglary, robbery, plunder and destruction, prevention of the operation of workplace,
- Immediately informing the public police forces about the committed and ongoing crimes in their places of duty, together with apprehending and holding the alleged criminals till the public police forces arrive,
- Preserving the evidences,
- Entering into the service of public police forces and helping them from the moment of their arrival,
- Taking other precautions required by the protection and security services,
- Helping the Civilian Defense Organization (*Sivil Savunma Teşkilatı*) in performing their duties. *(Dölek,2011: 114)*

Dölek explained this situation as in the following:

> First of all, the law no. 2495 opened the way to the establishment of private security organizations – PSOs (özel güvenlik teşkilatı) within the organizational structures of the definite public and private institutions and organizations (arts. 3 and 8). The places of duty of the PSOs were limited to the institutions within which they were founded and operating (art. 11). First of all, the law no. 2495 opened the way to the establishment of private security organizations – PSOs (özel güvenlik teşkilatı) within the organizational structures of the definite public and private institutions and organizations (arts. 3 and 8). The places of duty of the PSOs were limited to the institutions within which they were founded and operating. (Dölek, 2011; 113)

In Turkey, particularly since the 1980 coup, discourses, and practices about violence such as martial law, state of emergency, national security, "*low-intensity war"*, the Kurdish problem, and the threat of Islamic regime are almost continuity (Gambetti, 2007). Depending on these discourses and the threats of violence, the urban growth also carried a perception of danger for individuals due to its heterogeneous structure. Especially in the neoliberal period, this situation has become more effective after the commodification of security. The overall fear of crime, however, is increasing, particularly in the suburbs. It has created a boom in the security equipment industry (Low, 2003: 115).

2.2.2. Subjective Reasons

The second category, subjective causes includes five different categories: a growing fear of crime, a search for a better lifestyle, desire for a sense of

community, a search for social homogeneity, aspirations for higher social status (Roitman, 2010).[14] Subjective reasons can generally be explained in relation to security and luxury regarding welfare capitalism. Here, although subjective reasons can explain the need for protection, this situation is not very subjective; on the contrary, it is a formation imposed by the outside world and is considered global. And contrary to popular belief, condominiums depend on state action for their maintenance and the solution of their problems (Silva,2007:573).

Also, Weidemann and Anderson (1982) examined causes of residental satisfaction as subjective in *Residents' Perceptions of Satisfaction and Safety.* Table 2.2. summarizes these factors as follows:

	Predictors	Beta Weights	R^2 Change[b]
Factor 1:	Perceived Atmosphere: Attractiveness/Police/Recreation	.428	18.3
Factor 6:	Apartment Evaluation	.317	10.0
Factor 2:	Maintenance	.208	4.3
Factor 18:	Friends Nearby/Social Interaction	.179	3.2
Factor 14:	Low Crime Rate/High Safety	.171	2.9
Factor 11:	Other Residents Similar to Self	.168	2.8
Factor 9:	Management Evaluation	.160	2.6
Factor 10:	Satisfaction with Neighbors and management	.152	2.3
Factor 3:	600 Block Evaluation	.138	1.9
Factor 5:	Perceptions of Safety	.108	1.2
Multiple R = .703	R^2 = 49.4[a]	Number of Adult Respondents = 263	

[14] This study will include three contexts by taking the fieldwork into consideration.

Table 2. 2 Factors Predicting Residental Satisfaction (Weidemann and Anderson,1982:68)

- **Fear of Crime**

Protection from crime constitutes the greatest benefit offered by gated communities. Another dimension of fear of crime is the sense of vulnerability, in which social or physical characteristics lead one to feel more or less afraid (Low,2003:118). Considering the marketing discourses, family safety, private property security, and children's supervision are the most marketed features for these housing, which are specified as private areas. As explained in detail above, with the exclusion of security from public services and privatization, there is a constant state of control and fear of individuals protecting themselves and what they have. In this respect, gated residential areas sell the feeling of security that they commodified to the individuals and ensure that they are integrated into the market as a consumer in the neoliberal period.

From a systematical perspective, gated housing areas eliminate the fear and anxiety of crime by including relevant instruments that prevent crime. This is done by keeping groups that ruin homogeneity and individuals with criminal potential away. Balta Paker (2012) discussed this situation through the commodification of security and private security forces. According to Paker, security has integrated into capitalism as a meta, and individuals feel safe as long as they can purchase it. Otherwise, the envisioned dystopian state of the city drives the individual into chaos. Furthermore, they endanger both the private property and private sphere and the privatized public sphere of the individual (silva, 2007). Such imposed fears cause the individuals to internalize these fears even if they have not been subjected to any crime. Moreover, if that city is in an area where political violence is intense, this will cause individuals to internalize fear more strongly. Here, one should question the identity of the violent or criminal. According to Balta Paker, "*the terrorists can be employed or unemployed, rich or poor, young or older, immigrant*

of the citizen, fugitive, or tourist. So, the enemy could be anybody." (Balta Paker, 2012) As mentioned here, the fact that the potential criminal's identity is unclear makes the population in the city a potential criminal or danger. Paker explains this situation as follows:

> "Ulrick Beck stated that the basic element that determines the period after September 11th is the individualization of war. The fact that war is no longer against enemy states but against hostile individuals both inside and outside politically indicates to a new era and states become together against such 'individuals" (Balta Paker, 2012).

Therefore, since the person does not know whom to protect from, he tries to protect his private space by clearing it from strangers. Security systems, which have become commodified in the neoliberal period, are directly associated with purchasing the security of the individual's private space. Such consumption–security relationship also changed the type of created spaces. Therefore, the cost-security relationship can be seen in the buildings defined as the space of the neoliberal period. Accordingly, modern cities are divided into two as those who buy security and those who cannot. In this context, Low states that the only solutions offered are increased policing in the public sector, and walling and gating, surveillance technologies, and armed guards in the private (Low,2003: 228). But, this situation creates more fear of crime. Although it seems counterintuitive, taking precautions against crime actually may increase rather than reduce a person's fear of crime: those precautions lead to greater social isolation, which in turn produces greater perceived vulnerability and more fear (Low,2003:121).

Considering the case of Diyarbakır, it can be said that after the 2000s, the housing type became a closed condominium. Such gated communities, which are defined usually as suburban, show us that they started to form a new city center in Diyarbakır, and it is the only type of the new generation. Therefore, while there

were no security devices in the houses built before the 2000s, all of the new generation houses have such systems. As shown in the case of Kayapınar district, it can be argued that the new city center belongs to the upper-middle class. This is the most concrete example of the situation defined as the ‘capital-based urbanization” in Diyarbakır. Also, ethno-political tension and social movement create fear of others and sense of insecurity. Therefore, secured and gated housing with restricted entrances are preferable in Diyarbakır.

- **Search For A Better Lifestyle**

Social, economic and community changes that occurred in the neoliberal period as a result of the global economy have led to great changes in the city space and lifestyle. This change can be seen at the macro level and as Sassen (1991) stated, it caused structural changes in cities. The emergence of gated communities is a concrete example of this structural change and changing lifestyle. Gated communities have become widespread since the late 1980s and paved the way for massive growth in middle-class spaces and housings. The analysis of Geniş (2007) and Öncü (1997) on Turkey provides information about this new lifestyle. Öncü defined such structures as living space of the global elite and as a component of the upper-middle class's consumption culture and emerged as *the myth of the ideal home globally*. As the definition of Öncü, the lifestyle is known as the *American Dream* also has similarities with this situation. This globally exported lifestyle and culture has begun to appear in many regions across the world as a result of modernization, capitalism, and finally, neoliberalization.

This housing form is capitalized as an ideal lifestyle and attracts great attention with its features such as social activity areas, security mechanisms, privatized publicity, and prestige-status symbols throughout the world. The shifting between social classes, lifestyle, possessions, relationships, and friendships is of great importance. Therefore, this dynamic of the middle class has made it a useful

group for the market. The spread of such residential areas, which are generally built for the upper-middle class, day by day, proves the global and local interest of this strategy. Considering the case of Diyarbakır, these gated communities became widespread after the 2000s and covered almost ¼ of the city. These numbers point out an important fact regarding the size of the target population. Therefore, this imported *the myth of the ideal home* and lifestyle have been increasing massively in many places on a global scale, as in Diyarbakır. Individuals prefer these types of residentials to access this imported lifestyle and to increase their welfare. Therefore, based on the relationship between commodity and wealth, this situation is actually improving the lifestyle and advancing the social class financially through a symbolic capital.

- **Social Homogeneity**

Social homogeneity changes with the perspective. This phenomenon's variable can sometimes be a religious attitude, sometimes an economic level, and sometimes an ethnicor political groups. From the perspective of gated communities, social class stands out as the most important factor. The main requirement to live in this kind of residential is able to afford it financially. The second important requirement is to accept that one belongs to this area based on the rules apply to that residential area. Mckenzie (1994) and Svampa (2001) stated that the community has the right to reject or exclude the new person from the community. Based on this right, a person is rejected and excluded from the community when it is thought that this person will harm or not appropriate for the homogeneity and the relationship contract. So, the lifestyle community is primarily about privatization and the provision of services. The elite community, on the other hand, is primarily about stability and a need for homogeneity. For security zone communities, exclusion and separation from the rest of society is most important (Low,2003:23). This situation indicates that such residential areas are private-public spaces. Here, we can see the privatized public space that Silva mentioned. An identity through

social homogeneity is the point in question. Here, we can argue that there are some rules similar to the nation-state metaphor. Some of these common features are the presence of a certain border, controlled borders through some mechanisms, the presence of identity similar to the citizenship, and the fact that people who are defined as foreigners can enter inside and exit only for a short time. Harvey's concept of space is also similar to this situation.

2.2 Historical Background

From a historical perspective, the process of gated communities dates back to the first cities of the Roman empire. Setha Low, who published important papers on gated communities, explains this situation as Mumford (2007) stated that gated communities date back to the Roman empire's cities. (Low, 2003) According to Low, modern gated communities date back to the ancient city period as in the Diyarbakır case. It can be argued that Ancient walled towns were designed to protect inhabitants and their property, and the demands of defense required walls (Low,2003:12). As is known, security is a need in every age, even that this is not a modern need, but *an old problem of all cultures and eras*, as Beck defined. We should note that besides the existence of such a need, meeting and eliminating this need has changed.

According to Beck, today, people are not taken away from the assurances of the feudal groups and religious devotion and 'transferred' to the world of industrial society; people are now detached from the industrial society and thrown into the chaos of the risk society in the world. People are expected to bear very different and conflicting global and personal risks. (Beck, 1999). The need for defense, which was met in the previous periods with the community that belonged, has turned into the individualization of danger today. According to the analysis of Beck, through such transition, the individual is expected to endure "risky freedoms". The walls, which built for security and defence in feudal societies, stand

out around the housing areas, not the city, in the era of *Risk Society* (Beck,2014), that is, the period of late capitalism and neoliberalism. Therefore, the situation changes from the safety of the city to the safety of the residential area. When evaluated in the current neoliberal and capitalist context, this transformation from urban to residential areas can be explained through the privatization of security services, privatizing public services, privatizing social activity areas, and, most importantly, individualization of the person in this period. Beck explains this transformation through the reflexive modernity saying "linear increase of rationality". Considering the linear increase of rationality through security, this can extend to Weber's *Iron Cage*. However, at this point, the class difference that Beck overlooked while discussing the Risk Society in the focus of transformational and uncertainties should be taken into consideration. Balta Paker (2012) stated that in the risk society, the state of defence and being in danger is multiplied by class. This situation refers to the Risk Society transformed in the last instance by capital.

From a historical background, as a solution to crowded cities with industrialization in the 19th century, the garden suburb, which is an archaic form of gated communities, emerged. The garden suburb model, which Howard comprehensively discussed, is a plan to combine the rural and urban and dispersing the crowd over large areas to find a solution. In Mumford's words, Howard realized that the growth of the city was self-defeating, because as the population of the city increases, traffic congestion increases, reaching central government offices becomes harder, and more population become unable to benefit from high-level cultural institutions -as if these institutions were never accessible- (Mumford, 2007). Howard's garden suburb model is an old version of the city's plan spreads on the perimeters and suburbanization, also widely used today. This crowding which is seen in many cities on a global scale requires an approach taking into account both plans and needs. This situation is in line with that the city spreads on the peripheries, as Howard argued.

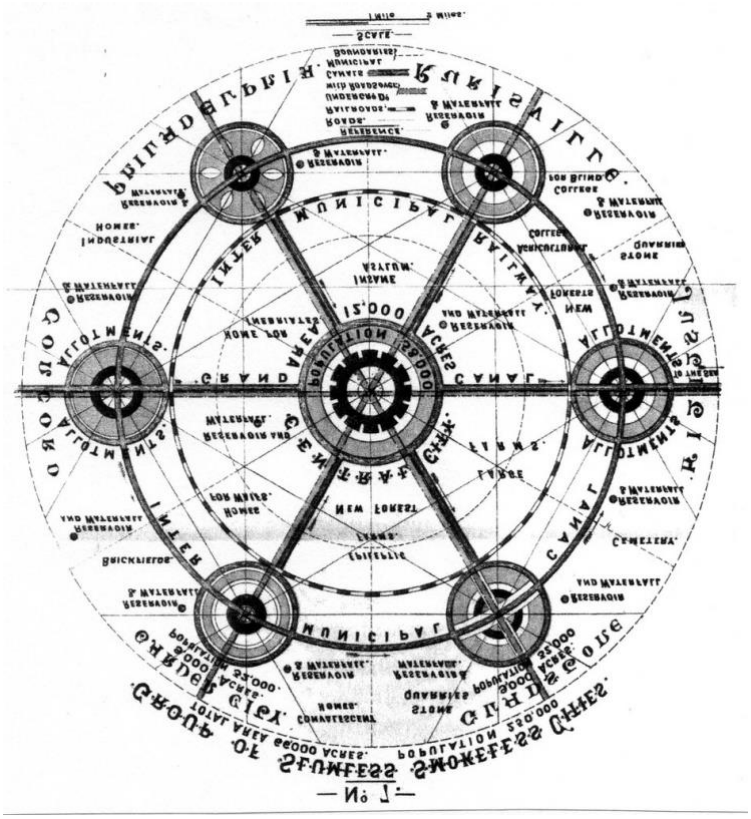


Figure 2.3: Howard, Garden City Diagram

Ersoy (2012) explains Howard's city model as follows:

> "Howard planned a city model that provides social and cultural equipment as required in the urban lifestyle, having a minimum size for both houses and workplaces but having a maximum size to experience face-to-face relations of rural life (a total of 32,000 people are planned to live); low population density (25-30 people per hectare); clean air; illuminated (all energy consumption will be provided by electricity); equipped with necessary facilities for recreational activities; workplaces and housings are within walking distance to each other; and the perimeters of the settlement area is integrated with the rural area through the green belt. Thus, the inhumane living conditions such as unhealthy, high air pollution, overcrowding, limited access opportunities, and dark spaces seen in

industrial cities, which the worst examples are seen in England, can be improved." (Ersoy,2012).

Considering today's cities, Howard's model is precious, especially due to the problems in the housing areas where the working class lives intensively and the danger of the city center becoming a worn-out area. Through a comparative comparison, considering the spaces where gated communities are located, that is, the area mentioned by Howard where the social facilities and green areas are dense, and the crowded areas in the city center -the lower group of the city have started to live in these areas- the presence of a spatial separation can be mentioned. Because while the new residential areas have become the upper-middle class's place, the existing but old settlements become economically suitable for the poor people of the city. Therefore, the first signs of this situation, defined as spatial separation in the literature, began to emerge. As Lefebvre (2014) stated, the city's spreading towards the outer perimeter has led to the emergence of suburbs, peripheries, and satellite cities. According to Low (2003), "the concept of a private community was first proposed in 1898 by Ebenezer Howard, father of the British Garden City movement. He imagined a proprietary community funded by private investment capital and managed by a residential association. In Garden Cities of Tomorrow, Howard described a utopian community with planned streets, gardens, and housing governed by the dwellings."

2.3.1. Typologies of Gated Communities

A literature survey revealed that typology and analysis were made regarding the different types of gated communities. Among these studies, the framework introduced by Hatice Kurtuluş is very important for the current study since it analyzes Turkey's case. On the other hand, the typology introduced by Blakely & Snyder in Fortress America is the most cited. In this regard, in addition to these two studies, the typologies presented by Burke and Luymes are also valuable. However,

considering the framework of this study, the typologies of Kurtuluş and Blakely & Synder were generally used.

Blakely & Synder

A large number of typology studies have been carried out on gated communities. However, the most important and most cited study among them is the typology introduced by Blakely & Snyder. This typology includes three categories. These are lifestyle, prestige, and security zone communities. As shown in Table, Blakely and Snyder ordered these communities according to their importance using four social dimensions-values. They state that the order of importance of these community types changes. The first of these four social dimensions-values is a sense of community, feeling like a member of a community, and an individual's feeling in a community's imagination. Second, the exclusion is based on the community imagination mentioned in the first item and is an attitude towards those who create contrast and do not participate in that community imagination. Moreover, this situation creates an internal relationship and solidarity system within that community. Third, privatization reflects the privatization of public services and some instruments for that community. A good example of this situation is that only individuals in the internal public sphere benefit from social opportunities in these communities. Finally, stability indicates the continuous existence of that imagined community because a security threat emerges otherwise. The security sensitivity that we see in the neoliberal period is similar to the second step of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943). Accordingly, encircling cities with walls, creating safe zones, desire to live there, and finally maintaining continuity all reflect a very inner human need. Although this need includes modern instruments and devices, its origins are instinctive and deep.

	Lifestyle Com.	**Prestigecom**	**Safe Zonecom.**
Sense Of Community	Tertiary	Tertiary	Secondary
Exclusion	Secondary	Secondary	Primary
Customizatıon	Primary	Tertiary	Tertiary
Stability	Secondary	Primary	Secondary

Figure 2.4 : (Blakely & Snyder, 1997)

Type	Reason for gated com. preference	Location	Buyers
lifestyle communities			
retired communities	Second house	city periphery and green zones	retirees
groups with golf and leisure activities	Social and sport activities	city periphery and green zones	upper middle class group
suburban new city	lifestyle	city periphery and green zones	Mixed group
Elites Groups			
rich and famous communities	protection from media fanatics	Panorama and private property ownership	upper-class group
Rich communities in 5%.	prestige	panorama	upper middle class group
Privileged sites.	marketing strategy	Green zones	upper middle class group
safe zone communities			
restricted areas - city	reduce traffic	City center	Mixed group
restricted areas - suburban	reduce traffic and fear of crime	suburban	Mixed group
restricted areas - barricade	privatization of the streets and security	city	Mixed group

Figure 2.5: (Gülümser, 2005)

If we discuss the categorization used in the current study, Blakely and Synder's typology, the three categories mentioned above are discussed through three dimensions. This categorization is summarized by Gülümser (2005) as follows:

As seen in Table 1.3, Blakely and Synder analyzed each category around three factors, the reason for preference, location, and population. According to this categorization, gated communities can be classified into three main categories based on the primary motivations of lifestyle as retirement, golf and leisure, and

suburban new town. We can exemplify this group through residential areas used as summer houses. The prestigious communities are divided into three; rich and famous communities, rich communities with 5%, and privileged sites. For this group, the main factor is privacy and confidentiality. According to lifestyle communities, the most important factor is the privacy of individuals rather than social amenities. Finally, the security zone communities, the residential areas with restricted access, are divided into three as the city, suburban, and the barricade perch. If evaluated in terms of suitability to this study, not only one category but also three categories include similar typological features. Therefore, the current study discusses the new suburban development, privileged sites, and residential areas with restricted access.

Hatice Kurtuluş

According to Kurtuluş, these residential areas became widespread after the 1950s and were later defined as *dormitory cities* and reflect the lower-middle class's desire to create new elite settlements against the loss of their exclusivity in cities (Kurtuluş, 2015). Kurtuluş explains this situation's origin through Fishman's '*bourgeois utopia'* and '*privatopia'* concepts. Kurtuluş emphasized that this new form creates a new sub-urbanization that differs from the modern capitalist city's middle-class sub-city.

Kurtuluş's typology of Turkey includes three categories. The first of them is the sub-cities of the new middle class in the modern city periphery. This area is protected by security systems and closed to the outside. The new rich class prefers these residential areas as a safe investment tool and a glorious consumption way. This is the most suitable typology for our study. These areas, which are also defined as luxury residential sites, are explained by Kurtuluş as follows:

> “These settlements, which appear in geographical prestige areas in addition to the new fringes of the city, consist of luxurious and garish apartment blocks and villas. These settlements are smaller than the first typology and do not have a sub-city feature; they outsource main public services such as school, hospital, etc. and obtain the workforce required for cleaning, landscaping, and security services poor residential areas around rather than private companies. These residential buildings' entrance is usually controlled through one or two gates, and security is not strict. It is not possible to say that those who live such residential buildings have developed a spatial affiliation and formed a closed community” (Kurtuluş, 2005; 170).

Finally, the third is the residential areas that are strictly closed to the outside. These sites include the most expensive residentials of the market (Kurtuluş, 2005). A kind of a closed community is formed in such areas. What is demanded and expected to meet here is prestige rather than a financial investment. According to Kurtuluş, this typology is an important example of the culture of luxury consumption for the city's new and existing bourgeois class. Prestigious lands provided through close relations with political elites and large construction capitals are contingent factors that trigger the emergence of these type of settlements (Kurtuluş,2005).

Considering the Kurtuluş’s typology in terms of the scope of this study, it can be said that the second typology better suits our study. Moreover, the third typology is also valuable for discussing our findings, especially in relation to urban elites and political elites.

Burke

Burke created his analyzes based on a 5x4 system. The reason for closing the safe areas, safe residential complexes, safe suburban lands, safe resting places, and safe rural residential lands of the city was examined through the variables of location, facilities, and housing types.

	Reason for Closing	**Location**	**Facilities**	**Residential type**
Safe Areas Of The City	overcoming social problems. remove traffic	urban areas within a city		Urban zone
Secure Housing Complex	restriction of access to people without a gated house	inside and outside the city	Facilities for each house	high residential complex
Safe Suburban Zones	Gated	middle or suburban or large cities	Pool and gym	villas and townhouses
Safe Recreational Communities	Gated	inside and outside the city	lake and golf	Large scale
Safe Rural Residential Zones	security features	old urban areas - rural-urban border	rural landscape	Basic house typology

Table 2.6: (Gulumser, 2005)

Luymes

Luymes classified gated communities according to a matrix. He analyzed by evaluating the permeability of the environment and control of the accessibility. These values increase, the sense of security and belonging to a neighbourhood increase (Gülümser, 2005).

2.3.2 Gated Communities and Consequences

Gated communities constitute a phenomenon that emerged by the overall combination or intersection of all dynamics analyzed above. While the intersection of many phenomena forms this phenomenon, it has also led to the emergence of many phenomena. According to the literature, these gated residential areas, which is the fact based on the American trend, can be seen in every region across the world today. Undoubtedly, this situation's main reason is the neoliberal period we live in and the instruments of this period. Therefore, general consequences can be discussed. However, to predict what kind of aura was created at the local level, ethnographic data should be analyzed in detail. From a global perspective, gated communities have spatial, financial, political, and social impacts (Roitman, 2010). According to this categorization, the transition occurred was discussed in the case of Diyarbakır in the findings section. Thus, we will present what kind of transition occurred by gated communities and their consequences at the local level.

CHAPTER 3

FIELDWORK

In Turkey, studies on closed condominiums and gated communities are carried out mostly in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Eskisehir, Bursa, and Konya. The current study focuses on closed condominiums and gated communities in Diyarbakır. As Setha Low (2003) stated, suburban housing types that are located 30 or 40 minutes from the city center were determined. To the best of my knowledge, there are no studies that examined Diyarbakır in this regard. However, a great city-wide transformation occurs in Diyarbakır, and gated communities are highly preferred recently. This study was carried out on the 14 gated communities located on Mahabad Boulevard in Diyarbakır's Kayapınar district. Besides, some interviews were conducted with urban planners and local actors. A total of 35 interviews were conducted. While determining the interview population, 20 years period was considered. Moreover, gender and age were also considered.

3.1 About The City

The city, with all its changes and gentrifications, is the spatial reflection of the social, cultural, economic and physical conditions of the environment which it was born into (Uğurlu et al. 2013: 25). That is to say; while the city is both an affected and transforming phenomenon, it is also an affecting one. In every age, the urban space has borne the traces of the period it was in, geography and human agency. These traces are covered with the gleams of plurality, conflicts and harmony in the urban space. According to Blumenfeld (1975), the city can actually be explained spatially in the context of human agency and as function-oriented. Mumford, on the other hand, expresses that it shares social life with other animal species in the early stages(Mumford, 2013:15). Mark Gottdiener states that the city

is an element of productive forces and relations of production as well as a place of social structures and processes (Gottdiener, 1994b). Experiential transfer, hence transference from generation to generation, offers the opportunity to think of the city as a process. This opportunity offers the ability to analyze comprehensively. We will examine these urban forms specifically for Diyarbakır and analyze the process-based development of the city.

First Period

When we look at the city form in the 19th century, we see that the walls reflect the city limits. There are two castles, the inner castle and the outer castle. The inner castle is the previous settlement and Amida Mound is also located here. We know that in later periods, administrative buildings such as the Palace and the Government House were also located here. The city's internal-external connection was provided through four gates. These are *Yeni Kapı* in the east, *Dağ Kapı* in the north, *Urfa Kapı* in the west and *Mardin Kapı* in the southwest. Later, during the Republic period, two more gates were opened: *Çift Kapı* and *Tek Kapı* (Yılmazçelik, 2014). Another phenomenon that transformed Diyarbakır is the *Land Code* (1858). In cases carried through according to this law, it is possible to come across the roots of the concept of private property. Nilay Özok-Gündoğan (2016) examines the transition from public property to private property which occurred through the agency of this law. Therefore, she also states that a class breakage had also begun to be experienced. The purpose of the Land Code was to increase tax revenues, as well as to change the nature of land ownership by leading to the emergence of a new class of landowners having large estates (Verheij & Jondergen 2016). Although there was no class discrimination as there is today, there was a change when evaluated in terms of the period in question. We can read this as the extinguishment of manorialism. In the literature of modern Turkey, capitalist urbanization literature usually focuses on the post-nation-state period (Kaygalak, 2008). Therefore, the historical background, where we can find the roots of

capitalist relations, has been added to our study because it adds depth to it. Contrary to popular belief, this historical background suggests that capitalist culture appeared in the urban space after the 16th century, long before the early republican period. Kaygalak states that the Ottoman Empire started to feel the pressures of European capitalism starting from the 16th century. He says that this pressure, which the Empire felt especially on foreign trade, caused great changes for that period until the Land Code in the 19th century, the desire of traders to sell in high-profit markets became uncontrollable by the Ottoman Empire and the change in international trade routes reduced the revenues from customs duties (Kaygalak, 2008:53). She then states that the increase of the unemployed population due to the farmers who came to the city from the countryside towards the end of the 16th century caused some disturbances. He cites one of these disturbances, Jelali Revolts, as an example (kaygalak, 2008). In the 19th century, incidents such as the abolition of the janissary system and the signing of the *Baltalimanı Trade Agreement* in 1838 caused significant changes for the period. This agreement stipulated the opening of raw material trade to Europe. And in this way, the Ottoman Empire canalized into this global trade network. Later, there has been an important transformation, the legitimization of private property, with the Code mentioned above.

When we look at post-industrial cities, we see that they have many common features. But it is generally defined as *a settlement unit in continuous social development where the needs of the society such as settlement, accommodation, travel, work, rest and entertainment are met, where few people are engaged in agricultural activities, which is more crowded population-wise compared to villages, and which consists of small neighborhood units* (Keleş, 1998: 75; as cited in Hasol, 2010). One of the most important changes in the 19th century is that the first of the public works efforts after *the Tanzimat Reform* was encountered during the period of Kurt İsmail Pasha, who was the governor of Diyarbakır between 1868-1875 (as cited in Haspolat and Hamidi, 2013; Arslan, 1999). The first departure from the city boundaries begins with the governor building a hospital, a barracks, a mosque and a "Civil Service" building in the place known as *Seyran Tepe* on the

Elazığ road. And later, these are followed by the Ottoman Junior High School and an art school built on the *Fis Kaya* (Haspolat and Hamidi, 2013). Hasoğlu and Hamidi cite urban assets from the 1870s as follows:

> According to the 1873 "Diyarbekir Province Yearbook", there were 1 provincial hall, 1 government office, 1 prison, 4164 households, 14 inns, 7 police stations, 1868 shops, 124 storehouses, 25 bakeries, 23 coffeehouses, 13 baths, 27 fulling mills, 32 beam houses, 6 spinning mills, 7 dye houses, 8 pothouses, 4 taverns, 28 mills, 9 insecticide shops, 28 mosques, 32 masjids, 4 madrasas, 4 schools, 1 junior high school, 11 mansions, 5 lodges, 6 tombs, 8 pools, 130 fountains, 5 water wells, 11 churches, 16 ice wells, 83 ice lakes, 7 Islamic cemeteries, 4 Christian cemeteries, 22 kitchen gardens in the center of Diyarbekir (Haspolat and Hamidi, 2013).

During this period, changes in production, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, led to unprecedented changes in the city form. Another of these changes is the disintegration of investigator and labor, which we can identify as the origin of spatial segregation. When we look at Diyarbakır in the 18th and 19th centuries anthropologically, we see that there is a hierarchical social stratification in the society. We can define this stratification as the executive group, the *Ehl-i İlim* Group, which has a madrasah origin and provides consultancy for management, *Ayan and Eşraf group* - the local and noble segment of the city, and the townspeople (Yılmazçelik, 2014). This social situation has also caused a spatial transformation over time. The socio-spatial separation of capital and labor was clearly seen in these periods for the very first time. Although we cannot discriminate sharply between the lower and upper class as we do today, we can still see the signs of this situation in this period.

The transition from the Empire to the Republic, which took place with a big breakage, came along with great conflicts and revolts, especially in Diyarbakır. This process politically makes the reasons for the more intense social mobility of the region understandable. The urban development of Diyarbakır during the Republic period was triggered by the establishment of the 1st General Inspectorate in 1928

and many public buildings were built between 1923-1950 (Dalkılıç & Halifeoğlu, 2011). Although there were some attempts in the past, we can read this period as *the urbanization of the outer fortress* in Diyarbakır. In the post-republic period, the city started to move out of the city walls, and with its newly structured streets, buildings and new textures, it has taken on a character that is detached from the traditional structure and old family housings. The areas that developed outside the city walls were primarily Yenişehir and then Bağlar region. Some of its central functions have shifted from the Suriçi (Inner Wall) Region to the Yenişehir Region and, as a result of this, the upper-income groups of the city have also moved towards these areas, leaving the traditional texture of the city.[15] This outward movement was realized with the destruction of the walls by blasting bombs.[16] In this way, the inner urban space, failing to satisfy due to reasons such as the gradual growth of the city and the immigration from outside, was allowed to extend across the city walls. Construction of railways, one of the transportation networks that came to life in this period, is one of the strategic works of the early republic period. Especially the railways built after the second half of the 19th century have many meanings. Both "the fact that the railway is a necessity in terms of peace, national wealth and national security in transferring knowledge, wisdom and civilization light to the backward regions of the country as much as it is necessary in terms of the economic development, economic level and agricultural attitude of the homeland" (Yıldırım, 1996; as cited in Çağlayan, 2014) and the railway being a vehicle of the political integrity of the country (Tanyeli, 1998) and symbolizing the existence of the Republic show that the railway is not just a means of transport. This policy, generally applied in the east, can basically be explained as spinning the homeland with iron nets (Çağlayan, 2014). On the basis of national

[15] Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality 2006-2009 Strategic Plan.
[16] Albert Gabriel, who came to Diyarbakır in 1932, reports this situation to the Ministry of Education and requests it to be stopped immediately. In this way, the destruction is stopped. (Değertekin, H. 1999, "*Diyarbakır Surlarının Bugünkü Durumu*", Diyarbakır Müze Şehir, YKY, İstanbul: 179-193).

and economic organization of the space, Genç explains this situation through the analysis of Şengül as follows:

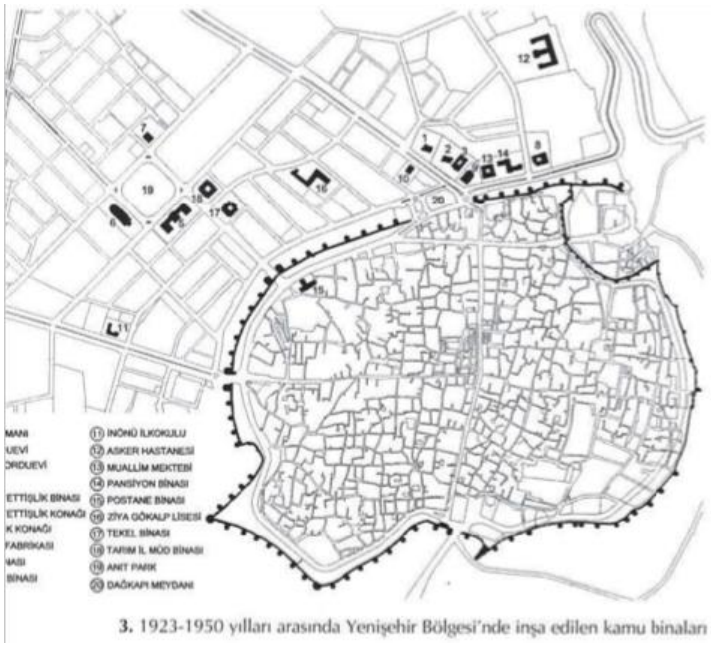
> According to Şengül, who underlines the basic motivation of the state to define the "homeland" regionally, there are three key areas of national spatial policies during this period: The first policy is the creation of regional administrative centers that find their climax both financially and regionally. The second policy is to position state-controlled entities in accordance with the new trends in macroeconomic policies. The third policy is the creation of a transport network that is deeply connected with the priority to integrate internal markets and make eastern states more "accessible" militarily (Şengül, 2003: 156)

The innovations and studies carried out in this period are the state of making the Republic visible on a symbolic scale in the urban space, especially by separating the urban space from the traditions inherited from the empire. Akif Emre defines the understanding of urbanism in the Republican era as ideological and reconstructive (as cited in Emre, 2013 Çağlayan, 2014). The 1930s express the transition period from the styles of Ottoman architecture to an imaginative and western modern architectural language of the new Republic (Durukan & Uraz, 2008, as cited in Çağlayan, 2014). Architectural activities that were carefully structured in this period are the works that increase the visibility of the newly formed Republic locally. Regarding the use of architecture as a strategic and ideological tool, Tanyeli explains this situation in the *"Three Generations Republic"* as follows:

> While the architecture was used as a means of legitimizing existing government structures in the pre-modern world, it has become a means of legitimizing and affirming a new social program as well as government structures with modernization. Thus, in a modernizing society, architecture

goes beyond being a tool for reproducing a particular ideology and becomes one of the components of the new ideological construction. (Tanyeli, 1998: 101)

We can easily see examples of this when we look at the local development. Carrying out similar activities in Diyarbakır after the development works in Ankara and progressing specific to a basic paradigm can also be read as a synthesis and standardization nationally. Discourses developed on the basis of this paradigm also support the new style that is built.



3. 1923-1950 yılları arasında Yenişehir Bölgesi'nde inşa edilen kamu binaları

Figure 3.1: (Dalkılıç and Halifeoğlu, 2011)

As can be understood from this sketch in Neslihan Dalkılıç and Meral Halifeoğlu's study, public buildings built at that time were built outside the city walls and caused a new era to begin in Diyarbakır's city history. In this region, which would be defined as Yenişehir later on, residential types in Suriçi were not allowed. During this period, Diyarbakır has two different centers: The first one is the Yenişehir district with new administrative buildings, public institutions and new residential areas in their surroundings. And the second one is the Suriçi region, surrounded by

city walls, where there is an old city texture (Dalkılıç, Halifeoğlu, 2011). Surkent, which existed until the 1940s & 1950s, started to expand outward after this process (Ağaryılmaz, 1991:108).

Second Period (1950-1980)

As the tendency of indigenous families to leave the area in the Suriçi region increased since 1945, the settlement of the low-income segment in the region increased at the same rate (Kejanlı and Dinçer, 2010). During this process of change, new types of houses were started to be built outside the city walls, and similar structures continued to be built in the Suriçi region, in line with the housing need. Due to this need, the neighborhood named Ali Pasha, where immigrants lived in the aforementioned period, was added (Kejanlı and Dinçer, 2010). In this period, the tendency of apartmentization has increased in Diyarbakır due to the regulations regarding residential buildings. With the law no 6217 enacted in 1954, flat ownership was allowed. With the infrastructure provided by this law, some of the civil buildings having historical qualifications were destroyed and apartments were built in their places (Kejanlı and Dinçer, 2010).

While these developments were taking place, Diyarbakır's first master development plan was realized in 1959. Accordingly, it was planned to expand the main roads inside the city walls, to connect the roads with the ones outside the city walls, and it was aimed to prevent the unqualified structuring that developed by leaning against the west part of the walls (Kejanlı and Dinçer, 2010).

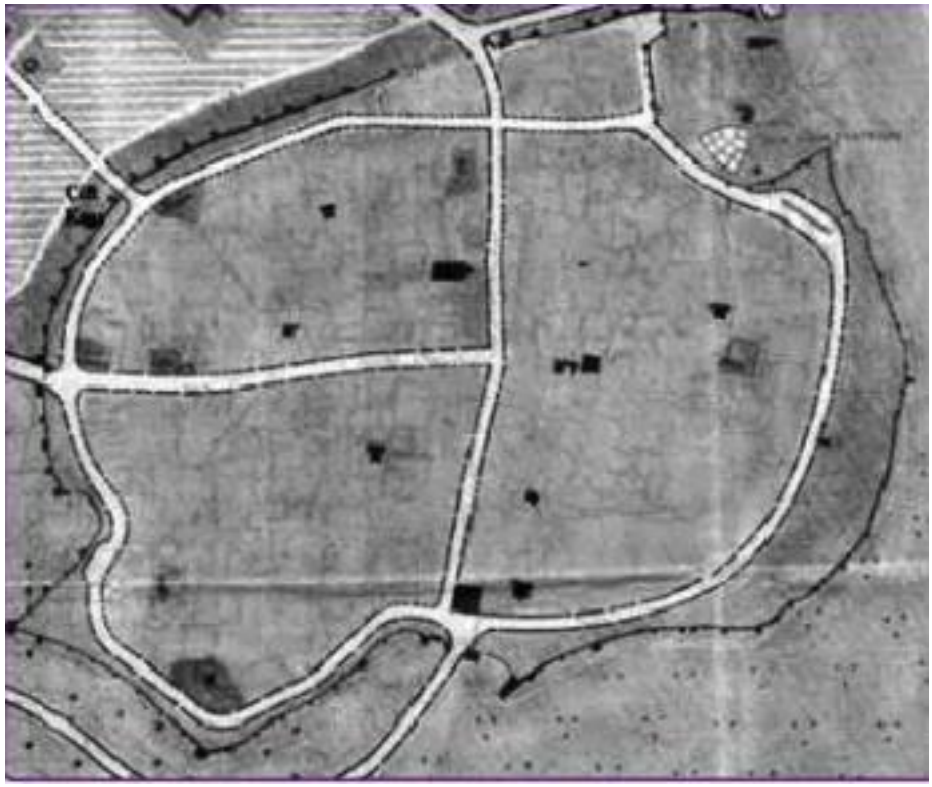


Figure 3.2: Diyarbakır city's first master development plan

Source: (Kejanlı and Dinçer, 2010)

With this plan, it was decided to expand the following streets that constitute the commercial areas inside the city walls: the street in the north-south direction (Gazi Street), the street connecting this street to the west gate of the castle (Melik Ahmed Street) and the street (İzzetpaşa Street) opened in 1916. And the door opened on the castle wall in the 1950s (Çift Kapı) was connected to the carriageway (Kejanlı and Dinçer, 2010). In this planning process, restructuring was required in the residential areas with the widening of the roads. In the following years, higher-rise buildings started to be constructed with the effect of flat ownership. Following the development of technology after the 1950s, the new face of cities has also been transformed and structured with these technological developments. Especially, the buildings built outside the ancient city center have started to be constructed in a uniform style and with building models that are global rather than local. This has been facilitated by the acceleration of communication on a global basis and the

localization of building models in different locations. In the 1960s, the transformation of residential areas into commercial areas was also in question (Kejanlı and Dinçer, 2010). This process established a ground for the trade-oriented development of the area inside the city walls and the development of newly built housing areas as a residential area with private consumption.

Especially the Yenişehir region, which became an urban space after the 1950s, is a typical example of this situation. By 1960, three types of dwellings can be selected, including the inner wall: Traditional Diyarbakir houses made of black basalt stone, ghetto or slum houses made of adobe masonry technique, reinforced concrete houses and apartments in the new city region (Arslan, cited in 1991, Haspolat and Hamidi, 2013). The Development Plans (1962-1964) made in the 1960s were insufficient due to the dense population in Diyarbakır. The uncontrolled growth of population and the crowding of the center show itself specifically in Diyarbakır's Bağlar district. In Bağlar district, unplanned structuring and differentiation are observed on joint-owned parcels (Haspolat and Hamidi, 2013). In the second half of the 1960s, the population of Diyarbakır reached 162467, and the unplanned development that started in Bağlar continued. Until the 1970s, a dual city structure was formed in which the east of the railway station was developed in a planned manner and the west of it without any planning (Haspolat and Hamidi, 2013). This differentiation on the plan also brought with it class discrimination in a spatial sense. While people who come through immigration and who have a bad economic situation are trying to meet their shelter needs in an informal way; on the other hand, we see that the accommodation forms of civil servants, urban noble families and tradespeople differ.

As we have stated previously, when we look at Turkey in the context of capitalist urbanization work, we see that the Modernization Theory and Dependency theories are generally used (Kaygalak, 2008). When Turkey is considered in the context of capitalization process, center-periphery theory (Wallerstein, 2004) and progress/development literature, Turkish society is defined

as "dependent", " undeveloped " or "periphery" based on the center-periphery theory (Kaygalak, 2008; Keleş, 1978:28; Keyder et al. 1993). The urbanization style of a large part of the undeveloped countries is in accordance with the urbanization model of the colonial era (Keleş, 1978:29). In the context of *Dependent Urbanization*, the dependence of *Third World Countries* has affected their economic and social developments as well as their urbanization styles (Keleş, 1978; as cited in Kaygalak 2008: 15). Therefore, the urban form has become a sample set where the reflections of this binary relation are seen. The urban aspect of this relationship is a state of canalizing into the capitalist relations network, especially as the market. And this situation shows itself as non-industrial urbanization. The exploitation between labor and capital and unhealthy urbanization arising from an inadequate mobilization of the productive forces is a process that raises unemployment and class segregation (Keleş, 1978: 41). At this stage, it will be useful to examine Diyarbakır from two perspectives. The first of these is *Amed,* which is a provincial system in the context of the Ottoman Empire. The second one is the early republican period of Turkey in the context of the nation-state. Such a two-sided perspective will provide a holistic viewing of the processes that Diyarbakır has gone through in the study. The capitalist urbanization process of Diyarbakır, which was a shire and an administrative center until the 20th century, should not be considered separately from its historical background. Diyarbakır, which was a cosmopolitan city until the nation-state process, later turned into a republican province. Diyarbakır, which has taken on a new identity by gaining metropolitan features recently (Atlı, 2015; Arslan, 1999), is an important example of the capitalist urbanization in Turkey. In addition to this situation, following the *Free Trade Agreement* signed with Great Britain in 1838, the city began to transform both socially, culturally and economically, and was affected by the administrative reform movements of the state (Genç, 2014). The fact that the cumulativeness of the city, which we have emphasized from time to time, is natural with these social movements, as well as the social relations of the city, becomes sensitive right at this point.

Phenomena such as intense population movements, especially after the 1950s, rural-urban migration, and forced migration caused city builders to seek solutions. This situation has led to deadlocks at some points. For example, lessons have been taken from the planning difficulties in old settlements such as Bağlar and more thought was given to these issues in newly planned settlements. This was clearly stated during my meeting with Murat Alökmen, the Director of Development of the period. While talking about the planning problems in the old settlements, he stated that they paid particular attention to this issue in Kayapınar, a new settlement area. This situation explains the development of the city on a single axis, which was also mentioned by Kıtay.

When we look at Diyarbakır in the context of urban planning and urban development, we see that the first development work of the city was carried out in Suriçi on a scale of 1/5000, and in the years 1965-1967, 1/1000 scale Suriçi (Inner Wall) and Surdışı (OuterFortress) plans were prepared and put into effect (Kıtay, 2002). On the other hand, general planning works, which included the development areas of the city, was carried out by the Bank of Provinces as a Master and Implementation Development Plan between 1984 and 1986 (Kıtay, 2002).

Third Period (1980- ∞)

The area we examine as the capitalist urbanization in Diyarbakır is the Kayapınar district, which is at the center of the study. The first settlement area of this district is Peyas Village. Peyas village, which had a population of approximately 3 thousand in 1991, was transformed into a town. The second important settlement unit of the town was Huzurevleri. While Peyas District, which was connected to the district in 2013, made it to the books as Turkey's most crowded neighborhood with a population of 142.228 people; Huzurevleri, another neighborhood of the district, ranked second with 91,832 people. In the town that has experienced great changes in the last 14 years, Kayapınar, to which many villages were also affiliated

following the Local Governments Law enacted in 2004, became the first level municipality of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. With the affiliation of 9 villages to Kayapınar in 2004, the population of the district, which was 68 thousand, increased to 75.592.[17]

The modern buildings preferred instead of the old family housing model in Diyarbakır began to be built between 1923 and 1950. After this process, works were carried out to expand the city outward in a planned manner. The city of Diyarbakır started to develop primarily in the Yenişehir region outside the walls (Surdışı) after the 1950s. This was followed by Kooperatifler, Şehitlik and the region formed by other neighborhoods. In the planning made in 1991, functions with large areas such as Military Area, Airport, Area to be Afforested, and Dicle University were the factors leading the development (Kıtay, 2002). Diyarbakır was planned on four axes: these are Mardin Road, Elâzığ Road, Urfa Road and Bingöl Road (Kıtay, 2002). Especially the Urfa Road axis, which has formed the city center in recent years, has been opened to development and constitutes the Kayapınar settlement area. It can be said that there are clear differences in terms of housing areas in Diyarbakır. According to this distribution, while Suriçi (Inner Wall) is a commercial center -*agora*-, Yenişehir is the region where there is high-income housing production, and Bağlar is the region that produces housing for the low-income segment. In the newly developed town Kayapınar, housing production is carried out for the middle and high-income segment (Kıtay, 2002). Kayapınar Municipality, which is the focal point of our study, forms the last stage of Diyarbakır's urbanization process. Currently, the city center is urbanizing at the center of this district. Starting from the outer city walls, old family dwellings are replaced by two-three-storey dwellings and further on, by apartment blocks due to the population density. Currently, the urbanization style of Kayapınar progresses

[17] Republic of Turkey Diyarbakır Governorship, http://diyarbakir.gov.tr/kayapinar, accessed on February 21, 2020.
Decision on the Establishment of a Municipality under the Name "Kayapınar" in Kayapınar Village (Affiliated to Felahiye District) *Decision number: 91/39037 On December 16, 1991.*

over these apartment-type structures. Another feature that draws attention especially in the Kayapınar district is that almost all of these apartments are secure and isolated from the outside. The form of housing defined as *closed condominium* in the literature is very common in Kayapınar district of Diyarbakır. At this stage, when we look at the city form, we come up against a dual structure. It would be appropriate to define this structure as organic and geometric. The part we define as organic gives reference to the development process of the city before the plans. The part that I have defined as geometric is the structured version of the city with various formulations using master development plans. In this context, the region where the geometric texture is most intense is Kayapınar district, the material of our study. While the *geometric layout*, which is also referred to as 'formed', 'grid', 'organized', 'planned', 'grammatical' in the literature, is a settlement pattern that is generally foreseen and that develops based on this foresight; organic layout, which is also defined with expressions such as 'spontaneously formed', 'randomly formed', 'non-geometric', 'non-organized', 'unplanned', 'not grammatical', is another settlement pattern that develops as improvised within certain instructions.

In the previous chapters, the city's history and processes were discussed conceptually based on the literature. In this chapter, the history of Diyarbakır was explained through literature and the experiences of the interviewees. While doing this, the main purpose is to combine the city's official history in the literature with the individuals' personal histories. Thus, a comparative analysis framework will be presented.

The interviewer, Z.M., explained the recent developments in the new settlement areas in Diyarbakır through his own experiences as follows:

> "I moved to Diyarbakır in 2003. If I compare that time and now, the situation can be explained like this; at that time, *Bağlar, Yenişehir*, and *Sur*. At that time, *Huzurevleri* was newly urbanizing. *Huzurevleri* is the previous place of urbanization just before *Kayapınar*. There was no systematic

urbanization. Sur is the city that was established before the 1950s, Yenişehir was established after the 1950s, and Bağlar was established between 1960-1970s as ghettos for workers, and later, Huzurevleri, Kayapınar, and beyond, where the residential sites are located that preferred by people who have returned to the city again are located. When we arrived, after the 90s, some people were settled in Suriçi by forced migration. These places were emptied in the 1950s by people who preferred new living areas since these structures became difficult to live in. I should mention, especially about 1915, because it caused a great wave of destruction, slaughter, and migration. The city passed into other hands. The upper-middle class settled in Yenişehir. I know that those who came for business purposes in the 60s and 70s preferred Bağlar. Officers and the middle class prefer these places. The first place that comes to mind when talking about Diyarbakır is Sur, which we define as the old city. However, unfortunately, the people who came here from other cities have no chance to live there. Of course, there are solid reasons for that. Poor infrastructure and low living standards are some of them. Consequently, a transition has occurred after the 1960s. This transition's main driving forces were technological developments, communication of people with the world, and increased individualization. Therefore, the urbanization process is also changed. In addition to these, Diyarbakır is a city developed with forced immigration. Regionally, the central state mechanisms are felt, and therefore the city is transforming in connection with this. Therefore, development and growth are the usual processes in all periods. When I came here in 2003, the population of Diyarbakır was about 350,000. Today, its almost 2,000,000. This is a huge increase. After the 1999 municipal elections, the increase in the region's political power certainly has an effect. People did not come to this city only by forced migration, but also there was the purpose of representation. In addition to this potential, the student immigration was also effective.

Z. M. Dismissed from public service – 55 – Married - Women

Based on Z.M's views, it can be said that urban development is consistent with the situation that we consider theoretically. Significant changes had occurred in Diyarbakır in 1950-1960s and 2000s**.** Especially since these are the periods that the housing form and built environment were changed, similar to Z.M said, what Mr. Mızraklı told is very important to understand the city and the processes experienced:

> From this point of view, we see two cities. One of them is the old one, a region with an old texture, denser, more population, and a lot of urban poor living together in the periphery. The other place is the developing part of the city, not much different, but when considered through the urban fabric, not overcrowded compared to other cities of Turkey. It is breathable, has wide boulevards, offers some urban expectations such as green spaces, art and culture areas, parking areas, schools, and hospitals, that is, a place that has many possibilities. Our Kayapınar district has become a place with a 13% green area per person. Considering these factors, both ecological and democratic, social participation and participatory municipality approach are adopted most effectively through city councils and neighborhood councils. Besides, we see that a new understanding of local administration has been established in many aspects such as transparency, that is, the budget planning of the municipalities, the programs they regularly carry out within the framework of planning are both shared with the public. Considering all these efforts, the city can be recognized as a place where many people's needs are met to a great extent. Here especially the public discipline or public understanding as we define the central governments, especially unemployment, which contributes to the poverty of the city and a common problem of entire Turkey, but this is a region where include intensely Kurdish population, so it is a region that experiencing this problem at much higher levels. We have seen a significant amount of resources is not transferred to overcome this problem. A produced poverty and transition of

this produced poverty into “a dependence,” those “being bestowed.” Trying to turn people into beggars and try to neutralize them, a stance against this understanding was required.

Adnan Selçuk Mızraklı- Former Mayor – Male – 57 – Married

As it can be understood by Mr.Mızraklı’s explanations and experiences, obviously, two different urban fabric exists in Diyarbakır. Especially in terms of social class, these two different structures are seen and felt more in some housing areas. “As such, while in the past the housing market forced the poor into the more or less closed ghettos in the cities, today the affluent segregate themselves within their own exclusionary and fortified enclaves. Where this exists sustainable urban growth is seriously endangered” (M. O. et al, 2011: 75). For example, considering this difference from Sur or Bağlar, we can see that what Mr Mızraklı told is experienced very clearly and exactly. Considering the Kayapınar, the focus point of this study, we can see that a new city space has been structured according to the social class with the neoliberal process. Therefore, this dual structure carries us from the townspeople to the space and city of the classes. Considering what Mr. Mızraklı told based on the dependence theory, as analyzed within the scope of this study, the politically oppressed population -conceived as the underdeveloped- is also left behind in terms of social class. This problem, which is particularly related to the Kurdish people, defined as the *Urbanization of the Kurdish Problem* by Fuat Keyman and Ayşe K. Badur. In the book, The Kurdish problem, this situation is described as it dates back to the 1950s and continued until the 2000s, turning into a city-wide objection by becoming legal and thus, affecting the urbanization process from its center.

3.2 About the Kayapınar District

According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) data, Diyarbakır's population is 1,756,353 at the end of 2019. During the 1980s and 2000s, which was defined as the urbanization of the capital and specified as the neoliberal period in the literature, closed condominiums have become widespread in the city. In general, the city has developed around the Urfa, Elazığ, Mardin, and Silvan roads, and it continues its development, especially around the Urfa and Elazığ roads after the 2000s. Accordingly, closed condominiums are developing especially in the Kayapınar district, located between the Urfa and Elazığ roads rather than other districts. The Kayapınar district has established as a town municipality of the central Diyarbakır in 1991. In 2004, it became a first-tier municipality of the central district and, in 2008, with a regulation, became a district municipality. With the Metropolitan Municipality law enacted in 2013, the municipality's service areas have grown due to the rural villages being turned into neighborhood status.[18] This growth in the strategic plan of the Municipality was stated as follows: "The development plans, which were issued and approved in 2001, has become insufficient for the increasing needs due to the rapid development of the Kayapınar district. Besides, due to some difficulties in practice, Revised Development Plans were issued in 2017-2018-2019 in stages".[19] The 75-meter road, one of the most important district features, as specified in the activity-147 in the 2006-2009 strategic plan. Accordingly, since the city has developed over this district, it also caused the city's orientation to shift towards newly built residential areas. In her study, Ayşe Seda Yüksel mentioned about Kayapınar district as follows:

> "The fourth wave of urbanization that started in the mid-1990s has generally concentrated on the Kayapınar district. In general, the middle class prefers this district and the population has increased 30 times in the last 20 years.

[18] Kayapınar municipality 2020-2024 Strategic Plan, Presidency Strategy and Budget Office, 2019: 9.
[19] Ibid.

> The population of Kayapınar is expected to exceed 240,000 in the next ten years. Compared to densely populated districts such as Bağlar, Suriçi, and Yenişehir, the population of Kayapınar is sparse and includes parks, shopping malls, and apartment buildings and secured residential sites spread around main boulevards." (Yüksel, 2013).

The district includes the properties that Mrs Yüksel defined even more intensively today, and the population has reached 381,414, exceeding Yüksel's estimate.

Mahabad boulevard, also known as the 75meter ring road, which is the location of our fieldwork, is at a position that can be considered as the center of these residential areas. The selected residential areas are located between Mahabad boulevard and Mezopotamya street.[20] Since Mahabad boulevard is the first built area of the region, it was zoned to construction before and included mostly gated communities. On the other hand, the Mezopotamya street was zoned to construction in later periods, and the gated communities' design here represents the latest trends and technology such as smart house and hobby garden. In short, from Mahabad boulevard to Mezopotamya street, residents become more luxurious and secured. The features of gated communities can be seen more obviously in Mezopotamya street. In the region's urban planning, the geometric orders defined as 'grid', 'regular', 'regular and planned' were applied and built accordingly.

As shown in the first map below, it can be seen that the city developed through four directions. The Kayapınar district, which is the urbanization area in the recent period, is displayed a triangular-shaped development through the main points of Çöl Güzeli, Cankatran, and central Diyarbakır. As seen in the first map and in detail in the second map, the location of fieldwork is in the last urbanized area of Kayapınar. As shown in the second map, from Mahabad boulevard to Mezopotamya street, the residential sites built more regularly and geometrically.

[20] Since this street is 50 meters wide, it is also called as the 50-meter ring road. Diyarbakır's widest roads are 75 and 50 meters wide.

These residential apartments offer more comfort and social amenities. They have integrated security mechanisms.

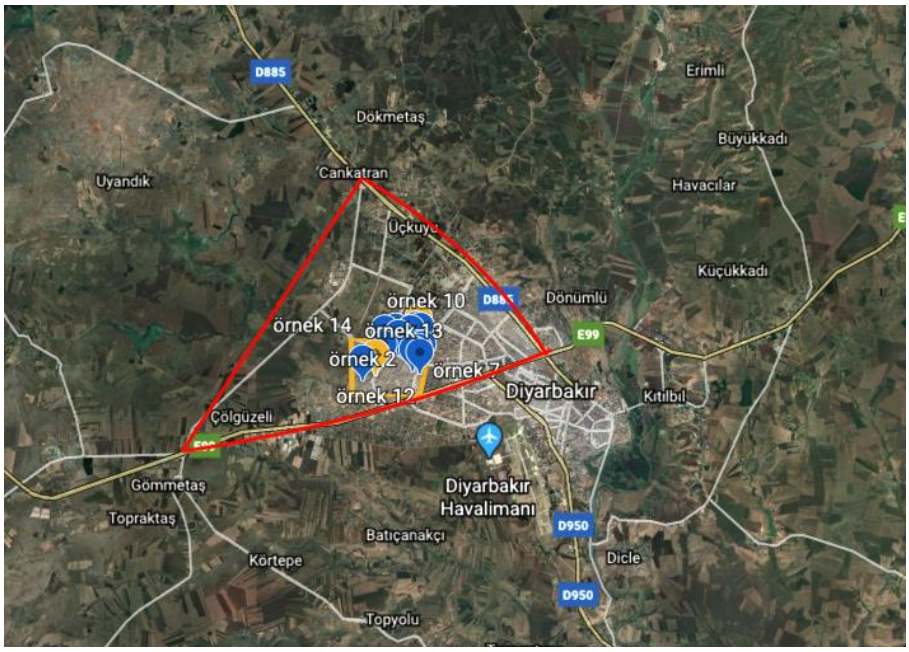


Figure 3.3: Fieldwork location

Figure 3.4: Detailed fieldwork location

Figure 3.5: Photos From Fieldwork Area
kayapinar.bel.tr

Figure 3.6: Photos From Fieldwork Area
kayapinar.bel.tr

Figure 3.7: Photos From Fieldwork Area
kayapinar.bel.tr

3.3 The Role of the Local Governments

Urbanization is a spatially developing social process, and actors with different goals and agendas interact with each other regarding the organization of the space (Harvey, 2015; 424). Thus, Harvey emphasized that different capital and labor organizations act according to their interests, depending on their capital. Therefore, he highlighted that a class alliance at the regional level under the state's influence is possible (Harvey, 2015, 406). State and local governments have played a role in the neoliberal change process and have been the carriers of this transformation in their unique conditions (Kahraman, 2015; 36). Another question about privatization is whether municipal governments or proprietary developments —shopping malls and industrial parks, as well as gated communities— are the most efficient institutions for the provision of basic goods and services (Low,2003:19). Kahraman (2015) explains this process in Turkey's context saying “revenue-related pressures caused by the transition of the land under public ownership to private ownership and the change of private ownership in the city caused the function of the state to change with the change of the legal framework.” Therefore, the state

and its institutions have transformed from a regulatory status to an exclusive and rent-generating status. Yuksel and others, explained as follow:

> As the capital moved around the geographies of the world with the globalization period, the high and middle-income groups have developed a market whereby the provision and demand for luxurious residential areas together with the contractor firms. The local government, in parallel to the central government has implemented the neo-liberal politics to justify the legal bases of the spatial development of the luxurious residential areas. Eventually, during the 90s, the number of peripheral sub-municipalities increased and peripheral areas are opened for residential construction, without abiding by the metropolitan master-plans. (Dulgeroglu et al, 2012: 573).

Thus, after the 2000s, Diyarbakır has become a ground that is transforming due to the strategies the actors in the city developed depending on their positioning and engagement. The actors in this ground are the central government, local governments, NGOs, city elites, and political actors. Each actor has created a form of urbanization based on their own strategy. Therefore, as quoted above, peripheral areas are opened for residential construction. Three actors are effective in the urban space, which is the ground of conflict in the neoliberal process. The first of these is the central government, the second is local governments under the influence of the central government, and the third is the city elites and capitalists. Diyarbakır urban area is the place of different future dreams for the Turkish state, as well as for the Kurdish political movement and local capitalists (Yüksel, 2013; 69). Accordingly, considering the urban literature, there are three approaches, as T. Şengül (2009) stated. These are the state-centered approach, capital-centered approach, and social contradiction-centered approach. As Şengül argued in the same study these approaches are not separate from each other, but rather interconnected. There is a social class-based contradiction in today's urban space in terms of both the influence of the central government, capital's constitution of its own environment, and social

contradiction. At this point, space emerges as a medium for social power struggles. Thus, for any social group aiming to preserve or change power relations, maintaining control over space is vital (Şengül, 2009).

The tension between the central government and local governments arose first as a result of the *Municipalities Act* and then with the 1973 Elections. This situation arises in relation to the sphere of influence of the municipalities and the central government's control. This dual mechanism resulted in a constant conflict state. With the decision no. 3030 in 1984, metropolitan municipalities were given the responsibility of the planning, programming, and implementation of 'large-scale investments' in the construction (Şengül,2009). These developments provided new opportunities to municipalities regarding the development and implementation of zoning plans. Therefore, the city's development also provides information about the position and abilities of the actors mentioned regarding the conflict. This authority of the metropolitan municipalities has indirectly facilitated the integration of the private enterprises into the city space. As Şengül (2009) stated, as the municipalities started to use subcontracting mechanisms for infrastructure projects, new opportunities were created for private enterprises. Therefore, while TOKI exists in the sphere of influence of the central government in the city space, the presence of the capital in the urban space has increased through the subcontracting system used by the municipalities. Regarding the presence of capital, according to the analysis of Nilay Özok Gündoğan (2005) on the Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP), its transformation into sustainable development is a market-oriented regulation of the state. This demonstrates that the central government is implementing a capital-centered strategy in parallel with neoliberal policies. As pointed out by Şengül (2009 the local governments give importance to growth and values the demands of capital has been adopted (Şengül,2009: 84). For Diyarbakır, this situation gets more complicated with the identity-based social movement.

Considering this region in particular, HADEP, a party that reflects the Kurdish political identity, for the first time won 37 municipalities in the local

elections in 1999. This result means that the conflict between the central government and local governments mentioned in theory became concrete in the specifically Kurdish identity. To explain the Diyarbakır urbanization process in 1999, which is the beginning of the period covered in this study, it is necessary to dwell on this process related to local governments. This process has been explained by Mr. Adnan Selçuk Mızraklı in an interview as follows:

> Especially after 1999, one of the most important institutions of Kurdish publicity is local governments. Kurdish people have started to be represented in municipalities, and this representation has increased rapidly. Accordingly, there has been a period in which the Kurdish people have their future at the local level. The local administration process that reflected the hopes and dreams of these people took place in many regions. In addition to the shaping of the cities in terms of architecture and development, cultural, historical, artistic, and aesthetic modifications were also made. As a result of this situation, the poor, disabled people in the city, especially women, due to the rising political and democratic processes, have gained an important place in the cities regarding the texture and identity.
>
> **(Adnan Selçuk Mızraklı- Mayor – Male – 57 – Married)**

During this urbanization process, Kayapınar gradually became a municipal and was zoned to construction in 2004 and 2008. First, the district became a first-tier municipal and in the following years, became a municipality, so, this district is the part of Diyarbakır that has developed and urbanized from the rough. Especially since it is wide and flat and has a suitable terrain for urbanization, Kayapınar was opened to zoning parcel by parcel, and constructions of residential sites have started. Local governments under the presidency of Feridun Çelik between 1999-2004 and Osman Baydemir[21] between 2004 and 2014 were effective in the development of the Kayapınar district. In this period, the necessary and important

[21] It is important to present the process as a whole. After Osman Baydemir, the mayor between 2014-2016 was Gültan Kışanak. Afterward, with the appointment of a trustee, Cumali Atilla was appointed as the mayor between 2016-2019, then in 2019, Adnan Selçuk Mızraklı was elected as the mayor and finally, Hasan Basri Güzeloğlu has become the mayor with the appointment of a trustee.

zonings were provided.[22] The foundations of today's Kayapınar district were laid, and important decisions were made in the period under the presidency of Osman Baydemir and Zülküf Karatekin.

According to the 2006-2010 strategic plan of the Kayapınar district municipality, there are quite few important articles are: encouraging housing production and house ownership in order to meet the housing needs of rapid urbanization and increasing population; developing urban and rural infrastructure with a new and holistic approach in line with the goal of increasing the quality of life; creation of urbanization and urbanization culture; site selection for urban planning activities, land production, housing production, prevention of illegal housing, and quality control of buildings. In this period, with the participatory municipal management approach, meetings were held with the neighbourhood representatives. The reasons for the population increase in the Kayapınar region between 1990 and 2000 are the rural-to-urban migration, forced migration, representation of the Kurdish objection at the urban level, rapid developments in the construction sector, the development of Diyarbakır center, and the location of this region on the new settlement line. Accordingly, Kayapınar district has become both a dormitory city, residential-centered urbanization occurred, and the capital. The most important dynamic that affects the population intensity is the settlement of the people from the villages that were evacuated due to the armed conflicts in the region in 1992-1995 in Kayapınar. Additionally, the people working in public institutions also prefer this district.[23]

During this period, an important issue that occupied the agenda for a long time is the mutual disputes between trustees and mayors at the urban scale. This issue was repeated as the assignment of the first trustee, then the election of Adnan Selçuk Mızraklı, and finally, another trustee's assignment again. This situation

[22] We've contacted former mayor Osman Baydemir regarding this situation, however, he didn't want to discuss the subject.
[23] Kayapınar municipality 2006-2010 Strategic Plan, Presidency Strategy and Budget Office, 2006.

shows to what extent everyday politics affect the city and urban planning. Ş.A., Co-Chair of the Chamber of Architects, explained this situation as follows:

> Seven green areas (in the zoning plan) were changed into mosque areas. The first trustee did this. Then, the elected mayor restored five of them. Now, the current trustee changed the mentioned five parcels into mosques areas again. As you know, a participatory management model was applied in Diyarbakır. There is another story here. However, a completely monophonic situation exists recently. The assignment of the trustee should be considered from this perspective. Think about it, the governor of the city and the mayor of the city are the same people. Therefore, we cannot expect inclusiveness for the local benefit and being open-minded to opinions from all levels. This is the uniformization of city administration.
>
> **Ş. A. – Co-Chair of the Chamber of Architects – 28- Male - Single**

This tension, and since the urban space has become an object of conflict ideologically, explains how urban space is closely linked with local governments. The fact that the urban space has become an object of conflict shaped that period and shaped the future since the permanence of the urban space. Accordingly, a mosque, a park area, or a shopping center is not just a building form. These buildings also change and transform their surrounding space. Therefore, the projected spatial production and urban planning also point out the existence of an urban imagination. This urban imagination is closely related to the historical and political engagement of the actors. Kipfer explained the relation between hegemony and urbanization as follow:

> Squeezed between society and everyday life in a kind of half- existence (demi-existence), the urban is both site for the construction of hegemony and achilles heel of capital.lol As "a location for the reproduction of social relations of production," urban space is clearly central to hegemony:

> Is it conceivable that the exercise of hegemony might leave space untouched? Could space be nothing more than the passive locus of social relations, the milieu of in which their combination takes on body, or the aggregate of the procedures employed in their removal? The answer must be no. Later on I shall demonstrate and active - the operational or instru mental - role of space, as knowledge and action, in the existing mode of production. I shall show how space serves, and how hegemony makes use of it, in the establishment, on the basis of an underlying logic and with the help of knowledge and technical expertise, of a "system." (Kipfer,2002: 139)

As seen above, everyday life, city and hegemonic power relations are closely related. In the Diyarbakır case, trustee politics have a power that can transform the relationship between urban space and local actors and this relationship emerges, especially in the construction industry and service industry. (Keyman and Badur, 2019). Similarly, Castells (2017) argued that urban and environmental issues are at the center of politics and government ideologies. The city and ecology issues are important aspects of social organization and social change in advanced capitalism (Castells,2017). Creating physical and social infrastructures that ensure efficient production, consumption, and trade has become an important political and administrative issue (Harvey, 2016). As seen in the example mentioned above, the situation described by Harvey and Castells is clearly experienced at the local level. From the perspective of trustee-oriented politics, this situation is seen through capital and political management's centralization. From Lefebvre, Harvey and Castells' perspective, the urban space is considered a political insturment and a ground of conflict. Also, this situation is convenient Gramchi's concept of hegemony. Genç expressed this affair follow as:

> . In Gramsci's classical formulation, political and economic authority of a class over others in advanced capitalist formations is explained by the articulation of hegemony the dominant class exercises throughout society with direct domination exercised through the state. This argument suggests that hegemony, defined basically as political, intellectual and moral leadership of a historical block, necessitates the active consent of

> subaltern social classes and groups, hence resonance between a particular political-social project and everyday dreams, aspirations and values (common sense). (Genç, 2011:4)

Regarding this situation, R.K. the following:

> Regarding providing service, municipalities are developed areas. That is, they are the areas that service should be provided. However, for Diyarbakır, political engagement is always at the forefront. There are disruptions in management and service provision due to some reasons such as a constant state of chaos and the constant change of municipal employees. Only three days ago, a trustee was assigned again. Apart from this extraordinary situation, considering the Kurds' municipality model, political engagement is always at the forefront. In my opinion, the effort for existence and to express itself ideologically makes the municipalities technically weak. Consequently, the reasons may be a lack of system experience or a lack of qualified people, or a lack of technical knowledge. We do not have a managerial method that adopts an understanding like: "previously, the following was done in the following years, so now, to solve these problems, we should do these." In my opinion, as a result of all this, we have reached this situation. Our current problem is taking back the municipalities. I think the city should have more urban and more fundamental problems.
> ***R. K. NGO employee– 29 – Single – Female***

A personnel C.Ç, who worked in the period of Osman Baydemir, evaluates this period from the perspective of local governments and city relations as follows:

> In fact, the class distinction that evident in society has now become a spatial issue. This situation is also reflected in space. I think one dimension of this issue is a general processrather than the Kurds. Probably, there is a similar situation in Kayseri and Konya. In general, we can express it as the reflection of neoliberalism in space. Although there was nothing about the Kurds here, this would probably result from the current economic and technological dynamics. To understand this situation, it is necessary to think from three dimensions. The first dimension of the matter is that, in addition to the Kurdish situation, the existence of such a tendency in metropolitan areas is a today's

reality. There are trends such as metropolitanization and globalization throughout the world. The second dimension is about local factors: Although the economy of this region was weak, when I completed the fieldwork 12 years ago, the number of countries that *DISIAD (Diyarbakir Industrialist and Business People Association*) member businessmen make export and import was 40 countries. Even small-scale employers were in contact with approximately 40 countries. We are talking about a city shaped by this factor. Therefore, I believe that it is necessary to consider the situations caused by global and technological possibilities. If we want to understand the urbanization in Diyarbakır: first, we have to consider the factor of neoliberalism and globalization that we mentioned. Second, the local story should be considered. In fact, it is also a complicated story. In my opinion, 1999 was a breaking point for the Kurds. 1999 has important consequences. The EU membership process and caused a subsequent change in the Kurdish movement, that is, seeking progress through legal politics. Moreover, the EU membership process had an engagement that nurtured this legal policy. In short, I can say that during the period 1999-2005, the main dynamic that shaped the main framework of the Kurdish movement was the EU membership process. It affected both the government and the period. Today, a third dynamic affecting both is the process of local government. In 1999, the Kurdish political movement started taking control of local governments for the first time. In my opinion, in the 10 years after 1999, three important transformations occurred in the Kurdish political movement. First is the urbanization, in general; this situation can even be addressed through forced migration dating back the 1990s. In particular, the Kurdish opposition movement, that is, the Kurdish objection, shifted from rural to urban. Political mobilization, which was rural-oriented before, has now become urban-oriented. The main factor here is the forced migration. In fact, in my opinion, it was the urban objection that happened after 2000. Because the arrival of families who had experienced political traumas in the past and the reflection of these political attitudes on the urban space transformed the city in addition to the forced migration event. In short, there is the urbanization of the Kurdish socio-political approach, not general urbanization. That is, the Kurdish objection has become urbanized. Second, it has become legal. A kind of NGO community started to form around the municipality. There were also NGOs in the 1990s, but they were mostly conflict-oriented. Nevertheless, after the 2000s, both NGOs increased and their field of study diversified. NGOs have started to be actively involved in various fields such as development, women, children, city, among others. Hence, the Kurdish objection has become urbanized and legal. The third is institutionalization. Urbanization and legalization were accompanied by

institutionalization. Constitutively, these three dynamics caused a class transformation in the Kurdish movement. It was a lower-class movement, but after 1999, it turned into a kind of coalition of the lower- and middle-class movement.

(C.Ç. - Mayor's Advisor - Male – 45 – Married)

The interviewee, who served as an advisor in the period when the foundations of the Kayapınar district were laid, made a detailed analysis of what happened in Diyarbakır and the Kurdish objection based on his own experiences. His explanations about class separation, the transformation of the objection in the 2000s, and the city's recent development are especially valuable for our study. He argues that this urban narrative has a global dimension, as we define in the present study. The theoretical ground we define as the urbanization of capital and the neoliberal process is compatible with the local context. In which Harvey established the relationship between the city and capitalism, capitalist production is compatible with producing a built environment for consumption and exchange (Harvey, 1989). The urbanization and legalization of the Kurdish objection is the second important part of the discourse. Keyman and Badur (2019) defined this situation as the *urbanization of the Kurdish problem* and stated that this movement's population shifted from rural to urban with the legalization process. In the third part of the discourse, attention is drawn to the Kurdish problem's middle classization, as Keyman and Badur describe in the book. Based on what C.Ç highlighted, this lower-class movement, or in other words, the movement of the working-class, which took place in an illegal conflict zone in rural areas, has become a middle-class movement, urbanized and 'segregated' in the 2000s with the neoliberal period.

Considering Diyarbakır in terms of Kurdish objection, it can be said that it has two importance, especially in recent years. First is the use of urban space as a conflict area- trench/ditch conflict-, second is the spatial development and 'middle-class' oriented construction of the city. Therefore, there is an irony in the city space; there is a disintegration of the city in the global class and the class separation of the Kurdish objection at the local level. In their study, Keyman and Badur addressed this situation using the case of Diclekent. The upper part of this area, our study field, is an area where this situation is experienced more intensely. As Keyman and Badur emphasized, this situation divided the city into a kind of two parts: "the middle class and the legal Kurdish movement that they support, and the poor neighborhoods that are more active conflicts in the city…" (Keyman, Badur; 2019). Considering these developments in Diyarbakır in terms of urbanization of capital, the effect and power of capital and money in creating its own built environment should also be mentioned. As Harvey stated, money has the peculiar property of

accumulation of universal power in time and space. Accordingly, money both accumulates power and also expands and contracts its boundaries on a spatial scale. Such a process is only possible through the 'rational landscape' urbanization, which is the space of the capital accumulation process (Harvey, 2016:41). From this perspective, it can be argued that urbanization is a kind of ground for capital accumulation. This bilateral relationship should be considered in terms of contemporary urban studies and economic/political issues. As Harvey (2016) highlighted, the urban matrix and the 'rational landscape' are subject to constant change for accumulation. Capitalism's ability to establish direct control over production and consumption depends primarily on producing a built environment that supports capitalist production, consumption, and trade (Harvey,2016). The accumulation of capital and capitalist urbanization are not the main components but the center of this process. What is wanted to be emphasized is that the global and the neoliberal one and the local one are not separate "things" but rather components of a fundamental structure. According to the "*National Report and Action Plan of Turkey*" published in the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT II) in 1996, the urbanization and transformation of urbanization in Turkey are developing around population and capital. The same report stated that "*Instead of establishing the relationship between capital and the settlement system through the redistribution of capital in space, the settlement system can be considered as completely the product of the capital accumulation*." What is defined as capital and real estate in this report is the type of capital defined as productive power and infrastructure. Moreover, according to the same report, population and capital distribution are effective in the unbalanced distribution of wealth. Accordingly, spatial inequalities facilitate and spread the reproduction of individual inequalities.

As seen in the quotations above, the fragmentation of urban space undermines the capacity to maintain and produce space (Lefebvre, 1991). Analyzing the city's current status, what Ş.A., the Co-Chair of the Chamber of Architects, said is important. Based on local governments, Ş.A. drawn a framework regarding Kayapınar as follows:

> Probably, we should talk about the result. This was not desired. However, considering the current picture, I should state that it is no different from any city, according to the new urbanization dimension. A situation emerged that we constantly criticized. The zoning law was applied exactly the same, which can be said as a positive point. Nevertheless, it is not a compatible

situation paradigmatically and ideologically. It is not totally compatible, especially from a social class perspective because the Kurdish objection is basically a class struggle. However, considering the current result, larger boundaries emerged between social classes. Considering the city's shaping way, especially before the armed fight in the city, the people living in Sur were the poorest and subaltern class. Beyond that, just next to Sur, especially in Fiskaya, Benusen, and in Şehitlik areas. Since that area was not sufficient, the area overflowed. Beyond that, the area defined as Ofis and its surrounding. At first, Ofis and the surrounding area were the places of the urban bourgeoisie. In other words, it was the living space of what we call white-collars. Later, in 1999, a transformation took place with the new zoning plans.

For example, if one might ask if there is an administrative problem regarding municipality, one can say that the answer is multi-dimensional. In general, one can say yes. Lack of previous management experience negatively affected. However, that is not the only factor. For example, we went to Kobani after it was destroyed. Some people went from here to build it. Now, as one can see, it can be said that we did not derive lessons from our experiences. So, someone believe that our logic of urbanization is still the same. This is the biggest problem of the Kurdish objection. It is a big objection, but it is not sufficient when it comes to practice and we cannot embody it. Our urbanization practice is similar to this. In my opinion, the poor people in the city are not taken into account. When HDP won the municipality with the elections again, we visited them as the architects' chamber and conveyed our critical opinion on this issue. We have suggested making regular meetings accordingly. In my opinion, it should be prevented that building such luxurious housing estates in the city center. They may be on the periphery of the city, but transforming the urban space is a problem for the city's poor people. This situation could have been prevented with the zoning plans. Through the zoning plan, you can change the poor people's situation in the city as you wish. Nevertheless, not at this point; a long way has been taken now. However, it was not that impossible at the beginning. Today, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Ş. A. – Co-Chair of the Chamber of Architects – 28- Male - Single

Based on what Ş.A said, considering the relationship between local governments and urbanization experience, it can be argued that urbanization is also related to the

local story in addition to the neoliberalization period. Lack of management experience before the 2000s is one of the basic dynamics that interviewees focus on while explaining the situation in Kayapınar. We see that there is demand, especially for Kayapınar and a flow in that direction. This high demand, the building of new structures in Kayapınar, the broader social opportunities, the massive presence of the “elit”" class in this region, and the accumulation of capital owners in this area are the factors that have made this region the center of attraction in the last period. Similar to this sample, Harvey had also described the experience of *The Workers Union* in England. HDP and Kurdish politics have been compulsorily included in the competitive market society due to the neoliberal era's structural dilemmas.

Accordingly, the production of projects aimed at capital and entrepreneurship, rather than the working class at the lowest class, has led to a differentiation in terms of local governments and citizens. In this regard, Kayapınar district can be defined through Harvey’s concepts of both ‘urban entrepreneurialism’ and ‘rational landscape.’ Rational landscape’ can be defined primarily as the capital space and creating space for neo-liberal capitalism. Urban planning is an important actor due to the political dynamism in Diyarbakır and providing the basis for this dynamism at the urban level. Especially, identity-based political mobility in the pre-2000 period, which has a rural character, and the urbanized objection after the 2000s are critical for understanding the urban space. From an urban perspective, spatial availability is an important factor regarding the trench/barricade armed fights in Sur. The existence of narrow streets and the local people knowing the regions are important for this type of conflict. Considering Kayapınar from this perspective, it can be said that the possibilities of Sur are not available in Kayapınar due to spatially constructed area from scratch, wide boulevards and avenues, and secured buildings. Therefore, it can be said that factors such as the status of being from the local population or recognizing the locals have lost its importance. On the contrary, Kayapınar is more controllable in terms of control and domination. This situation is also important in terms of making the

place understandable. As mentioned in the present study, there are more secured buildings in Kayapınar compared to other districts. These structures are an important stage of the rational landscape mentioned above. Considering the area, it is important that almost all housing types are similar types and have similar social areas and security mechanisms. The most important one among them is gated communities which are defined as the space of the neo-liberal period by Setha Low (2003). During the interview held in the Kayapınar municipality, one of the authorized personnel, H.T., explained the intensity of this situation as follows:

> When I came here in 2016, we made a lot of discussion about the housing type, "We should not allow the construction of secure sites anymore, to prevent walls." The answer came to these objections is that: "our society is not ready for this." Statements were made, such as "consider the crime rates." However, before Kayapınar, the crime rate was obvious and before that, there were no secure housing estates in Diyarbakır. This is exactly our dilemma. For example, we're saying that the amount of green space in Kayapınar is that big. But these spaces are not public spaces; they are only available to people who have access to this area. That is, it is only for a particular part of the population. A kind of social class separation being made. In my opinion, planning has such issues. I have subjectively criticized this situation a lot and I believe that it is impossible that this was not foreseen during a 20-year period. Such a situation, basically, is not compatible with our understanding of municipal management. However, I should say that our people get used to it. And they want it. Other districts also take Kayapınar as an example. Because there is a planned and spacious structure in terms of the municipality, Kayapınar is taken as a good example.
> ***(H. T. zoning specialist – Female – 29 – Single***

The authorized personnel, H.T. states that the capital-oriented urbanization in Diyarbakır in terms of political position and management strategies causes a conflict within the Kurdish political movement. This is similar to the case of England, similar to what Harvey explained in the UK example. In contrast to H.T.'s statements, the zoning director A.Y., who worked with Zülküf Karatekin in 1999, explains the situation as follows:

> In fact, it is necessary to consider the situation independently of some political dynamics. There was not much discussion on this issue at that time.

> On the contrary, there were reactions from outside such as “you’ve gentrified this place”, “you’ve brought it apart”. I am not sure if such incisive speeches are correct, or how correct to express it so particularly. However, there was absolutely no such purpose or aim. We determined a road map and proceeded accordingly. The city is a dynamic and lively thing. A change occurs as a result of the elections. Something neat was wanted to be done, but there was no specific ideology or pattern. It was something else. We handled Diyarbakır from the beginning. While we were doing this, there was no intention that the rich section should live here. This was the course of events. The housing estates built here have consistently improved. We wanted this place to be metropolitanized, but we didn't want to enrich it. While I was working in the municipality, Yenişehir and Ofis were the places of rich people. Nobody was leaving. On the contrary, the middle class lived there. However, when the wide boulevards and social facilities were built there, the rich rushed.
>
> ***(A. Y. Former Zoning director – Male – 45- Married)***

It will be useful to explain and analyze A.Y's statements by defining the local conjuncture. For the Kayapınar district, preparing the zoning plans and strictly following it were carried out especially by the mayor of that period Zülküf Karatekin and the team that he established. Therefore, while talking about Kayapınar, the situations that are referenced, praised, and criticized are explained directly by the practices of actors. Reading A.Y's explanations from this perspective is important to understand it. As understood, the fregmentation of urban space and "urbanization" of the problematic of hegemony (Kipfer,2002) are seen clearly by actors and the people.

At large, cities -in particular Diyarbakır- have changed by neoliberal urbanization. This situation causes capital-based development of the city. As Low and Zuniga explained,”these analyses of class-based struggles in response to state-imposed spatial regimes emphasize how space is constitutive of power, and how resistance takes the form of social movementsand local activism” (2007: 20). In this case, the mentioned situation is clearly visible.

3.4 The Target Population of the Walled Neighborhoods: The New Elites of the City

One of the biggest changes that came with the neoliberal period is that the state is no longer regulatory, but plays a selective role in urban space (Çavdar & Tan, 2015). This situation also enabled the construction of the new city space. Periphery, connected to city with ring road, has become the area of gated communities.[24] This change can be expressed as the commodification of urban space by the state through creating rentier spaces, which was occurred in Turkey, obviously after the 2000s. This neoliberal state model, which polarizing the wealth and poverty caused by the implementation of neoliberal policies by Dardot and Laval (2014:13), points out to the building of the city in terms of social class and leads to the commodification of housing, which was described by Castells and Harvey as a product of mass consumption and emergence of urban inequalities.[25] In this period, a development experienced from feudalism to industrialization and the change in the economic-political ground also affected the cities.[26] The analysis

[24] Same situation also is prvailing in Erbil. See for detailed study: Muhlis, Mustafa.(2015) H*ousing Tranformation In Erbil And Gated Community Development: The Case of Italian City*, Master Thesis, Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul.

[25] Dardot and Laval explained neoliberal state and enterprise governance as follow: The governance of states adopts a major feature of the governance of enterprises. Just as the managers of enterprises have been subjected to the monitoring of shareholders in the framework of predominantly financial *corporate governance,* so for the same reasons the rulers of states have been placed under the control of the international financial community, bodies of experts, and ratings agencies. The homogeneity in ways of thinking, the identity of the tools for evaluating and validating public policy, the audits and reports of consultants – everything indicates that the new way of thinking about government action has drawn widely on the managerial logic that prevails in the major multinational groups (Dardot and Laval, 2014: 242). Therefore, states both control capital and are controlled by capital.

[26]For detailed information see: (Weber,2015), (Mumford, 2007).

of the built environment, which also included in Harvey's (1999) capital collection processes, emerges, especially in the neoliberal period. According to Harvey, resources transferred to the second cycle through the state and the market are used for the production of the built environment. Thus, there is a gain in connection with the problems of over-accumulation and also reproduction of value (Harvey, 1999). Accordingly, as seen in the case of Diyarbakır, a new urbanization model has emerged in cities globally. The generation of value by over-accumulation leads to the cyclical continuation of capitalism. Considering Diyarbakır, Kayapınar district can be mentioned as perfectly suited to this theoretical background. This district carries the reflections of the competitive market and neoliberal capitalism and is mostly preferred by the middle-upper class. Since the newly constructed buildings in Kayapınar district are luxurious and including safety mechanisms, naturally, a tendency has developed among the middle-upper class of the city for this area. As a result of this tendency, the areas left behind by the middle-upper class are left to the lower class and refugees. Therefore, the balance in the city also changed accordingly. Leaving the old city places for lower class and commercial purposes (Lefebvre, 1996) also affected the tendency in the city. As a result, today, we can see the middle-upper class in commercial areas. On the other hand, consumers of higher class preferred housing estates with villas located on the city's periphery. In general, this class includes people who have production facilities, political elites, and the urban bourgeoisie. For the scope of the current study, the fact that gated communities form the new city center and become a reference source for uniform new areas considered as a necessary case to be analyzed. Moreover, it was thought that the people who play a constructive role in the city, namely the political elites, influence the urban society through the politics produced depending on their position in the city. From this point of view, what C. Ç., a municipal employee who was worked during the period of Mayor Osman Baydemir, said is important;

> Who are the actors who express their opinions in the political arena, who conduct debates in the public square, or who speak on behalf of Kurdish people? Party employees, directors, municipal employees, NGO communities, chamber communities, lawyers. Where do these people live?

> Where are their spaces? I have a city imagination of Diyarbakır that consists of 6-7 layers. For example, Hamravat and Gökkuşağı housing estates where the richest ones live. There are 8-9 groups of villas located on the Silvan road. The upper-middle class of the city lives in these places. This is the first layer. The second layer is the 75th road and its upper side. The third layer is the Metropol-Diclekent area. The fourth layer is Gaziler and the lower side of the Urfa road. The fifth layer is Yenişehir, Ofis, and housing estate areas. The sixth layer is Bağlar and Suriçi. Regarding managers' place, the urban areas created after the 2000s have become settlements for the middle class. A majority of people who speak on behalf of Kurdish people live in these upper-middle class spaces as mentioned above. A change in social class occurred stealthily. In my opinion, the Kurdish movement did not manage this class transformation well. While the owners of this objection story were the poor and subordinate ones before 1999, it changed after the 2000s and turned into a story dominated by the middle class. In my opinion, there is an obvious class transformation. The Kurdish movement failed to manage this process well, in a way to transform its resources and its possibilities in favor of the poor. In other words, we experienced a city model that the poor people of the city are more excluded. That is, the poor people of the city did not engage in legal politics well. For example, municipalities have zoning plans. They manage cities accordingly. For instance, Diyarbakır is a city with just one center. All transportation lines spread from a single center. We have four districts; however, we do not have zoning and urban plans for four districts.
>
> **(C.Ç. - Advisor of Mayor - Male – 45 – Married)**

C.Ç., who worked as an advisor for a long time, explain the urbanization, which we discuss, through the structural dynamics. The first is neo-liberalization and the second is the management style under the influence of local governments. With this quote neoliberal urbanization is frankly visible. For instance “together with urbanization, the commodification of social relations was one of the most potent factors in the ‘emancipation’ of the individual from traditions, roots, family attachments and personal loyalties” (Dardot and Laval,2014:285). As Low(2006) explain *private communities is supported by neoliberal states.* In Diyarbakır case, outside splash of the city shows this differentiation and alteration. According to C.Ç., this dual structure affects urban structure as well as the population addressed

by local governments by causing class distinction politically. As explained by C.Ç. using examples on an urban scale, Silva (2010) also explained Brazil's similar situation. Consumer experiences also provide information about the structure and the population of this district, which urbanized after the 2000s. Accordingly, considering C.Ç and Silva's arguments, it can be argued that the whole situation has integrity.Also, Therefore, what interviewees said is important:

> The poor are getting poorer while the rich are getting richer. For example, let us consider the place we live in. There are almost no poor people around us. Thus, a social class distinction occurred after the 1999s. Most of the people with very high financial status came to this region. For instance, when we were living there, Yenişehir was the most luxurious region of the Diyarbakır. However, it is Kayapınar today. Then Yenişehir got poor, so we could not comply with this poverty and moved to another place. That is, the population has changed.
> **Ş. Y. Public servant and head of an NGO– 47 – Male**

As we seen, there is a social segregation in the city. This case is reflected in the interviews. Particularly in Kayapınar district, this situation is perceivable caused *the decline of open-access public space in cities isviewed as being detrimental to the poorest social classes and gating thus tends to be associated with an increase of social segregation* (Le Goix and Webster,2008:6). Therefore, people observe class segregation as spatial. Gated communities make this situation as visible. *Gated communities have been described as a physical expression of post-industrial social changes (fragmentation, individualism, rise of communities*). **(**Le Goix and Webster,2008:3)

Similarly, Z.D. evaluated this situation as in the following:

> I like this side of the city a lot. Especially, the modern structure here grabs my attention and I like living here. It is both safe and also comfortable for my wife and children. This is a place that you can go outside safely, socialize with your friends, and walk around. Despite the older regions of Diyarbakır, such advantages increase the quality of life here. This place is spacious and decent. Besides, having elite neighbours also an effective factor.
> **Z. D. – Medical staff – Male – 41 – Married**

Interviewer Z.D. addresses the advantages of gated communities and social segregation for elites of city. In particularly, sense of community, homogeneity, safety and "where they feel at home" are the most important dynamics. The essential reason why people prefer the gated communities is security, followed by providing a comfortable environment for children. "Residents believe that a gated condominium complex or housing development with a pool, play areas, and supervising guards creates a safe play environment for children" (Low,2003: 108). Low states this fact as in the following:

> One gated subdivision uses the small-town reduced traffic and noise, and children playing as examples of what they mean, but they also talk about a "feeling of community," a friendly place where neighbors are like themselves, "where they feel at home." The important elements of community—shared territory, shared values, shared public realm, shared support structures, and shared destiny—are all part of the gated community package (Low,2003:57).

As we seen, according to the elite communities and residents exclusion and separation from the rest of society is most important (Low,2003:23). Interviewer A.A. legitimizes advantages of gated communities and explained as in the following:

> After the 1990s, the city developed in a misshapen form. Especially after the 2000s, this situation spiked up. While this urbanization was going on, an opposite situation occurred in Sur and Bağlar. Therefore, unavoidably, these two regions became a place of social breakdown. Why these places became areas of social breakdown? Because these regions became places that desperate, poor and subaltern people live, or rather, have to live since these people are excluded and could not find a place for themselves in the

> developing part of the city. Sur is no longer a place to live. There is no infrastructure, the houses are old and there are scorpions in most of them. The majority of people here live in these houses due to poverty and necessity. The crime rate is also high. There are no social areas for children to play. There is no internet infrastructure. This place lacks many possibilities. Therefore, it is very natural that every person wants a better life. I am sure that the people here also want to live at 75. We have to consider life with real circumstances.
>
> **A.A. – Public servant – 32 – Male – Single**

Actually, A.A. unwittingly defends class-based production of space. He edvocates that elites gain these advantages. But, this discourse fits perfectly with neoliberal capitalism. Therefore, this is the way of thinking that is intended to be produced. But there is overlooked something here. Economically the division of space also affects the spatialization of culture. Therefore, this hides material and representational injustice and forms of social exclusion. It also provides destroy the centers of social life, erase cultural meanings, and restrict local participatory practices (Low, 2014; 34).

Class-based urbanization and social segregation that we talk about theoretically embodied in the case. Z.D. explained in detail as in the following:

> Frankly, I could not think of anything better than this. The newly built city could not be a more decent and beautiful place than this. A modern city has been built. I previously lived in Bahçelievler, Istanbul. I had a quality life there like here. However, if I compare, I can say that the houses here are better quality and more spacious. Especially, the houses built lately are more modern and comfortable. Regarding the prices, this place is a little bit more economical. In my opinion, this is because this place is a newly modernized city. Istanbul offers lots of various advantages as a city. However, I think Diyarbakır is more decent regarding houses.
>
> **Z. D. – Medical staff – Male – 41 – Married**

In general, as these quotes show, the city is divided into two opposite poles by neoliberal urbanization. Structural problems such as the role of local and central

government, neoliberal capitalism and globalization accelerated process. In addition, this, local problems, social mobility, fear and security also affected. this transformation is visible in Ş. Y's discourse:

> I lived in a rural area in my childhood and youthful years. All our relatives lived together in the village. We actively engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. Later, I join the army as military personnel. After I returned, I started living at Yenişehir, Diyarbakır. I started working in a public institution as an officer, got married and lived almost 15 years in Yenişehir. Then the incidences at Sur increased and started to be felt in Yenişehir also. The poor people started moving towards our region. So, we wanted to move to a more peaceful and safer place. So, we came here. These are the conditions.
> You also know Diyarbakır. Besides, my wife and children wanted this place. My wife is a very modern woman. At first, I did not want it really. However, I got used to it. To be honest, I had difficulty at first. It is difficult to get used to another place after living in Yenişehir for 15 years. All our relatives and friends were there. The neighbourhood relations were different there, it was warmer. There was a good neighborhood culture.
> On the other hand, this place is filled with cafes and bars. There are high-toned and modern places. This place does not look like Diyabakır. It is not the same as Yenişehir. For example, when you see someone, you can understand if that person is poor or rich.
>
> **Ş. Y. Public servant and head of an NGO – 47 – Male**

As seen in these quotes, the people that were preferring Kayapınar district and the gated communities located there were aware of the class distinction. Especially, the middle-upper class prefers such places. residents of middle-class and upper-middle-class neighborhoods often cordon themselves off as a class by building fences, cutting off relationships with neighbors, andmoving out in response to problems and conflicts (low,2003:18). The main factors that influence people's preferences are the upper-class identity of the district, which offers a more 'modern' and comfortable life. The foreseen innovations have already applied and represented the elite and wealth. The concepts discussed in urban debates of the neoliberal period, such as gentrification and getting rich, have emerged in the cities globally. Unavoidably, this leads to a distinction of inside-outside, familiar-

stranger, and rich-poor. To analyze the situation that is obviously experienced, both administrative and neoliberal economies should be discussed. It is no coincidence that a region is gentrified and privatized by capital from this point of view. Considering the rational urbanization of cities from a historical perspective, it can be said that its origin is in the case of Haussmann and Paris. Lefebvre explained this situation, saying:

> "Baron Haussmann, a man of this Bonapartist State which erects itself over society to treat it cynically as the booty (and not only the stake) of the power struggles. Haussmann replaces winding but lively streets by long avenues, sordid but animated 'quartiers' by bourgeois ones. If he forces through boulevards and plans open spaces, it is not for the beauty of views. It is to 'comb Paris with machine guns.' The famous Baron makes no secret of it. Later we will be grateful to him for having opened up Paris to traffic. This was not the aim, the finality of Haussmann's plan'. The voids have a meaning: they cry out loud and cherished the glory and power of the State, which plans them the violence which could occur. Later transfers towards other finalities take place, which justifies in another way these gashes into urban life. It should be noted that Haussmann did not achieve his goal. One strong aspect of the Paris Commune (1871) is the strength of the return towards the urban center of workers pushed out towards the outskirts and peripheries, their reconquest of the city, this belonging among other belongings, this value, this oeuvre which had been torn from them." (Lefebvre, 1996;10-11).

The 'New Haussmannization' concept, which also used in today's literature, defined by Andy Merrifield as follows:

> Neo-Haussmannization signifies a new riff on an old tale of urban redevelopment, of divide and rule through urban change, of altering and upscaling the urban physical environment to alter the social and political environment. What happened to mid-nineteenthcentury Paris is now happening globally, not only in big capital cities and orchestrated by powerful city and national political-economic forces, but in all cities, orchestrated by transnational financial and corporate elites everywhere, endorsed by their respective national governments. While these class forces

> in and out of government aren't always consciously conspiring, they nonetheless create a global orthodoxy, one that's both creating and tearing apart a new urban fabric, one that clothes the whole wide world.
>
> (Merrifield, 2014; x).

Therefore, the situation which was seen in Diyarbakır, that is, the production of capital and organization of its own space, actually occurs on a global scale. This can be regarded as a consequence of gated communities.

3.5 A Secured Lifestyle: Imaginary and Real

> "Foucault argues that this pattern of self-regulation and surveillance is instrumental not only in architecture and planning, but also in social, economic, and political practices. He is less concerned with the panopticon as an actual space, focusing on it as a structure of surveillance and power that permeates society. He contends that disciplinary power frames social relations and shapes what people are able to know or do. Foucault refers to these disciplining material social practices as technologies, and shows how they are employed to reinforce hegemonic ideas and social norms" (Gieseking and others,2014:324).

As I quoted above, Foucault's analysis of discipline and governmentality is particularly functional on gated communities and secured zones. Because, *the fully controlled gated communities were perceived safer than non-gated communities by residents in terms of easing their fears of crime* (Kim, 2006: 184). But, study of Blakely & Snyder (1997) showed that fences and gates not reduce crime rates and cases. Also, according to Harvey, with the creation of the physical and social landscape by capitalism, the excess capital is transferred to the physical and social environment's production through temporal and geographical displacement. Accordingly, capital and labor surplus are absorbed, and accumulation is solved

(Harvey, 2001). The creation of the built environment by excessive accumulation emerges in the neoliberal period as gated communities and capital spaces. As defined by the housing type of neoliberalism by Setha Low, these gated communities indicate the relationship between excessive accumulation and the built environment. Rational landscape production has led to opportunities such as presenting advantageous regions and dominating these areas. (Harvey,2001) The methods used in the built environment production are similar to Foucault's analysis of disciplinary mechanisms. In context of gated communities, likehood of beinga victim, privacy control, yard space, security hardware, private security and surveillance (Weidemann and Anderson,1982) are basic factors for residants. Foucault's analysis of discipline also comes into play at this point. For these factors to occur, a continuous audit must be provided. According to Foucault, "*Discipline, of course, analyzes and breaks down; it breaks down individuals, places, time, movements, actions, and operations. It breaks them down into components such that they can be seen, on the one hand, and modified on the othe*r" (Foucault, 1984: 62). In the continuation, Foucault explains the mechanism of discipline as follows:

> Disciplinary normalization consists first of all in positing a model, an optimal model that is constructed in terms of a certain result, and the operation of disciplinary normalization consists in trying to get people, movements, and actions to conform to this model, the normal being precisely that which can conform to this norm, and the abnormal that which is incapable of conforming to the norm. In other words, it is not the normal and the abnormal that is fundamental and primary in disciplinary normalization, it is the norm. That is, there is an originally prescriptive character of the norm and the determination and the identification of the normal and the abnormal becomes possible in relation to this posited norm. Due to the primacy of the norm in relation to the normal, to the fact that disciplinary normalization goes from the norm to the final division between the normal and the abnormal, I would rather say that what is involved in disciplinary techniques is a normation (*normation*) rather than normalization. Forgive the barbaric word, I use it to underline the primary and fundamental character of the norm (Foucault, 1984: 63).

Fear of crime and perceived sense of insecurity legitimize disciplinary mechanism in gated communities and secured zones. Foucault introduces a framework saying, "*today, rather than the traditional crime-punishment system, there is a system that regulates the health and life of the people and safety mechanisms which are defined as 'regulatory controls' is applied through the discipline applied on individuals' bodies*." (Foucault, 2013;8). This means increasing the control not only after the crime has been committed, but also before it is committed. According to Foucault, such control is implemented by making people feel the freedom provided by arranging the built environment accordingly, rather than restricting the individuals' actions. This transformation defined as the 'pluralization,' 'democratization,' and 'demilitarization' of policing and expressed as the spread of social control practices and actors apart from the state (Dölek, 2010). Such systems provide control of the whole through directing the individual. Accordingly, it can be argued that certain control mechanisms produce the space created by the capital. Foucault explained this situation on an urban scale as follows:

> "The administration of a city was to anticipate and calculate some phenomena that are regarded as data today -crime, population, etc.- and ensure that the movement of people and goods takes place in a safe environment. In this sense, security mechanisms are techniques developed to eliminate the problems of freedom of movement.". However, Foucault goes a little further by saying, security mechanisms create an environment that people live in. (Foucault, 2013;46).

Gated communities, which are the neoliberal period's living space, are similar to Foucault's analysis. Kayapınar district, which was built on an empty area very rationally, was built as an environment where people in. Each site has its security mechanisms -security personnel, walls, barbed wires, security cameras- the control of social activity areas with these security mechanisms, wide boulevards, and streets show that the area was built with the rationality of coincidence and opportunities. Accordingly, it is clear that security and capital, the common concepts of this period, were combined in this space. Quotes from five interviewees given below reflect the experiences regarding safety and control:

> The geography we live in is a place where troubles and pains were experienced in the past. It is necessary to remember situations such as people faced murders by unknown assailants in front of their homes and people were taken away from home for an uncertain reason. The existence of such an atmosphere inevitably leads to a protective instinct in the subconscious of society. Besides, forensic cases also a cause for this situation. People prefer secure houses to provide safe and comfortable play areas for their kids. So, in my opinion, people need protection for both forensic cases and to prevent foreign and dangerous people from entering the housing estate. These are the main dynamics.
>
> **A.S. – Investor – 45 – Male – Married**

In this quotation, in addition to global rhetoric of fear and crime, we distincly observe the effects of the ethno-political process and tension from the local engagement of the city. It is not about escaping from "outsider or dangerous person"; herein the goal is to escape the atmosphere of fear. Interviewer Z. M. also clarified similar experinces in a historical context as follows:

> I think the first phenomenon was the 1915 events. Actually, the events between 1893-95 were played a triggering role. Because in that period, there was an ethnic conflict on a national scale. Moreover, that period is the period that the 'Çarşiya Şewiti' event occurred. On the other side, an unconfirmed information spreader that "Armenians will also raid us during the Friday prayer", and then they looted and burned the shops belonging to Armenians and Assyrians. Until then, people who have shared their food started to see each other as potential enemies. They started to kill each other. After that, it is very difficult to re-establish an environment of trust. In an environment where you lose your trust in others, you gradually lose your confidence in yourself, and eventually, you start to doubt everything.
>
> **Z. M. Dismissed from public service – 55 – Female – Married**

In this quotation, this ethno-political divergence before the economic separation feeds the sense of fear at the urban scale. In addition to neoliberal fear rhetoric, a tensioned process legitimizes the demand for secured zone and gated communities. The negative accumulation from the past also shapes modern urban planning in Diyarbakır. Also, as I observed in the interviews, the interviewees feel compelled to explain living on gated communities. Because the conflicts in the city take place

on the basis of Kurdish identity. Therefore, economically differentiation or living in gated communities also contains contradictions for a Kurdish person. For the interviewees, moving from old-family houses to modern buildings is seen as a break and modernization step. Also, it is felt that there is a tension between the lower-class and the upper-middle groups during the interviews and fieldwork. Such as, during the conflict, the conflict is moved to Yenişehir district in Kobani Protests (6-7 October Protests)[27]. Exlusively the businesses that selling technological products, and banks were destroyed. During the protests, the restaruant appealing to the upper-middle class was closed due to the reaction of the lower class in Sur district.[28] With the engagement, A.L. explained situation of conflict and ambiguity as follows:

> First of all, uncertainty comes to my mind when talking about the city. Anything can happen at any moment; we will wake up tomorrow and everything could be different. Already, as you know, a trustee (as mayor) was assigned again three days ago. It is no longer a surprise. When I first came here, I was very surprised and scared to see scorpions and police panzers. However, now they are normal for me. Apart from that, we see that the newly constructed buildings do not reflect the Diyarbakir's unique architecture. It would not be wrong to say that a different urban architecture was built. What do Diyarbakır houses look like? They have atriums. It does not seem to be very special from the outside, but inside it is like a separate world. Since people here usually socialize at home, the space inside the house is very important for them. However, we see that this feature is disappearing day by day in newly built houses. Socializing spaces getting more limited. Accordingly, we cannot say that they are consistent with Diyarbakir's unique architecture. They can be defined as modern buildings. However, when talking about Diyarbakir's unique architecture, Sur comes to mind, not Kayapınar.
>
> **A.L. – Public servant – 35 – Female – Married**

[27] See also detailed report : Turkey: Kobani Protests in Turkey: Human Rights Failures, Amnesty International, 2015. Accessed 1 April 2020. https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR4420172015ENGLISH.pdf

[28] 'Big Chefs', which opened a 4 thousand square meter restaurant in Diyarbakır Fıskaya with an investment of 1.5 million dollars in this period last year, rented the place from the municipality and the local people revolted. Big Chefs is protested by saying 'Place of the municipality are public, the restaurant would not", the largest restaurants in Turkey was forced to close at 1 year. Accessed 2 April 2020. https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/en-buyuk-big-chefs-halk-tepkisi-yuzunden-1-yilda-kapandi-29507047.

Similar to what A.L. explained, Ş.A explained the transformation process as follows:

> In the early 2000s, security mechanisms were not that much. First, there were walls, then barbed wire, then security personnel, then cameras, then alarm systems inside the houses. Actually, one should ask here; who is protected from whom? This situation became widespread in Diyarbakır after the Polatlar housing estate. The people living there belong to the upper-middle class. The security system, cameras, walls and isolation from the outside was the first for Diyarbakır and it was built in 2006. Then it spread in Kayapınar as it was adopted by capitalism. In my opinion, the main reason is capitalism and neoliberal policies. If these problems in society were solved, if political problems were solved, and people were not unemployed, all these security mechanisms would not be needed. There would be no need to hide behind walls and escape from the poor in order to protect himself. Since there is no solution to this, individuals prefer this type of housing. For example, a few years ago, a thief broke into our house in Ofis, and our very valuable belongings were stolen. Some investigations were made, but the thief was never found. So, we decided to move to a secured house at 75 ring road. Social events affect individual choices too much. A person in Sur can leave his door open and go to the square to take care of his doings because he knows that his neighbour will take care of his child. However, there is no such thing at 75 ring road They need a mechanism to feel secure. They need to monitor their kids through the cameras at home. Because there is no neighbour that they can trust, we criticize these issues. However, everyone who has sufficient financial power is included in this playground. Otherwise, you're being excluded from the game. These are my opinions, but I also live there. But I'm sure that most people are thinking about the same thing.
>
> **Ş. A. – Head of the Chamber of Architects – 28- Male – Single**

The essential dynamic of this quote is the construction of Kayapınar district with gradual security mechanisms. Experience of the sense of fear has shaped this district over time.

> The lower section of Diclekent is a very radical place, where the first events occurred, the first conflicts broke out. After a certain time, these political conflicts become exhausting. People are overwhelmed by this daily busy environment. Therefore, one thinks whether I should live at the periphery of the city, the quietest and safest place. Thinking about living in a place where

> you will never hear police radios. In my opinion, living in the East requires a lot of strength and power in this period. Because you never know what could happen, what you will face. While the surroundings are very calm, events can occur suddenly and you can get surrounded by the police at that moment. So, that place is more peaceful for me.
> **D. K. – Private Sector employee – Female – 26 – Married**

In the quotation, what is important here is the commodification of this security need in the neoliberal era. Therefore, while the lower class remains in conflict, the middle class can easily escape from the conflict and protests.

> When talking about the city, I remember that my family moved to the city in 1992. My family lived in a rural area and migrated from rural to urban. This process was quite difficult for us. When we first came here, living in an apartment in Diyarbakır was a luxury because there were usually slums around. Later, when a family member was killed by an unknown assailant, my family moved to a housing estate in Bağlar district. And that housing estate was called as Güneydoğu building coop. When there were curfews and murders by unknown assailants in the 1990s, the location of the housing estate was on a very bad street. Almost every month we faced a murder by unknown assailants on this street. At that period, curfews were declared frequently. There was hope that these problems would end by the 2000s. At that time, they moved to Bağlar because it was a quieter place and away from its alleys. It was believed that the streets would become calmer. However, after the 2000s, the events in the city and the street increased. Especially in 2006-2007[29], very intense conflicts took place.
> **N. N. – Studying MSc – Female – 30 – Single**

Based on the findings of the field studies and the theoretical background, it was determined that the house type preferences are closely related to security, control, and economic situation. Merrifield examined the need for safety in the city and as cited from Benjamin, states that Haussmann's studies have another purpose also; "securing the city against civil war." New boulevards built wider since it was thought that making barricades during any riot would be more difficult, inconvenient and take more time (Merrifield, 2013;66). In the case of Kayapınar,

[29] *In Diyarbakır, the first gated community was built in 2006*

we can see this situation clearly. The armed conflict that happened in 2016 at Sur is a concrete example. Therefore, in this period, which is defined as the urbanization of the capital period, Haussmann's method is useful at the local level and control mechanisms can be applied. Accordingly, what H.T., a zoning manager said is important:

> In fact, although Kayapınar seems like has integrity; actually, it has discrete planning. If you consider the building blocks, you'll see that the parcels are huge. So, it points out that this district is not a pedestrian-oriented district, but completely a vehicle-oriented district. It was built for the upper class, not for the lower class. This is obvious.
> **(H. T. Zoning Manager – Female – 29 – Single**

H.T. highlights especially big parcels; the mass housing mechanism emerged as a result of neo-liberalization. This situation became a system that affects the constructors also. Today, high-scale companies and neoliberal state are dominating the city as effective actors. Therefore, vehicle-oriented housing was preferred in Kayapınar. This situation turns into a different form, especially to capital space. Particularly, during the fieldwork, it was noticed that there were too many vehicles on the streets but very few pedestrians. The absence of pedestrian crossings and overpasses, the scarcity of public transport are serious obstacles for the presence of pedestrians in this district. When such deficiencies were asked to the zoning manager H.T, she stated that there was no demand for such things from the population in the district, on the contrary, the situation was considered as pleasing since the space was not suitable for pedestrians coming from other districts. The above-mentioned big parcels, gated communities, and unsuitable structure for pedestrians indicate the same point: public-private distinction. Urbanization of the city in a capital-oriented manner and appealing only to a certain class mean the privatization of streets and sidewalks, which are the well-known public spaces. These spaces, which are an important part of studies on public space,

are diluted through capitalization of the city. This means the privatization of the spaces that were public space until today. This can be analyzed through Habermas's bourgeois publicity.

3.6 Social Justice and the Urban Space

The essential reason why the two-pole divided city is social injustice. According to Harvey, social justice as follows:

> Social justice is a particular application of just principles to conflicts which arise out of the necessity for social cooperation in seeking individual advancement. Through the division of labour it is possible to increase production: the question then arises as to how the fruits of that production shall be distributed among those who cooperate in the process. The principle of social justice therefore applies to the division of benefits and the allocation of burdens arising out of the process of undertaking joint labour. The principle also relates to the social and institutional arrangements associated with the activity of production and distribution. (Harvey, 2009:97)

The mind of neoliberal capitalism keeps the market ahead of everything. Hence, this situation carries the hierarchical structure in the mode of production to daily life and the city. Harvey explained essential factors of social justice as food, housing,medical care, education, social and environmental service, consumer goods, recreational opportunities, neighbourhood and amenities transport facilities (2009). When we move the perspective to the spatial dimension, Harvey's three-step analysis is involved. The analysis as follows:

> The spatial organization and the pattern of regional investment should be such as to fulfil the needs of the population. This requires that we first establish socially just methods for determining and measuring needs. The difference between needs and actual allocations provides us with an initial evaluation of the degree of territorial injustice in an existing system.
>
> A spatial organization and pattern of territorial resource allocation which provides extra benefits in the form of need fulfilment (primarily) and aggregate output (secondarily). in other territories through spillover effects, multiplier effects, and the like, is a "better" form of spatial organization and

> allocation. Deviations in the pattern of territorial investment may be tolerated if they are designed to overcome specific environmental difficulties which would otherwise prevent the evolution of a system which would meet need or contribute to the common good.
>
> These principles can be used to evaluate existing spatial distributions. They provide the beginnings of a normative theory of spatial organization based on territorial distributive justice. There will be enormous difficulties in elaborating them in detail and there will be even' greater difficulties in translating them into concrete situations. We have some of the technology at hand to do this. It needs to be directed towards an understanding of just distributions in spatial systems (Harvey, 2009:107).

As Harvey said, "*The social organization of scarcity and deprivation associated with price-fixing markets makes the market mechanism automatically antagonistic to any principle of social justice" (Harvey,2009:*116). Hence regional inequalities are created. The development of urban space can be understood, especially when the supremacy of the market is considered in the neoliberal era. Harvey asks some questions to make these inequalities understandable. These questions are as follows:

4 How do we specify need in a set of territories in accord with socially just principles, and how do we calculate the degree of need fulfilment in an existing system with an existing allocation of resources?
5 How can we identify interregional multipliers and spread effects (a topic which has already some theoretical base)?
6 How do we assess social and physical environment difficulty and when is it socially just to respond to it in some way?
7 How do we regionalize to maximize social justice?
8 What kinds of allocative mechanisms are there to ensure that the prospects of the poorest region are maximized and how do the various existing mechanisms perform in this respect?
9 What kinds of rules should govern the pattern of interterritorial negotiation, the pattern of territorial political power. And so on. So that the prospects of the poorest area are as great as they can be ?

(Harvey, 2009:117)

As we can deduce from this, thinking about the city critically has also important for the concept of social justice. Dynamics of social injustice took place widely in fieldwork and interviews. A.S explained the situation as follows:

> If economic houses were also built, such obvious class differences would not have occurred. That is, in the urban context, the influence of local governments here is a highly controversial issue. However, what is clear today is that politicians and local actors diverge from grassroots based on social class.
>
> **A.S. – Investor – 45 – Male – Married**

As we see, class segregation and social injustice clearly embodied in interviews. Also A. L. stated as follows:

> As I see, Diyarbakır is being built more modern with each passing day. My workplace is at Sur and I live in 75. Ring road. As I travel between these two places every day, it shows me the distinction clearly. The rich lifestyle there and the poor and subaltern lifestyle at Sur is very remarkable. This makes me feel bad. I am asking myself which one is real, but naturally, there is no answer to this question. On the side, people live in trillion-liras cost homes behind security, while on the other side, children without socks seizing of snakes and scorpions in winter. Some children wait on the streets if any conflict may arise.
>
> **A.L. – Public servant – 35 – Female - Married**

Lastly, C.Ç. expressed in urban scale as follows:

> In the past, Diyarbakır was small and its center was Ofis. Was it possible to provide a multi-centered housing or urbanization? For example, I am also studying city and there is a concept of "mix urbanization". Urban planning that combines different generations and classes can be done. For instance, a building may include flats with different room numbers such as 4+1, 3+1, 2+1, and 1+1. Thus, the issue of social class differences arising from purchasing power can be solved in one dimension. This method provides a mixed urbanization. Alternatively, a square, that is a public space, could be built in Bağlar, the same thing could be built in Sur. Let us talk about transportation. All transportation in Diyarbakır is provided from a single center. Instead of this linear structure, a spiral structure could be done. In this way, a connection could be achieved between suburbs. The design and planning of the urban space are also a very important factor in deciding the socio-political spread of the city. Maybe the Kurdish movement did not know this tool, and maybe it did not have the ability to manage it. Actually, in my opinion, the class dimension was decisive here.

(C.Ç. - Advisor of Mayor - Male – 45 – Married)

The excerpts show that there is social injustice in Kayapınar district, which we define as the space of capital. The needs that mentioned by David Harvey supply in the individual's own class conditions, the limited access to the district and the high number of gated communities are proof of this situation.

3.7 Practical Difficulties Concerning the Fieldwork

My fieldwork, which lasted more than approximately six months, experienced transformations at most points. This process of transformation was a process that also transformed my individual position and perspective. First of all, I chose two important points that I will mention while sharing these transformations with you. The first of these was the difficulties I had in a political sense. The second was the epidemic that we experienced and we're still experiencing while writing the thesis. Let me begin with the political difficulties I had. This process was very difficult for me. I could not make most of the interviews as planned. After conducting interviews about user experiences within the scope of fieldwork, I wanted to conduct various interviews with local governments. Especially with mayors, consultants, development managers, architects, etc., who have been active since 1999… However, after a meeting with the mayor of the time, Mr. Mızraklı, a trustee was appointed to the municipality and the process became very tense. I was turned down by most of the units I applied for. I wanted to reach Zülküf Karatekin, who was the mayor of Kayapınar at the time, but I could not reach him, albeit through different intermediaries. Later, I wanted to have an interview with Osman Baydemir, who was the Metropolitan Mayor of the time. I was hoping that these interviews would add depth to my thesis as the historical background and decision-making mechanisms. However, he did not want to have an interview with me either. As a result, the political tension experienced negatively affected me and my study in this

context. During this period of increasing ethnopolitical tension, most of the interviews I had requested *as an outsider* were rejected.

The secondary difficulty I experienced was due to the Covid-19 outbreak. During this epidemic period, I had just completed my interviews and I was in the process of writing my thesis. While I was trying to reflect upon and analyze the interviews, this epidemic made me go even deeper. Especially the state of "Stay at Home" and "Quarantine" attracted my attention. Because what I thought of in my thesis was happening again. Who were the people who could stay at home? Who were those who had and did not have this opportunity? Basically, I'm looking for an answer to this question. Who holds the right of individuals who are deprived of this? While a part of the society has the right to stay at home, work from home, and have their own safe space, why does the other part of it not have such a right? Studying Gated Community was basically looking for an answer to such a problematic for me. Therefore, this situation caused me to use a new headline in my study: What is the function of secure sites during the epidemic period?

3.8 Covid-19 in the Gated Communities

The pandemic process experienced as a global threat since December 2019 has led to a process in which individuals physically developed their own mechanisms of protection. The epidemic, effects of which we are currently observing and that continues to spread in the form of a second wave, appears concretely, especially in urban spaces defined as the spaces of the crowds. Discourses used such as social distance, quarantine, self-defense made by various governments and management organizations against the epidemic have caused this process to be experienced in a class sense. This situation experienced in the neoliberal period enabled the epidemic to be shaped by an individual and capitalist rationality.

When we look at this situation for Diyarbakır, it can be said that the epidemic is experienced with much less damage in areas where safe living spaces are located based on the HES application data of the Ministry of Health. As can be seen in the map below, the number of cases seen is very low in Kayapınar district, where secure sites are commonly seen, compared to Bağlar district, where the working class lives mostly.

As seen on the first map, no cases were observed in the area between Mesopotamia Street and 75 meter ring Road, where we conducted the fieldwork. On the other hand, when we look at the Bağlar district, it can be seen that the number of cases is very high throughout the district. This shows that the pandemic is experienced differently by classes and the form of the space is also effective in the pandemic process. The advantages of the region during the pandemic greatly affect the number of cases. Examples of these advantages are: Ensuring hygiene, having less population, controlling entrances and exits, using private vehicles, economically possible individual quarantine, very few public transport vehicles, having no public hospital.

Organizing space according to classes along with neoliberal urbanism or entrepreneurial urbanism as in Harvey's definition is a process that also works in Kayapınar. In this district, which is one of the examples of the capital urbanization period, we also see privatized public services besides secure zones. In the area where we conducted fieldwork, we see private schools instead of public schools, private hospitals instead of state hospitals, security mechanisms of sites and private vehicles instead of public transportation. On the other hand, we see the private hospitals declared as pandemic hospitals during the pandemic process in the district of Kayapınar. According to the decision taken on June 29, 2020, the fact that the intensive care and pandemic care fees of the patients treated in private hospitals are no more paid by the state has also negatively affected

this process.[30] According to the information given in the 6th monthly evaluation report of Covid-19 pandemic by TTB (Turkish Medical Association), intensive care beds in Diyarbakır could not meet the needs in the last two months. Therefore, we can say that individuals experience this process according to their classes in their own economic conditions. While people who can purchase private health services in Kayapınar district are treated in a sterile setting during the pandemic process, we do not see this happening in Bağlar district.

In addition, the transfer of city hospitals, one of the plans of the current period, from the city center to the city's periphery, is an important initiative that restricts working class' access to healthcare services. Moving the planned education campuses and city hospitals from the city center to the city's periphery also means making the center available for specialized services. Therefore, Keskinok (2012) claims that this situation also narrows the public space in the city. The rational planning of the city, which is defined as new hausmannization in the literature, manifests itself, especially during the pandemic process. Space, structured by the rationality of neoliberal capitalism, is a ground where class inequalities and segregation are visible during the outbreak. In the "6th monthly report for Covid-19" published by the Turkish Medical Association, the impact of the epidemic was explained with the below statement: "The fact that the people of the region, who are mostly workers, cannot stay at home; support and measures to limit the mobility of seasonal workers are not taken; poverty caused by unemployment and poor living conditions brought about by destruction have increased the threat of the epidemic."[31] As explained in this report, failure to take adequate measures in transportation, work and communal areas for the people who work to earn a living increases the number of infected people. We can explain the intense increase of cases in Bağlar district with the same statement. The same report also includes a two-step analysis of the unequal prevalence of the epidemic. According to this

analysis, both the economically disadvantaged working-class living in overcrowded residences and being employed in jobs that do not have the opportunity to work from home are the fundamental dynamics that affect this process.

Therefore, the profit-oriented development of the cities reveals that in this process, the right to a healthy life and city is also kept in the background. The fact that there is a demand for private enterprises with the withdrawal of public services from the city center one by one shows that a certain segment is deprived of this requirement when considered in terms of class differences. This situation, which is visible on the scale of the epidemic, also gives some information about the dangerous consequences of the rent and profit-based development of cities. In the report[32] issued during the epidemic process, Habitat emphasized that the housing form affects hygiene and protection styles.[33] In Simmel's "The Conflict in Modern Culture", we see that the feeling of avoiding foreigners is experienced more intensely during the pandemic process in metropolises defined as the place of the crowds. This situation, as explained by Kaygalak, is also reflected in urban planning. When examined historically, urban planning has also been used by Le Corbusier and Olmstead as a measure against the spread of the disease.[34] Also, speaking for the Cholera epidemic, Kenneth T. Jackson also stated[35] that the first reaction to the epidemic strengthened the class, race and religion discriminations. Similarly, Kaygalak explains the relationship between urban planning and epidemic with the below passage:

[32] The regularity of land ownership plays a fundamental role in the establishment of medium- and long-term policies, especially in urban regularization and in the formal provision of public services, such as sanitation, lighting, and heating. In this way, regular settlements present better conditions and generally comply with sanitation standards, while irregular settlements commonly lack infrastructure and standards compliance

[35] The initial response to the epidemic, Kenneth Jackson, a professor of history at Columbia University, said recently, exposed more than ever the city's divisions of class, race and religion. The disease hit hardest in the poorest neighborhoods, particularly the slum known as Five Points, where African-Americans and immigrant Irish Catholics were crowded in squalor and stench.

https://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/15/health/15iht-15chol.11988148.html

> *The basis of the model put forward by Baron Hausmann, who was commissioned by Napoleon III for the reconstruction of Paris in the mid-19th century was the economic homogenization of neighborhoods and districts, that is, the isolation of social classes from each other. Because the residences where the workers and the poor people lived in the city center were seen as both disturbing and a "trouble center" by the other parts of the city, especially due to the epidemic threat. (Kaygalak, 2008: 43)*

Profit-oriented development of urban planning, built environmental production and organization of space since the 19th century have not only been a spatial plane but also transformed the dynamics with which they are related. What Lefebvre defines as the "right to the city" is actually not just the right to the city. It is also the right to health, education, transportation and a good life. Therefore, restricting the right to the city of a certain segment means that people are also restricted from all the rights we have listed above.

CONCLUSION

NEOLIBERALIZING AMED

In this thesis, I tried to draw a framework as to what kind of a line the neo-liberalization process, which started to take effect after the 1980s, left its traces in Diyarbakır's urban development along with the local dynamics. I tried to discuss both the neoliberal capitalist urbanization attitudes and the roles of local actors especially through the suburbanization of Kayapınar district. This consequences of which we have seen after the 2000s, basically includes what is defined as the AKP-type urban development model of the central government, but also carries the traces of identity-based politics at the local level. In this context, the transformation, which we call neoliberal urbanization, is defined in the academic literature as the "Urbanization of the Kurdish Question" especially by Keyman and Badur. Therefore, this neoliberal process has shaped "Amed", as defined by the Kurdish political movement, as the main subject matter of identity-based politics, with an emphasis on the rapid concentration of the investment capital in the upper class housing market. As I also mentioned under the title of local governments in the related section, this situation was seen as an ideological tool by different actors, both local and national. Thus metropolitan Diyarbakır became a new ground for capital formation and social seperation. In other words, the ideological instruments that was used in the Early Republican period intending to shape social life are still in use today.

The city center experienced, through intense ethnopolitical tensions especially during the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republican regime, lived a process of change with structures, transportation networks and various urban policies that tore down the limits of the intramural city. This last trend has beeen a constant and stable attitude beginning in the 1930s until today. The political situation, however, has almost rhytmically evolved into a process of denial, acceptance, and then re-denial of the Kurdish identity, as emblematically reflected

on the changing names of the city from Amed to Diyarbakır. We can also observe the effects of that process in the socio-spatial decisions of the Early Republican period onwards. The first period of the urban sprawl was the then newly emerging and mainly by the central govenrnment financed extramural city on the southwest of the historical core. It was mainly charecterized by government buildings. The second period between the 1950s and 1980s was an era of capitalist development by small scale constructors. This was a period of apartment building frenzy on small parcels. Especially in the last two decades, this situation has changed clearly along with the process of neo-liberalization. Kayapınar district is the direct result of this economic transformation that were carried on along the lines of gated community construction.

The same 1990s was the beginning of the change of political situation. With the democratic transition of local governments to a party representing the Kurdish identity in the 1990s, we see that there is a difficult process is experienced from denial to acceptance. The definition of neo-liberalization of the city of Amed is exactly used to emphasize this point. The transition from “the city of Amed" of the democratic local governments of the 1990s and the so-called trustee (kayyım) period of the 2010s paradoxically emphasizes the identity-based politics of the city. This also makes the struggle for hegemony between goverment appointed non-elected trustees and elected mayors unavoidable. Therefore, the fact that the urban space is ideologically instrumentalised in both eras made it a platform where political tensions and practices are directly reflected. This district, which has become an upper-middle living space, is a very important example of the neo-liberalization process concerning the metropolitanization of the Kurdish political movement.

In addition to the critical urban studies literature that has developed in recent years, feasibility studies and reports on cities also provide information about the strategic political importance of the urban space. Especially in the report titled "Securing Baghdad with Gated Communities" written by Anthony H. Cordesman, we see the details of this situation as follows:

> Baghdad is a vast, sprawling city. Various sources estimate it at 5 to 7.5 million people, with much depending on whether the estimate covers the city limits or greater Baghdad area. It is divided by a relatively few main roads relative to current traffic demands, has significant river barriers and divisions, and further security barriers like the Green Zone. Securing the entire city is virtually impossible. Baghdad is too important to the Iraqi economy to search every vehicle or control every access point, and the same applies to internal traffic. The city can only function with relatively constant flows of traffic between Sunni, Shi'ite, and mixed areas. Gated communities may, therefore, be the only way to ensure relative physical security to given parts of the city without paralyzing it, or creating security systems that cannot function. They also allow some economy of force. Focusing on security in the most troubled areas still may involve more manpower than the US and ISF can deploy, but is far more practical than trying to both secure the entire perimeter and then secure the entire inner structure of the city.

The strategic orientation of the city through the city planning tools in the neo-liberal era has become more visible, especially with intended-to-be-secure walled neighborhoods. As seen in the case of Baghdad, cities such as Diyarbakır, where there are intense ethnopolitical tensions, are expected to become controllable with gated communities and "new haussmannisation" methods. When these recent trends are examined within the Diyarbakır example, it simply seems necessary to create new residential housing around the old city center according to the gated community precepts. The excess distance from the center and the almost complete lack of cheap communal transport, these walled new cities are simply restricted to the lower income groups. They have wide roads and streets (such as 75 or 50-meter-ring roads) for private car ownership, and razor-wired walls and special security forces guarding the domain. Besides, high initial investment costs and expensive maintenance expenditures are also important factors to keep the urban poor away from Kayapınar. This economically prevents the conflicts experienced perceptibly from spreading to new urban areas. Thus class seperation diminishes tension between the urban population. “Capitalist means invariably serve their own

capitalist, ends" (Huberman and Sweezy, 1969), and that these capitalist ends are not consistent with the objectives of social justice. (Harvey, 2009: 113)

Therefore, it would not be wrong to claim here that the spaces under the aegis of neoliberal capital function as a control mechanism. For this reason, this study addresses two important points. The first one is the global neo-liberalization process and its impact on the urban society. The second one is the impact of identity-based mobility in the local urban society. This study aims to take the discussion forward from a more holistic framework, claiming that the resulting synthesis cannot be explained by a single dynamic.

Based on the data obtained from the study, it is possible to make the following recommendations:

- Get back to work with popular assemblies in urban planning
- Plan the city by prioritizing class injustice, taking into consideration the situation that Harvey defines as "social justice"
- Build smaller-scale houses in Kayapınar district, increase public transportation, clear houses from "security mechanisms"
- Try to apply the urban model in Kayapınar to the districts that have become collapsed
- Plan the city as a whole

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List of Interviewees

1. **C.Ç.** Former Advisor of Mayor- Male – 45 – Married
2. **A.S.** Investor – 45 – Male- Married
3. **A.A.** Public servant – 32 – Male - Single
4. **Ş. A**. Co-Chair of the Chamber of Architects – 28- Male- Single
5. **A.L.** Public Servant – 35 – Female - Married
6. **D. Z.** Public Servant – 40 – Male – Married
7. **Z. D.** Medical Staff – Male – 41 – Married
8. **D. K.** Private Sector Employee – Female – 26 – Married
9. **A. Y.** Former Zoning Director – Female – 45- Married
10. **H. T.** Zoning Specialist – Female – 29 – Single
11. **A.S. M.** Former Mayor/ Doctor – Male – 57 – Married
12. **N. N.** Master Student – Female – 30 – Single
13. **N. Y**. University Student – 25 – Male- Bekar
14. **P. V.** Student – 16 – Single - Female

15. **P.L.** Student – 16 – Single – Male

16. **R. K.** NGO Employee – 29 – Single – Female

17. **Ş. Y.** Public Servant and Head of an NGO – 47 – Male- Married

18. **Ş. K**. Retired – 60 – Male – Married

19. **Z. M.** Dismissed from public service / NGO Employee – 55 – Married – Female

20. **B.C.** Housewife – 50 – Married – Female

21. **H.M**. Bistro Owner - 44- Married- Male

22. **K.F**. Private Hospital Owner – 57 – Male- Married

23. **İ.E.** Political Scientist - 30 - Single – Male

24. **E.K.** Sosyal Bilimci- 33- Single – Female

25. **S.Ü.** Housewife – 29 – Married- Female

26. **E.K**. Tearcher – 32- Single- Male

27. **S.S.** Doctor – 38 – Married – Female

28. **E.Y.** Assistant Director – 35 – Married – Female

29. **S. K.** Worker – 27 – Single- Male

30. **Z. T**. Academician – 40 – Married- Female

31. **I. M.** Landowner – 54 – Married – Male

32. **R. Y**. Engineer – 33 – Single – Male

33. **B. A.** Building Contractor- 60 – Married – Male

34. **P. T**. Agricultural Engineer – 37 – Married- Female

35. **U. H.** Teacher – 31- Married- Male