



From Patronage to Commodification: The Urban Policies of the True Path Party in The Neoliberal Era¹

Patronajdan Metalaştırmaya: Neoliberal Dönemde Doğru Yol Partisi'nin Kente Dair Politikaları

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Çalışmada, Türkiye'de 1980'li yıllarda berraklaşan neoliberal hegemonya inşa mücadelesinde merkez sağın kente dair politikaları, Doğru Yol Partisi (DYP) merkeze alınarak incelenmiştir. Böylece neoliberal süreçte partinin kent politikalarında yaşanan değişimin ortaya çıkarılması amaçlanmaktadır. Belirtilen amaca ulaşabilmek için çalışmada tarihsel karşılaştırmalı araştırma yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Partinin kuruluşundan Demirel'in cumhurbaşkanlığına kadar olan dönem ile Çiller'in parti genel başkanı olduğu dönemin karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmesinin, neoliberal bakış açısına bağlı olarak Partinin toprak politikalarında iki dönem arasında yaşanan kopuklukları, ikilemleri ve süreklilikleri ortaya koyabileceği düşünülmektedir. Partinin Demirel'in cumhurbaşkanlığına kadar geçen süreçte kente dair söylemlerinde, ANAP'ın uygulamaya koyduğu metalaştırma sürecinden çok, Adalet Partisi döneminde bolca hayata geçirilen patronaja dayalı popülist politikaları ön plana çıkardığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Çiller döneminde ise DYP'nin kente dair politikaları piyasalaştırmaya dayalı sermaye birikimi ile el ele gitmiş ve Özal dönemine benzer bir şekilde kente dair metalaştırılmamış mekanların istismarı üzerine kurulmuştur. Ancak Özal uyguladığı politikalarla kentsel rant paylaşımında uzun bir süre hem kent yoksullarının hem de sermayenin rızasını kazanabilmişken, Çiller hayata geçirdiği yeni mülk ve imar düzenlemeleri ile kent arazisi üzerinde rekabet eden bu iki çıkar grubu arasındaki dengeyi sağlayamamıştır. Böylelikle Çiller partiyi Demirel'in refah politikalarına bolca atf yapan söyleminden kopartmış ve bu durum ülkenin dönüşen sosyal yapısında önemi gittikçe artan kent yoksullarının desteğinin yeni siyasal akımlara doğru kaymasına neden olmuştur. Nitekim parti, seçmen tabanı içerisinde en çok kentli seçmenin desteğini kaybetmiş, 1999 yerel seçimlerinde hiçbir büyükşehir belediyesini kazanamamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Doğru Yol Partisi, Kent Politikaları, Tansu Çiller, Süleyman Demirel, Gecekondu

ABSTRACT

In the study, the urban policies of the centre-right in the struggle to establish neoliberal hegemony in Turkey, which became clear in the 1980s, were examined by focusing on the True Path Party (TPP). Thus, it is aimed to reveal the change in the urban policies of the Party in the neoliberal process. In order to achieve the stated purpose, a historical comparative research method was used in the study. It is thought that a comparative examination of the period from the establishment of the Party to Demirel's Presidency and the period when Çiller was Chairman of the Party can reveal the discontinuities, dilemmas and continuities experienced between the two periods in the Party's land policies, depending on the neoliberal perspective. It has been concluded that in the Party's discourses about the city in the period until Demirel's Presidency, it highlighted the patronage-based populist policies that were widely implemented during the Justice Party period, rather than the commodification process implemented by Motherland Party. During the Çiller period, TPP's urban policies went hand in hand with capital accumulation based on marketization and were based on the exploitation of non-commodified urban spaces, similar to

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the Özal period. However, while Özal was able to gain the consent of both the urban poor and the capital for a long time in sharing urban rent with the policies he implemented, Çiller could not achieve the balance between these two interest groups competing on urban land with the new property and zoning regulations she implemented. Thus, Çiller broke the Party away from Demirel's discourse, which made abundant references to welfare policies, and this caused the support of the urban poor, whose importance was increasingly increasing in the transforming social structure of the country, to shift towards new political movements. As a matter of fact, the Party lost the support of the most urban voters among its voter base and could not win any metropolitan municipality in the 1999 local elections.

Keywords: True Path Party, Urban Policies, Tansu Çiller, Süleyman Demirel, Squatter

INTRODUCTION:

With the dissolution of the land, in the last quarter of the twentieth century in Turkey, the urban population was increasing, and a significant number of people were transitioning from agricultural producer status to consumer status. While only 32% of the population lived in cities in 1960, this rate increased to 59% by 1990. Especially between 1980 and 1990, the growth rate of the urban population reached 70% (Gülalp, 2003, pp.53-54). Undoubtedly, government policies and adaptation programs that enabled the marginalization of rural areas and the transfer of resources from villages to cities played an important role in this process (Yeldan,1995, pp.38-39). Thus, the increasing urban population opened up new areas for parties to manage the masses in Turkish political life and required parties to develop new political repertoires regarding the city in terms of generating consent (Özbay et al., 2016, pp.3-8).

As a matter of fact, the centre-right in Turkey was quite adept at integrating urban voters into its own political project, with both its populist discourses and its "service"-oriented approach to politics. Despite its widespread peasant image, the Justice Party was a mass party that was able to find support from all segments of society and collect a significant number of votes from the cities (Demirel, 2017, p. 84). The True Path Party, on the other hand, was founded in 1983 on the thesis that it was the main heir of the Justice Party. In this context, the study will examine the urban policies of the centre-right, specifically the True Path Party (TPP), during the struggle to establish neoliberal hegemony in Turkey, which became evident in the 1980s. Thus, it is aimed to reveal what kind of change took place in the Party's urban policies in the neoliberal process. In order to achieve the stated purpose, the study was planned to be guided by the historical comparative research method. It is thought that a comparative examination of the period from the establishment of the Party to Demirel's Presidency and the period when Çiller was the Party Chairman can reveal the discontinuities, dilemmas and continuities experienced between the two periods in the Party's urban policies.

True Path Party in the Period Until Demirel's Presidency: Welfare Based on Patronage and the Urban Policies

In this period, the first striking mechanisms of consent production for the city were the squatter houses. Because squatter houses emerged as a non-market and non-state solution during the migration process that started in the 1950s and continued towards industrialized city centers. In an environment where the right to housing could not be resolved publicly, they spread rapidly as a way of meeting the housing needs of low-income members of society, albeit illegally. In the 1960s, 59% of the population of Ankara, 45% of Istanbul and 33% of Izmir lived in squatter houses. In the 1980s, this rate was 55%, 70% and 50% respectively (Buğra, 2000, pp.106). Undoubtedly, governments had a significant share in this remarkable increase. In particular, squatter amnesties, which were frequently accepted by governments, encouraged this spread, and thus the governments were relieved of the obligation to provide social housing to these newly urbanized segments. More importantly, protecting squatters from destruction and providing basic infrastructure services were the most effective ways to seek the votes of the people living in them (Çavuşoğlu ve Strutz, 2018, pp.203-204; Di Giovanni, 2017, pp.108-110).

In this regard, by the 1980s, squatters now represented the reinvented non-commodity reserve at the focus of rent relations (Karahanoğulları, 2019, p.452). In other words, the building where low-income segments lived in adverse conditions was now one of the city's most popular vehicles with commercial potential. Considering that 23.6% of the total urban population lived in squatters in 1970 and 26.1% in 1980, the size of the market could be better understood (Keleş, 2000, p.386). As a matter of fact, the military regime and the Motherland Government established immediately afterwards were paving the way to turn this potential into action with the amnesty laws no. 2805 and 2981. With the aforementioned laws, squatters built on public property until 1981 were forgiven and title deeds were provided to the squatters based on symbolic fees (Keleş, 2015, pp.89-90).

With the Motherland government allowing the renovation of existing squatters and their conversion into multi-storey apartments,³ the squatters, which had already gained a legal status, were becoming increasingly commercialized and private companies began to take part in the construction of the buildings. The squatter, which until then had only met the housing demand of low-income people, was now turning into a commodity that would meet the housing needs of the middle class. This situation was also leading to dramatic increases in the savings of squatter dwellers. The squatter dweller, who could not build a four-storey building on her/his own, became a partner with the contractor through a sales contract in return for flats. The rent that emerged in some regions was such that it could even put the decline in wages during the Motherland government into the background (Boratav, 1990, p.224). In this way, the government could gain the consent of the 'urban poor', the losers of neoliberalism, by ensuring that the subaltern classes benefit from urban rents, as Boratav describes as 'corrupt populism' (Akça, 2011, pp.29-30). Because the squatter dwellers could add a few more floors to their buildings and with the income they earned from this, they could more than compensate for the prosperity they lost due to being unemployed. Squatters were becoming a source of wealth, income and security. On the other hand, the profitable housing sector created paved the way for capital, as well as squatter dwellers, to be integrated into Motherland's hegemony Project (Buğra ve Keyder, 2006, p.221; Çavuşoğlu ve Strutz, 2018, pp.204-205).

As a matter of fact, another important consent production mechanism of the Motherland government regarding the city, in addition to the squatter, was the active involvement of the state in the housing business during this period. In particular, the Housing Development Administration, which was established in 1984, provided high loans to large construction companies rather than to the urban poor, with its Housing Development Fund. This situation led influential businesspeople and large companies to turn to the construction sector. Indeed, in an environment where increases in inflation deterred investments, most of the growth in private investments between 1983 and 1987 was due to housing investments, which developed at a rate of 24.5% (Conway, 1990, pp.82-85; Boratav ve Yeldan, 2001, p.6). While the share of housing investments in total private sector investments was 29.5% in the 1981-83 period, this rate increased to 46.2% in the 1984-88 period (Karahanoğulları, 2019, p.452). The central government's granting of a wide area of autonomy to municipalities, including powers regarding urban development areas, played an important role in this (Celasun, 1990, p.52). Thus, especially in places such as Istanbul, where real estate rent is high, municipalities were commoditizing urban environments that had not previously been opened for construction, preventing the invasion of squatters in these areas, and on the other hand, enabling private capital to obtain important sources of income from these construction activities (Buğra, 2000, pp.116-118).

Another mechanism used by the government to transfer resources to the construction sector was the urban transformation program initiated by the then Mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

³ "Between 1984 and 1988, Prime Minister Özal and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Bedrettin Dalan enacted six amnesty laws that gave the city's illegal residential areas a legal status. In addition, they increased the legal floor limit in these settlements, allowing buildings with one or two floors to be allowed up to four floors" (Çavuşoğlu ve Strutz, 2018, p.205).

Bedrettin Dalan⁴ and Prime Minister Özal. Within the scope of the program, the main arteries of Istanbul were being cleared of industrial complexes, factories around the Golden Horn were being removed, and highways were being built to transport the newly established residential areas to the historical parts of the city. Thus, while the city took on an eye-catching silhouette with high-rise buildings, shopping malls and 5-star hotels built in place of the demolished ones, capital groups were earning significant income from this rent (Çavuşođlu ve Strutz, 2018, p.205). Similarly, the country's coastline was also commodified during this period, both through the increase in summer house stocks and the construction of tourism facilities. Even though they were protected by law, even forests and rivers received their share of this marketization.

In this context, the Motherland government's imagination of the city was based on the exploitation of non-commodified spaces. On the one hand, the consent of the urban poor was gained by taking advantage of the spaces built illegally in order to rationalize urban rent sharing, and on the other hand, the support of capital was provided by the distribution of existing or newly created and marketized spaces. The sustainability of the balance between these two interest groups competing on urban land was an important element of the continuity of the Motherland government. On the other hand, the True Path Party, which was established as a follower of the center-right Democrat-Justice Party tradition, was initially opposed to this reckless marketization of the city. Chairman Yıldırım Avcı argued that the commodification of public properties for the purpose of generating resources was just a big deception. According to Avcı, selling the bridge would not create a resource, on the contrary, it would ensure that the 5 billion lira income generated from it every year would be waived. However, this income went into the treasury and was spent on state investments. Instead, the government should have changed its economic model based on consumption rather than production. Because high inflation caused even existing houses to be converted into money rather than housing production, and the increase in construction costs exceeded the purchasing power, increasing the housing deficit and causing the problems to increase even more (DYP Neyin Mücadelesini Yapıyor, 1983).

According to the Party, this situation forced millions of people who migrated from their villages to live in squatters. The fate of these citizens should not be left to chance, and the people of the squatter should be introduced to the friendly and constructive hand of the local administrations. Serious measures should be taken to solve the housing and rental problems of low-income and homeless citizens, and each citizen should have a home with the help of state-guaranteed housing plans. For this purpose, squatters should be turned into a part of the city, citizens living in squatters should be provided with civil services along with job opportunities, and they should be saved from the fear that they might lose their homes one day (DYP 1 Yaşında, 1984). Before the 1986 midterm elections, the party promised to create low-interest, long-term loans to improve the squatters (DYP 1986 Ara Seçim Beyannamesi, 1986).

Before the 1987 General Elections, significant changes were noticeable in the Party's discourse on the city. While the party determined the main goal of its housing policy as "making every family a homeowner", it stated that it would actively use financialization and marketization mechanisms in addition to state support in order to achieve this goal. For this purpose, first of all, the use of the Housing Development Fund would be changed, the Fund would be separated from the public partnership and transformed into an institution that would only provide loans to those who built housing. In addition, the fund would also have been able to provide infrastructure and land loans to municipalities. Priority would be given to citizens who do not have a home in the specified loan usage, and the repayment plan would be determined in proportion to the individual's ability to pay. The Party stated that in order to control land prices during this period, treasury, municipality, foundation and non-forest lands would be developed as residential areas and these lands would be

⁴ Dalan had an important role, especially in the marketization of the urban environment and the coastline, arguing that land occupation by squatters could only be prevented with the help of contractors. Because Dalan bypassed the Istanbul planning office and stated that he had all the plans for the future of Istanbul in his mind, and was sharing these plans with capital groups. (Çavuşođlu ve Strutz, 2018, p.209).

given to citizens who wanted to build their own homes at very cheap prices. In addition, state-owned lands would be allocated to banks and insurance companies, and they would be encouraged to build cheap housing. In this regard, the Party was promising land allocation to newly arrived citizens in the city, aid and loan programs for those who built their own homes, and maintenance and improvement loans for those who wanted to renovate their homes. It guaranteed that it would treat squatters as a state policy and that the system would not be changed through punitive measures as a reality. Squatting could only be stopped by providing healthy and qualified housing. It was stated that title deeds would be given to the squatters, healthy living standards would be brought to the squatter areas that had received title deeds, and appropriate loan opportunities would be provided for the renewal of the squatters.

In addition, the Party did not ignore the irregularities that emerged when the central government transferred the powers regarding urban development areas to the municipalities. Because, according to TPP, even in the most popular places of the city, whether a piece of land would become a green area or whether a license would be obtained for a 5 or 20 storey building was directly proportional to the astuteness of the landowner. Distribution of authority, rather than solving the problems on the spot, led to an increase in bribery, the emergence of political abuses and municipalities turning into centers of problems. However, the Party's solution to this problem involved the honesty, integrity and common sense of municipalities rather than a system proposal (DYP Genel Başkanı Süleyman Demirel'in Kongre Açış Konuşması, 1988).

The party was explaining its most comprehensive perspective on the city before the 1991 General Elections. According to the Party, the increasing population and the increasing need for housing could not be resolved by the Özal government. The country was turned into a cemetery of unfinished cooperatives and housing estates.⁵ In response, TPP guaranteed that citizens would have solid and cheap housing by implementing a special credit and financing system. For this, according to the Party, "New Cities" had to be established. New cities, especially those to be established within 100 km of major metropolises, would cause a decrease in the population of the metropolises and, in a way, act as a buffer. In this way, the accumulation in cities where it is estimated that approximately 70 million Turks will live in 20 years could be prevented. For this purpose, the Party argued that income inequality, which is the main reason for the unbalanced accumulation in cities, should be solved and that emphasis should be given to local governments from central governments by switching from representative democracy to participatory democracy. The party also stated that a balanced distribution of industrialization within the country would be ensured, and urban transportation problems would be solved. In addition, TPP promised the squatter dwellers that "the squatter and allocation certificate would be converted into a title deed". In this respect, healthy living conditions would be offered to the squatter areas that had received title deeds as soon as possible. In addition, the way would be paved for the rehabilitation of squatters through affordable and long-term loans, and the necessary conditions would be provided for those who do not have a home to benefit from these loans. Treasury, municipality, foundation and non-forest lands would be opened as housing areas for citizens who wanted to build their own houses or who did not have a house. These lands would be parceled out by the state, infrastructure services would be provided, and they would be sold to these citizens through long loans (DYP Seçim Bildirgesi, 1991).

A similar situation continued in the TPP-SDPP Protocol after the election. According to the Protocol, in parallel with the increasing population, appropriate credit mechanisms would be created for citizens to enable them to become homeowners. In addition, in the Protocol, instead of the title deed promise that TPP stated that it would provide to the squatters, there was a statement that the squatters "will cease to be an obstacle to modern urbanization". Both the rehabilitation of squatters and mass housing projects would be carried out through low-interest and long-term loans (DYP-SHP

⁵ Ayşe Buğra (2000, p.109) states that 79% of the total housing cooperatives established between 1941 and 1991 belong to the period after 1980. Because in 1989, those who owned more than one house could benefit from the housing fund, paving the way for cooperatives in this period (Şahin, 2018).

Koalisyon Protokolü, 1991). Thus, the solution to the housing problem would not only meet the housing needs, but also pave the way for the revitalization of the economy and the strengthening of the financial environment.

As a matter of fact, shortly after the coalition government came to power, the operation to reduce interest rates on government bonds and treasury bills was responded to by five major banks and interest rates were reduced (Cumhuriyet, 21.01.1992). The share of housing loans in total bank loans was increasing significantly. This rate increased from 1.4% in 1981 to 6.9% in 1985, 7.8% in 1990 and 12% in 1993 (Keleş, 2012, p.484). During this period, annual housing starts began to increase and reached 500,000 in 1993. Because this number was 161,920 in 1996. Similarly, there was a significant increase in the building use permits issued by municipalities (Erol, 2019, pp.246-247), and the share of housing investments in the total investments of the private sector was competing with the levels between 1984-88 (Karahanoğulları, 2019, p.452). On the other hand, in this period when the total number of squatters in Turkey approached 1.5 million, an amnesty law could not be passed as TPP promised before the election,⁶ no changes were made in the zoning law and the marketization policies expanded during the Motherland period were continuing at full speed.

The Urban Policies in the Era of Çiller: Marketization and Financialization

In the first half of the 1990s, the urban population constituted more than 60% of the country's population, and the growth rate of the urban population continued to increase day by day (Gülalp, 2003, pp.53-54). Undoubtedly, the parties that came to power played an important role in this. Responding to the needs and dreams of the urban population, which was becoming increasingly stronger, especially with the policies implemented by the Motherland government, was one of the most important agenda items of the parties during this period. At this point, within the TPP, Çiller was seen as the only person who could gain the support of the urban segments with her modern identity and gather the centre-right voters together (Cizre-Sakallıođlu, 1999). Because the increasing urban population forced the parties to create new mechanisms to generate consent. Çiller, on the other hand, displayed an image that could provide answers to the longings and problems of the social segment from which she came. In this context, the most important issue awaiting Çiller in the field of struggle for the city was on the distribution of conflicting interests of social segments. As a matter of fact, the Özal administration, on the one hand, was able to gain the consent of the urban poor by commodifying the squatters in order to rationalize urban rent sharing, and on the other hand, was able to secure the support of capital by distributing newly created, marketized and financialized spaces. The sustainability of the balance between these two interest groups competing over the city land was an important element of the continuity of the Çiller government.

Çiller's first intervention on this issue was on the popularization of housing loans. The Housing Development Administration was starting to direct its 'customers' to loans so that they could own a house in the projects it carried out. Taşçı, President of Ankara Real Estate Agents Association, reported that the biggest movement in the real estate market was experienced in Istanbul and Ankara after banks increased their credit facilities, and many properties found buyers on the day they were put up for sale. Emlak Bank, on the other hand, was using the resources deducted from employers and transferred to the housing acquisition fund so that wage earners could own a house, to provide low-interest housing loans to high-income groups. This situation caused a very low amount per person to fall from the aid fund to wage earners and made it impossible for wage earners to own a house without a loan. In addition, cheap financing was sold to high-income groups with low interest rates, and large amounts of resources were transferred from workers, civil servants

⁶ During this period, the question asked by Istanbul Deputy Sabri Öztürk about the measures to be taken to prevent squatters and delay the title deeds that must be given in accordance with the Law No. 2981 on Certain Procedures to be Applied to Buildings Contrary to the Zoning and Squatter Legislation, Minister of Public Works and Settlement Onur Kumbaracıbaşı answered as follows: "Indeed, the continuous enactment of amnesty laws, especially in our big cities, has created the result of making these solutions more difficult, instead of solving an important problem... The squatter issue has become even more difficult, instead of being solved, with the succession of amnesty laws that are claimed to have been enacted to solve these problems" (TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, 13.2.1992).

and retirees to these groups (Cumhuriyet, 22.09.1993). Thus, on the one hand, upper income groups, which had capital at a much lower rate than its value, could gain a higher profit rate from the commoditization of the city, and on the other hand, the door could be opened to growth in banking activities by encouraging the use of credit.

Çiller's second move regarding the city was based on the exploitation of non-commodified spaces, and with the amendment made to the Land Office Law, ways to build housing on treasury lands were sought. However, the President of the Housing Development Administration, Gülöksüz, evaluated this move as an 'illusion' and stated that the governments thought that many houses could be built on treasury lands, but this was not possible. On the other hand, upon the instructions of Prime Minister Çiller, treasury lands "where housing can be built" were determined in big cities, it was stated that these lands would be put up for sale by applying a zoning plan and that squatter dwellers would be given priority in the sales. According to the practice, it was envisaged that one quarter of the price would be paid in cash and the rest would be paid over a 10-year maturity (Cumhuriyet, Milliyet, 06.10.1993-15.01.1994). In addition, in order to gain the consent of low-income urban dwellers, the government was trying to accelerate the construction of housing through the Housing Development Administration and was trying to create a system that could enable citizens to own homes with low installments. It was being brought to the agenda that 45-60 and 90 square meter social housing should be built in cooperation with Emlakbank, Housing Development Administration and municipalities and sold at cost to workers, civil servants and retirees. In order to gain the consent of the capital, the construction of trade and shopping centers in the main axes of the cities was accelerated with the changes made in the zoning plans in favor of the contractor companies, and skyscrapers were planned to be built instead of mass housing in these areas (Cumhuriyet, Milliyet, 16.11.1993-08.01.1994).

In 1994, the approach of local elections brought the squatter amnesty back to the agenda. Because the elections caused the acceleration of squatter construction activities, especially in big cities. Onur Kumbaracıbaşı, SDPP's Minister of Public Works and Settlement, made the following warning on this issue: "Everyone should be careful. There will be no construction amnesty. Anything you do will be unlicensed." In fact, squatter amnesty was one of the most important populist discourses used by the governments before the elections. As a matter of fact, although Kumbaracıbaşı warned the municipalities and stated that, in accordance with the law, infrastructure could not be provided to unlicensed buildings, Çiller explained that zoning amnesty could be granted on the condition that multi-storey apartments were built instead of single-storey squatters. In Çiller's election posters, banners saying "We will solve the squatter problem, trust us" were prominent. In his touching speeches, which she often associated with the "mother" discourse,⁷ she announced that the destruction of squatters would end with the election of her Party's candidates (Cumhuriyet, Milliyet, 15.01.1994-25.03.1994). In the face of this situation, one of the independent mayors of Istanbul started to build a squatter on Çiller's registered land, which constituted one of the tragicomic stories of the election (Buğra, 2000, p.123).

Çiller said at the rally she held in Sultanbeyli before the local elections, "We will solve the title deed problem of the squatters. Because TPP's candidate is Dalan, and the Prime Minister is behind him." Because in this period, TPP's candidate for Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality was Bedrettin Dalan, who served as the mayor of this municipality under the umbrella of Motherland between 1984 and 1988 and attracted the reaction of TPP at that time with the policies aimed at marketization he implemented.⁸ Dalan's view of the squatters was quite different from the TPP of the previous period, which approached the 'poor' squatters with sympathy.⁹ Dalan declared their goal with the motto "Service to Istanbul is worship" and that they would definitely not allow squatters and illegal

⁷ For a detailed evaluation of the "mother" image attributed to Çiller Yalçın-Heckmann L. ve Gelder, P. (2013) ve Ağduk, M. (2013).

⁸ Between 1984 and 1989, TPP pursued a policy against Dalan, and during the 1989 local elections, it made propaganda saying "End Lies, Fraud, and Dalan" (Çavuşoğlu, 2009).

⁹ Demirel saw it as the goal of the True Path Party to make the squatters a part of the city and to benefit from all civilized opportunities. (DYP Genel Başkanı Süleyman Demirel'in Kongre Açış Konuşması, 1988).

construction after they took office. Because, according to Dalan, "providing a service cheaper, free of charge or completely illegally to certain segments with the claim of social justice was unfair to those who contributed to the cost of this service. It was the duty of the municipality to provide public services at the highest standard and in the most widespread manner and purchasing them was the responsibility of the individual." This situation reveals the transformation in the social democratic spirit of the TPP during the Demirel period, and it was noticeable that the concept of the citizen being served had evolved into a 'customer' position to which services were sold. In other words, concepts such as equality and justice, which Demirel used extensively, were being replaced by profitability and efficiency criteria, and the way was being opened for the logic of capital to rise to the position of governing society. Dalan's imagination in distributing rent for the city could be observed more clearly in his statements about the Bosphorus Law, which he played an important role in passing during his term as Mayor: "They are trying to create an atmosphere as if the Bosphorus Law was the "Dalan Law" and the deterioration of the Bosphorus was caused by it. However, this is never the case. During the 1984-89 period, a total of 1100 villa licenses were issued in the areas permitted by the Bosphorus Law. These areas were adopted and protected. Tens of thousands of trees were brought to the Bosphorus with the afforestation works carried out after construction in these areas. Considering the squatter development in the Bosphorus in the last 5 years, we feel happy to have villas built in these large areas" (DYP 1994-1999 İstanbul İçin Hedefler, 1994). As a matter of fact, this discourse clearly expressed the segment that Dalan prioritized in his redistributive practices regarding the city.¹⁰

In addition, Dalan's understanding of municipalism, which is the main element of city administration, was a counterpart of the transformation in TPP. According to Dalan, "municipalities should have generated income through their activities, just like a commercial organization, in order not to disrupt the service. The target should be for municipalities to provide more effective, competitive, cheap and quality services within a free market economy". For this reason, Dalan argued that municipal subsidiaries should compete with market conditions. He viewed policies aimed at increasing the welfare level of low-income citizens as a charity system, and stated that charities, foundations and associations should be supported instead of public resources in such organizations. Dalan's emphasis on "realization of projects in Istanbul by private entrepreneurs through build-operate-transfer" was reminiscent of the neoliberal era's motto of "governments to steer not row" (DYP 1994-1999 İstanbul İçin Hedefler, 1994). Thus, with Dalan's candidacy for mayor, TPP was also adapting to the "entrepreneurial mayor" type of the period.

On the other hand, in the elections, Welfare Party's 'fair order' rhetoric, which has a predominant populist side, received the support of the 'new urban voters', most of whom migrated to the city due to economic and social issues, and the Party achieved a significant success, especially in big cities, by gaining the consent of the social segments remaining in the 'periphery'.¹¹ The ability of the RP to expand the area vacated by the TPP regarding the functions of the welfare state to the poor neighborhoods of the city through local organizations and foundations was very effective in this success. Because the economic crisis experienced during this period found its clearest expression in cities, and the contrasting living conditions of lower- and upper-income groups in urban conflict areas revealed regional inequalities. While the annual income of the poorest families living in poverty in Istanbul was around 700 dollars, the income of the richest families living just a few streets away was up to 1 million dollars. In the face of this situation, the following statement of the President of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce revealed the fear caused by the disorder in income distribution in the city: "At this point, the Turkish private sector sees something. . . He goes out from inside the

¹⁰Ayşe Buğra explains this situation as follows: "Bedrettin Dalan, as Mayor of Istanbul between 1984 and 1988, played a vital role in the marketing of the lands and coastline around the city. He defended himself against intense objections from urban planners and architectural associations by claiming that only developers serving the middle and upper middle class housing sector could stop the squatters' land invasions" (Buğra, 2000, pp.118-119).

¹¹ According to a survey conducted during the period when the Welfare Party's votes increased, "Most of the party's supporters said that they did not know much about the party's 'fair order' program, but they thought it had something to do with the creation of an 'egalitarian' and 'close to socialist' society" (Gülalp, 2003, p.55).

house and is disturbed by the street. Because when people start to become interested in the street, different pictures emerge. You are comfortable inside, and when you go out, society disturbs you with its problems and stress". This situation was confirmed by the increase in secure gated housing sites in metropolises during this period (Cizre-Sakalioğlu ve Yeldan, 2000, p.491).

As a matter of fact, the new Metropolitan Mayor of Istanbul, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan from WP, was informing the citizens that their squatters would not be demolished, as Prime Minister Tansu Çiller had assured before the election (Cumhuriyet, 04.04.1994). TPP, on the other hand, was trying to formulate this tension in urban conflict areas as a way out of the economic bottleneck it was in and was looking for ways to generate income from the treasury lands occupied by squatters. With the law enacted during this period, the Government allowed the sale of treasury lands, and TPP State Minister Bekir Sami Dağcı stated that with the enactment of the law, the aim was to obtain 100 trillion liras of income by selling the vacant Treasury lands occupied by squatters (Cumhuriyet, 20.02.1995). Thus, on the one hand, the Party was seeking the consent of the urban poor by selling the lands occupied by the squatters to the squatter owners, and on the other hand, it was trying to create profitable environments for the commodification of vacant lands and for private capital to obtain significant sources of income from construction activities.¹²

As a matter of fact, this vicious circle continued during the Welfare-True Path Party Government, and the transfer of resources to the Treasury and the commodification of urban areas became one of the main mechanisms in the creation and reproduction of capital accumulation. For this purpose, the Çiller-Erbakan coalition was undertaking many projects. The first of these was the draft law that would provide zoning amnesty for squatters and allow illegal buildings to be licensed for a fee (Keleş, 2012). In addition, the Government was looking for ways to reconsider the protected areas and sell or rent them (Cumhuriyet, 10.09.1996). In addition, the first of the two draft laws submitted to the Presidency of the Turkish Grand National Assembly with the joint signature of the coalition members during this period, envisaged that public lands outside the municipal borders should be planned and developed directly by the 'Land Office', and that they would be parceled out and sold. The second law aimed to consolidate all zoning and planning authority in the hands of the metropolitan administration with the amendment to the Metropolitan Municipality Law, thus rendering district municipalities dysfunctional in terms of zoning (Cumhuriyet, 20.12.1996). Finally, the first kernels of the 'gentrification' efforts in the city were emerging during this coalition period. Within the framework of the Squatter Reclamation Project, the Government was planning to clean the squatter areas and market them to contractors. It was envisaged that squatter owners would be given title deeds from another neighborhood (Cumhuriyet, 05.06.1997). However, all these efforts failed due to reactions from relevant non-governmental organizations, professional organizations and universities.

Conclusion:

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, a significant number of people in Turkey were transitioning from agricultural producer status to consumer status. While only 32% of the population lived in cities in 1960, this rate increased to 59% by 1990. Especially between 1980 and 1990, the growth rate of the urban population reached 70% (Gülalp, 2003, pp.53-54). Undoubtedly, government policies and adaptation programs that enabled the marginalization of rural areas and the transfer of resources from villages to cities played an important role in this process. Thus, the increasing urban population opened up new areas for parties to manage the masses in Turkish political life and required parties to develop new political repertoires regarding the city in terms of generating consent. Squatters were one of the first conspicuous consent production mechanisms at this point. As a matter of fact, with the policies it implemented, the Motherland government was turning squatters from being merely a form of shelter for the urban poor into a source of rent that could be bought and sold in the market. The rent that emerged in some regions was such that it

¹² As a matter of fact, when we look at the annual housing start data, we see a picture that started to increase in 1990, exceeded 500,000 housing units in 1993, and remained above this level for the next two years. These numbers, in which the private sector played a leading role in housing development, were only reached in 2005. (Erol, 2019, pp.246-247).

could even put the decline in wages during the Motherland government into the background. In this way, the government was gaining the consent of the 'urban poor', the losers of neoliberalism, by enabling the subaltern classes to benefit from urban rents, as Boratav describes as 'corrupt populism' (Akça, 2011, pp.29-30).

Another important consent production mechanism of the Motherland government regarding the city, in addition to the squatters, was the active involvement of the state in the housing business during this period. In particular, the Housing Development Administration, which was established in 1984, provided high loans to large construction companies rather than to the urban poor, with its Housing Development Fund. In addition, the urban transformation program opened the door for capital groups to earn significant income. While the share of housing investments in total private sector investments was 29.5% in the 1981-83 period, this rate increased to 46.2% in the 1984-88 period. In this context, the Motherland government's imagination of the city was based on the exploitation of non-commodified spaces. On the one hand, the consent of the urban poor was gained by making use of illegally constructed spaces to rationalize urban rent sharing, and on the other hand, the support of capital was ensured through the distribution of existing or newly created and marketized spaces.

In its discourse on the city during this period, the TPP emphasized populist policies based on patronage, which had been widely implemented during the Justice Party period, rather than the commodification process implemented by the Motherland Party. The most important of these policies were that squatters would be given title deeds, healthy living standards would be brought to squatter areas that received title deeds, and favorable credit facilities would be provided for the renovation of squatters. On the other hand, there were some changes in the Party's discourse on the city before the 1987 General Elections. The Party set the main goal of its housing policy as "making every family a homeowner" and stated that it would actively use financialization and marketization mechanisms alongside state support to achieve this goal. The program envisaged the city as a social living space, while the costs of urban services could be provided fairly in a free-market economy led by financial capital. Thus, the Party was drawing a picture similar to its usual stance on the squatter issue before 1980. On the other hand, it was approaching the understanding of the ruling Motherland government in the marketization of public properties and the financialization of housing needs. However, unlike the Motherland, the TPP gave the impression that it was trying to harmonize the free market with social policy. In other words, it sought to gain the consent of the wider masses by striving to strike a balance between the processes of wealth creation and wealth distribution.

During the Çiller period, TPP's urban policies went hand in hand with capital accumulation based on marketization and were based on the exploitation of non-commodified urban spaces, similar to the Özal period. However, while Özal was able to gain the consent of both the urban poor and the capital for a long time in urban rent sharing with the policies he implemented, Çiller could not maintain the balance between these two interest groups competing on urban land with the new property and zoning regulations she implemented. During this period, the share of housing loans in total bank loans was increasing, and housing investments were becoming more important day by day in the growth of private investments. On the other hand, the urban poor, who were oppressed by high inflation and inadequate social policies, were not receiving a sufficient share of the wealth creation and wealth distribution processes of the city. Although the Party developed a lot of discourse on land speculation during election periods, in its redistributive practices regarding the city, it prioritized the interests of capital rather than the urban poor, whose importance was increasing in the transforming social structure of the country. As a matter of fact, the Party's fall from power, similar to Özal, was closely related to the loss of support of the urban poor and capital in the absence of high inflation and social policies. As Buğra stated (2000, p.123), "in an environment where electoral competition is largely based on the control of the roads leading to land speculation in the city", Çiller was breaking the Party away from Demirel's discourse, which made abundant references to welfare policies. This situation caused the support of the urban poor, whose importance was increasing in the

transforming social structure of the country, to shift towards new political movements. Because research conducted by TÜSES in 1998 showed that the Party lost the support of urban voters the most among its voter base, and the fact that the Party could not win any metropolitan municipality in the 1999 local elections confirmed this thesis (Cansever, 2019, pp.218-224).

Compliance with Ethical Standard

Conflict of Interest: *The author(s) declare that they do not have a conflict of interest with themselves and/or other third parties and institutions, or if so, how this conflict of interest arose and will be resolved, and author contribution declaration forms are added to the article process files with wet signatures.*

Ethics Committee Permission: *In this article, ethics committee approval is not required, and a consent form affirming that a wet-signed ethics committee decision is not necessary has been added to the article process files on the system.*

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Gazeteler:

Cumhuriyet, Milliyet