STATE-LED RURAL TRANSFORMATION: THE CASE OF YUKARIKÖY

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ABSTRACT

STATE-LED RURAL TRANSFORMATION: THE CASE OF YUKARIKÖY

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While much has been written about TOKİ's (The Housing Development Administration of Turkey) actions in cities as part of neoliberal urbanization projects, not much has been said about its practices in rural areas. This thesis examines the production of space by TOKİ in rural Turkey as a process molded by governmental spatial intervention and the inhabitants' everyday life practices. I focus on Yukarıköy, a village in Çanakkale with a population around 700 people, which had gone through several destructive earthquakes in 2017 and was rebuilt by TOKİ. The study is an investigation of the policies of the state to create model villages so that rural citizens would be willing to stay and produce in rural areas, in juxtaposition to a discussion of the ways in which the villagers appropriate the state-made houses according to their own needs and desires. The neoliberal mode of production, in which the state governs the nation as a business, uses institutions like TOKİ to modify the citizens' actions to be in line with its imposed social and economic order. The villagers, however, are not passive consumers, but they are active producers of space. They are capable of inventing tactics that challenge the boundaries of the strategically planned space they inhabit. Their everyday practices confirm the state's vision of the model villager while at the same time contradicting the state's imposed

order. Consequently, Yukarıköy becomes a space shaped by practices of its inhabitants and the state that occasionally contradict with each other.

Keywords: TOKİ, rural, everyday life, production of space, model villager

ÖZ

DEVLET ELİYLE DÖNÜŞEN TAŞRA: YUKARIKÖY VAKASI

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TOKİ'nin (Toplu Konut İdaresi) şehirlerdeki neoliberal kentleşme projeleri hakkında çok sayıda araştırma yapılmıştır, fakat kırsal kesimde uygulanmış TOKİ projeleri hakkında yapılmış çalışma sayısı oldukça azdır. Bu tez taşradaki mekan üretimini TOKİ'nin mekansal müdahaleleri ve kırsalda yaşayanların gündelik hayat pratiklerinden oluşan karmaşık bir süreç olarak inceler. Bu tez Çanakkale'de yer alan yaklaşık 700 nüfuzlu Yukarıköy'ün 2017'de geçirdiği yıkıcı depremler ardından TOKİ tarafından yeniden inşasına odaklanır. Yukarıköy'deki mekanın üretiminde devletin köylüyü köyde yaşayıp üretmeye teşvik eden model köy üretimi politikaları ile köylülerin bu mekanları kendi ihtiyaç ve arzularına göre şekillendirmesi iç içe geçmiştir. Devletin ülkeyi bir şirket gibi yönettiği neoliberal üretim modelinde TOKİ gibi kurumlar vatandaşların hayatlarını kendi sosyal ve ekonomik düzenlerine uygun olacak yönde şekillendirmeyi amaçlar. Ancak, bu amaçla inşa edilen yerlerde yaşayan kimseler mekanın pasif tüketicisi değil aktif üreticisidir. Onların gündelik hayat pratikleri içerisindeki taktikler devlet stratejisiyle üretilen mekanın öngördüğü yaşam pratiklerinin sınırlarını zorlar. Devlet stratejisiyle üretilen mekanlarda yaşayan köylüler Yukarıköy'ü bir yandan onlar için öngörülen model köylü modeline göre yaşarken diğer yandan öngörülemeyen taktikleriyle devletin karışımı

yoluyla üretir. Dolayısıyla Yukarıköy devletin ve köylülerin zaman zaman birbiriyle çelişen pratikleri ile oluşan bir mekan haline gelir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: TOKİ, taşra, gündelik hayat, mekanın üretimi, model köylü

To the people of Yukarıköy,

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	Afet ve Acil Durum Yöentimi Başkanlığı[1]
DLP	Democratic Left Party
JDP	Justice and Development Party
RPP	Republican People's Party
TOKİ	Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı[2]

[1] Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency

[2] The Housing Development Administration of Turkey

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Definition of the Problematic

This thesis examines the production of space in the rural as a process molded by governmental spatial applications and inhabitants' everyday life practices. The Housing Development Administration of Turkey (hereafter TOKİ) is Turkey's government backed housing agency which has significant impact on the state's spatial practices. While much has been written about TOKİ's works in cities as part of neoliberal urbanization projects, less has been said about its practices in rural areas. Starting from 2004, TOKİ began conducting housing projects in the rural either due to a natural disaster or by demand. As an institution of the neoliberal system, TOKİ aims to create model villages so that villagers would be willing to stay and produce in the rural as the state desires.

Yukarıköy is a village in Çanakkale – with a population over 700 people that consists mostly of "yörük" folk – which had gone through several earthquakes in 2017, causing the destruction of most residential structures. Focusing on Yukarıköy, this study investigates the ways in which the villagers appropriate the TOKİ earthquake houses according to their own needs and desires. The neoliberal mode of production, in which the state governs the nation as a business, uses institutions like TOKİ to modify the citizens' actions to be in line with its imposed social and economic order. However, the villagers are not passive consumers, but they are active producers of space. Consequently, the space of Yukarıköy becomes an ever-ending process of confirming and contradictory practices of both the state and its inhabitants.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

This study sits upon the ideas of several scholars. In order to use them in research, I will explain these theories and how I connect them with each other. First, I will begin with Judith Butler whose in fact known for her works on gender theory. Be that as it may, Butler's broader philosophical ideas will be at the basis of this study. Then I will move onto Lefebvre whose understanding of space will act as a tool to connect inhabitants with spatial environments through the production of space. Later, this process will be viewed as actions of different actors with the ideas of Foucault and de Certeau. The ways in which actions shape one another in neoliberal governments and societies will be analyzed by readings of David Harvey and Wendy Brown.

According to Judith Butler, human beings attain meaning by the grid of cultural intelligibility. This grid refers to the existing dominant order and it appears in different names in Butler's works; the heterosexual matrix, the straight mind, Power, the Symbolic, the Law, the patriarchal system… Attaining meaning means being intelligible or understandable in a given cultural context. In order to be intelligible, people need to practice the norms of the system. This means that people become who they are through their practices. By repeating the norms of the system, human bodies become human beings. In the same way, the norms of the cultural intelligibility become what they are through repetitive practices. Thus, while being an intelligible human being requires repeating the norms of the system; in order to become norms, practices need to be repeated by human beings. This means that neither human beings nor norms have fixated or intrinsic meaning. They become intelligible through repetitive processes. Be that as it may, repetition gives them the illusion of essence which is the idea of acting in a way that one does because one is born that way. In the Butlerian way of thinking, this illusion is nothing but the made-up naturalization of norms and identities. According to Butler, identities always need to practice the required norms. Meaning that one

needs to repeat the norms of the social order continuously each day. Hence, identity is a process of becoming via repetitive practices that shape one's everyday life.

The way this Butlerian understanding will be used in this study is that in order to become proper citizens, people need to act in proper ways. Meaning that to become a proper citizen of the Republic of Turkey, one needs to practice the norms of Turkishness. This "proper" is defined by the nation state which aim to create the model citizen, hence the mass constituted by model citizens will make up the desired nation. Norms and what proper is are not intrinsic notions, rather they are defined differently in geography and time. Thus, citizenship is performative; meaning that one needs to act in line with the defined proper everyday life practices in order to become the state-designed model citizen.

Inhabitation is a part of this performativity. Space, for Lefebvre, is not a static and concrete thing but something that is socially and continuously produced; it is always becoming, fluid, and alive.[3] Each society produces its own space, meaning that nation states creating their desired nation is also the process of producing the national space of the country. Building the national space is the method of the nation state to produce its desired nation composed of model citizens. Proper inhabitation is composed of proper everyday life practices that when repetitively practiced create the model citizen. Hence, inhabitants produce space via their everyday life practices while at the same time shape their identities trough the same actions.

In the *Production of Space* (1991), he conducts a theory, or rather a theoretical tool that allows him to examine space as a social process. The guide he presents is a spatial triad: (1) spatial practice relates to the 'perceived' aspect of space, the process of producing the physical space; (2) representations of space are the 'conceived' space of scientists, architects, urban designers, etc., they are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose; and (3)

[3] Özkan, D. (2008). *The Misuse Value of Space: Spatial Practices and the Production of Space in İstanbul* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Rochester]. http://hdl.handle.net/1802/6201

representational space is the space of inhabitants, affected by the first two components of space it completes them by introducing the users everyday life practices.[4] This thesis aims to use Lefebvre's spatial triad to examine the TOKİ earthquake houses in Yukarıköy; the houses' architectural qualities, how the project was represented in the media and how it was imagined to be used, and how it is being used by the villagers.

Although space is not a static thing, it is still a product that is always changing. Since a product, in Marxian terms it must have a use value and an exchange value. Marx draws a path to explain the capitalist system and he begins his research with "the commodity." He deciphers the commodity to its layers, and hence bring to light how the capitalist system manifests itself even in the most commonplace parts of everyday life. Commodity's contradictory structure makes it a plausible place to start, for it is the bearer of the notions: use value and exchange value. Use value is an object's utility according to its physical properties; exchange value is basically its price, when in relation to other commodities in the market. Throughout this study I refer to inhabitation as the activity of using space a.k.a., actualization of its use values. This is because a commodity or a product, in this case space, is produced with a use value in order to be consumed by the user. In this manner, production process does not only produce products to be consumed, but it also determines the manner of consumption, and the consumer as well.[5] This means that when the state builds the space of the nation, it equips it with certain use values so that when inhabited the inhabitants would be transformed into the model citizen.

Foucault defines strategy as "to designate the manner in which a partner in a certain game acts with regard to what he thinks should be the action of the others and what he considers the others think to be his own.[6]" In this study, strategy is being used as the logic behind the state's actions of building spaces that aim to

[4] Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford; Cambridge: Blackwell.
[5] Marx, K. (1993). *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*. London: Penguin Books.
[6] Foucault, M. (1982). "The Subject and Power" *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 777-795. p.793

shape people's everyday life practices in order to transform them into the model citizen. According to Foucault "power exists only when it is put into action.[7]" Rather than a static thing that can be hold by a specific someone or group, power is a relationship that is not merely between different actors but between their operations. Hence, in affairs of power, face-off encounters are taken over by indirect or rather metaphorical combats where actions end up modifying other actions. This means that power relations are not between an active subject that possesses it and a passive one that has none of it. Both parties must be recognized as individuals that are capable of action. In this sense, relating to state as a political power form Foucault states "to govern is to structure the possible field of action of others.[8]" While it is the state that constructs options in line with its own objectives, the subject's (the one over whom power is exercised) capability of action manifests the field as a place of interplay. It is in this arena of actions that both colliding and sometimes conflicting interactions occur, the structured field can be placidly dwelled in, or stretched, bent, and even ruptured.

Imagining a field of actions allows us to bring into discussion de Certeau's terms of strategy and tactic, which will be essential to this research. In *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1988) the latter is described as people's haphazard ways of making do with what they are offered and/or left with by the former. A strategy is the method of action of those with will and power that imposes an order and assumes a proper place that is regulatory on relations with others. A tactic, on the other hand, is the behavior of those whom power is being exercised on and it does not rely on a proper, yet fragmentarily exists in the field determined by strategy. Strategies produce appropriate ways of operating; whereas tactics use, manipulate, and find ways around the pre-determined manners and cleverly create unplanned actions upon proper practices. Here, even though de Certeau describes tactics as the art of the weak, he does not assign the weak as passive and/or powerless. Nevertheless, he sees both parties as free subjects that are capable of action. Therefore, tactics overcome

[7] Foucault (1982) p. 788
[8] Foucault (1982) p. 790

strategic actions of those who impose order by being unpredictable ways of operation. However, this does not mean that if one's acts are foreshadowed by strategies, then the subject is passive and excluded from being an actor in power relations. On the contrary, when the ones with will and power acts strategical, a field of possible actions emerge; whether the responsive actions are foreseen or not (as in the case of tactics), they are productive and determining in the dynamics of power affairs.

Since the case study of this thesis is a state-made housing project in Yukarıköy, it is important to understand the logic behind the time's mode of production. In neoliberal policies in which profit is the ultimate goal, exchange values are thought to be at the forefront rather than use values. David Harvey defines neoliberalism as

> (…) in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices.[9]

Neoliberalism is the freedom of each individual to act as an entrepreneurial in the free market. The state's regulatory policies are reduced to the minimum, it is only responsible for national security and the preservation of the basic citizen rights. Anything that can be privatized is privatized and technological developments are used to create new markets. But beyond the ideas of the free market in the classical liberal era, neoliberalism does not only shrink the state to a minimum level but also uses its authorities to benefit the market. According to Wendy Brown, neoliberalism produces and governs everything in the image of a market without necessarily monetizing. What this means is that the model of the market is applied to every aspect of life. The state governs the nation as if it were a firm and beyond that, even individuals run their lives as human capitals by calculating every move as investments and risks. The individual is responsible to create a portfolio of life

[9] Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 2

and manage one's own worth, hence the sense of community and society is dissolved. The neoliberal state's role becomes being the engine that produces competitive markets in every domain of life. Because competitiveness is in the nature of individualization, it inevitably creates inequality among people. Therefore, neoliberalism does not only aim to accumulate capital from every domain possible, but also transforms the way of living and governing into a business.

The relationship between the state and its citizens is a power relation where both parties are capable of action. Individuals increase their human capitals by choosing their actions from the options that is produced for them by the state's practices. In other words, the state defines a proper and by its practices aim to constitute the citizens' actions to be in line with this proper. The novelty here is that people willingly and freely choose to act in ways that are imposed on them by the state to increase their human capitals which is the ultimate goal in a neoliberal society and this is what makes individuals neoliberal subjects. This means that use values produced by the state which aimed to be actualized in certain manners are presented to people in such ways that they actually want to respond as planned and become the desired citizen. The strategy is to make people freely choose to act in state-defined proper ways. Neoliberal governing produces the use value of space so that actualizing activities of inhabitants would be profitable.

1.3 Aim and Scope of the Study

TOKİ has currently conducted 46 Agricultural Villages throughout the country. The reason that Yukarıköy was chosen for this study is that I am in fact from Çanakkale and already had insight about the village beforehand. Already having familiarity with the villagers gave me the opportunity of not being a total outsider as a researcher. While applying the theoretical framework to the case in hand and comparing Yukarıköy to previous state-made rural projects thanks to the villagers'

honesty and sincerity towards me I was able to reflect Yukarıköy beyond its representations in the media and TOKİ's own publications.

The profit-oriented actions of TOKİ do not apply to the rural the same way they do to cities. While in cities TOKİ's applications are discussed in relation to topics like gentrification and displacement, in the rural the state does not aim to generate urbanization, utilize central lands for profit by displacing the poor, and so on. This reflects to production rates, the Agricultural Villages only form %0,76 of all TOKİ projects.[10] This low percentage shows that TOKİ does not invest in Agircultural Village projects as much as its other projects, especially the large revenue sharing projects in the urban. Although not profit oriented, since the Agricultural Village projects too are a product of the neoliberal government, their social effects are not too distant from those in cities. Villagers are made TOKİ house owners by paying instalments, meaning that they become customer-citizens of the state. The definition of the model rural citizen starts to include customership and begins to blend with the neoliberal subject profile. Moreover, the state's spatial practices open a field of actions that is strategically planned to be in line with its goals of creating the model villager. Thus, Agricultural Village projects are not mere houses for a safer and modern built environment; for the state's social goals to be achieved there is, in fact, an envisioned lifestyle designed for the villagers; a space that is produced/identified in order to be consumed/actualized in accordance with the pre-designated proper order. Therefore, through the government's actions, the villagers are expected to willingly act as proper citizens.

The reason I presented the state's spatial interventions to the rural since the late Ottoman Empire and the early republican era to TOKİ in Chapter 2 was to prove that when governments change, the social norms change with them. As stated earlier in Judith Butler's section, norms and what proper is are not intrinsic notions, rather they are defined differently in geography and time. Thus, citizenship is performative; meaning that one needs to act in line with the defined proper

[10] TOKİ 2019

everyday life practices in order to become the state-designed model citizen. While in the earlier years of the Turkish Republic, the state's motivation was to create the model rural citizen with a more strict idealist and modernist approach; in the case of TOKİ this approach transformed into neoliberal applications. Although, as stated above, TOKİ's applications in the rural cannot be considered in the same framework as in cities, the logic behind all TOKİ's projects runs the same. My aim is to show the effects of neoliberal policies in the rural even though it is not as profit oriented as in urban areas. To see how the villagers are affected by these neoliberal policies and how they react back was my motivation. I approach to villagers' acting back in relation to TOKİ's actions, not necessarily always in contradictory ways. To continue their old everyday life practices in their new homes, the villagers invent new ways of conducting their daily activities that can only be practiced in the context of TOKİ and Yukarıköy. Meaning that without one or the other, these new practices would not have been existed. Therefore, I approach Yukarıköy as a one-of-a-kind place and aim to express its uniqueness, keeping in mind that TOKİ's other 45 villages are also unique in their own way; although examining each and every Agricultural Village is beyond the scope of this thesis.

1.4 Methodology

The theoretical framework presented above will be used as a guide throughout the study. Also, a historical background on state-hand spatial interventions to the rural will be demonstrated in order to better understand the ideological process behind the case study. Since the aim of this thesis is to approach Yukarıköy as an arena of actions conducted by different actors (primarily these actors are the state, and the villagers but later there will be mentioning of others as well), a qualitative analysis of everyday life practices is the chosen methodological tool.

At the historical background part, I have mostly benefited from other scholars' works who conducted qualitative research on the state-made rural, newspapers, old

brochures, and the like. While researching TOKİ, although I made use of scholarly research, I also examined their own publications and web site. This was to understand and compare how TOKİ represents itself, how it is examined in the literature, and how these representations actually come to life in the case of Yukarıköy. I conducted my field research by several visits. My aim was to observe the everyday life of the villagers without directing them incisive questions that expect certain answers. Rather, I had simple, and small talk like conversations with them and tried to understand how the new houses transformed their lives in both substantial and subtle ways.

Lefebvre's spatial triad will be used as the main tool to examine the everyday life in Yukarıköy. In the first part, the TOKİ project's physical qualities will be introduced through architectural drawings and photographs. The aim here is to compare the new houses with the traditional ones in the village and figure out how use values differ. The second section will be about the project's imagination in the different actors' minds. These imaginations find tangibility in the media, TOKİ's official web site, government official's speeches, and the villagers' everyday life practices. The image conceived by the state is the desired rural model that is trying to be achieved if the designed use values are properly actualized by the villagers. When use values are actualized properly and fit into the desired image, this process will be the lived space which is the third element of the spatial triad. If the production of space is approached as a series of actions, when the perceived and conceived parts appear as actions mostly of the state, the lived space is the acting back of inhabitants. While this acting back can occur as conceived via proper realization of use values, inhabitants can also find ways of detaching from the pre-planned road of inhabiting in the state-made places.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This study is composed of 5 chapters, the first of which is the Introduction. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the point of origin which is the case of

Yukarıköy that inspired the thesis. Also, the theoretical framework that will be used in analyzing the case is explained earlier in this chapter. It is important how these key concepts relate to one another and the manners in which they are made useful to make meaning out of the everyday life in Yukarıköy.

The second chapter focuses on the historical background of the state's spatial interventions to the rural in Turkey. Starting from the Ottoman Empire's stagnation period, villages grew in number and gained importance due to incoming immigrants from behind the empire's shrinking borders. Creating new villages for the incomers was seen as a solution to the accommodation problem and allow them to become productive citizens as soon as possible. The state also conducted new laws and regulations to develop villages from their existing poor conditions, yet none of these attempts were entirely successful.

In the transition process from a multi-national empire to a nation-state, the new Republic of Turkey aimed to create a unitary socio-economic plane under which the whole population of the country can gather as a standardized whole. At the time 80% of the population inhabited in villages. Hence, to create a new nation which will be composed of model citizens, villagers' transformation was crucial. Furthermore, the new nation-state needed capital in order to develop an industrial sector and agriculture was the main source of income. Hence, villages had to be developed so that villagers could stay, produce, and live as proper citizens in the rural. The state's actions of introducing The Village Law (*Köy Kanunu)* and building Sample Villages (*Numune Köyler)* is examined in the second chapter as a method of creating the model villager by these spatial interventions.

In order to educate people on what proper is and how one becomes a model citizen, the state built The People's Houses (*Halkevleri*), The People's Rooms (*Halkodaları*), and The Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*). These institutions were bound to the state and since the government was ruled by the single-party system at the time they were also seen as projects of the ruling party. The People's Houses

were education centers on the new modern life and socializing places in cities; The People's Rooms were their rural version. These institutions' aim is to gather all citizens under the roof of The People's Houses and elevate them to being a national unity.[11] The new nation-state had to constitute its citizens as a standardized whole like a "granite mass," so that they can all organize, work, and produce for the same national ideals. While People's Houses and People's Rooms were based on the idea that the intellectuals in cities had to go and educate the peasants in the rural, the Village Institutes aimed to educate children as teachers so that later on they can graduate and teach to other villagers without feeling estranged. Also, since modern agricultural production was crucial for the model village, the institutes were built on appropriate lands and the curriculum was made accordingly with the "learning by doing" method.

In 1973, The Ministry of Village Affairs published 15 brochures introducing 15 state-made villages in the honor of the 50th year of the republic. This was a replacement project for villages in poor conditions and unable to develop due to their geographical situation. The brochures emphasize that the new villages were built with "state-help and the people's contribution."

In the Village-Towns project, the idea was to create clusters out of several villages that are close to each other physically, assign one of them as the service station for others, and hence allow a coordinated social and economic environment to be produced. The main aim of this project was to build an agricultural industry to generate income.

In the 3rd and 4th chapter first I give background information on TOKİ before moving onto the case study. In this section I focus on how TOKİ states its aims as to discipline the housing sector by producing dwellings according to a certain model created by alternative and innovative applications; geographically balancing

[11] Peker, R. (1933). Halkevleri Açılma Nutku. *Ülkü*. 6-8.

the population distribution; to achieve planned urbanization; and to provide affordable, durable, modern, and good quality housing for low-income citizens.[12] However, the neoliberal logic behind all these applications turn citizens into customers of the state. While TOKİ's housing projects in cities focuses on low-income citizens who inhabit mostly in *gecekondu* areas, the displacement process of these dwellers from central districts to peripheries brings TOKİ's profit oriented aims to daylight. By claiming the *gecekondu* as an illegal settlement type, TOKİ did not only legitimized the displacement but also imposed a state-designed spatial order to its inhabitants. *Gecekondu* dwellers' adaptation to this order was planned to be the process of decelerating the ruralization of the urban. In order to decelerate migration to cities, TOKİ's Agricultural Village projects aim to increase rural-attractiveness. By providing modern alternatives for people who have no other option than moving to the city in order to have a better life, the rural is planned to be urbanized. While in cities TOKİ projects are aiming to stop the ruralization of the urban, similarly, in villages its goal is the urbanization of the rural.

After giving examples of all the state-made rural projects mentioned above and compare them with one another, in the final part I introduce Yukarıköy. By way of observing the villagers' everyday life, I emphasize the complex ways in which the state's actions and the inhabitants' reactive acts affect each other.

[12] TOKİ. (2010). *TOKİ Kurum Profili* 2009-2010.

CHAPTER 2

STATE-LED SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS TO THE RURAL 1850-2004

2.1 The Socio-Spatial Condition of the Rural in the Late Ottoman Empire

Throughout the Ottoman Empire, settlements were tied to the state's needs. Rather than individuals, lines of families accommodated in either cities or villages that their labor was required by the Empire. Villagers were in the position of tenants whose duty was to farm the Empire's lands. In exchange for the land, the law of the time demanded villagers to give a certain portion of their productions to the palace as a form of taxation. Hence, the intermingled way of labor and inhabitation that formed the everyday life in the rural was thoroughly in line with the palace's requirements. Also, the prohibitive laws against leaving one's land were disincentive for those who sought to immigrate elsewhere.[13]

New villages were usually ordered to be built in the new lands that the Empire conquered. It was a strategic way of blending different societies in order to create a peaceful environment within the multi-cultural state. These new rural settlements mostly developed around a core that included service buildings like a mosque, hospital, school, inn, etc. New residential settlements emerged spontaneously by the inhabitants according to their own traditional construction knowledge.[14]

[13] Örmecioğlu, H. T. (2003). *1850-1950 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Köycülük Çalışmaları ve Numune Köyler*. (Master's Thesis). İstanbul Technical University, İstanbul.
[14] Ibid.

By the end of the 16th century the Ottoman Empire was starting to shift into its economic stagnation period. During this time, the lack of care towards the Anatolian areas (especially the villages) caused tremendous hardships on the rural everyday life. While the continuous tax raises were already troubling the villagers, gang like tyrants (some of whom were deserted state employees) started to collect illegal taxes and clouded the feeling of safety in villages. At the beginning of the 17th century this situation led the villagers to flee their homes and settle in remote places as 5 or 10 households. This historical incident is named as the "Great Flight" (Büyük Kaçgun).[15] As a result, the Empire began to fail obtaining taxes from Anatolia because the new habitation areas were not easily detected. The dispossession story of the Great Flight led to the new settlement plan of small and dispersed villages in Anatolia.

By the end of the 19th century the Ottoman Empire was considerably shrinking in terms of land and hence had to deal with many immigrants that follow the narrowing borders. Because of the financial problems that the Empire was dealing with at the time, the immigrants were tried to set in already existing settlements. However, the high number of incomers pushed the Empire to work on new housing projects. Furthermore, the aim here was to provide permanent inhabitation for immigrants as soon as possible so that they can become productive citizens and take roles in the betterment of the state's fiscal situation.[16] Hence the location for the new villages were decided according to public lands' suitability for agriculture. Although it was forbidden for those who did not work on artisanship or trade to live in cities, because of the lack of available land the state had to allow the emergence of new neighborhood like settlements in the peripheries of urban areas.

The Ottoman Empire went through important governmental changes in the 20th century. The new emerging political parties were alternative voices next to the

[15] Köy İşleri Bakanlığı. (1973). *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Köylerimiz*. Ankara: Güven Matbaası
[16] Eres, Z. (2008). *Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu*. (Doctoral Dissertation). İstanbul Technical University, İstanbul.

sultan's. This was a step away from absolute monarchy to a rather more modern state. During this time the borders were still shrinking and immigrant kept coming in large numbers. Hence the immigrants' settlement issue was still at the table of the state. Attempts were made to solve this problem, many of them were laws and regulations not just about new immigrant villages but meant for all villages in the country since at that time most of all the rural settlements were in a poor state in terms of health, finance, safety, productivity… The new laws and regulations[17] mostly ordered architectural changes to be made in villages and new ones to be built by these rules. They included items relating the location of the settlement, how many rooms houses should consist of, the minimum number of households, the planning of main roads and squares, public buildings like mosques and schools, suitable land selection according to immigrants' agricultural skills[18]… According to Eres (2008), these items suggested architectural qualities that were seen only in mansions in cities. Hence by attempting to modernize the rural settlements, the state aimed to develop life conditions at all parts of the country at the same level.[19] Moreover, same laws and regulations being applied everywhere was inevitably going to lead to the standard Turkish village image throughout the country. However, almost none of these laws and regulations were properly applied. The Ottoman Empire's top-down attempts of advancing the poor circumstances in the rural stayed in theory and were barely practiced.

The emerging nation-states in the Balkans at the 20th century inspired the intellectual groups in the empire. These intellectuals were mostly educated by western standards which was endorsed by the modernizing state. They thought that the empire had to evolve to better days as a whole and this could only occur by

[17] Some of the new laws and regulations being: Muhâcirînin Sûret-i Iskânı Hakkında Tahrîrât-ı Umûmiye Talimatnamesi, Iskân-ı Muhacirin Nizamnamesi, tahrirat-ı umumiye, Asair ve Muhacirin Müdüriyet-i Umumisi Teskilat Kanunu, Muhacirin Suret i Iskânı Hakkında Tahrirat-ı Umumiye Talimatnamesi, Yeni Tesis Olunacak Köylerde Nazar-I Dikkate Alınacak Esasat-ı Sıhhiye ve Mevcut Köylerin Bu Cihetlerden Mümkün Oldugu Kadar Islahı

[18] The similarity of these items with the ones in "The Village Law" (1924) suggests that the laws and regulations of this time later inspired the new nation state's attitude towards the rural.

[19] Eres, Z. 2008, p. 77

"going to the people." The "people" here refers to the Anatolian folk whom the intellectuals were radically separated in socio-economic terms. The aim of "going to the people" was to educate and bring civilization to them; while at the same time learning the values of the Turkish culture from them.[20] Although some associations were built and journals were published, these attempts – like those of the state – failed at practice.

Along with the failed attempts of the state and intellectuals at enhancing the everyday life in the rural, the First World War and the War of Independence worsen the existing situation. Villages were described as places of poverty and hopelessness where the state only bothers to remember when in need of taxation and soldiers.[21] In the next section I will start with the emergence of the new nation state and how it approached to the rural after the downfall of the Ottoman Empire.

2.2 The Republican Era

2.2.1 The Early Republic's Projects for the Rural

After the decadence of the Ottoman Empire, the early period of the newly built republic was a process of transition from a multi-national empire to a nation-state. During the 20th century, the empire's intellectuals referred to the term "people" as the Anatolian rural folk which they had to go back to in order to bring them civilization and at the same time learn from them about the Turkish cultural values. However, in the early days of the republic, "the people" indicates a roof - that acts as a unitary socio-economic plane - under which the whole population of the country can gather as a standardized whole.[22] Social unity was being aimed to be achieved in a diverse environment where the west and east sides of the country

[20] Karaömerlioğlu, A. (2021). *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycü Söylem*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
[21] Örmecioğlu, H. T. 2003, p.8
[22] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 2021, p. 44

were radically separated from each other in socio-economic terms. The Ottoman Empire's divided social structure was continuing to exist in the republic. Moreover, during the time of the empire, in order to create a diverse social habitat all over the land muslim and non-muslim people were reciprocally migrated. Hence, there was a considerable amount of Turkish-muslim population outside of the new borders. Through several international arrangements, the non-muslim folk within Turkish borders and muslim people outside them were decided to be exchanged. This meant that on top of the already separated social structure of the country, there were millions of people migrating from formerly Ottoman held lands. In order to achieve social unity then, the new nation-state used the term "people" as a homogenization mechanism by taking a populist approach.[23] According to this, the country was aimed to be shown to the world as one nation living within certain borders as a whole.

At the time 80% of the population was living in villages. This meant that since the new republic was aiming to build a new modern country, the majority of the entire population could not had been left behind. After several failed attempts of the Ottoman Empire at betterment of the rural, villages were still in poor condition especially in terms of health and economy. Hence, one of the state's priorities was to deal with the rural. Moreover, "the rural was not only a crucial part of the nation because it was composed by the 80% of the population, but also because it was the most efficient section in the country's production."[24] As a newly built nation-state, the government had to provide income for the development of the country. Yet, villages were far from fulfilling that need; because wars of the past decades, the Ottoman Empire's unsuccessful rural policies, pandemics, and poor health environment made them unable to practice agriculture on a level that can produce

[23] Populism principle refers to a population that is classless, gathered as a solid mass and denies any socio-economic difference. Populism goes hand in hand with nationalism, the people are united by way of a national bond. Hence, secularism becomes necessary since religious differences are overlooked as well. The people is a mass of united citizens of the same nation; hence their differences are not included in the definition of citizenship.

[24] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 2021, p. 12

capital for new sectors, investments, and services. Also, the state well knew that developing the industrial sector would lead to the emergence of a proletarian class from its northern neighbor, namely the Soviet Union. Hence, even though cities were not at the point of being industrial business centers at the time, villages turning into places to escape from could not be risked. In other words, if villagers failed to make a living for themselves in the rural, cities would inevitably become points of attraction - meaning that they would have to find employment at industrial factories - yet, the state could not venture the emergence of a resisting working class.[25] Thus, villages had to be developed so that villagers could stay, produce, and live as proper citizens in the rural. "Proper" here refers to being in line with the republic's laws and regulations.

> The state saw the salvation of the villager in economic and cultural development. By way of this, the villager will produce better, richen, and gain economic autonomy; will benefit from the production's earnings and turn into the person that the republic desires.[26]

As quoted above, the new nation-state was aiming to create subjects in its new image. In other words, the process of building a nation-state was equal to molding individuals to fill the subject position of citizenship. The republic had to create a nation according to the nation-state it desired to become. Likewise, villages as spatial entities were tools of the state to produce the model rural citizen. Space as a social product produces and is produced by its inhabitants. Then, in Lefebvrian terms, to develop the country as a whole, building new villages and/or repairing and refreshing the existing ones were strategies of the state. Through this strategy, the rural space was planned to produce the proper villager. According to one of the important architects of the time, Abdullah Ziya,[27] "the Turkish character had to be embedded in villages' plans, schools, fountains, and even in flag poles." In this manner, the ways in which different groups in the country separate from each other in socio-economic terms was going to reduce and in all parts of the nation people

[25] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 2021, pp. 48-49
[26] Örmecioğlu, H. T. 2003, p. 13
[27] Ziya, A. (1935). Köy Evleri Proje ve Yapıları İçin Toplu Rapor. *Arkitekt*. 55-56, pp. 203-204

were going to act with a citizenship consciousness. The production of modern villages was aimed to produce the villager in line with the state's aims. Be that as it may, this does not mean that building of the physical environment was planned to automatically transform its inhabitants, these places were expected to be maintained by certain rules and regulations determined by the state. Maintaining the villages by the law is supposed to be the everyday activity of the villager so that the modern village is produced. This process of production simultaneously produces the proper village and the villager that the state desires. In the next two sections, the new nation-state's two concrete actions on this matter will be examined: The Village Law and Sample Villages.

2.2.1.1 The Village Law (*Köy Kanunu*)

The Village Law was first introduced by the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*: will be abbreviated from hereafter as RPP) in 1924. At the time, 80% of the population inhabited villages. Some of these places were not even known to exist on the map and most were in poor position in terms of communication, transformation, education, health, economy, along with other life segments. Since Turkey at the time was a new nation-state that was forming itself as an up-to-date country that was breaking its ties with the Ottoman Empire, it was necessary that the majority of the population was also following the new way of life. Moreover, albeit the government envisioned an industrial economy and social structure for the nation, within the time's conditions Turkey was defined as an agricultural country. Hence, agriculture was the main source of income, yet at the time villages were inadequate to produce enough capital that could afford to realize the state's socio-economic vision. Therefore, in order to conceive villages and villagers that will portray the proper image of the model rural, the single-party government spent no time preparing a new law in line with their vision. Since the production of space is understood as a process with three components (perceived, conceived, and lived); this study approaches the production of the rural in the new

nation-state as a series of events that blends the triad of spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space. Thus, in Lefebvrian terms, the new nation-state conceived a law in their own image that includes descriptions of physical-architectural qualities of villages and everyday activities of villagers. In other words, the conceived space that The Village Law represents orders the perceived space of the rural to be built in line with the state's vision so that the lived space would produce and be produced by proper citizens. The Village Law is a strategic act of the state that expects the villagers to transform their everyday life activities in line with the image of the model rural.

With The Village Law, villages were officially recognized as the smallest local governmental units.[28] By way of this, the state introduced itself as an authority to villages that were overlooked for centuries and it appointed "*muhtar*" as the official representative figure of the government's existence.[29] When the Village Law is applied matter by matter, there appears the image of a model village which will produce and be produced by model villagers. Since this study focuses on the spatial interventions on the rural, the first and second sections of the Village Law will be examined below.

In its first matter, the Village Law defines the village by population: "a place that consists of any number of people below 2000 is called a village."[30] Further, in the next item it clarifies that these individuals (up to 2000) who share things like mosques, schools, fields, tablelands, gardens… and live in collective or dispersed settlements together constitute what is known as a village. Later in the first section, it describes how borders of a village must be defined and legally documented. It appoints *muhtar* and the board of alderman to apply the law as governmental organs. By means of the first section, the state legalizes the already existing

[28] Eres, Z. 2008, p. 101
[29] Çetin, T. (1999). Modern Türkiye Yaratma Projesinin Orijinal Bir Boyutu: Örnek Köyler. In O. Baydar (Ed.), *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere* (pp. 231-240). İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.
[30] *Köy Kanunu: Çiftçi Mallarının Korunması Hakkında Kanun*. (1952). Ankara: Doğuş Ltd. O. Matbaası.

villages as official settlements by recognizing their population, borders, geographical and architectural qualities and by authorizing *muhtar* and a board of alderman it alters villages as governmental units.

The second section is divided as obligatory and non-obligatory works for villagers. Most of these items involve spatial changes to be made on housing, public spaces, master planning, and livestock and agricultural spaces to improve health, productivity, and aesthetics. Here are the items that relate to spatial practices:[31]

- If under the same roof, separating the rooms and the barn from each other with at least one wall (obligatory work);
- Building top closed and seweged toilets in each house and one for public use to a proper place in the village (obligatory work);
- Keeping clean water separate from dirty water at all times (obligatory work);
- Keeping the house fronts and streets clean (obligatory work);
- Keeping manure and the like away from the village in a proper place (obligatory work);
- Building two main roads that will cross and create the main square (obligatory work);
- Building a village room (*köy odası*) in the square for the board of alderman to gather (obligatory work);
- If needed, building a guest room with a furnace and barn (obligatory work);
- Building a prayer room (if it is going to be newly built should take place in the square) (obligatory work);

[31] Some are paraphrased and combined by the author.

- Building a school (if it is going to be newly built should take place in a spacious environment and include a garden) (obligatory work);
- Planting trees in designated places (each villager has to plant at least one tree and should take care of it until grown) (obligatory work);
- Maintaining (and if needed building) the roads, streets, and bridges within village borders (obligatory work);
- Fixing or demolishing already damaged structures (obligatory work);
- Building the barn entirely separate from the house (non-obligatory work);
- Furnishing the roads with rock pavements (non-obligatory work);
- Building a laundry, *hamam*, bazaar, and shopping centers (non-obligatory work)

As seen above, the Village Law involves articles that affect the production of space in the rural, not only because it orders physical spatial changes but also because it envisions the model village and demands villagers to draw this image. In other words, the model village is not a fixed entity that is merely put in an empty place, rather it is an ongoing process that should be continuously produced by the law by villagers. Be that as it may, the state did not indicate any state-sourced budget plan for this law to be actualized, rather it expected villagers to handle the work by their own means. Perhaps for this reason, Eres points out that when articles published around 1930's and 40's are examined, it is seen that the speed of transformation in the rural was lower than expected, hence *Köy Kanunu* was not effectively conducted.[32]

[32] Eres, Z. 2008, p. 103

2.2.1.2 Sample Villages (*Numune Köyler*)

Although the Village Law was failing to transform the existing villages in the image of the model Turkish village, the incoming Turkish-muslim immigrants' need of accommodation was seen as an opportunity by the state to actualize their vision for the rural. The model village was being put in practice and because for the state it was not merely a housing project to fulfill the accommodation need of the population exchange incident's incomers, the new villages were named "Sample Villages."[33]

The Ottoman Empire's population exchange policy that required immigration to and from the new lands it conquered was causing re-immigration during its stagnation stage. As a multi-national empire, the state was aiming to create a diverse social environment where different religions can exist together. However, during the downfall of the empire and the emergence of new nation-states at the late 19th and early 20th century, the diverse social structure was crossing with nation-state's strategy. The new nation-states were aiming to be built as one nation within certain borders as a standardized whole[34] and to create social unity among the county. Thus, when the new republic was officially built, population exchange agreements followed. Since 1923, over 2 million Turkish-muslim people immigrated from Greece, Balkans, Kafkas and so on. The incomers were placed according to their professions; those who dealt with trade and artisanship to cities, and the rest were assigned to regions in line with their area in agriculture.[35] Since the main source of income of the new nation-state was agriculture, the immigrants had to be permanently placed as soon as possible so that they could start contributing to production. After the first world war and the independence war, villages were mostly in ruins throughout Anatolia. Hence, albeit the exchange was

[33] Örmecioğlu, H. T. 2003, p. 1
[34] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 2021
[35] Tekeli, İ. (1990). Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan Günümüze Nüfusun Zorunlu Yer Değiştirmesi ve İskan Sorunu. *Toplum ve Bilim* (50), pp. 49-71.; Cengizkan, A. (2004). *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri*. Ankara: Arkadaş Yayıncılık.

reciprocal and there were outgoings somewhat equal to incomings, the new immigrants could not have been placed to settlements left behind by the non-muslim population. Immigrants' accommodation problem was one of the first calamities that the state had to deal with. However, as mentioned earlier, this was not a mere problem of accommodation, rather the new coming immigrants had to be fit to the nation-state's citizen model. They were immigrating from different parts of the world that they went generations ago during the time of the empire. Hence, albeit Turkey's new borders were filled with mostly Turkish-muslim people, the level of cultural diversity was making it difficult for the state to form a homogenized whole. Thus, the accommodation issue was seen as an opportunity by the state to build villages in line with the Village Law so that both the Turkish model village and the model citizen can be produced. Consequently, during 1920's and 1930's the state built total of 69 sample villages.[36]

Sample villages as strategic places of the new nation-state were built to be used in certain ways that through this inhabitation the immigrants will be practicing the everyday life of a model rural Turkish citizen. This is because a strategy is acting in a way that aims to control and predict the other's act.[37] The action of building sample villages, first of all, expects the act of appreciation towards the state. Second, it assigns use values to places and expects them to be realized by users. Since use values are determined in line with the Village Law, the process of realization (actual use in the daily life) is expected to produce the space of strategy as desired by the state. Hence, by way of everyday life practices, the space of strategy will be produced by its users. At the same time, because users practice their daily activities in line with the Village Law, while producing model villages, they too will be produced as model villagers.

Therefore, in order to produce the model rural, sample villages must be used properly by villagers. However, in writings of researchers of the time, it is seen that

[36] Çetin, T. 1999, p. 234)
[37] Foucault, M. 1984

the state's strategy of acting in a way that aims to predict and control the other's act fails from time to time. When use values are realized in different ways than expected, the production of space departs from becoming the place of the strategy. By way of this departure the spatial practice of the state starts to expand and include the unplanned everyday practices of villagers. Meaning that the production of space becomes the process of practicing use values in planned and unplanned ways. For without strategic acts, that expect certain acts in return, departures could not have existed. These departures are what de Certeau names as tactics. By living in the strategic place of the state, space is produced through the blended activities of strategies and tactics. Thus, the rural becomes the arena where actions on actions produce space; yet these actions are intermingled and cannot be separated clearly. In other words, tactics emerge within strategies, even though they depart from the strategic vision.

Sample villages were built in line with the Village Law in order to create the model rural, while at the same time resolving the immigrants' accommodation problem. This strategic action of the state was aiming to create the new nation as standardized whole. When researchers of the time evaluated the villages by their own observations, they wrote the non-realized use values as failures of the state-led sample projects.[38] Then, tactics appear as contradictory acts to the strategic plan. In other words, when use values are realized not as planned but otherwise, the strategic place's production process starts to involve tactical practices. Although villagers do not purposefully aim to disobey the state, when they "fail" to realize use values as planned and create tactics, they would not be practicing the everyday life that the state envisioned for them. However, since tactics and strategies are intermingled in place, villagers' tactics do not necessarily produce a contradictory space.[39] Rather, sample villages would be produced in such a way that escapes the either strategic/appropriate or tactical/contradictory binary. The production of

[38] Örmecioğlu, H. T. 2003, pp. 75-76; Sayar, Z. (1936). İç Kolonizasyon-Başka Memleketlerde. *Arkitekt 68*, pp. 231-235.; Ziya, 1935.
[39] Lefebvre H. 1991.

space is a process that evolves in time and change according to different circumstances. Thus, building sample villages in line with the Village Law does not necessarily produce the model rural and inhabiting in sample villages does not the model villager make, just like creating tactics around strategies does not make villagers rebels according to law, but it does in a sense make villages places of resistance to the imposed order. Tactics are spontaneous and unexpected, hence making the production of space a unique process for each society and time.

2.2.2 The People's Houses (*Halkevleri*), The People's Rooms (*Halkodaları*), and The Village Institutions (*Köy Enstitüleri*)

2.2.2.1 The People's Houses and Rooms

The People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) were established in 1932. They were places of education for adults, teaching "the new life" through cultural, artistic, sporting activities and the like. "In general, the Houses were expected to propagate the principles of the ruling Republican People's Party."[40] Since the oppositional party (*Serbest Fırka*) had found unexpectedly high support from masses when it was first built (and ceased) in 1930, the ruling party seemed to have lost its momentum of success during the after years of the republic's establishment. Hence, the RPP was aiming to strengthen its bond with the people and make them adopt the new republic's regime by way of setting up the People's Houses throughout the country.[41] Due to the one-party system at the time, the state and the party were inseparable from one another. Built in this environment – as institutions of the RPP – the People's Houses, the party, and the state had an organic bond.[42] Meaning that the People's Houses were not independent from the state, nevertheless they were

[40] Karaömerlioğlu, A. (1998a). The People's Houses and the Cult of the Peasant in Turkey. *Middle Eastern Studies* (34). pp. 67-91. p. 68

[41] Gurallar, N. (2009). Halkevleri. In T. Bora & M. Gültekingil (Eds.), *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce (2) Kemalizm* (pp. 113-118). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

[42] Çeçen, A. (1990). *Halkevleri*. Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları. p. 118

propaganda institutions of the RPP.[43] At the opening ceremony, the president of the People's Houses Recep Peker who was also the speaking person of the RPP said that their aim is to gather all citizens under the roof of the People's Houses and elevate them to being a national unity via a cautious cultural study.[44] He resembles their aimed nation to a "granite mass" meaning that the new nation-state has to constitute its citizens as a standardized whole like a solid matter, so that they can all organize, work, and produce for the same national ideals. These ideals are determined by the Kemalist principles of the RPP that were planned to be propagated by the People's Houses. "According to the RPP elite, the People's Houses were supposed to create a mass society which in turn would serve to create the true nation."[45]

the People's Houses were places of adult education where anyone can participate in its activities and lectures. Besides work and home, they were the new space of gathering where idle time can be filled with productive cultural and educational activities.[46] According to Gurallar, while during the Ottoman Empire mosques were the gathering places for the muslim folk, the People's Houses were the new places of socializing of the new secular nation state.[47] People were expected to come together under the roof of the People's Houses leaving behind their differences and form a standardized whole as a nation. "With the People's Houses a new public space designed by the Kemalist principles is created."[48] By participating in activities of the People's Houses, people would begin to produce a new public space that represents the nation-state as a modern republic.

[43] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 1998a, pp. 68-69
[44] Peker, R. 1933, p. 6
[45] Karaömerlioğlu, A.1998a, p. 69
[46] Çeçen, A. 1990, p. 92
[47] Gurallar, N. (2003). *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
[48] Gurallar, N. 2009, p. 114

the People's Houses had 9 divisions; (1) language and literature, (2) fine arts, (3) representation, (4) sports, (5) social aid, (6) people's classes and courses, (7) library and publishing, (8) peasantry, (9) history and museum.[49] The peasantist division was established for villagers who have no access to the People's Houses while living in the rural. Since most of the population was living in villages, the aim was to enlighten the villagers, solve their problems, and develop villages.[50] It was a way of bringing the People's Houses to villagers rather than inviting them to cities to participate the activities. "The basic duty of the Peasantist Divisions was 'the development of social, medical and aesthetic aspects of villages while establishing mutual respect and solidarity with the city dwellers.'"[51] Not only the People's Houses members like teachers and doctors were joining these visits to provide education and medical care, but also the division was making arrangements with agriculture specialists to make them help to solve the villagers' agricultural problems[52] and hence increase productivity. Furthermore, through these visits the intellectuals had the opportunity to collect data from the rural about their life style, culture, etc. A typical village visit is described as follows:

> First the flag is hoisted while the people are singing the national anthem. After this ceremony, the high officials and members of the People's Houses mix with the people. They donate books and journals to the peasants and doctors take care of the diseased peasants. Then, everybody listens to authentic music sung by local youth, and watches sporting activities. Usually, some members of the Dramatics Divisions of the People's Houses perform a theatrical show and at the end of the day the visitors return to the cities.[53]

By way of these visits the city intellectuals and villagers were expected to bond and the cultural and geographical gap between them was aimed to be bridged,[54] in order

[49] *CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodalar 1932-1942*. İstanbul; Ankara: Alaeddin Kıral Basımevi.
[50] Çeçen, A. 1990, p. 114-15
[51] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 1998a, p. 70
[52] Çeçen, A. 1990, p. 150
[53] Çağlar, B. K. (1938). Halkevlerinde Göze Çarpan Çalışmalar ve Beliren Değerler. *Ülkü* (11). p.558
[54] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 1998a, p. 71

to form the nation as a whole. Moreover, it is seen that the developments made by the peasanist divisions was aimed to lead villages in the direction of the Village Law that was introduced in 1924. As mentioned in previous sections, the Village Law was a strategic act of single-party government that expects the villagers to transform their everyday life activities in line with the proper image of the modern rural. While proper means to be in line with the state's vision, a strategy refers to acting in a way that aims to control and predict the other's act.[55] In this case the RPP's aim of creating educated modern adults who are connected like a "granite mass" found its strategy in creating a new space for people to come together so that they educate and motivate themselves into becoming proper citizens. Similarly, the peasanist divisions aimed to create the model rural as was visioned with the Village Law. "Some villages were chosen as models for the nearby villages. The overall aim of all these, it was claimed, was to create prosperous and educated Turkish peasants."[56] By continuously visiting villages, the peasanist divisions was trying to produce the new space of the People's Houses in the rural and expecting to create a momentum of transformation towards a more modern, educated, productive, and included (to governmental reforms as city people are) village population. However, due to the over bureaucratic character of these visits bridging the gap between the city elite and villagers could never had been breached as hoped. "The members of the People's Houses looked on the peasants as objects of social engineering."[57] This was because the peasanist divisions had the duty of enlightening the rural folk which "needed" (according to the state) to be saved from the socio-economic poverty that they were suffering from for centuries. According to Tütengil, the visits were like picnics in the countryside for intellectuals and did not manage to achieve serious change as was planned.[58] This situation inevitably led to the visits having a top-down nature and prevented the urban-rural gap breaching.

[55] Foucault, M. 1982
[56] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 1998a, p. 70
[57] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 1998a, p. 72
[58] Tütengil, C. O. (1969). *Türkiye'de Köy Sorunu*. İstanbul: Kitaş Yayınları.

In 1939 the People's Rooms as a sub-branch to the People's Houses were established and within two years there were nearly 200 of them.[59] These were small versions of the People's Houses built in places like villages which could not afford the conditions for a People's House to be opened (like enough budget, at least 3 divisions, number of members, etc.). Also, defiant circumstances like adverse weather conditions and difficulty in transportation that could delay the visits of the peasanist divisions were meant to be overcome. By way of the constant presence of the People's Rooms, the RPP and hence the Kemalist regime was able to reach all the way to villages in order to actualize its aim of educating adults and creating a whole out of the entire population.[60] "The project of the People's Rooms then aimed to extend the activities of the People's Houses to the entire year and control the villages from within."[61] Although the People's Rooms managed to solve some of the problems faced by the peasanist divisions in achieving their goals, they still failed to transform villagers by trying to produce the space of the modern rural. According to Karaömerlioğlu, this was because:

> While a change in social and economic relations was required, the People's Houses were content merely with changing the peasants' outlook. It was obvious that these endeavors were doomed to fail from the outset.[62]

The production of the model rural in the state's vision can only occur if villagers adopt their everyday life to the "proper" designated by the ruling party. This was problematic because the single-party regime appointed one proper way of life for the entire population and expected them to adopt it to become model citizens, which inevitably caused the rhetoric of uniting the people as a nation and hence leading to standardization. The idea of one united nation governed by one political party was a barrier to reach democracy, since different voices were being silenced

[59] *CHP Halkevleri ve Halkodaları 1932-1942*, p.17
[60] Ibid.
[61] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 1998a, p. 71
[62] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 1998a, p. 72

(or aimed to be transformed) in order to sound as one. This was the root cause of the RPP's failure in uniting the people as a granite mass. Consequently, when the oppositional party came into power in 1950, the People's Houses and Rooms were shut down because of their organic bond with the RPP. Due to the new ruling party's budget cuts on the People's Houses and Rooms, RPP in the position of the opposition party started failing to provide financial resource for the activities. Also, the RPP's loss of the election led people into distancing from the People's Houses.[63]

2.2.2.2 The Village Institutes

The Village Institutes are educational establishments that aim to raise teachers and other beneficial professionals for the rural. They started to be built in 1940 by the state's passing the law of Village Institutes.[64] With a practical approach to teaching, agriculturally appropriate lands were chosen as project sites. Students were being selected among those who finish the first five years of elementary school and expected to live and study in the institutes like a boarding school. Village Institutes were designed to teach in villages not in order to just raise teachers but to transform the rural population into being agents of developing villages in line with Kemalist principles[65] and the state's vision. This is because at the time villages still seemed foreign to the new nation-state's ideals and principles, and behind from the populist developments that aim to create the entire population as a standardized whole. Although the People's Houses were up and running at the time, the peasanist divisions' visits and the People's Rooms attempts that was planned to develop the rural were unable to come over the intellect-peasant and urban-rural conflict. Hence one of the aims of Village Institutes were (in

[63] Çeçen, A. 1990, p. 234
[64] Tonguç, İ. H. (2019). *Canlandırılacak Köy*. İstanbul: Kültür Yayınları.
[65] *Kuruluşunun 50. Yılında Köy Enstitüleri*. (1990). Ankara: Eğit-Der Yayınları. p. 16

Karaömerlioğlu's terms) "to Turkify the village population."[66] Yet it is important to note that the notion of nationalism was not a strong base of the Village Institutes compared to the People's Houses. Moreover, elementary school teachers who were raised and educated in cities were strangers to the cultures of the rural places that they were assigned to and mostly failed to adapt.[67] This was leading to an education system of poor quality because of the intellect-peasant conflict that the People's Houses were also unsuccessful at prevailing. The builders of Village Institutes thought that villages needed a different education system than in cities, one that is designed according to the needs of the rural everyday life.[68] In order to produce the space of the model rural, villagers had to be educated in related topics so that their everyday life practices can be molded into that of the model villager. Village Institutes were raising educators who will also one day teach other students and villagers like themselves how to produce the proper rural space (in state-vision) while living and producing in the rural. The process of the production of educators was producing institutes as spaces of the model rural. As mentioned in previous chapters, the model rural was aimed to be produced by the model villager who stays, produces, and lives as a proper citizen in line with the state-vision.

Since modern agricultural production was crucial for the model village, the institutes were built on appropriate lands and the curriculum was made accordingly. Due to the second world war which was ongoing at the time, the government spared inadequate budget for the village institutes, hence it was made obligatory (by law) for villagers to find the appropriate land and work at the construction of the institute buildings for at least 20 days.[69] The hard work of villagers at building the institutes in poor conditions were romanticized by many, an example of this from Tonguç is as follows:

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[66] Karaömerlioğlu, A. (1998b). The Village Institutes Experience in Turkey. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (25), pp. 47-73.
[67] Karaömerlioğlu, A. (2009). Köy Enstitüleri. In T. Bora & M. Gültekingil (Eds.), *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce (2) Kemalizm* (pp. 286-293). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
[68] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 2021, p. 88
[69] Tonguç, E. (1970). *Devrim Açısından Köy Enstitüleri ve Tonguç*. İstanbul: Ant.

> All the buildings of the different institutes each accommodating over 1000 students, have been erected by the students themselves. Each institute has been given the form of a planned modern village; the necessary roads and the sewage systems have been built, electricity installed and water brought from great distances. Life in these institutions is free, in keeping with the ideal of democracy. Boys and girls are trained to become the members of a society which loves work through work, links its destiny with work and whose ideal is to create culture.[70]

These obligations were seen by some as exploitation of the rural population's labor-power when compared with the construction of educational centers in cities by the state.[71] Furthermore, this understanding of "creating a society which loves work through work" was embedded not only in the construction stage of the institutes but also in their education style. The "learning by doing" approach was applied to the curriculum. 2/4 of the educational program was made out of cultural studies (like language, math, geography, etc.), ¼ was agricultural studies, and ¼ was technical studies institutes.[72] The practical classes which comprised half of the program were thought through actual work. By way of this, the inadequate budget of the state was overcome, the institutes were producing what they needed with their own labor. Although the focus on practical learning was criticized by the intellectuals at the time for not caring enough about cultural studies, among the Institute people this criticism was opposed by anti-intellectual reasonings like wheat mattered more than reading books at times of the war.[73] The learning by doing approach turned education into a production process which produced not only agricultural products and physical environment of the institute buildings, but also a social production that simultaneously (and strategically) produced the rural as was envisioned by the state. The village institutes were producing the model rural image of the state through teaching villagers the modern agricultural methods by teachers from villages and in villages. It was expected that the graduates would

[70] Tonguç, İ. H. 2019, p. 697
[71] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 2021, pp. 92-93, 97-98
[72] Kuruluşunun 50. Yılında Köy Enstitüleri, 1990, p. 17
[73] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 2021, p. 95

stay in the rural and teach the next generations what they had been thought. "Producing by teaching and teaching by producing"[74] was the strategy of the institutes that expected the students to act as model villagers and become educators on the production of the model rural, hence the productive villager model that would not wish to immigrate to cities was going to continuously be produced.

One of the crucial aspects of the model villager and aims of the state in building the Village Institutes was to keep villagers in villages by increasing the rural's appeal and hence prevail immigration to cities. The government's act of opening the institutes was expecting the rural population to give the respond of staying in villages where they have better education that allows them to improve their agricultural practices (and hence income), developing infrastructure and transformation, and the ability of producing and consuming on their own without needing input from the city intellect or the state. Be that as it may, villages were now more mobile and connected with the current events of the world, there were even some institute graduates immigrating to cities. Hence, the government approached this unexpected result as a threat.[75] Another unexpected turn out of the institutes was the proliferation of a "new type of person" – who were the institute graduates. Raised in a system that was focused on "work" and had the learning by doing method in teaching, these people were critical, self-confident, and a bit too disobedient.[76] Within the single party regime, the government was not fond of this new type of villager. These unexpected outcomes of the government's strategy led to the withering away of the Village Institutes. Just like the People's Houses during the time of the single-party regime, Village Institutes were thought as institutions of the RPP since the party and the state were inseparable. Hence, when the opposing party came into power in 1950, Village Institutes started losing their importance and activeness. Not long after this they were shut down in 1954.[77]

[74] Kuruluşunun 50. Yılında Köy Enstitüleri, 1990, p. 5
[75] Karaömerlioğlu, A. 2009, p. 292
[76] Kuruluşunun 50. Yılında Köy Enstitüleri 1990, p. 376; Karaömerlioğlu, A. 1998b, p. 70
[77] Kuruluşunun 50. Yılında Köy Enstitüleri, p. 29

2.2.3 50th Year Villages

For the 50th year of the republic of Turkey, Afet İnan (a historian and sociologist) offered 50th Year Villages (*Ellinci Yıl Köyleri*) to be built as a legacy of this milestone. As a significant public figure at the time as well as an important scholar, she brought to daylight a master plan of what is called the Ideal Republican Village that was actually drawn in 1937.[78]

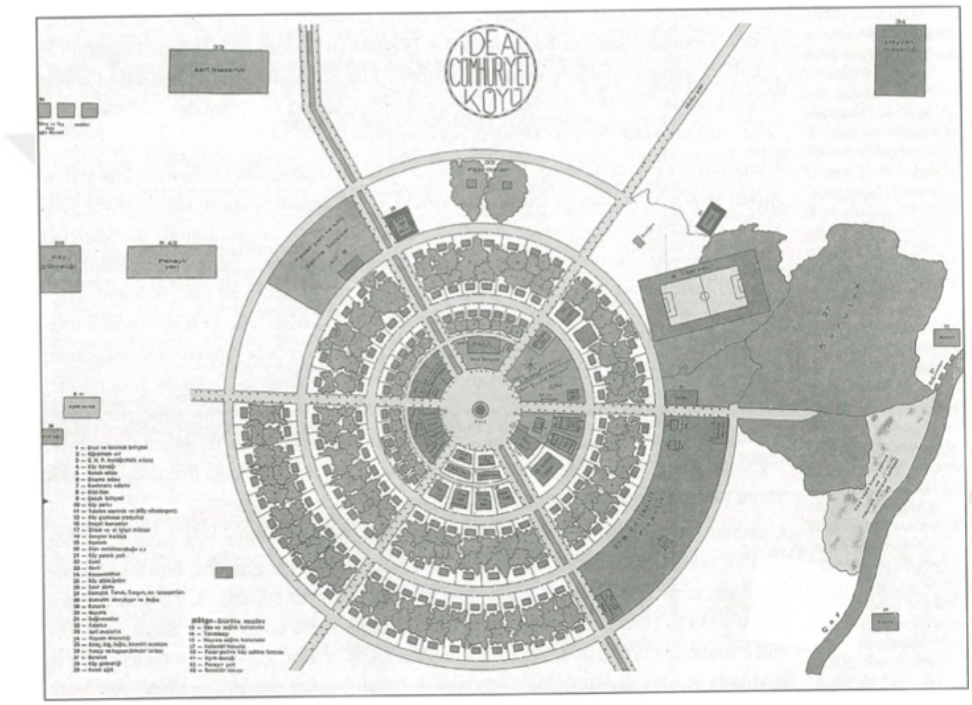


Figure 1: The Ideal Republican Village Plan[79]

At first the drawing was published in the appendix of her book "Devletçilik İlkesi ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Birinci 5 Yıllık Sanayi Planı 1933 (1972)." İnan's placement of a rural master plan in a book on industrialization illustrates her way of thinking etatism as a principle that aims to develop both urban and rural together, not just economically but also socially and culturally as well. Although İnan does not mention the master plan in the main text of the book, later that year

[78] İnan, A. (1978). *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılı İçin Köylerimiz*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi
[79] Retrieved from İnan, A. 1978

in her writing in a newspaper, she suggest that 50th Year Villages should be built in each city inspired by the Ideal Republican Village master plan. She was aware that the circular plan could not had been physically applied as it is drawn to each part of the country. Hence, she suggested that the plan could be adapted according to various physical geographical qualities of different rural areas.[80] For her, the 43 public service institutions that was included in the master plan had to be built in each of these 50th Year Villages and this way they would be setting example to other near villages and inspire them developing in the same direction. The 43 public service institutions in the master plan are; a school with a garden, teacherage, people's room, village inn (*köy konağı*), guest room (*konuk odası*), reading room, conference hall, a hotel, children's garden, a park, a telephone switchboard, village club (*köy gazinosu*), a midwife, person responsible from agriculture (*tarımbaşı*), person responsible from animal health (*hayvan sağlık korucusu*), social institutions, agriculture and craft museum, youth club, *hamam*, disinfector (*etüv makinesi*), village washery (*köy yunak yeri*), mosque, infirmary, cooperatives, shops, sport courts, breeding animal stations, breeding barn, slaughterhouse, dairy, mills, factory, cemetery, animal graveyard, quarries, clover and fodder beet fields, coppice forest, dunghill, *fenni ağıl*, bazaar, vaccination station, *selektör bloğu*.[81]

By way of suggesting merely physical adaptations of the master plan, the production of space would be expected to process in a standardized manner for the entire rural. In other words, accepting the adaptability of the circular and other physical qualities of the architectural plan but keeping the 43 public service institutions the same for each village assumes the model villager (the inhabitant of the model village) to have the same wants and needs to practice the state-desired everyday life. By using these institutions built by the state in the 50th year of the republic, the inhabitants would be producing the model village as much as they include these practices to their everyday life. The continuous use of the 43 services,

[80] İnan, A. (1972, June 7). 50. Yıl Köyleri Kuralım. *Cumhuriyet*.
[81] İnan, A. 1978, p. 60

would honor the legacy of the 50th year and produce the model village and villager simultaneously. İnan describes the model village as a place that valorizes the villager's labor-power and answers all possible needs.[82]

In 1973, The Ministry of Village Affairs published 15 brochures introducing 15 state-made villages in the honor of the 50th year of the republic. This was a replacement project for villages in poor conditions and unable to develop due to their geographical situation. According to the brochures the state built the public buildings like the school, village room, laundry, *hamam*, village square etc. and installed infrastructural services like running water, and electricity. However, although it helped with the planning of residential structures, the state did not build houses for villagers but only provided funding if requested. The brochures emphasize that the new villages were built with "state-help and the people's contribution." Although this project does not fit the 43 public institutions requirement in Afet İnan's suggestion, she still included them in her book[83] and states that the brochures lack enough information on the provided public services. Moreover, even though she suggests that the public should be informed on the development process of these 15 villages over the years, there has not been any news or research regarding this project ever since. Later in this study, I will analyze one of these projects in more detail, providing images from the brochures.

2.2.4 Village Towns (*Köy-Kent*)

In the 3rd Five Year Development Plan covering years of 1973-1977, the government introduced the "Central Village" concept which later transitioned to "Village Towns" in the 4th Five Year Development Plan in 1978. The idea was to create clusters out of several villages that are close to each other physically, assign one of them as the service station for others, and hence allow a coordinated social and economic environment to be produced. Because of the dispersed settlement

[82] İnan, A. 1972, p. 58
[83] İnan, A. 1978, p. 101

plan of the rural in Turkey, the state had a difficult time in providing infrastructural services to villages (like electricity, running water etc.) as well as public services (like health and education), and having proper data and control on the social and physical structure. Moreover, the increasing rate of migration to cities was seen as a result of not only the attractiveness of the urban but even more so of rural repulsiveness.[84] By way of Village Towns' ability to decrease the cost and increase scope of infrastructural and public services provided in rural areas[85] the ongoing migration rate was aimed to be reduced. The project had three stages: first the infrastructural services were to be developed like roads, electricity, water, sewage systems etc.; second step was to provide public services like health and education; the last was to develop the rural economic situation by establishing "village agricultural co-ops that relied on a diverse set of agricultural, agro-industry, forestry products and tourism industries to generate income."[86]

The first successful execution of a Village Town took place in Mesudiye, Ordu in 2000. 9 villages were included in the project, one of them (Çavdar) being the center village. The prime minister (Bülent Ecevit) gave a speech at the opening ceremony, expressing his enthusiasm and the state's support for the project. He said that with this project not merely villages or villagers but the villagers' (labor) power will be united, immigration rate to cites will be decreased, and the opportunities in the city that attract villagers will be offered to them in the rural without having to leave their villages. By way of this, urbanization will be in progress in the rural and lead to a smooth transition from peasantry to cityness (*şehirlilik*).[87]

According to Tütengil,[88] Village Towns was going to increase the process of the rural's integration to national market and lifestyle. Meaning that the nation-state

[84] Keleş, R. (1986). *Hızlı Şehirleşmenin Yarattığı Ekonomik ve Sosyal Sorunlar*. İstanbul: SİSAV
[85] Tütengil C. O. (1999). 1970'lerin Köy-Kent Projesi. In O. Baydar (Ed.), *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere* (pp. 234-237). İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.
[86] Marin, M. C. (2005). A Retrospective View of the Turkish Rural Urban Development Policies and the Case of the Village Towns. *Urban Policy and Reseach* (23), pp: 497-518. p. 506
[87] Kaplan, E. (2000 September 3). Romantik Denilen Hayalim Gerçekleşiyor. *Cumhuriyet*
[88] Tütengil C. O. 1999, p. 235

was lacking a united market and similar level of quality in everyday life practices; hence the urban-rural conflict was aimed to be solved by urbanizing the rural.

> Since 1923, politicians, intellectuals and the military–bureaucratic elite increasingly stressed a common belief that urbanization of the country was not just for the sake of economic development and national unification, but it was also the engine behind the modernization of a backward agrarian society.[89]

Even though by creating Village Towns the state desired to form a standardized whole as was the case in earlier periods of the republic, the motive differs from projects of previous chapters the Village Law, Sample Villages, The People's Houses, Village Institutions, and 50th Year Villages. In those earlier projects, the state was aiming to create the nation-state as a standardized whole by building model villages for inhabitants to be produced as model rural Turkish citizens. However, in the case of Village Towns, there is no model rural citizens for villagers to become by producing the model village; rather there is the model urban dweller whose everyday life practices promote Turkey's process of becoming a developed country. Therefore, the rural must be leveled up to the urban, so that the entire country can keep up with the global economy. The idea of creating the model village of the nation is abandoned, rather villages can only be developed in so far by being urbanized and leaving their ruralness. In the case of Village Towns, urbanization refers to villagers benefiting from public services that hitherto were not accessible in the rural, finding employment in newly opened factories and government offices, and increasing rural-productivity by industrializing agricultural production. This way, villagers will no longer need to migrate to cities to upgrade their lives in socio-economic terms; instead, by inhabiting in the urbanized rural they will be produced as the model urban dweller.

Similar to previous rural projects' failure reasons, the Village Town project was linked with Bülent Ecevit (and his parties RPP and DLP[90]). Hence, when Ecevit

[89] Marin, M. C. 2005, p. 501
[90] Democratic Left Party

was overruled by another party, his programs of urban rural development were not continued to be implemented. Also, the project was lacking the local citizen participation that it needed to be successful. Urbanization of the rural was poor in terms of information about the spatial economic interrelationships in villages. The fact that Ecevit's party had only 3 votes from Mesudiye in the last elections he attended shows the villagers lack of enthusiasm in the project.[91]

[91] Marin, M. C. 2005

CHAPTER 3

A BRIEF HISTORY OF TOKİ

3.1 TOKİ from 1984 to 2001

Around 1950's large cities in Turkey became places of attraction for the rural population. Only in İstanbul the population growth was 4-5% between 1950 and 1995.[92] This migration from rural to urban due to better job opportunities created a considerable peasant population in cities. The elite and the people division phenomena that was taking place since the Ottoman Empire's late periods which created the urban-rural binary was now being occurring in cities. In other words, the spatial and social division, namely urban-rural and the elite-the people, was evolving to another kind of spatial fragmentation in cities. The urban space was being produced by the elite and the people together at the same time, yet in a disjointed manner. The immigrants who could not afford private sector's housing offers were also not provided any accommodation by the state. Hence, they built homes by means and methods of their own in the public lands of urban peripheral areas. These houses built by rural immigrants were called the *gecekondu* and imagined as rural structures invading the city. At the time the state did not point the *gecekondu* as a housing issue, rather it let the immigrants solve the problem by themselves since it did not have the resources to produce social housing.[93]

After the military coup in Turkey in 1980, neoliberal policies accelerated in the new government. Unlike the earlier periods of neoliberalism in which the state shrinks as much as it can to liberate the private sector, at that time the question of whether "the state should or should not intervene the private sector" to "how should the state intervene market." This does not mean that the state was planning

[92] Eşkinat, R. (2012). Türk İnşaat Sektöründe (TOKİ'nin) Yeri ve Etkisi. *DPUJSS* (32)
[93] Ibid.

to replace the market, rather the state had to help the market by building the necessary institutional mechanisms in order for the sector to overcome the over accumulation crisis.[94]

In the light of these developments, namely the housing shortage due to immigration to cities and state intervention to increase capital circulation, the Mass Housing Law was passed by the government in 1984.[95] Following this law at the same year the Mass Housing Fund was built, autonomous from the state budget, aiming to provide affordable credit to contractors, developers, and firms in the construction sector to fulfill the country's need for housing and be able to regulate the market[96]. The first 4 years of the fund was successful that it provided credit to 590 thousand people and collaborated with many cooperatives in starting housing construction projects. Yet in the following years, due to increasing interest rates, the fund could not prosper as before. The Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) was founded in those years in 1990. However, despite their efforts in endorsing the production of affordable housing for the urban poor, both the fund and the administration were inadequate in solving the *gecekondu* problem.[97] The fund's incomes were included to government's general budget in 1993, hence the administration's resources were decreased, causing deceleration in housing production.[98] Eventually in 2001 the Mass Housing Fund was abolished, leaving the administration with only limited grants from the general budget.[99]

[94] Doğru, H. E. (2021). *Çılgın Projelerin Ötesinde: TOKİ, Devlet ve Sermaye*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık.
[95] TOKİ, 2010
[96] Doğru, H. E. 2021, pp. 88-89
[97] Altınok, E. (2012). *Kentsel Mekanın Yeniden Organizasyonunun Ekonomi Politiği ve Mülkiyete Müdahale 2000 Sonrası Dönemde İstanbul TOKİ Örneği*. (Doctoral Dissertation). Yıldız Technical University, İstanbul.
[98] Dolun, L. (2007). *İpoteğe Dayalı Konut Kredisi (Mortgage).* Ankara: Türkiye Kalkınma Bankası Ekonomik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Müdürlüğü.
[99] TOKİ, 2010

3.2 TOKİ since 2003

In the early 2000's TOKİ was reactivated by the new ruling party – Justice and Development Party (hereafter: JDP) – which continued the neoliberal policies in governing the country. The state's more effective interventions to the market led to utilizing TOKİ with greater authorities in order to stimulate the construction sector economically and also regulate it. According to TOKİ's official publications, when JDP came into power there was previously not enough safe and affordable housing in the market, hence the state had to intervene and produce as many dwellings as possible for low-income citizens[100]. Following this reasoning, in 2003 the Emergency Action Plan for Housing and Urban Development was passed setting a five-year goal of 250,000 housing units to be built by the end of 2007. This goal was exceeded by 35,000 units and totaled 285,000 by end of the year[101]. Unlike the Mass Housing Fund which primarily provided credit for housing production, since 2003 TOKİ had become an institution that produces housing, although the actual building is conducted by arranged contractors[102].

In 2003, TOKİ was re-organized as a private company and lands that were belong to the ministry of treasury were transferred to it[103]. The administration was granted with the abilities of establishing construction firms or collaborate with them, conducting housing applications domestically or in abroad through contributors[104], and developing profit aiming projects[105]. TOKİ proudly underlines its collaborative kinship with the private sector. While the firm-like quality of the administration increases practicality and flexibility by avoiding bureaucracy as much as possible,

[100] Bican, N. B. (2020). Public Mass Housing Practices in Turkey: The Urgent Need for Research-Based Spatial Decision-Making. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* (35), pp. 461-479.; TOKİ 2010)
[101] TOKİ. (2011). *Corporate Profile 2010/2011*.
[102] Doğru, H. E. 2021
[103] Altınok, E. 2012, p. 124
[104] Contributors refer to private construction firms contracted by TOKİ. Meaning that TOKİ itself does not actually conduct housing projects, rather delegates other companies to do so (Altınok 2012, p. 140).
[105] Eşkinat, R. 2012, p. 163

being a governmental organ equips it with state-ethic and dignity.[106] Also, by way of attaching directly to the prime minister's office in 2004, TOKİ became a more autonomous institution; however, in 2018 the attachment was re-arranged as to the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change.[107] Generally, TOKİ's aims (as stated in its publications) are to discipline the housing sector by producing dwellings according to a certain model created by alternative and innovative applications; geographically balancing the population distribution; to achieve planned urbanization; and to provide affordable, durable, modern, and good quality housing for low-income citizens.[108] It is emphasized that by not aiming for profit and creating socially rich environments with horizontal architecture that avoids harming the scenes of cities, TOKİ's affordable housing applications are represented as hope for low-income citizens.[109]

According to its own publications, TOKİ earns 90% of its income from housing sales and hence "has a solid and growing financial backbone based on long term receivable debts."[110] Meaning that on the other side of the same coin, TOKİ dweller citizens become long term debt payers. TOKİ overstates that citizens are able to become home-owners by paying instalments similar to their existing practice of paying rent. However, paying instalment to the state differs from paying rent to a landlord in terms of broadening the definition of citizenship. This is because since TOKİ's target audience is low-income citizens, these people are transformed into being long-term reliable customers of the state.[111] Thus, in today's Turkey, the proper citizen model begins to include practices of work for instalment payments. Referring to TOKİ's social housing production method Bican writes as follows:

[106] TOKİ, 2010, p. 10
[107] TOKİ (2019). *TOKİ Corporate Profile Document*.
[108] TOKİ, 2010, p. 9
[109] TOKİ 2019
[110] TOKİ 2010, p. 9
[111] Doğru, H. E. 2021

> The dominating paradigm works to create neoliberal subjects out of individuals to make profit and to formalize informal housing to create new financial values in the market. With this aim in sight, luxury housing replaces informal housing; new housing is provided for the urban poor under the condition that they pay their debts.[112]

Beyond affordability, TOKİ also promotes its motive in constructing new life styles rather than mere buildings. While what is meant by this is "modernizing" the life style of the low-income citizens who inhabit in *gecekondu* areas by providing them with houses in apartment buildings within large scale projects that also include mosques, sport centers, schools, and so on; this transformation also includes economic neoliberal policies affecting everyday life.

3.2.1 Applications of TOKİ in the Urban

Altınok defines TOKİ as a state-apparatus that is a product of the institutionalization of economic neoliberalism. Mostly focusing on cities, TOKİ became a governmental generator of urbanization.[113] Moreover, TOKİ is not only a governmental promoter for the real estate sector, but a state institution with a private budget that has the ability to benefit from government resources. However, the administration presents itself as the state's helping hand that solves the issues which the cities are facing. At the time, cities like İstanbul and Ankara were still significant attraction points for the peasants and their own solution for accommodation, namely the *gecekondu*, was being pointed as a problem that must be solved. The social segregation of the elite and the peasant which the state aimed to solve by modernizing the rural thus far, was now a part of the process of the production of urban space, causing spatial fragmentation in cities. Similar to earlier attempts of the state, it was the peasant side of the duality that must have had been modernized, westernized, and elevated to the model citizen level. Like the modernization of the rural attempts, the state sought solution in transforming the

[112] Bican, N. B. 2020
[113] Altınok, E. 2012

place of the peasant which was envisioned to be leading to a social transformation. The state's strategy was to build places in its own vision and in return, expect the inhabitants to inhabit in line with this imagination. The *gecekondu* was referred as a tumor spreading in cities which had to be cleaned out with an operation; and the dwellers of the *gecekondu* were labelled as squatters who invaded the state's valuable lands.[114]

Thus, TOKİ was the agent of this cleaning operation which had two aspects in association. First, the ruralization of cities[115] caused by rural immigration was being decelerated aiming social and spatial homogenization and also through displacement of the *gecekondu* dwellers the construction sector was flourished and regulated by state-hand. The betterment of the *gecekondu* was seen only in its demolition, and the transformation of the rural immigrant to the proper citizen model was for them to move into modernly built TOKİ houses. However, the diminished gecekondu areas were now, with the growing of cities, close to city centers that were peripheries in the 1950s. Meaning that *gecekondu* areas had high rent potential and must had been utilized for large revenue sharing projects.[116] This is why the state started an urban transformation rhetoric that foresaw increase in real estate values in the city.[117] Nonetheless, TOKİ's projects for *gecekondu* dwellers were placed in the current peripheral areas. Hence, although TOKİ inhabitants now reside in apartment buildings with better infrastructure, they are displaced from the city center and pay instalments to the state for houses they did not choose. By way of this displacement, the state through TOKİ's large scale of authorities gains the ability to decide which lands in the city will be sold to which firms and what will be constructed. Meaning that TOKİ itself becomes a large firm

[114] Erman, T. (2016). *"Mış Gibi Site" Ankara'da Bir TOKİ-Gecekondu Dönüşüm Sitesi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık.
[115] Baydar Nalbantoğlu, G. (1997). Silent Interruptions: Urban Encounters with Rural Turkey. In S. Bozdoğan & R. Kasaba (Eds.). *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Seattle; London: University of Washington Press.
[116] Bican, N. B. 2020
[117] Karaman, O. (2008). Urban Pulse – (Re)Making Space for Globalization in İstanbul. *Urban Geography* (29:6), pp. 518-525.

that has the ability to freely use state resources,[118] making it an effective organ on urbanization of the neoliberal government of Turkey.

Thus, by way of displacing *gecekondu* dwellers, the state hit two birds with one stone. One is profit oriented, meaning that by clearing out *gecekondus* from central lands with high rent potential, TOKİ gains control over these large plots. Be that as it may, although this neoliberal strategy seems to be state's method of obtaining capital and authority on the real estate market, spatial transformation inevitably leads to shifts in social dynamics in the city. Therefore, the second bird is the indirect social effect of profit aiming strategies. By way of rendering *gecekondus* as illegal settlements, the *gecekondu* dweller is alienated from the state-made proper citizen model. Hence, urban transformation is legitimized: if the *gecekondu* is illegal then it must be demolished and its dwellers should be provided with appropriate houses as the state sees fit. However, since the stone hitting two birds is in fact aiming for the first bird which focuses on profit, the second bird that said to be lead to social change turns out to be poorly planned and have undesired results in most cases. This means that transformation of the rural immigrant a.k.a. the *gecekondu* dweller to the proper citizen model is an indirect result of neoliberal policies. Thus, it becomes a molded process of expected and unexpected reactive actions of TOKİ inhabitants to state's neoliberal strategies. There are many researches on the conditions of the displaced after their homes are demolished that observes their molded actions in the place of the strategy.

According to Erman, this project of moving the gecekondu dweller to TOKİ houses results in the creation of a new type of individual that is "the neoliberal subject" who is focused on paying the flat's instalments and under the responsibility of this debt.[119] She reaches to this conclusion through her research on Karacaören – TOKİ Housing Estate in Ankara by examining the changing (or unchanging) everyday life practices of inhabitants. First of all, Karacaören TOKİ apartment blocks take

[118] Eşkinat, R. 2012
[119] Erman, T. 2016, p. 310

place in peripheral land, making transportation to the city center difficult for its dwellers. Although there are public buildings like school, mosque, supermarket around the area – built by TOKİ – traveling to the city regularly is crucial for employed inhabitants. Erman also criticizes the lack of socially necessary use value of the apartment blocks. After all, *gecekondus* were single family houses with open spaces like terraces and gardens; unlike apartment flats that are vertically placed.[120] Hence the radical architectural change in inhabitants' dwellings put them in a difficult position, forcing them to adapt to the planned use values of the TOKİ houses. According to Erman, this situation may be caused by conscious decisions of TOKİ or due to its focus on producing quantitively big amounts of housing in the shortest amount of time possible. Whatever the reason might be, TOKİ inhabitants have to make do with what is imposed upon them. While inhabitants' adaptation to the new environment is inevitable, some old everyday life practices are resistantly still applied by way of adapting the apartment blocks. Inhabitants are able to create tactics that allow them to practice in line with their own needs, wants, and desires. While it is impossible to clearly distinguish strategic and tactical actions since they constantly affect each other, tactics acquire resistant quality against the strategically imposed order. In Erman's study, inhabitants seem to be behaving both in line and against the envisioned way of life.

The definition of citizenship is broadened by way of including neoliberal subjectivity to it. The displaced *gecekondu* dwellers are aimed to be transformed into the proper citizen model, meaning that they need to leave their rural behaviors behind and also pay instalments to the state regularly. However, within the strategically planned space of TOKİ, inhabitants still find ways of continuing their "non-proper" behaviors.

[120] After receiving harsh critiques, TOKİ decided to follow a horizontal architectural approach in its housing projects (TOKİ 2019)

CHAPTER 4

APPLICATIONS OF TOKİ IN THE RURAL

4.1 Agricultural Village Projects

By 2021 distribution of Turkey's population was more than reversed compared to the beginning of the republic; while the rural was home for %80 of the country in the early 1920's, it decreased to approximately %7 today.[121] According to TOKİ, from the 1980's until now %18 of the population moved to cities and this migration is the root cause of TOKİ conducted projects in the urban.[122] While as stated earlier TOKİ's housing projects in cities focuses on low-income citizens who inhabit mostly in *gecekondu* areas, the displacement process of these dwellers from central districts to peripheries brought TOKİ's profit oriented aims to daylight. By claiming the *gecekondu* as an illegal settlement type, TOKİ did not only legitimized the displacement but also imposed a state-designed spatial order to its inhabitants. *Gecekondu* dwellers' adaptation to this order was planned to be the process of decelerating the ruralization of the urban. However, the former *gecekondu* dwellers formed a new life by leaving some old behaviors behind and still resistantly continuing some by creating tactics in the place of the strategy. The space of TOKİ houses started to be produced as a process molded by the tangled practices of its inhabitants.

In order to decelerate migration to cities, TOKİ's Agricultural Village projects aim to increase rural-attractiveness. By providing modern alternatives for people who have no other option than moving to the city in order to have a better life, the rural is planned to be urbanized. While in cities TOKİ projects are aiming to stop the

[121] https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Adrese-Dayali-Nufus-Kayit-Sistemi-Sonuclari-2021-45500
[122] TOKİ 2010, p. 66

ruralization of the urban, similarly, in villages its goal is the urbanization of the rural. As written in the earlier chapters of this thesis, villages have always been treated as places that needed to be transformed to fit the state's vision of the model rural. The idea was that villages had to be developed so that villagers could stay, produce, and live as proper citizens in the rural. TOKİ's vision is not dissimilar than its ancestors, yet its methods seem to differ. The Agricultural Village projects' aims are stated as: developing means of livelihood in villages, increasing agricultural productivity, creating productive villagers, developing rural vernacular architecture, inhabitation of the people in their existing places, improved housing conditions, and avoid immigration to cities.[123] In order to pursue these goals that are similar to earlier state-made rural projects, TOKİ seems to settle with merely modern looking houses and public spaces like parks and sport courts, lacking any effort in developing agricultural industry.[124] When the conducted projects are examined it is apparent that they are but the rural version of the apartment blocks constructed in cities. However, while the TOKİ housing projects in cities include a displacement process where the inhabitants are forced to move to peripheries since their original houses are demolished and the central lands with high rent potential are utilized for large revenue sharing projects, this is not exactly the case in the rural. First of all, the Agricultural Villages are either built after destructive natural disasters or by demand. Hence, villagers are not forced to sell their homes to the government and move to the new TOKİ houses if they do not desire. Second, these projects take place either in the original location of the destructed village or a state-land nearby. Meaning that the differentiation of peripheral and central lands in the rural is not as distinct as it is in cities where TOKİ inhabitants find it difficult to travel to city center for their jobs. TOKİ does not buy the parcels of the original village houses to utilize them for profit, rather it collects instalment payments from villagers in return for the new houses. Therefore, it can be said that profit-oriented

[123] https://www.toki.gov.tr/tarimkoyler

[124] Sugözü, İ. H. (2019). Kırsal Kentsel Nüfus, Türkiye'de Kırdan Kente Göç ve Cumhuriyetten Günümüze Göçü Önlemeye Yönelik Yaklaşımlar ve Uygulamalar. *Uluslararası İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Kongresi Tam Metin Kitabı*, pp. 62-71. Elazığ: Asos Yayınevi.

actions of TOKİ do not apply to the rural the same way they do to cities. This reflects to production rates, the Agricultural Villages only form %0,76[125] of all TOKİ projects.[126]



Figure 2: "TOKİ did not forget the rural population"[127]

Although not profit oriented, since the Agricultural Village projects too are a product of the neoliberal government, their social effects are not distant from those in cities. Villagers are made TOKİ house owners by paying instalments, meaning that they become customer-citizens of the state. The definition of the model rural citizen starts to include customership and begins to blend with the neoliberal subject profile. Moreover, the state's spatial practices open a field of actions that is strategically planned to be in line with its goals of creating the model villager. Thus, Agricultural Village projects are not mere houses for a safer and modern built environment; for the state's social goals to be achieved there is, in fact, an envisioned lifestyle designed for the villagers; a space that is produced/identified in order to be consumed/actualized in accordance with the pre-designated proper order. Therefore, through the government's actions, the villagers are expected to willingly act as proper citizens. In the next sections which include qualitive

[125] 46 projects in 2022
[126] TOKİ 2019
[127] https://www.emlakjet.com/haber/haber/toki-kirsal-kesimi-unutmadi-1

research on Agricultural Villages, it will be seen that these projects are socially being produced by their inhabitants' contradicting and colliding reactive actions to the state strategy.

4.2 Comparing the State's Spatial Interventions to the Rural

Throughout this thesis, rural projects in the Ottoman Empire's last period, Sample Villages, People's Houses, Village Institutes, 50th Year Villages, Village Towns, and TOKİ's Agricultural Villages have been discussed. In this section I will present concrete cases to express their similar and differing aspects. Down below I will mostly refer to physical qualities of the projects and explain how these spaces have been used and transformed over the years.

The Empire applied a grid plan for the new villages. An example is "İkizce Köyü" in Ankara in which the grid plan is still visible today.

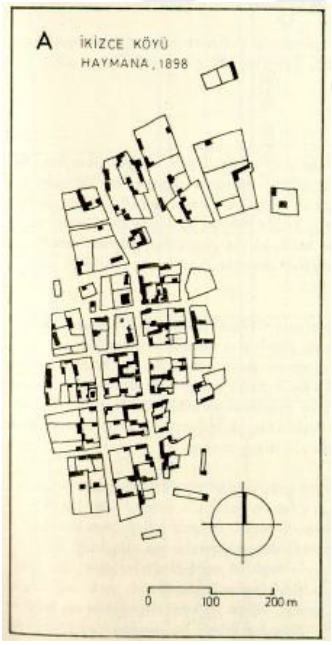


Figure 3:İkizce Village master plan[128]

[128] Aktüre, 1978:105. Retrieved from Eres, 2008

However, villages that were built by the immigrants themselves by their own means were dispersed settlements. They applied their traditional construction knowledge to the new geography.

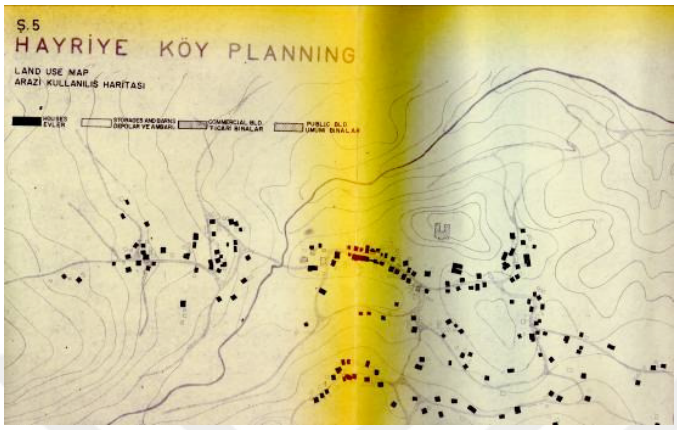


Figure 4: A dispersed settlement plan example in 1877[129]

Yet even in those settlements, the palace helped building the mosque. This was because the central mosque at villages represented the sultan's presence as the leader of the Empire. Because the immigration settlements were a big financial burden for the Empire at the time, the villages were handed over to immigrants with governmental ceremonies to show to the people the Empire's endeavors for its citizens. Thus, while the state made villages had grid plans, the immigrants followed rather an organic approach. Nonetheless, albeit the state ordered the constructions to follow a certain guideline, because of the financial situation at the time, the immigrants were asked to work – as patriotic citizens – at the building of their new homes.[130] As a result of this period, it became easy to notice the different architectural qualities of new villages from old ones, new villages according to where villagers immigrated from, and new state-built villages.

Sample villages were built for several reasons; to apply the Village Law, solve accommodation problem of the Turkish-muslim immigrants, and to prove the new nation-state's ability to provide for all its citizens (not only for the elite urban

[129] Retrieved from Eres, 2008
[130] Eres, Z. 2008, pp. 54-56

population). Even though these immigrants had Turkish roots, they were strangers to the land within the new borders of the republic. Hence, by way of placing them in sample villages, they were not only going to be provided housing, but also going to transform into proper citizens of the new nation-state by inhabiting in the model rural. The state was building sample villages in line with its envisioned conceived space, namely the Village Law, and in return expect them to be used accordingly; so that the users (in this case the immigrants) would become proper rural citizens. The 69 sample villages[131] built with varying budgets and in several different regions were places of this strategy.

Similar to the state-made villages in the Ottoman Empire era, these too had grid plans. Those which were nearer to large cities like the capital Ankara were built with higher budgets, hence with better infrastructural opportunities (like being adjacent to train stations) and higher numbers of public and residential buildings.

Even though grid plan is a crucial common aspect of all these state-made villages, residential buildings vary in terms of materiality, number of floors, spatial organization, etc. due to the state's flexible approach.

[131] Çetin, T. 1999, p. 234

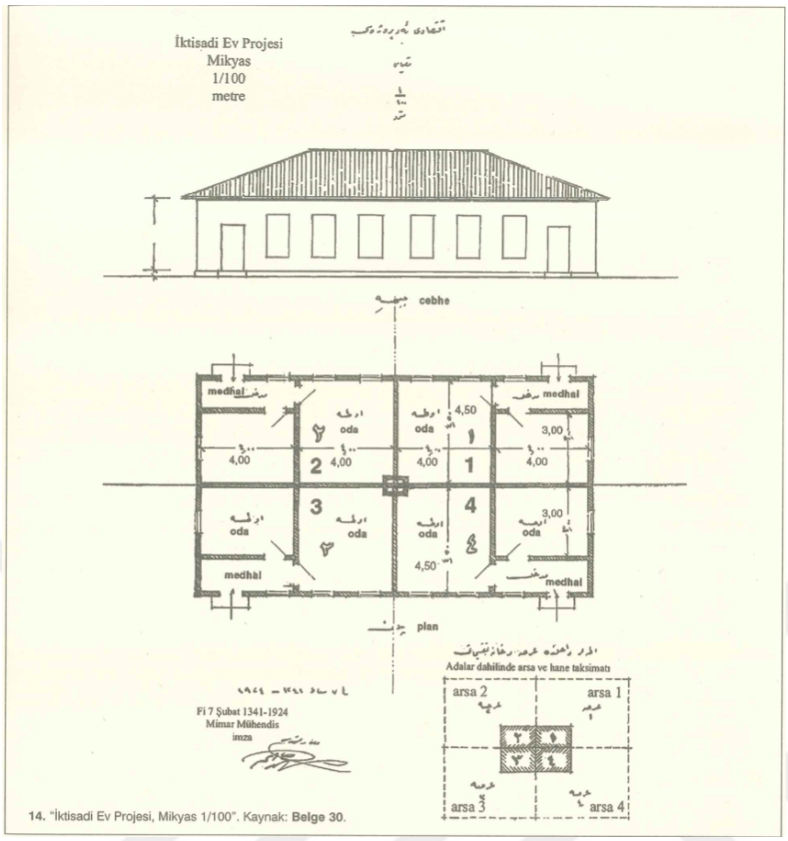


Figure 5: Architectural drawings of an "*İktisadi Ev*"[132]

Variations not only emerge from different geographical aspects of villages' locations, but also from the involvement of inhabitants to the building process who immigrated from various lands that were used to take place within the Ottoman Empire's borders.[133] While according to Cengizkan, benefiting from the immigrants' labor in building of the new villages was a common practice at the time, in some villages with higher budgets structures were built without prior field research and inhabitant participation.[134] Criticizing this non-participatory practice, Ziya claims that the model villager should be an individual that is self-sustained instead of one that is unaware of the surrounding built environment's qualities. This is because, according to him, if the government undertakes all the

[132] Retrieved from Cengizkan, A. 2004
[133] Cengizkan, A. 2004, pp. 62-63
[134] Ziya, A. 1935

responsibility of building model villages, the model villager then would expect to receive maintenance and additional housing for the next generations from the state. He aims for a villager model that is self-sustained and not a burden on the state's shoulders.

Furthermore, scholars who observed unexpected realization of use values of the sample villages consider it as a failure of the state.[135] In other words, if villagers are put in a position that they need to create tactics, this would mean that these tactical practices depart from the everyday life manual that the state designed when equipping use values of the model villages. Since the state's strategy was to create the model villager by way of them realizing the pre-determined use values of space, any tactical detachment from this vision would danger the expected result. Hence, tactics are seen as departures from the state-vision; as steps taken away from the road that leads to being the model villager. In an article where Ziya shares a memory from the time he was visiting a sample village he asks questions to a villager man to find out if he is pleased with the new village. The man says that he sure is pleased with it, since he is an immigrant without a village, home, or anything; hence he is happy that these things are provided for them. Then Ziya asks again the same question, pursuing to hear an honest answer. The man then answers with concrete examples: the cooker is too high and in their agricultural work conditions the feet is where it feels the coldest. The cooker should have had been low enough for them to raise their feet after work to heat up. Also, it is built to burn with coal, whereas these villagers use only turd as fuel. Moreover, the stables are too small for large animals that they breed and so are the gardens for harvesting vegetables. Ziya replies: "but you the common agricultural field for that." The man replies, concluding the dialogue, saying that common field for them is no way to practice agriculture.[136]

[135] Örmecioğlu 2003; Sayar 1936; Ziya 1935

[136] Ziya, A. (1933 August). Köy Mimarisi: Cumhuriyette Köy Yapımı. *Ülkü* pp. 333-336

The People's Houses were places of educative activities where citizens could socialize. Since at the time one-party system was underway, the ruling party, the RPP, was aiming to strengthen the people's bond with the state (and hence the government) by way of producing spaces for the entire population to leave their differences behind and gather only as citizens. The government desired the country to be united as a nation like a "granite mass" and building the People's Houses was one of its method.[137] This mass was going to be composed of model citizens producing the national space of the country through their "proper" everyday life practices. the People's Houses was meant to educate people on this state-designated proper and transform them into model citizens. Therefore, architecturally the People's Houses should have presented the state and give the sensation of unity, security, and nationality.[138] The rural version of the People's Houses was the People's Rooms, which started to be built from 1939 to the time the RPP was electorally overruled by the oppositional party in 1950. Although smaller in size both physically and systematically, the People's Rooms were not different then the People's Houses ideologically. The aim was to transform villagers to the model citizen, so that the model rural space can be produced through the proper conduct of their everyday life practices. These building were built by the RPP at village centers and represented the state's presence in rural areas.

[137] Peker, R. 1933
[138] Gurallar, N. 2003, p. 138

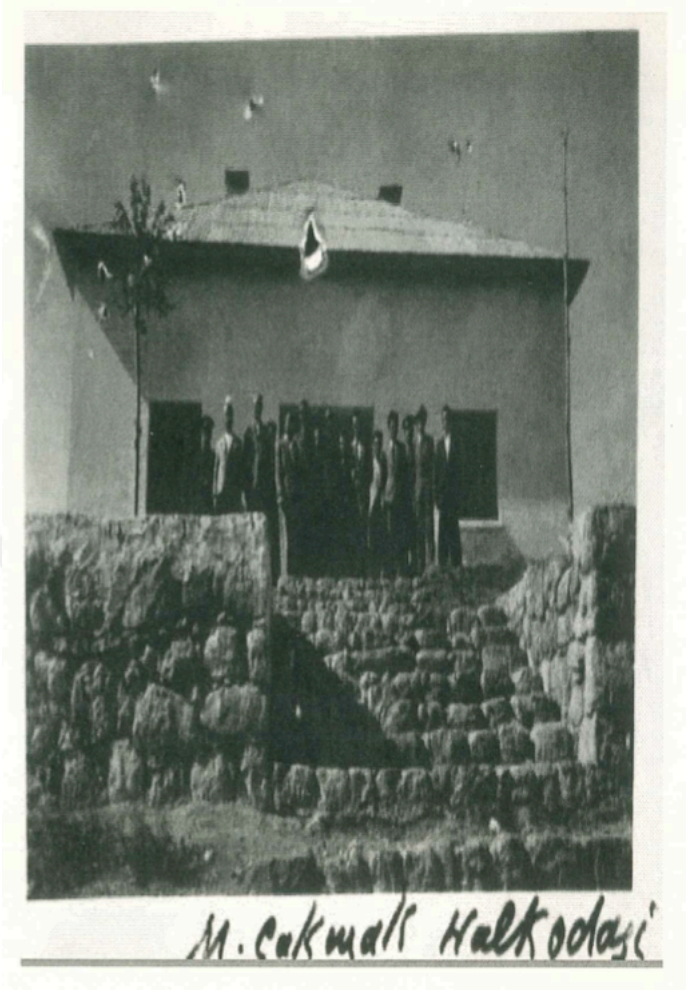


Figure 6: A People's Room photograph[139]

When the oppositional party came into power, the People's Houses and Rooms were shut down due to their organic bond with the RPP. They were financially depended on the state (and/or the RPP), but after 1950 the new government did not support them since their ideals differed and the RPP could not provide any funding when not in the ruling position.[140] This process illuminates the top-down approach of the People's Houses and Rooms. When the state did not provide funding for them, there was not any other actor from the people to support them in any way.

[139] Retrieved from Sertel, S. 2019
[140] Çeçen, A. 1990

There is no data on what happened to the People's Rooms buildings after they were shut down.

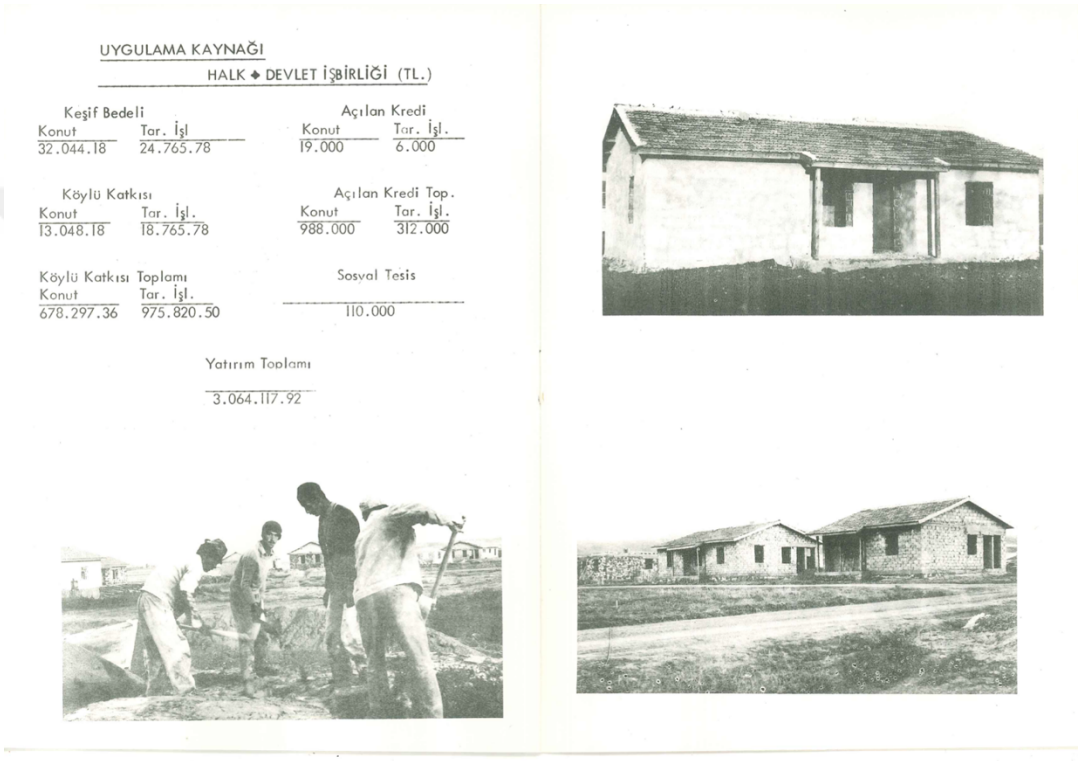
The Village Institutes were also educative places built by the RPP, yet they differed significantly from the People's Houses and Rooms. The institutes focused on the young villagers' education rather than adults, they took place in villages where educators and students both lived, since rural-focused they had a learning by doing approach which was useful on agricultural and technical education. Although their aim was to create model villagers who was educated on modern agricultural practices, hence productive in terms of land use, had no need to immigrate to cities for job opportunities, and contribute to the country's economy while staying in the rural; the institutes were not equipped with a top-down approach as was the People's Rooms. In fact, the law required villagers to find the appropriate land and work at the construction of the institute buildings for at least 20 days.[141]

Since the students and teachers were responsible for the maintenance of the buildings and the surrounding environment, the institutes were built with participation of villagers and hence embraced by them. Thus, even though they were too shut down by the oppositional party in 1954 like the People's Houses and Rooms, the graduates made the institute's legacy memorable for the next generations.

In order to honor the 50th year of the republic, in 1973 the Ministry of Village Affairs built 15 villages throughout the country. As written in the brochures published by the secretary, these villages were in poor condition and relocating them was thought to be more convenient than helping them to develop in place. The brochures' layout is the same in each of them, only small details in villages' data differ. Hence, analyzing only one of the 15 state-made villages will give an outline of the whole project. *Aşağı İhsan Gazili Köyü* was stated as in not in the condition of potential development and lacking adequate infrastructure. Although the village's main sources of income are animal husbandry and viticulture, being

[141] Tonguç, E. 1970, p. 210, 233

located far from farm lands was found inconvenient as written in the brochure. By relocating the village adjacency to fertile farm lands and better infrastructure is provided by the state. Also, the brochure illustrates that by the new type of residential settlements, agricultural operation buildings, and social facilities the villager's wish to have a better life and development is fulfilled.



UYGULAMA KAYNAĞI

HALK ✦ DEVLET İŞBİRLİĞİ (TL.)

Keşif Bedeli	
Konut	Tar. İşl
32.044.18	24.765.78

Açılan Kredi	
Konut	Tar. İşl.
19.000	6.000

Köylü Katkısı	
Konut	Tar. İşl.
13.048.18	18.765.78

Açılan Kredi Top.	
Konut	Tar. İşl.
988.000	312.000

Köylü Katkısı Toplamı	
Konut	Tar. İşl.
678.297.36	975.820.50

Sosyal Tesis

110.000

Yatırım Toplamı

3.064.117.92

Figure 7: A page from the brochure

The project was promoted to be conducted with "state-help and the people's contribution." Meaning that although the master planning and conducting the public buildings were undertaken by the state, for individual residential and agricultural structures state-funding was provided. It is stated that all planning is based on prior field research.



Figure 8: Old Master Plan Image from the brochure



Figure 9: The village in current online maps

Similar to previous state-made projects, grid plan is applied in *Aşağı İhsan Gazili Köyü* as well. At the time the village's population was 455, whereas now it declined to 65 people.[142] Although any later research on how the village continued

[142] https://www.nufusune.com/35371-kirikkale-delice-asagiihsangazili-koy-nufusu

to be produced by its inhabitants has not been conducted, the grid plan is still visible in current maps.

Village Town project aimed to create clusters out of several adjacent villages, assign one of them as the service station for others, and hence allow a coordinated social and economic environment to be produced. This way it was going to be easier for the government to provide infrastructural and public services to the rural. The most known example of the Village Town project is in Mesudiye, Ordu; the center village being Çavdarlı and 8 other villages connected to it. Beyond physical connections between the villages, they were thought as a co-working mechanism for economic development.[143] Unlike other state-made villages, Village Town projects aim to develop villages in place rather than building from scratch. After infrastructural construction was completed, the next stage was to build public service buildings like schools, library, health center, and so on. Since there has not been any data found on the residential settlements being built in the project, it is assumed that villagers' existing houses are kept being used and the project did not focus on housing. Economic development in the rural through agricultural industrialization was one of the main aims of the Village Town project, hence a lumber mill factory was built in Mesudiye. After the oppositional party came into power, the project was abandoned by the state and the villagers as well.

In 2007, after a heavy snow fall, the factory's roof was collapsed and could not have been fixed since then. According to the news report, villagers are now in debt due to the unpaid funding credits and expect support from the government. Even in the most recent news, the Village Town is still mentioned as Ecevit's dream project; tightly linking the failed project to a single politician. Although at the beginning villagers' participation was crucial to the project's production, similar to

[143] Başa, Ş. et. al. (2009). Türkiye'de Kırsal Kalkınma Politikalarının Yönetsel Boyutu: Köy-Kent Örneği. *11. Ulusal Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi*, ODTÜ, 9-11 Aralık 2009, Türkiye Sosyal Bilimler Derneği, Ankara, s: 98-99.

previous state-made rural interventions, when the ruling party lost its position, the envisioned projects went away with it.

Even though TOKİ's Agricultural Village projects started soon after the Village Town in Mesudiye, the two are significantly different in practice. While by way of Agricultural Village projects TOKİ aims similar goals with earlier state-made villages; mainly the urbanization of villages to increase rural-attractiveness so that inhabitants could be transformed into proper rural citizens who stays and produces in the rural without desiring to immigrate to cities. Be that as it may, these projects lack any effort in developing agricultural industry and infrastructure.[144] According to the existing research in the literature, the city of Erzincan houses most of the Agricultural Village projects, 8 of 46.[145]



Figure 10: An Agricultural Village in Erzincan, Üzümlü[146]

The applications in Erzincan mostly consist of single or double storied houses sitting on approximately 500 square meters land each. TOKİ claims that the

[144] Sugözü, İ. H. 2019
[145] https://www.toki.gov.tr/proje-tipine-gore-uygulamalar#15
[146] https://www.toki.gov.tr/proje-gorselleri/Erzincan%20%C3%9Cz%C3%BCml%C3%BC

projects to be fitting to village's vernacular architecture and its seasonal qualities. However, although most of the Agricultural Villages in Erzincan are made by demand (which should be consist of at least 50 people), according to Koca and Karadeniz[147] the project's qualities fail to correspond to the villagers' needs. This is because most of the requests to TOKİ was made by people who do not in fact inhabit in the villages but in the city. Rather than being used for the people they were actually built for – the villagers – the TOKİ houses are being demanded and bought by people who do not live in the village any longer but inhabit in Erzincan's city center. The city inhabitants who are overwhelmed by the chaotic life in the city have always found the country life as an appealing escape and capitalist developers did not hesitate seeing this as an opportunity for profit. Country sides that are especially near the shores are mostly privatized and the spatial experience of these places is turned into a consumerism activity for profit. However, TOKİ's rural projects seem to offer an opportunity to people who are either skeptical on spending their money on the commoditized country side places or people who cannot afford it. TOKİ offers payment plans with long instalments that eases the process of paying and also, projects are built into sites that the tourism industry would not valorize. Therefore, instead of the villagers whom the houses were intended to be inhabited by, they end up mostly being preferred as a secondary house by the city dwellers. Thus, the TOKİ houses in these areas are used seasonally (mostly as summer houses) to escape the distressing daily life of the city and be closer to nature. Although people actually practice gardening in the houses' yards, the produces are mostly only for themselves and not for the market to be exchanged. This means that TOKİ's aim to increase agricultural production in villages and reach to the national or even international trade level is far from being achieved.

Ironically, the reason of the Agricultural Village project's failure at achieving its goals is the understandable behavior of the neoliberal subject who dwells in the

[147] Koca, H. & Karadeniz, V. (2014). Erzincan Ovasında TOKİ Uygulamaları ve Kentleşme Üzerindeki Etkileri. *Doğu Coğrafya Dergisi* (31), pp. 101-128.

city. Governing one's life as a business, today, is to aim an ever-increasing human capital and private ownership (owning a summer house for example) is an important part of this road to prestige. Thus, while one of the goals of TOKİ in its rural projects was to make the villagers home owners, it ended up responding to the city dwellers' neoliberal subjectivity behaviors.

Furthermore, one of the most important problems of Agricultural Villages is that they take place in sites that are in fact valuable for agriculture. By turning these agricultural sites into residential zones, although the houses include gardens, TOKİ causes irreversible damage in villages that acquire fertile land.[148] While this situation damages agricultural production in the rural rather than enhancing it, TOKİ also does not indicate any plans on what will be done with the villagers' original houses that they were supposed to leave for the new houses.

In the next section, I will analyze Yukarıköy which contains an Agricultural Village project consisting of 166 residential buildings. Unlike the projects mentioned above, Yukarıköy TOKİ Houses[149] were built after several destructive earthquakes which took place in the area in 2017. While most of the original houses in the village are ruined since then, I will focus on how the new TOKİ houses are being used by the villagers. The details of the everyday life practices in the TOKİ houses will prevail the continuous process of the production of space in Yukarıköy.

[148] Koca, H. & Karadeniz, V. 2014

[149] Thought my field visits to Yukarıköy, I discovered that the Agircultural Village Project there is usually called TOKİ Evleri (TOKİ houses) or Deprem Evleri (Earthquake Houses) by the locals.

4.3 The Case of Yukarıköy



Figure 11: Yukarıköy. Photograph taken by the author.

Yörüks are nomadian groups of people living in Anatolia. Between 1842 and 1864, they were forced to settle by law during the Ottoman Empire. This was probably due to difficulties in collecting taxes from nomad folks. During this time until 1873, more than 200 *yörük* villages were built in Çanakkale around Mount Ida. Yukarıköy at the time was one of the neighborhoods of a village named Çamkalabak. Since then, until 1950 villagers in Yukarıköy still kept their nomadian habits, travelling seasonally according to animal husbandry's requirements. In 1950, Yukarıköy was officially recognized as a village on its own and began to leave nomadian practices.



Figure 12: Yukarıköy. Photograph taken by the author.

The village has three neighborhoods, an elementary school running since 1961, and an increasing population in number. Although the increase rate is decelerating nowadays, Yukarıköy's population has always been growing according to TÜİK. Unlike other rural areas which face outgoing migration as mentioned in previous chapters, according to an earlier research the young population of Yukarıköy did not desire to move to cities.[150] Whereas in my field visit, I came across several young people willing to go to universities and their families seemed to support this idea. Be that as it may, it is important to note that the desire of migrating to cities is limited to teenagers who wish to get a higher education. This means that unlike villagers mentioned earlier who were moving to cities for better job opportunities due to the poor conditions in their villages, the adult population of Yukarıköy has no intention of migrating to the urban for a wider selection of employment.

[150] Çalışkan, V. & Kahraman, S. (2012). Kültürel Coğrafya Açısından Bir Saha Araştırması: Yukarıköy. *Kazdağları: 3. Ulusal Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Balıkesir.

The villagers acquire livelihood from animal husbandry, agriculture, and carpet weaving business. Agriculture is practiced on a near land named Tuzla Plain; while some villagers own private parcels, some work daily on others' fields. While *imece* (collective work) may be in practice some of the time, common ownership method does not apply to Yukarıköy just like villages mentioned in previous chapters.[151] Also, stables for animals (mostly sheep) are near, yet take place in another area as separate structures then residential settlements. Hence, the Village Law matter that orders at least one wall to stand between stables and houses is redundant in case of Yukarıköy.

Significant financial income is not acquired from carpet weaving, it is mostly practiced for *çeyiz* (trousseau). There is usually one private room separated only to store the trousseau including carpets and the like. The carpet weaving looms take place inside the house, and usually practiced in groups of three. While both men and women work in agriculture and animal husbandry, only women are involved in carpet weaving.

[151] İmece refers to for instance person A working on person B's land and then together they work on A's land and so on. However, sharing the harvest is not practiced.



Figure 13: Interior of a traditional house in Yukarıköy. Photograph taken by the author.

It is observed that carpet weaving is a form of socializing among women. By way of this, private homes' level of publicness is stretched. In other words, through carpet weaving women produce their homes as semi-public spaces. This is mostly practiced outside of the harvest season, when women do not go to the Tuzla Plain for work.

The houses are mostly single storied with a surrounding fenced yard for small animals like chicken, a stone oven, and an outdoors toilet.



Figure 14: Exterior of a traditional house in Yukarıköy. Photograph taken by the author.



Figure 15: An outdoors bathroom. Photograph taken by the author.



Figure 16: An outdoors stone oven. Photograph taken by the author.

Since settled life came after nomadian practices, the houses are planned similar to a tent layout. Meaning that there exists one large room with an open kitchen. In more recent houses however, the large rooms is in the position of the foyer, kitchen and other private rooms are attached to it. Yet, even in the recent versions, heating is provided via stoves (*soba*) and they are mostly put in only one or two private rooms. In most houses there exists a stone oven on the outside, a modern cooker and a traditional cooker that burns with wooden fire in the kitchen. The villagers claim that the food tastes better when cooked with actual fire, rather than the electrical one. The outdoor stone oven is mostly used to cook bread. I noticed that all those ovens survived the earthquake even the houses they belonged to could not.

Beyond the sincere nature of the relationships between women, the reason they mostly gather at home is because Yukarıköy does not offer many public spaces for them to socialize. *Köy Kahvesi* (The Village Coffeehouse) is a men only space and there are not any other shops in the village. While most villagers travel to city centers on certain days for shopping, there are also salesman coming to the village with their trucks to sell food, clothing, and the like. I was told that whenever a salesman arrives, women immediately go out; not only for shopping but they use

this as a means of socialization. Hence, the area surrounding the salesman's truck temporarily becomes a social space for women.[152]



Figure 17: Interior of a traditional house. Photograph taken by the author.



Figure 18: Kitchen of a traditional house. Photograph taken by the author.

[152] I was told that men usually go to near towns and cities for shopping and do not have much interest for the salesman trucks.

The houses are mostly built with masonry walls, using local materials like stones. It is stated that these structures are mostly built by uneducated contractors.[153] Although in recent years some two storied houses were built with reinforced concrete. In the 2017 earthquake, while most of the traditional houses were demolished, the ones which had less significant or no damage were the more recent concrete structures. The 2017 earthquake incident will be examined in a detailed manner in the next section.

4.3.1 The Earthquakes in 2017

In 2017, between 6th and 12th of February, several earthquakes occurred in Yukarıköy, effecting also the surrounding villages and towns. Most structures which were built with masonry walls and by contractors whom lack technical construction training could not survive the tremors (intensities ranging from 5.0 to 5.3). Although the recent concrete houses had less or no impairments, most buildings in the village (not only houses but also the village mosque) were reported as severely damaged (that is %69).[154] There were no deaths, yet one person was severely hurt. Immediately after the earthquake, AFAD reached the area, providing food, blankets, and tents for the victims.

[153] Özden, S. et. al. (2017). *6-12 Şubat Çanakkale-Ayvacık Depremleri Yapısal Hasar Gözlemleri ve Afetten Etkilenen Yöre Halkı İçin Yapılacak Kalıcı Konutlar Üzerine Değerlendirmeler*. Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi.

[154] Parsa, A. R. & Kuruşcu, A. O. (2019). Şubat 2017 Ayvacık Depreminin Yukarıköy Üzerinde Oluşturduğu Hasarlar. *Megaron* (3), pp. 331-344.



Figure 19: AFAD's tent town[155]

After accommodating in the tents for 2 days, the villagers were moved to containers[156] to inhabit there until the promised permanent housing project was to be completed. My first field visit to Yukarıköy was after 3 years from the earthquake and although villagers still spoke of the incident as a horrifying memory, they were grateful to the government for taking well care of them at such a difficult time. In that same visit in 2020, I discovered that there were still people living there even after the permanent housing project was finished. This was because some of these people did not want to move in to the TOKİ houses, some gave their earthquake house to their children, and some could not obtain a house because their original home was not in the severely damaged category. Although I will talk about the housing project in more detail in the next section, the containers seemed adequately convenient especially for the elder population in Yukarıköy.

[155] https://140journos.com/%C3%A7anakale-ayvac%C4%B1kta-2-g%C3%BCnde-40-sars%C4%B1nt%C4%B1-oldu-abd7be081d5e Last reached at 21.04.2022

[156] It is quite ironic that in an interview taken soon after the earthquake, one of the villagers mentioned the state-provided containers as *gecekondu*, saying that they were sleeping in tents but that night they will be staying in *gecekondus*. Link to the interview: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=67BqnwYxvX8 Last reached at 21.04.2022



Figure 20: AFAD’s containers, 2020. Photograph taken by the author.

However, in my latest field visit in 2022, most of the containers were taken back from the village by the government. Meaning that villagers who were still inhabiting there had to find new places to live. Those whose homes were not severely damaged repaired the structures by their own means without state-support, some built new houses also by themselves in their old house’s land, some moved to their children’s home, and some even built a new one room house for themselves in their child’s TOKİ house’s yard. In the example below, the new house is built right next to the old one which is now being used as storage.



Figure 21: A new house built next to the old and damaged one, 2022. Photograph taken by the author.

Furthermore, since the village mosque and the elementary school buildings were damaged in the incident, they too had container replacements. Villagers informed me that both buildings will be permanently rebuilt by TOKİ soon, yet they did not know how long exactly was this “soon.”



Figure 22: The village mosque, 2022. Photograph taken by the author.

4.3.2 The TOKİ Earthquake Houses

The housing project in Yukarıköy is listed both under the Agricultural Village and the Post-Disaster Housing categories in TOKİ's official web site. It is stated that 116 of the houses belong to the former and 10 to the latter section; being 126 in total.[157] Although under different categories, the same plan was applied for each plot. TOKİ also conducted similar projects to near villages which were also affected by the earthquake, yet the highest number of houses were built in Yukarıköy as the center of the incident and the one that was damaged the most. The payment plan is designed to ease the process, after the first two years of acquiring the houses, the installment of fees begin and last for 18 years. Meaning that the total amount is to be paid in 20 years total. Within this process, by paying

[157] https://www.toki.gov.tr/proje-tipine-gore-uygulamalar Last reached at 21.04.2022

installments to TOKİ in return of the new earthquake houses, the villagers begin to become customers of the state.

The villagers were partially included in the decision-making process for the project. They were asked whether they would like to live in apartment blocks or single storied houses, they preferred the latter; saying that they are not used to live in multiple storied vertical buildings. While the state's aim of declining the rate of immigration to cities from the rural was not achieved in the case of Erzincan – because demand based Agricultural Village projects are mostly inhabited by city dwellers as their secondary homes – in the case of Yukarıköy it can be said that the villagers whom did not already desire to migrate to the urban now have "modern-looking," state-designed houses with better infrastructure. It is important to note that not all villagers whose homes were severely damaged moved to the TOKİ houses, rather they purchased the residence in order to give it to their child who soon will be wed. Some elderly people did start to inhabit in the new homes because either their children already have sufficient houses or they have none. Be that as it may, most of the TOKİ earthquake houses in Yukarıköy are being inhabited by either newly-wed couples or families with young children.

Furthermore, albeit giving the new houses to their children, the villagers whose original homes are severely damaged are not allowed to repair them and keep living there. This is because all houses with severe damage were demolished by the state and only those with severely damaged homes had the right to purchase a new house from TOKİ. Hence, acquiring a new earthquake house from TOKİ automatically means the destruction of one's initial home to be entirely demolished. This is why, as mentioned earlier, the elder population preferred to keep living in the containers until they were taken away by AFAD. As a result, some of these people had to build a new house in the demolished home's land or move in with their children. This means that the original houses' lands were not bought from the villagers as was the case in *gecekondus*, since these lands are not fit to be valorized as the ones in city centers. However, there are several cases in which the demolished houses' stones are sold as raw material by the villagers.

Also, some villagers sell their initial house's land to people outside from the village. There is one solid example of this where the demolished house's land is sold to someone from İstanbul and the former owner now inhabits in one of the TOKİ houses. The new owner of the land built a new stone house and uses it as a summer house.



Figure 23: The house of an incoming immigrant, 2022. Photograph taken by the author.

Being adjacent to vacation spots like Assos in Çanakkale, Yukarıköy has potential of receiving incoming immigrants. Although there are only a few examples of city dwellers moving in Yukarıköy, in other villages of Çanakkale it is a common practice. Hence, with the increasing number of lands for sale, a parallel increase in the rate of city dwellers migrating to the village is possible.

4.3.2.1 Perceived Space

According to Lefebvre, perceived space refers to the physicality of space, to the way space is perceived through human senses. This part of the triad approaches space as a physical product, as if produced in a factory. Hence, it must be equipped with use value and be expressed in the market as exchange value. Designing space with certain use values means that it is expected to be used in those ways by inhabitants. Hence, TOKİ's aims (which are developing means of livelihood in villages, increasing agricultural productivity, creating productive villagers, developing rural vernacular architecture, inhabitation of the people in their existing places, improved housing conditions, and avoid immigration to cities) are planned to be achieved through the actualization of use values designed by itself. The state's strategy here is building spaces with certain use values that when realized by inhabitants through their everyday life practices they become state-desired citizens.

TOKİ applied a grid plan to Yukarıköy, similar to its other projects and earlier state-made village examples. The houses have 3 bedrooms, 1 living room, 1 kitchen, 2 bathrooms, 2 balconies, and a garden.

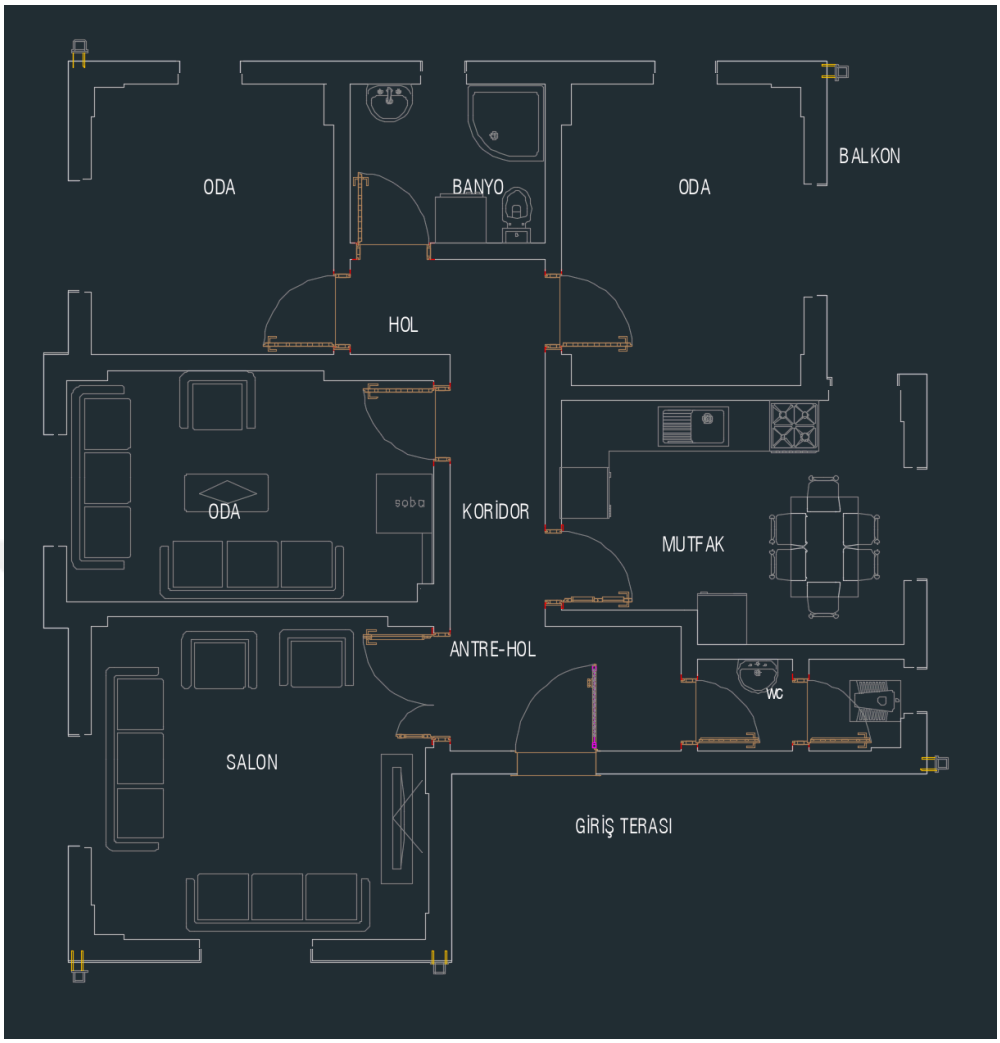


Figure 24: Floor plan of the TOKİ houses.

The houses are detached from each other unlike TOKİ's mostly used apartment blocks system and made from reinforce concrete which makes the structures more durable in case of an earthquake, yet different than the village's original houses built with local materials like stone. The project was built on state-land that is not far from the village center, inhabitants can easily walk the distance. Hence, access to Tuzla Plain (the agricultural work place for Yukarıköy) and to animals' barns did not become a problem when moved to the new houses, as was the case for the *gecekondu* dwellers.



Figure 25: The village's top view from an online map.

The gardens surrounding the houses are similar to those in sample villages' plans in the early republican era. As mentioned in the 4.2 chapter in more detail, these gardens are too small in size for villagers to grow vegetables and hence contribute to agricultural production. Yet, in the case of sample villages, the state planned common agricultural fields for serious production even though the villagers did not seek or wish to practice agriculture commonly. However, in the case of Yukarıköy, since agricultural work is practiced in the Tuzla Plain near the village, the villagers did not grow vegetables to acquire income in their original homes' gardens either. The gardens were mostly for chicken stables, stone ovens, growing fruits and

vegetables but only for self-use, hanging out the laundry, and the like. The TOKİ houses' gardens are used similarly, yet the actual use of the earthquake houses will be explained in detail in later sections.

There exists one chimney in the houses that can connect to a heating stove (*soba*). Although in the original village homes there was a large foyer, the heating was mostly provided in one bedroom only where every inhabitant slept during winter time. Hence, the absence of a large foyer in the TOKİ houses did not cause a change in the heating system for the inhabitants.

The single storied houses that sit on a grid plan are similar to previous state-made rural projects in terms of the master planning of the settlements, yet since the individual gardens are not being used for agriculture, the TOKİ Agricultural Village projects seem to lack any effort in agricultural industrialization which was the focus point in the case of the Village Town.

4.3.2.2 Conceived Space

In Lefebvrian terms conceived space refers to representations of space. While these representations can consist of technical drawings, photographs, posters, etc., conceived space can also indicate to a larger meaning that resides in people's imaginations. This imagination is affected how perceived space is being represented to people. In the case of Yukarıköy, before the housing project's construction was finished, it started being represented to the villagers not long after the earthquake. The permanent housing project found its first representations in the government's caring words to the villagers, saying that the state will provide them with what they need.



Figure 26: The opening ceremony[158]

The project was opened with a ceremony attended by several government officials. Before that the village received visitors like the governor and the prime minister which did not omit their gratitude to the state and to emphasize the effectiveness of the proper qualitative work of TOKİ. The emphasis on the houses being single storied was addressed several times in order to prove that the modern village was not without socially necessary use value. This means that the project was already being conceived in the villagers' imaginations as a state-made model village appropriate to Yukarıköy. The earthquake houses' image as a product of the caring government led to the villagers' feeling of appreciation and gratitude. In all my field visits, the inhabitants expressed their thankfulness to the state. This means that the appreciative image of the TOKİ houses built by political rhetoric and media's effects, in return turns the villagers into thankful citizens. In other words, the inhabitants are expected to act back as citizens aiming to be worthy of the state that supposedly cares and provides for them. While this worthiness has in fact a concrete equivalent which is the installment payments, it can also find form during election time as votes. Nevertheless, it may also affect (in a rather intangible

[158] https://www.emlaktasondakika.com/guncel/ayvacik-yukarikoy-deprem-konutlari-teslim-edildi-138581.html

manner) everyday life behaviors of the villagers which will be discussed in the next section.



Figure 27: "Houses to envy"[159]

Furthermore, since one of TOKİ's aims is to decelerate the immigration rates to cities from rural areas, the conceived space of the Agricultural Village that "seeks to offer the populations of small, rural towns a modern alternative to the continued depopulation of these areas"[160] is being built. Yet, the lack of promotion and publicity of these projects – unlike the 50th Year Villages' brochures published by the ministry – displays the state's lowered expectation in achieving this goal.

The conceived space in the case of this thesis also refers to the state's desired rural image aiming to be achieved so that through the proper actualization of use values that perceived space is equipped with the model rural citizen can be created. Conceived space includes the model rural that produces the model villager and at the same time is produced by it. However, to what degree does this image find tangibility in reality will be explored in the next section.

[159] https://www.emlaktasondakika.com/toki-emlak-konut-gyo/toki-ayvacik-ta-205-deprem-konutunun-kurasini-cekti-138074.html
[160] TOKİ 2011 p. 51

4.3.2.3 Lived Space

Thus far, the perceived and conceived components of Lefebvre's triad has been explained as the state's methods of creating the model rural. While in its physicality space is produced with certain use values that through the process of realization the user will start becoming the model citizen, also the properness of the manners of use was being conceived by the state via representations of space in order to demonstrate what it expects the rural to become. When use values are actualized properly and fit into the desired image, this process will be the lived space which is the third element of the spatial triad. If the production of space is approached as a series of actions, when the perceived and conceived parts appear as actions mostly of the state, the lived space is the acting back of inhabitants. While this acting back can occur as conceived via proper realization of use values, inhabitants can also find ways of detaching from the pre-planned road of inhabiting in the state-made places.

While according to de Certau, these places are a result of the state's strategy which expects inhabitants to act back as conceived, he also introduces tactics as actions which do not follow the pre-designated map of use values. They occur within and against the strategic place. The production of space process includes both strategies and tactics as intermingled elements. In other words, inhabitants make do with the state-designed order that is imposed upon them. Their everyday life practices are composed of actions that are in line with the state's conceived space and also against it. These colliding and contradictory actions are not clear cut, but exist in a blended way in the state's strategically planned places, (via tactics) making them spaces of difference.

In this study, the lived component of space is a tool to understand how the villagers fit or do not fit to the state's conceived image by inhabiting in the TOKİ earthquake houses. Similar to Tahire Erman's study on the gecekondu dwellers who inhabit in TOKİ's urban projects, this thesis aims to qualitatively present how the housing project transformed the everyday life in Yukarıköy. Adaptation is reciprocal in the

village; while some pre-designated use values change the villagers' old habits, in some cases the TOKİ houses are adapted to traditional daily practices. This process of adaptation of the villagers to the houses and vice-versa is composed of the state's strategic and the villagers' tactical actions. Be that as it may, in the complexity of the everyday life, the actions are blended together. Since tactics emerge from the place of the strategy, affection between them is inevitable. Meaning that while the conceived image of the state cannot be achieved exactly as planned due to emerging tactics, also the villagers' tactical actions cannot entirely change the strategic place without being affected by it.

As mentioned earlier, the TOKİ houses are mostly inhabited by either newly-weds and families with young children in Yukarıköy. Since the outgoing migration rate in the village is fairly low, people think that their child who soon will marry should live in the state-made modern house rather than themselves. As a solution most of the elderly population either built a new house in their original house's land after giving the new TOKİ house to their child or kept living in AFAD's containers. This became a problem after AFAD collected the containers back from the village. Some had to build new houses for their parents who were now homeless again, some took them into their new TOKİ house, and some found a solution in between the two. In the example below, there is a one-bedroom structure that sits on a TOKİ house's yard.



Figure 28: An extra one-room house built in the yard. Photograph taken by the author.

This solution does not only stretch the garden's pre-designed use values, but also solves the accommodation problem of a TOKİ inhabitant's parent.



Figure 29: The kitchen area. Photograph taken by the author.



Figure 30: The bedroom. Photograph taken by the author.



Figure 31: The inhabitant of the house. Photograph taken by the author.

As seen in the photographs above, the house is similar to the village's older traditional structures that resembles a tent layout, except in this case there is a separational wall between the kitchen and the main living room. AFAD's mattress is also noticeable for still being in use. When asked, the inhabitant of this house said that she was happy living in the container but also thankful to her children for

taking her in. At the time she was making threads out of wool to use in carpet weaving.

The gardens are also used to grow vegetables and fruits. While one of TOKİ's aims is to develop agriculture in villages, these gardens surrounding the houses are thought to be too small for large agricultural projects. Rather, the inhabitants prefer to plant fruit trees and some vegetables like onions, lettuce, etc. for personal use.



Figure 32: A fenced garden. Photograph taken by the author.

In order to keep animals like sheep away from the gardens, they are all surrounded with fences made with different materials. While some inhabitants prefer see through materials like thin metal fences, some prefer bricks, concrete, iron, etc.



Figure 33: A garden surrounded with a brick wall and the stone oven. Photograph taken by the author.

The surrounded gardens are made similar to the original village houses' gardens by adding use values. Another example is building stone ovens to these yards to cook bread and other sorts of pastry.



Figure 34: An outdoors stone oven. Photograph taken by the author.

Also, similar to the old houses' yards, the villagers built outdoor toilets, even though there exist two bathrooms in the TOKİ houses' plans.



Figure 35: An outdoors toilet. Photograph taken by the author.

Inhabitants say that out of habit they mostly use the outdoor toilets. Yet even if they did not, as they say, an outdoor toilet still would be necessary in case of a public event like weddings.

Also, the traditional cookers that took place inside kitchens in the original homes are now built into the garden. Except in one case the cooker is built into the second balcony. This shows that the inhabitants do not want to change their habit of using wooden fire to cook their meals even if there is an electrical stove in the kitchen. Besides the example below, other back balconies are mostly used for storage and most inhabitants say that it is in fact unnecessary and the houses would be better without it.



Figure 36: A traditional cooker in the back balcony. Photograph taken by the author.



Figure 37: Chickens in the yard. Photograph taken by the author.

By way of these additional structures; one-bedroom houses, stone ovens, garden-walls, toilets, and chicken stables, cookers etc, use values of gardens are stretched and adapted to the village's everyday life practices. Furthermore, the porch like balconies at the front side of the houses are being used as carpet weaving workshop area by the women.



Figure 38: A front balcony or porch. Photograph taken by the author.



Figure 39: A carpet weaving workshop area. Photograph taken by the author.

By covering the two open sides of the porch, the women protect themselves from the heavy winds in the area. Although, because it still gets cold during winter time,

covering with thicker materials and electrical heating helps keeping warm while working.



Figure 40: A carpet weaving workshop area with an electrical heater. Photograph taken by the author.



Figure 41: A surrounded porch. Photograph taken by the author.

Most women state that the reason they choose to set their workshop to the porch, rather than a room on the inside as was the case in the original homes, is because it keeps the dust and messiness away from the interior. Furthermore, as stated earlier, carpet weaving is a socializing activity among women and making the workshop room inside the house a semi-public space. Hence, this activity being practiced in the porch takes out an already semi-public activity to outdoors, thus being outdoors the borders of home makes it fit to the semi-publicness definition. In this manner, a reciprocal adaptation in present; meaning that while the villagers adapted the porch to their traditional practice of carpet weaving, the houses' planning also changed this habit by taking it to outdoors and enhancing the experience.

While carpet weaving and the traditional cooker that used to be on the indoors now take place outside the houses, the trousseau is still preserved in one of the bedrooms as was in the original homes.



Figure 42: A trousseau room. Photograph taken by the author.

Since the houses have 3 bedrooms with a chimney connected to only one, when it is winter time all the inhabitants in the same home still need to sleep in the same place where the heating stove (*soba*) is set. Although, there are some cases where the villagers started using radiators. In that case all rooms are available for use each season. While there are not any homes in the village center with radiators connected, this practice has been increasing in the TOKİ houses. This is not

because the new houses are structurally more fit to the, in fact I was told that it was difficult to build in this system. However, the housing project's expression as being modern pushes the villagers to think that these sorts of developments that make their lives easier can be applied to the new houses.

To sum up, the lived space of Yukarıköy is compiled of tactical actions of villagers that are affected yet at the same time detach from the strategically designed place. Although the villagers are thankful to the state for granting them with these new and modern houses, by way of tactical practices they produce Yukarıköy as a space of difference.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis, I analyzed the state's spatial interventions to rural areas in Turkey to thoroughly comprehend the production of space process in Yukarıköy in the aftermath of the 2017 earthquake. When Judith Butler's understanding that defends the idea of human beings not having any sort of essence is taken as a basis for the study, spatial interventions can be seen as a means of transforming people to state desired subjects. As an architectural object, spaces are built with pre-designated use values by its builders. Yet, since according to Lefebvre space is a social product and not merely a physical one, then the process of actualization of these use values also produce space as an always becoming process. This means that if use values are actualized properly, then this process will constitute the everyday life of inhabitants as desired by the state. However, there are cracks in this process where inhabitants actualize the pre-planned use values in unplanned ways. While with the imposed use values of space people inevitably adapt to their new environment, they also find tactics in order to continue some of their old habits by transforming the use values around them. Hence, they are both affected by the imposed order and at the same time they transform these pre-designed use values to make use of them in line with their desires. The aim of this thesis was to understand how this process of the production of space takes place in planned and also unplanned manners.

The historical approach taken was to express the state's transforming desired model rural citizen. Creating the model citizen was important for the newly built Republic of Turkey at the time of transitioning from a multi-national empire to a national-state. Since most of the population was inhabiting in dispersed rural settlements at the time, reaching out to these areas to let them know about the republic and later transform them into model citizens was the aim of the new nation state when

introducing the Village Law, building Sample Villages, the People's Houses and Rooms, the Village Institutes, and the 50th Year Villages. Building model villages to transform people into model citizens was also going to draw the image of the new nation state as a caring and successful government. However, starting from the Village Town project, we start to see that this goal of transforming villagers into model citizens begins to adapt to neoliberal policies. Although it is true that even at the beginning of the republic developing villages always sought to modernize agriculture in order to increase productivity and contribute to advancing the country's economic situation, the state's adaptation to neoliberalism shifts the logic behind the mode of spatial production. Especially with TOKİ's Agricultural Village projects, the model of the rural citizen begins to include neoliberal qualities. The projects begin to be limited with merely housing and a few social spaces like parks and mosques, whereas in earlier projects of the state social, educational, and agricultural developments were designed in a rather more coherent manner. In TOKİ's model, the inhabitant is responsible of paying the credit instalments and the planning of earning enough income is also depended on the subject since the Agricultural Village projects do not include any use values in that manner. By way of this citizens are not only turned into customers of the state, but also developments on agricultural are left to them. As neoliberal subjects villagers are expected to advance their agricultural businesses on their own in the free market and pay the installments on time.

Furthermore, unlike TOKİ's urban projects in which *gecekondu* dwellers are displaced from central areas to peripheries so that the government can utilize city centers in profit-oriented manners, in Yukarıköy although the original houses with severe damage are demolished by the state, the lands still belong to the villagers. Following this, there are several instances where the new TOKİ inhabitants sell their original homes' lands to people coming from cities. This is because many of the surrounding villages of Yukarıköy already had received large numbers of immigrants from cities, some seasonally and some permanently. The real estate prices going increasingly high led these incomers to look at housing in other non-

touristic villages like Yukarıköy and since the original lands of the new TOKİ-dweller villagers have become available in the market, the village began to receive immigrants as well. Thus, by way of these developments we can talk about an upcoming touristic flourishing in Yukarıköy which would require further research in time.

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